

# ACTIVISM AND RADICAL TRADITIONS

mixtape | slides

## Highlights from the Readings

### Audre Lorde (1984) "The Transformation of Silence into Language and Action."

"Your silence will not protect you" (41). KS

"What are the words you do not yet have? What do you need to say? What are the tyrannies you swallow day by day and attempt to make your own, until you will sicken and die of them, still in silence" (41)? KS

"We can learn to work and speak when we are afraid in the same way we have learned to work and speak when we are tired. For we have been socialized to respect fear more than our own needs for language and definition, and while we wait in silence for the final luxury of fearlessness, the weight of that silence will choke us" (44). KS

### Carol Mueller (2004) "Ella Baker and the Origins of 'Participatory Democracy'"

"On what basis do you seek to organize people? Do you start to try to organize them on the fact of what you think, or what they are first interested in? You start where the people are. Identification with people." (p. 84). RH

"The three themes of participatory democracy--grassroots involvement by people in the decisions that affect their lives; the minimization of hierarchy and professionalization in organizations working for social change; and direct action on the sources of injustice--grew out of more than twenty years of political experience that she brought to the fledgling student movement in the spring of 1960." (p. 82). RH

"My theory is, strong people don't need strong leaders" (Ella Baker quoted on p. 79). KS

### Susan Stall and Randy Stoecker (1998) "Community Organizing or Organizing Community? Gender and the Crafts of Empowerment."

"The Alinsky model begins with "community organizing"--the public sphere battles between the haves and the have-nots. The women-centered model begins with "organizing community"--building expanded private sphere relationships and empowering individuals through those relations" (733). KS

“Women-centered organizers view justice not as a compromise between self-interested individuals but as a practical reciprocity in the network of relationships that make up community” (739). KS

“In women-centered organizing, power begins in the private sphere of relationships and is thus not conceptualized as zero-sum but as limitless and collective. “Co-active power” is based on human interdependence and the development of all within the group or the community through collaboration. The goal of a women-centered organizing process is “empowerment”—a developmental process that includes building skills through repetitive cycles of action and reflection that evoke new skills and understandings, and in turn provoke new and more effective actions” (741). KS

### Astra Taylor (2016): “Against Activism”

“... many strands of contemporary activism risk emphasizing the self over the collective. By contrast, organizing is cooperative by definition: it aims to bring others into the fold, to build and exercise shared power.” RH

“... many still believe that action, even when disconnected from any coherent strategy, can magically lead to a kind of societal awakening. Social justice warfare, in turn, emerged from ... a faith that unites social justice warriors and their critics...: that arguing with and attacking strangers online is a form of political engagement as significant as planning a picket or boycott once was. Fortunately, at least for now... there are still plenty of arenas in which real organizing—... education, base-building, and coalition... and what I would describe as creating collective identity and shared economic power—is being done, but these slow-moving efforts are often overshadowed by the latest spectacle or viral outrage.” RH

“Yet organizing is what the left must cultivate to make its activism more durable and effective, to sustain and advance our causes when the galvanizing intensity of occupations or street protests subsides. It is what the left needs in order to roll back the conservative resurgence and cut down the plutocracy it enabled. That means founding political organizations, hashing out long-term strategies, cultivating leaders (of the accountable, not charismatic, variety), and figuring out how to support them financially. No doubt the thriving of activism in recent decades is a good thing, and activism is something we want more of. The problem, rather, is that the organizing that made earlier movements successful has failed to grow apace.”

“To be an activist now merely means to advocate for change, and the hows and whys of that advocacy are unclear. The lack of a precise antonym is telling. Who, exactly, are the non-activists? Are they passivists? Spectators? Or just regular people? In its very ambiguity the word upholds a dichotomy that

is toxic to democracy, which depends on the participation of an active citizenry, not the zealotry of a small segment of the population, to truly function.”

“Raising awareness—one of contemporary activism’s preferred aims—can be extremely valuable (at least I hope so, since I have spent so much time trying to do it), but education is not organizing, which involves not just enlightening whoever happens to encounter your message, but also aggregating people around common interests so that they can strategically wield their combined strength. Organizing is long-term and often tedious work that entails creating infrastructure and institutions, finding points of vulnerability and leverage in the situation you want to transform, and convincing atomized individuals to recognize that they are on the same team (and to behave like it).”

“Many strands of contemporary activism risk emphasizing the self over the collective. By contrast, organizing is cooperative by definition: it aims to bring others into the fold, to build and exercise shared power.” KS

### Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang (2012) “Decolonization is not a metaphor.”

