



**TRANSFORMATIVE JUSTICE
ETHNIC STUDIES IN P-12 SCHOOLS**
(Working Paper)

Cati de los Rios, Ph.D.
University of California, Berkeley

October 2020
UC Davis School of Education

Toward Transformative Justice Ethnic Studies in P-12 Schools By Cati de los Rios

“A justice seeking movement in schools insists that no children are throwaways.” (Winn, 2018a, p. 39)

Introduction

In a critique of white racial superiority, Takaki (1999) argued that narrow definitions of the master narrative of the United States regarding who counts as “American” mirror the dominant thinking reflected in school curricula; corporate, business, and institutional cultural practices; and the media and entertainment industries. Comparative Ethnic Studies, African American/Black Studies, Native American and Indigenous Studies, Chicana/o/x, Puerto Rican, Central American, and Latina/o/x Studies, and Asian American and Pacific Islander Studies have long offered disciplinary critiques of Eurocentric master narratives, documenting the intellectually robust social movements, perspectives, literary traditions, and histories of racially, ethnically, and linguistically minoritized communities. Ethnic Studies, which notably builds off the eminent pedagogical and intellectual merits and distinctions of African American Studies and Native American Studies (Sleeter, 2011), engages comparative analytical approaches (Okihiro & Tsou, 2006; Yang, 2000). Through comparative analysis, Ethnic Studies and its affiliated disciplines have buttressed the important solidarity work needed within and across racially oppressed communities and provided more sophisticated renderings of freedom and liberation movements in the United States.

Ethnic Studies scholars and practitioners specifically seek to reclaim, honor, and amplify the dignity, sophistication, brilliance, and humanity of those historically deemed “throwaways” and violently oppressed by and through white supremacy, enslavement, expansionism, and Indigenous land theft. Today, more and more school districts are working to implement K-12 Ethnic Studies courses to create spaces for unpacking, investigating, and problematizing intersectional forms of power and oppression. Community leaders are demanding that these classes be situated as core coursework throughout the P-12 spectrum, rather than as optional electives, and in some districts there has been pressure to make Ethnic Studies courses a graduation requirement (Buenavista, 2016; de los Ríos, 2020; Reyes McGovern & Buenavista, 2016).

Ethnic Studies classrooms counter-narrate Eurocentric epistemologies, histories, and perspectives as a form of healing from centuries of linguistic, cultural, and racial harm in and through English-medium P-12 public schooling in the US (de los Ríos et al., 2019). While the undermined and omitted histories of people of color and Indigenous, Black, queer, and other multiply marginalized peoples has always been absolutely central to Ethnic Studies, Ethnic Studies as a political project is much larger (Umemoto, 1989). Indeed, it was as a sociopolitical intervention against the white, straight, Protestant, male supremacist university’s work to colonize and oppress knowledge systems around the world that the discipline first emerged during the late 1960s (Critical Ethnic Studies Collective, 2016). Initially identified as Third World Studies (Okihiro, 2016), the essence of Ethnic Studies was inspired by the international public pedagogies occurring in the everyday literacies and “lived civic practices” (Cohen et al., 2018) of those resisting racism, and the ways communities skillfully organized to politically align themselves against empire and imperialism. This type of street level social action was especially alive throughout the Global South, particularly in Southeast Asia, Africa, and Latin America (Critical Ethnic Studies Collective, 2016;

Okiihiro, 2016). Today, it remains rational, appropriate, and important that Ethnic Studies pedagogy continue to amplify the insurgent traditions of the anti-racist, anti-imperialist grassroots social movements rightly associated with the discipline's founding.

Core Beliefs of Ethnic studies

Many Ethnic Studies educators have made concerted efforts to shift discourses about P-12 Ethnic Studies situated in multiculturalist approaches to more *critical* understandings of Ethnic Studies pedagogies (Cuahtin et al., 2019; Kwon & de los Ríos, 2019; Morales et al., 2016; Ochoa & Ochoa, in press; Tintiangco-Cubales et al., 2015; Valdez, 2017, 2020; Pour-Khorshid, 2020) and teacher preparation (Curammeng, 2020; Fernández, 2019; Naseem Rodríguez & Kim, 2018; Sacramento, 2019; Reyes McGovern & Buenavista, 2016). Because Ethnic Studies is a response to a constantly shifting, materially inequitable world, Ochoa and Ochoa (in press) remind us that there is no singular definition of Ethnic Studies. While there are many approaches to Ethnic Studies, some of the key aspects Ochoa and Ochoa delineate for P-12 educators include:

