



**KNOW
YOUR
RIGHTS
CAMP**

SPEAKING OUT

**AGAINST THE VIOLENCE
OF POLICING AND
SYSTEMIC OPPRESSION**

**A POLITICAL
EDUCATION
CURRICULUM**

COLIN KAEPERNICK

(HE/HIM/HIS)



“WE ALL HAVE AN OBLIGATION, NO MATTER THE RISK AND REGARDLESS OF REWARD, TO STAND UP FOR OUR FELLOW MEN AND WOMEN WHO ARE BEING OPPRESSED, WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT HUMAN RIGHTS CANNOT BE COMPROMISED.”

Renowned activist and athlete with the all-time NFL record for most rushing yards in a game by a quarterback captured the attention of the world when he took a knee to cast a global spotlight on police terrorism and systemic oppression.

“I am not going to stand up to show pride in a flag for a country that oppresses Black people and people of color. To me, this is bigger than football, and it would be selfish on my part to look the other way. There are bodies in the street and people getting paid leave and getting away with murder.”

Colin Kaepernick was born in Milwaukee, Wis., in 1987 to a white mother and a Black father. His birth mother placed him for adoption, and at 5 weeks old he was placed with the Kaepernick family, who eventually adopted him. They moved to California, and by his senior year in high school, he had been nominated for all-state selection in football, basketball, and baseball. He went on to the University of Nevada, where he excelled in his business management classes and on the football field. By the time he graduated in 2010, he had amassed 10,098 passing yards, 82 passing touchdowns, 4112 rushing yards, and 59 rushing touchdowns.

Kaepernick was drafted in 2011 by the San Francisco 49ers and played with the team for six seasons. In 2016, in the wake of the fatal police shootings of Alton Sterling and Philando Castile and the acquittal of police in the death of Freddie Gray, Kaepernick began sitting down during the playing of the “Star-Spangled Banner” before games as a form of protest against police terrorism and systemic oppression. At the 49ers’ preseason game on August 14, 2016, he first refused to stand during the playing of the “Star-Spangled Banner,” a gesture that rippled throughout the world. On September 1st, he first kneeled and was joined by teammate Eric Reid. Other NFL players and pro athletes began conducting various forms of silent protests, many joining Kaepernick in taking a knee.

For his stance, Kaepernick has been denied employment by the NFL, but he has not been deterred from his fight. Since 2016, he has founded and helped to fund organizations that advance the liberation of Black and Brown people through storytelling, systems change, and political education, such as Ra Vision Media, Kaepernick Publishing, and Know Your Rights Camp, a free campaign to raise awareness about higher education, self-empowerment, and how to interact with law enforcement in various scenarios. In 2018, he completed his Million Dollar Pledge, where he personally donated \$1 million to 37 different organizations fighting for justice. He also rallied the support of many friends including Serena Williams, J. Cole, Steph Curry, and more, who matched his

donations to raise an additional \$400,000-plus to help these organizations continue their important work.

In addition to breaking records in football, Kaepernick has accumulated numerous prestigious honors, including Amnesty International’s Ambassador of Conscience Award, the Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Ripple of Hope Award, GQ magazine’s “Citizen of the Year,” the Executive Leadership Council’s Global Game Changer Award, Ebony’s inaugural Humanitarian Award, the NFL’s Len Eshmont Award, the *Sports Illustrated* Muhammad Ali Legacy Award, and the ACLU’s Eason Monroe Courageous Advocate Award.

In October 2021, he and Kaepernick Publishing released *Abolition for the People: The Movement for a Future without Policing & Prisons*. Kaepernick also co-created and executive produced *Colin in Black and White* with famed director Ava Duvernay, the limited series about his high school years. The series is out on Netflix in October 2021.

In April 2022, Scholastic released *I Color Myself Different*, a picture book inspired by one of Kaepernick’s significant childhood memories—when he drew his family with the yellow crayon and then picked up the brown crayon to draw himself. Kaepernick says about the book, “I hope that it honors the courage and bravery of young people everywhere by encouraging them to live with authenticity and purpose.”

A LETTER TO TEACHERS AND EDUCATORS

Dear Educators,

It is with great admiration for you and the work you do that we welcome you to this space, one that invites you to help your community of learners increase their understanding of human rights and Black liberation. We are thrilled to provide you with this resource, ***SPEAKING OUT AGAINST THE VIOLENCE OF POLICING AND SYSTEMIC OPPRESSION***, created by the Know Your Rights Camp (KYRC)

As educators, you are navigating a difficult and often volatile educational landscape, particularly when seeking to educate about human rights and liberation. What, how, and often why you teach may be called to question. At times, you may be limited by restrictive policies and directives placed on you by individuals with a range of agendas.

And yet, you know the importance and power of your work. You know that, as educator and philosopher Paulo Freire noted, “education is not neutral.” You also know your work can focus on maintaining the status quo or, through liberation education, as teacher and civil rights activist Septima Poinsette Clark emphasized, can open the door to political, economic, and social power.

Like Clark, James Baldwin calls attention to the paradox and purpose of education in his 1963 speech “A Talk to Teachers”: *“The paradox of education is precisely this—that as one begins to become conscious one begins to examine the society in which he is being educated. The purpose of education, finally, is to create in a person the ability to look at the world for himself, to make his own decisions, to say to himself this is black or this is white, to decide for himself whether there is a God in heaven or not. To ask questions of the universe, and then learn to live with those questions, is the way he achieves his own identity. But no society is really anxious to have that kind of person around. What societies really, ideally, want is a citizenry which will simply obey the rules of society. If a society succeeds in this, that society is about to perish. The obligation of anyone who thinks of himself as responsible is to examine society and try to change it and to fight it—at no matter what risk. This is the only hope society has. This is the only way societies change.”*

This lesson is grounded in the abolitionist and radical teaching pedagogies of people and organizations like Paulo Freire, the Highlander Research and Education Center, bell hooks, Septima Poinsette Clark, and the Abolitionist Teaching Network. At the heart of this approach is the need to create a place and practice in the classroom that centers the whole learner, their lived experiences, and their identities.

This approach can be challenging, as it requires educators to reenvision the structural hierarchies present in most classrooms. It further asks educators to be comfortable with the uncomfortable, and use that to build trust and community among themselves and learners. When truly embraced by the educator, this approach prepares learners, as their whole selves, to take intentional action and recognize themselves as human rights defenders.

What does this look like in practical terms? This guide/curriculum is divided into five separate but related days, made up of a series of 50-minute activities, that include all the materials, resources, and tips you need to bring this learning into your classroom. This work is to be done in community, and you should see your classrooms as shared spaces grounded by community agreements and as sites of restorative justice and practice.

How will you know if you are ready to tackle this work with your learners? If you are reading this letter and thinking about using this material with them, you are ready!

“To understand the necessity and urgency of abolition, we must first understand the genesis and histories of the institutions and practices we must abolish.” –Colin Kaepernick

You are a critical part of the movement for change, and for that we thank you.

PLEASE BEGIN THIS LEARNER’S GUIDE BY READING THIS EXCERPT FROM COLIN KAEPERNICK’S POWERFUL 2020 ESSAY ON THE ABOLITION OF POLICING AND PRISONS, “THE DEMAND FOR ABOLITION.” THE ESSAY ORIGINALLY APPEARED IN *ABOLITION FOR THE PEOPLE*, A DIGITAL SERIES CREATED THROUGH A PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN KAEPERNICK PUBLISHING AND LEVEL, A MEDIUM PUBLICATION FOR AND ABOUT THE LIVES OF BLACK AND BROWN MEN.

In the wake of the state-sanctioned lynchings of Breonna Taylor and George Floyd, the United States has been forced to grapple with not only the devastation of police terrorism but also the institutions that constitute, enhance, and expand the carceral state. In response, uprisings demanding the defunding of the police have spread across the country with no signs of stopping. Those who have been terrorized by law enforcement, those who have had enough of their very existence being criminalized, and those who have dedicated their lives to the cause of liberation by any means necessary are demanding the abolition of the carceral state—the institutions, structures, and practices of anti-Black, state-sanctioned violence that violates the fundamental humanity of Black and Indigenous people and people of color.

It’s been four years since I first protested during “The Star-Spangled Banner.” At the time, my protest was tethered to my understanding that something was not right. I saw the bodies of Black people left dead in the streets. I saw them left dead in their cars. I saw them left dead in their backyards. I saw Black death all around me at the hands of the police. I saw little to no accountability for police officers who had murdered them. It is not a matter of bad apples spoiling the bunch but interlocking systems that are rotten to their core.

And systemic problems demand systemic solutions.

Predictably, the political mainstream has responded to recent uprisings by shifting the demands to “defund the police” to reformist interventions centered on “acceptable” modes of enacting death and violence upon oppressed peoples. As such, conventional paths and strategies for achieving “justice” for anti-Black police terror and violence are all too often couched in campaigns and desires for

convictions, punishment, and incarceration. These modes of reactionary “justice” fail to remedy the uninterrupted death caused by policing and prisons, and frequently leave us disheartened, disjointed, and disillusioned. Despite the steady cascade of anti-Black violence across this country, I am hopeful we can build a future that imagines justice differently. A future without the terror of policing and prisons. A future that prioritizes harm reduction, redemption, and public well-being in order to create a more just and humane world. ...To understand the necessity and urgency of abolition, we must first understand the genesis and histories of the institutions and practices we must abolish.

POLICE AND POLICING

The central intent of policing is to surveil, terrorize, capture, and kill marginalized populations, specifically Black folks. In her edited collection, *Imprisoned Intellectuals*, Joy James put the United States under the magnifying glass. “The world can see what goes on in the tombs of America as Black people are being slowly strangled and suffocated to death,” she writes. When the world witnessed the police choke Eric Garner to death as he gasped “I can’t breathe”—that is an act of terror. When a cop car pulled up to Tamir Rice, a 12-year-old boy, and the cop shot him in less than two seconds—that is an act of terror. When police broke down 92-year-old Kathryn Johnston’s front door, unloaded 39 rounds, and left five bullets buried in her body—that is an act of terror. We recognize it as anti-Black violence and control, while law enforcement and the injustice system see it as essential to the very nature of the job.

The political project of anti-Blackness has always been central to the enforcement of laws and legal codes in the United States. Sally E. Hadden’s *Slave Patrols: Law and Violence in Virginia* and the

Carolinas lays out an irrefutable case that slavery and policing are linked both in logic and philosophy. South Carolina's 1701 Act for the Better Ordering of Slaves in 1701 declared that any enslaved African "resisting" a white person could be beaten (like Rodney King in 1991), maimed (like Jacob Blake in 2020), assaulted (like Marlene Pinnock in 2014), or killed if they "resisted" (like Korryn Gaines in 2016) or took flight (like Rayshard Brooks in 2020).

The more that I have learned about the history and evolution of policing in the United States, the more I understand its roots in white supremacy and anti-Blackness. Black Panther Party co-founder Huey P. Newton once said, "The police are in our community not to promote our welfare or for our security or our safety, but they are there to contain us, to brutalize us, and murder us." The ever-present threat of premature death at the hands, knees, chokeholds, tasers, and guns of law enforcement has only further engrained its anti-Black foundation into the institutions of policing. In order to eradicate anti-Blackness, we must also abolish the police. The abolition of one without the other is impossible.

PRISONS AND CARCERality

As part of the reentry work I have done with Kevin Livingston from 100 Suits for 100 Men at Rikers Island, I have spent time with young Black men no older than 20. The young men there explained the dehumanizing conditions in the prison that range from denial of literature to physical assault. They have been criminalized and caged, in most cases, for being redlined into economic despair. Forever emblazoned in my memory are the words of one of the young Black men: "You love us when no one else does." The young brother was seeking love. He was seeking care. He was seeking a space that valued his life.

What he received was hate and what Ruth Wilson Gilmore would call "organized abandonment."

As Angela Y. Davis has written, "prisons do not disappear problems, they disappear human beings." Prisons do not contain a "criminal population" running rampant but rather a population that society has repeatedly failed.

Uprisings in response to the hellish conditions Black folk have been forced to live in, both in and out of prison, have been criminalized as well. In her book *Are Prisons Obsolete?*, Davis effectively analyzes the purpose of prisons. "These prisons represent the application of sophisticated, modern technology dedicated entirely to the task of social control," she writes, "and they isolate, regulate, and surveil more effectively than anything that has preceded them." An institution based on social control instead of social well-being is an institution that needs to be abolished.

BEYOND REFORM

I recently revisited the 2016 postgame interview when I was first asked about not standing during "The Star-Spangled Banner." One of the reporters inquired about the reasoning behind my dissent. "There's a lot of things that need to change," I replied. "One specifically is police brutality. There's people being murdered unjustly and not being held accountable. Cops are getting paid leave for killing people. That's not right. That's not right by anyone's standards."

Unconsciously, my critique of police terrorism was fastened to a reformist framework. My want for accountability focused on the cops receiving convictions and punishment, not acquittals and paid vacations. But I had missed the larger picture. The focus on individual punishment will never alter the outcome of a system rooted in Black death. I wanted change. I wanted it to stop. I wanted to reform what I saw. Yet, the reforms often proposed—use-of-force policies, body cameras, more training, and police accountability—were the same recycled police reforms consistently proposed in the past. And in both the past and the present, these reforms have done nothing to stop the actions that force us to #SayTheirNames.

Similarly, suggested prison reforms—new jail construction to address crowding and dehumanizing living conditions and technological monitoring that essentially creates open-air prisons—have not and cannot eliminate the harm of the carceral state. The thread that ties all of these reforms together is the increased investment of capital into the carceral state. I watched an interview with Ruth Wilson

Gilmore on geographies of racial capitalism; in it, she said that “capitalism requires inequality, and racism enshrines it.” It made me think about the economies of exploitation, deprivation, and captivity that propel forward incarceration and the construction of prisons. These economies disproportionately target Black, Brown, and poor white people. It made me think about how the carceral state is central to the machinery of racial capitalism.

I began to ask myself the question, “What is being reformed or reformulated?”

Ultimately, I realized that seeking reform would make me an active participant in reforming, reshaping, and rebranding institutional white supremacy, oppression, and death. This constant re-interrogation of my own analysis has been part of my political evolution.