“When metaphor invades decolonization, it kills the very possibility of decolonization; it recenters whiteness, it resettles theory, it extends innocence to the settler, it entertains a settler future. [...] When we write about decolonization, we are not offering it as a metaphor; it is not an approximation of other experiences of oppression. Decolonization is not a swappable term for other things we want to do to improve our societies and schools. Decolonization doesn’t have a synonym” (3). KS

“Yet we wonder whether another settler move to innocence is to focus on decolonizing the mind, or the cultivation of critical consciousness, as if it were the sole activity of decolonization; to allow *conscientization* to stand in for the more uncomfortable task of relinquishing stolen land. [...] Until stolen land is relinquished, critical consciousness does not translate into action that disrupts settler colonialism” (19). KS

### Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor (ed.) (2017) How We Get Free: Black Feminism and the Combahee River Collective

“The most general statement of our politics at the present time would be that we are actively committed to struggling against racial, sexual, heterosexual, and class oppression, and see as our particular task the development of integrated analysis and practice based upon the fact that the major systems of oppression are interlocking.” KS

“Above all else, our politics initially sprang from the shared belief that Black women are inherently valuable, that our liberation is a necessity not as an adjunct to somebody else’s but because of our need

as human persons for autonomy. [...] We realize that the only people who care enough about us to work consistently for our liberation are us. Our politics evolve from a healthy love for ourselves, our sisters and our community which allows us to continue our struggle and work.” KS

“In the practice of our politics we do not believe that the end always justifies the means. Many reactionary and destructive acts have been done in the name of achieving “correct” political goals. As feminists we do not want to mess over people in the name of politics. We believe in collective process and a nonhierarchical distribution of power within our own group and in our vision of a revolutionary society. We are committed to a continual examination of our politics as they develop through criticism and self-criticism as an essential aspect of our practice.” KS

### The Council of the Red Nation (2015) “Native Liberation Struggles in North America: The Red Nation 10-point Program.”

“We find ourselves inhabiting spaces that attempt to violently erase our presence. We rise to claim these spaces to make the unlivable present a livable future, not only for Native people but also for all human and nonhuman relatives who deserve dignified life” (1). KS

“Native people are under constant assault by a capitalist--colonial logic that seeks the erasure of noncapitalist ways of life. Colonial economies interrupt cooperation and association and force people instead into hierarchical relations with agents of colonial authority who function as a permanent occupying force on Native lands. These agents are in place to enforce and discipline Native peoples to ensure that we comply with capitalist-colonial logics. There are ... police... corporations... also so-called ‘normal’ social and cultural practices like male dominance, heterosexuality, and individualism that encourage us to conform to the common sense of capitalism--colonialism ... The whole system depends on violence to facilitate the accumulation of wealth and power and to suppress other, non-capitalist ways of life that might challenge dominant modes of power.” RH.

### Alyson Escalante (2016) “Gender Nihilism: An Anti-Manifesto.”

“If an identity politics of non-binary identity cannot liberate us, it is also true that a queer or trans identity politics offers us no hope. Both fall into the same trap of referencing the norm by trying to “do” gender differently. The very basis of such politics is grounded in the logic of identity, which is itself a product of modern and contemporary discourses of power. As we have already shown quite thoroughly, there can be no stable identity which we can reference. Thus, any appeal to a revolutionary or emancipatory identity is only an appeal to certain discourses. In this case, that discourse is gender.” RH

“Thus we affirm there is no true self that can be divined prior to discourses, prior to encounters with others, prior to the mediation of the symbolic. We are products of power, so what are we to do?... the creation of these new identities is not the sudden discovery of previously unknown lived experience, but rather the creation of new terms upon which we can be constituted. All we do when we expand gender categories is to create new more nuanced channels through which power can operate. We do not liberate ourselves, we ensnare ourselves in countless and even more nuanced and powerful norms.”  
RH

“The gender nihilist, the gender abolitionist, looks at the system of gender itself and sees the violence at its core. We say not to a positive embrace of gender. We want to see it gone. We know appealing to the current formulations of power is always a liberal trap. We refuse to legitimize ourselves.” KS

### Johanna Hedva (2014): “Sick Woman Theory”

“If we take Hannah Arendt’s definition of the political – which is still one of the most dominant in mainstream discourse – as being any action that is performed in public, we must contend with the implications of what that excludes. If being present in public is what is required to be political, then whole swathes of the population can be deemed *a*-political – simply because they are not physically able to get their bodies into the street.”