1. Valuing the knowledge(s), histories, and experiences of students and their communities—affirming, rather than subtracting, students' experiences and perspectives (Valenzuela, 1999). This contests conventional schooling's focus on depositing hegemonic knowledge (Freire, 1970).
2. Centering the histories and perspectives of BIPOC communities—particularly Indigenous, Black, Asian and Pacific Islander, Chicana/o/x, Central American, and Puerto Rican communities—because of the under and misrepresentation of these communities in course curricula (hooks 1994; Okiihiro, 2016).
3. Centering the systematic analysis of power and inequality (Okiihiro, 2016).
4. Historicizing contemporary patterns of racism and colonization, often combining an intersectional analysis of race, class, nation, gender, and sexuality to understand the interlocking facets of oppression (Crenshaw, 1991; Collins, 1990).
5. Treating students as knowledge producers and change agents, and conceiving of classrooms beyond the school gates, where students learn from and work with various communities (Delgado Bernal, 2002; Romero et al., 2009; de los Ríos et al., 2015).
6. Approaching students with authentic caring or *cariño* that values students and their communities holistically (Valenzuela, 1999; Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008).
7. Breaking down binaries, borders, and boundaries that are constructed to divide communities, and bridging those divides (Ochoa, 1998).
8. Coalition building and collaborating for social transformation (de los Ríos & Ochoa, 2012).
9. Using project-based and creative assignments that draw on and foster holistic ways of seeing and knowing (García, 2015).
10. Employing community-based and praxis-oriented approaches linking theory to practice (Cole, 2004; Sleeter & Zavala, 2020).

Ethnic Studies' Connection to Restorative and Transformative Justice

Given that schools and schooling have been sites of violence and harm for BIPOC students (Anderson, 1988; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006; Valencia, 2008; Woodson, 1933), the instantiating of critical Ethnic Studies classes in P-12 settings, in and of itself, can be seen as a form of transformative justice in the teaching of language and literacy (de los Ríos et al., 2019; Dueñas et al., 2019; Pour-Khorshid, 2020). As

a school-based discipline within the school but outside the curricular status quo, Transformative Justice Ethnic Studies has the capacity to be socially transformative, one of the few places wherein students' racialized lived experiences are inextricably tied to the curricula, and students are provided the necessary space to critically read and (re)write their worlds (Freire, 1970; Omatsu, 1999).

Because colonial harm and white supremacy are deeply entrenched in US curricula and pedagogy, a reality that impacts and ultimately harms everyone, the institutionalization of a restorative justice paradigm in classrooms, schools, and teacher education, and in communion with all involved, is necessary for transformative justice (Winn, 2018). According to Zehr (2002) restorative justice “begins with a concern for victims and how to meet their needs, for repairing the harm as much as possible, both concretely and symbolically” (as cited in Winn, 2018a, p. 7), and involves reorienting *how* people are in relationship with one another. With increasing racial and economic disparities across US schooling contexts (Winn & Winn, 2019), restorative justice acknowledges that *all* people and their nuanced needs are considered worthy when justice is being imagined and enacted (Zehr, 2005; Braithwaite, 1999). Indeed, approaches grounded in the restorative justice paradigm even include focus on the needs of those punished for enacting harm, as they, too, are deemed worthy of justice (Chung, 2018; Zehr, 2005). As pursuits and emerging norms of restorative justice reconfigure patterns and paradigms of harm in schools, Ethnic Studies can offer effective pathways and approaches to name racialized and other intersectional harms, as well as methodologies to heal related traumas.

Expansion of the carceral state into P-12 institutions of learning (Pour-Khorshid, 2020)—like the presence of police departments in secondary schools or Immigration Customs Enforcement officers stationed near schools—calls for the expansion of the Ethnic Studies project, from theory to practice. Winn's (2018) transformative justice in teacher education framework brings race to the forefront and urges *all* educators across content areas to ask what it means “to teach in the age of mass or hyper incarceration and the increasing criminalization of children in our schools, especially, but not limited to, Black, Latinx, Indigenous, differently abled, queer, trans, Muslim, immigrant, and ‘undocumented’ children” (Winn, 2018a, pp. 145–146). This frame is complementary to Ethnic Studies courses, as these classes are dedicated to the critical study of power dynamics. The school and prison nexus and persisting forms of punishment in and out of school contexts makes both restorative justice and P-12 Ethnic Studies increasingly salient.

Toward Transformative Justice Ethnic Studies

Leveraging an explicit transformative justice lens to P-12 Ethnic Studies classrooms not only fosters relationality in the classroom but cultivates in all participants a social responsibility to respond to the myriad forms of oppression extant in communities in ways that do not perpetuate further trauma, harm, or pain (Barnard Center for Research on Women, 2020). Transformative Justice Ethnic Studies classrooms refute the idea that some children in our communities are disposable “throwaways” (Shalaby, 2017; Winn, 2018a).

