RURAL COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZING FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

by

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Project Overview

The purpose of my capstone project was to identify an area of social change work currently taking place in rural communities in southeast Minnesota and develop a set of educational activities and facilitation techniques to support that work. The area of social change I focused on for my project involved people who identify as white and live rurally, in small towns or cities, in racial justice work.

My specific focus for this project was, “How can community organizers design and facilitate a series of workshops to develop rural leaders for social change in southeast Minnesota?” The project consisted of four in-person sessions, each two hours long, with an additional five hours of reading and reflection between sessions. The people who participated in these sessions will hereby be referred to as the Racial Justice Co-Learning Circle. I worked with the facilitator of the first racial justice co-learning circle to design activities and facilitation techniques to be used in the second round of four sessions. Our intention was to strengthen the set of educational materials and facilitation techniques implemented in the first round of the co-learning circle. The topics discussed in this chapter include an explanation of the principles that guided my project, and descriptions of the project background, my choice of method, setting and participants and the timeline for project completion.

Guiding Principles

My project emerges from the theory that when people get the chance to share their knowledge from experience with others in a group, they can guide one another and develop a shared understanding and lens in which to analyze the systems of power that
work through their lives. This is revolutionary work that takes time. It was important to situate our social change work within the political moment we live in and this project applied a popular education approach to get community members the political education they needed to participate in the democracy in which we live.

According to Maguire (1987), activities grounded in participatory democracy include a three-part process: social investigation, education, and action. These activities promote education and learning by a process of critical reflection, social, and political analysis that generates tools to engage in transformation of oppressive situations within the learner’s reality. They aim to develop critical consciousness, improve the lives of those involved in the research process, and transform fundamental societal structures and relationships. They effectively remove the separation between knowing and doing. This form of participation is not value-free, and it is not objective because practitioners openly identify with powerless peoples and take an active role in social change.

The design for my project based heavily on the guiding principles of Paulo Freire’s method for engaging adults in participatory democracy using a popular education approach. The tenants of a popular education approach used in my project:

- Draw on the lived experiences and knowledge of everyone involved - participants and facilitators.
- Encourage active participation to engage people in dialogues, fun and creative activities, and draws on the strengths of the diverse experiences represented in the room which includes learning opportunities that engage multiple senses.
- Draw on multiple modes of learning
- Create space for trust and participation, taking into account the larger context of behaviors, attitudes, and values that influences our identities and realities.
- Pose a clear agenda to all participants, acknowledging that all education reproduces a set of values, ideologies, and attitudes and is not neutral.
- Create access to all participants, and actively works to explore and challenge ways that create unequal access to participation.
- Connect lived experiences to historical, economic, social, and political structures of power to make patterns and connections to our lives clearer.
- Explore our multiple identities and experiences of inclusion and exclusion, oppression, and privilege. Popular education is not about building tolerance, but about acknowledging hard truths and building respect, acceptance, equality, and solidarity.
- Empower individuals and groups to develop long-term strategies for social change which transforms power structures and relationships to build a more just society. It is important that this work not be reduced to short-term campaigns and events. Instead, it is about strengthening and engaging in a democratic process based on values, connected and accountable to concrete needs of a community.
- Develop new community leaders to build movements for social change.
● Result in action that challenges systems of oppression and develop democratic ideas, spaces, and strategies moving forward.

● Affirm the dignity and worth of every human being.

Paulo Freire (2013) believed democracy is achieved through radical education and grassroots action when everyday people are engaged fully in democratic processes. The purpose of my project was to lay out activities and facilitation techniques for engaging rural adults in a form of democratic process that involves building a political analysis around racial justice strategy.

Project Background

In 2016, Land Stewardship Project (LSP) organizers visited with members of the organization leading in various capacities to learn about what issues were important to them and how the organization might engage other members in these issues. During those visits, a common thread that emerged was concerns around racial justice issues. In response to this interest, LSP, working with Voices for Racial Justice and Anti-Oppression Resource and Training Alliance, held three racial justice trainings involving over 100 LSP members and staff. The majority of participants in these trainings were farmers living in rural communities. Through these initial workshops, LSP members gained clarity about how the current food and farming system is not serving their needs. Insights were shared around how infrastructure, community attitudes and public policies combine to pose significant barriers to beginning and diversified farms. It was also made clear during these trainings that no matter what barriers white beginning farmers face, the
structural racism that exists within the food and farming systems makes barriers for farmers of color even greater.

Out of these initial racial justice trainings came the first ever LSP Racial Justice Cohort. This cohort consisted of 17 LSP member-leaders and 3 LSP member-organizers. The purpose of this cohort is to make LSP more effective at advancing racial justice by training and elevating LSP farmer-leaders to advance a just food and farming system and advocate for racial justice. Starting in December 2016 and running through April 2017, the Racial Justice Cohort met monthly to learn about privilege, power, structural racism, self-interest and land rights. The trainings were led by ally organizations working with Latinx, Indigenous and Asian American farmers. The cohort learned firsthand about the additional structural barriers that beginning farmers of color face within the current food and agricultural system. From this cohort, came the first wave of LSP member-leaders and staff members who decided to establish peer learning circles within their home communities to further the knowledge and skills gained in their cohort experience to develop more rural leaders taking social justice action around race.

Participants did not need to have a well-developed political analysis. That being said, it was important that participants had a self-assessed personal and material interest in changing the current political, social, and economic system.

I also sat down multiple times with the group facilitator to listen to their reflections and document their curriculum plans.
Setting and Participants

The activities and techniques laid out in my project are intended to engage white, rural participants living in the southeast region of Minnesota. Participants were selected from the original 17 Land Stewardship Project (LSP) member-leaders and 3 LSP member-organizers who went through the Racial Justice Cohort training. These were people deeply engaged in LSP’s racial justice work and self-identified a strong interest in continuing their political education. The setting for these four sessions took place at a designated location in Winona, Minnesota which was arranged in advance by the active facilitator (R. Stoll, personal communication, February 28, 2019). For the first round of sessions, our group size was 6-8 participants.

Planning and Design

To guide the planning and design of these educational activities, I utilized a similar approach taken by Cho, Puente, Louie, & Khokha (2004) to better align with a popular education approach. The co-learning circles covered a variety of topics related to race, power, and privilege. In each workshop, participants engaged in activities and discussions, drawing on their own experiences and the information provided in workshop materials.