“It’s important that I also share the Western medical terminology that’s been attached to me – whether I like it or not, it can provide a common vocabulary: “This is the oppressor’s language,” Adrienne Rich wrote in 1971, “yet I need it to talk to you.” But let me offer another language, too. In the Native American Cree language, the possessive noun and verb of a sentence are structured differently than in English. In Cree, one does not say, “I am sick.” Instead, one says, “The sickness has come to me.” I love that and want to honor it.”

“Sick Woman Theory is for those who are faced with their vulnerability and unbearable fragility, every day, and so have to fight for their experience to be not only honored, but first made visible. For those who, in Audre Lorde’s words, were never meant to survive: because this world was built against their survival. It’s for my fellow spoonies. You know who you are, even if you’ve not been attached to a diagnosis: one of the aims of Sick Woman Theory is to resist the notion that one needs to be legitimated by an institution, so that they can try to fix you. You don’t need to be fixed, my queens – it’s the world that needs the fixing.”  
“To take the term “woman” as the subject-position of this work is a strategic, all-encompassing embrace and dedication to the particular, rather than the universal. Though the identity of “woman” has erased and excluded many (especially women of color and trans and genderfluid people), I choose to use it because it still represents the un-cared for, the secondary, the oppressed, the non-, the un-, the less-than. The problematics of this term will always require critique, and I hope that Sick Woman Theory can help undo

those in its own way. But more than anything, I'm inspired to use the word "woman" because I saw this year how it can still be radical to be a woman in the 21st century. I use it to honor a dear friend of mine who came out as genderfluid last year. For her, what mattered the most was to be able to call herself a "woman," to use the pronouns "she/her." She didn't want surgery or hormones; she loved her body and her big dick and didn't want to change it – she only wanted the word. That the word itself can be an empowerment is the spirit in which Sick Woman Theory is named."

"The most anti-capitalist protest is to care for another and to care for yourself. To take on the historically feminized and therefore invisible practice of nursing, nurturing, caring. To take seriously each other's vulnerability and fragility and precarity, and to support it, honor it, empower it. To protect each other, to enact and practice community. A radical kinship, an interdependent sociality, a politics of care." RH

"And, crucially: The Sick Woman is who capitalism needs to perpetuate itself.

Why?

Because to stay alive, capitalism cannot be responsible for our care – its logic of exploitation requires that some of us die."

"So, as I lay there unable to march, hold up a sign, shout a slogan that would be heard, or be visible in any capacity as a political being, the central question of Sick Woman Theory formed: How do you throw a brick through the window of a bank if you can't get out of bed?" KS

### (1990) "The Queer Nation Manifesto."

"Until I can enjoy the same freedom of movement and sexuality, as straights, their privilege must stop and it must be given over to me and my queer sisters and brothers. Straight people will not do this voluntarily so they must be forced into it. Straights must be frightened into it. Terrorized into it. Fear is the most powerful motivation."

"Your life is in your hands. When I risk it all to be out, I risk it for both of us. When I risk it all and it works (which it often does if you would try it), I benefit and so do you. When it doesn't work, I suffer and you do not. But girl you can't wait for other dykes to make the world safe for you. STOP waiting for a better more lesbian future! The revolution could be here if we started it. Where are you sisters? I'm trying to find you, I'm trying to find you. How come I only see you on Gay Pride Day? We're OUT, Where the fuck are YOU?" KS

### Alicia Garza (2017): "Our cynicism will not build a movement. Collaboration will"

"I decided to challenge myself to be a part of something that isn't perfect, that doesn't articulate my values the way that I do and still show up, clear in my commitment, open and vulnerable to people

who are new in their activism. I can be critical of white women and, at the same time, seek out and join with women, white and of color, who are awakening to the fact that all lives do not, in fact, matter, without compromising my dignity, my safety and radical politics.”

“I agree with Solange when she says, “I got a lot to be mad about, and I have a right to be mad.” But that anger is not enough. It is insufficient to build or take power. Anger will not change the fact that Republicans have taken control of all three branches of government and control both chambers of the legislature in 32 states. Anger will not stop vigilantes from terrorizing our communities, and anger will not change an economy that deems too many of us as disposable. More than a moral question, it is a practical one. Can we build a movement of millions with the people who may not grasp our black, queer, feminist, intersectional, anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist ideology but know that we deserve a better life and who are willing to fight for it and win?”

“If our movement is not serious about building power, then we are just engaged in a futile exercise of who can be the most radical.”