Beyond the inclusion of BIPOC histories and the explicit analysis of power and colonialism, an Ethnic Studies pedagogy of transformative justice includes explicit strategies for community organizing; teaches the crucial importance of consent and accountability; cultivates safety and healthy connections; and works to upend local dynamics of violence, anti-Blackness, policing, homophobia, transphobia, and misogyny in our communities. A transformative justice Ethnic Studies lens also asks students and educators to reflect

together about the ways in which they have been complicit in harm (through, for example, anti-Black, anti-Indigenous, and/or anti-Muslim ideas or sentiments). This “distribution of culpability” (Barnard Center for Research on Women, 2020) ensures that everyone is responsible for imagining the necessary everyday practices of living respectfully alongside Native, queer, differently abled, and religiously, linguistically, racially, and ethnically heterogeneous communities, goals and pursuits that can lead to healthier and more accountable modes of existence and well-being. To better highlight the unique affordances of Transformative Justice Ethnic Studies—particularly with respect to racial harm, healing, and justice—here I briefly connect Maisha T. Winn’s (2018a, 2018b) pedagogical stances to this nuanced framework of teaching and learning.

History Matters

While the movement for Black Lives reminds us that “we can’t fix what we don’t name,” naming remains a major obstacle in the race-evasive curricula and pedagogies of mainstream schooling in the US today. Intersectional analyses of BIPOC community histories that lead with the sovereign rights of Indigenous peoples and focus on the liberation of Black lives are necessary to upend the historical and present-day colonial harm enacted on children (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014; Love, 2019; Sabzalian, 2019). It was in this vein that Lorgia García-Peña (2020) recently stated, “Two struggles—Black liberation and immigrant rights—are intertwined and must be confronted together, which means acknowledging there is racism in the project of Latinidad” (n.p.).

With increasing calls to recognize and dismantle anti-Blackness in not only the greater pan-Latinx community but in all communities, Ethnic Studies teachers are reminded of the importance of teaching “painful histories” (Winn, 2018, p. 34) through critical, intersectional Ethnic Studies pedagogies (Ochoa & Ochoa, in press). Angela Davis (2012) argues that our histories always remain with us consciously or unconsciously, and Winn’s *History Matters* pedagogical stance invites educators to access troubling histories “collectively and to address historical wrong-doing in education and in school communities” (Winn, 2018a, p. 34). Toward this end, transformative justice Ethnic Studies educators can critically analyze how pieces of our painful histories of racism remain and reinvent themselves (Lipsitz, 2006), and invite us to think about and lean into our individual roles in dismantling these and other harmful legacies.

It is equally crucial that Ethnic Studies educators teach histories of BIPOC resilience, ingenuity, joy, and genius (Muhammad, 2019). A transformative justice Ethnic Studies lens honors complexity and contradictions, problematizing sanitized versions of history and literature (de los Ríos, 2019). For example, Julian Bond argued that the dominant master narrative of the civil rights movement is rife with inaccuracies accepted and deeply engrained in popular culture and the minds of educators. Curricular and media coverage of this era commonly overstate white participation, overemphasize the role of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., overlook the disproportionate share of women’s leadership, and over-hype the idea of non-violence, for example (Payne, 1998). Concurrently, master narratives of the civil rights movement suppress the role of grassroots community organizing and denigrate and disparage Black Power movements and their material accomplishments.

Race Matters

The centralization of race and power is vital to a transformative justice Ethnic Studies framework. During the Third World Liberation Front’s strike in the late 1960s—the longest-lasting strike in US history (Umamoto, 1989)—Bay Area students in California demanded “Third World Studies.” Once the first Ethnic Studies college was established at San Francisco State University in 1969, demands for “Third

World Studies” became institutionalized as “Ethnic Studies,” though Okihiro (2016) reminds us that this is a misnomer that obfuscates the discipline’s central focus on race, power, and colonialism. The misleading nature of the term has also led to the prominent misunderstanding, especially among P-12 audiences, that Ethnic Studies courses solely focus on ethnicity and culture. Relatedly, the “multiculturalization” of Ethnic Studies has, in many cases, created institutional limits capping the discipline’s pedagogical potential at “understanding cultural diversity,” an outcome far short of the Third World Liberation Front’s vision of Ethnic Studies as a pathway to fundamental changes in the material conditions of oppressed people of color.

