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<u>The Human Journey Toward Justice:</u> <u>Reflections in the Wake of the Murder of George Floyd</u> <u>from a Community of Practitioners</u>

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MEMORIES AND REFLECTIONS FOLLOWING THE KILLING OF GEORGE FLOYD

The day after the killing of Mr. Floyd, I joined a large gathering of people at the junction of 38th and Chicago, where four police officers of the Minneapolis Police Department (MPD) killed George Floyd. I heard several speeches calling for justice for the arrest and criminal prosecution of the officers. Then, the gathering began to march. Conversing with fellow marchers, I learned that we were marching toward Minneapolis' Third Police Precinct on Lake Street. There were mothers, fathers, sons, daughters, the young, and the old. Some people were dressed casually, while others had just gotten off work. Some Native Americans were there with American Indian Movement signs and other signs calling for justice.² I saw a spectrum of people from Asian American and Latinx communities as well. There was no one leader, but there was synergy. The marchers came together to fill the necessary roles and to create a brave and safe protest march.

People jumped into action to shut down the upcoming junctions, so when we arrived on Hiawatha Avenue, it seemed as though the roads had been cleared, and traffic was stopped. I heard drumming and people chanting for justice, "No Justice, No Peace!", "What's His

¹ Dr. Raj Sethuraju, Brent Lehman, Natasha Lapcinski, Taylor Saver, Kara Beckman, and Dr. Tamara Mattison are all restorative justice practitioners in the Twin Cities metro area.

² Hannah Jeon, *Powerful Black Lives Matter Signs From Racial Justice Protests Around the World*, GOOD HOUSEKEEPING (July 14, 2020), https://www.goodhousekeeping.com/life/g33024721/black-lives-matter-protest-signs-2020/.

Name? George Floyd! Say His Name! George Floyd!" and other chants to end police brutality. The march was spontaneous, and it brought in the voices of people who have been bystanders, people who have been in the trenches, and veterans of this movement for justice who picked up the cues to step into action. It was not an organized march, but it felt that way because everyone had come together under the call for justice.

I didn't observe any action by members of the community that could be considered rioting. Terms such as "rioting" and "uprising" are intentionally used to discredit and undermine any movement's goals and values. They are used to criminalize the message of the movement. The words "rioting" and "uprisings" are dog whistles used to conjure fear and public safety concerns, especially among the white community.³ The fear distorts the message and calls for justice.⁴ The general public and the policymakers, along with enforcement agencies, are pushed to react instead of reflecting, restoring, and reforming.⁵ Language matters, primarily because our communities are often confined to zip codes, and we fail to have a relational understanding of the other.⁶ This systematic and cultural oppression⁷ does not allow us to address the pandemic of racism—instead, we react to the few who may cause harm the properties and a sense of peace.⁸

I witnessed people coming together, helping each other, sharing food and water, and acting out their values. People stopped and checked in with each other along the way. There was a lot of care and spontaneous humanity on display. I'm not naive to think that what I saw and witnessed was the whole truth, but what I witnessed was a call for justice from mostly communities of color who have been subjected to this systematic and cultural oppression. When they were marching on, I could feel that energy in their strides. They were walking their values; they fought for their beliefs and exercised their right to be heard, as the popular chant goes, "This is what democracy looks like." People were present in the moment. They were exercising not just their constitutional rights but also their human rights. These inhumane actions taken by the MPD have a long history in this community.⁹

³ Katy Steinmetz, 'A War of Words.' Why Describing the George Floyd Protests as 'Riots' is So Loaded, TIME (June 8, 2020), https://time.com/5849163/why-describing-george-floyd-protests-as-riots-is-loaded/.

⁴ Brian Dijkema, Who's Afraid of Social Justice?, COMMENT (Aug. 1, 2019)

https://www.cardus.ca/comment/article/whos-afraid-of-social-justice/.

⁵ L.B. Klein & Andrew J. Rizzo, *Shifting From Rreactive to Proactive: Using Social Justice and Ecological Approaches for Sexual Violence Prevention, in* CONF.: NAT'L ASS'N OF STUDENT PERSONNEL ADMINS. VIOLENCE PREVENTION STRATEGIES at Orlando, FL (Jan. 2016),

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/307512228_Shifting_from_reactive_to_proactive_Using_social_justice_a nd ecological approaches for sexual violence prevention.

⁶ Jen Laskey, How Your Zip Code Affects Your Health As a Black Woman, TODAY,

https://www.today.com/specials/how-zip-code-affects-health-black-women/ (last visited Mar. 1, 2021).

⁷ See JOE R. FEAGIN, SYSTEMIC RACISM: A THEORY OF OPPRESSION (2006).

⁸ Matthew Legge, *The Psychology That Explains Your Reaction to Mass Protests*, PSYCH. TODAY (June 3, 2020), https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/are-we-done-fighting/202006/the-psychology-explains-your-reactionmass-protests.

⁹ MPD150, ENOUGH IS ENOUGH: A 150-YEAR PERFORMANCE REVIEW OF THE MMINNEAPOLIS POLICE DEPARTMENT (2017), https://www.mpd150.com/wp-content/themes/mpd150/assets/mpd150_report.pdf.

*There is a history of abuse toward the indigenous populations, poor communities, the mentally ill, immigrants and Blacks.*¹⁰

The march toward the Third Precinct became very symbolic. It was not just a march to protest against George Floyd's killing!