### David Graeber (2009) *Direct Action: An Ethnography*.

“Direct action means insisting on acting as if one is already free” (207).

“To sum up, then: direct action represents a certain ideal--in its purest form, probably unattainable. It is a form of action in which means and ends become, effectively, indistinguishable; a way of actively engaging with the world to bring about change, in which the form of the action--or at least, the organization of the action--is itself a model for the change one wishes to bring about” (210).

### Loretta Ross (2019): “I’m a Black Feminist. I think Call-Out Culture is Toxic.”

“But most public shaming is horizontal and done by those who believe they have greater integrity or more sophisticated analysis. They become the self-appointed guardians of political purity. Call-outs make people fearful of being targeted. People avoid meaningful conversations when hypervigilant perfectionists point out apparent mistakes, feeding the cannibalistic maw of the cancel culture.” RH

“Calling-in engages in debates with words and actions of healing and restoration, and without the self-indulgence of drama.” RH

“My experiences with call-outs began in the 1970s as a young black feminist activist. I sharply criticized white women for not understanding women of color. I called them out while trying to explain intersectionality and white supremacy. I rarely questioned whether the way I addressed their white

privilege was actually counterproductive. They barely understood what it meant to be *white* women in the system of white supremacy. Was it realistic to expect them to comprehend the experiences of black women?”

[TW: Sexual violence] “But I wonder if contemporary social movements have absorbed the most useful lessons from the past about how to hold each other accountable while doing extremely difficult and risky social justice work. Can we avoid individualizing oppression and not use the movement as our personal therapy space? Thus, even as an incest and hate crime survivor, I have to recognize that not every flirtatious man is a potential rapist, nor every racially challenged white person is a Trump supporter.”

“People don’t understand that organizing isn’t going online and cussing people out or going to a protest and calling something out,” Patrisse Khan-Cullors, a founder of the Black Lives Matter movement, wrote in “How We Fight White Supremacy,”

“For example, when I worked to deprogram incarcerated rapists in the 1970s, I told the story of my own sexual assaults. It opened the floodgates for theirs. They were candid about having raped women, admitted having done it to men or revealed being raped themselves. As part of our work together, they formed Prisoners Against Rape, the country’s first anti-sexual assault program led by men. I believe #MeToo survivors can more effectively address sexual abuse without resorting to the punishment and exile that mirror the prison industrial complex. Nor should we use social media to rush to judgment in a courtroom composed of clicks. If we do, we run into the paradox Audre Lorde warned us about when she said that “the master’s tools will never dismantle the master’s house.”

We can build restorative justice processes to hold the stories of the accusers and the accused, and work together to ascertain harm and achieve justice without seeing anyone as disposable people and violating their human rights or right to due process.”

“Transformative justice in an era of mass incarceration with Mariame Kaba and Victoria Law”

Aja Romano. 2018. “Hopepunk, the latest storytelling trend, is all about weaponized optimism.”



# Hot Takes

Quotes from other places...

Mignolo, Walter and Walsh, Catherine. 2018. *On Decoloniality: Concepts, Analytics, Praxis*. Duke University Press.

Chapter 6: the conceptual triad: Modernity/Coloniality/Decoloniality,

And these excerpts from chapter

“What is necessary here is to understand how the narratives built around the idea of modernity, its rhetoric and goals, assumed the logic of noncontradiction and the semantic of binary opposition. It is this assumption that made and still makes it possible to tell stories and brand promises and build hopes of salvation, progress, development, democracy, growth, and so on; stories that hide and silences *coloniality*: the darker side of Western modernity. Decolonial thinking is akin to nonmodern ways of thinking grounded on cosmologies of *complementary dualities* (and/and) rather than on *dichotomies* or *contradictory dualities* (either/or).

...

The system of oppositions and the logic of noncontradiction were set up, since the European Renaissance (antiquity, medieval) and since the Enlightenment (primitives, traditional) by chronology and by geography (Saracens, barbarians, uncivilized, underdeveloped, communists, terrorists). *Human* was the classifying entity in the process of defining itself as such. Since the Renaissance the *rhetoric of modernity was and continues to be built on the logic of coloniality: the denial and disavowal of non-European local times and spaces and non-European ways of life*. The rhetoric of modernity was built on the opposition between Christians and non-Christians, masculine and feminine, white and nonwhite, progress and stagnation, developed and underdeveloped, First and Second/Third World.” (p. 155)

“Cultural classifications are made, not ontologically inscribed in whatever is classified. Hence, classifications are cultural because they are inventions, not representations. Classifications are epistemic building of ontologies.... *Capitalism* names a type of knowledge that justified and justifies the subjugation of noncapitalist economies.