Although ethnicity and cultural identity *are* important themes in Ethnic Studies, approaches to race and ethnicity shape considerations of any ethnic identity by social institutions. While state education policy urges multicultural contextualization of the teaching of Ethnic Studies in secondary schools, rather than centering critical lenses of power, racialization, and colonialism that could be applied to analyze the situations of all oppressed groups, discourses about California’s “model ethnic studies curriculum” have centered around which ethno-racial groups are worthy of inclusion and who *should not* have a seat at the table (i.e., Arab Americans and Lao Americans). Yet, Kim (1999) reminds educators that racial groups are not formed in vacuums, but in relationship to one another, a truth with important implications for teaching and learning. Transformative justice-infused Ethnic Studies offers learning communities a point of entry aligned with the same “third world studies” priorities – race/racialization, power, and colonialism – that characterized initial visions of (and rationale for) the discipline. When explicit engagement with race and racialization includes the nuanced histories of anti-Blackness in the curriculum, for example, Latinx and Asian American Studies can become powerfully transformative.

Morrell (2007) contends that youth can often only become empowered members of “larger social collectives if they are self-actualized and if they have begun the process of healing and loving themselves” (p. 180). The need and demand for Ethnic Studies as a rigorous mechanism for the study of race and racism is thus as urgent as ever before. In keeping with the insurgent lessons of the 1960s, a transformative justice Ethnic Studies approach situates Ethnic Studies pedagogy as a living, breathing critique of oppressive systems. Responsive to the material needs of local communities (Tintiango-Cubales et al., 2015), such a framework provides students and teachers with opportunities to foster collective radical healing (Ginwright, 2016) and self- and community care and love (Camangian, 2010; Cariaga, 2019; Hannegan-Martinez, 2019).

Justice Matters

Supporters in the Western world trace the roots of restorative justice to Indigenous traditions that emphasized the interconnectedness of humans with each other and with the natural environment (Breton & Lehman, 2001; Zehr, 2002, 2005). These are understandings of justice more grounded in relational dynamics than in judgements about right and wrong, less about punitive practice than about relational harmony and well-being that is both individual and collective. As curricular spaces that explicitly work to foster interconnectedness, multi-racial, multi-ethnic, and multilingual solidarity, and humanity, Ethnic Studies classrooms and programs align easily with these traditions, opening “the possibility of not always being right but instead *making things right*” (Winn, 2018a, p. 18). In addition to naming and problematizing historical and contemporary racism and white supremacy, for example, Ethnic Studies coursework fosters critical civic literacies, critical digital literacies, and democratic participation that can “make things right” by advancing the needs, priorities, futures, and livelihoods of BIPOC students

(Camarrota, 2016; de los Ríos, 2017; de los Ríos & Molina, 2020; Dueñas et al., 2019; Kwon & de los Ríos, 2019; Thomas, 2017).

Writing from an Indigenous perspective, Wonshé (2004) notes that restorative justice is not a term or type of program that First Nations cultures use, but a “thread woven into the fabric of their lives” (p. 257). It is in a similar spirit that Pranis and colleagues (2003) advance a worldview in which “We also see ourselves as connected to all other beings, and so what happens to them affects us too. Our connectedness gives us the responsibility to care for each other and to help mend the webs that hold us” (p. 68). Such visions and pursuits of justice encourage the growth and well-being of communities that acknowledge all members as being in need of help and the reality that helping others also helps us; everyone in such a context is both a contributor and a receiver (Pranis, 2005).

As school districts begin to relinquish some of their punitive practices as part of a paradigm shift toward restorative justice principles, linking these shifts to Ethnic Studies coursework and programming is a valuable and appropriate step. When individuals are able to see one another as part and parcel of a larger web of humanity, Ethnic Studies educators and students can heed Winn’s (2018a) call to identify “problems” in their school or community and analyze them through a restorative justice lens to help elicit social change.

Language Matters

Hudelson (1994) stated, “Literacy is language and language is literacy” (p. 102). A transformative justice Ethnic Studies lens helps educators think more critically about both the role and racialization of peoples’ language practices and literacies when harm is enacted in our classrooms and communities.

A transformative justice Ethnic Studies approach situates language as a site of historical violence (Phillipson, 1992) that must be acknowledged and taught in P-12 classrooms (de los Ríos et al., 2019). One such example can be the teaching of raciolinguistic ideologies, ideas that “produce racialized speaking subjects who are constructed as linguistically deviant even when engaging in linguistic practices positioned as normative or innovative when produced by privileged white subjects” (Flores & Rosa, 2015, p. 150). In other words, the ways in which speakers of color communicate—even if/when they linguistically parallel the practices of white speakers—are often deficitized.