The journey for justice has been an ongoing call that came to fruition upon the killing of George Floyd. As people began to turn onto Hiawatha and marched toward Lake Street and the Third Precinct, I had to ask myself how different things are today than twenty, thirty, even forty years ago.¹¹ Whilst some people have a myopic perspective or say this is all just about George Floyd's killing, to me, it was not only rightfully recognizing the killing of George Floyd but also honestly acknowledging the history of police brutality and neglect from elected officials and accounting for lack of access to an environment free of micro and macro aggressions, housing, and jobs.¹² All of these social ills continued to bring more and more people to the march. As evening fell, there was an impending weather alert.¹³ but the gathering did not seem to be disappearing or attenuating. As we approached Lake Street and Minnehaha Avenue, I realized the whole intersection was full of voices, calling for justice and officers' arrest. I looked into the Third Police Precinct, but there was minimal movement inside. As I walked around the building, people had surrounded the building shouting for justice. The businesses around the precinct had shut down and felt threatened. Volunteers were helping business owners move things out of the buildings.¹⁴

As I reflected on the march, I realized I went to the junction to pay tribute to George Floyd's life. I saw his face and heard the narratives of the people who were gathering at the square. As I listened to the narratives, I understood the pain of those who joined the gathering. The intent was clear—to be fully present. I realized I needed and wanted to be a part of the march despite not knowing where we would end up. Some questions lingered in my mind. How long would the movement last? How long would we be marching? I realized my concerns were minimal in comparison to the purpose of the gathering. As I marched, I felt people being fully present—they did not come to be seen, but to be heard. I was humbled by the call for justice and the call to undo the many oppressive knees that have consistently pressed on Black and brown bodies.¹⁵ Throughout the march, people were naming the various ways knees have been placed on the

¹⁰ Meilan Solly, *158 Resources to Understand Racism in America*, SMITHSONIAN MAG. (June 4, 2020), https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/158-resources-understanding-systemic-racism-america-180975029/#sectionOne.

¹¹ Jesse J. Holland, *Report: How Black America has Changed in 40 Years*, PBS (May 17, 2016),

https://www.pbs.org/newshour/nation/report-black-america-doing-much-better-than-40-years-ago.

¹² Danyelle Solomon, Connor Maxwell & Abril Castro, *Systematic Inequality and American Democracy*, CTR. AM. PROGRESS (Aug. 7, 2019), https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/race/reports/2019/08/07/473003/systematic-inequality-american-democracy/.

¹³ May 2020 Weather in Minneapolis—Graph, TIMEANDDATE.COM,

https://www.timeanddate.com/weather/usa/minneapolis/historic?month=5&year=2020 (last visited Mar. 1, 2021).

¹⁴ Luke Mogelson, The Heart of the Uprising in Minneapolis, NEW YORKER (June 15, 2020),

https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2020/06/22/the-heart-of-the-uprising-in-minneapolis.

¹⁵ Kate Slater, *What is Systemic Racism?*, TODAY (Feb. 4, 2021), https://www.today.com/tmrw/what-systemic-racism-t207878.

necks of Black and brown people for centuries. Some had not felt the oppressive knee until they viewed the video of the MPD officer killing George Floyd.¹⁶

For me, the march was a personal call to do more upstream work¹⁷ instead of waiting for politicians' and theoreticians' invitations to start working for change. The gathering after George Floyd's killing was organized to do this upstream work and demand significant changes.¹⁸ People were not satisfied with the past reforms of additional training for police officers and correctional officers. People have come to realize that the calls for training and changing law enforcement policies were simply another line item in a burgeoning budget for law enforcement.¹⁹ For decades, police departments have gotten both state and federal funding to help "fix" policing and the "bad apples" within departments.²⁰ Still, such financings have not addressed culture and systemic oppression. This oppressive behavior is "baked into the culture of policing," given its origins.²¹

As academicians, we teach about the many theoretical perspectives about why laws are broken and harm is caused in our communities. We talk about the work of police, the justice system, and prisons; however that rhetoric and research still have not had a full impact on changing how these systems are operating for well over hundreds of years.²² The marchers' chants reinforced the desire to be anchored in values versus policies and procedures. As a system, we've created policies and procedures that do not address the causes of oppression.²³ As academicians and practitioners, we teach and learn how to work downstream and stay in an emergency space.²⁴ However, much of what we teach people in academia have not changed the root causes of what's forcing people to fall into the stream in the first place.²⁵

When you operate in an emergency mode, you are moved because of fear. We put a bucket under a leak to catch the water. We place a single shingle to patch the roof if we have time for that, but we don't have time, resources, or funds to replace the entire roof that is structurally broken. As a result, the ceiling becomes wet and moldy, and we have no choice but to replace the whole thing.

¹⁶ Alex Altman, *Why the Killing of George Floyd Sparked an American Uprising*, TIME (June 4, 2020), https://time.com/5847967/george-floyd-protests-trump/.

¹⁷ Mychal Denzel Smith, Incremental Change Is a Moral Failure, THE ATLANTIC (Sept. 2020),

https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2020/09/police-reform-is-not-enough/614176/.

¹⁸ Alexis Okeowo, *How to Defund the Police*, NEW YORKER (June 26, 2020),

https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/how-the-police-could-be-defunded.

 ¹⁹ Mariame Kaba & Andrea J. Ritchie, We Want More Justice for Breonna Taylor Than the System That Killed Her Can Deliver, ESSENCE (July 16, 2020), https://www.essence.com/feature/breonna-taylor-justice-abolition.
²⁰ Sam Levin, 'It's Not About Bad Apples': How US Police Reforms have Failed to Stop Brutality and Violence,

GUARDIAN (June 16, 2020), https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/jun/16/its-not-about-bad-apples-how-us-police-reforms-have-failed-to-stop-brutality-and-violence.

²¹ Roge Karma, *We Train Police to be Warriors—and then Send Them Out to be Social Workers*, VOX (July 31, 2020). https://www.vox.com/2020/7/31/21334190/what-police-do-defund-abolish-police-reform-training.

²² See Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, We Should Still Defund the Police, NEW YORKER (Aug. 14, 2020),

https://www.newyorker.com/news/our-columnists/defund-the-police.

²³ Eve L. Ewing, *Blue Bloods: America's Brotherhood of Police Officers*, VANITY FAIR (Aug. 25, 2020)

https://www.vanityfair.com/culture/2020/08/americas-brotherhood-of-police-officers.

²⁴ See Justin Ellis, *Minneapolis Had This Coming*, THE ATLANTIC (July 1, 2020)

https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/06/minneapolis-long-overdue-crisis/612826/.

²⁵ Robert Maranto, How Academia Failed to Improve Police Practices, WALL ST. J. (June 10, 2020)

https://www.wsj.com/articles/how-academia-failed-to-improve-police-practices-11591807543.

Our justice system is the same.²⁶ When we operate out of a place of emergency, it becomes a dogma, a religion, so to speak, and an unhealthy way of functioning. We become used to it and reinforce it so that it is our only known way of operation. On the contrary, when you operate in urgency, you recognize the situation's immediate needs without staying in feelings of fear.