Each of the workshop sessions includes:

- Overview of goals, stated as statements and as framing questions;
- Brief background article on the topic;
- Tips and notes for facilitators;
• Directions for the workshop activities, including time, list of materials needed, facilitator preparation, source of the exercise, and sometimes teaching points, variations, and things to watch out for during the activity

• Supplementary resource materials, including fact sheets, videos, and articles.

Apart from framing intellectually complex and emotionally heavy material, the facilitator played a more active role in responding to group dynamics and guiding participants through activities. I have done my best to provide a solid structure while fully expecting the workshop content to undergo modifications based on group make-up every time the four sessions are repeated.

Timeline

The first round of the racial justice co-learning circle was spread out over four months. Sessions started in February 2019 and wrapped up in June 2019 with my role being a guide to the main facilitator. It is important that the active facilitator (R. Stoll, personal communication, February 28, 2019) provide consistent communications with participants in the group to schedule meetings and get them the supplemental readings in between sessions. For the first round of the racial justice co-learning circle, the active facilitator mainly communicated with participants via email. The next round of racial justice co-learning circles that will use the materials from my project will take place in January-April 2020 with my role potentially being active facilitator or co-facilitator.
Racial Justice Co-Learning Circle: Session 1

Overview: The goals of this workshop are to:
- Meet each other and feel welcome and excited to be participating in the workshop
- Set tone for trust and agreement within the group
- Reflect on our personal journeys of becoming anti-racist activists and get to know one another
- Start to develop an understanding of “whiteness” as a social construct and set of cultural practices that reinforces unequal power relationships

What will we be talking about:
- How did you come to the place you are now in and your beliefs and work around racism?
- What does it mean to call ourselves “white” and what purpose does that serve?

Time: 2 hours

Materials Needed:
- Easel, flipchart paper, & markers
- Tape
- Sheets of paper & pens - 2 sheets per person
- Hard copies of readings assigned prior to workshop/referenced throughout workshop
  - James Baldwin, “On Being White and Other Lies” from Black on White: Black Writers On What It Means to Be White

Facilitator Prep:
- Write out agenda and workshop goals on flipchart paper before the session starts
- Write out “Introduction Elements” on flipchart paper
- Designate “Community Agreements” flipchart paper
- Write out “Drawing Your Path” questions on flipchart paper

Directions:
1. Introductions: 5 Minutes
   - Introduce yourself using the following “Introduction Elements”:
     - Name
     - Racial identity
     - One way that they spend their time
Facilitator only: Lead with my vision of what the power of this type of work can be and share what feelings came up in doing this work/preparing for this workshop.

- Go around and have people introduce themselves

3. Welcome, Goals, Agenda Review: 5 minutes
- Familiarize participants with agenda and workshop goals. Provide some background information on the workshop: what is the reason for this workshop? Read the agenda out loud (posted for participants.) This is also the time to clarify any questions about the agenda. It is often useful to review the goals that are stated as questions ("What will we be talking about?") for clarity and get feedback from participants about their goals ("Introduction Elements") – how they will be met in the workshop.
- Clarify any logistical details: Where is the restroom? When will there be breaks or meals?

4. Community Agreements: 15 minutes
- Introductory Framing: “This room, like many spaces, is full of complexity. That is why we acknowledge:
  - Many (or Most or All) bring white privilege – and that in and of itself is complicated in how we experience it
  - Some of us have in been in spaces like this before, and some haven’t
  - This might feel easy for some people. For most it probably feels a little scary
  - We have gone to different types and amounts of school
  - Different bodies with different abilities and needs
  - Different ethnic backgrounds
  - We have different experiences with gender oppression and class backgrounds
  - And ALL of that will impact how each of us show up and participate in this space and other spaces”
- “In our work today and down the road, we have an opportunity to do things differently, intentionally. To envision and practice the kind of world we want to live in and the fullest embodiment of our values. We want to create a culture today that honors this complexity, reflects our different values while creating an environment of mutual accountability, respect, and trust. Are you open to trying this?”
• Use “Proposed Agreements” to create and clarify agreements and expectations that will allow everyone in the group to participate. Read through them as a group while making sure people can understand each one and can ask questions or clarify.
  ○ Ask, “Is this list something we can all agree to try to practice during our time together?”
  ○ Ask, “Can I have your permission to hold our group accountable to these agreements?”

5. **Drawing Your Path Activity: 45 minutes**

• Introductory Framing, “As white people, we have been asked by people of color in our lives, and with whom we work, live near, or love, to work on recognizing and countering the ways we act out internalized white privilege and supremacy. We do this to counter oppression at every level, and examining and challenging how white privilege and supremacy plays out in our daily lives and social justice work can only make it stronger and more powerful.”

• Post “Drawing Your Path” flip chart that list the following questions:
  ○ When did you become politically aware of race and racial injustice?
  ○ How did you get to a place of wanting to participate in the racial justice co-learning circle?
  ○ What have been the highlights and important moments of your anti-racist journey?
  ○ What social justice work are you currently involved in?

• “We are all on a life-long anti-racist journey. We want you to have a chance to think about what’s happened on that path for you thus far, and to get to share that with some other people. How did you come to the place you are now in and your beliefs and work around racism?”

• Introduce the questions on the flip chart paper to get people started and give people about 10 minutes to draw. Pass out paper and pens - one of each for every participant.

• After 10 minutes, “Now spend a few more minutes writing about your goals for participating in this study group, thinking about what brought you here and your path.”