Hence, the basic, most fundamental, decolonial task is in the domain of knowledge, since it is knowledge that holds the comp together and that conform subjectivities whether of theological believers or of supposed free subjects of secular subjectivities, as I explained in chapter 6. Managing and controlling knowledge means managing and controlling subjects... To change the world, as Karl Marx stated, it is imperative to change the hegemonic knowledge that holds the interpretation of the world, in all dimensions of knowledge, from physics and biology to philosophy and theology, from political economy to political theory, from the hegemonic conception of the human (and its derivation, posthuman) to racism and sexism. The “world” cannot be changed if the “knowledge and the knower of the world” do not change. ...

Cultural classifications and ranking is a strategy of the rhetoric of modernity enacting coloniality by disguising *colonial differences* (that we do not see) into cultural difference (that we are taught to see). Colonial differences established and still establish hierarchy and a power differential— from the Moors and the Jews in Europe to the Blacks and the



Multiple readings mention a very explicit anti-capitalist idea, by recognizing the ways in which the current state of Capitalism which oppresses the vast majority of people in this world.

Tensions across readings:

- Do we protest for ourselves or for some better idea of the future/common society
- Anger vs Love; Violence vs Reconciliation/Forgiveness; Revolution (clicking reset) vs Reform
- Where is there space for anger and validating yourself, if we recognize the need to bring people into where they **haven't been**, especially if that is a space we are in the process of reclaiming.
- What is ideologically pure vs practically [possible/pragmatic/implementable in the short term]
- "I hear you, and..." How much space do we allow folx to take up in terms of how/which movements are being seen.
  - How do we defend against the sensitivities of elites/powers while recognizing that something is better than nothing.
  - There is a power to the word **And...**
  - Whose job is it to do that educating work?
- *My silence will not protect me, but I feel like my voice will not liberate me, so what do I do.*
- The resistance between capitalist/liberal push and ??radical activism??
  - NGOs/ Non-profit vs Movements
  - Space matters in this: institutions, systems and carserality.
  - State, authority and people in power can coopt the [language/forms of process] of subversion.
- Optimist (the idea of hope) vs Pessimism
  - Harms reduction in settler colonial reality
  - What does it mean to engage at a systemic level vs epistemic level [epistemes- new way of recognizing and representing knowledge as 'valid']
    - *Where do we learn these ways of preempting apologies / guilt*

Decolonization is not only a thought exercise, but about tangible returns (i.e. land) that enable (new) ways of thinking. What has coloniality done to us in the present to make us who we are? And what does it mean for us to undo this?

What does it mean to try to/ask to separate mind/body/spirit?

Brittany Packnett - the celebrity activist network.

- What does it mean for these people [professionalization of political work and activist] to ask questions that you can't say no to. I.e. Do we want a mass-multiracial movement?
- Frames the impression and necessity of a particular way of doing celebrity-activism.
  - Charismatic leaders as inevitable ... (How do this move appear in histories of movements)
  - Creating the conditions of transformation

## Rhetorical Violence

### Epistemic Injustice

Purple notes by JMC :)

Reflection Discussion

- Activist vs. Organizer
  - Organizer - strategic planning, setting up logistics, community education, facilitation. Organizing includes activism
  - Not every activist is an organizer. Activists are not necessarily involved in the creation of space.
- Radical love
  - Choosing to love and loving holistically
  - Loving in a particular way that requires self-reflection, requires work
  - Self-love
- Protests
  - Feeling "stuck"
  - Making a difference (micro) vs. showing up for demonstrations (macro)
- Imposter Syndrome
  - Not ascribing to the identity of "activist"
  - Not wanting to normalize activism
  - Want to unsettle the nomenclature and image of being radical, activism, work in service of individual and collective freedoms
- Building communities
  - Teaching how to be arrested, teaching others that sometimes having to go through pain and discomfort is necessary to change things
  - Sick Woman Theory
- Material is not just a matter of intellectual engagement, also evokes emotional responses
  - Can't separate the two
  - Stories about survival and trauma
  - Stories/anxieties about being perpetrators
  - Healing ourselves and our communities is an act of resistance

We're not pivoting between reflection and readings; we're layering.

Audre Lorde (1984), "The Transformation of Silence into Language and Action" in *Sister Outsider*

"What are the words you do not have yet?..." (41)

"We can learn to work and speak..." (44)

*Poetry is not a luxury* - anyone can write poetry. Theory is not a luxury - anyone can theorize (epistemic justice/injustice).