LAKE STREET MARCH FROM 38TH AND CHICAGO TO LAKE ST. TO ST. PAUL AND BACK

We gathered at the site of the killing of Mr. Floyd five days after the murder. A large group of people gathered at the junction of 38th and Chicago. The congregants stretched far and wide. I was with some friends in the gas station parking lot. We listened to many different speakers. These brothers, sisters, relatives, and passionate souls gave many stories, narratives, and experiences, all leading to the call for justice.

I often participate in gatherings of this nature and listen tentatively to the people's voices on stage and all around me. As a university faculty, I am usually on stage, talking about justice with an academic lens. But today, and the countless gatherings I have attended, I felt liberated to hear about our justice system and the many ways it is designed to hurt²⁷. Distressed communities of color, especially our black and indigenous communities, the poor, mentally challenged, and others who have disproportionate contact with law enforcement agencies, courts, and correctional systems.²⁸ When these individuals talked and shared their stories, I am humbled to learn about our so-called justice system's dark corners.²⁹

However, the underlying themes brought up by many of the speakers do sound familiar because the community has witnessed and experienced it for far too long without an appreciation for their pain.³⁰ The killing of Mr. Floyd is not an isolated incident, but it is a part of a long history of lynching. However, this lynching got televised. The lens that captured this brutality moved people from magical and naive consciousness of the work of public safety and forced us into what Paulo Freire called "critical consciousness."³¹ Our naive perceptions about police work in the name of our public safety were quickly scrambled, and people "turned-up" in their way.

²⁷ Rachel Kushner, *Is Prison Necessary? Ruth Wilson Gilmore Might Change Your Mind*, N.Y. TIMES (Apr. 17, 2019), https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/17/magazine/prison-abolition-ruth-wilson-gilmore.html.

²⁶ See Igor Derysh, *How Decades of Racist Policies and "White Mob Violence" Heightened Tensions in Minneapolis*, SALON (June 8, 2020), https://www.salon.com/2020/06/08/decades-of-racist-policies-and-white-mob-violence-sparked-minneapolis-unrest-after-floyd-murder/.

²⁸ MICHELLE ALEXANDER, THE NEW JIM CROW: MASS INCARCERATION IN THE AGE OF COLORBLINDNESS (10th ed. 2020).

²⁹ Id.

³⁰ See generally Jenn Schreiter & Niko Georgiades, *George Floyd Uprising in Minneapolis*—Saint Paul—The First Two Weeks, UNICORN RIOT (June 14, 2020), https://unicornriot.ninja/2020/george-floyd-uprising-in-minneapolis-saint-paul-the-first-two-weeks/ (showing video footage of the first two weeks of protests against George Floyd's killing in Minneapolis).

³¹ Paulo Freire, PEDAGOGY OF THE OPPRESSED (30th Anniversary ed. 2006).

HUMAN JOURNEY

As I looked out into the gathering of people, I saw people of various ages and hues. I heard different accents, read beautiful signs, all calling for justice and the arrest of the officers who were directly involved in the killing of Mr. Floyd. As the speeches dwindled, people began to call for a march. I joined the movement alongside one of the organizers of the action. A young man who was devastated by the killing and all of the things he was learning at a rapid scale. He and a few other organizers began to call for the march, without much of a destination. However, as we started the movement, people began to whisper that we would march towards Lake Street and possibly end at the police station that was burned down. All through the march, people were excited. Some automatically began to monitor the movement to make sure we were not causing harm, directly marching and speaking to power and privilege, and calling for justice and healing.

The organizers were very clear that today we are marching for black lives, justice, and a call to end police brutality.³² When we reached the junction of the police department, we all knelt, and the organizers made a few brief speeches. One of the organizers shared that we are marching towards the capitol, and there we will be joined by many other marchers. The people in the march got excited. The sun was slowly settling down as we moved on Lake Street towards St. Paul, Minnesota.

As we approached the bridge that connected Lake Street (Minneapolis) to Marshall (St. Paul), we could see barricades that the police set up on the St. Paul side of the bridge. As we marched on the bridge, we were warned not to advance in our march. We gathered to decide how to proceed. The crowd was not about to give up, so we pushed forward despite the warning. The police force began to launch gas canisters at us, and the air quickly became noxious. But we continued, now we began to see rubber bullets being fired at us.³³ The crowd started to disperse, running towards Lake Street. We began to retreat and gather back on the Minneapolis side of the bridge.

The rubber bullets hurt some of the members, but most of us were affected by the gas.³⁴ As we gathered, we made a collective decision to march back to the sacred ground—38th and Chicago. We stepped back, staying together and continued our chants. As we approached the Hiawatha Bridge, we realized police cars were on the bridge and scattered around under the bridge.³⁵ A few of the marchers and I saw a young man fell as he was trying to get away from an officer who was frantically pepper-spraying at the young man when he was on the ground.³⁶ We ran towards the young man to help him up. As I tried to pick him

³⁶ Id.

³² See generally Josiah Bates, 'These Protests Are the Community Grieving.' Activists Say Minneapolis Leaders Need to Make Drastic Changes After George Floyd's Murder, TIME (May 29, 2020),

https://time.com/5844252/minneapolis-activists-police-protests-george-floyd/ (describing some of the many groups and individual organizers involved with the Minneapolis protests following George Floyd's killing. The specific organizers of the event on this date are unknown, but they were often groups of community members like those highlighted in the article).

³³ Sam Richards, *Behind the Law Enforcement Response to the George Floyd Uprising—Pt 1: Munitions Delivery,* UNICORN RIOT (Dec. 3, 2020), https://unicornriot.ninja/2020/behind-the-law-enforcement-response-to-the-george-floyd-uprising-pt-1-munitions-delivery/.

³⁴ Id.

³⁵ *Id*.

up, I began to experience a burning sensation on my back. We were able to drag the young man away from the police. The police on the bridge shot at us, but we were able to get away. After establishing a safe distance, I began to complain about the burning sensation. As I felt my back, I realized that I was doused with pepper spray. But we had to keep marching because the police cars were heading our way. As the crowd began to disperse, a few of us entered a quiet street to head toward our vehicles.

