

THE SQUARE ONE PROJECT
ROUNDTABLE ON THE FUTURE OF JUSTICE POLICY
THE VALUES OF THE JUSTICE SYSTEM:
IMPLICATIONS FOR JUSTICE POLICY AND PRACTICE

ROUNDTABLE SESSION
THE ROLE OF VALUES

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P R O C E E D I N G S

1
2 MS. HUFFMAN: Hi, everyone. Good afternoon.
3 Good morning. My name is Katharine Huffman. I'm the
4 Executive Director of the Square One Project, and it is
5 just such a pleasure to be here with all of you all again
6 today.

7 All of you who are Roundtable participants here
8 on the Zoom screen, and all of you who are joining us
9 virtually through our livestream, it's just wonderful to be
10 here together. And we really appreciate everyone taking
11 the time and effort and energy and love that it takes to
12 have this conversation.

13 A huge thank you to the participants who were
14 with us yesterday evening. You all really helped us set
15 the space for this opening panel and discussion today about
16 the role of values. We're here with this entire Roundtable
17 convening with one purpose: to move forward the project of
18 reimagining justice in America in a foundational way.

19 We've brought together this wide range of
20 advocates and organizers and leaders and elected officials
21 from all across the nation who are all fighting for that
22 fundamental change from inside the justice system, from
23 outside, and in a lot of other places as well. And we're
24 just really grateful to have all of you together.

25 We truly believe that a big part of our work in

1 making change is to expose our ideas and our values to
2 everyone on the Roundtable and vice versa, and to everyone
3 who's part of Square One, in the hopes that will
4 contribute to our collective growth and change. And we
5 just really appreciate everyone who's participating in
6 this session.

7 I want to take a quick moment to walk us
8 through the agenda for today. We're going to start with a
9 terrific panel discussion with Leah Wright Rigueur and
10 Monica Bell on the role of values. They will get us
11 started in our conversation.

12 And then, we'll be opening up for a group
13 conversation with this entire group that will continue
14 until 2:30 p.m. Eastern, 11:30 a.m. Pacific. Then, we'll
15 take a quick 30 minute break, which can be lunch or snack
16 or late breakfast, or whatever is appropriate for where
17 you are in your time zones.

18 And we'll reconvene at 3:00 p.m. Eastern and at
19 noon Pacific to come back and have a second discussion,
20 which will start with some thoughts from Fatimah, Abbey,
21 and Keith, who have done some writing in advance of that
22 session as well on the values of justice. And then at
23 that point, we'll actually break out into rooms of about
24 eight or so participants in each one, and we'll have a
25 facilitated discussion within each of those. And then,

1 come back together to share our thoughts.

2 Just for technological considerations with all
3 of that, while we're in the breakout rooms and during the
4 break, we will be ending the livestream. But the breakout
5 sessions will be recorded as the full Roundtable is, and
6 those breakout session conversations will be posted, as
7 well, on our website and our YouTube channel in the coming
8 days.

9 So while we aren't able to have all the
10 breakout sessions livestreamed, they will be available for
11 folks to able to review and hear how those conversations
12 went. And for those who are watching from home or away,
13 if you subscribe to our YouTube channel or registered via
14 the Eventbrite for this Roundtable, you'll get a
15 notification when we're live once more after each of these
16 breaks.

17 One more update reminder for our
18 participants. As everyone knows and as most of us
19 experienced last night, during the course of our
20 conversations, we'll be inviting open and informal
21 conversation with everyone, and we'll ask you to use the
22 raise-hand function so that you can raise your hand as you
23 want to get in the queue to speak.

24 But as always, the option for the insistent
25 wave is available. And if you have something that you'd

1 like to say that's immediately responsive to something
2 that someone's just said or that you feel really can't
3 wait in order to have the impact to interact with the
4 discussion, please wave physically. And I will be keeping
5 my eyes on the screen to invite you in, or you can shoot
6 me a direct chat and I'll try to be keeping an eye on that
7 as well to invite everyone in.

8 So with that, I want to take just a few
9 minutes -- welcome, again, to everyone. A huge welcome to
10 those who weren't able to join us last night, and we're
11 just really looking forward to this discussion.

12 We've been able to begin our talk and sort of
13 thinking about, what do we mean by values? What are the
14 role of values in this endeavor of trying to re-imagine
15 justice? And what does that mean?

16 Before we get started on our panel, I'll
17 invite -- if anyone has any thoughts from last night's
18 discussion, any reactions or things that have come to you
19 as you've been considering that overnight -- or if there's
20 anyone who wasn't able to participate, but has any
21 thoughts you'd like to offer, we'd invite that now before
22 we shift gears and get started in our next conversation.

23 Anyone have any thoughts they'd like to
24 share? Great. Well, in that case, I think we can go
25 ahead and get started in our conversation.

1 Leah and Monica, if you all are ready, as we
2 start this conversation, we wanted to really begin our
3 time together in earnest talking about the role of
4 values. In recent years, there's been an increased
5 recognition that our nation's reliance on mass
6 incarceration to create safety and justice has not, in
7 fact, achieved those goals of either safety or justice,
8 and has actually often created harm to people, to
9 communities, to systems.

10 And because of that, we -- the collective we --
11 have begun to seek ways to increase safety and lessen
12 harms within the systems. We've been mostly, in doing
13 that, focused on sort of the practical tools available,
14 and working within the political constraints of elections
15 every few years, and the efforts that can be made within
16 the context of the justice system itself.

17 But what we're all realizing is that real
18 conflicts and inconsistencies arise from this narrowly
19 scoped focus. And while it's understandable on a
20 practical or a political level, reacting to this narrowly
21 defined problem with a narrowly drawn response doesn't get
22 us to the core task of reckoning with the justice system
23 and with the damage it's wrought, or bring us to the
24 possibility of really foundational change.

25 So in this session, we want to really think

1 about, what is the potential role of values in breaking
2 out of these constraints? And is there the potential that
3 a focus on our shared values would allow us to really make
4 more progress, and really foundationally reimagine justice
5 and achieve safety and security and freedom for all?

6 What kind of values are necessary in the
7 present to have the kind of just world that we imagine?
8 So I want to open up this conversation with a huge thanks
9 to Leah and to Monica for the writing that we all have the
10 opportunity to read in advance, and I'll invite you all to
11 get us started in this conversation with this question of,
12 what kinds of values are needed to have the kind of just
13 world we imagine?

14 Leah? Monica? If you'd like to start.

15 DR. BELL: I'm happy to start, because in some
16 ways, my opening statement is less about naming particular
17 values and is more about thinking about what a
18 conversation about values would actually offer us in the
19 first place. And so, one of the things I think a
20 conversation about values could offer us is a type of
21 common terrain about which to debate about particulars.

22 So, I mean, of course, the questions you
23 started with invite -- you know -- who is the "our"?
24 Right? So I'm interested in who the collective is that
25 we're referring to in particular. But, you know, we could

1 start there.

2 Another thing, you talked about safety and
3 justice and how we haven't achieved it. And a lot of the
4 conversations about the criminal legal system right now --
5 it's like are safety and justice even values of the
6 American criminal legal system, if we just start there.

7 There are many communities that have been made
8 less safe, and certainly have not experienced anything
9 like structural justice related to the criminal legal
10 system. So I guess those are just kind of initial
11 recognitions.

12 But I think the value of having a values
13 conversation is to say -- it's almost like the
14 Constitution, right? It's like regardless of what people
15 think about the Constitution and how it should be
16 interpreted, at the very least one can say it gives us a
17 common vocabulary about which to have a further
18 conversation. Even with its deep flaws, its deep racism,
19 its deep endorsement of settler colonialism and so forth,
20 that terrain is important.

21 And so, I think as an initial statement, we're
22 not going to have, I hope, a pie-in-the-sky conversation
23 about values that doesn't take seriously the fact that any
24 conversation about values is built on a pre-existing
25 structural injustice. And so really we're just having a

1 first-step sort of conversation, but returning to those
2 first principles is important.

3 But I'll stop there, and I look forward to
4 hearing what Leah has to say.

5 DR. WRIGHT-RIGUEUR: Sure, and thank you,
6 Monica. Thank you so much. You know, in our previous
7 conversation, we had talked a lot about defining and
8 definitions. And I think that's really important, too,
9 because in this conversation, values is everything. And I
10 think establishing whose values, what values, what kind of
11 values we're talking about is deeply important.

12 Now, what I want to do is two things, I think,
13 in this kind of opening statement. The first is to, you
14 know, go through the pie-in-the-sky thing about, what are
15 the shared values that I think are necessary in order for
16 us to even to get some semblance of change. I mean, of
17 course, we can parse that apart and take it apart. But
18 then, also, to think about how those values and others
19 that we would inscribe as positive values conflict,
20 perhaps, with values as they exist now for values of the
21 nation.

22 So I think what's necessary are ideas of
23 empathy, ideas of rehabilitation, ideas of racial and
24 social egalitarianism. Right? So really it's this idea
25 of equality in its truest sense, but in questions of race

1 and social issues.

2 A sense of freedom. I'm not going to say
3 liberty, because I think liberty is a loaded term. So
4 it's freedom in some respects, but freedom broadly
5 construed.

6 And then, of course, the last one is
7 collectivism. Now, the reasons why I think -- I mean,
8 there are a number of reasons why I think those are
9 important. I'm happy to talk about that later on.

10 But I think one of the things that we're coming
11 up against is that the values that I've defined and have
12 broadly construed are actually in conflict with our
13 nation's values as they exist right now. And that in
14 fact, our nation's values as they are practiced are almost
15 incompatible with ideas of restorative justice.

16 So what we're talking about here, particularly
17 as we begin to have a common understanding of definitions,
18 which is really important, I think part of what we're
19 coming up against -- and again, this is, I think, part of
20 a conversation Monica and I've had earlier -- was that
21 these ideas and these values as defined, right -- common
22 values as they are defined are actually not necessarily
23 reconcilable with ideas of restorative justice in a system
24 and in an institution as we see it right now.

25 So I would love to have a conversation about

1 that as well.

2 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you both so much. Well, I
3 invite you to dig in on that a little bit. I mean, this
4 question of, what do you do when the values that you seek
5 and the values that we may talk about as ones that could
6 actually move us forward are so deeply, and it almost
7 seems concretely, in opposition to many of the values upon
8 which our entire society is built?

9 What's the opportunity -- what's the path
10 forward in that context? Or is there one?

11 DR. BELL: So I think in a lot of ways this
12 goes back to how we're defining the "our," like, in who
13 gets define what the meaning of the nation-state is. So
14 you know, we don't have uncontested shared values,
15 actually.

16 And maybe that's, like, a bleak way to start
17 the conversation to some degree. But we have shared
18 values, per se, but there's a political and social
19 process, and a process that includes organizing, a process
20 that includes deep dialogue and education, and just like
21 actually in the work, the values become defined.

22 And so, you know, as an academic, a lot of the
23 time, there's a tendency to start with theory. And I
24 think in some ways, starting with values can feel like
25 that if we're not really careful to tether values to

1 praxis. And so, I think in observing the work that people
2 do and engaging in work, values become defined more
3 explicitly.

4 So just to be a little more concrete. So like
5 one could have -- you know, we write about this in our
6 paper. One could say, Oh. I have a value of repair. And
7 one could approach values of repair and reckoning by
8 having dialogue in which there's apology and sort of
9 detached from anything material.

10 Or one could have a conversation about repair
11 in which there's a requirement that first, we deal with
12 the material consequences of what has happened. So, and
13 then, the kind of value of repair becomes more explicit
14 and better defined, and I think that's the type of values
15 conversation I'm interested in engaging in.