• Break the group into randomized small groups of 2-3 using a game or counting off. Ask participants to share highlights from their drawing/writing with their small group. Each person gets around 5 minutes to share. (15 minutes)

• Ask each person to go up in front of the whole group (one at a time), tape up their drawing/writing and share one goal with the whole group. (10 minutes)
6. **White Privilege & Our Cultural Norms, Values and Stories Brainstorm: 25 Minutes**

- “We are going to spend the next 15 minutes coming up with a list of cultural norms, values and stories we associate with our upbringing, families, education, workplace, communities, media sources, etc. recognizing that this list will in no way be comprehensive.”
- Hand out sheets of paper and pens – one for each person. “We are going to take 2 minutes to jot down 3-4 cultural norms/values/stories. Detailed descriptions are not necessary. Note that norms can come with labels like *American* or *Minnesotan*.”
- After 2 minutes, ask for a volunteer-participant to help record group ideas. Facilitator will ask participants to gesture when they want to share one thing they wrote down out loud with the group, making sure one person is speaking at a time. The volunteer-participant will record responses on flipchart paper.
- After the brainstorm, ask participants if they notice any patterns or trends in their norms/values/stories. Take some people’s thoughts.
- “In our reading for today, James Baldwin asserts that *being* white is a moral choice. Is it possible that the patterns of cultural norms/values/stories we grew up with and have identified are associated with our white identity? If so, what purpose does that serve?” Take some people’s thoughts.
- Concluding Framing - “When “white” is presented as standard/normal/good, people with white privilege internalize this superiority and sense of being “normal,” viewing the world through that lens. Images of leadership, beauty, “average Americans” in institutions like schools, the media, and popular culture; presentations of history that foreground white figures and their influence; and other ways in which whiteness is made central lead to a universal or “institutionalized” standard of experience and benefit from it, just as the internalizing of superiority is often “my ways of working are the right/best/only ways.”
- “We live in a society dominated by white privilege which seeks to simultaneously *normalize* whiteness while *deracializing* everything else. Deracialization is to remove an issue from its context, treating it in a way that does not recognize the impact of racism or that reduces the priority of directly challenging those impacts. Deracializing an issue restricts the self-determination of the people who are most impacted by that issue to be defining their own struggle. In a society dominated by white privilege, all issues intersect with racism; the privilege to reframe an
issue without understanding the impact of race is not available to those directly affected. The term deracialization was developed by Critical Resistance, a prison abolition organization.”

- “Throughout the next three sessions, you will hear me say “white anti-racist.” This is intentional because we are all here to deepen our understanding of how white supremacy/racism impacts our lives, relationships and work which means we not only see race, we experience race, racial inequity, and racial justice.”

7. **Conclusion: 5 Minutes**

- “As we are nearing our end of our time together, let’s try purposefully to shift from thinking to feeling. Ask the group to be silent for 1 minute and breathe deeply. Just take notice of the sensations and emotions that surfaced during our time together. After a minute, go around and have each person say one to three words about how they are feeling.”

- Thank everyone and dismiss.
Community Agreements

- Respect myself and others and our differences
- Get consent from people to share what they’ve shared or speak more about it later – ask permission to repeat details shared by other participants
- Stretch yourself – challenge your perceived limits and take responsibility for your own learning
- Take care of your body in this space, and do what you need to stay present
- Cultivate appreciation for each other – We are creating a supportive learning space for each other, and we welcome affirmations
- It’s okay to challenge each other respectfully – These can be the biggest opportunities for the whole group to learn from one another
- Move up, move up – Our learning demands participation. If you are used to participating in a certain way, try “moving up” to participate differently, giving others the chance to participate fully as well
- Listen to each other – Have only one person talk at a time, with others giving their full attention
- Speak from own experience – Each person has much to contribute. Say “I think” or “I feel” or “I believe” rather than “white people think” or “they think”
- Don’t be afraid to call timeout when dealing with tough issues. -Sometimes taking a break really helps you create the space and extra awareness needed to make it through hard patches. The hard stuff sometimes yields the richest learning experiences.
- Expect and accept a lack of closure – We can only make a start on these issues. Expect that there may be things that you will want to know more about, and intense feelings that will surface that you will want to explore in the future. Trust that this learning is lifelong.
- Invest in ending racism
Racial Justice Co-Learning Circle: Session 2

Overview: The goals of this workshop are to:

- Continue building relationships and intentional culture of group/space together
- Get people talking and feeling safe to share vulnerability
- Analyze power relationships across identities and groups
- Start to develop an understanding of white supremacy/racism as a system of oppression

What will we be talking about:

- What is white supremacy/racism?
- How does white supremacy/racism perpetuate unequal power distribution and relationships that result in privilege, inequality, and violence?
- Why do white people go along with racial injustice?

Time: 2 hours

Materials Needed:

- Easel, flipchart paper, & markers
- Tape
- Sheets of paper & pens– one per participant
- Hard copies of readings assigned prior to workshop/referenced throughout workshop
  - Elizabeth “Betita” Martinez “What is White Supremacy?” from Catalyzing Liberation Toolkit and “Challenging White and Male Supremacy Curriculum” by Catalyst Project
  - Tema Okun “White Supremacy Culture” www.dismantlingracism.org
  - Handout from Tools for Change “Common behavioral patterns that perpetuate relations of domination” - 1 handout per person

Facilitator Prep:

- Post “Community Agreements” flipchart paper from session 1
- Write out agenda and workshop goals on flipchart paper before the session starts
- Write out “Introduction Elements”
- Prepare a flipchart with the definition of racism/white supremacy (italicized below)
- Designate “Power Chart” flipchart paper
- Make enough copies of the handout from Tools for Change - 1 handout per person
Directions:

1. **Introductions: 5 Minutes**
   - Introduce yourself using the following “Introduction Elements”:
     - Name
     - What are 1-2 feelings that have come up since our last meeting?
     - What’s something you are grateful for today?
   - Go around and have people introduce themselves

2. **Review Community Agreements: 5 Minutes**
   - Go through the agreements from session 1
   - “It’s important to name that honoring our community agreements is an anti-racist practice. Each time that we revisit our community agreements and set our goals for our time together, we commit to consciously creating a culture that helps white people like us take strategic and effective anti-racist action as a part of multiracial movements. Remember that in doing anti-racist work, you will make mistakes and so will other people. Mistakes are inevitable; the process of learning from those mistakes requires humble and honest reflection. It is critical that we move away from competitive, individualistic thinking, and instead support as many people as we can to be change agents, working in accountable relationships with people of color-led movements and organizations. These shifts in our culture towards collective accountability help create more sustainable and vibrant movements to win transformative change.”

3. **Welcome, Goals, Agenda Review: 5 minutes**
   - Familiarize participants with agenda and workshop goals. Read the agenda out loud (posted for participants.) This is also the time to clarify any questions about the agenda. It is often useful to review the goals that are stated as questions (“What will we be talking about?”)