The neighbors patrolled the street. We announced that we were not there to cause any harm; we were merely escaping police. The neighbors were friendly but cautious. One of the neighbors brought a gallon of milk. I was able to pour it on my back, which helped absorb some of the heat. We made it to our cars parked close to 38th and Chicago.

As I drove home, I realized that many of us came close to being harmed by the rubber bullets, and some of us were hurt by the tear-gas and pepper spray. However, for the most part, the marchers continued until we were assaulted. Many of us wanted to keep the march going, but we withdrew in the face of such aggression. Many of us marched because we did not want the fight for justice to end in the wake of violence and show of force. We were confident that others continued marching and would continue to advance. The day was long, but our resolve to stay with the values of justice continued to keep hope alive. If I could have invited my academic colleagues to witness the people's determination and resolve, it would have made a permanent stain on their presentation, lectures, and discussions.³⁷ These experiences continue to make me question my academic exposure. I am not comfortable in my educational role, and I continue to struggle with how activists are defined in our academic arenas. How good is our academic degree when we continue to churn up theories and research findings that have not impacted the lives of those who continue to fall deeper into injustice systems and are kept there by the oppressive knee of the system and those who guard it?

Until I saw myself as an activist, academia seemed beyond me. I continue to experience the imposter syndrome, primarily because I cannot think about any proper academic research. Still, I am often involved in panels, marches, and debates about reforming our racialized and oppressive systems.

We are not asking anyone to forget their pain. If we do that, we will repeat the same harm. Forgiveness is not about forgetting. When we forget our mistakes or the wrongs that we have caused, we will repeat the same mistakes. When we repeat these mistakes and harms, we are merely journeying with the same thoughts and patterns. However, when we are grounded in our values, we can begin to recognize these thoughts and trends and the trauma and all the poison that we are carrying with us. By being present with our history, we allow ourselves to address that poisonous, patterned thinking, and work towards cleansing ourselves as we journey to repair our harms.

³⁷ The emotional testimony of hearing our experiences alongside videos and pictures of what occurred would create a great deal of empathy in our colleagues for the injustice we all research and discuss on a daily basis. As such, this would influence the way they move forward in this work.

Once you state your values, they don't automatically grow with beautiful leaves and deep roots—our values must be nurtured. Nurturing happens through reflection, restoration, and reformation.

SUNDAY, MAY 31, 2020—MINNEAPOLIS, MN MARCH FROM US BANK STADIUM TO 35W BRIDGE (MEMORIES FROM BRENT LEHMAN, RESIDENT OF ST. PAUL, MN)

In the afternoon on Sunday, May 31, 2020, Raj, Taylor, and I put together an impromptu medical kit with supplies and a dozen tear-gas eye-washing kits to hand out. We grabbed our backpacks and face protection and drove to US Bank Stadium. We joined a roaring gathering that started marching from US Bank Stadium in Minneapolis. The cheering, chanting, and pleading voices echoed off the buildings. It was a wonderful, loving group of people and the largest group I had seen over the past five days. Because the gathering spread over many blocks, dozens of people started chants and stepped in to lead when there was silence. I saw a few familiar faces, many younger people, and people greeting each other like new friends. As we passed an apartment building in the Northeast, many elders who could not join us cheered from the balconies. People offered each other masks, food, water, and tear-gas eye-washing kits. People took care of one another.

The gathering marched toward the 35W bridge and onto both the north and southbound lanes. Everyone in a car pulled off the bridge, cheered us on, and chanted with the crowds. Some people pulled over and joined the gathering. As the end of the group of marchers arrived on the bridge, we all took a knee to honor George Floyd, the speakers, and each other. Just as it was announced that Mayor Jacob Frey would be joining the gathering, the rumble and horn of a sizable, accelerating gasoline tanker drew everyone's attention as it barreled toward the crowd. People jumped up and immediately started helping each other get clear of the truck's path. People were on the lookout, making sure no one was trampled. The truck slammed on its brakes, and its front right tire came within inches from crushing a seated person who was struggling to get up.

Raj and a few others ran straight to the truck and pulled the person from under the truck tire. Other people jumped on the truck to stop the driver. I saw people in the truck's path and joined others directing people to move out of the way of the truck. Once the road was clear, the truck took off again, driving to the middle of the bridge. I looked around, disoriented, and realized I had lost Raj and Taylor, later finding out that they both jumped on the truck without a second thought. Raj and a group of three or four other people got the driver out of the vehicle, kept him alive, and kept the many young people pursuing the driver from doing something they would regret. People were understandably expressing their anger and tried to get to the driver. About five minutes later, the police arrived. Immediately after handing off the driver to the police, Raj was tear-gassed in the eyes.

After the truck came through, people immediately started helping each other get off the bridge safely. I spoke with a woman looking for her husband and kids. People immediately jumped into action to help her look. People supported each other off the bridge and climbed

over fences as the police aggressively approached. A group of four or five police vehicles drove on the bridge, and one officer sprayed tear-gas from the window of the car into the eyes of people trying to get off the bridge. A young person who had been sprayed in the eyes came up to me, and within seconds we found someone with an eye washing kit.

People were supporting each other, sharing what they had, and demonstrating what it looks like for a community to live out their values. As I reflect on that day, I learned a lesson about what honoring human life could look like in the most challenging situation. I saw what it looks like for people to risk their lives to live out their values in the most human way. The gathering had dispersed, and people recongregated at US Bank Stadium. Police encircled a group of marchers at the bridge's exit and arrested each, one at a time. Taylor and I found each other and met up with Raj, who had been separated on the other side of the bridge, where we learned what Raj had just been through. We got Raj some more teargas-washing kits for his eyes and headed to North Minneapolis.

When a law enforcement officer runs towards a burning building, they are running because they value life. Does that make them a hero? No, it makes them human. When we use language that suggests we are an expert or a hero, we place ourselves above others, which strips their humanity and our own. When our humanity is denied, we begin alienating, distancing, disenfranchising, and harming people. When we run towards our values, we build trust, nurture humility, and work on wellness instead of our egos.