16 One that's like almost inductive, to use maybe
17 a sociological way of thinking about it, where instead of,
18 I'm saying, Okay. Well, these are our values. Now, let's
19 figure them out. Instead, say, like, Let's be doing work,
20 and then the values that we actually have become more
21 apparent.

22 And I think what's nice about this conversation
23 is there's so many people here -- I mean, of course,
24 watching -- who've been engaged in tangible work who can
25 help us better understand what the actual values are, if

1 that makes sense.

2 DR. WRIGHT-RIGUEUR: And so, I love this idea
3 of tangible work. And I'm going to expand on it a bit to
4 say that I also want to think about tangible moments where
5 it becomes apparent through which values are expressed --
6 national values are expressed, but also mitigated values,
7 and then, the development of shared kind of values.

8 And I actually think that there are very
9 specific moments in America's history, particularly in
10 recent history, just to kind of, I think, contextualize it
11 and to point to areas where I feel most comfortable. But
12 I think particularly, in recent history, where value
13 making happens, and it can be incredibly powerful, both
14 for negative, but also for positive.

15 So I think about a moment like the end of the
16 Civil War and radical Reconstruction. That is a moment of
17 value making. But so, too, is the end of Reconstruction
18 and the rise of the redemption period and the nadir of
19 African-American history and experience.

20 I think of other moments: 9/11, for example,
21 where there's a nationwide connective experience, and
22 there is an attempt for a certain kind of value building,
23 but something else comes out of it. A different kind of
24 value is built out of it. One that does harm.

25 I also think about, say, the Charleston

1 Massacre in 2015. And the reason why I use the Charleston
2 Massacre is because there is something that happens in the
3 American idea in that moment -- or the American public
4 idea that seems radically different, but also collectively
5 brings us together to produce something that is on the
6 edge or the cusp of possibility -- positive possibility.

7 So you have Nikki Haley saying that she's going
8 to bring down the Confederate flags from the Mississippi
9 state house. We have Ben Carson saying, Call it what it
10 is, racism.

11 And it seems like there's this moment where we
12 can go in a particular direction to do less harm as a
13 nation as one of our shared values. And that moment is
14 upended, I think, with the influx of the presidential
15 election and the rise, in part, of Donald Trump. It's the
16 moment -- it's a lost moment.

17 Which brings me to, I think, my last moment of
18 value building, which is the moment that we are in right
19 now. The death of George Floyd -- the recent murder of
20 George Floyd, the death of Breonna Taylor, I think, as
21 well. But more so, as part and parcel of this kind of
22 George Floyd moment.

23 But then, also, couple that with the Capitol
24 riots and insurrection that happened on January 6,
25 2021. And I think when you take those things together, it

1 really feels like we are in a moment of possibility and
2 value building -- positive possibility and value building
3 for our shared values as a nation.

4 So I think to Monica's point, in terms of doing
5 the work, we have to couple it with these moments of
6 practice with, also, events, where it feels like, as a
7 nation, we are collectively going through these moments
8 and redefining what our values are and what they mean.

9 MS. HUFFMAN: Okay. That's a really powerful
10 concept, and just as a follow-up question to that for both
11 of you. You know, Leah, you just described some of these
12 value-making moments, and then described in each of those
13 how the potential wasn't realized, and instead there was a
14 turn that went certainly not sufficiently forward and
15 possibly even backward.

16 You know, we're in this moment. We all feel
17 that potential for forward motion or for backward
18 motion. Are there lessons we can learn from history? Are
19 there lessons we can learn from the practice of people who
20 are working now, all of us on the screen and otherwise,
21 that can help us turn this value-making moment that we're
22 in towards the creation of those new values and towards
23 the positive? As opposed to adding it to the list that in
24 10 years from now, we'll be saying that was another missed
25 moment where we didn't make a change.

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DR. WRIGHT-RIGUEUR: Monica, you want to tackle this one first? No? Okay.

So I think there's a lot. There's a lot. That's a really big question. But there are a couple of things, I think, as starting points, which is that I largely focused on kind of national moments. But I think the truth is that these national moments happened through local, on-the-ground building, particularly around institutions, around individuals, around policymakers.

You know, one of the things that I've been saying for the last year, and quite loudly, is that the American people, particularly on a local and state level, have been failed by political institutions, by policymaking institutions, by policymaking bodies. And that now is the time, I think, to really think about the kind of spadework -- to use the term from Ella Baker -- that we should be doing on a local kind of organizing level.

That it's not possible to have this kind of national significant change without having these small organizations on the ground -- fully resourced, fully empowered to actually do the kind of necessary changework that is necessary.

The other thing that I think a lot about is,

1 what is the line between compromise, right -- and we're
2 thinking a lot about how do we navigate an intensely
3 polarized and partisan America. So in a lot of ways the
4 conversation tends to revolve around, all right, how can
5 we find interest convergence? What are the things that we
6 can compromise on or work with people across the aisle?
7 Or people of different ideological backgrounds?

8 And that's nice. But I'm starting to
9 increasingly think that that is not the path forward,
10 particularly since compromise has consistently failed
11 over, really, the past several decades. That, in fact,
12 there has to be a re-commitment to an almost radical
13 imagination and creativity in terms of sponsorship, and a
14 willingness to allow these small organizations to fail.

15 And I say that, in part, because there is a
16 real resistance -- or there's a real emphasis in saying, I
17 want an immediate ROI. So I want an immediate return on
18 investment, particularly from investors, from donors, from
19 philanthropists.

20 But instead, what we have to see is that these
21 small organizations on the ground that are the doing the
22 local work are going to fail. They're going to fail over
23 and over and over again. And that in order to actually
24 see something at the end -- if we're being hyperbolic,
25 this is 400 years in the making.

1 You're not going to fix it in a year. You're
2 not going to fix it in five years. You're not going to
3 fix it in 10 years.

4 So in order to see some kind of long-term, I
5 think, success and viability, and to see some kind of
6 long-term change, we have to be willing to fund movements
7 and organizations that are going to fail in the short
8 term, if that makes sense.

9 DR. BELL: No. I think that makes a lot of --

10 MS. HUFFMAN: Monica, could you -- go ahead.

11 Yes.

12 DR. BELL: Yes. I think that makes a lot of
13 sense, and just to some degree, it's like, Oh. Especially
14 where you started the conversation is quite reminiscent of
15 what my initial reaction was. It's like, Well, I think
16 it's easy to tell a story of failure if one looks
17 primarily at the kind of overarching nation-state.

18 It's a lot harder to tell that particular sort
19 of story if one looks at local organizations, if one looks
20 at the kind of daily organizing work that people do in
21 dialogue with each other. But so, I'll add on -- so, Leah
22 already said that.

23 So I'll add on a couple of things that amplify,
24 I think, in part some of those points. So first -- this
25 is related to Leah's last point. We really have to think

1 about what victory looks like.

2 So one way to think about those moments and
3 that bifurcations that Leah talked about is through a lens
4 of, Well, you know, we started with something bold. And
5 then, there was some event or some kind of happening that
6 stopped it.

7 And I think -- I guess I view a lot of those
8 moments as still having some type of productivity in
9 bringing to the fore certain types of ideological
10 dimensions. I mean, the fact that as a routine aspect of
11 political conversation, we hear people talk about
12 abolition. We hear people really name anti-Blackness,
13 white supremacy. We now have people questioning whether
14 the police promote public safety at all, and that people
15 is a large group of people, and not just people who are
16 kind of in marginalized groups.

17 Those types of ideological changes --
18 rhetorical changes and innovations are important. So I
19 think the broader question is one about what your theory
20 of change is. So one of the things that's been really
21 frustrating to me over the past several months since, as
22 we have called it, the George Floyd moment, is this
23 reaction by a lot of liberal people, people who see
24 themselves as being even progressive that the language of
25 defund, and the actions of protestors and movements have

1 been counterproductive.

2 They point to certain types of election results
3 or whatever. But I think that really misunderstands what
4 the theory of change of a movement is.

5 So one of the things we talk about in the paper
6 is you have all of these cities that were initially
7 resistant to doing these. Let's fund alternatives to
8 policing. Let's try out things, like the CAHOOTS model,
9 in our town. There was so much resistance to that for so
10 long. Movements have been organizing for these types of
11 things for so long.

12 And then when it became -- oh, not only that,
13 but you also need to defund the police. It's like, Well,
14 maybe we won't quite go all the way there, but maybe we
15 will finally start investing in these alternatives,
16 investing in communities, investing in community
17 organizations and certain aspects of the welfare state.

18 So one could say, Oh, well, that is, you know,
19 a weakness and a co-optation. But I guess I can't help
20 but think that's part of -- that's a type of incremental
21 victory that's going somewhere.

22 And I don't want to be telling, like, some
23 story of grand progress, you know? Like, I'm not signed
24 on to that. But I just do think it is too defeatist, I
25 think, to say that because the most radical thing that I

1 want to happen doesn't happen right now, that there's
2 been -- there's, like deep pessimism -- what have we been
3 up to?

4 Like, I think there are a lot of people really
5 up to stuff that's meaningful. And so, yeah -- I'll stop
6 there, but it's such a great question.

7 MS. HUFFMAN: Yes. Thank you. You're
8 reminding me, Monica, of the conversation in our most
9 recent Roundtable, and it's come up in different ways over
10 the course of all of our time together, about
11 understanding and being able to even identify the
12 difference between incrementalism and foundational change
13 in increments, and that those are two different things.
14 But it's often hard to know the difference and to see
15 where that's going.

16 So just a couple more questions for the two of
17 you, and then we'll start opening up for our conversation
18 here with everyone.

19 So one is just to circle back to -- with
20 everything that we just heard and you all just said, you
21 know, so where does that land us on values and the role of
22 values in these conversations? Are values part of the
23 toolkit that we can use in building this type of
24 consensus? What does that look like?

25 Well, I'll just stop there and invite you all

1 to respond to that, and then we'll start opening up to
2 others as well. Go ahead.

3 DR. WRIGHT-RIGUEUR: So I mean, I'll start off.
4 I'll just, I think, briefly say that certainly values are
5 important, but I think it's more so in the idea of value
6 making and shared positive value making, right.

7 And perhaps -- I'm really struggling to
8 articulate this the way that I see values. But I think
9 one of the things that we can talk about is how we, as a
10 nation, begin to see values change or shift, or attitudes
11 change.

12 And I'll use the example of, I think, empathy,
13 though, in terms of what I see of a value -- as a positive
14 value that we should be aspiring to and working towards.
15 Empathy is one of those things. I think in terms of
16 criminal justice and the carceral state, one of the things
17 that has been absent for so long has been this idea of
18 empathy.

19 But it was a concept that, as a country and as
20 a nation, is both a difficult concept for people to grasp
21 around the carceral state, and around criminality or what
22 have you, and restorative justice. But it is one that is
23 shifting over time, particularly through the actions of
24 people on the ground who are doing the scholarship, the
25 academics, the practice and the praxis of restorative

1 justice. In such that, you know, in the present, I think
2 there is an increasingly emerging idea around empathy and
3 rehabilitation when it comes to restorative justice and
4 the carceral state.

5 So I want us to think a lot about how those
6 things happen. And then, how those values can be useful.

7 I also really have to say that I was really
8 interested in this idea of both harm reduction as a
9 concrete part of restorative justice. I've been thinking
10 a lot about the reparations conversation, and we're seeing
11 right now that we may actually get a commission on the
12 study of reparations, which is huge, right. That's been a
13 40 year conversation -- 40 or 50 year conversation in the
14 making.