“One should recall that the movement for reforming the prisons, for controlling their functioning, is not a recent phenomenon,” Michel Foucault wrote in *Discipline and Punish*. “It does not even seem to have originated in a recognition of failure. Prison ‘reform’ is virtually contemporary with the prison itself: it constitutes, as it were, its programme.” Reform, at its core, preserves, enhances, and further entrenches policing and prisons into the United States’ social order. Abolition is the only way to secure a future beyond anti-Black institutions of social control, violence, and premature death.

ABOLITION NOW

Abolition is a means to create a future in which justice and liberation are fundamental to realizing the full humanity of communities. Practices of abolitionists are focused on harm reduction, public health, and the well-being of people. Demands to defund the police and prisons are one of the ways to first realize the goals of investing in people and

divesting from punishment and, in time, progress to the complete abolition of the carceral state, including police and policing.

To be clear, the abolition of these institutions is not the absence of accountability but rather the establishment of transformative and restorative processes that are not rooted in punitive practices. By abolishing policing and prisons, not only can we eliminate white supremacist establishments, but we can create space for budgets to be reinvested directly into communities to address mental health needs, homelessness and houselessness, access to education, and job creation as well as community-based methods of accountability. This is a future that centers the needs of the people, a future that will make us safer, healthier, and truly free.

My hope is that you, the reader, will have confronted the white supremacist underpinnings of policing and prisons and the state-sanctioned oppression, destruction, and execution of Black and Indigenous people and people of color. You will understand the ways that reform has further legitimized policing and prisons into society. You will learn about the ways that abolishing policing and prisons can create a society able to invest in the well-being of the people. My sincere hope is that you will be forced to make a moral choice...Will you continue to be actively complicit in the perpetuation of these systems, or will you take action to dismantle them for the benefit of a just future? This moment in history will not be forgotten nor will the actions you, I, and others take.

Another world is possible, a world grounded in love, justice, and accountability, a world grounded in safety and good health, a world grounded in meeting the needs of the people.

Abolition now. Abolition for the people.

SPEAKING OUT AGAINST THE VIOLENCE OF POLICING AND SYSTEMIC OPPRESSION

INTENDED FOR IMPLEMENTATION IN GRADES 9-12, ADULT EDUCATION, AND COMMUNITY LEARNING SPACES.

ABOLITION; SYSTEMIC OPPRESSION; INSTITUTIONAL RACISM; RIGHT TO FREEDOM; RIGHT TO DIGNITY; RIGHT TO LIFE; RIGHT TO FREEDOM FROM DISCRIMINATION AND TORTURE; RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION; RIGHTS TO ADEQUATE STANDARD OF LIVING, SOCIAL SECURITY, EDUCATION, HEALTH, AND SAFETY; AND RESPONSIBILITY TO COMMUNITY.

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

- **ARTICLE 1:** All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.
- **ARTICLE 2:** Everyone is entitled to all the rights, without distinction of race, color, sex, language, religion, political, or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth, or other status.
- **ARTICLE 3:** Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of person.
- **ARTICLE 5:** No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment.
- **ARTICLE 9:** No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention, or exile.
- **ARTICLE 19:** Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression.
- **ARTICLE 22:** Everyone has the right to social security.
- **ARTICLE 27:** Everyone has the right to participate in cultural life.
- **ARTICLE 29:** Everyone has duties to their community.

TIME REQUIREMENT

Recommended five days, 50-minute activities per day.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- What intersections and aspects of my identity have been socially constructed?
- What narratives of history should I learn or unlearn to better understand race and racialization?
- What would a world without walls, prisons, and/or police look like?

- What does it mean to engage in solidarity and accountability with members of my community?
- How can I along with my community engage in restorative justice and healing?

OBJECTIVES

By the end of the five-day lesson, students will:

- Critically examine and reflect on their identity and how it affects their understanding of oppression and racism.
- Analyze their understanding of race and racialization based on history, and unlearn incomplete or inaccurate narratives of history.
- Imagine and strategize for a world without prisons, where justice and abolition are realized.
- Unpack their role within community accountability and draft community organizing campaigns.
- Work together to restore, repair, and heal within their community space.

CONCEPTS

- Abolition
- Justice
- Advocacy
- Systemic change
- Black liberation
- Anti-Black racism
- Identity
- Intersectionality
- Systemic oppression
- Master narratives
- International human rights framework
- Solidarity
- Community accountability
- Community organizing
- Reform
- Transformative justice
- Restorative justice
- Reparative justice and reparations
- Healing justice

TECHNOLOGY REQUIRED

- Internet access
- Computer or smartphone access

TERMINOLOGY USED AND INCLUDED FROM *ABOLITION FOR THE PEOPLE: THE MOVEMENT FOR A FUTURE WITHOUT POLICING & PRISONS*, EDITED BY COLIN KAEPERNICK (KAEPERNICK PUBLISHING, 2021)

- **THE 13TH AMENDMENT:** Ratified on December 6, 1865, the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution stipulates that “Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for a crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.” This Amendment is often seen as the link between slavery and modern imprisonment in the U.S. (Source: Gilder Lehrman Institute)
- **THE 1994 CRIME BILL:** Extolled and signed into law by President Bill Clinton, the passage of this bill, which was the largest crime bill in U.S. history, led to an increase in incarceration rates, lengthier prison sentences, more draconian sentencing laws, and the construction of more prisons. It imposed mandatory life sentences and authorized prosecutors, in some cases, to charge youths with adult crimes in some cases. The bill is notorious for criminalizing and punishing communities of color, while also institutionally rendering them susceptible to—and victims of—state-sanctioned “premature death.”
- **ABOLITION:** The formal elimination of police, policing, and systems of surveillance and punishment. Abolition calls for investing in systems focused on the public good, including community-based accountability, mutual aid, health care for all, and equitable access to education and housing. Abolition will not happen overnight, but is rather the outcome of organizing, movement-building, and political education over years that seeks to challenge the legitimacy, scale, and scope of policing and prisons."
- **ABOLITION DEMOCRACY:** Coined by W.E.B. Du Bois in his 1935 study, *Black Reconstruction in America 1860–1880*, this term refers to the political struggle led by formerly enslaved people in the wake of the Civil War to construct new institutions while also eradicating violent ones. (Source: Berger and Stein)
- **ANTI-BLACKNESS:** The Council for Democratizing Education defines anti-Blackness as being a two-part formation that both voids Blackness of value, while systematically marginalizing Black people and their issues. The first form of anti-Blackness is overt racism. Beneath this anti-Black racism is the covert structural and systemic racism which categorically predetermines the socioeconomic status of Blacks in this country. The structure is held in place by anti-Black policies, institutions, and ideologies. The second form of anti-Blackness is the unethical disregard for anti-Black institutions and policies. This disregard is the product of class, race, and/or gender privilege certain individuals experience due to anti-Black institutions and policies. This form of anti-Blackness is protected by the first form of overt racism. (Source: The Movement for Black Lives, n.d.)
- **CARCERAL CLASS:** Persons of African descent who are systematically stigmatized as unfit for freedom and deserving of the dehumanization that comes with being incarcerated. The idea of the carceral class is the product of an anti-Black framework that represents Black people as the locus of crime and Blackness as synonymous with criminality. As a classification, the carceral class denotes that your freedom can be stripped from you at any given moment. (Source: Dr. Ameer Hasan Loggins)
- **CARCERAL STATE:** A term often used to refer to institutions of confinement and surveillance like jails, detention centers, and prisons. Its reach, however, is not limited to the criminal legal system and includes child protective services, schools, and health care—all of which are disproportionately used to monitor and police low-income, Black, and Indigenous people and communities of color.
- **CLEMENCY:** The process by which a governor, president, or administrative board may reduce a defendant's sentence or grant a pardon. Mass clemency campaigns are part of an abolitionist strategy to reduce prison populations and deconstruct the carceral state.
- **COLONIALISM:** The violent takeover of a territory or nation through war and ongoing

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Learners examine the power of naming in context of the identities they possess or the identities that are ascribed to them, then look at concepts including linguistic violence, intersectionality, and the Matrix of Domination.

DAY 2 THEME: BLACK LIBERATION THROUGHOUT HISTORY AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS FRAMEWORK

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Learners critically reflect upon the “master narratives” they have received or have been taught about U.S. history and peoples. Then, learners explore the movement for Black liberation in the context of the global human rights framework, analyzing the Black Panthers’ Ten Point Program and the petitions of the Civil Rights Congress and Malcolm X on a global scale.

DAY 3 THEME: ABOLITIONIST IMAGININGS

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Learners investigate the history of policing and prisons to learn how they have caused systemic harm and violence. Then they are asked to imagine a world without the prison industrial complex, where true health, safety, and justice can be realized.

DAY 4 THEME: SOLIDARITY AND COMMUNITY BUILDING

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Learners consider their personal roles as human rights defenders, analyzing how they can work to achieve justice and liberation in the community as allies, accomplices, activists, and/or organizers. Learners use this knowledge to build campaigns and support communities.

DAY 5 THEME: RESTORATIVE JUSTICE AND HEALING JUSTICE

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Learners explore restorative and reparative approaches to harm in order to foster a community sustained by healing, joy, and wholeness.

DAY 1: IDENTITY AND INTERSECTIONALITY

“When we set about trying to transform society, we must remember that we ourselves will also need to transform. Our imagination of what a different world can be is limited. We are deeply entangled in the very systems we are organizing to change.”

—MARIAME KABA, “SO YOU’RE THINKING ABOUT BECOMING AN ABOLITIONIST” FROM *ABOLITION FOR THE PEOPLE* (KAEPERNICK PUBLISHING, 2021)

NOTE TO EDUCATORS

Community Agreements should be developed on Day 1 and may be built upon at any time or on any day during the learning process. Coming up with these agreements should be a collective and consensus-driven activity to identify the needs of every person in the group, allow them to feel safe, supported, trusted, and accountable to the other community members. Explain that Community Agreements are important because many of these conversations that will take place may be emotional, painful, and uncomfortable but engagement and vulnerability will be supported with emotional safety and trust. Community Agreements should also provide a framework for how the group will work together and take transformative action. As each day starts, please remember to welcome learners into the space and remind them of the Community Agreements you have developed as a class.

To develop Community Agreements, learners may brainstorm as a full class or within a pair-share arrangement, or they may privately journal and share with the group afterward. As Community Agreements are set, write them on the board and ask learners if they would like to add to it. Agreements may include statements like these:

- We will proactively listen to one another with the intent to understand, not with the intent to respond. When you take space, make space. In other words, when you have had a chance to share, ensure that others are given the same opportunity to share their perspective and have equitable speaking time.
- Speak your truth and begin with “I,” commit to recognizing impact over intent, and address the idea, not the individual.
- Things shared in this space stay in this space; they stay in community, and we do not share unless given consent. What’s said here stays here, but what’s learned here leaves here.
- This is a brave space. We can guarantee safety insofar as we will not uphold or act in violent ways toward one another. Violence can also include verbal, mental, or emotional harm. We cannot guarantee that this will be easy because these topics demand that we let go of everything we think we know. We will unpack tension.
- Should anyone violate our ground rules, we will call them in. If harm continues, we will explore ways to restore safety and joy in this space.

Once Community Agreements are set, ask everyone in the space to indicate that they agree to these ground rules and will honor them.

ANTICIPATORY SET

- Ask each learner to write on a sheet of paper their first name, middle name, last name, nickname, or any name that has a personal story or history.
- Go around the room or virtual classroom and ask learners to share any meaning, significance, cultural reference, etc. to their names, if they wish.
- If learners are having trouble getting started, share the following prompts:
 - Who gave you your name? Why were you given that name?
 - Do you know the cultural origins of your name?
 - Do you have any nicknames? If so, how did you get them?

TEACHER TIP

It may be helpful for the facilitator or educator to share their story first to help learners feel more comfortable sharing their personal stories.

- What is your preferred name?
- After learners share, open the group for a discussion by asking the following questions:
 - What are your other given identities?
 - What impact do you think your history has had on your identity?
 - What is the relationship between your identity and how you identify racially?
 - Is race given to you?

LEARNER ACTIVITIES

ACTIVITY 1

- Before the session begins, write or print the following quotes about names and place them around the learning space. If facilitating for a virtual classroom, provide the quotes to learners in a virtual handout.
 - *“There’s power in naming yourself, in proclaiming to the world that this is who you are. Wielding this power is often a difficult step for many transgender people because it’s also a very visible one.”* –Janet Mock
 - *“Women have had the power of naming stolen from us.”* –Mary Daly
 - *“Names are an important key to what society values. Anthropologists recognize naming as one of the chief methods for imposing order on perception.”* –David S. Slawson
 - *“Names set up a field of power.”* –Michel-Rolph Trouillot
- Ask learners to read over the quotes and reflect on the ways that names are given. For example, names can be given at birth, through marriage or legal partnerships, through community/cultural customs, etc. As they reflect, ask learners to consider the following questions in pairs, small groups, or through journaling:
 - Who typically gives names in your community?
 - Who gives first names?
 - Who gives middle names?
 - How are last names given, and why are certain names “passed down”?
- Bring the full class back for a 10-minute discussion on the act of naming, posing these questions:
 - What are your identities?
 - Do you choose or create your identities, or are they given to you? If they are given, who gives them?

NOTE TO EDUCATORS

Tell learners that enslaved people often had their birth names taken from them and were renamed by those who captured and enslaved them. This process of renaming acted as a means to attempt to strip people of their identity and culture.

At this point in the activity, learners should be thinking about who has the authority or power to name others.

- Divide learners into small groups. Ask them to consider the evolution and origins of names, naming, and how we refer to one another. Ask learners to research online where the following identity terms come from and how they have come to exist:
 - Person/people of color
 - Woman/women of color
 - Aboriginal and Indigenous
 - Black and African American
 - Latino/Latina/Latinx
 - Asian American and Pacific Islander
- After learners have had a chance to research, take 10 to 15 minutes to discuss their findings and to reflect on the following questions as a full class:
 - How are identities assigned to people?
 - Do people choose how to identify themselves or are they told, compelled, or coerced to identify in a certain way? If they are told to identify in a certain way, by whom are they told?
- Before closing the activity, share the video [“The Origin of the Phrase ‘Women of Color,’”](#) with Loretta Ross (Ross, 2011). Remind learners that language is not just a system to communicate, but is also a political system as it shapes people’s realities and lived experiences. Just as these systems can be used as a tool of empowerment, they can also be used to perpetuate violence.