NORTH MINNEAPOLIS—NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP) COMMUNITY WATCH/WELLNESS (SHARED BY TAYLOR SAVER, RESIDENT OF NORTH MINNEAPOLIS)

*"The greatness of a community is most accurately measured by the compassionate actions of its members"—Coretta Scott King.*³⁸

After parking my car in the mostly empty, fenced area behind a local church on West Broadway Avenue, I grabbed my face covering and quietly shuffled over to a group of volunteers huddled in the corner of the lot. As the NAACP MPLS volunteer coordinator checked us in, we grabbed our shirts—grey "My identity is not your crisis," or yellow "Blacktivist" designs—which identified us, to each other and others in the community, as volunteers for the community watch.³⁹ There were laughs, smiles, and pleasant greetings as we received our instructions, but we knew the matter at hand was dangerous.

The communal trauma and grief regarding the killing of George Floyd are palpable in North Minneapolis, a community with intimate knowledge and history of the pain of the

³⁸ Associated Press, King's Widow Urges Acts of Compassion, L.A. TIMES (Jan. 17, 2000, 12:00 AM),

https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2000-jan-17-mn-54832-story.html (quoting Coretta Scott King). ³⁹ Jared Goyette, *Citizen Patrols Organize Across Minneapolis as Confidence in the Police Force Plummets*, WASH. POST (June 7, 2020, 4:30 AM), https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/citizen-patrols-make-statement-inminneapolis/2020/06/06/cc1844d4-a78c-11ea-b473-04905b1af82b_story.html.

loss of life at the hands of MPD.⁴⁰ Hours earlier, a semi-truck went through those of us marching; buildings and businesses on the south side had been burned and looted; and now threats had been made against black-owned businesses over the north.⁴¹ Our call was to come together and keep watch over the streets we call home, and the businesses that keep us fed and serve our community. We were grouped up with others, and sent out to keep watch.

Gunshots—Time to Get Back in the House. When gunshots were heard, some took cover where they could, and others rushed back to the restaurant that served as the base of operations for the group and waited for the all-clear signal to be given.⁴² Throughout these moments of tension were moments of real community. Youth, North Minneapolis residents, and local representatives banding together to create systems of care that work for our community.⁴³ We communicated over walkie talkies, texts, and calls. We chatted with passersby, received honks of support and appreciation from other residents, exchanged stories, and shared food. Some chose to carry weapons, others decided to be present without, but we were all there to set aside momentary differences and come together for each other. In our society, we've been thoroughly trained to see the world through lenses of division, particularly when in a place of fear. In my experiences here, moments like these can teach us that the differences we see in each other only divide us when we are in a community without a shared vision and trust.

Throughout the next few nights, those of us who continued to show up witnessed the building of something special. Housed in a local restaurant and church space was a community watch group, a pantry with necessities for those in need, donated food to feed the volunteers and community, and a volunteer emergency medical technician (EMT) ready to report as needed.⁴⁴ The chief of police would visit on occasion. News crews came and went.⁴⁵ At the heart of it all was a dedication to community wellness, liberation through shared power, and the unmistakable sense of a community providing for and protecting itself.⁴⁶

When we create systems, we do so because we believe they are serving us. We build systems and then are forced to dance around the system, which in turn maintains it, even when it has never really worked. We become trapped in dualistic narratives, right or wrong, true or false, black or

https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/06/minneapolis-long-overdue-crisis/612826.

⁴⁰ Justin Ellis, *Minneapolis Had This Coming*, THE ATLANTIC (July 1, 2020, 12:45 PM),

⁴¹ Chris McGreal & Lois Beckett, *Truck Drives Through Crowd of Protestors on Minneapolis Bridge*, THE GUARDIAN (May 31, 2020, 8:24 PM), https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/may/31/semi-truck-drives-through-crowd-of-protesters-on-minneapolis-bridge.

⁴² Goyette, *supra*, note 39.

⁴³ Nate Scott, *The Morning After Protests, Communities Come Together to Clean Up Streets*, USA TODAY (May 30, 2020, 8:32 AM), https://ftw.usatoday.com/2020/05/george-floyd-protests-cleaning.

⁴⁴ Nick Mancall-Bitel, *Mutual Aid Groups Band Together to Feed Communities Through Crisis*, EATER (June 4, 2020, 3:41 PM), https://www.eater.com/2020/6/4/21280367/mutual-aid-groups-food-donations-george-floyd-protests.

⁴⁵ Goyette, *supra* note 39.

⁴⁶ Id.

white, and we reinforce the same supremacist ideals that we are trying to undo. We became exhausted because we were working towards efficiency instead of empathy and engagement.

This is how restorative practices have been harmed by practitioners who have not done deep, internal, anti-racist work.⁴⁷ We have been shown to operate out of a ceremonial mind instead of a ritual heart.

RESTORATIVE JUSTICE PRACTITIONERS GATHERING (AS SHARED BY DR. RAJ SETHURAJU)

Incidentally, a week after the march, I was in a Zoom call with restorative justice practitioners. It was interesting because the person who organized the Zoom gathering started to invite us to share how we were feeling and asked what the latest book we were reading. Meanwhile, I sat still, with my heart in the trenches on Lake Street in Minneapolis, in St. Paul, and North Minneapolis.

As I listened, I heard a conversation on how people were expanding their horizons on restorative justice and social justice to include racial justice and how to be anti-racist. When it was my turn to share, I asked, "Are we lacking knowledge, or are we lacking a way of being?"

People's responses about what they were reading were challenging to hear, knowing that these themes are not new and have been in existence for a long time. Authors have written about racial justice, the need to address disparities, and how mass incarceration impacts communities of color.

Michelle Alexander's book, "The New Jim Crow," just celebrated its tenth year of publication.⁴⁸ As people continued to share, I did not recognize a spirit in their responses. As I listened, I reflected on the sense of the young and old, black and white communities that I marched with. I heard their voices and calls to undo policing and decrease the footprints of policing.⁴⁹ That feeling on the Zoom call lacked the same depth that I heard in the streets. I witnessed how privileged many of us are. Many of us call ourselves restorative justice practitioners and have been complicit and have stood along with these systems that have continuously placed their knees on black and brown bodies.

As people were describing their readings, it became apparent that we need to stop this intellectual masturbation process. We need to get down to as many marches and protests as possible—stand alongside people—to listen and learn from

⁴⁷ Edward C. Valandra, Wanbli W. Hokšíla & J. Robert G. Yazzie, Colorizing Restorative Justice: Voicing Our Realities (2020).