15 But I'm also seeing it come out in different
16 spaces. So, for example, in conversations around the
17 emerging cannabis industry, a parallel conversation has
18 been around, what does restorative justice and reducing
19 harm, particularly retroactive harm that was done -- what
20 does that look like?

21 So what are social equity policies and racial
22 equity policies that have to be put in place into this
23 emerging cannabis bill industry and institution in order
24 for us to move forward? That's a conversation that's
25 happening in the private sphere and it's a conversation

1 that is happening in the public sphere at the federal
2 level, at the state level, and, of course, at the local
3 level.

4 So I want us to think about what are the -- I
5 think, the abstract values that emerge during kind of
6 these event-making -- value-making moments. But also,
7 what are the concrete values that we can use as we are
8 doing this work on the ground as well?

9 DR. BELL: Yes. That's really great. That's
10 really great.

11 So, you know, I think -- as I started, I think
12 the primary contributions of values debate in this sort of
13 conversation is to offer a common terrain to debate
14 about. And so, I want to be a little bit more precise
15 what I mean with a few examples.

16 So one of the things that's been really
17 interesting and inspiring over the past several years in
18 movement work is a kind of rejection of the word
19 "equality" for having conversations about equity, about
20 justice, about liberation. And I think by choosing those
21 types of words instead of the word "equality," one gets
22 particular sorts of cash out.

23 So, of course, a conversation about equality
24 versus equity invites us to think about the past --
25 invites us to think about where we started, and not just

1 have a presentist view. So, and that helps us to think
2 about reparations. I actually think part of the reason
3 that the political work of reparations has become seeming
4 more possible in the way that we articulate it is because
5 our way of thinking about what equality is has shifted to
6 be more attentive to the past.

7 Similarly, more people are thinking about not
8 racial inequality, but racial injustice right now because
9 the word injustice sounds a moral debate. What type of
10 world are we saying we want? What are our commitments?
11 And not just, in what ways does one group disparate from
12 another? Which is, of course, very important, but it
13 doesn't embed within it a sense of the good.

14 Similarly, and this is something I've written
15 about. And it might be a bit controversial to some degree
16 in this space, but, you know, there has been a lot of
17 focus over the past few couple of decades or so on notions
18 of trust with relation to the criminal legal system.

19 So how do we build trust between communities
20 that are marginalized and the various actors within the
21 criminal legal system? And I think if one has that value,
22 then, it drives the conversation in a -- what I would say
23 is a sort of somewhat limited way.

24 Not to ask, should marginalized communities be
25 trusting the police? What are the police? And what is

1 the criminal legal system doing that is not just
2 delegitimizing, but is in fact oppressive and
3 exclusionary? And so, I think having these words and
4 debating about what the values are gives us a terrain on
5 which to have conversations like that.

6 Another one I just want to highlight quickly --
7 well, I guess there are a couple more, and I'll try to be
8 brief, though. So I mentioned earlier, liberation.
9 Liberation versus equality.

10 You know, if one is concerned about equality,
11 one might be very concerned about traditional residential
12 segregation. You know, how scattered are people of color
13 across neighborhoods?

14 But if one is concerned about liberation, you
15 might be less concerned about the scatteredness, and more
16 concerned about residential choice, freedom. Do people
17 get to live where they want to? And do people get to move
18 about where they'd like to?

19 And then, also, we've been talking much more, I
20 think, in criminal legal system conversations not about
21 punishment, but about accountability. People want
22 accountability and people want safety. But discussing in
23 detail what those things mean, we get to have that
24 conversation if we say, Okay. Well, accountability is a
25 value. It's not just punishment as the value.

1 So, and I'll stop there, but that's, I hope,
2 somewhat granular in getting us kicked off.

3 MS. HUFFMAN: That is great. Thank you both so
4 much. We just heard those examples of values as a
5 process, and what that looks likes. Values as a meeting
6 ground and a common ground for conversation.

7 Let's open it up to our group. As I said,
8 please feel free to use your little raise-hand button, and
9 we have a raised hand already with Gabe Salguero.

10 Gabe?

11 REV. SALGUERO: First, thank you. Both
12 presenters were quite informative and quite insightful.
13 So as we say in my neighborhood, Muchas gracias, hermanas.
14 Many thanks.

15 I think I have several -- or just one question
16 about values. Maybe it's two parts of that question,
17 which is where are values formed in the national
18 conversation in topography? From whence?

19 Who are the value formers, and how do these
20 value formers share those values across cultures, across
21 geographic regions? And so, from whence do these
22 values -- who are they? Who are the formers? Or as Lin-
23 Manuel Miranda -- who is in the room when those values get
24 decided on?

25 The second thing I think Dr. Bell was talking

1 about in the last part of her presentation was Bob Putnam,
2 the sociologist, talks about the -- and to some degree --
3 the kind of more conservative thinker who Vol Levin
4 [phonetic] has talked about -- the distrust in
5 institutions because those institutions -- one thing is,
6 people are losing trust in institutions, is one way to say
7 it.

8 I'd like to say is -- institutions are acting
9 in ways that make us lose trust, is a better way to say
10 it, in my readings. So if we're creating institutions,
11 and some of them will fail, as you talked about -- the
12 philanthropic, Dr. Wright -- the need to kind of try and
13 fail until we are able to build capacity.

14 What do we do with the decline of institutional
15 trust even as we have historically -- even in minority
16 communities -- used institutions to form values and to
17 share values broadly? How do we deal with that paradox?

18 Because trust is on -- there's a trust deficit,
19 rightly so in so many communities. What, then, becomes
20 the institutions or the mitigating institutions to create
21 the trust and to share the values?

22 The last thing I want to say is, how do we
23 determine the hierarchy of values when we have competing
24 values? Saint Augustine would say, How do we determine
25 which is the highest good? And who is the arbiter of

1 those things?

2 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you. Thank you, Gabe, so
3 much. I'll invite -- we're going to be opening up for a
4 full conversation. Anyone is welcome to jump in and
5 respond to these questions that are being posed and share
6 your own thoughts.

7 So, folks, please feel free to raise your hands
8 and while that's happening, Monica or Leah, if either of
9 you all would like to react to the questions that Gabe
10 posed, that would be great.

11 Feel free.

12 DR. WRIGHT-RIGUEUR: Sure. I'm happy to
13 respond to it, but Monica, please go.

14 DR. BELL: Okay. You know, so, on the first
15 question about who's in the room -- I mean, I think one of
16 the really fundamental problems of the American nation-
17 state is who has been in the room when policy values are
18 being determined has been quite limited.

19 Of course, I mean, I guess as a Constitutional
20 law professor, I suppose I feel some obligation to think
21 about historically, not just about what wound up in the
22 document that has been -- I mean, like I think if we're
23 going to take seriously the criminal legal system, well,
24 the criminal legal system has a legal structure. And that
25 legal structure -- the commitments of the Constitution

1 have been articulated and built into certain types of
2 precedent.

3 So it's hard to say, for example, that we
4 really have a value of something like bodily autonomy,
5 which I think should be a critical value of our criminal
6 legal system, when you have Terry vs. Ohio and its progeny
7 essentially saying that certain groups of people don't
8 have bodily autonomy, and that the police can constantly
9 violate it with really minimal justification.

10 So I think one of the really fundamental
11 changes we have to make is actually having an answer to
12 your first question that is different from the answer that
13 we've had in the past. Like propertied, cishet, white
14 men -- like, that's who we've acknowledged, in general,
15 have the power to define American values and -- but of
16 course, the action of movements over history have offered
17 alternatives to those values, and have shifted the meaning
18 of them.

19 And so, I think seeing ourselves -- and this is
20 very much what Leah was talking about -- acknowledging --
21 finding movement moments allows those values to be
22 redefined.

23 Just very quickly, on the institutional trust
24 question. I mean, this is something I think about quite a
25 lot, and the decline of -- well, I don't know that we've

1 had a decline of trust.

2 I think we've just had actually -- we have
3 people seeing that institutions haven't behaved in a
4 trustworthy manner, and actually acknowledging that. And
5 I suppose this values conversation -- and maybe it ties to
6 a conversation about the hierarchy of values.

7 I don't know that trust in institutions should
8 be at the top of our hierarchy of values, given the
9 history of the institutions. And so, if we had a
10 hierarchy of values that were rooted differently, like
11 liberation, justice, other sorts of values, and if we saw
12 those as being prime to this kind of order-keeping
13 value. Like, have we trusted institutions as a value
14 about order, maintenance?

15 Then -- and so, I mean, of course, these are
16 all debatable. What are the fundamentals, I think is a
17 conversation that we should be having all around this
18 nation, in terms of figuring out the hierarchy of
19 values. And then reconstructing institutions that are
20 attentive to those values.

21 DR. WRIGHT-RIGUEUR: So if I can just jump in
22 and say that I echo everything that Monica just said.
23 Just to the first question, though, I want to add on and
24 say, you know, these movements, these organizations, these
25 people on a local and state level -- even national

1 movements are constantly making values. The question is,
2 how do we get them into spaces where those values become
3 part of the national conversation, including the
4 policymaking conversation.

5 What's interesting, though, is that I think
6 there's an imbalance -- certainly an imbalance there. A
7 power dynamic there. But we have seen moments where those
8 values from, say, grassroots or from movement politics
9 have influenced institutions for the better.

10 We've also seen moments where political
11 grassroots movements, perhaps that we don't agree with or
12 that we might label conservative or radical, what have
13 you, have made it into the mainstream of these spaces in
14 part because they're not that radically different from the
15 people who are making the policy. But in some cases, they
16 are radically different.

17 And so I actually think it is useful for us as
18 part of this conversation around value making and how we
19 move values into spaces that we want them to be to
20 actually study these organizations, these movements, these
21 people in the grassroots -- left, right, center,
22 wherever -- who have actually successfully moved these
23 things.

24 So as we're talking about, for example -- and
25 I'll use the example of the Tea Party Movement, which is

1 largely an older, white, male, 55, conservative movement,
2 but it's also largely propelled by white women in their
3 mid-50s -- mid-30s to mid-50s. And it's funded by, you
4 know, conservative philanthropists, but it actually has a
5 grassroots component.

6 One of the things that we see is that the Tea
7 Party Movement actually manages to translate itself into a
8 policy movement that influences the direction of at least
9 a third of people in this country. So while we may not
10 agree with that, particularly the punitive measures and
11 vision of the Tea Party Movement, we need to actually
12 study how that happened, and study how we make this shift
13 from one piece to another.

14 We can do the same, in some respects, with
15 different aspects of the Civil Rights Movement. We can
16 even do the same with different aspects of the Black Power
17 Movement. And I think we can do the same with different
18 aspects of the Movement for Black Lives that is happening
19 right now -- that has been happening over the past five
20 years or so.

21 The other thing that I want to just highlight
22 is that we do have to reckon -- to the second question --
23 we have to reckon with this idea that different movement
24 groups have, and movement organizations and movements,
25 more generally, have with the concept of the illegitimacy

1 of the state. And what that concept means for the kind of
2 ideas and values these groups produce.

3 Now, what's interesting is that, again,
4 illegitimacy of the state is something that movements on
5 the left, right, center -- all over the place -- hold, but
6 the reasons for their definition of illegitimacy is very
7 different.

8 So the Movement for Black Lives views the state
9 as illegitimate because it is killing Black people. It is
10 unjust. The Tea Party Movement views the state as
11 illegitimate, in part, because the state is providing
12 resources to people across all racial groups. In part,
13 because we had a Black president, and a Black president is
14 illegitimate in the eyes of the Tea Party Movement.