ACTIVITY 2

- Write or project the definition of “intersectionality” on the board or PowerPoint in the classroom/virtual space.
 - Per critical race theorist and law professor, Kimberlé Crenshaw, who coined the term: “Intersectionality is...a prism to see the interactive effects of various forms of discrimination and disempowerment. It looks at the way that racism...interacts with patriarchy, heterosexism, classism, xenophobia—seeing that the overlapping vulnerabilities created by these systems actually create specific kinds of challenges. [For example,] when racial justice doesn’t have a critique of patriarchy and homophobia, the particular way that racism is experienced and exacerbated by heterosexism, classism etc., falls outside of our political organizing. It means that significant numbers of people in our communities aren’t being served by social justice frames because they don’t address the particular ways that they’re experiencing discrimination.” (Cited in *them* by Otamere Guobadia, 2018.)
- Show the following video clips to introduce the concept of intersectionality.
 - [“Kimberlé Crenshaw: What is Intersectionality?”](#) (Crenshaw, 2018)

EXPANDING OPPORTUNITIES

- Share the article [“Why the term ‘BIPOC’ is so complicated, explained by linguists”](#) and ask learners to reflect on the acts of naming and self-naming (Grady, 2020).
- Ask learners to consider how the act of naming makes them feel and how they feel their identities are prioritized.
- If learners are having trouble getting started, use the following prompts:
 - Are you identified first by your gender identity/expression or your race?
 - Are you first identified by your features or your abilities?

- [“Angela Davis on Intersectional Feminism.”](#) (Davis, 2018)
- [“What Is: Intersectionality?”](#) (Blaque, 2019)
- As a full class, discuss the videos and the definition of intersectionality. Ask learners to consider the intersections of their own identities and the intersections of power that impose meaning on their identities. Share the following quote and ask learners to discuss as a full class what they believe Crenshaw means:
 - *“Consider an analogy to traffic in an intersection, coming and going in all four directions. Discrimination, like traffic through an intersection, may flow in one direction, and it may flow in another. If an accident happens in an intersection, it can be caused by cars traveling from any number of directions and, sometimes, from all of them. Similarly, if a Black woman is harmed because she is in an intersection, her injury could result from sex discrimination or race discrimination....But it is not always easy to reconstruct an accident: Sometimes the skid marks and the injuries simply indicate that they occurred simultaneously, frustrating efforts to determine which driver caused the harm.”* –Kimberlé W. Crenshaw, 1989

ACTIVITY 3

- Share with learners the Matrix of Domination (also called the Matrix of Oppression) model, created by social theorist Patricia Hill Collins, which can be understood through four domains of power. This model helps people examine their identities and lived experiences in the context of a group’s ability to experience domination, resistance, and privilege.
- Ask learners to discuss as a full class what the words below mean to them, connections between the words, and distinctions between the words. Take notes during the discussion for everyone to see.
 - Power
 - Oppression
 - Privilege
- After this groundwork, share the following image and display the following definitions on the board/virtual board or a PowerPoint slide:
 - **STRUCTURAL DOMAIN OF POWER:** *Organizes oppression* in society.
 - **DISCIPLINARY DOMAIN OF POWER:** *Manages oppression.* The organizational practices of

The Matrix of Domination

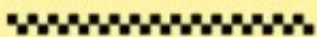


Table 1.1

The four domains of the matrix of domination

Structural domain

Organizes oppression: laws and policies.

Disciplinary domain

Administers and manages oppression.

Implements and enforces laws and policies.

Hegemonic domain

Circulates oppressive ideas: culture and media.

Interpersonal domain

Individual experiences of oppression.

Chart based on concepts introduced by Patricia Hill Collins in *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*.

(MIT Case Studies in Social and Ethical Responsibilities of Computing, 2021)

social institutions manage power relations and control certain subpopulations.

- **HEGEMONIC DOMAIN OF POWER:** Also referred to as the cultural domain. Hegemony refers to the *system of ideas developed by a dominant group that makes their practices seem reasonable or justified*.
- **INTERPERSONAL DOMAIN OF POWER:** This domain, which affects all of us in everyday life, and refers to how *individual experiences maintain the inferiority of others*.
- Discuss each definition as a group and ask learners to come up with examples of these domains in action. If learners are having trouble getting started, provide the following examples for each of the domains:
 - **STRUCTURAL:** Matrix of Oppression theorist Patricia Hill Collins argues that the organization of interlocking, large-scale social institutions reproduces the subordination of Black women. For example, residential segregation prevents most Black women in the United States from having access to certain educational and job opportunities.
 - **DISCIPLINARY:** Policies that criminalize certain actions and decisions because they would disproportionately affect certain populations. This relates to the implementation and enforcement of laws and policies.

EXPANDING OPPORTUNITIES

Recognize the power of language as it pertains to our identities and commit to calling people in with respect during instances of linguistic violence. This includes, but is not limited to, misgendering people, using nicknames that a person did not consent to, mispronouncing someone's name, and/or making assumptions about someone's identities. Use this opportunity to intervene and repair the harm.

- **CULTURAL:** Collins writes that in this domain of power, old ideas that uphold the system get restructured and rewritten as society changes over time. Through ideology, culture, and consciousness, the beliefs of the dominant group get normalized as common-sense ideas that support their position. This could include oppressive ideas that are circulated through media.
- **INTERPERSONAL:** Collins states that through the daily routine of interaction at the micro-level of social interactions and structures, individuals uphold the subordination of others. People must intentionally take actions to change their everyday relationships by embracing imagination that empowers others instead of using knowledge to objectify others.

DAY 2: BLACK LIBERATION THROUGHOUT HISTORY AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS FRAMEWORK

“A people without knowledge of their past history, origin, and culture is like a tree without roots.”

—MARCUS GARVEY

ANTICIPATORY SET

- Welcome learners back into the community space. Check in to hear what they are thinking and how they are feeling. Ask if they would like to make any additions to Community Agreements, and summarize the activities and lessons from Day 1.
- Ask learners what comes to mind when they hear the phrase “U.S. history.” Tell learners that their answers may be events, people, adjectives, or actions. Write their answers on a flip chart or board/virtual board, or have them populate a polling website or Jamboard.
- Ask learners to review the answers and discuss them in pairs, small groups, or as a full class.
 - What themes are emerging in your answers? What differences can you identify?
 - How do we learn about history? What differences are there in the ways history is taught, told, and transmitted? Why do you think that is?
- Ask learners to read this short essay from [“A Different Mirror”](#) by Ronald Takaki (Takaki, 2011).
- After learners have completed the reading, ask them to discuss the following prompts in pairs, small groups, or as a full class:
 - Echoing Toni Morrison’s metaphor, who do you think defined “Americans” as “white”?
 - Was any of the information regarding Black Americans, Asian Americans, Chicanos, Native Americans, or other groups new to you? If yes, why do you think you have not been exposed to these narratives previously?
 - As Takaki points out, Native Americans were already in what many now refer to as the United States, yet they were persecuted, classified, and discriminated against in the same ways as immigrant groups. What are the “master narratives” around Native Americans/Indigenous people in the telling of mainstream histories?
 - Takaki defines the “master narrative” of the United States as one that is founded in Eurocentrism and “whiteness.” How can we work to dispel this narrative and myth?

BECOMING A DEFENDER

Visit [Native Land Digital](#) and learn about the First Nations’ land on which you reside, then prepare a land acknowledgment for your class, school, or community. According to the site, “territory acknowledgment is a way that people insert an awareness of Indigenous presence and land rights in everyday life...It can be a subtle way to recognize the history of colonialism and a need for change in settler colonial societies.” It is also important to remember that a land acknowledgment is just a start and that challenging settler colonialism requires giving the land back to its rightful stewards: First Nation communities.

Settler colonialism seeks to replace the original population of the colonized territory with a new society of settlers, often through forced imprisonment, slavery, or genocide. As with all forms of colonialism, it is based on domination from an outside party that is typically organized or supported by an imperial

authority. (Source: Tate LeFevre)

When making a land acknowledgment, ensure that you include the following information:

- The names, history, and current activities of the Indigenous people and groups who have ownership of this land.
- The correct pronunciation of any Indigenous names, places, tribes, and individuals you will be including.
- A method to continue learning or engaging in activism to move from recognition to reparations or reconciliation.

A land acknowledgment may sound something like this:

Today we acknowledge the unceded territory of the ____ First Nations on which we are learning and engaging in human rights work today. We acknowledge the Indigenous peoples as a way of honoring the First Nations with rights to this land and a resistance to the continuing persistence of colonization. The history of these Indigenous groups includes ____ and their beliefs and values include _____. Today, they are _____. This is relevant to the work we do here today because _____. We would like to suggest continuous action to support this group through [suggested further research, donations, campaigns, or efforts to return land].

Research and follow the [LANDBACK](#) movement to return Indigenous lands to Indigenous communities.

NOTE TO TEACHERS

Provide the following definitions:

- **EUROCENTRISM** is generally defined as a cultural phenomenon that views the histories and cultures of non-Western societies from a European or Western perspective. Europe, more specifically Western Europe or “the West,” functions as a universal signifier in that it assumes the superiority of European cultural values over those of non-European societies. Although Eurocentrism is anti-universalist in nature, it presents itself as a universalist phenomenon and advocates for the imitation of a Western model based on “Western values” – individuality, human rights, equality, democracy, free markets, secularism, and social justice – as a cure to all kinds of problems, no matter how different various societies are socially, culturally, and historically. Eurocentrism, however, is not a social theory providing an interpretation of or a solution to pressing social issues, nor can it be simply used interchangeably with popular big words such as nationalism, ethnocentrism, xenophobia, chauvinism (Pokhrel, 2011).
- **WHITENESS** itself refers to the specific dimensions of racism that serve to elevate white people over people of color. This definition counters the dominant representation of racism in mainstream education as isolated in discrete behaviors that some individuals may or may not demonstrate, and goes beyond naming specific privileges (McIntosh, 1988). Whites are theorized as actively shaped, affected, defined, and elevated through their racialization and the individual and collective consciousness formed within it ... Whiteness is thus conceptualized as a constellation of processes and practices rather than as a discrete entity (i.e. skin color alone). Whiteness is dynamic, relational, and operating at all times and on myriad levels. These processes and practices include basic rights, values, beliefs, perspectives, and experiences purported to be commonly shared by all but which are actually only consistently afforded to white people (DiAngelo, 2011).

LEARNER ACTIVITIES

ACTIVITY 1

- Show learners the [*Dictionary of Races or Peoples*](#) published by the Immigration Commission of the United States in 1910 (Dillingham, 1911). Tell learners that the commission was created to study the effects of immigration on the United States. The commission perpetuated nativist/anti-immigrant beliefs, stigmatizing “new” immigrants as a threat to the health and well-being of the U.S. In particular, direct learners’ attention to pages 5 and 6, with “Comparative Classification of Immigrant Races or Peoples” and “Some Classifications of the Grand Divisions of Mankind.”

BECOMING A DEFENDER

Think about how you might develop a new approach to a cultural heritage celebration in your school or community that takes into account the following:

- Perspectives from your peers or peoples from the group being celebrated, who should decide what aspects of their culture they want to explore. Other members of the community will work to dispel any stereotypes that may currently exist.
- The past and current realities of the peoples being celebrated, keeping in mind the relationship of power to culture. For example, music and food are important expressions of culture, but they should not be the sole focus of a celebration; make sure not to neglect obstacles that groups may have faced. As part of planning the celebration, interview community members about their traditions and the impact those traditions have had on them.
- Invite community members who participate in local advocacy with and for these groups to speak about current issues that are affecting them.

Highlight what you’ve learned about the culture you’re celebrating through images, newsletter articles, and other media.

EXPANDING OPPORTUNITIES

- Play [this NPR interview with Matthew Frye Jacobson](#) about his book *Whiteness of a Different Color* (All Things Considered, 1998). Ask learners to discuss the social construction of “whiteness” and who was categorized as “free white persons.” Ask learners to discuss in their same pairs or small groups:
 - How did “whiteness” change over time? What led to certain groups being included or excluded from the classification of whiteness?
 - What power did a person have by being labelled as “white”?
- Conduct additional research as necessary; ask learners to discuss the prompts below in pairs, small groups, or as a full class:
 - Who decided these classifications and categorizations of race? Who gave this group of people the authority to do that?
 - Who or what inspired the search to classify humans in this way? What power does this give the people in different classifications?
- Show learners the video [“The Origin of Race in the USA”](#) (Origin Of Everything, 2018). In pairs, small groups, or as a full class, ask learners to respond to the following prompts:
 - What information from this video was new to you, or surprised you? Why do you think that is?
 - The video acknowledges that there was a shift in the 17th and 18th centuries in theories of race due to the rise of global capitalism (backed by slavery and colonialism) and the Enlightenment in Europe. Over time, how has capitalism created, amplified, or enshrined racism? How have colonialism and/or imperialistic actions impacted power and resources on the U.S. and/or global scale?
 - As the video contends, there has been a “recent revival of outdated theories of race being biologically determined and attached

EXPANDING OPPORTUNITIES

- Refer learners to “[Casting Off the Shadows of Slavery](#)” by Mumia Abu-Jamal, from *Abolition for the People*. Abu-Jamal writes: “[The Declaration] signed by such luminaries as Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Dr. Benjamin Rush, and John Adams included platitudes like ‘all men are created equal’ while dark men, propertyless white men, and all women were neither able to vote, nor receive votes for posts of political power. Indigenous people were seen as part of a distant ‘wilderness’ and not part of the nation that was being contemplated.” (Abu-Jamal, 2020; Kaepernick Publishing, 2021)
- In small groups, as a class, or as a private journaling activity, ask learners to consider:
 - How does this information compare or contrast with the narrative you may have heard of the “Founding Fathers” and of the founding of the U.S.?
 - What do you know about the 19th-century abolitionists? Though the Universal Declaration of Human Rights hadn’t yet been established, what human rights were these individuals defending? Refer to the [Universal Declaration of Human Rights](#) and international human rights frameworks. (United Nations, 1948)

to certain traits.” This type of scientific racism relies on flawed social studies to enhance white supremacy. What are the consequences when scientists and politicians are influenced by untrue and unverified social ideas? How do these theories continue to impact the lived experiences of individuals today?

- The video also demonstrates that people today generally have more opportunities to identify and celebrate their ethnic history than eras in the past. How do you celebrate your family, country or culture of origin, and heritage?