4. **Analyzing Power: 50 minutes**
   - Introductory Framing - “We are going to spend the next 20 minutes analyzing power across identities and groups. As a group of white people, we bring a pattern of privilege that is often made invisible to us, which means we are charged with a
conscious and ongoing effort to notice and change our ways of exercising privilege - understanding how power functions in our lives and work can help us understand how privilege works and how we challenge it.”

● “First, we are going to use a “Power Chart” to identify various groups of people and put them either on the side that “Holds Power” or the side that “Receives Oppression”.” (Facilitator may reiterate that we can expect there to be variability within groups and acknowledge that people within groups experience either holding power or receiving oppression in complex ways.) Participants should add groups in pairs; one who holds power and the other receiving oppression i.e. “white” corresponds with “People of Color”.
  ○ “Take a minute to look at the power chart, paying special attention to the pieces about gender, sexuality and race. In your head, think about where you fit into this chart, and how you think this has influenced your life. What have you had or not had access to because of your life experiences and identities? What kind of experiences do you bring to this group?” If time allows, give people a chance to share 1-2 thoughts that brought up for them, either in the whole group or in pairs.

● Handout “Common behavioral patterns that perpetuate relations of domination” from Tools for Change - 1 per participant. Ask for a volunteer to read the introductory paragraph out loud to the whole group.

● “We are going to spend the next 30 minutes in pairs, reading through the handout and share 1-2 circumstances you find yourself in where some of these patterns are occurring. After reflecting on specific circumstances, share with your partner responses to the following questions:”
  ○ “Who sets the cultural norms in your work environment or community space? Who do these norms welcome and encourage, and who might be discouraged?” (questions written on flipchart)

● Come back together as a whole group.

5. **“Shake it out break”: 5 minutes**

● “We are going to take a 5 minute break to take care of your needs - stretch, step outside, get something to drink, use the bathroom, etc. Please be back here and ready to start in 5 minutes.”

6. **White Supremacy/Racism: 30 Minutes**

● “We are going to take the next 30 minutes to talk about white supremacy and how it functions as a system of racial oppression and how that intersects with other systems of oppression. This is just a starting point – it’s impossible to do this justice in such a short amount of time. But we hope to at least lay out some of the
basics, so we have a common frame of reference for us to center ourselves and build our understanding.”

○ “For some of you, you’ve thought of this before. For others it may feel new. In either case, we’d like to challenge you to participate in a way that pushes yourself and others in the room to learn and take risks.”
○ “Let’s talk about white supremacy that defines so much of our lives and the lives of people all over the world.”
  ■ Ask, “What do you think of when we say white supremacy?” Take people’s thoughts and try to draw them out.
● “Here is a definition of Racism/White Supremacy put forth by an organization that trains anti-racist educators called Catalyst Project:”
  ○ Racism, also referred to as white supremacy, is the pervasive, deep-rooted, and longstanding system of exploitation, control and violence directed at people of color, Indigenous peoples, and immigrants of color, and the benefits and privileges that accrue to white people, particularly to a white male-dominated ruling class.
● “Let’s dive into this a little bit. What does it mean to say it is a system?” Take some people’s thoughts.
● “Let’s take 5 minutes to journal and write about your response to this question:”
  ○ “How does white supremacy/racism perpetuate unequal power distribution and relationships that result in privilege, inequality, and violence?” (written on flipchart paper)
● “White supremacy is just one of several intertwined and mutually reinforcing systems that are based on exploitation, control, and violence of those less powerful, accruing power, wealth, and various forms of privilege to those who benefit.”

7. Conclusion - 20 minutes
● Concluding Framing - “Systems exist nationally and globally to protect, uplift and center dominant groups at the expense of systematically oppressed groups of people. These systems attempt harm, ignore and/or control marginalized groups. People receiving oppression choose how to be named and choose tactics and ideologies for liberation, but the onus to eliminate these systems of oppression is on the dominant groups (i.e. it’s not women’s job to end rape, poor folks job to solve the housing crisis, or POC’s job to end white supremacy). That is why we are here.”
● “If it hasn’t come out in the discussion already:
  ○ Systems of oppression are not “natural” – they are created and carefully maintained, they can also be dismantled through collective action.”
“There is a need for us to be challenging systems that divide us. White supremacy is a key piece of this. Anti-racism leadership can help to ensure that visions for justice are not compromised by divide and control and can help us to stay focused on long-term social and institutional transformation instead of short-term gains at the expense of communities of color.”

- Ask, “Why do white people go along with racial injustice?” Take some people’s thoughts.

- Points to bring up from above question if they are not covered (think back to discussion about cultural norms/values/stories):
  - “The American Dream/Rugged Individualism – We all have the same opportunities for upward mobility and if we work hard, pull up our bootstraps, there is a sense that we can move up in the world despite immense forces exerting pressure on our lives.”
  - “Scarcity mindset – if there are people on the runs of the ladder below you, there’s a fear of losing what little you have”
  - “Race, gender, and other things on the power chart are used to divide us. Those in power use these as fault lines to keep us pitted against one another rather than challenging the overall system.”
  - “Systems (education, prison, housing, wages, etc.) organized around race. Example: In thinking about housing, up until 150 years ago Black people were not allowed to own property, they were property, then there were things like redlining, predatory lending targeting communities of color.”

- Facilitator note: End with a song, poem or something from your political journey. If you choose to do a song, be sure to teach/lead it then invite people to join in.

(Example) Power Chart Activity

Suggested Use: Use a **Power Chart** to identify various groups of people and put them either on the side that “Holds Power” or the side that **Receives Oppression**. Facilitator(s) may reiterate that we can expect there to be variability within groups and acknowledge that people within groups experience either holding power or receiving oppression in complex ways. Participants should add groups in pairs; one who holds power and the other receiving oppression i.e. “white” corresponds with “People of Color”.

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from United States/Western Europe | from nations in the “global south”/majority world/rest of world

*Derived from: "Helping Teens Stop Violence, Building Community, and Stand for Justice; Allan Creighton & Paul Kivel, Copyright 2011, Hunter House / Turner*
Racial Justice Co-Learning Circle: Session 3

Overview: The goals of this workshop are to:

● Continue building relationships and intentional culture of group/space together
● Get people talking and feeling safe to share vulnerability
● Establish group understanding of four different relational ways (interpersonal, institutional, structural, and cultural) that white supremacy/racism works in our lives
● Ground group discussions of racism in the reality of how deeply systemic racism shapes the lives of people who experience racial oppression
● Deepen understanding of how white supremacy/racism negatively affects our relationships with other people and issues we work on

What will we be talking about:

● What is institutional racism and what is the difference between interpersonal prejudice and systemic racism?
● How does white supremacy/racism negatively impact our relationships with other people and the issues you work on?
● What can white people do to challenge privileged/oppressive behavior in ourselves and others from a place of love?