15 So I think we have to understand these
16 different moments and why these institutions view -- why
17 these organizations view institutions as illegitimate, and
18 from there, we can make a decision around the hierarchy of
19 values. So if we say, right, that a third of the American
20 people think that the state is illegitimate because Barack
21 Obama was president, that's not somewhere that should be
22 on our hierarchy of values. Right? Like, we shouldn't be
23 valuing that.

24 We might value kind of the underlying reasons
25 to understand better why these people are doing it, but

1 that's very different from saying, the state is killing
2 Black people.

3 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Leah. Thank you both
4 so much for that, and Leah, for that, and Gabe for that
5 prompting question.

6 So we'll move on to hands that are raised.
7 Nicole, we'll hand over to you. And then, Marcia, you'll
8 be next.

9 MS. GONZALEZ VAN CLEVE: I'm not sure if it's
10 too early to have a more critical take on all of this, but
11 right now, Chicago is top of mind. It's my hometown, but
12 also a research site that I've, you know, interrogated for
13 over a decade, studying prosecutors, police officers,
14 political landscape.

15 And in 2020, the mayor had budgeted the city
16 budget of \$1.8 billion for the Chicago Police Department,
17 but they also set aside \$153 million that was line-
18 itemed -- that was earmarked for police misconduct. And
19 in some ways, granted a blank check to police officers so
20 they could continue failing in ways that kill -- that
21 traumatize Black and Brown communities.

22 And so, when we talk about these values -- I
23 mean, there is part of us that -- we have to kind of get
24 real. Baldwin says, I can't believe what you say because
25 I see what you do. Reuben Miller's recent book, *Halfway*

1 Home -- there's a painful look at this false promise, this
2 lie of re-entry.

3 We've got 45,000 laws and policies and
4 administrative sanctions in the U.S. that target people
5 with criminal records. And yet, we say they're supposed
6 to come home and that there is such a thing as
7 rehabilitation and re-entry. And yet, 45,000 laws tell us
8 otherwise, where the punishment transcends the people
9 charged and extends to entire families, communities, Black
10 mothers, Brown mothers.

11 So, you know, I think this discussion right
12 now -- and I think, maybe it's just an emotional time.
13 We've seen -- we're right now living through the trial of
14 George Floyd's death. We're seeing if we can get
15 justice. But you know, one verdict is not justice.

16 And so, as I'm thinking about this wider
17 landscape, I just keep saying, What are the values here?
18 And who gets to continue to articulate their values? And
19 people marched this summer saying enough was enough.

20 I mean, I kept saying, Well, how many people
21 can we watch die on camera? How many? How many
22 children? How many dads? How many young people? How
23 many teenagers? And finally, George Floyd seemed to be a
24 tipping point where people were marching the streets
25 saying, This does not reflect our values.

1 But I will say right now, we have not done one
2 thing differently to change the conditions upon which
3 George Floyd could be so flagrantly killed in public on
4 camera with a nation, and maybe the world, expressing their
5 total discontent with the state of policing. And yet, they
6 have not done anything to reform.

7 And so, I want to just throw that out here,
8 which is -- you know, this is highly conceptual discussion
9 about values. But I think there is this gap between the
10 values that a larger portion of Americans are expressing,
11 and then, the stronghold that institutional actors continue
12 to engage and resist reform.

13 And yet -- so, I struggle with this idea of
14 values, because it seems \$153 million for legal
15 settlements -- that, to me, is an expression of our values,
16 which is we have an enormous -- we are willing to pay to
17 allow Black and Brown people to die. And if that is an
18 American value -- historically, maybe that is.

19 And I think we need to really be honest with
20 that as well, right, that we're talking about these higher
21 order values, but yet, we continue to affirm these very
22 violent values. And, you know, I struggle. I'm struggling
23 today as I was -- Dr. Bell was on a panel with me last
24 summer, and I struggled then.

25 And I'm curious for the answers from the group.

1 DR. WRIGHT-RIGUEUR: I'll just jump in here,
2 too, and say I think, in part, that's -- in my opening
3 statement when I said that, in some ways, I think some of
4 the positive values that we imagine ourselves to be in
5 search of or support may, in fact, be irreconcilable with
6 our nation's American values as expressed through our
7 nation's actions.

8 And I think, largely, one of the things that
9 struck me about the moment that we are in right now is
10 that for scholars -- not just scholars of the carceral
11 state or things like that, but for scholars of history --
12 of American history, of race -- they understand that this
13 is not new. This is not a new question.

14 This is -- we know that police and the Chicago
15 riots of 1919 participated in the racial massacre of an
16 entire city. We are coming up on the 100th anniversary of
17 the Tulsa racial massacre where over 300 people
18 disappeared with the help of local police, and it was just
19 another chapter in American history.

20 So in doing that, though, and I think part of
21 what Monica and I have been trying to get to -- is that in
22 thinking that, one, these things take -- are going to take
23 an enormous amount of time, will power, and effort in
24 order to change, and that they're going to be monumental
25 failures.

1 I consider, for example, the entire kind of
2 spectacle around Breonna Taylor a failure, an abject
3 failure. But that also, too, we have to have a
4 conversation about, what are the new kinds of values that
5 we are wanting to make? And how do we override or
6 disintegrate the old values?

7 How do we move past the moment where the
8 Chicago Police Department is, as a matter of business,
9 right, a line item saying, We're going to set aside over
10 \$100 million for police misconduct, police brutality, and
11 that this is just business as usual?

12 And I'm sure if you talk to the mayor of
13 Chicago, she would say, I'm not doing this because I
14 believe in it. I'm doing it because it's just going to
15 happen, and we know it's going to happen. So how do we
16 move beyond that?

17 That's a question, I think, that is worth
18 thinking about. How do we remove, replace, destroy,
19 whatever you want to call it -- old value systems that are
20 deeply ingrained in society?

21 But also, in part, people don't want to change
22 because they don't want to change this. But also, that
23 people are much happier and much more at ease doing
24 superficial, surface-level, forward-facing things that
25 give the appearance of change without actually having to

1 do the hard excavation work of change.

2 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Leah. I'll remind
3 everyone, definitely raise your hand. We are asking Leah
4 and Monica to take a laboring oar here, and want everyone
5 to jump into the conversation. Marcia, you're up next.

6 MS. RINCON-GALLARDO: Good morning, or good
7 afternoon to wherever you're at. I'm going to just first
8 here, burn a little bit of sage on behalf of Adam Toledo
9 and all of our peoples who have been killed in years, but
10 in particular, for this young man -- 13-year old young
11 boy.

12 In today's discussion about values, it's so
13 apropos because we're just doing a retreat with our judge
14 and a committee that's called the Juvenile Justice Gender
15 Responsive Task Force. And values is high up on the list
16 as we come up with a new mission statement, and I'll get
17 to that towards the end.

18 But I wanted to start off in response to what
19 our two colleagues just presented to us -- both Dr. Monica
20 and also -- let me see, I'm looking for it -- Dr. Leah.

21 And I want to say that in terms of national
22 moments, I'm so grateful that you mentioned that, because
23 it brings me squarely back to what I wrote about, which is
24 what were the values at the time that white man arrived on
25 this land and continent for the original peoples? And

1 that that was a national moment for this country.

2 What were those original values? As opposed to
3 the Puritan values that still live embedded as we think
4 about the youth justice and injustice system. The values
5 that children are born with sin, and that you have to beat
6 the sin out of them. As opposed to the values of the
7 original people who said that our children were born
8 sacred.

9 So just even think of that. And that those
10 values are embedded in a huge system that still lives to
11 this day around punishment -- that we have to punish
12 children.

13 And so, then, how that embeds into a movement
14 that for years was reform, up until recently -- about five
15 years ago, where we actually started believing that we can
16 end incarceration for youth. And that it's actually
17 happening.

18 And let me tell you that as we work with young
19 people, especially formerly system impacted young
20 people -- and I come from a family that has been impacted
21 by both the criminal youth justice and the immigration
22 detention systems -- is that when they see a person talk
23 about ending incarceration, it becomes a tool that they
24 could carry in their pocket and actually talk about it, as
25 opposed to not even thinking that it could happen.

1 So the values around being able to shift -- and
2 I agree that compromise with people that have these older
3 values, as opposed to these values about, No, we're going
4 to end -- we're going to end incarceration. And whether
5 you're with us or not with us, then, what is the radical
6 imagination that needs to happen for you all to join us?
7 Because this is where we're going to be, right, and this
8 is the movement we're taking it into.

9 So that brought me, then, to this conversation.

10 And thank you to the brother who talked about values and
11 who gets to -- who's in the room when values are made?
12 And certainly, system-impacted people are not in the room.

13 They're not in the room, and we're talking about all
14 kinds of system-impacted individuals.

15 We rarely ever go to them. It's policymakers,
16 scholars, and theoretic -- folks that make theory.
17 They're sitting in the room. But rarely do we have a
18 system-impacted individual sitting in the room because, in
19 fact, they're the ones who lived it.

20 I can't talk about what it is to sit in a
21 cell. I can talk about how I felt when my loved one sat
22 in a cell -- in a cage, but I can't talk about what it
23 was. And so, only those individuals who have lived that
24 experience can actually talk about what it is that we need
25 to change.

1 And it's not just to put them in the room.
2 It's about also building their skills and their leadership
3 that they already bring to speak this language. It's not
4 fair enough just to bring them in the room.

5 We have people that are still colonized in
6 their thinking, and they'll come and they'll say things
7 like, Oh, probation -- this probation officer was so -- I
8 needed to have probation. Or I needed to be detained in
9 order to be where I'm at now. You know? And they'll talk
10 about how great the system is, right.

11 And so, the decolonization piece is so critical
12 because it doesn't allow us to really talk about that
13 wholeness, that sacredness -- that, no, you didn't need to
14 be incarcerated in the way that you were. And then, it
15 brings me to, then, just some examples about values.

16 Okay, so, we have a young person from south of
17 the border in front of a judge, and this young person is
18 not looking at the judge in the eyes. And to this judge,
19 it's a sign of guilt or not guilt if you don't look at
20 this judge, right? This is an example that we have.

21 And so, this young person was named guilty
22 because he or she was not looking at the judge in the
23 eyes. And yet, for some young people -- indigenous young
24 people, it's a colonized sign of respect not to look at
25 someone in the eye. Right? So those are values there.

1 Another value that we just came off of in this
2 conversation about our mission statement for this
3 committee that we're in was that we had formerly system-
4 impacted young girls sitting in the room. And the D.A.
5 spoke about how our girls -- we need to have detention
6 because our girls are just not willing to complete their
7 programming.

8 And yet, the girls sitting in the room said,
9 Well, wait a minute. If you're talking about
10 self-determination, and that our self-determination is
11 based on completing these programs, what about the fact
12 that I know and I'm exerting my self-determination by
13 telling you that I'm done with this program, that this
14 program is just not fitting for me? Right? And that I
15 want to get out of this detention facility?

16 And so these definitions of values are so
17 important, and who are we asking? Who gets to define
18 these values? From what perspective are they coming from?

19 So last we have, then, is that the history of
20 lack of trust. And that in fact because of our
21 colonization, there might be some resignation that these
22 systems are just, but the decolonized part of us realizes
23 that it's built in because of this lack of history -- I
24 mean, or lack of trust -- historical lack of trust.

25 And so, you know, and it goes all the way

1 back. It goes all the way back to the taking of the land,
2 to the taking of our language, to the taking of even our
3 notions of what is just, and how do we honor sacred life?