ACTIVITY 2

- Verbally share the phrase “History is written by the victors” or write it on the board/virtual board or a PowerPoint slide. Ask learners if they have ever heard the phrase and what they think it means. Learners may journal or respond in small groups or to the full class.
- Then, verbally share or write this quote: “History is the fruit of power, but power itself is never so transparent that its analysis becomes superfluous. The ultimate mark of power may be its invisibility; the ultimate challenge, the exposition of its roots.” (*Silencing the Past*, Michel-Rolph Trouillot, 1995.) Ask learners to respond to the quote and consider the following questions:
 - In your opinion, what perspectives and historical narratives are emphasized in schools?
 - How does this quote connect to the idea of the “master narrative” that Takaki presented?
- Tell learners that a “dominant narrative” or “master narrative” is used as a tool within culture to maintain current social order. Those with more power in society are more likely to agree with, promote, and reinforce the “master narrative.” They are the dominant social narratives and myths that contribute to the erasure or neutralization of counter-narratives (often those of the social or cultural groups that lack dominant power), and impact how we perceive our surroundings and experiences.
- Ask learners to journal and reflect upon what “master narratives” may have been enforced by

BECOMING A DEFENDER

Define your own story! What is a story from your personal life or learned history that you believe is essential to your identity?

Write your story as a monologue in the form of a TED Talk or spoken word piece. Host a school or community event to share your class’ stories with community members. Alternatively, illustrate your story and hang it in the classroom with other people’s stories to create a mural of your identities and experiences.

BECOMING A DEFENDER

On your own or with a group, choose a section from a history textbook used in your school to analyze through the lens of a counter-narrative. As you read the selection, look for the following:

- **Stereotypes:** An oversimplified or untrue representation of a group that represents prejudiced attitudes. This might include descriptors such as “primitive,” “barbaric,” or “uncivilized.”
- **“Western civilization” or white supremacy:** Representation of groups who are not European in origin as “undeveloped,” in need of help, fetishized, or inferior.
- **Renaming or lack of acknowledgment/cultural genocide:** The replacement of Indigenous names of practices, places, or people with Eurocentric versions.
- **Images:** Positioning of “good” and “bad” people/cultures that seek to classify an entire group, or fail to recognize multiplicities of identities.

After you’ve had a chance to do some research, record your results in a paragraph format or through visual representation. Think about these questions:

- What feelings are coming up for you as you identify these narratives and stereotypes?
- How can we repair inaccurate or incomplete narratives to redress history?
- How can we uplift narratives that might not be the “master” or dominant narrative?

Present your analysis to your school administration or school board as evidence where current curricula may be lacking accurate history. Petition to have these sources removed or reshaped.

the education they have received. If learners are having trouble thinking of answers, suggest the following ideas:

- “The United States was settled by European immigrants.”
- The “master narrative” of “the American Dream.”
- Show learners the video of the 2009 TED Talk [“The Danger of a Single Story”](#) by Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie.
- Ask learners to discuss the following prompts in pairs, small groups, or as a full class:
 - What result might the embedded stereotypes within a “single story” or “master narrative” have on structural and/or interpersonal relations? How might they affect the ways people view themselves and others?
 - Have you ever felt like a “single story” has been told about you? How did this make you feel?

- Do you feel like you have ever helped promote or told a “single story” or “master narrative”? What was it, and what could you have done differently to frame the counter-narrative?

ACTIVITY 3

- Tell learners that “master narratives” have existed throughout history, and that it is important to repair the narratives and affirm the experiences of individuals whose stories might not have been shared.
- Using a polling website or handout, present learners with the options “Strongly agree,” “Agree,” “Disagree,” and “Strongly disagree” in response to the following statements:
 - Everyone should have the right to determine their destiny.
 - Everyone should have the right to the opportunity for employment.

- Every community and culture should be protected.
- Everyone should have the right to shelter.
- Everyone should have the right to education (including accurate information about one's history).
- Everyone should have the right to choose if they want to participate in the military.
- Everyone should have the right to freedom from torture, brutality, and murder.
- Everyone should have the right to freedom.
- Everyone should have the right to a free and fair trial by a jury of understanding community members and peers.
- Everyone should have the right to land, food, housing, education, clothing, justice, and peace.
- Discuss trends in their answers.
- Show learners that these statements are based on the [Black Panthers' Ten Point Program](#). (Black Panthers, 1966)
- Ask learners to compare and contrast the Panthers' Ten Point Program with the [Universal Declaration of Human Rights](#). (United Nations, 1948)
- Learners should present their analysis to the class verbally or using a chart to note similarities and differences. After learners present, ask them these questions:
 - Do you think the rights outlined in these frameworks have been actualized in society?
 - Do any of these frameworks have limitations or failings?
 - Do you feel like any of these rights frameworks apply equally to all peoples? Why or why not?
 - Do you feel like you know your legal and human rights? What happens if you do not know your rights?
- Tell learners that they will momentarily focus on Point 5 of the Black Panthers' Ten Point Program, "We Want Education for Our People That Exposes The True Nature Of This Decadent American Society. We Want Education That Teaches Us Our True History And Our Role in the Present-Day Society." (Correlating to UDHR Article 26.)

EXPANDING OPPORTUNITIES

During the 1970s, the majority of the Black Panther Party was made up of women, many of whom led and carried out the party's public activities, including the community survival programs. Ask learners to research more about the women of the Black Panther Party. What were their names, and what roles did they play? Consider the relationships of gender and race inside the party, and in terms of how we learn about the Black Panther Party's work. Learners can then share what they have learned with the full class.

Share the article "[Black Panther Party women honored in West Oakland mural by Rachel Wolfe-Goldsmith](#)" (Tyska, 2021). Ask learners how they might celebrate the stories of the women of the Black Panther Party and their activism. Create a mural or collective piece of art as a class that recognizes and celebrates the human rights these women defended.

BECOMING A DEFENDER

Consider your school or another community of which you are a part, and develop your own Five Point Program. These five points should include the human rights and core values upon which your community is built.

After you establish the five points, create a pamphlet [in the style of Emory Douglas](#) to promote your program and values in your community. Douglas joined the Black Panther Party in 1967 and became a revolutionary artist and the Party's Minister of Culture, designing the official newspaper of the Panthers and imagery for the Ten Point Program and community survival programs. He used art as a tool for activism, outreach, and human rights by designing postcards, flyers, and posters to recruit members to the party and spread awareness of their causes. For reference, show [examples of the work of Douglas](#) (Close, 2020).

EXPANDING OPPORTUNITIES

- In pairs, small groups, or as a class, ask learners to examine the “master narrative” surrounding the Black Panthers during the 1960s, and as it currently stands in their textbooks.
 - Ask learners to research COINTELPRO and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover’s claim that the Black Panthers represented the [“greatest threat...to internal security of the country”](#) (Desert Sun, 1969).
 - In pairs, small groups, or as a full class, ask learners to discuss the following prompts:
 - It was revealed that Hoover had targeted the Black Panther Party because of its Free Breakfast for Schoolchildren Program, which he felt would show the Panthers [“in a favorable light and \[cloud\] the violent nature of the group and its ultimate aim of insurrection”](#) (Kifner, 1976). Why would Hoover consider showing the Black Panthers “in a favorable light” to be problematic? What potential outcomes of the breakfast program might Hoover not have wanted?
 - The Free Breakfast for Schoolchildren Program would later inspire changes to the Child Nutrition Act of 1966 and be used as a model for the U.S. School Breakfast Program, which was institutionalized in 1975. Discuss the racialized connotations associated with these programs, as well as the uncompensated labor and uncredited ideas (both now and then).
 - Show learners excerpts of the full video of this [Ericka C. Huggins oral history interview](#) (Huggins, 2016). In particular, consider showing the following segments:
 - 00:00:00 - 00:21:10 - Huggins’ experience learning about her family’s history and educational inequity in her childhood.
 - 00:21:11 - 00:41:29 - Huggins’ experience in college, inspiration at the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, and transition to Lincoln University.
 - 00:44:34 - 00:51:43 - Huggins’ introduction to the Black Panther Party and community survival programs.
 - 01:38:42 - 01:44:18 - Huggins’ description of the Oakland Community School, and the emphasis on critical thinking and reflection in education.
 - Provide learners with the following prompts for full class discussion:
 - What parts of the interview resonated with you most?
 - How does Ericka Huggins describe her experience learning and teaching history?
 - How does Ericka Huggins describe the Black Panther Party’s actions around community care and service?
 - Ask learners what narratives they have received, if any, about the Black Panthers in their own education and/or from media and society. If learners are unfamiliar with the Black Panther Party, ask them to examine a textbook or news source to analyze what narratives have been promoted about the Black Panthers.
 - Emphasize that learners should examine the Black Panthers’ community survival programs. Ask them to research one or more of the community survival programs, recording their results in written format or through artistic media to present to the class. If learners are having trouble, refer them to one of the programs within [“The Black Panther Party Service to the People Programs”](#) (Hilliard, 2008). Ask learners to align these programs with the universal human rights that the Black Panthers actively worked to protect, promote, or defend. (For example, the Free Breakfast for Schoolchildren Program promotes UDHR Article 25, the right to a standard of living, including food and necessary social services, and Article 26, the right to education.)
-

ACTIVITY 4

- Refer learners back to their alignment of the Black Panther Party’s Ten Point Program to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a global human rights framework.

- Ask learners to write their names at the top of a page, then write or draw responses to the following prompts:
 - What do you value about the global community?
 - How do you think about your life in terms of the global community?
 - When harm occurs in the global community, what is your responsibility?
- If they have not already, help learners make the connection that when harm occurs, we must formally acknowledge that harm.
- Introduce learners to [“We Charge Genocide,”](#) a petition to the United Nations in 1951 organized by the Civil Rights Congress (Civil Rights Congress, 1951). If time permits, ask learners to read the full petition. For a historical summary, provide learners with the reading [“W.E.B. Du Bois’s Historic U.N. Petition Continues to Inspire Human Rights Advocacy”](#) (Dakwar, 2017).
- Acknowledge that by the United Nations’ definition from the Convention on the Prevention of Genocide and Harm in 1951, “genocide” means: “any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: (a) Killing members of the group; (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.” (United Nations, 1951)
- As a full class, discuss the following questions:
 - The 1951 petition marked the first time in history that the United States had been charged with the crime of genocide for the crimes committed against Black people. How does this relate to the treatment of Indigenous groups by those who colonized what is now known by many as the U.S.?
 - The petition not only covers violence, degradation, and killings on the basis of race and origin, but also involves “economic genocide” and “emasculatation of democracy.” What do these terms mean, and what human rights do they impact? Consider the “conditions of life.” Why might “emasculatation” have been the terminology used to describe democracy, and what gendered connotations does that carry?
- The petitioners recognized that they protested the genocide “as Americans, as patriots” because they knew “no American [can] be truly free while 15,000,000 other Americans are persecuted on the grounds of ‘race’ [and] our country can never know true democracy while millions of its citizens are denied the vote on the basis of their color.” Consider this in the context of today. What is the status of these human rights now, and how are people defending them?
- By the United Nations definition, human rights are supposed to be inherent to all human beings, regardless of race, sex, nationality, ethnicity, language, religion, or other status. As stated in the petition, what does it mean in the context of human rights when one’s humanity is denied?
- Tell learners that Malcolm X went to the United Nations in 1964 to again try to internationalize and “expand the civil-rights struggle to the level of human rights.”
- Show learners the video [“Malcolm X: We Must Bring the U.S. to the United Nations,”](#) and/or share [Malcolm X’s speech to the Organization of African Unity](#) (Malcolm X, 1964, 1965).
- Ask learners to identify quotes from the videos and speech that reference human rights ideals. They could include:
 - *“There’ll be no peace on this earth as long as our human rights are being violated in America. Then the world will have to step in and try and see that our human rights are respected and recognized.”*
 - *“[O]ur problem is your problem. It is not a [Black] problem, nor an American problem. This is a world problem; a problem for humanity. It is not a problem of civil rights but a problem of human rights.”*
- For further background, encourage learners to read [“Guilty as Charged: Malcolm X and His Vision of Racial Justice for African Americans Through Utilization of the United Nations International Human Rights Provisions and Institutions”](#) (Nier III, 1977).

- Ask learners to discuss the following prompts in pairs or small groups (engaging in further research as necessary):
 - How did the political philosophies and tactics of Malcolm X differ from those who petitioned “We Charge Genocide”?
 - What human rights did Malcolm X and the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) call upon the UN to address?
 - How did Malcolm X consider the collective global community connected through the African Diaspora? What impact did this global relationship have?
- Tell learners that they will be engaging in a role-playing activity. Divide them into two groups. One group will act as members of the UN Commission on Human Rights in charge of investigating and addressing the human rights violations brought forth by both the “We Charge Genocide” petition and Malcolm X. The other group will act as UN representatives from the United States. Each group should put forth an action plan based on these prompts:
 - For the UN Commission on Human Rights: What human rights do you believe the United States violated? What measures should you take to hold the U.S. accountable for repairing these human rights violations? What precedents exist in the global community for genocide and racism that impact these measures?
 - For UN representatives from the U.S.: Recognizing the petitions to the UN, what human rights do you believe the United States violated? What will the U.S. do to repair the human rights violations that harm caused? How will you ensure that the human rights of Black Americans are no longer violated, and who will be responsible for holding the country accountable? What kind of message do you want to send to the global community?
- After the two groups have developed their action plans, ask learners to present their position to the other group. Allow them to debate their positions and collaborate until they develop a mutual action plan that considers the needs of and reparations to be provided to Black Americans.

BECOMING A DEFENDER

Join a local chapter of the [United Nations Association of the USA](#), or write a detailed letter to the United Nations to advocate that the [UN Human Rights Council](#) take further action to acknowledge, make reparations, or engage in reconciliation to counteract systemic racism on a global scale.

CULMINATING DISCUSSION

- After they learn about the actions taken to the United Nations for Black liberation in the 1950s and 1960s, ask learners to read the articles [“A Plan to Take the George Floyd Case to the U.N. Highlights a Decades-Old Tension Between Civil Rights and Human Rights”](#) (Coleman, 2020) and [“U.N. to Form Panel to Investigate Systemic Racism in Policing”](#) (Cumming-Bruce, 2021).
- Ask learners to compare the UN Human Rights Council inquiry into racism after the murder of George Floyd in the context of the petitions studied in the preceding activities. In small groups or as a full class, ask learners to discuss:
 - At each point in history when the UN was petitioned, what progress (if any) was made? What metrics should we use to assess progress?
 - How should the U.S. begin to take accountability for its part in anti-Black racism? What is the role of the global community in demanding action and accountability?
 - What is the significance of aligning the Civil Rights Congress, Malcolm X, and others to the UN’s global human rights framework?