⁴⁸ MICHELLE ALEXANDER, THE NEW JIM CROW: MASS INCARCERATION IN THE AGE OF COLORBLINDNESS (10th ed. 2020).

⁴⁹ Josie Duffy Rice, *The Abolition Movement*, VANITY FAIR (Aug. 25, 2020), https://www.vanityfair.com/culture/2020/08/the-abolition-movement.

them.⁵⁰ We do not have a deficit in academic research or knowledge of addressing police, judicial, and correctional brutality. The culture of denial and indifference has created and maintained this brutality has always been apparent for those that have to shoulder it.⁵¹

As the conversation returned to me once again, I simply stopped and invited people to keep going to marches; get out from behind their screens and curtains and subject themselves to the voices of the people.

As restorative justice practitioners, we tend to say these are the values that guide our work. Still, when you step into the role you play within a system, you are entrenched in it. We are often governed by politics and procedures, rights, and wrongs. We fail to recognize the dissonance between our values and the way we operate. While marching, one feels the seamless connection between values and what people were marching for. I continue to think, "How can we in academia stop reading about these movements and start to experience the movement?"

As we were struggling and walking the path towards healing and transforming from punitive ideologies to restorative justice practices, we ran into the Republican National Convention (RNC). On Monday night of the 2020 Republican National Convention, Mr. Pollack, the father of one of the victims in Stoneman Douglas High School shooting (Parkland shooting), started a meaningful school discipline conversation.⁵² During the 80s, 90s, and 2000s, we allowed for a "law and order" mindset to inform public safety in our schools.⁵³ As a result, zero-tolerance policies, school "safety" measures, and classroom management policies and procedures based on control and authority became mainstream practices in our schools. These policies also invited the presence of police officers onto school grounds.

Yes, we are loudly wondering if these tough love, zero-tolerance, school "safety" measures yielded safe schools. Who was saved by these policies and procedures? Despite their purpose to create a sense of safety, did the policies and procedures address the many underlying concerns related to the harm done in the cafeteria, playground, buses, and classroom? For example, as I read more about Stoneman Douglas High School practices, regardless of the school's intention to implement restorative justice practices, they still suspend and expel the students who commit this unspeakable violence.⁵⁴ Furthermore, the school also had a school resource officer on the ground.

⁵²Andrew Pollack (born February 18, 1966) is an American author, school safety activist, and entrepreneur whose daughter, Meadow, was killed in the Stoneman Douglas High School shooting in 2018. *Andrew Pollack*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andrew_Pollack (last visited Jan. 1, 2021); ABC News, *Andrew Pollack's Speech at the 2020 RNC*, YOUTUBE (Aug. 24, 2020), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RMBNfEZCBI8. *See* Derek W. Black, *Zero Tolerance Discipline Policies Won't Fix School Shootings*, THE CONVERSATION (Mar. 15, 2018), https://theconversation.com/zero-tolerance-discipline-policies-wont-fix-school-shootings-93399.
⁵³Black, *supra* note 52.

⁵⁰ Paresh Dave, *Factbox: What Changes are Governments Making in Response to George Floyd Protests?*, REUTERS (June 10, 2020), https://www.reuters.com/article/us-minneapolis-police-protests-response/factbox-what-changes-are-governments-making-in-response-to-george-floyd-protests-idUKKBN23I01D.

⁵¹ Wendi C. Thomas, *Ignoring Justice Just Makes It Worse*, THE UNDEFEATED (July 13, 2016),

https://theundefeated.com/features/ignoring-injustice-only-makes-it-worse/.

⁵⁴ See Parkland School District, Things You Should Know: Possession or Use of Weapons in School (2021), https://www.parklandsd.org/about-us/things-you-should-know.

As Mr. Pollack expressed his pain on stage, he said, "people failed his daughter."⁵⁵ As restorative justice practitioners, we couldn't agree more with Mr. Pollack. We have witnessed principals, teachers, and staff fail our scholars regularly.⁵⁶ We have also seen community and society fail our schools.⁵⁷ We, human beings in general, fail each other.⁵⁸ Mr. Pollack, you resolutely said you are interested in answers and solutions. My hopeful response is that if we invest in restorative justice practices—ones grounded in climate, culture, and environment—we can and will breathe empathy, respect, humility, and care for one another.⁵⁹ These values, when nurtured, will become the best form of safety and wellness. These values have a much better chance of preventing harm from continuing in our schools and communities. Restorative justice practices are not divisive and aimed at blaming teachers and coddling harmful behaviors. When fully and mindfully implemented, restorative justice practices have a strong presence in undoing risk and perpetuation of harm.⁶⁰

Mr. Pollack, we are deeply sympathetic to the loss of your child, along with many of the other children and staff, during the Parkland shooting. We all have witnessed many such mass shootings in our schools.⁶¹ Like the Parkland shooting, these shootings led to many innocent lives being claimed and many more suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) as well as many other forms of trauma-related ailments.⁶² As Mr. Pollack spoke at the RNC, we felt his pain and were quickly transported back to the shooting and the many images that we all witnessed via media. The shooting happened on Valentine's Day in 2018.⁶³ A month after the

⁶¹ Ten Years of Mass Shootings in the United States, EVERYTOWN (Nov. 21, 2019),

⁵⁵ See Associated Press, *Father of Parkland School Shooting Victim Ties Kids' Safety to Trump Victory*, NBC 9 NEWS (Aug. 24, 2020), https://www.9news.com/article/news/nation-world/parkland-father-andrew-pollack-rnc-speech/507-e22ed8e8-5109-4d37-b328-517a3ec8b1d9.

⁵⁶ See Matthew Lynch, *18 Reasons the U.S. Education System is Failing*, THE ADVOCATE (Apr. 3, 2017), https://www.theedadvocate.org/10-reasons-the-u-s-education-system-is-failing/. ⁵⁷ *Id.*

⁵⁸ See MORLEY D. GLICKEN, SOCIAL WORK IN THE 21ST CENTURY 3 (SAGE Publ'n, 2d ed. 2010), https://www.sagepub.com/sites/default/files/upm-assets/38141 book item 38141.pdf.