4 So I'll stop there.

5 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Marcia. Thank you so
6 much. We have quite a few hands in the queue. And so,
7 we'll start going through those, and I'll encourage folks
8 to -- we hope this will be an interactive conversation and
9 you can say something, and then come back in later if
10 you'd like to. So please feel free to raise your hands
11 again and to please engage with one another as you feel
12 like you'd like to do that.

13 So up next, Jon Simon. And then we'll go --
14 just so you guys know you're up, Pastor Mike and DeAnna
15 following up. Go ahead, Jon.

16 MR. SIMON: So I'll be brief, because my
17 thoughts are still very inchoate, but the discussion thus
18 far has really helped me crystallize some of my anxieties
19 about values as a frame. I think a lot of us rebel
20 against a model we learned in college or university.

21 Sort of you start with philosophical
22 principles, and then you deduce like a perfect justice
23 system or a perfect society. And a lot of us mistrust
24 that model for good reason. I think it's really
25 interesting and worthy that -- and hopefully I'm not

1 sucking up here to the organizers -- that values come last
2 in this conversation and not first, right.

3 It's like this is the last convening, and we're
4 talking about values now because I think values -- it's a
5 looking backward at history, at what we've come through,
6 both the long arc of colonization and slavery, and the
7 values that reckoning with that history and its arc gives
8 to us. But also, where we are right now with so many
9 deaths around us.

10 I mean, we're living through a moment of huge,
11 tragic, unjust deaths. And I mean, those are moments when
12 values come to the fore, because we're looking at lives
13 past, lives lost. And there's a real reckoning to be had
14 here that I think does call for a reevaluation of values.

15 And while we're sitting here in California,
16 where thousands of imprisoned citizens have died because
17 the state couldn't be bothered to like protect them from a
18 known, rampaging epidemic, and things have to change.
19 There really is a moment where you look back at what is
20 happening and you say, It has to change.

21 Thank you.

22 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Jon. Thank you very
23 much. Pastor Mike? And we'll hand over to you.

24 REV. McBRIDE: Well, when I hear the word
25 values, obviously as a faith leader, I go to an immediate

1 kind of thought about kind of moralistic agreements or
2 characteristics that I think our presenters have rightly
3 named as, you know, how do we agree on meaning making?
4 Right?

5 But then, I also appreciate and have to, I
6 think, contend with, we're also talking about worth when
7 we use the word value. Right? It's just not about -- I
8 mean, they may be connected. But I think that word can
9 serve distinct purposes in the dialectic.

10 And so, I have to constantly ask myself and the
11 folks that we organize with, if values is going to be a
12 useful phrase or way of trying to engage a conversation,
13 we must center truth-telling as a part of our
14 conversation. Because I have found -- you know, and I am,
15 unfortunately, an American, as well, so, you know, I'm
16 guilty by association -- that we don't remember history
17 rightly in our country. Matter of fact, we seem to love
18 lies and hate the truth, especially when it's inconvenient
19 to us, and I find that to be true across our political or
20 racial or demographic spectrum.

21 You know, I was in an argument with some folks
22 a few weeks ago. And I said if conservatives suffer from
23 mendacity, progressives suffer from denial, in that we
24 want to believe we are much better than we are around
25 issues related to race or class or crime and punishment.

1 But the reality is, in our years of organizing,
2 we found, you know, progressive lawmakers and elected
3 officials to be quite uncooperative in shifting these
4 realities without all of us having to leave a pound of
5 flesh on the floor just to get an incremental step
6 forward. That literally, I think -- as Dr. Nicole has
7 rightly stated -- does not change the material conditions
8 to keep Black and Brown people from literally being
9 executed on camera.

10 And in reality, when our young people or others
11 disrupt society, those very same elected leaders who have
12 the ability to control their agencies, whether it's law
13 enforcement or banking systems, et cetera, asked the
14 aggrieved to be peaceful while they continue to literally,
15 in real time, use tools of violence to wage more harm.

16 And so, I think we have to continue to ask
17 ourselves honest questions about, who are the antagonists
18 in a conversation around values? And who are the
19 protagonists? Not in a way to demonize folks, but to try
20 to have a much more clear and honest telling of where
21 people are situated in these conversations.

22 There's nothing worse than -- I used to play
23 sports when I was 100 pounds lighter and 20 years younger,
24 and there was nothing worse than having someone on your
25 team who you come to believe was not actually trying to

1 help you win. And you're doing all this work and you've
2 got a saboteur on your squad.

3 And I do think sometimes in our conversations
4 around justice and reimagining, we think people are our
5 allies and we think we're having the same conversation,
6 and we're even using some of the same words. And people's
7 actions demonstrate that they are not on the same team or
8 we're not moving in the same direction, even though we may
9 using the same language and claiming we want the same
10 thing.

11 And so, in our work -- my work as a faith
12 leader, as an organizer, we talk about values being a
13 result of formation -- moral formation and proximity to
14 the suffering, which must, then, I think, require us to
15 ask lots of questions about, what are the value-making
16 institutions that we need to either interrogate -- because
17 people do not create values, whether it is moral formation
18 or notions of worth in a vacuum. Right? Like, we don't
19 come to the table without having been formed by someone or
20 something.

21 And so, what then, are those institutions that
22 we, then, must interrogate along the way? And where are
23 the spaces we are putting these value-making institutions
24 or conversations in a public -- hopefully, nonviolent
25 debate about how we come to this conversation about

1 values?

2 It seems to me that the only time we really
3 have conversations as a country is during election seasons
4 and cycles. And usually those conversations are so --
5 what's the word I'm looking for? So manipulated and
6 weaponized.

7 It is not like we are constructing a common
8 value system. We are literally waging war about who gets
9 to control the status quo, and obviously, some folks'
10 status quo have a basement that is much deeper than many
11 of us would like to go.

12 And so, in closing, I'll just invite us to keep
13 interrogating the institutions that make value a reality
14 for folks. You know, how does the worship, faith
15 communities, schools and universities, neighborhoods,
16 social media, entertainment -- all of these things, in my
17 mind, have to be a part of how we reimagine the public
18 safety or value-making conversation.

19 Because, in reality, most folks' value systems
20 or -- whether it is worth, or whether it is in the kind of
21 our moral meaning making descriptions, they are deeply
22 informed by much more than the radical individuals kind of
23 belief system. So I'll stop there, but those are some of
24 my thoughts.

25 And maybe I'll even just add, as I was reading

1 through the papers and just thinking about the kind of use
2 of the language of logic of public safety and logic of
3 punishment, et cetera. I mean, indeed, if we don't have a
4 value -- a process to interrogate value -- both as worth
5 and as meaning making -- those logics just become
6 unintelligible. And not only do they become
7 unintelligible, then they become impossible to realize.

8 And then, we have conversations without action,
9 which lead to a really diabolic cycle of death and
10 destruction that continues to, as it has for hundreds of
11 years, position the most vulnerable among us as the fodder
12 for our failed attempt to be able to actually move beyond
13 just the rhetorical.

14 So I'll stop there. I feel like I'm a long-
15 winded Black preacher this morning.

16 MS. HUFFMAN: No. Not at all. Thank you,
17 Pastor Mike. Thank you so much.

18 You know, I'm hearing these themes of the ways
19 in which there's such a disconnect between the words we say
20 and the actions that we take. But then, also hearing these
21 moments where, like, when values are in action, when they
22 are the process, when they are the local experience, when
23 they are taking on a verb form instead of an abstract noun
24 form that there may be some possibility for common
25 understanding there, and maybe also accountability.

1 So inviting others to continue to raise your
2 hand. DeAnna is up next, and Bruce will come after
3 Deanna.

4 DeAnna?

5 MS. HOSKINS: Thank you guys. I feel like I'm
6 sitting here and my head is just spinning, right. And
7 it's spinning because I think, in this country, we
8 continue to have conversations that overanalyze
9 everything.

10 We have to be in a lab and we have to have the
11 perfect formula to get the perfect solution. And when
12 we're talking about values and how when you talk about
13 policy values, my first question is whose values? The
14 policymakers? Or the people writing the laws?

15 But I also -- I want to say this last summer,
16 what I realized across this country -- rallies, marches,
17 riots, unrest are the screams and cries of the unheard.
18 And I think there was a collective value being
19 demonstrated over the summer that we want human dignity,
20 human respect, accountability.

21 I think the masses have spoken. We continue to
22 bring it down and say what is the values of a small
23 collective of people, when to me, the mass of the
24 oppressed people was demonstrating in the streets this
25 summer, our human lives need to be valued. So every

1 conversation, every policy has to start with that at the
2 top of it, but it doesn't.

3 Even when I look at recidivism. Recidivism
4 looks at the failure of the person, and not the failure of
5 the system, right. So I'm always saying, So is the
6 recidivism rate even accurate? When we talk about reform,
7 that means we want to tinker with something that's broken,
8 instead of being bold enough to say, Let's dismantle it.

9 So even if how our language of how we, as
10 progressive people, talk and address things -- even in
11 these rooms -- when the formerly incarcerated is in a
12 room, but the balance is always off-weighted. Right? The
13 most oppressed is not outweighing the scholars and other
14 people. We're in addition to.

15 And that kind of goes to what I always say, is
16 how do we -- we have to start setting our own tables as
17 oppressed because it continues to be overanalyzed and
18 researched.

19 I remember Erica always says, We continue to
20 research the research just to keep doing -- looking at the
21 research. Right? When are we going to actually start
22 moving to implementation?

23 But I was getting a little uncomfortable
24 because, again, we have to go to the truth telling, and I
25 think, Dr. Leah, you said it. We keep getting these

1 superficial policies, or things that we think are changing
2 our lives, only to have it continue to keep happening.
3 And then we're in the streets again for 20 years, instead
4 of having the courage to address it.

5 And I'm going to use a direct example. I think
6 it's an insult that a response to the George Floyd murder
7 is laws that says you can't chokehold someone. Well, one,
8 he didn't die from the chokehold. But two, you didn't go
9 far enough to say, But if you happen to kill somebody from
10 a chokehold, you still have qualified immunity to move on.

11 Instead of saying, Let's abolish qualified
12 immunity -- that if you violate someone's civil rights,
13 you will be held accountable. And it's just those type of
14 things that I'm starting to even see come out of this in
15 police departments across the country saying you can't
16 chokehold someone on the back of a law that's even called
17 George Floyd.

18 So are we really even -- again, I go back to my
19 values -- what I said yesterday. Personally, it's being
20 courageous enough to really dig to the root cause of white
21 supremacy upon which the system stands on. We don't call
22 it what it is. We just actually keep moving.

23 And that was just my thoughts and they're all
24 over the place. But I think centering the values of what
25 the masses of people have already said and what we're

1 continuing to see displayed. Right?

2 Their call for action of valuing the human
3 lives of Black and Brown bodies, and even after George
4 Floyd, we're still continuing to see it occur. So what is
5 really happening? And accountability is very minimal
6 still.

7 That's all I have.

8 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, DeAnna. Thank you so
9 much. Bruce, over to you.

10 MR. WESTERN: Dona says I don't know how to
11 raise my hand. So the reaction button at the bottom of
12 the screen.

13 This is a really good conversation. I really
14 appreciate DeAnna and Pastor Mike's comments just now.
15 And I'm thinking a lot about this in the sense that
16 sometimes when we talk about values, we think of them as
17 establishing a standard that, in practice, we often
18 deviate from in the realities of day-to-day politics and
19 policy conversations.

20 And our values are a sort of self-
21 accountability mechanism, so when we're compelled to be
22 pragmatic, we face choices to compromise, our values are a
23 reminder of the things that we should stand for. But the
24 fundamental reality of politics is compromise and
25 pragmatism -- or for a large part of politics, that's just

1 an empirical description of what the process looks like.