DAY 3: ABOLITIONIST IMAGININGS

“The prison therefore functions ideologically as an abstract site into which undesirables are deposited, relieving us of the responsibility of thinking about the real issues afflicting those communities from which prisoners are drawn in such disproportionate numbers. This is the ideological work that the prison performs—it relieves us of the responsibility of seriously engaging with the problems of our society, especially those produced by racism and, increasingly, global capitalism.”

—ANGELA Y. DAVIS, *ARE PRISONS OBSOLETE?* (2003)

ANTICIPATORY SET

- Welcome learners back into the community space. Check in to hear what they are thinking and how they are feeling. Ask if they would like to make any additions to Community Agreements, and summarize the activities and lessons learned from Days 1 and 2.
- Next, write the word “abolition” on the board/ virtual board and ask learners to define it and/ or to call out words/thoughts that come to mind when they see and hear it. Record their answers on the board or on a shared virtual sheet for the full class to see.

NOTE TO EDUCATORS

The goal of this day is to provide learners with resources to understand the institutions and practice of policing by touching on slave patrols, the police, slave codes, Black codes, the convict leasing system, and the prison industrial complex, and by also contextualizing the embedded history and continuation of anti-Black racism.

“Radical simply means ‘grasping things at the root.’” –Angela Davis

Rootwork is a traditional form of healing where the root that is causing harm must be removed. The root work for this day is imagining/dreaming of a society outside of the existing systems of oppression, thus outside of racial capitalism and the prison industrial complex, a term we use to describe the overlapping interests of government and industry that use surveillance, policing, and imprisonment as solutions to economic, social and political problems (Critical Resistance). This is an opportunity to redefine labor outside of the structures our society takes for granted and understands as “normal,” and instead as acts of love and resistance that serve as the foundation of abolition.

LEARNER ACTIVITIES

ACTIVITY 1

- Begin by having learners focus on the realities of policing and its inherent violence. Provide groundwork by discussing the history of policing and the evolution of the current policing system using [“From Slave Patrols to Today: What the History of Policing Teaches Us About the Present”](#) (NBCLX, 2020).
- Challenge yourself and other learners to contextualize the roots of policing and slave

patrols in racial capitalism/anti-Black racism by asking learners to read the article [“The True History of America’s Private Prison Industry”](#) (Bauer, 2018) and [“No Easy End to Prison Profiteering”](#) (Petrella, 2016). Tell learners that capitalism is recognized as both an economic and political system that involves private ownership (rather than state ownership) of profits. Since capitalism is focused on maximizing profits, this systemically divides workers and utilizes (often uncompensated) labor of communities. Show learners the [Prison Industrial Complex Concentric Circle](#) (Critical Resistance, 1998). Ask them to reflect on the following questions in pairs, small groups, or as a full class:

- When and why did prisons become private?
- Who benefits from private prisons?
- How do private prisons expand and extend the state's capacity to inflict harm?



(Critical Resistance, 1998)

Graphic can also be seen [here](#).

EXPANDING OPPORTUNITIES

In pairs, small groups, or as a full class, ask learners to investigate and challenge the purpose of prisons using anecdotes from people who were incarcerated at the time of the 1971 Attica Rebellion. Provide learners with the video and transcription of Tyrone Larkins for reference (Goodman 2021).

Emphasize to learners that the purpose of this activity is to humanize those whose identities have been reduced to their criminalization and the identity of “prisoner.” This is also an opportunity to affirm the importance and necessity of storytelling, as many references to the Attica prison rebellion discuss the guards and their families, not the formerly incarcerated people who were challenging and resisting the ways that they were being treated.

NOTE TO EDUCATORS

This activity aims to explain that reform tries to make the prison industrial complex “better,” whereas abolition tries to get rid of it.

ACTIVITY 2

- Start this activity by displaying the following quote on the board/virtual board or a PowerPoint slide: “Importantly, we must reject all talk about policing and the overall criminal punishment system being ‘broken’ or ‘not working.’ By rhetorically constructing the criminal punishment system as ‘broken,’ reform is reaffirmed and abolition is painted as unrealistic and unworkable.” –Mariame Kaba, *We Do This ’Til We Free Us: Abolitionist Organizing and Transforming Justice* (2021)
- Ask learners to discuss what they think Kaba means when she says “we must reject all talk about policing and the overall criminal punishment system being ‘broken’ or ‘not working.’”

- Next, in pairs, small groups, or as a full class have learners identify differences between reform/being a reformist and abolition/being an abolitionist using the resource [Reformist reforms vs. abolitionist steps in policing](#) (Critical Resistance, 2015). Emphasize that learners should pay attention to both the words and the graphics used.
- After learners have had time to discuss the resource among themselves (10 to 15 minutes), bring them back to the full group to discuss their findings.
- At the end of this activity, inform learners that one of the defining differences between reform and abolition relates to strategy and long-term vision. Tell them that both concepts depend on what you want the result of your work to be. Reform aims to keep the same systems and institutions in place. For example, a reformist might see an imprisoned person's conditions and demand nicer or newer prison cells. This might seem like "progress," but in the long term this will only serve to strengthen the prison industrial complex and perceived legitimacy because conditions will be seen as livable. Abolition aims to eliminate these systems and institutions entirely by getting rid of prisons and building safer and stronger communities.

ACTIVITY 3

- Share the piece ["So You're Thinking About Becoming an Abolitionist,"](#) and ask learners to use the article to define these terms in small groups (*Abolition for the People*, Kaepernick Publishing, 2021).
 - Logics of oppression
 - Transformative justice
 - Abolitionist imagination
- After learners have had the opportunity to come up with their own definitions for the terms, assign each group a "step" to abolition:
 - Right to organize: Changes in laws and regulations that allow incarcerated people

BECOMING A DEFENDER

Identify a rule in your school, classroom, or community to which you can apply transformative justice. Present the rule and recommendations for transformative practice to others in your community whom you trust. Think about how certain policies may disproportionately affect various groups in the community.

NOTE TO EDUCATORS

Each "step" of abolition relates to different needs and issues that must be addressed in order for the prison industrial complex to be dismantled.

- The **RIGHT TO ORGANIZE** empowers imprisoned people to demand that their current living conditions be changed (i.e. by adding nutritious food, new books, and technology). It also empowers imprisoned people to demand access to resources that help them to understand and reconcile harm that has occurred. Ask the group to come up with a strategy to help incarcerated people to organize. (Reference: Attica Prison Liberation Faction, Manifesto of Demands, 1971.)
- **QUALITY OF LIFE** demands that the society at large restructure social activities and programs to improve people's opportunities and access to life. Ask learners to discuss a strategy that improves the opportunity for one of the aspects listed above.
- **PRESERVATION OF LIFE** calls for the creation of health care and community care systems that prevent people from engaging in punitive systems.
- **PRISON POPULATION REDUCTION** is the transition of people out of prisons and the decriminalization of many behaviors (i.e. drug use).
- **ALTERNATIVE PRACTICE** demands that people imagine what comes after the abolition of prisons and policing (i.e. community circles).

to organize politically without the threat of further punishment.

- Quality of life: New or improved programs that provide better opportunities for education, therapy, drug and alcohol treatment, job training, art, athletics, and structured social activities.
- Preservation of life: Ending capital punishment and placing appropriate community and health care in place.
- Prison population reduction: Changes that reduce the number of imprisoned people through either decriminalization or reduced sentencing.
- Alternative practice: Replacing police, courts, and prisons with responses to harm that reduce or eliminate state (police) involvement.
- Using the terms they defined together, ask each group to design a strategy that uses transformative justice and imagination to work toward ending the death penalty and reintegrating people into society. Each group's strategy will address different aspects of the prison industrial complex and contribute toward the improvement of everyone's quality of life.

ACTIVITY 4

- Begin the activity by sharing that imagination is an important part of abolition and that this activity will help provide a deeper understanding of abolition, activism, and organizing when community building is discussed during Day 4.
- Tell learners that today they will have the opportunity to dream and to express themselves through poetry, prose, drawing, and/or through a class zine (a small, self-published work distributed via photocopies or and/or digital media). For this activity, learners will create a piece in response to the following questions:
 - What would everyday life look like for you without police/policing?

- What do you fear most about a world without police?
- What makes you feel safe?
- What would your school day look like without police, policing, or security guards?
- What would your neighborhood look like without police, policing, or security guards?

NOTE TO EDUCATORS

Incorporating art into the lesson is important because people should have the space and opportunity to express themselves in the way they feel most empowered. This is a reminder of the ways that “progressive art can assist people to learn not only about the objective forces at work in the society in which they live, but also about the intense social character of their interior lives. Ultimately, it can propel people toward social emancipation.” –Angela Davis, *For a People's Culture, For a People's Culture, Political Affairs* (1995)

BECOMING A DEFENDER

Think about this quote: “I want to be clear about this. If you wrote from experience, you'd get maybe one book, maybe three poems. Writers write from empathy.” –Nikki Giovanni, poet and educator.

Start a zine for your class or for your school, and collaborate with faculty to create one zine each semester. Gather ideas from classmates and/or community members about possible themes and offer everyone in the community an opportunity to contribute.

DAY 4: SOLIDARITY AND COMMUNITY BUILDING

“The Black radical tradition is related not simply to Black people, but to all who struggle for freedom...our histories never unfold in isolation.”

—ANGELA Y. DAVIS, *FREEDOM IS A CONSTANT STRUGGLE: FERGUSON, PALESTINE, AND THE FOUNDATIONS OF A MOVEMENT* (2016)

ANTICIPATORY SET

- Welcome learners back into the community space. Check in to hear what they are thinking and how they are feeling. Ask if they would like to build upon Community Agreements, and summarize the activities and lessons learned from Days 1, 2, and 3.
- As learners consider their Community Agreements, ask them what other general values they believe their community should be built upon. They may answer either “popcorn-style” in the class or in a virtual classroom chat, with words, such as “empathy” or “strategic,” or with phrases, such as “calling in” or “active listening.” Record any additions to the Community Agreements as they are presented.

LEARNER ACTIVITIES

ACTIVITY 1

- Display the words “solidarity” and “community” on the board/virtual board or on a PowerPoint slide. Ask learners to discuss as a full class what these words mean to them, and what connections and distinctions they see between their meanings. As learners discuss, record notes for everyone to see.
- Then, share the following quote from bell hooks: “Solidarity is not the same as support. To experience solidarity, we must have a community of interests, shared beliefs and goals around which to unite, to build Sisterhood. Support can be occasional. It can be given and just as easily withdrawn. Solidarity requires sustained, ongoing commitment” (hooks, 1984). Ask for learners’ opinions about this quote and whether it changes any parts of the definitions they have developed together.
- Ask learners if they have heard of the Rainbow Coalition. Show learners the videos [“From North to South: Chairman Fred Hampton and the original Rainbow Coalition”](#) (2021) and [“Bobby Lee - Black Panther Party”](#) (1969) to understand the formation of the Rainbow Coalition and view footage of their meetings. Ask learners to discuss the following prompts in pairs, small groups, or as a full class:
- What groups made up the Rainbow Coalition? Have you heard of these groups before? If not, why do you think that is?
- How did the Rainbow Coalition bring together people from different ethnic and racial backgrounds and lived experiences? What common values did group members share?
- What were some of the goals toward which members of the Rainbow Coalition were working?

ACTIVITY 2

- Write the following statement on the board/virtual board or a PowerPoint slide or verbally tell learners: Colin Kaepernick says that “we have to build with each other....It’s going to take all of us” to make systemic changes against oppression. (Baltimore KYRC Camp, 2019)
- Tell learners that if we all are going to dismantle systemic oppression and anti-Black racism, it is critical for us to be honest about where we are coming from, our differential access to power and privilege, and our lived experiences that give us perceived legitimacy.
- Emphasize to learners the possibility of multiracial space exemplified by the Rainbow Coalition.
- Ask learners to reflect on the following questions, adapted from [Southerners on New Ground](#) (2015), either in a journaling exercise, within pairs or small groups, or as a class:
 - What do you think are the roles of white and non-Black people in the movement for Black liberation? How do feminist, pro-poor, pro-Black, pro-the oppressed, pro-queer, and pro-trans politics inform what actions they can take?
 - What greater organizing work is needed in this time from white and non-Black people so that we as a society can move beyond just safety and survival and into leadership in the struggle for Black lives, Brown lives, immigrant lives, and LGBTQIA+ people of color?
 - What are the key fights in our time that white people can engage in to advance broad movement goals that confront and dismantle white supremacy and structural oppression? (Southerners on New Ground, 2021)
- Display the words “actor,” “ally,” “accomplice,” and “co-conspirator” on the board/virtual board or on a PowerPoint slide. Ask learners as a full class to define these words and make connections and recognize distinctions between them. As learners discuss, record notes on an online document or on the board for everyone to see.

- After learners have had an opportunity to develop their own definitions and share them with others, direct them to the definitions within www.whiteaccomplices.org/ and encourage them to explore the different campaigns and spaces in which they can practice these roles. Please note that on this website, the “accomplice” description is intertwined with the qualities of a co-conspirator.
- As learners are exploring the site, ask them to consider these questions:
 - How do you feel about these definitions?
 - Have they made you reconsider any actions you have taken or actions taken by the people in your life that were labeled as “activism”?

EXPANDING OPPORTUNITIES

Research white co-conspirators in the movement for Black liberation, including but not limited to, Marilyn Buck, Mab Segrest, and John Brown. When researching these individuals, ask learners to consider the following questions:

- What human rights were they defending?
 - What are the key issues that they engaged in? What were their tactics?
 - How do you believe these individuals viewed their roles in dismantling white supremacy and structural oppression?
 - How do you think their understanding of their own identities and positionality activated and informed their work?
 - How were/are they viewed by society?
- Watch the first 10 minutes of this [1995 Book-TV interview with bell hooks](#) as a class. After you have finished, discuss as a class the racism and white supremacy bell hooks mentioned. If learners are having trouble getting started, provide one or more of the following prompts:
 - In the interview, bell hooks starts by describing a racist incident that happened

BECOMING A DEFENDER

Pick a space from the White Accomplices website (“Your Protest,” “Your Money,” “Your Home,” etc.) that feels authentic to your lane of activism. Take stock of your current actions and where they fall in the Actor, Ally, or Accomplice spectrum, making adjustments to align with an approach that centers Black lives. Develop an action plan for yourself that considers these questions:

- What information, education, or knowledge do I need to inform my activism? How will I acquire it?
- What support, solidarity, or leadership will I need from my community to become more mindful in my activism? What support or solidarity can I offer others? How will I reach out to these people or groups?