The roots of this pattern lie in historical racial ideologies tied to the convergences of US and Spanish settler colonialism, enslavement, and systemic oppression, ultimately projected onto people of color’s bodies and their ways of communicating (Baugh, 1999; Flores & Rosa, 2015; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006). Rosa and Flores (2015) remind us that through everyday cultural interactions and their institutionalization, race and language have been “co-naturalized” as salient markers of difference and stigmatization. To foster people’s “restorative justice vocabularies” (Winn, 2018a, p. 41), transformative justice Ethnic Studies educators can and should be intentional about discourses of language and colonial language ideologies being raised alongside conversations of race, racialization, and colonialism.

Winn (2018a) suggests that one of transformative justice’s greatest capacities is the “power to define” (p. 31), in that students get to frame their own narratives instead of having adults or authority figures do so for them. Such experiences can sanction students’ nondominant literacies and fluid bilingual practices and allow language-minoritized students to frame their nuanced and complex histories through the deployment of their full linguistic repertoire, a process García (2009) calls “translanguaging.” As Winn notes, “restorative justice offers words, concepts, and language that constitute ‘critical vocabularies,’ or

what I refer to as ‘restorative justice discourses,’ that provide ways to talk with and about children while acknowledging their humanity” (p. 41). Allowing young people grammatical agency and the self-determination to define who and what they are in their classrooms is central to any experience of transformative justice Ethnic Studies.

Futures Matter

In the last decade, we have witnessed a state-sanctioned ban on Mexican American Studies in Tucson, Arizona public schools; assaults on the theoretical contributions of Critical Race Theory; moves to investigate the New York Times’ 1619 Project, which provides more accurate curricular representations of US racial histories; and attacks of federally-funded diversity trainings. In this climate, Omi and Winant (1994) remind us that racial ideologies and white supremacy are “too essential, too integral to the maintenance of the U.S. social order” (p. 62).

Bonilla-Silva (2003) describes “color-blind racism” as a practice of accounting for even obvious racial inequities through non-racial explanations, such as individual work ethic or cultural values. “Romantic” ideas of a “post-racial” present and a non-racial future in the US are couched in a similar desire to sanitize the nation’s racially brutal past, if not forget it completely. Yet, even as “color evasive” (Annamma et al., 2016) approaches and policies have grown in popularity (and even provoked the dissolution of Ethnic Studies courses and programs, in some settings), the lived experiences of BIPOC students and their families continue to collide with the thrust of these perspectives and narratives in the contested spaces of schooling.

There should be little doubt that the rigorous study of race and racism is urgently necessary in our public schools. Carceral and racialized practices continue to rob young children of their childhood (Anderson-Zavala et al., 2017), race continues to determine positionings of privilege or marginalization for children navigating P–12 schools (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995), and an unacknowledged “racial contract” functions as a normative agreement of white supremacy and nonwhite subjugation throughout systems and institutions in the domain of education (Mills, 1997). Despite having been contested as an academic field since its conception (Soldatenko, 2009), Ethnic Studies continues to survive, fight, grow, and unapologetically amplify the humanity and robust contributions of the dispossessed. Coretta Scott King reminds us that freedom is never really won, but something that each generation must fight for and win. This aligns with the mantra of transformative justice Ethnic Studies—interwoven “study and struggle” are of crucial importance.

Winn (2018a) writes, “Imagine students, youth, and adults in a community discussing their needs to address obligations and next steps to make things right, from the very beginning of the academic year, and determining together who is obligated to meet these needs” (p. 21). While not immune from perpetuating hegemonies or harm, Ethnic Studies classrooms do remain ideal spaces for restorative and transformative justice approaches that can “change how we conceptualize and administer punishment, shame, and guilt to reflect a more nuanced understanding of harm, the needs of those harmed, and those who have caused harm ... [ultimately] cultivating participatory democracy (Winn, 2018a, pp. 11–12).

Ochoa and Ochoa (in press) offer a multi-pronged vision of the future of Ethnic Studies: students, families, communities, teachers, university programs, and teacher education programs working together to address and transform the macro-meso-micro social issues impacting local communities. Young people’s

futures and their self-determination matter, and they deserve the right and ability to chart their own destinies through transformative justice Ethnic Studies and beyond.

Acknowledgements

My deepest gratitude goes to Roger Viet Chung, who provided important insights on this paper, as well as to Maisha and Lawrence (Torry) Winn, who have invited and pushed me to think more deeply about transformative justice and its possibilities. I also thank Tawnya Switzer for her editorial assistance and care.