2 That's not an endorsement, but that's what
3 politics looks like. It's pragmatism and compromise. And
4 so, I sort of have -- it gives to me a question to the
5 organizers around the table and other people doing work on
6 the ground. You know, what's your attitude as we have
7 this values conversation?

8 What's your attitude to the saboteurs, as
9 Pastor Mike called them? The people that you sometimes
10 have to work with, but who seem to be drawing you away
11 from your value commitments. Do you navigate around
12 them? Do you try and change them?

13 I think my -- I have an assumption, which may
14 be wrong, that everyone wants a righteous place in the
15 world, right. Everyone wants to feel that their work is
16 meaningful and they're trying to live up to a set of
17 values. They may not be our values. But everyone wants
18 to feel like they're trying to live their values -- that
19 they're doing meaningful work.

20 And so, if our project is to reimagine justice
21 and make foundational change, how do we think about the
22 role of values in relation to those that we have to
23 contend with and compromise with and sometimes throw down
24 with and come into politic conflict with? Do we try and
25 change them? How do we do that? Do we try and navigate

1 around them?

2 I'd love to sort of process that and think
3 about the role of values in that political question.

4 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Bruce. That's a great
5 question. And folks, please jump in on that and your
6 other thoughts.

7 So, Dona, you're up next. And then, we'll
8 follow that with Courtney and Vivian. We all know you're
9 in the queue there.

10 Dona?

11 DR. MURPHEY: So I just shared a link to a
12 paper that was published in *Nature* earlier this month, and
13 it talks about addition being the preference between
14 addition and subtraction. It's like a problem-solving
15 heuristic.

16 So when we think about the challenge of
17 dismantling or taking away or subtracting from something
18 that already is present, versus adding, which is what we
19 tend to do in our problem solving, I think it is a
20 challenge fundamentally because this is what we tend to
21 do. This is how we think about solving problems is we add
22 to what is already there, as opposed to dismantling things
23 that are fundamentally wrong. Right?

24 So that is just something that I wanted to
25 share because it's something to consider, because it's

1 going to be something we have to navigate if we want to
2 fundamentally transform and dismantle something that
3 exists already.

4 I wanted to say also -- to speak to what Bruce
5 was talking about, with respect to how you deal with
6 discord or incongruence between the values of people who
7 are making a lot of noise and I guess, within the
8 institutions, for instance, like, how do you deal with
9 that?

10 And I feel like you cannot navigate around
11 it. Like, you absolutely have to be in conversation and
12 dialogue with that. And I think there has to be a bi-
13 directional willingness to kind of hear the other, and not
14 just hear the other. Right? But that, to me, is kind of
15 performative in some ways.

16 It's like, Okay. Well, you're there to hear.
17 Go through one ear and out the other. But really allow
18 yourself to be open to being transformed by what the other
19 is bringing to the table.

20 And that takes some courage because you might
21 have to admit wrongdoing, you know. You might have to
22 change something that you thought you believed in. But I
23 do think you have to engage with it very actively. Like,
24 I think it's wrong to not engage with it. Yeah.

25 So I'll just leave it there.

1 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Dona. Thanks a lot.
2 So up next is Courtney.

3 Courtney, go ahead.

4 MS. ROBINSON: Okay. Hi, everybody. So I want
5 to kind of just -- again, my head's spinning. There's so
6 many thoughts.

7 But one of the things that Bruce said was that
8 politics is about compromise. I don't know if that is
9 really the case. Is it really about compromise? Or have
10 they made us believe that it's about compromise?

11 And when I think about politics, it is what
12 we've created, and how do we uncreate it? When you think
13 about some of the people that are currently serving in
14 Congress, they've been in there my entire life. My whole
15 life, they've served in Congress.

16 So we have an average age of, like, 60 years
17 old in Congress, when the average age in our population is
18 30-something. So how do we reconcile what are the values
19 of a group of people who've lived so long that they really
20 remember when we had Green Books -- when they were
21 segregated?

22 I mean, what are we saying? We can't keep
23 electing people and putting people in office who, their
24 time has passed. We have to change laws. We have to have
25 timed term limits. It's ridiculous.

1 We have to go back to that document that we
2 hold so dear, our Constitution, and we have to amend it.
3 We can't keep talking about our justice system and not
4 undo what the Thirteenth Amendment says. Because those
5 are the kinds of policies that hold us in place.

6 And so, when I think of compromise, I just get
7 frustrated. I mean, yes. I'm a scholar and I do a lot of
8 thinking and all that. But I'm also an organizer, and as
9 someone who is trying to actively disrupt race in
10 schooling and incarceration, there is no compromise. Kids
11 should not be in cages.

12 So at what point do we say, No. Enough is
13 enough. These little incremental, step by step by step --
14 it's not enough anymore. Yes. We've had progress. No.
15 I don't think I'm going to go outside right now and get
16 lynched. So, yes. There's been progress, but it hasn't
17 been enough, and it hasn't come fast enough.

18 So when we talk about values, we can't wait for
19 people who don't get it, who will not get it to come to
20 the table. I think DeAnna said it best when she said,
21 We've got to create our tables. We have to be the people
22 who are making this change happen.

23 And so, the notion that Leah have put across
24 about, compromise is not a path forward. I think we have
25 to keep saying that to ourselves that reform isn't an

1 option, that change is the only option. That to have a
2 path forward, we can't just think about metrics and, you
3 know, all the things that make small organizations appear
4 as if they're failing, when really, the metrics weren't
5 for us anyway.

6 So it's like all of these many, many tools that
7 we create -- well, not that I've created or that you guys
8 have created, but other people have created to suggest
9 that this is how the system should work, when really it
10 just boils down to -- I think I said it yesterday,
11 humanity. Black and Brown people are never seen as
12 people. So can we start right there?

13 And then, can we stop compromising? That, to
14 me, is where we've got -- you guys, I mean, I'm heated
15 this morning. I'm not usually this riled up, but I'm just
16 like, let's stop with the compromise. Let's just take
17 compromise off the table.

18 Okay. I'm going to stop. Go ahead, Miss
19 Vivian, because I know you're going to bring us back and
20 have something divine to say.

21 MS. HUFFMAN: Well, Courtney, thank you so
22 much. I'm going to give -- I'm sorry. Leah had an
23 insistent wave via direct message, Vivian, if that's okay
24 to let her jump in real quick. And then, we'll go over to
25 you.

1 Leah, do you want a quick --

2 DR. WRIGHT-RIGUEUR: Yeah. And I'll be real
3 quick because I would love to put Courtney, I think, and
4 Bruce's points in conversation with one another because
5 it's both a reality that the way that the founders -- that
6 founding politicians envision the American two-party
7 system is one that forces out anything but compromise,
8 right.

9 So essentially saying, Compromise is good.
10 Compromise is good. And when the system is working well,
11 we see compromise.

12 But what we've seen, particularly, over the
13 last 40 years is that one party in particular, and one
14 subset -- a group of people in particular -- have made
15 this argument very convincingly in Congress that, in fact,
16 compromise is not the path forward. Right?

17 Like, I mean, Newt Gingrich says in 1994, like,
18 Compromise? For what? We can hold out. We can last. I
19 won't be the Speaker of the House. Like, I'll resign, but
20 I'm not going to compromise, because I know, at some
21 point, we will get this radical agenda, whatever it may
22 be.

23 And so, one of the things that we see, and
24 certainly, it's easier when you have an agenda of
25 negativism, right -- or nihilism. But I think one of the

1 things I really want to stress here, too, is that what
2 does an agenda look like with the powers that be?

3 With the institutions that is both cognizant of
4 the fact that people want to compromise, and it is
5 necessary to have these relationships with policymakers,
6 while we're also waiting for progressive -- more
7 progressive younger people to become policymakers. But
8 also, saying that we've tried compromise for the last
9 century, and it hasn't exactly worked out great.

10 So what does a new agenda that is not rooted in
11 compromise mean? But one that also sees us, like, in
12 conversation with people who actually have the power to
13 change laws on a local level, a state level.

14 And then, the last thing that I'll say here,
15 too, is that we don't give enough credit to the -- and it
16 may sound hokey, and it may sound like Civics 101 -- but
17 really encouraging people to run for office. And not just
18 we all run to be Congressmen and -women or things like
19 that.

20 But, like, school boards. Right? Municipal
21 office. Your local postmaster. Your local dogcatcher.
22 Right? We don't think about that in terms of power
23 dynamics, and in terms of actually changing legislative
24 agendas and policy because it's not sexy. It's not
25 attractive. It's not really quite interesting, I think,

1 on a national scope. But what we know, right, is that all
2 politics is local politics, and that much of the decision
3 making and much of the arena in which we see power
4 change -- unyielding and without compromise -- actually
5 happens at this level.

6 So what I've started telling people to do is
7 that one of the most effective things that you can do,
8 aside from organizing and mobilizing and protesting and
9 engaging in activism, is actually run for local office,
10 particularly those offices that are unpopulated that
11 nobody wants to run for.

12 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Leah. Vivian, over to
13 you.

14 REV. NIXON: Thank you. Well, I think, kind of
15 synthesizing the last comments from Pastor Mike on,
16 there's a lot of complexity here in understanding that one
17 thing doesn't naturally, automatically translate into
18 another. There has to be a concerted effort and an
19 intention about moving from that space where there is a
20 seemingly unified message coming from a movement getting
21 to the policy change that matches that message.

22 There's a -- something has to happen in between
23 those -- it's not magic. It's not like the people cry
24 from the streets for human dignity, and human dignity
25 appears. So what happens in between those two points is

1 where we need to be focusing our energy.

2 First of all, let's decide whether or not --
3 are all components of the movement really in agreement?
4 And if they're not, are they having conversations that
5 will get them in agreement? And are those conversations
6 depending upon letting people in their spaces, because
7 they also have spaces.

8 They have tables, they have rooms where those
9 conversations are happening where maybe the people who can
10 make the decision or pull the lever are not in those
11 spaces. Or if folks who do have a mind that's geared more
12 toward analysis and data and communicating in a different
13 language are not in those spaces, or if they come in,
14 they're pushed out one way or the other because they're
15 not speaking the same language, even though they may want
16 the exact same things.

17 So all those things have to be considered. And
18 then, how are we communicating what that message is other
19 than a very public outcry, which happens on occasion when
20 there is a moment in history where things become so
21 obvious that there's outcry in the streets and this is not
22 new? Right?

23 I mean, I was alive for Eleanor Bumpurs, so
24 this is not a new phenomenon. This is a repeated
25 action.

1 How does the message get communicated? And are
2 we assuming that when legislation is created, that nobody
3 is in those rooms that says they're representing the
4 movement and we have to investigate those things? And
5 then, if there wasn't, why?

6 So if the ground level movement knew
7 legislation was being considered to address this -- yes.
8 They absolutely should've been in those rooms, and where
9 were the leaders to put them in the room? We have to tie
10 those pieces together and figure out how to not let those
11 pieces of legislation be drafted without those voices in
12 the room.

13 Human dignity was definitely, absolutely the
14 cry, but do we trust the electeds to decide what human
15 dignity means to us? Because I don't. They need to hear
16 from me what human dignity means. I need to be able to
17 define it for them in a way that they can interpret it and
18 turn it into legislation, and that requires dialogue.

19 That requires that I don't just do it publicly,
20 but that I take control of that message, put it into a
21 form that they can understand, have a conversation, and
22 say, And by the way, here's our version of the bill. Or
23 here's our plan. Here's what we think you should do.