Note: If you are a white learner, critically reflect on your motivations and your role in activist work so as to not center yourself and your comfort. Remind white learners that assuming Black peers are implicitly accessible and available to explain their experiences with “race” can actually do more harm, intended or not.

on a plane. Who caused harm? How many witnesses do you think there were, and how could they have intervened?

- bell hooks discusses polls that reveal that “white people believe Black people are genetically inferior.” What actions should be taken to dismantle this notion of scientific racism? At what level, and by whom?
- hooks mentions growing up in a “racial apartheid.” This terminology symbolizes racial segregation and is based on the formal policy of racial segregation in South Africa that resulted in political, social, and economic discrimination. What can we do if we are living in a “racial apartheid,” like hooks mentions? What information can we share with those who might experience “racial apartheid”?

EXPANDING OPPORTUNITIES

In the interview, bell hooks mentions the “killing rage” she felt. Explore the concept of “Black rage” as depicted by society and then named by psychiatrists Price M. Cobbs and William H. Grier.

Share and listen to Lauryn Hill’s 2014 song [“Black Rage,”](#) a song Hill created in the aftermath of the murder of Michael Brown and following the uprising in Ferguson, Mo. (Hill, 2014). Discuss the validity of passion and important use of rage for social change as described by hooks.

- What do you think of bell hooks’ description of growing up and the people she knew in Kentucky? How does this connect to accompliceship and anti-racism?
- Bring learners’ attention to bell hooks’ use of the term “white supremacy” instead of racism: “I prefer that term to racism because it implies that all of us, no matter our color, can hold white supremacist attitudes. And for people who don’t understand that, I try to explain white supremacist attitudes can be just the belief all Black people are lazy. I mean, there are a lot of Black people out there saying, ‘Well, Black people are lazy.’ So the notion of inferior superior thinking around race isn’t just something white people hold. All of us are socialized into white supremacist attitudes. And so when I wrote this book, I was thinking about all of us as being accountable for racism and white supremacy, not simply white people, not simply Black people, but all of us who live in this nation and who are socialized into certain belief systems around race.” (hooks, 1995)
- Ask learners to journal or discuss in pairs, “What is the relationship between white supremacy and anti-Blackness?” After they have had a chance to reflect, share the following definitions with them:
 - **WHITE SUPREMACY:** The idea (ideology) that white people and the ideas, thoughts, beliefs,

BECOMING A DEFENDER

Engage in positive affirmations and valuation of yourself and/or your Black friends and family. Acknowledge your privilege where necessary and apologize for any harm that may have been generated from a place of white supremacy regarding standards of appearance.

Create a music playlist or write your own song or poem about the need for radical self-love. For reference:

- [“Say It Loud, I’m Black and I’m Proud” by James Brown](#) (1968)
- [“Colorism” Spoken Word by Cedric Dale Hoard](#) (2016)
- [“Black Girl Magik” by Sampa The Great feat. Nicole Gumbe](#) (2018)

and actions of white people are superior to communities of Black, Indigenous, and People of Color, and their ideas, thoughts, beliefs, and actions. While most people associate white supremacy with extremist groups like the Ku Klux Klan and the neo-Nazis, white supremacy is ever present in our institutional and cultural assumptions that assign value, morality, goodness, and humanity to the white group while casting Black, Indigenous, and People of Color as worthless (worth less), immoral, bad, and inhuman and “undeserving.” Drawing from critical race theory, the term “white supremacy” also refers to a political or socio-economic system where white people enjoy structural advantage and rights that other racial and ethnic groups do not, both at a collective and an individual level. (dRworks, 2021)

- **ANTI-BLACKNESS:** The Council for Democratizing Education defines anti-Blackness as being a two-part formation that both voids Blackness of value, while systematically marginalizing Black people and their issues. The first form of anti-Blackness is overt racism. Beneath this

anti-Black racism is the covert structural and systemic racism which categorically predetermines the socioeconomic status of Blacks in this country. The structure is held in place by anti-Black policies, institutions, and ideologies. The second form of anti-Blackness is the unethical disregard for anti-Black institutions and policies. This disregard is the product of class, race, and/or gender privilege certain individuals experience due to anti-Black institutions and policies. This form of anti-Blackness is protected by the first form of overt racism. (The Movement for Black Lives)

- Ask learners to think about bell hooks’ statement that “all of us are socialized into white supremacist attitudes.” In their journals, ask them to write whether they believe Black people can demonstrate anti-Blackness and why they feel that way. Provide five to 10 minutes for journaling and reflection.
- After learners have completed their reflections, share the article [“The Skin I’m In: What Colorism Means for Psychological Healing”](#) with them (Flanigan and Talbert, 2021). After they have finished reading the piece, ask them to discuss the following prompts in pairs, small groups, or as a full class:
 - How was/is colorism socially constructed?
 - How is colorism linked to history and colonization?
 - How do you feel about the effects of colorism today that the article mentions?
- Emphasize to learners that as individuals, allies, accomplices, and co-conspirators, we have a responsibility to act when we see anti-Black racism or harm happen within our communities. Remind learners that sometimes our friends and allies may be unaware of the harm they have caused, or that they may have caused harm by their inaction.
- Ask learners if they have ever witnessed someone being “called out” for something offensive or harmful they said or did. If learners are having trouble getting started, provide the following prompts for small group or full class discussion:

- How did the person who was responsible for the harm respond?
- Do you believe the person learned from the experience and will change their behavior in the future? Why or why not?
- Show the [2021 TED Talk by Loretta J. Ross: “Don’t Call people out—call them in.”](#) Ask learners, “After watching the TED Talk, how might you respond to someone when harm occurs? How do you believe this method of response will impact your community?”

BECOMING A DEFENDER

It is everyone’s responsibility to create healthy communities and environments that lead to systemic change. Use Creative Interventions’ 2012 model of the “Staircase of Accountability” to discuss steps for intervention that you can carry out if you are a bystander to harm. Remember that different situations might require different steps and actions as we work to hold ourselves and others accountable.



(Creative Interventions, 2012)

Apply the Staircase model to a situation in which you have witnessed or experienced anti-Black racism or harm. What could you have done differently? How will you be prepared if a similar situation arises?

ACTIVITY 3

- Ask learners to think about a person or group they admire as a “leader,” write that person or group’s name in the center of a piece of paper, and then around the name, write down the qualities that make them a leader. If learners are having a difficult time, encourage them to view the [Speak Truth to Power defenders](#). Examples of words to include might be “honest” or “humble,” or phrases like “gathers facts” or “unites people.” After learners have developed their charts, ask for several volunteers to share out.
- Next, ask the learners to reflect on ways the qualities of their leaders relate to the values they developed for their communities. Note any similarities or potential differences.
- Ask learners to read [“Ella Taught Me: Shattering the Myth of the Leaderless Movement”](#) (Ransby, 2015). Based on the article, ask learners to discuss in pairs, small groups, or as a full class if they believe movements require leaders and why they feel that way.
- Share this quote from Ella Baker: “In our culture, the charismatic leader usually becomes a leader because he has found a spot in the public limelight.” Ask learners to respond with their opinions. Ask them if there are any downsides to this mode of leadership and whether it might leave out anyone.
- Remind learners that members of the Rainbow Coalition practiced collaborative leadership instead of nominating a single group leader. Their coalition functioned successfully because they made decisions democratically and enforced the idea that everyone was equal.
- Affirm that your learners all have unique and individual strengths that give them leadership abilities. Reinforce the idea that they can use these unique skills to collectively work together, strengthen one another, build consensus, and create social change rooted in the core values they created together.

- Divide learners into small groups. Using flip charts, paper, or online sheets, ask them what short-term and long-term actions they can take as a collective to support everyone and sustain their community together. Groups should consider:
 - Physical, mental, emotional, or spiritual support to be provided.
 - Immediate actions they can take as a class or community to support one another.
 - Steps to hold each other accountable.
- Emphasize to learners that these steps offer them mutual support.
- Ask learners if they have heard of the term “mutual aid.” After learners have had a chance to weigh in, share the following definition: “Mutual aid is cooperation for the sake of the common good. It’s getting people to come together to meet each other’s needs, recognizing that as humans, our survival is dependent on one another.” ([Kaba and Ocasio-Cortez, 2020](#))
- Share the video [“What is Mutual Aid? \(Classroom Version\)”](#) and the diagram below with learners as an example rooted in the COVID-19 context (Spade and Carrillo, 2021). Ask them to consider these steps within the community action they discussed for each other and the causes they care about.



ACTIVITY 4

- Begin with a 5-10 minute class discussion where learners answer the following questions:
 - What is activism?
 - What is organizing?
 - What do they have in common? What makes them different?
 - What are the purposes of activism and organizing?
 - Who gets to be an activist?
 - Who gets to be an organizer?
- After learners have had the opportunity to share their perspectives, share the article [“Organizing versus Activism”](#) and ask them to reflect on their answers. (Organizing Work, 2018)
- Tell learners that many people can take action in their daily lives and be activists for both their own communities and others. Activism entails advocating for social issues in various ways. Organizing, on the other hand, is a skill that must be learned and requires strategy-building in order to create long-term power that eventually can disrupt an oppressive system.
- Share the chart below that provides a visual representation of different types of community organizing. Tell learners that there are many different types, but that this is a general overview of the various long-term goals of community organizing.

3 General Types of
Community Organizing

Type	Orientation	Goal
Community development	process oriented	aim of developing group identity
Social planning	task oriented	goal of problem solving
*Social action	process and task oriented; grassroots based; conflict oriented	increase community capacity and solve problems; concrete change to social injustice (policy change)

EXPANDING OPPORTUNITIES

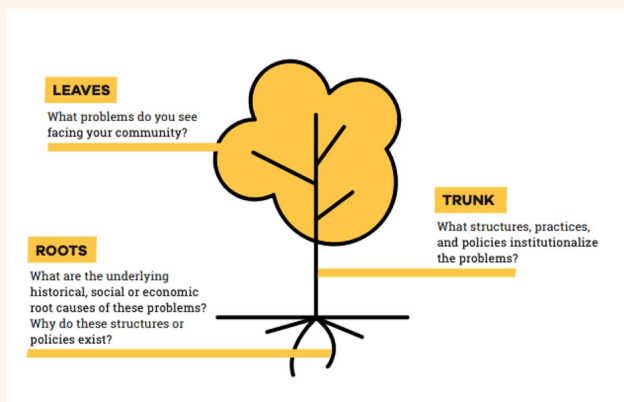
If learners hadn't previously understood that there might be a distinction between activism and organizing, ask them to reflect on why that is. Ask learners:

- Do you believe people use these terms interchangeably? Why?
- Is our understanding of activism and organizing oversimplified? Do you believe social media/hashtag activism has played a role in this?

ACTIVITY 5

- Begin by sharing with learners the difference between a campaign and a movement. Provide the following statements by Advocates for Youth (2019) on the board/virtual board or on a PowerPoint slide:
 - A campaign is a course of action aimed at a defined target to achieve a specific goal, such as eliminating segregated schools.
 - A movement is typically made up of many campaigns to achieve larger goals, such as ending systemic racism.
- Divide learners into pairs or small groups. Ask them to identify a movement that has inspired and/or moved them to take action in some way. If they are having trouble thinking of movements, provide examples like Black Lives Matter, the civil rights movement, the movement for prison abolition, etc. Ask learners to reflect on what it is about the movement that inspires them. In pairs or through journaling, learners may discuss which of these factors appeals to them:
 - Their vision and/or messaging
 - Their demands and/or goals
 - Their strategy
 - Their story and/or a storytelling aspect
 - Their artistry
 - Their leaders

- After learners have reflected on these factors, discuss tactics and strategies for organizing and community building. First, tell learners to craft a clear vision of the world they want to live in and create. Here, they should incorporate some of the dream work they practiced on Day 3. They should brainstorm and write or draw words or symbols that represent their vision. Provide the following prompts for learners to consider:
 - Think of an issue you want to address or solve. Are there communities that feel the same way?
 - What can you do or demand that would solve the issue?
 - Will these actions help to bring about structural change?
- Show learners the Tree of Power from Advocates for Youth (2019).



- Tell learners that they can use the Tree of Power to help them understand issues and their underlying causes. The leaves represent the most visible part of the tree; they are the easily identifiable problems. The trunk represents the structure and cultural forces that hold the leaves up; these are the policies and practices that reinforce the problem. The roots represent the underlying causes of the problems, also known as the “-isms” (i.e. racism, sexism, classism, ableism, etc.).
- Ask learners to apply the Tree of Power to a problem they want to solve in order to create

their vision for the world. Learners may share their brainstorming and visioning in pairs.

- After learners have created a clear vision using the Tree of Power, ask them to complete lists for the following in order to create a campaign to address their problem:
 - **DEMANDS ASSOCIATED WITH THEIR CAMPAIGN.** These demands should be measurable, attainable, and realistic.
 - **PRIMARY AND SECONDARY TARGET GOALS.**
 - **RESOURCES THEY HAVE AND NEED.**
 - **COMMUNITY MEMBERS WHO CAN SUPPORT THE CAMPAIGN.** Recruiting and creating community are important aspects of a successful human rights and social justice campaign. It is important that a campaign/group be able to evoke authentic emotions, instill hope, and have a call to action for members of the community.
 - **TACTICS FOR GETTING ACROSS THE MESSAGE AND STRATEGY FOR THE CAMPAIGN.** Tactics are essentially courses of action a group takes to ensure that their demands are met. These may include artistic media, conferences, infographics, digital media, marches, mass texts/alerts, petitions, press releases/reports, public hearings, negotiations, rallies, sit-ins, and strikes. Tell learners that their tactics should use the community’s power and capacity to then build more power. Any events or activities should consider accessibility needs of all community members. For example, are translation services or sign language interpreters needed? Are events being held at accessible locations (with ramps, etc.)?
- Tell learners that before moving forward with a campaign, it is important to build a “power map,” which identifies the institution or people

NOTE TO EDUCATORS

This is a great exercise for clarifying and guiding a campaign’s demands.

who can enact change. If learners need an example to get started, steer them to [Impact Justice's Resource Guide to Power Mapping](#) (Impact Justice, 2019).