References

- Anderson, J. D. (1988). *The education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Anderson-Zavala, C., Krueger-Henney, P., Meiners, E., & Pour-Khorshid, F. (2017). Fierce urgency of now: Building movements to end the prison industrial complex in our schools. *Multicultural Perspectives, 19*(3), 151–154.
- Annamma, S. A., Jackson, D. D., & Morrison, D. (2017) Conceptualizing color-evasiveness: using dis/ability critical race theory to expand a color-blind racial ideology in education and society, *Race Ethnicity and Education, 20*(2), 147–162. doi: 10.1080/13613324.2016.1248837
- Barnard Center for Research on Women. (2020). What is transformative justice. YouTube. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U-_BOFz5TXo
- Baugh, J. (1999). *Out of the mouths of slaves: African American language and educational malpractice*. University of Texas Press.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2003). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the United States*. Duke University Press.
- Braithwaite, J. (1999). Restorative justice: Assessing optimistic and pessimistic accounts. *Crime and Justice, 25*, 1–127.
- Breton, D., & Lehman, S. (2001). *The mystic heart of justice*. Chrysalis Books.
- Buenavista, T. L. (2016). The making of a movement: Ethnic Studies in a K–12 context. In D. Sandoval, A. Ratcliff, T. L. Buenavista, and J. Marin (Eds.), *Whitewashing American education: The new culture wars in ethnic studies* (pp. vii–xxvii). Praeger.
- Camangian, P. (2010). Starting with self: Teaching autoethnography to foster critically caring literacies. *Research in the Teaching of English, 45*(2), 179–204.
- Cammarota, J. (2016). The praxis of ethnic studies: Transforming second sight into critical consciousness. *Race, Ethnicity, and Education, 19*, 233–251. doi:10.1080/13613324.2015.1041486

- Cariaga, S. (2019). Towards self-recovery: Cultivating love with young women of color through pedagogies of bodymindspirit. *The Urban Review*, 51(1), 101–122. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-018-0482-9>
- Chung, R. V. (2018). Imprisoned curriculum: The ROOTs program and prisoner led healing. *TJE Center White Paper Series*. University of California, Davis.
- Cohen, C., Kahne, J., & Marshall, J. (2018). *Let's go there: Race, ethnicity, and a lived civics approach to civic education*. GenForward at the University of Chicago.
- Cole, J. B. (2004). Black studies in liberal arts education. In J. Bobo, C. Hudley, and C. Michel (Eds.), *The Black studies reader* (pp. 21–34). Routledge.
- Collins, P. H. (1990). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness and the politics of empowerment*. Hyman.
- Cuahtin, R. T., Zavala, M., Sleeter, C., & Au, W. (Eds.). (2019). *Rethinking ethnic studies*. Rethinking Schools.
- Curammeng, E. (2020). Advancing teacher preparation through ethnic studies: Portraits of Filipino American self-identified male teachers. *Race, Ethnicity, and Education*, 23(3), 454–472. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2019.1664003>
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), 1241–1299.
- Critical Ethnic Studies Collective. (2016). *Critical ethnic studies: A reader*. Duke University Press.
- Davis, A. (2012). *The meaning of freedom and other difficult dialogues*. City Lights.
- de los Ríos, C. V. (2017). Picturing ethnic studies: Photovoice and youth literacies of social action. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, 61(1), 15–24. doi:10.1002/jaal.631
- de los Ríos, C. V. (2019). Revisiting notions of social action in ethnic studies pedagogy: One teacher's critical lessons from the classroom. In R. Tolteka Cuahtin, M. Zavala, C. Sleeter, W. Au (Eds.), *Rethinking ethnic studies* (pp. 59–64). Rethinking Schools.
- de los Ríos, C. V. (2020). Writing oneself into the curriculum: Reflections on photovoice journaling in an ethnic studies course. *Written Communication* 37(4), 487–511. doi:10.1177/0741088320938794
- de los Ríos, C. V., López, J., & Morrell, E. (2015). Toward a critical pedagogy of race: Ethnic studies and literacies of power in high school classrooms. *Race and Social Problems*, 7(1), 84–96. doi:10.1007/s12552-014-9142-1
- de los Ríos, C. V., Martínez, D. C., Musser, A., Canady, A., Camangian, P. R., Quijada, P. D. (2019).

Upending colonial practices: Toward repairing harm in English education. *Theory into Practice*, 58(4), 359–367. doi:10.1080/00405841.2019.1626615