Time: 2 hours

Materials Needed:

● Easel, flipchart paper, & markers
● Tape
● Sheets of paper & pens– one per participant
● Hard copies of readings assigned prior to workshop/referenced throughout workshop
  ○ Ta-Nehisi Coates, “The Case for Reparations,” *The Atlantic*. Best read online at TheAtlantic.com
  ■ Optional Reflection Questions (assigned with reading)
    ● Prior to reading “The Case for Reparations,” what did you know about reparations as an idea, and as an actual practice by governments?
    ● How does Clyde Ross’ story reveal the systemic nature of white supremacy?
    ● When many people discuss reparations, it is often in reference to slavery. What other damaging policies does
Coates highlight as the basis for his case? Why do you think he is focusing his discussion on post-slavery offenses?

- What does Coates mean when he speaks specifically of reparations?
- Do you think Black people in the U.S. have a case for reparations from the United States government? What form do you think such reparations should take?
- What does the discussion about reparations mean for us as anti-racist whites?

Facilitator Prep:

- Post “Community Agreements” and the lists from session 1
- Write out agenda and workshop goals on flipchart paper before the session starts
- Write out “Introduction Elements” on flipchart paper
- Write out “Interpersonal Racism, Institutional Racism, Structural Racism, Cultural Racism” on flipchart paper
- Designate 5 pieces of flipchart paper, each one labeled at the top with one of these categories: media, criminal justice system, education, health/housing/social services, military/tech industries
- Write out “Journal Prompts” flipchart paper with 3 questions from conclusion
- Type up small slips of paper with homework prompt from conclusion

Directions:

1. **Introductions: 5 Minutes**
   - Introduce yourself using the following “Introduction Elements”:
     - Name of a beloved mentor
     - One piece of advice given to you by that mentor or one important lesson they taught you
   - Go around and have people introduce themselves

2. **Pair Share – 5 minutes**
   - “For the next five minutes, we are going to get into pairs and discuss our responses to these questions:
     - How have you noticed cultural norms or values associated with whiteness in the past three weeks?
     - How did you challenge those?”
3. **Welcome, Goals, Agenda Review: 5 minutes**
   
   - Familiarize participants with agenda and workshop goals. Read the agenda out loud (posted for participants.) This is also the time to clarify any questions about the agenda. It is often useful to review the goals that are stated as questions (“What will we be talking about?”) for clarity.

4. **Levels of White Supremacy/Racism: 90 Minutes**
   
   - Introductory Framing - “Last time we were together, we started to uncover the ways that whiteness and white supremacy functions as a system of racial oppression, or racism. Many white people think of racism as prejudice, ignorance, or negative stereotypes about people of color and think that therefore the solution to racism is to challenge white people’s misinformation about people of color or other marginalized groups and to convince them to be more tolerant or accepting. Groups working on racial healing, building tolerance, and eliminating prejudice are examples of this kind of approach. But the roots of racism are deeper than this. While individual white people having more information about racism and becoming more competent is important, it will not address the root causes. Racism operates on four different levels and it is important to understand each of them and their interconnections.”

   - “Before we starting working through the four levels, can someone please read out our working definition of racism which we introduced last time:”
     
     - *Racism, also referred to as white supremacy, is the pervasive, deep-rooted, and longstanding system of exploitation, control and violence directed at people of color, Indigenous peoples, and immigrants of color, and the benefits and privileges that accrue to white people, particularly to a white male-dominated ruling class.”

   - **Level 1: Interpersonal Racism**
     
     - “Interpersonal violence is very commonly a way to gain power and control over another person. It often takes advantage of unequal power. When a white person can take their misinformation and stereotypes towards another group and cause harm towards an individual or group they are committing an act of interpersonal racism. This can include harassment, exclusion, marginalization, discrimination, hate or violence.”
     
     - “When we move beyond talking about prejudice and stereotypes in our society we generally focus on acts of interpersonal racism. These are the kinds of acts that we hear about in the media—a hate crime, an act of job or housing discrimination, negative racial comments about people of
color, racial profiling or violence by a police officer towards a person of color.”

- “These acts are definitely damaging. But the system of racism is much larger than these personal acts. And racism would not be eliminated by ending these individual acts. If we limit our discussion to these interpersonal acts it seems like racism is limited in its impact to the acts of individual “rotten apples.” All we need to do is punish/censor/screen out these particularly racist individuals and things would be mostly pretty good.”

- Ask, “Any questions on this?” Take people’s questions. Ask, “Can we name 3-4 examples of the ways interpersonal racism shows up in our daily lives.” Write responses under “Interpersonal Racism” heading on flipchart paper.

- Level 2: Institutional Racism

  - “But racism also operates within the institutions in our society. It is built into the policies, procedures, and everyday practices of the health care system, the education system, the job market, the housing market, the media, and the criminal legal system to name a few. That means that it operates both systematically and without the need for individual racist acts. People can be just following the rules and produce outcomes that benefit white people and harm people of color. This is because the rules are setup to reproduce racism. For example, during most of the history of this country it was illegal for white and Black people to marry across racial lines, eat together in public, travel together, or shop together on an equal basis. Therefore shopkeepers, bus and train conductors, public officials and others weren’t unusually racist to enforce segregation—they were just following the law, acting as law-abiding white citizens.”

  - “Similarly a white school teacher could be teaching their students equally, addressing the needs of each individual student and helping every single one advance to the next grade level. But if they were teaching in a school or school system where there were no teachers of color, where white students were tracked into higher level courses than Black students, where students of color were disciplined more harshly than white students and/or the curriculum did not reflect the contributions of people of color to our society, then the school would be racially discriminatory despite the efforts of the “color-blind” teacher.”

- Ask, “Any questions on this?” Take people’s questions.