24 And that requires us to not push people out who
25 can help us do that. And it requires us to believe that a

1 collective approach where people who are ultimately trying
2 to get to the same goal, but may have different
3 approaches, can work together.

4 And then, finally, if, indeed, we believe that
5 politics is about compromise in a democratic system that
6 we've created with the two-party system, then perhaps the
7 answer is to vote in a body of electeds that believes what
8 we believe and will do what we want them to do.

9 And that, too, requires collective action,
10 understanding of message, and not only understanding --
11 the commitment that this is a long-term process. And
12 we've got to get our people to understand that voting
13 people in office is where you end up getting power.

14 Because they are ultimately going to make the
15 decisions no matter what our outcry is, and really, no
16 matter what the research says, until we convince them that
17 they cannot get into office without our votes.

18 DR. WRIGHT-RIGUEUR: Katharine, you're muted.

19 MS. HUFFMAN: I'm so sorry. I'm here
20 chattering away while I'm muted.

21 Vivian, thank you so much for that -- for all
22 of that. So we'll turn next to Monica. And then, after
23 Monica, Kris has his hand raised, and Gabe as well.

24 DR. BELL: Yes. I want to be quick, just given
25 that has helped a lot. There are a lot of things I'm

1 thinking about here. So one thing that's really
2 important, I think, to me is that we're kind of having a
3 conversation about power, and that's a really important
4 discussion to be having.

5 I mean, so, first of all, words and values
6 aren't the same thing. So like, we have a better sense of
7 what people's actual values are based on what they do in
8 the world, and I think this very much connects to what
9 Vivian was just saying, which is like, there are people
10 who might use different words who actually share values in
11 a really fundamental way.

12 And, no, they shouldn't be pushed out of
13 progressive and radical spaces. But at the same time,
14 there are a lot of people using the same words and saying
15 they have the same values that need to be called out and
16 confronted about that.

17 But I guess one of the things I was thinking
18 about with relation to power is, you know, there are
19 people who benefit directly from the oppression of Black
20 and Brown people -- many of whom sit in these spaces, and
21 many of whom might even call themselves progressives. And
22 so, there are questions about what people are actually
23 willing to give up in order to achieve the things that
24 they say are their values.

25 And I think we have to be real with ourselves,

1 and many of the people who we might need -- or need or be
2 expected to compromise with sometimes, are at the end of
3 the day, going to be more interested in the protection of
4 their own kind of life. So the protection of their
5 interests.

6 They are invested in exploitation and
7 oppression. They need to be on top. They want to be in
8 power. They're not going to give that up.

9 And so, I think if we take that seriously, that
10 means that sometimes, actually, we cannot have a
11 conversation about shared values with them. I mean, we
12 can have a conversation, but like, we shouldn't expect
13 them to ultimately come around and for us to be at the
14 same table.

15 Sometimes, those people actually have to be
16 defeated. And I think that is -- I mean, maybe that's
17 part of what the electoral conversation is partly about.
18 It's like, well, we need to change the policy-makers,
19 because some people are just going to arrive at a point
20 where we share the same values and they'll vote the way I
21 want them to.

22 I mean, so, I guess -- yeah. It's really
23 important to have a conversation about values in relation
24 to one about power and I'm glad that we've reached that
25 point.

1 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Monica. Thank you
2 very much, and that is coming up in some of those comments
3 that some of you all are direct messaging me about, the
4 additional layer that has to do with fear, and maybe
5 that's fear of losing power, but it may be other types of
6 fear, too, that would be interesting to explore.

7 So, Kris, over to you, and then Gabe. And then
8 Jeremy.

9 MR. STEELE: Great. Thank you so much.
10 Courtney, I just want to go back to what you said. Full
11 disclosure -- I am a recovering politician.

12 So I had the opportunity to serve 12 years at
13 the state level. And I will just say that having left
14 that environment and kind of moving into a role of
15 advocacy, I have taken the position that Courtney has
16 articulated, to the point that I probably have become
17 hostile and very impatient with those who hold office and
18 are trapped in this culture of self-preservation,
19 insecurity, egotism, and fear, and just have been very
20 confrontational and trying to call that out and expose
21 that for what it is to a point that even my own colleagues
22 are saying, Hey. You're making yourself ineffective.

23 You know, if you're really trying to bring
24 about change, you're going about it the wrong way. And
25 you have to get back to the point where you're willing to

1 compromise and willing to, you know, take smaller steps.
2 In fact, one our key partners just recently told me, You
3 know, Kris, I would rather take a small win than a huge
4 loss any day in the work that we're trying to do together.

5 And then, I will just also offer that I also
6 had a colleague recently ask me how I escaped my own --
7 how did he phrase it? He said, Kris, how did escape your
8 entrapment?

9 And I thought we were in this conversation of
10 talking about individuals with lived experience, and I
11 said, I don't have direct lived experience. And he said,
12 Yeah. But you were in this prison that you now are
13 fighting against.

14 And he said, The harm and the violence that
15 people who hold power often inflict on others is the worst
16 kind of violence. And he said, How did you escape out of
17 this setting that you lived and probably promoted?

18 And it's really kind of left me wondering, you
19 know, how did I escape that? And why am I so adverse to
20 that? And what is the real effective approach to try to
21 bring others along and try to understand what common
22 ground we have, or what shared values we have?

23 I would just also say to Dr. Bell -- we talked
24 about last night the value of grace, and how do we extend
25 grace to everyone. And just in some personal

1 conversations I have, I've had some friends kind of
2 confront me and say, You know, Kris, you are really
3 graceful and gracious when it comes to defending and
4 advocating and communicating with people who may have
5 lived experiences.

6 And then, you have zero grace for those who
7 hold the keys to create change. In fact, you don't extend
8 grace at all to those who aren't willing to sort of see
9 the truth and move forward in a positive direction. And
10 he said, If you're going to hold grace as a value, it
11 needs to be consistent, and you need to hold it to all
12 people.

13 And so, I am wrestling -- I don't have answers
14 or responses. I really probably only have more questions,
15 but I do think that as we, you know, kind of hold this
16 tension and consider what is an effective approach to
17 bring about change and to help people truly see and
18 understand, you know, move towards some level of
19 consistency in what we say are the values that we share,
20 versus the policies and systems that we create that are
21 exactly the opposite.

22 I think that we have to go about that in the
23 way that allows us to have that conversation, and in a way
24 that ultimately allows us to be consistent in the values
25 that we personally hold as we try to help create community

1 values or shared values.

2 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Kris. Thank you very
3 much. You've got some shout outs in the chat there, as
4 well, and some additional questions. Folks should also
5 feel free to continue to put comments in the chat.

6 So we'll turn it over to Gabe, and then hear
7 from Jeremy. And then Susan will be up next after that.

8 So, Reverend Gabe?

9 REV. SALGUERO: Yeah. Thanks again. Very
10 helpful. I'm thinking throughout this conversation about
11 values on theories of change. What are theories of
12 change?

13 I think this is the third or fourth time on one
14 of these conversations that we talked about kind of
15 incremental change versus -- and I've heard different
16 language, revolutionary change, radical change, urgent
17 change. I don't have the exact -- different people
18 articulate it different ways.

19 You know, and I've been thinking just like
20 history -- how does change come historically, right? Some
21 have come through revolution -- the American Revolution,
22 the French Revolution, the Haitian Revolution, the Civil
23 War -- so, that produced -- things have changed.

24 Some violent revolutions. Some peaceful
25 revolutions -- Gandhi and Mandela and so many others. And

1 so, I see the tension and I often think, when we talk in
2 groups like this, do we -- we're talking about trying to
3 bring consensus or not. What is our theory of change?

4 This is my fourth time hearing the incremental
5 kind of radical conversation, and what I hear is that
6 there's a multiplicity of voices along that spectrum as,
7 of course, one would expect with a group this large.

8 And so, I just want to -- I'm not giving you my
9 theory of change. I'm just underscoring that that's what
10 I hear.

11 The second thing is, who are the
12 stakeholders? I started with the conversation of -- you
13 know, Lin Manuel Miranda -- in the room where it happens,
14 right? From *Hamilton*, which is a very problematic
15 narrative. Right? *Hamilton* is very problematic
16 narrative. Not the musical -- the person, although maybe
17 the musical, too.

18 Who do we see as the actors, players,
19 stakeholders? Who are they?

20 So I'm a pastor of a church, and I run a
21 coalition of Christian pastors and clergy, and it's a
22 fascinating thing on how they should change. Right? It's
23 a fascinating thing on how they're persuaded to
24 participate in change. Or, conversely, how they're
25 persuaded to resist change. Right? Because persuasion

1 happens in multiple ways.

2 And sometimes, I've been kind of very active on
3 a whole spectrum of things, thinking I'm persuading people
4 to join me; I've subtracted them from me. They are
5 persuadable, but I lost them.

6 I think it's what Kris, I think, was trying to
7 point to in some ways, and it's the tension between --
8 what did you say, small wins and huge losses? And so,
9 there has to be an analysis of who are the stakeholders,
10 and by stakeholders, who's being victimized? Who's being
11 impacted? As Monica and others have said. And who's
12 making the decisions?

13 And the third thing is about language.
14 Language creates culture in many ways, and culture creates
15 language, as Noam Chomsky would tell us. The reality is
16 how is the language of change -- how is the language of
17 change that we use actually contributing to change or not?

18 Is the language helpful to transformation? Or
19 a hindrance to transformation? I think, Katharine, you
20 said earlier something about words and verbs, right?

21 Now I'm going to borrow from Pastor Mike. I'm
22 going to use scripture, because that's the language of my
23 tradition, right. In the beginning was the word.
24 Actually, in Spanish, it's in the beginning was the
25 verb -- the action word that became incarnation.

1 So how does our language of movement translate
2 into recruiting people into the movement we believe are
3 champions for justice? Or conversely, how does our
4 language of movement hinder people from joining a movement
5 from which in many times is in their self-interest?

6 So how is our role of language and advocacy --
7 it comes from language, right? Vocas. Voice. Words.
8 How does our language help or hinder the change that we
9 want to see? And how do -- does our falling along the
10 spectrum help that theory of change or hinder?

11 Those are the questions I sincerely wrestle
12 with. And so, especially given history of change because
13 change is not linear, right. I do not fall into the kind
14 of modernist, Western, epistemological belief that we are
15 progressing in history.

16 You know, some people came on the Mayflower.
17 Other people came underneath the ship, and other people
18 were here and were eliminated. And so, change is not
19 incrementally good. Change can go up and down, as we've
20 seen with Civil Rights laws -- as we've seen with a whole
21 host of things.

22 So how does our theory of change reflect
23 language that is both helpful or hurtful? How does it
24 reflect our theory of who the actors, stakeholders -- both
25 impacted and impacting? And how does our perspective on

1 incremental versus radical, revolutionary, transformative
2 and that tension contribute to those theories of change
3 that we are so passionately clamoring for?

4 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you. Thank you very
5 much. So I'll hand it over to Jeremy. We have a few
6 folks in the queue. After Jeremy, we'll have Susan and
7 Pastor Mike and Dona.

8 Jeremy, over to you.

9 MR. TRAVIS: Yes. Yes. Thanks, Katharine, and
10 just wonderful to be with this group today. Sorry I
11 couldn't join last night, but nice to catch up with you
12 today.

13 Like so many other people have said, my head is
14 just spinning with lots of thoughts and ideas. Sometimes
15 in conflict with each other, which hopefully will produce
16 some new thinking. But I'm just grateful to all of you
17 for stimulating those thoughts and this larger discussion.