- de los Ríos, C. V., & Molina, A. (2020). Literacies of refuge: “Pidiendo posada” as ritual of justice. *Journal of Literacy Research* 52(1), 32–54. doi:10.1177/1086296X19897840
- de los Ríos, C. V., & Ochoa, G.L. (2012). The people united shall never be divided: Reflections on community, collaboration, and change, *Journal of Latinos and Education* 11(4), 271–79.
- Delgado Bernal, D. (2002). Critical race theory, Latino critical theory, and critical raced gendered epistemologies: Recognizing students of color as holders and creators of knowledge. *Qualitative Inquiry* 8(1), 105–26.
- Duncan-Andrade, J., & Morrell, E. (2008). *The art of critical pedagogy: Possibilities for moving from theory to practice in urban schools*. Peter Lang.
- Dueñas, R., López, J., & López, E. (2019). Reimagining and rewriting our lives through ethnic studies. In R. Tolteka Cuahtin, M. Zavala, C. Sleeter, & W. Au (Eds.), *Rethinking ethnic studies* (pp. 229–234). Rethinking Schools.
- Dunbar-Ortiz, R. (2014). *An indigenous peoples' history of the United States*. Beacon Press.
- Fernández, A. E. (2019). Decolonizing professional development: A re-humanizing approach. *Equity & Excellence in Education* 52(2-3), 185–96.
- Flores, N., & Rosa, J. (2015). Undoing appropriateness: Raciolinguistic ideologies and language diversity in education. *Harvard Educational Review*, 85(2), 149–171.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Continuum.
- García, O. (2009). *Bilingual Education in the 21st Century: A Global Perspective*. Wiley-Blackwell.
- García, L. G. (2015). Empowering students through creative resistance: Art-based critical pedagogy in the immigrant experience. *Diálogo, An Interdisciplinary Studies Journal*, 18(2), 139–149.
- García-Peña, L. (2020). Dismantling anti-Blackness together. Retrieved from <https://nacla.org/news/2020/06/09/dismantling-anti-blackness-together>
- Ginwright, S. (2016). *Hope and healing in urban education: How urban activist and teachers are reclaiming matters of the heart*. Routledge.
- Hannegan-Martinez, S. (2019). From punk love to compa love: A pedagogical paradigm to intervene on trauma. *Urban Review*, 51, 659–675.
- hooks, b. (1994). *Teaching to transgress: Education as the practice of freedom*. New York: Routledge.

- Hudelson, S. (1994). Literacy development of second language children. In F. Genesee (Ed.), *Educating second language children: The whole child, the whole curriculum, the whole community* (pp. 129–157). Cambridge University Press.
- Kim, C. J. (1999). The racial triangulation of Asian Americans. *Politics & Society*, 27(1), 105–138. doi:10.1177/0032329299027001005
- Kwon, L., & de los Ríos, C. V. (2019). “See, click, fix”: Civic interrogation and digital tools in a ninth-grade ethnic studies course. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 52(2-3), 154–166. doi:10.1080/10665684.2019.1647809
- Ladson-Billings, G., & Tate, W. F. (1995). Toward a critical race theory of education. *Teachers College Record*, 97(1), 47–68.
- Lipsitz, G. (2006). *The possessive investment in whiteness: How white people profit from identity politics*. Temple University Press.
- Lomawaima, T., & McCarty, T. (2006). *To remain an Indian: Lessons in democracy from a century of Native American education*. Teachers College Press.
- Love, B. (2019). *We want to do more than survive: Abolitionist teaching and the pursuit of educational freedom*. Beacon Press.
- Mills, C. W. (1997). *The racial contract*. Cornell University Press.
- Morales, S., Mendoza Aviña, S., & Delgado Bernal, D. (2016). Education in Nepantla: A Chicana feminist approach to engage Latina/o elementary youth in ethnic studies. In D. Sandoval, A. Ratcliff, T. L. Buenavista, & J. Marin (Eds.), *Whitewashing American education: The new culture wars in ethnic studies* (pp. 67–96). Praeger.
- Morrell, E. (2007). *Critical literacy and urban youth: Pedagogies of access, dissent, and liberation*. Routledge.
- Muhammad, G. (2019). *Cultivating genius: An equity model for culturally and historically responsive literacy*. Scholastic.
- Naseem Rodríguez, N., & Kim, E. J. (2019). Asian and American and always becoming: The mis(education of two Asian American Teacher Educators. *The Oregon Journal of Social Studies*, 7(1), 67–81.
- Ochoa, E. C. (1998). Constructing fronteras: Teaching the history of the U.S.-Mexico borderlands in the Age of Proposition 187 and Free Trade. *Radical History Review* 70, 199–130.
- Ochoa, G. L., & Ochoa, E. C. (in press). Framing and containing ethnic studies in Southern California schools: Between add-on, power-evasive programs and transformational intersectional ethnic