⁵⁹ See Evidence Supporting the Use of Restorative Justice, RESTORATIVE JUST. COUNCIL

https://restorativejustice.org.uk/resources/evidence-supporting-use-restorative-justice (last visited Mar. 1, 2021); see also Jeff Latimer, Craig Dowden & Danielle Muise, *The Effectiveness of Restorative Justice Practices: A Meta-Analysis*, 85 PRISON J. 127 (2005),

https://www.d.umn.edu/~jmaahs/Correctional%20Assessment/rj_meta%20analysis.pdf; Jeff Latimer & Steven Kleinknecht, *The Effects of Restorative Justice Programming: A Review of the Empirical*, DEP'T. JUST. CAN., https://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/rp-pr/csj-sjc/jsp-sjp/rr00_16/rr00_16.pdf (last visited Mar. 1, 2021); GSSW Commmunication Team, *Restorative Justice Policy*, U. of Denv. Graduate Sch. of Soc. Work (June 27, 2019), https://socialwork.du.edu/news/restorative-justice-policy.

⁶⁰ See Evidence Supporting the Use of Restorative Justice, supra note59; Latimer et al., supra note 59, at 127; Latimer & Kleinknecht, supra note 59; Restorative Justice Policy, supra note 59.

https://maps.everytownresearch.org/massshootingsreports/mass-shootings-in-america-2009-2019/ (compiling and analyzing ten years (2009 to 2018) of original data on mass shootings in the United States).

⁶² *Id.* ("Studies of survivors from various mass shootings consistently find that mass shootings harm the mental health of both direct survivors and community members, including psychological symptoms like post-traumatic stress and depression.").

⁶³ Elizabeth Chuck, Alex Johnson & Corky Siemaszko, *17 Killed in Mass Shooting at High School in Parkland, Florida*, NBC NEWS (Feb. 14, 2018), https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/police-respond-shooting-parkland-florida-high-school-n848101.

shooting, schools across the country spoke out about the pain. Students marched out of their classrooms and read the students' names and staff who were shot on that fateful day.⁶⁴ They did not come to ask for stricter laws, for more punishment, or revenge; they came because their naïve consciousness had been burst, and they were now asked to engage in critical consciousness work.⁶⁵ In their way of being, our young scholars demonstrated that we need better services and lead with love policies to counter violence and harm. Our young scholars marched, went to the White House, and collaborated with other community members who face gun violence.⁶⁶ They took on the role of community change-makers and fought for humane policies.

The young scholars are calling for restorative justice practices as our current systems have not worked. Their actions continue to make us better people. Like many, we too wanted revenge and stricter policies after watching the videos of the families in pain; yet, we know we can't take away the pain; as educators, practitioners, and colleagues we can only walk alongside and continue to do our part every day to prevent such tragedies in the communities we walk and work with daily.

One of the ways we have found ourselves working to address and undo violence and tragedies was through restorative justice practices.⁶⁷ Restorative justice practices come to us through our many indigenous communities worldwide, especially in Minnesota and the United States.⁶⁸ This ancient wisdom is rooted in our focus on relationships. Deepening human relationships and learning about each other, because everyone has a story, allows us to humanize each other and see each other as relatives. As we increase our healthy relationships, we can further our values and let our values inform our interactions.⁶⁹ Restorative justice practices will enable us to see and feel each other's humanity and not otherize, objectify, and criminalize our fellow relatives. When held with integrity, restorative justice practices centers on the underlying concerns related to harm and ensures needs are addressed rather than pushed off onto other systems or groups.

Nelson Mandela spoke about the idea of Ubuntu—of believing deeply in the interconnectedness and humanity of all other beings—even after stepping out of twenty-five years of incarceration.⁷⁰ Mandela witnessed the violence perpetrated in South Africa as the

⁶⁶ See, e.g., NPR, Teens on Guns in America, YOUTUBE (Feb. 7, 2019),

⁶⁴ Charlotte Alter, *The School Shooting Generation Has Had Enough*, TIME (Mar. 22, 2018), https://time.com/longform/never-again-movement/.

⁶⁵ See Melissa Block, Parkland Family Reflects on A Year of Anguish and Activism, NPR (Feb. 11, 2019), https://www.npr.org/2019/02/11/692490215/parkland-family-reflects-on-a-year-of-anguish-and-activism.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yxGrsxpcqeA.

⁶⁷ *Restorative Justice and School Violence*, CRIM. JUST., http://criminal-justice.iresearchnet.com/crime/school-violence/restorative-justice-and-school-violence/ (last visited Jan. 21, 2021).

 ⁶⁸ The Indigenous Origins of Circles and How Non-Natives Learned About Them, LIVING JUST. PRESS, http://www.livingjusticepress.org/?SEC=0F6FA816-E094-4B96-8F39-9922F67306E5 (last visited Mar. 1, 2021).
⁶⁹ See, e.g., GRAND CHALLENGES FOR SOC. WORK, PROGRESS AND PLANS FOR THE GRAND CHALLENGES: AN IMPACT REPORT AT YEAR 5 OF THE 10-YEAR INITIATIVE 14–15 (2021), https://grandchallengesforsocialwork.org/wpcontent/uploads/2021/01/GCSW-Impact-Report.pdf.

⁷⁰ Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela (July 18, 1918–Dec. 5, 2013) was a South African anti-apartheid revolutionary, political leader and philanthropist who served as President of South Africa from 1995 to 1999. *Nelson Mandela*, WIKIPEDIA, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nelson_Mandela (last updated Jan. 21, 2021). *See also* Hlumelo Siphe Williams, *What Is the Spirit of Ubuntu? How Can We Have It in Our Lives?*, GLOB. CITIZEN (Oct. 19, 2018), https://www.globalcitizen.org/en/content/ubuntu-south-africa-together-nelson-mandela/ ("Nelson Mandela is the true definition of Ubuntu, as he used this concept to lead South Africa to a peaceful post-apartheid transition. He never had the intention of teaching our oppressors a lesson. Instead, he operated with compassion and integrity, showing us that for us to a better South Africa, we cannot act out of vengeance or retaliation, but out of peace.").

dominant African community tried to hold on to power after decolonization. In the name of public safety for the dominant society, human beings were killed, violated, and incarcerated. The apartheid system that was in place in South Africa continued to maintain the safety of the white Afrikaans. The focus on safety, power, and privilege led to untold violence and violations.⁷¹

However, when Nelson Mandela became the first indigenous president of South Africa, he did not seek revenge. Instead, he asked to listen and undo the harm through the restoration of common humanity. He asked Bishop Desmond Tutu to conduct a truth and reconciliation process.⁷² Given the gravity of pain and historical and intergenerational trauma, restoration of relationships will take time, and he did not expect any magic. Instead, he relied on the miracle of humanity and a process aimed at transforming the nation's pain. As we know, the transformation is still in progress, given how deeply the apartheid system truly devastated the land and its many black and brown communities.