- Learners should also craft 3-5 campaign messages that include the core values and ideas of their campaign (that is, the messages they want people to remember). Tell learners that although branding is not necessary for this activity, they may consider using social media to amplify any campaign. Branding could involve the use of artwork and other visuals to help establish a recognizable and longer-lasting presence or message.

BECOMING A DEFENDER

Using campaign building tools and strategies, create a campaign for your community. Here are some possibilities:

- A rapid response fund and/or a mutual aid campaign to address situations affecting members of your community locally and globally (i.e. providing aid for Haitian immigrants and refugees).
- A teach-in at a community center, local library, or park on topics related to human rights, social justice, and activism.
- A community-based action such as installing community refrigerators and mobile markets, helping to create accessible transportation in your neighborhood, or registering voters for your local elections.
- A social media campaign to spread awareness of and resources related to issues in your community.

TEACHER TIP

Encourage learners to connect their messaging to a personal story or a story from popular culture. Storytelling is a highly effective and personal way of sharing information about a campaign. Learners could share their own stories, the story of their group, or the story of their campaign.

To craft a story, tell learners to begin by introducing the people who are central to their campaign, and their aspirations and dreams. Next, they should talk about the obstacles and the problem the campaign aims to address. Learners may end by sharing how this problem shaped or altered the life of the people central to the campaign.

Emphasize that before sharing someone else's story, it is always critical to get their explicit consent.

DAY 5: RESTORATIVE JUSTICE AND HEALING JUSTICE

“It took many years of vomiting up all the filth I’d been taught about myself, and half-believed, before I was able to walk on the earth as though I had a right to be here.”

—JAMES BALDWIN

ANTICIPATORY SET

- Welcome learners back into the community space. Check in to hear what they are thinking and how they are feeling. Ask them if they would like to build upon Community Agreements, and summarize the activities and lessons learned from Days 1, 2, 3, and 4.
- To open the activity, tell learners that they will be imagining their ideal community. They may do this by creating a piece of art, undertaking a private journaling exercise, or engaging in a mindful moment in the classroom (finding a calm center inside themselves, and closing their eyes if it feels right).
- Tell learners to imagine that the year is 2050 and they are living in a community where all of their hopes have been realized, and liberation and justice have been achieved for all peoples.

Ask them to consider what the people in this community see, hear, smell, feel, and taste. Ask them to think about what this community looks like, and what children, youth, adults, and elders are doing during the day.

- As learners consider these communities, ask them to reflect upon their campaigns from Day 4 with the following prompts:
 - What are the needs of your community? What might be required to address those needs?
 - Who is responsible for addressing those needs?
 - How can we all participate to create a healthy and safe environment in which this community can thrive?

LEARNER ACTIVITIES

ACTIVITY 1

- As a full class, ask learners how they would define “crime.” Tell them they may give examples of particular “crimes.” After they have had a chance to share, ask them how they have come to learn about these “crimes” (for example, from the media, school, encounters with the criminal legal system, etc.)
- Ask learners to discuss in pairs, small groups, or as a full class:
 - Who decides what is considered a “crime” in a society?

- Who engages in the process of “criminalization”?
- When and how do the responses to “crime” differ? Examples may include:
 - *Is assault always a “crime?” How does this perception change when the person who has perpetrated the assault is a police officer?*
 - *Is exercising freedom of speech a “crime?” How has this applied to people who are protesting? What about people engaging in hate speech? Note that the United Nations defines hate speech as “any kind*

of communication in speech, writing or behaviour, that attacks or uses pejorative or discriminatory language with reference to a person or a group on the basis of who they are, in other words, based on their religion, ethnicity, nationality, race, colour, descent, gender or other identity factor” (United Nations, 2019).

- *Where and under what circumstances are these human statuses and behaviors considered a “crime:” same-sex relationships, sex work, drug use?*
- Emphasize to learners that the very idea of “crime” is a political and social construct that is the outcome of the punitive process of criminalization. Society strategically engages in the process of criminalization and decriminalization to uphold the racial, gendered, and classed status quo, which means that actions and behaviors may be considered criminal or not by different countries, societies, or groups and at different times. The illegality of “crime” is determined by a system of power, it is not inherent in the actions or behaviors themselves. Additionally, social responses and perceptions are often tied to the identities of the person who committed the harm and the survivor of that harm, including in racialized ways.
- Share the following quote with learners on the board/virtual board or a PowerPoint slide:
 - *“The problem of crime, in this world view, is that it represents a wound in the community, a tear in the web of relationships. Crime represents damaged relationships: damaged relationships are both a cause and an effect of crime. Many traditions have a saying that the harm of one is the harm of all—a harm such as crime ripples out to disrupt the whole web. Moreover, wrongdoing is often a symptom that something is out of balance in the web.” (Zehr, 20003, p. 18)*
- Ask learners to respond to the quote and consider:
 - Does “crime” always harm people?
 - Can you think of instances of harm that are not necessarily considered a “crime?”

- At what levels does harm occur? Individual, interpersonal, community, institutional?

EXPANDING OPPORTUNITIES

Share [this Twitter thread](#) from @micahinATL to explore crime vs. harm further (Herskind, 2020).

- Show the video [“The Mindless Menace of Violence”](#) and ask learners to identify the harm that occurs. (R. Kennedy, 1968)
- Emphasize to learners that part of the danger of these institutions is that they normalize the harm that occurs. The prison industrial complex, racial capitalism, and violence are seen as normal and neutral instead of harmful, and differentially so.
- Ask learners to respond to the following prompts in pairs, small groups, or as a full class:
 - Are institutions’ responses to harm based on any of our Community Values? In what ways could adopting these values potentially help them improve their responses?
 - When we commit harm, what is our responsibility to our community? What about when we witness harm?

ACTIVITY 2

- If you have not already done so, arrange the seats in the classroom in a circle so that learners face each other.
- Summarize the discussions about harm from the previous activity. Remind learners that harm is a violation of people and interpersonal relationships, and we are obligated as people and communities to do right by the people who have been harmed. Recognize that it is important to approach our communities with empathy as we all have a relationship to being harmed and committing harm.
- Remind learners of the definition of “transformative justice” from the glossary. Ask learners how they might define “restorative justice.”

- After learners have had a chance to come up with their own definitions, provide them with the following on either the board or a PowerPoint slide:
 - RESTORATIVE JUSTICE:** A humanizing approach to community-building and problem-solving rooted in Indigenous practices that does not rely on punishment for the harms that have been caused but instead seeks to restore the bond that was broken between community members and the community at large. This is often done in a small group through direct communication between the victim and the offender as well as representatives from the community (Kaepernick Publishing, 2021).
- On a PowerPoint slide, board, or handout, show learners the following diagram (Impact Justice and Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights, 2021):

PUNITIVE LEGAL SYSTEM	RESTORATIVE JUSTICE APPROACH
What law/rule was broken?	Who has been harmed?
Who broke it?	What do they need?
How should they be punished?	Whose obligation is it to meet those needs? How can all people who have been affected by that harm create a plan to heal as much as possible?

- Show learners the video [“Restorative Justice: Why Do We Need it?”](#) and the videos [“Sujatha Baliga - Tinkerbell”](#) and [“The Power of Circles with Ethan Viets VanLear.”](#) (Brave New Films, 2016; WorldTrustTV, 2017 and 2016)
- For additional reading and examples, please share these articles and tools:
 - [“The Little Book of Restorative Justice”](#) (Howard Zehr, 2003)
 - [“What is Restorative Justice”](#) (Impact Justice, n.d.)
 - [“Punishing ‘Predators’ Will Not Save Us”](#) (Kelly Hayes, 2017)

NOTE TO EDUCATORS

The following activity will ask learners to reflect upon harm experienced at their school or within their community. It is important that educators act with sensitivity and be particularly aware of how learners may react. These experiences with harm, violence, and trauma can be extremely painful to learners and the learning environment will not be healthy or generative if they are further traumatized.

Provide learners with a content warning and tell them that the following activity will involve a discussion of harm. Give learners the option to opt out of the discussion and tell them that there is no penalty for not participating. Have resources available, such as names and contact numbers for support organizations, counselors, and other resources if a student may be dealing with trauma. While navigating their emotional and psychological response, encourage learners to engage in centering or grounding techniques, such as those provided by [Black Lives Matter’s Healing in Action](#) toolkit (Black Lives Matter, 2017).

- Ask learners to privately journal and reflect back on a conflict or harm that they experienced at their school or within their community. They should describe what happened, where it took place, and who was involved. Ask learners to walk through each of the questions in the table above, writing down their responses. When they have finished, ask them to consider the types of responses that vary from punitive systems to restorative practices, including further harm created by the punitive response. If any learners are comfortable sharing their experience and analysis, invite them to do so. Alternatively, learners may tell stories about community-based responses to violence or harm they witnessed.
- Ask learners to discuss their responses to these questions as a full class:
 - How does harm to one individual affect the whole classroom or community?
 - What do you think are the next steps we all can take to repair harm and promote justice and healing in our community?

- Emphasize to learners that restorative spaces are essential to human rights because they honor humanity, dignity, authenticity, and respect. We can recognize the duality that someone can cause harm and is still a human being worthy of these values and human rights.

ACTIVITY 3

- Reflect on your conversations about community from Day 4. Acknowledge that we can hold ourselves accountable, but we also want to lean into relationships and support people to take accountability for harm they may have contributed to.
- Ask learners to define the term “reparations.” Record their responses on the board, flip chart paper, or on an online shared document.
- Share the [2005 UN definition](#) on the board or PowerPoint slide: “Reparations are: adequate,

effective and prompt [action] is intended to promote justice by redressing gross violations of international human rights law or serious violations of international humanitarian law.

- Reparation should be proportional to the gravity of the violations and the harm suffered.
- In accordance with its domestic laws and international legal obligations, a State shall provide reparation to victims for acts or omissions which can be attributed to the State and constitute gross violations of international human rights law or serious violations of international humanitarian law.
- In cases where a person, a legal person, or other entity is found liable for reparation to a victim, such party should provide reparation to the victim or compensate the State if the State has already provided reparation to the victim.” (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2005)

EXPANDING OPPORTUNITIES

Requirement: Please review in its entirety the [Accountability Circles Guidebook](#) from Restorative Resources with a peer prior to doing this activity. Group guidelines, agreements, and values must also be established among participants prior to beginning the activity.

Provide the opportunity for a circle of accountability. Originating with Native Americans and Indigenous peoples like the Maori in Australia, talking, healing, or peacemaking circles are an intentional practice used to gather community members and share stories. In the circle, everyone is respected, gets a chance to speak from the heart, and actively listens to the stories of others. Circles may also be used for conflict or harm resolution. Circles generally include:

- Opening and closing check-ins.
- Centering values that allow participants to speak and listen from the heart.
- Guiding agreements about what participants need to feel safe and speak their truth.
- A “talking piece,” such as a stick or stone, to signify that the person holding it is speaking and it is time for others to listen. This can be adapted for the virtual classroom by highlighting or “pinning” the learner when it is their turn.
- A facilitator who monitors the space, stimulates reflections, and ensures that community agreements are upheld.

Circles are designed to build compassion and strengthen relationships as people listen to one another and share stories that are personal and important to them. They can be empowering because they involve community stakeholders, including in reparations of harm. However, if trust and community have not been built to make the circle a safe space for all, learners may not feel comfortable enough to authentically share, heal, or repair harm. Ensure that those who are a part of the circle process are open to taking accountability, expressing themselves, and making a change.

Potentially start circles with a check-in and then move on to prompts, such as:

- I am feeling...
- I am concerned about...
- I would like to give a shout out to...because...
- I would like to apologize for...
- I would like to improve our classroom by...

Or any others on [this list](#) (Schoolcraft Community Schools, n.d.).

As circles may be used to address harm that has occurred within the community, learners should be invited to speak openly about their personal experiences in a confidential space. Community members should listen intently, encourage truth-telling, and try to figure out the root of the harm to prevent it from happening again. It is critical to provide support to those who have been harmed and plan action steps so that the harm might be repaired. This type of open discussion might also make the person who committed harm more aware of the impact of their actions and make others more likely to intervene when harm or violence occurs in the future.

- To those who have been harmed, you might ask:
 - How did you feel when the harm occurred?
 - What impact did that harm have on you?
 - What needs to happen to repair this harm to you?
 - How can the community support you?
- To those who have perpetrated harm, you might ask:
 - What happened, and what was your part in the actions that caused harm?
 - What were you thinking and feeling? What have been your thoughts since?
 - Whom do you think you have affected by your actions, and in what way?
 - How do you think you can repair this harm and provide care to the community members you have harmed?
 - What can the community do to support you?

As a community, ensure that the action steps are taken and plans to repair harm are followed after the circle has taken place.

- Then, share the [following statements from the Movement for Black Lives](#) (2019) on the board or a PowerPoint slide:

- **REPARATIONS ARE:**

- An official acknowledgment and apology for harm, public education, or memorial about the harm; and
- Compensation to a specific, defined group of individuals harmed by a violation, including descendants, as well as family and community members of individuals directly targeted for harm who were adversely affected; and
- Action to restore individuals harmed

to the position they were in before the initial harm occurred; and

- Action to stop the systems, institutions, and practices causing the harm; and
- Changes to laws, institutions, and systems aimed at ensuring that harm will not happen again.

- **REPARATIONS ARE NOT:**

- Just saying sorry or feeling bad while avoiding accountability for individual or collective contributions to the violation, or while benefiting from the harm, whether through inheritance or ongoing privileges.

- Paying an individual Black person's bills.
- Donating any amount of money to a Black institution. Unless accompanied by acts of repair, restitution, and efforts to leverage power, influence, and resources to ensure cessation and non-repetition, simply writing a check is not reparations.
- Ask learners if they have learned about reparations in their classes, the news, or from other sources. After they have had a chance to respond, ask them if they can name any time that reparations were provided by the U.S. or another country.
- Share the article [“Six times victims have received reparations—including four in the US”](#) (Matthews, 2014). Encourage learners to consider the following questions as they read the piece:
 - What harm or human rights abuse did the reparation programs listed in the article seek to repair?