- studies. In S. Rodriguez, & G. Q. Conchas (Eds.), *Race frames in education: Structuring inequality and opportunity in a changing society*. Teachers College Press.
- Okiihiro, G. Y. (2016). *Third world studies: Theorizing liberation*. Duke University Press.
- Okiihiro, G. Y., & Tsou, E. (2006). On social formation. *Works and Days* 47/48, 24(1&2), 69–88.
- Omatsu, G. (1999). Teaching for social change: Learning how to afflict the comfortable and comfort the afflicted. *Loyola of Los Angeles Law Review* 4(1), 791–797.
- Omi, M., & Winant, H. (1994). *Racial formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. New York: Routledge.
- Payne, C. (1998). The view from the trenches. In S. F. Lawson & C. M. Payne (Eds.), *Debating the civil rights movement, 1945-1968* (pp. 108–109). Rowman and Littlefield.
- Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford University Press.
- Pour-Khorshid, F. (2020). Teaching to heal, healing to teach: Ethnic studies as a healing endeavor in and out of the classroom. In R. Agarwal-Rangnath (Ed.), *Planting the seeds of equity: Ethnic studies and social justice in the K-12 classroom*, (pp. 17–26). Teachers College Press.
- Pranis, K. (2005). *The little book of circle process: A new/old approach to peacemaking*. Good Books.
- Pranis, K., Stuart, B., & Wedge, M. (2003). *Peacemaking circles: From crime to community*. Living Justice Press.
- Reyes-McGovern, E., & Buenavista, T. L. (2016). Ethnic studies with K-12 students, families, and communities: The role of teacher education in preparing educators to serve the people. In E. Hipolito and M. Zavala (Eds.), *XChange: Publications and resources for public school professionals: Ethnic studies K-12*. UCLA Center X/UC Regents.
- Romero, A., Arce, S., & Cammarota, J. (2009). A barrio pedagogy: Identity, intellectualism, activism, and academic achievement through the evolution of critically compassionate intellectualism. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 12(2), 217–233.
- Rosa, J., & Flores, N. (2015). Hearing language gaps and reproducing social inequality. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 25(1), 66–86.
- Sabzalian, L. (2019). The tensions between Indigenous sovereignty and multicultural citizenship education: Toward an anticolonial approach to civic education. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, 47(3), 311–346.
- Sacramento, J. (2019). Critical collective consciousness: Ethnic studies teachers and professional development, *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 52(2-3), 167–184.

- Shalaby, C. (2017). *Troublemakers: Lessons in freedom from young children at school*. The New Press.
- Sleeter, C. E. (2011). *The Academic and social value of ethnic studies: A Research review*. National Education Association.
- Sleeter, C. E., & Zavala, M. (2020). *Transformative ethnic studies in schools: Curriculum, pedagogy, and research*. Teachers College Press.
- Soldatenko, M. (2009). *Chicano studies: The genesis of a discipline*. University of Arizona Press.
- Takaki, R. (1999). *A different mirror: A history of multicultural America*. Little, Brown and Company.
- Thomas, D. J. (2017). *FreeDumb fighting: The literacy and liberation of young people through African American voice* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). The Ohio State University, Columbus.
- Tintiango-Cubales, A., Kohli, R., Sacramento, J., Henning, N., Agarwal-Rangnath, R., & Sleeter, C. (2015). Toward an ethnic studies pedagogy: Implications for K-12 schools from the research. *The Urban Review*, 47(1), 104–125.
- Umemoto, K. (1989). “On strike!” San Francisco State College strike, 1968–1969: The role of Asian American students. *Amerasia Journal*, 15(1), 3–41.
- Valdez, C. (2017). Subverting scripted language arts curriculum: Ethnic studies literature in the elementary classroom. *Kappa Delta Pi Record*, 52(4), 184–187.
- Valdez, C. (2020). Flippin’ the scripted curriculum: ethnic studies inquiry in elementary education. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 23(4), 581–597.
- Valencia, R. R. (2008). *Chicano students and the courts: The Mexican American legal struggle for educational equity*. New York University Press.
- Valenzuela, A. (1999). *Subtractive schooling: U.S.-Mexican youth and the politics of caring*. New York: SUNY Press.
- Winn, M. T. (2018a). *Justice on both sides: Transforming education through restorative justice*. Harvard Education Press.
- Winn, M. T. (2018b). A transformative justice approach to literacy education. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, 62(2), 219–221. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jaal.887>
- Winn, M. T., & Winn, L. (2019). This issue. *Theory into Practice*, 58(4), 305–307.
- Woodson, C. G. (1933). *The mis-education of the Negro*. The Associated Publishers, Inc.
- Wonshé. (2004). How does the “who, what, where and how” affect the practice of restorative justice? In

H. Zehr & B. Toews (Eds.), *Critical issues in restorative justice* (pp. 265–276). Criminal Justice Press.

Yang, P. Q. (2000). *Ethnic studies: Issues and approaches*. State University of New York Press.

Zehr, H. (2002). *The little book of restorative justice*. Good Books.

Zehr, H. (2005). *Changing lenses: A new focus for crime and justice*. Herald Press.