5. A Closer Look at Institutional Racism in Society: 30 minutes
● “We are going to spend the next 30 minutes deepening our understanding of institutional racism and what is the difference between interpersonal prejudice and systemic racism. When we talk about institutional racism, we are talking about more than personal prejudices.”
● Offer the group a definition created by Peoples’ Institute for Survival and Beyond, an anti-racist organization founded in New Orleans. “Racism = race prejudice + institutional power”
  ○ Point out that the ‘institutional power’ element of the equation is purposefully obscured in order to portray racism as nothing more than bias, or people being mean to each other
● Explain to the group that we are going to break up into smaller groups to generate specific examples of institutional racism negatively impacting people of color in the following sectors: Media; criminal justice system; education; health and housing and social services; military / high tech. If there are not enough participants to make five small groups, have groups take more than one sector.
● If the room is majority white, ask white people not to try to represent the experiences of people of color or “speak for someone else’s experience,” but do try to name specific differential impacts in each category where people of color experience oppression and obstacles, while white people experience privilege and access.
● SMALL GROUP (10 minutes)
  ○ Give each small group one sheet/one category. Have each group brainstorm in their categories specific examples of how institutional racism operates within that sector of society. If people are having a hard time getting started, you could give an example or two:
    ■ Media: shows like America’s Most Wanted that show disproportionate number of arrests of men of color – shape public perceptions about safety/danger
    ■ Military industrial complex: high recruitment at low-income schools, promises of free education targeted at poor youth and youth of color
● REPORT BACK (10 minutes)
  ○ Have each group put up their lists and share a couple of examples (not reading back the whole list) with the group.
  ○ If time, ask 1-2 individuals from each group what this experience was like for them, and what they noticed.
● CLOSING (5-10 minutes)
  ○ Facilitator should point out some of the themes and overlap between the different sectors. Other key points to make:
- How short a list these are compared to the realities of institutional racism
- Recognize that these lists do not take other systems of oppression including class, gender, sexuality, ability, age, or citizenship/documentation status into account. Acknowledge that this is a simplification and that institutional racism affects people differently depending on many other factors and that many of these examples intersect with heterosexism, patriarchy, class oppression, and more.
- This is the tip of the iceberg. Especially if the room is majority white, and most people do not experience racial oppression, these lists which are generated in just a few minutes are intended to be just a glimpse at how deep and broad racism goes in our society.
- It’s important to understand how racism operates structurally so that we can keep our work focused on challenging and changing oppressive systems. The goal is to understand it in order to dismantle it.

- Level 3: Structural Racism
  - “The total impact of all of the interpersonal and institutional racism within our society creates a system of structural racism. The racism of different institutions overlap, reinforce, and amplify the different treatment that people of color and Native Americans receive compared to that which white people receive. This creates different life outcomes.”
  - “For example, people have described the school-to-prison pipeline in which children of color are pushed out of our schools and into the criminal legal system. Racism within the school system, the welfare system, child protective services, the foster care system and at all levels of the criminal legal system interact to produce a system which disproportionately limits the educational opportunities of young people of color and disproportionately disciplines and locks them up.”

- Ask, “Any questions of thoughts on this?” Take some people's thoughts.
- Ask, “What are examples of the web of structural racism—the interplay between different forms of institutional and interpersonal racism?” (Facilitator note: If the group is struggling, offer an example. One example is how lack of affordable health care and access to affordable healthy food options, coupled with higher exposure to toxic chemicals and other forms of pollution, coupled with job discrimination and housing segregation produces greater
health problems, shorter life spans, lower wages, and greater levels of poverty for communities of color.

● Level 4: Cultural Racism
  ○ “Structural racism is reinforced by the many layers of cultural racism in our society—the systemic and pervasive images, pictures, comments, literature, movies, advertisements, and online media which consistently portray people of color, Native Americans, and immigrants of color as inferior, lazy, dangerous, sexually manipulative, childish, and less smart than white people, while holding up white people in general as capable, honest, hard-working, patriotic, safe—the heroes, leaders, and builders of our country.”
  ○ “Cultural racism can be explicit or implicit, subtle or obvious. It is pervasive—internalized in the ways we think and externalized in the ways we act. Every institution produces forms of cultural racism but some, such as the media, educational system, and religion, are particularly active in producing and maintaining a dominant white way of seeing things which binds together the entire system of structural racism.”
  ○ Ask, “Any questions on the different levels of white supremacy/racism?”

5. Conclusion: 15 Minutes
   ● Post “Journal Prompts” flipchart. “We are going to spend 10 minutes journaling responses to the following questions:
     ○ How are these workshops affecting the way you see your community? Name feelings are you experiencing (confusion? Anger? Fear? Hopelessness? Hopefulness?)
     ○ How does white supremacy/racism negatively impact our relationships other people and the issues you work on?
     ○ What can white people do to challenge privileged/oppressive behavior in ourselves and others from a place of love?
   ● Have participants conclude their writing with 3 minutes left, and come back together as a whole group. “We covered some really heavy stuff today. As we are nearing our end of our time together, let’s try purposefully to shift from thinking to feeling. Ask the group to be silent for 1 minute and breathe deeply. When you exhale, make a audible sigh (demonstrate this). Breathe in, breathe out. Just take notice of the sensations and emotions that surfaced during our time together. Make sure you find time to release some of these thoughts and emotions through journaling, singing, exercise, share them with a loved one, or whatever way works for you.”
• Hand out homework assignment. Participants are not expected to report back on their homework. Thank everyone and dismiss.

**Homework:** *Bring your notes to our next session!*

1) Choose one organization that you are involved with and do a deeper dive into that organization's relationship to white supremacy. Are there any unacknowledged cultural norms that uplift white supremacy at that organization?

2) Find a form of resistance led by people of color in our region to share at the next meeting. What are they leaders of color in that movement calling for - this visions of demands? What would achieving those visions mean for the place we call home? How can we work towards supporting those visions and demands?
Racial Justice Co-Learning Circle: Session 4

Overview: The goals of this workshop are to:

● To make commitments to ourselves and each other about ways we will continue deepening our learning
● Get clarity around how white people can and ought to be supporting organizing efforts led by communities and leaders of color
● Start thinking about what community accountability (doing what you say you’re going to do) looks like
● Generate ideas/examples on how white community members can embody anti-racist leadership and become allies to community members of color
● To improve our ability to name and reach short term goals that are connected to longer-term goals that continues beyond the workshop

What will we be talking about:

● How can we commit ourselves to lifelong learning and endeavoring to end white supremacy/racism?
● How should white people be supporting organizing efforts led by communities and leaders of color?
● How do we embody anti-racist leadership in our community?