When people question the narrative of restorative justice practices, we wonder if they express the deep pain they are still experiencing.⁷³ We know each of us will miss our children if they are suddenly taken away from us by violence. We empathize with Mr. Pollack and the many hundreds of families. Your pain is our pain, and we will not let the voices of these individuals be forgotten as we journey in search of love and justice.

We invite the nation to listen to Mr. Pollack and not react to his perspective. Many political and policy professionals underscore and emphasize Mr. Pollack's growing call for disciplinary and punitive practices in schools and the greater communities. Let us acknowledge that the cry for more stringent laws and systems in response to this tragedy is because we are looking for quick answers and solutions. Our need for immediate gratification and retributive actions continues to push aside mindful solutions, and as a result, these problems keep resurfacing. Let us dig deeper.

Unlike "law and order," restorative justice practices encourage us to confront the reality facing our nation and culture humanely. We cannot arrest our way out of harm, and a single narrative cannot inform our pursuit of justice. When fully and humanely introduced and engaged, restorative justice practices have the potential of limiting, resolving, and finally undoing harm in schools and our communities.⁷⁴

Our feelings for our brothers, sisters, relatives, and communities push us to ask different types of questions. Questions that will enable us to move out of survival mode, where emergencies and urgencies occupy our senses. What could we have done for the community members who caused the harm? What upstream work should we be focused on to help address violence, hate, and disenfranchisement? How do we humanize our systems, like schools, so that our scholars can come into a loving, caring, and embracing community and not be pushed into perpetual survival space in their bodies? Restorative justice practices urge us to engage our hearts and our executive function and remember that we, as educators, do essential, meaningful, and value-centered work. Restorative justice practices guide us to do heart work, not hard work.

⁷¹ Finbarr O'Reilly, *Looking at White Privilege Under Apartheid*, N.Y. TIMES, LENS BLOG (Sept. 14, 2016), https://lens.blogs.nytimes.com/2016/09/14/looking-at-white-privilege-under-apartheid/.

⁷² See Reparations & Rehabilitation Committee Transcripts, Policies & Articles, TRUTH & RECONCILIATION COMM'N, https://www.justice.gov.za/trc/reparations/index.htm (last visited Mar. 1, 2021).

⁷³ See Camonghne Felix, Aching for Abolition As a Survivor of Sexual Violence, I Know Prison Isn't the Answer, THE CUT (Oct. 1, 2020), https://www.thecut.com/2020/10/aching-for-abolition.html.

⁷⁴ Aviva Stahl, *We Have Already Stopped Calling the Cops*, BUSTLE (July 21, 2020), https://www.bustle.com/rule-breakers/police-abolition-domestic-violence.

We know we cannot go back in time to address the pain of those who caused the harm and take away the hurt from those who are suffering because of the harm. The Sankofa principle invites us to move forward while listening and learning from the past.⁷⁵ The lessons from apartheid, enslavement, genocide, and settler colonialism all ask us to deepen our relationship with our fellow human beings.⁷⁶ The lessons invite us to see our humanity in each other and lead with love and justice in our hearts. We cannot end violence and harm by causing more harm in the name of the law, procedures, ordinance, and expectations.

Today, we ask Mr. Pollack and the many voices in pain and who feel left out because we are pivoting towards restorative justice practices to call for reflection, restoration, and reformation—leading to transformation.⁷⁷ Let us walk together and work together in anchoring ourselves in our values of respect, justice, and love. Let us not fail our children again by avoiding the heart work of prevention through healing and restoration.

We do not have all the answers, but collectively—all of us together do—and we are the solution we have been waiting for. So let us engage these practices indigenous to so many of us and RISE. We must reflect to restore, and restore to reform, which in turn will equal transformation. As Richard Rohr always reminds us, "pain not transformed, will transfer."⁷⁸

⁷⁵ See The Power of Sankofa: Know History, BEREA COLLEGE, https://www.berea.edu/cgwc/the-power-of-sankofa/ (last visited Jan. 21, 2021).

⁷⁶ Lerato Mogoatlhe, *4 Things the World Can Learn From South Africa About Racial Justice*, GLOBAL CITIZEN (June 18, 2020), https://www.globalcitizen.org/en/content/apartheid-lessons-racial-justice-south-africa/.

⁷⁷ See THE FORGIVENESS PROJECT (2020), https://www.theforgivenessproject.com/storytellers/; Chris Hausmann, *The Little Book of Racial Healing: Coming to the Table for Truth-Telling, Liberation, and Transformation. The Little Book of Race and Restorative Justice: Black Lives, Healing, and U.S. Social Transformation, 4 J. OF SOC. ENCOUNTERS 125 (2020) (reviewing books regarding restorative justice); Jack Rice Law, <i>Groundbreaking Restorative Justice Finds Success in Minnesota*, PR NEWSWIRE (Dec. 9, 2020), https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/groundbreaking-restorative-justice-finds-success-in-minnesota-301188901.html; Darren Thompson, *Ramsey County Sentences Native Organizer for Columbus Statue Toppling*, UNICORN RIOT (Dec. 15, 2020), https://unicornriot.ninja/2020/ramsey-county-sentences-native-organizer-for-columbus-statue-toppling/ (discussing restorative justice as an alternative and referencing related report prepared Dr. Raj J. Sethuraju); *Access to Justice: Delivering Restorative Justice for Hate Crime*, WHY ME? (2021), https://why-me.org/campaigns/hate-crime-restorative-justice/.

⁷⁸ RICHARD ROHR, A SPRING WITHIN US: A BOOK OF DAILY MEDITATIONS 199, 120–21 (2016).