BECOMING A DEFENDER

- Refer to the needs of the community in the Anticipatory Set. Consider what needs are most pressing based on harm to the community.
- Develop a community plan to decide:
 - The form of reparations to be provided.
 - What type and how much compensation is required.
 - How harm will be eradicated from that community need or service.
- Different groups may work together on different types of needs/harm to be addressed, and different methods of reparations to address that harm.
- While preparing your plans, groups should consider the examples of reparations they read about. Consider what you would do differently in order to mitigate challenges that were faced by those case studies
- After your community reparations plan is developed, host a town hall meeting in your school or community to present the plans.

- What type of reparations were provided?
- In your opinion, how well did the reparations taken address the standards set by the United Nations and the Movement for Black Lives?
- For additional reading and examples, please share these articles and tools:
 - [“Reparations Now Toolkit”](#) (Movement for Black Lives, 2019)
 - [“The Case for Reparations”](#) (Coates, 2014)
 - [“Evanston is the first U.S. city to issue slavery reparations. Experts say it’s a noble start.”](#) (Adams, 2021)
 - [“What Students Are Saying About Reparations, What They Want to Learn in School, and Individuality”](#) (The Learning Network, 2019)

ACTIVITY 4

- Tell learners that they will begin the lesson with a mindful moment. Invite them to be seated, and to close their eyes if they feel comfortable doing so. Request that they turn their attention toward their bodies and what is happening internally. Acknowledge that many of us might feel unsafe in our own bodies or be made to feel unsafe by the events that surround us. Ask learners to turn their attention to their breathing. You may choose to have them use the “box breathing” technique, which involves inhaling for four counts, holding your breath for four counts, exhaling for four counts, then holding your breath again for four counts. Have the learners repeat this process several times and ask them to be aware of any movement in their shoulders, thoughts, or mood.
- Remind learners that they have been discussing solidarity and community, but part of meeting the needs of the community will be understanding their own needs. Ask them to consider some or all of the following prompts:
 - What might make you feel more grounded at this moment?

- Do you need anything to eat or drink right now to sustain yourself?
- Do you need a break, or some time to sit out any activity?
- Affirm learners' needs as you welcome them back to the space from their mindful moment. Emphasize that this awareness of our own needs will help to inform our collective care of ourselves and our community.
- Ask learners, "What colors, foods, smells, and thoughts come to you when I say joy, peace, and love?" Tell them to write or draw their responses on a sheet of paper. They may also find pictures or collages online.

TEACHER TIP

This is a great example of a collage for inspiration: <https://www.instagram.com/Blackqueerjoy/> (Black Queer Joy, 2021).

- When learners are done, ask them to share their responses with one another. Afterward, ask learners if what was shared resonated with them.
- Recognize that by sharing what makes them feel joy, peace, and love, they have brought those feelings into their communal space. These make us feel whole, and they can also be shared. Emphasize to learners that we do not have to take on burdens or labor by ourselves. Healing should be a collective and transformative process that sustains our communities.
- Recognize that abolition, activism, and organizing work in our communities involves long-term goals and systemic change. For that reason, we need rest and care to sustain ourselves. Tell learners that if we are going to heal anti-Black racism, we must engage in self-healing and collective healing.
- Ask learners to define the phrase "healing justice." After they have had a chance to brainstorm definitions, on a slide or board share [this quote from Cara Page and Kindred Southern Healing Justice Collective](#), which appeared in Huffington Post: "Healing justice...identifies

how we can holistically respond to and intervene on generational trauma and violence, and to bring collective practices that can impact and transform the consequences of oppression on our bodies, hearts and minds."

- Also share the following text, excerpted from the same article ([Hemphill, 2017](#)):
 - Healing justice means that we make central to our work listening to those who are imagining transformative justice responses to harm, responses essentially that seek to meet harm in ways other than feeding Black incarceration.
 - Healing justice means that we develop and honor practitioners of many different disciplines and modalities with capacities and skills to navigate trauma and who may guide others towards change.
 - Healing justice means that we identify the institutions that interrupt and undermine our individual and collective abilities to heal. And in those places we organize towards change and interrupt our dependence, be it against the apparatus of the medical industrial complex or against harmful and life-depleting food systems.
 - Healing justice means that we begin to value care, emotional labor and resilience, not as add-ons but as central components of sustainability that restore us to life.
 - Healing justice means that we realize that care and accountability are at the root of healing justice practice and are some of the most difficult and direct actions we can take. Care and accountability require us to reveal, to center and more than anything, to change.
 - Healing justice means that these interventions, and so many more not yet imagined, can no longer be pushed to the margins of our work, but must be central and given our attention and time.
- Refer to the community values the learners created on Day 4. Ask if they would make any additions after familiarizing themselves with the concepts of healing justice.

- Tell learners they will be examining the campaigns they built on Day 4 through the lens of community care and healing. Ask learners to consider these questions as they revisit their campaigns:
 - How do we build power within ourselves and collectively?
 - How do we use this power as a tool to stop violence, systemically and interpersonally?
 - Within our movement-building and campaigns, how do we create space for deep healing? What are coping strategies we can use as sources of resilience?
 - How will we sustain our organizers?
 - How will we activate communities?
 - How will we get people the support they need?
- Learners should work in their same campaign groups to reflect on these questions and integrate their responses into their campaign plans.

EXPANDING OPPORTUNITIES

Share bell hooks' piece "[Love as the Practice of Freedom.](#)" Acknowledge "love" as a practice and necessity for sustaining communities. (hooks, 1994).

ACTIVITY 5

- Tell learners that in order to center and celebrate joy as an act of resistance, we must fully engage with our past, present, and future.
- Ask them to write a letter to their ancestors, to their younger selves, or to their family members who will come after them about their image of joy or moments they wish to pass along.
- This activity will conclude with learners crafting a playlist to emphasize the importance of movement (literal and metaphorical) and music as both modes of resistance and therapy. Tell

BECOMING A DEFENDER

"Without healing there is no justice." (Dignity and Power Now, 2019)

As a class, host your own community care, wellness, and healing event to celebrate your campaign work. This event might include some or all of the following activities, based on learners' strengths and interests:

- Poetry reading, writing, and performance.
- Creation of abolitionist posters.
- Postcard writing to provide support to incarcerated or formerly incarcerated people.
- Restorative yoga.
- Sharing of cultural and personal artifacts.
- Campaign sharing and organizing tables.

Research and contact healers or counselors who can attend the event to provide emotional support. Ensure that the event also includes materials and kits to sustain participants and attendees, including water, snacks, and music.

TEACHER TIP

- Examples of joy that transcend time that you can share with your learners and encourage them to share are their community and cultural celebrations. For example, Juneteenth, also known as Freedom Day, is a celebration and joyous day in Black culture that has been a tradition in the United States for more than 150 years.
- People across the U.S. celebrate this holiday in a variety of ways. Some gather with family and friends, others shop only at Black-owned businesses, share history with friends or family, or rest at home.
 - Learners can also identify and share the ways in which joy shows up in their communities, i.e. making up dances to certain music, singing songs, writing, etc. This is a great moment for all learners in the space to reflect on how intrinsically linked joy is to our everyday lives.

learners that this playlist should sustain them in their future activist, organizing, and abolitionist work.

- Remind learners the 10 Points of the [Know Your Rights Camp](#):
 - You have the right to be free.
 - You have the right to be healthy.
 - You have the right to be brilliant.
 - You have the right to be safe.

- You have the right to be loved.
- You have the right to be courageous.
- You have the right to be alive.
- You have the right to be trusted.
- You have the right to be educated.
- You have the right to know their rights.
- Close out the week and tell learners to repeat this affirmation: “I am powerful.”

HUMAN RIGHTS FRAMEWORK

Since the creation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) by the United Nations in 1948, many other international documents—also called treaties, covenants, resolutions, or conventions—have been drafted to develop these rights further. Countries commit to protecting the rights recognized in these treaties by ratifying them, and sometimes a specific institution is created within the UN to monitor their compliance.

Here are examples of relevant international documents:

THE AFRICAN CHARTER ON HUMAN AND PEOPLES' RIGHTS

CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (CERD)

- **ARTICLE 3:** Prevention, prohibition, and eradication of apartheid and racial segregation.
- **ARTICLE 5:** Elimination of racial discrimination.
- **ARTICLE 6:** Protection and remedies against racial discrimination.

INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS (ICCPR)

INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS (ICESCR)

For more information, visit the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights' website:
www.ohchr.org.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

FURTHER READINGS, MEDIA, AND LEARNING SOURCES

DAY 1 ARTICLES

African American Policy Forum. (n.d.). *The African American Policy Forum*. <https://www.aapf.org/>
Kim, E. T. (2020, Jul. 29). *The Perils of “People of Color.”* The New Yorker. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/annals-of-activism/the-perils-of-people-of-color>
Morrison, T. (1992). *Playing in the Dark*. Random House, Inc. https://engl104aucsb.files.wordpress.com/2014/05/playing_in_the_dark_morrison.pdf
Tatum, B. D. (1992). *Racial Identity Development*. Mercer County Community College. <https://www.mccc.edu/pdf/cmn214/Class%203/Racial%20identity%20development.pdf>

DAY 1 EDUCATIONAL TOOLKITS

Adapted by Steffoff, R. (2012). *A Different Mirror for Young People: A History of Multicultural America* by Ronald Takaki. Seven Stories Press. https://s3.amazonaws.com/sevenstories-prod/static_files/a80ab068f52ee254a7fcc2dce4b2dd96/TakakiTeachingGuide.pdf

DAY 1 PODCASTS

Devarajan, K., Escobar, N. and Meraji, S. M. (Host). (2020, Sep. 30). Is It Time to Say R.I.P. To “POC”? In *Code Switch*. NPR. <https://www.npr.org/2020/09/29/918418825/is-it-time-to-say-r-i-p-to-p-o-c>

DAY 2 ARTICLES

Center for Contemporary Black History, Institute for Research in African-American Studies. (n.d.). *The Malcolm X Project*. Columbia University. <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/ccbh/mxp/about.html>
Oakland Public Library. (2016, Oct. 6). *Educate to Liberate a Black Panthers Syllabus*. OaklandLibrary.org. <https://docs.google.com/document/d/1G3qfsQKMwY9F8K5-IVmLPmnaSGwjhSOAENE84L10DM/edit#heading=h.3fy60ddzis9q>

DAY 2 BOOKS

Fields, K. E., & Fields, B. J. (2012). *Racecraft: The soul of inequality in American life*. Verso.

DAY 2 EDUCATIONAL TOOLKITS

Elliott, M., Hannah-Jones, N., Hughes, J., Silverstein, S. and the New York Times Company. (2019). *The 1619 Project*. The New York Times Magazine. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/08/14/magazine/1619-america-slavery.html>

DAY 3 ARTICLES

Hassett-Walker, C. (2021, Jan. 11). *How You Start is How You Finish? The Slave Patrol and Jim Crow Origins of Policing*. American Bar Association. https://www.americanbar.org/groups/crsj/publications/human_rights_magazine_home/civil-rights-reimagining-policing/how-you-start-is-how-you-finish/

DAY 3 BOOKS

Ayboga, E., Flach, A. and Knapp, M. (2016). *Revolution in Rojava: Democratic Autonomy and Women’s Liberation in Syrian Kurdistan*. Translated by Janet Biehl. Pluto Press.

DAY 3 EDUCATIONAL TOOLKITS

Black Table Arts. (n.d.). <https://www.blacktablearts.com/>
Critical Resistance. (2021). *Abolitionist Tools*. <http://criticalresistance.org/resources/abolitionist-tools/>
Radical In Progress. (2021). *We Do This ’Til We Free Us: A study guide of Mariame Kaba’s 2021 book ‘We Do This ’Til We Free Us’*. <https://www.radicalinprogress.org/kaba-2021-5>
Transform Harm. (2020). *Community Accountability*. <https://transformharm.org/community-accountability/>
8 to Abolition (2020) <https://www.8toabolition.com/>

DAY 3 VIDEOS

Haymarket Books. (2020, Jun. 23). *Abolitionist Teaching and the Future of Our Schools* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uJZ3RPJ2rNc>
Riley, R. (2016, Feb. 29). *Boots Riley - How Capitalism Needed Racism To Operate* [Video from 247HH.COM channel]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JmyWvjszBOW>

Kendi, I. (2020, May). *Who Gets to Be Afraid in America?*. The Atlantic. <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/05/ahmaud-arbery/611539/>
Narain, K. (n.d.). *Addressing Structural Racism with Children*. Embrace Race. https://embracerace-prod.imgix.net/assets/community/erguide_addressing-structural-racism-with-children.pdf

GENERAL EDUCATIONAL TOOLKITS

Abolitionist Teaching Network. (2020, Aug.). *Guide for Racial Justice & Abolitionist Social and Emotional Learning*. <https://abolitionistteachingnetwork.org/guide>
American Civil Liberties Union. (2021). *Know Your Rights*. <https://www.aclu.org/know-your-rights/>
Race Forward. (n.d.). <https://www.raceforward.org/>

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

ORGANIZATIONS TO FOLLOW

ABOLITIONIST TEACHING NETWORK

<https://abolitionistteachingnetwork.org/>

Abolitionist Teaching Network's mission is to develop and support people in the struggle for educational liberation by utilizing the intellectual work and direct action of abolitionists in many forms.

CRITICAL RESISTANCE

<http://criticalresistance.org/>

Critical Resistance seeks to build an international movement to end the prison industrial complex by challenging the belief that caging and controlling people makes us safe.

MOVEMENT FOR BLACK LIVES

<https://m4bl.org/>

The Movement for Black Lives (M4BL) was created as a space for Black organizations across the country to debate and discuss current political conditions; develop shared assessments of what political interventions are necessary in order to achieve key policy, cultural, and political wins; and convene organizational leadership in order to debate and co-create a shared movement-wide strategy, all under the fundamental idea that we can achieve more together than we can separately.

IMPACT JUSTICE

<https://impactjustice.org/>

Impact Justice is a national innovation and research center advancing new ideas and solutions for justice reform.

PROJECT NIA

<https://project-nia.org/>

Project NIA—"nia" meaning "with purpose" in Swahili—is a grassroots organization that works to end the arrest, detention, and incarceration of children and young adults by promoting restorative and transformative justice practices.

ZINN EDUCATION PROJECT

<https://www.zinnedproject.org/>

The Zinn Education Project promotes and supports the teaching of people's history in classrooms across the country. For more than 10 years, the Zinn Education Project has introduced learners to a more accurate, complex, and engaging understanding of history than is found in traditional textbooks and curricula.

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