Time: 2 hours

Materials Needed:

● Easel, flipchart paper, & markers
● Tape
● Sheets of paper & pens– one per participant
● Post-it notes
● Hat or box
● Copies of the Evaluation Form - 1 per participant
● Hard copies of readings assigned prior to workshop/referenced throughout workshop:
  ○ Louise Erdrich, “ADVICE TO MYSELF: #2 RESISTANCE,” from Women and Standing Rock (2 pages)
  ○ Guidelines for Being Strong White Allies by Paul Kivel
Facilitator Prep:

- Post “Community Agreements” and the lists from session 1
- Write out agenda and workshop goals on flipchart paper before the session starts
- Write out “Introduction Elements” on flipchart paper
- Prep for “2. Mapping Community Accountability” Activity:
  - Write out “ACCOUNTABILITY” elements on flipchart paper
  - Prepare 2 examples of what white people’s, anti-racist leadership has looked like
  - Write out “Discussion Questions” on flipchart paper
- Write out “Commitments” on flipchart paper:
  1) SHORT-TERM ----> LONG-TERM
  2) ACCOUNTABILITY (measurable, related to long-term, collective)
  3) MOVEMENT-BUILDING
- Prep for “5. Conclusion” by:
  - Bringing materials, information on a local campaign, follow-up meeting, etc. that makes sense of people to get plugged into, it would be good to not only announce it, but provide written information on a flipchart paper and make sure any supportive materials get passed out (i.e. flyers, postcards, petitions, etc.)
  - Make enough hard copies of the Evaluation Form - 1 per participant
  - Consider ending the session with a powerful song, chant, poem or spiritual offering prepared in advance.

Directions:

1. **Introduction: 10 minutes**
   - Introduce yourself using the following “Introduction Elements”:
     - Sharing forms of resistance led by people of color in our region
   - Go around and have people share (1-2 minutes per person)

2. **Welcome, Goals, Agenda Review: 5 minutes**
   - Familiarize participants with agenda and workshop goals. Read the agenda out loud (posted for participants.) This is also the time to clarify any questions about the agenda. It is often useful to review the goals that are stated as questions (“What will we be talking about?”) for clarity.
3. **Mapping Community Accountability: 25 minutes**

- **Introductory Framing** - “If we have a desire to change the status quo, how do we get from here to where we want to be?”

- **Define Accountability** - “Accountability is about the impacts of our actions, not about our intentions. Accountability is what takes us from misguided intentions to strategic impacts. It is about how we follow leadership of women, queer people and men and women of color committed to politic of collective liberation. Process by which individuals and collectives take various forms of action as part of social movements and become answerable to leadership from those impacted most by white supremacy/racism.”
  
  - Post pre-written flipchart paper:
    - **ACCOUNTABILITY**
      - Taking leadership from most impacted communities
      - Following through on what you’ve committed to doing
      - Individuals and groups answerable to their decisions and actions
      - Not simply “doing what you’re told”
      - Thinking about what you have to offer to support movement building
      - Being transparent and honest; learning from mistakes
      - Not a fixed concept; a cyclical process of reflection and action

  - Ask for thoughts, questions, or clarifications on this definition.

  - Facilitator shares 2 local/regional examples of what white people’s, anti-racist leadership has looked like (10 minutes)
    - These could be organizational or personal experiences.
    - Don’t share examples of “perfect” organizing. Share messy examples. Pull out both things you did well, and also the places that got really complicated, the things that you could have done better. Model being vulnerable about making mistakes and learning from them, but also about moving on and not getting trapped in cycles of guilt. Highlight a focus on the IMPACT. What change are we making in the world?

  - Whole Group Brainstorm – Group discussion about what white people’s leadership means to us and what it might look like. (10 minutes) Please think about examples at the interpersonal, community and organizational level.
    - Internal facilitation notes:
      - Help the group recenter white supremacy/racism in the event that we focus disproportionately the oppression of poor and working class white people.
- Keep track (call on people, prioritizing those we haven’t heard from). Takes notes.
- Be prepared with discussion questions to move the conversation if things get silent or if folks are not speaking up
  - Discussion Questions (written on flipchart paper):
    - What are roles white people can/should be taking on in support of social justice?
    - What are qualities we need to be practicing to support other people’s leadership?
    - How can we be bringing more white people into anti-racist leadership in accountable ways?
    - How can we intervene in racist behavior?
    - How can we, ourselves be practicing accountability in all aspects of our lives? This includes our interpersonal relationships, families, friendships and organizing works. How can we be inviting accountability from our communities? (take a bit with this question)
    - What sort of support do we need (from other white anti-racist people in our group), individually, to be accountable leaders?

3. **Commitments Activity: 30 minutes**
   - “We are going to spend the next 30 minutes reflecting on what you want to learn more about and making a commitment to ourselves and each other to continue learning.”
   - “This is an opportunity to practice creating short term goals that are in relationship to long-term goals. Our goals about transforming society are ambitious! So we need to identify smaller steps along the way towards those goals.”
   - Ask people to think about this organizationally - “A key to our development as white anti-racist leaders is to continue to shift our thinking from the individual towards the collective whole.”
   - “I encourage you to think about how you will bring back tools, lessons, analysis, etc from these four sessions into ORGANIZATIONS, and other groupings of people to build collective power.”
   - “First, let’s take 5 minutes to journal.” Write this prompt on a flipchart: *What do you see as next steps coming out of this session?*
   - After 5 minutes, handout two post-its notes to each person.
   - Ask people to clarify their own commitments. These should:
     - Have a specific time frame (we like to suggest 3-6 months)
o Be measurable - this is what makes accountability possible - how will you know if you've done it?
o Support both your own development and contribute to moving from the individual to the collective approach
o Include thinking about who you want to talk to to help shape your commitment (family, friends, co-workers, etc.)