- A throughline between personal experiences and commitments
- To make use of scholarly traditions

## Orientations

- What is activism and how else might we theorize political action?
  - Sick Woman Theory, Red Nation 10 Points - both discuss anti-capitalist efforts. We are in a system that depresses the majority of people, that sickens us and kill us. How do we build an anti-capitalist project and also be loving?
  - Queer Manifesto, Gender Nihilism - tension between love and anger
- What kinds of freedom dreams and horizons of political possibility do these approaches open up or foreclose?
- What are the spaces and tensions among these ways of conceiving political action?
- What are the affordances and limits of theorizing political action in these ways at this particular time and in response to specific social problems?
- Do these ways of theorizing political action presume particular kinds of subjects or political projects? If so, how?
- What are some of the tensions and divergences?
  - Podcast on Carceral Feminism - Contradiction between protesting against carceral state but also for punishment of perpetrators of sexual violence.
    - Carcerality also shows up in Ross piece on callout culture. Carcerality disposes of people.
  - Mark Rudd - Rudd revered by activists, but Weather Underground was mostly white movement
  - Our Cynicism will not Build a Movement - Must build a movement across difference AND we should recognize privilege and be critical. But whose identities do we allow to take up space and whose movements do we allow to be seen? E.g. Black Lives Matter has invited people in. Women's March has made space for racism, transphobia, yet movement has been given some forgiveness - "Movement is imperfect, but we should still join." Same grace is not given to movements by Black/Brown communities. Anger can productively fuel commitment to justice. Can we fault people waking up and joining movement late? We can't fault them, but we need to recognize the emotional labor being demanded of existing activists.
  - Tension between radical, pure ideology and concrete strategy. E.g. Gender Nihilism - in fighting for recognition of gender identities, we are still working within gender construct. To get rid of gender inequality, we need to get rid of gender, BUT there is also empowerment in recognizing gender identities.

- Alicia Garza (Co-founder of BLM) - Critiquing the Women's March for its centering of whiteness, erasure of differences and non-normative forms of feminism.
  - Places the burden of teaching and integration on POC
  - About the author: used to lead BLM, now leads non-profit/foundation. Moved out of movement space into an institutional space.
  - **Consider the positionalities of the authors.**
- **Audre Lorde says, the master's tools cannot dismantle the master's house.** Resilience of capitalist structures and processes
- How do we differentiate between genuine learning processes (e.g. late joiners to a movement, inclusion of POC in predominantly white spaces) and reproductions of inequity (e.g. forgiveness for white late joiners, tokenism, respectively)?
- Body politics - we cannot separate mind, body, and spirit, but these movements expect us to. "I theorize with my body. We have to live this everyday." How do we engage in a process of healing?
- Tension between pessimism and optimism. How do we support the belief that systems can actually change? Or if we don't believe that systems will actually change, how do we continue to push and advocate? How do we make space for hope and engagement?
- Susan Stall and Randy Stoecker (1998) "Community Organizing or Organizing Community?"
  - Alinsky Model of organizing - Distortion, professionalization, and commercialization of political work and action.
  - Rhetoric of necessity and inevitability - legitimization of the means and the ends of political action.
  - "Women-centered organizers view justice..." (739)
  - "In women-centered organizing, power..." (741)
  - Ella Baker's leadership provides another model
  - Be mindful of Epistemic Injustice and Rhetorical Violence
- **Discussions of Coloniality**
  - Gender Nihilism - Coloniality of gender. Colonization was not just about land and genocide - it was about the creation of binaries, of all kinds of difference.
  - Decolonization is not a Metaphor -
    - "Yet we wonder whether another settler move to innocence is to focus on decolonizing the mind..." (19) It is not enough to "decolonize the mind," we must also take action to relinquish stolen land.
    - The decolonization project is not just about being better people. Land is central to the project.
    - Settler Innocence - "Let's be honest. The settler knows no phraseology can replace the reality..."

- Red Nation 10-Point Program: “Liberation cannot emerge from institutional development”

Local Examples of the “state” adapting to maintain injustice and inequality

- Restorative Practices at Penn
- HEARD @ GSE

### **Readings Overview**

Paradigms of Collective/Political Action: Ella Baker, Women-Centered Approach - Elevating the work/individuals who have been invisibilized

Manifestos: Positing and destabilizing ways of seeing ourselves

Movement Work and Spaces - challenges and pitfalls

-