- Have people write down one commitment on two post-its. When they are done, have them put one copy of the commitment in a hat or box.
- “Now we are going to take some time to pair up and share our commitments with each other. This will be your accountabili-buddy - you should check in with each other in a few days, a week, etc, to see how each person is doing with their commitment.”
- “While we share our commitments, I encourage you to ask each other questions, like how are you going to do that? What kind of support do you need to get that done?”
- After 10 minutes, get back into a circle and have people go around reading their commitments out loud.
- Once everyone has shared ask, “How was it to write these commitments?” Take some people’s thoughts. “I encourage you to take the post-it notes you wrote and put them somewhere you can see it, look at it, and be reminded of the work you need to do. Lastly, I encourage you to share your commitments with someone that wasn’t here today and ask that person to help remind you of your commitment.”

4. Visioning and Opportunities: 40 minutes
- Introductory framing (10 minutes) - “Many of us spend so much time resisting and fighting back that we don’t engage our creative and critical thinking about what it is we want to build in place of what needs to go. Our racial justice co-learning circle has identified white supremacy as one of the dominant systems of oppression that perpetuates racism and unequal power and access to resources. It’s critical that we know what we are fighting against, what we are up against. And we also want our work to be grounded in the visions of the future we want to be creating, what we are fighting for. This exercise provides us an opportunity to connect to our visions.”

- 1) Settle people in: Ask participants to close their eyes, slowly ask them to: take a few deep breaths,… notice the sounds around you,…feel the floor under your feet,… feel the back of your seat, …feel the fabric on your legs, ….temperature of room…
- 2) An example of vision: Read aloud - “When I dare to be powerful -- to use my strength in the service of my vision, then it becomes less and less important
whether I am afraid.” - Audre Lorde, a self-described “black, lesbian, mother, warrior, poet,” Audre Lorde dedicated both her life and her creative talent to confronting and addressing injustices of racism, sexism, classism, and homophobia.

- **3) Lead people through their own visioning:** Go through the following questions slowly, allowing people time to think about them:
  - “What is the vision of the world you are working toward?”
  - “What is your vision of social justice?”
  - “We all see a lot of violence and harm institutionally and interpersonally. If we could re-imagine all of that shifting, what would it look like in your home or family... your neighborhood, your town?”
  - “How would people relate to each other?”
  - “How would people relate to the work they’re doing?”
  - “How would people relate to resources, the planet?”
  - “What is valued, who is valued and how?”
  - “What kind of institutions would or wouldn’t be in your neighborhood?”
  - “What kind of services and what would they look like?”
  - “What would the values of the economy be based on?”
  - “How would decisions get made about things affecting your neighborhood or town?”
  - “How would conflict be dealt with?”
  - “What kind of activities might be going on? Think about other communities or other places... Are there ways people are organized and the values they share that inspire you? Are there things that you draw from your community or family that inspire parts of your vision?”
  - “When you are ready, open your eyes.”

- **Journal (5 minutes)** “Take 5 minutes to journal about your visions.”

- **Pair-share (25 minutes)** “Take 15 minutes to get into groups of 2 or 3 to share your visions. I will let you know when 10 minutes has gone by and you can pick one piece of your vision and talk about what opportunities you see to help build power toward that vision/what will it take to get there? You’ll have another 10 minutes to discuss your ideas in pair groups.”

- **After 10 minutes, wrap up conversation. Come back together as a whole group.**

- **Have participants share what they imagined and the opportunities they see right now to make that vision a reality. As they share, have one person draw what people are saying, creating a drawing of people’s visions. This could also be a group drawing.”**
5. **Conclusion: 10 Minutes**

- **Concluding framing** - “White people’s anti-racist leadership can look like a multitude of examples and practices. Each of us brings unique passions, ideas, skills to the table and the goal is to find the right role for us in the movement. Our leadership can look like: relationship building and leadership development (one-on-one relationship building, respect and forming trust); movement building work (organizing, direct actions, coalitions), service provision (childcare, food, transportation); recruitment and mobilization of other white people; intervention in racist behaviors; building a positive feminist anti-racist culture, and more.”

- “White people’s anti-racist leadership can look like a ton of different ways. But a couple key threads are about choosing to participate in projects, campaigns and initiatives that are developed and led by people of color, women, trans and gender nonconforming people, and also centering racial and gender justice in everything we do.”

- “We are nearing the end of our time together today, but if you are hungry to dig into this deeper, come to XXX - [insert upcoming action for folks to plug into].” If there is a local campaign or follow up meeting that makes sense of people to get plugged into, it would be good to announce that here and make sure any supportive materials get passed out (i.e. flyers, postcards, petitions, etc.)

- “Lastly, the main goals of these sessions were to help white people understand our identity as white people within a racist system which assumes our superiority while at the same time challenging that assumption and replacing it with a positive, anti-racist identity. While many white people seem to think that the solution is to claim ‘colorblindness,’ both with regards to ourselves and to people of color, we believe that it is absolutely critical to accept our identity as white people within a white group, understanding that this association profoundly affects the quality of our lives politically, economically, socially. We must then work, in the words of Beverly Daniel Tatum in her excellent book on racial identity development Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting in the Cafeteria Together (p. 94), “to feel good about it in the context of a commitment to a just society. This requires two tasks: the abandonment of individual racism and the recognition of and opposition to institutional and cultural racism.”

- “To actualize our visions for a better world, it will take our collective accountability and commitment as white anti-racist allies to support people of color-led movements for social change. So before you leave today, we have evaluations for you all to fill out to gather feedback to improve the racial justice co-learning circle sessions, my facilitation, and to document the benefits of our collective work. We want to continue to make these sessions accessible to as
many people in our community as we can and create a place where we can build off the good work already being done around us.” Give time for participants to fill out evaluations.

- Facilitator Note: Express gratitude/appreciation for the group. Consider ending with a powerful song, chant, poem or spiritual offering that gives you strength to take action around a collective vision for a racially just world. Dismiss.
EVALUATION FORM
Racial Justice Co-Learning Circle

Facilitator Name: ____________________
Organization: ____________________
Date: __________________

What were your expectations for the racial justice co-learning circle?

What was most useful about the four sessions you participated in?

What needs improvement?

Evaluation your participation:
Did you feel like you were able to participate fully in the activities? Yes or No
  Why or why not?

Do you feel like you learned from others participating in the activities? Yes or No
  Why or why not?

Any other comments?

Logistics:
Did you receive logistical information in a satisfactory manner? Yes or No
Was the meeting location satisfactory for your needs? Yes or No
Any other comments on logistics?