18 I want to just try to specify some of the
19 observations that were made in the last half hour or so.
20 I'll go back, really, to the beginning. I appreciated
21 that Monica talked about how some space has been opened by
22 some of the language that seems problematic -- defund,
23 abolition, transform as opposed to reform.

24 The space has been opened in the landscape for
25 ideas. She'd mentioned in particular money being spent in

1 a different way. But I think, in my sense of the moment,
2 I think that's absolutely true.

3 The space been opened -- the protests in the
4 streets last summer opened space. The number of people
5 that came off the polling data about the support for Black
6 Lives Matter. So space has been opened. And so, that's a
7 good thing, if that's true, and I think it's true, but
8 it's not forever.

9 So the question is how do we take advantage of
10 this moment? And I identify very much with what Leah was
11 saying, and Vivian, so eloquently, about the importance of
12 electoral politics. Now, somebody in the chat said -- I
13 forget who it was that said, Thank God for democracy.

14 Well, democracy can cut two ways. You know,
15 democracy is a majoritarian institution that allows people
16 who have 50 percent plus one of a vote to decide what
17 happens to others. And there are protections in our
18 democracy. We have Constitutional protections, but
19 they're pretty weak in many respects.

20 So democracy can cut both ways. Bruce and I
21 published this essay a couple days ago where we use the
22 phrase "democracy deficit." It's just a democracy deficit
23 in the way we think about a justice system and the
24 operations of the system we've created. And we should
25 recognize that in our history -- now we're going back 50

1 years, not the 400-year history.

2 But in our history, what's brought us to this
3 moment is our democracy. So the reality of mass
4 incarceration, with its underpinnings that we should
5 acknowledge of white supremacy and sustaining in power
6 those who are in power -- but the realities of mass
7 incarceration are the result of choices that we made.

8 Not on this screen, we didn't make them. But
9 our democracy made these choices to enact the laws that
10 have then been implemented by prosecutors who are also
11 elected. So we have elected officials and state
12 legislatures and Congress enacting these laws, implemented
13 by prosecutors also elected, by police executives. And
14 then, the people who work for them, responding to mayors
15 whom we elected, and, in some case, sheriffs we elected.
16 In some cases, there are a few of them, but even public
17 defenders we elected.

18 So we have a democratized vision in this
19 country of how the justice system should operate. It's
20 very different from -- I'll just mention European
21 examples. And that is both the bane of our existence and
22 the question for me in the moment is whether that's also
23 the opportunity for a reform movement that will undo what
24 has been created over the past half century.

25 So like others, I alternate pendulum-like

1 between despair and pessimism and hopefulness and
2 optimism. Remembering, Vivian, what you taught me, the
3 difference between hope and optimism.

4 But when I'm on the despair side, I say, My
5 God. Who is going to give up what's been created? Flip
6 the question -- what's it going to take to reverse and
7 undo what's been created?

8 So if a space is opened up and we're
9 encouraging people to run for office and we have in our
10 mind a model of change -- to use Gabe's question, a theory
11 of change, that this can be undone, what is the, let's get
12 crass -- political agenda that people could run on? The
13 platform they can run on that's going to undo what has
14 been created over the past 50 years, particularly, as it
15 applies to the use of prison.

16 So wonderful to have an abolition vision out
17 there. Wonderful to say reform is not enough. I'm surely
18 down with that. But what is the legislative agenda that
19 will allow people to run for office successfully so that
20 they can undo that?

21 So I don't have an answer for that. But I
22 think it's a question of the moment is whether the
23 movement that we're talking about, the coalition we're
24 talking about, can move in that direction to undo this
25 harmful machinery that's been created and that many

1 people, particularly Jon Simon and Bruce Western have
2 written about.

3 So I think, to me, it's a learning process, and
4 this is where we need help from political scientists and
5 historians. What are the other movements that have been
6 successful against a majoritarian status quo where the
7 majority is being unseated?

8 The Civil Rights Movement is a good example, of
9 course. I am fascinated by the Marriage Equality
10 Movement, where, you know, there was a short period of
11 time, given the historical arc, a significant change in
12 public opinion that resulted in legislative change.

13 I'm also always, as somebody who once thought
14 of myself as a lawyer, interested in what are the
15 litigation options here. How do we put energy into the
16 Eighth Amendment that says that certain practices of this
17 system are cruel and unusual? And this is what Jon
18 Simon's written about.

19 How do we think about activating unlikely or
20 unfamiliar allies? This is why I'm fascinated by the
21 Evangelical Movement, which is an unlikely, but really
22 powerful ally in saying that this country's gone off
23 course.

24 I'd also add to that that I'm really interested
25 in what -- I think it was Leah who said about the

1 Legalization movement. I hadn't thought of it as a
2 movement, but it's actually having this impact, and has a
3 reparations piece to it.

4 First, I just think we need to educate
5 ourselves as to what our movement -- because we get so
6 caught up in our own success and rhetoric and belief that
7 we're on the right side of history. But we've got a long
8 way to go to undo what's been created.

9 And we need to learn in a very humble way from
10 other who have been there before, and think about this as
11 an organizing opportunity that will take this exhortation
12 to go run for office, and put behind it -- run for office
13 to do X. And it's not -- you know, defund is fine. But
14 we have to find a way to undo, I think, at the state
15 level, the machinery of oppression that we call our prison
16 system, and it's going to take a long time.

17 It took us 50 years to get here. Fifty years
18 is ahead of us, but we need to start.

19 MS. HUFFMAN: Jeremy, thank you so much. Thank
20 you very much, and thanks to the reactions and chats that
21 are going on, too.

22 So just to quickly kind of give folks a map of
23 where we are -- we have a few more hands up. Susan,
24 Pastor Mike, and Dona.

25 If anyone would like to get in that queue, do

1 so right away, please. Because after the last comments,
2 we're going to turn back to Monica and Leah, and give you
3 all a few minutes each to react to what you've heard and
4 to highlight anything or add anything that you think you'd
5 like to.

6 And then, we'll finish up this session with --
7 Bruce will do a quick recap of some of the things that
8 he's heard to help us as we transition into our break, and
9 then into our afternoon session together.

10 So do raise your hand if you have something
11 else you'd like to add before we finish up. And
12 otherwise, we'll move through that path.

13 So with that, Susan, I'll hand it over to you.

14 MS. GLISSON: Thanks so much, Katharine.

15 Really, really appreciating the conversation. I have lots
16 of thoughts. I wish I could show you my scattered little
17 Post-its all over my desk. So I'm going to try to make
18 sense; forgive me if I don't.

19 I'm going back to Leah's really beautiful
20 comment. Thank you for quoting Ella Baker and
21 spadework. The idea of the hard excavation work of change
22 and what that takes, and coupling that with Bruce's
23 question about, do you go around -- do you navigate around
24 saboteurs? Or do you try to change them?

25 And I'm echoing a lot of what you all are

1 saying. And then, I want to get granular. I think we
2 need multiple mass movements.

3 There need to be a mass movement that's a
4 politics of opposition, right? It was just taking to the
5 streets, which is lifting up messages that challenge the
6 status quo, and that has a particular set of tools and
7 examples that we can use.

8 There needs to a politics of invitation, which
9 is that reaching out to people that we disagree with, but
10 whose attitudes can potentially be changed. There needs
11 to be a movement that's table creation. That's
12 organizing, like Pastor Mike has talked about, and he
13 knows all the amazing tools that that takes.

14 There needs to be the politics of power
15 wielding and collective action that Reverend Nixon talks
16 about so beautifully. And there are others. The legal
17 one, right -- that Jeremy just spoke about -- the public
18 policy one.

19 There've got to be multiple, simultaneous,
20 organized movements in each of these areas, and they've
21 got to be interconnected where they can be. Coalesce
22 where they can be. I'm most interested in the one that's
23 about the politics of invitation, and if I may, just to
24 get granular.

25 Systems, of course, are made up of people. So

1 how do you change people? You have to do that inside
2 out. You have to do the inner work. You have to help
3 people develop emotional agility.

4 We have to reclaim conversation. People are
5 not used to talking with each other one-on-one anymore.
6 We have cell phones and texts instead, Snapchat and
7 WhatsApp.

8 So just for example, how do we develop the
9 value of empathy? How does that work on a psychological
10 level with insights from neuroscience? First, you have to
11 create the new conditions for having dialogue. Right?

12 Literally, how we talk about things is just as
13 important as what we say, meaning sitting in a circle
14 instead of sitting in a board room with someone at the
15 head of the table or in a classroom with an expert being
16 at the head of the room. You sit in a circle. You have
17 to create a container -- an environment of psychological
18 safety so that people feel like they can admit -- they can
19 engage in learning behaviors like admitting they were
20 wrong, which they won't do if they feel like they're going
21 to humiliated.

22 So that's a particular kind of environment that
23 you have to create. Once you're able to do that, then you
24 engage in storytelling. Our brains are not moved by
25 facts. Our brains are moved by narrative, and not just

1 any narrative, but narratives that are well told, that are
2 in the right emotional environmental, and that are offered
3 by a credible speaker, a credible messenger.

4 So then, you're able to -- through that
5 process, you're able to begin to individuate, to see
6 another person before you as a person. You're able to
7 begin to understand their perspective and start to shift
8 to their perspective -- to see yourself in their shoes,
9 which is a way to get to empathy.

10 That's just one process to get to one value, to
11 operationalize one value. And we have to do that every
12 value that we want, and we have to do it at every local
13 level and every state level, and we have to do it over and
14 over and over again every place, every community, every
15 business, every church, everywhere we can do that.

16 Now, I'm particularly [indiscernible] in white
17 folks. We know now from the Marley hypothesis that white
18 folks don't recognize racism, deny racism because they
19 don't know their history. Jim Loewen said it best, *Lies*
20 *My Teacher Told Me* -- history has taught us propaganda;
21 it's not taught accurately.

22 When we put white folks in spaces where they
23 can hear authentically stories in the right emotional
24 environment, they do shift their attitudes, and they do
25 change. I see it happen in our work all the time.

1 So I just want to close with a Taj James quote.
2 We worry about outcomes. We worry about tangible things
3 that we can accomplish, and Taj talks about quit thing-
4 ifying. Human-ify instead. Changing our way of being is
5 our tangible outcome.

6 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Susan. Thank you so
7 much.

8 It was a very helpful layout of all the
9 different pieces that go into this work. Pastor Mike,
10 I'll hand it over to you.

11 REV. McBRIDE: Yeah. I was struck by the
12 conversations about politics and electoral politics in
13 particular. I think we have to contend with the reality,
14 as well, that as the browning of America continues, white
15 elites are losing their numerical grasp on the public
16 sector. And so, they're retreating to the private and
17 corporate sector. And then inviting or seducing non-
18 whites or people of color, if you will, to become the new
19 public face and stewards of the institutions that maintain
20 the status quo of white supremacy.

21 You know, it is, I think, a dilemma we have
22 that may go back to some of our most earliest comments or
23 conversations around values. Like, you know, how do we
24 understand who really shares our values? Not shares our
25 language, but our values.

1 And I do think that I am not very optimistic
2 about the majority coming along at the kind of rate that
3 we need them to. I think there's so much at risk right
4 now with the country just continuing to implode, and I
5 think we're seeing that around us quite obviously.

6 And so, I do want to just continue to raise
7 this idea that the political and electoral process has
8 always been about exclusion, and is continuing to remake
9 itself to be more exclusive. And our "political
10 champions" on the democratic side, have not yet
11 demonstrate their willingness to eschew compromising
12 strategies in order to save the democracy, if you will,
13 and just the concrete example to me of that is just with
14 the voting bills. Right?

15 Like, you know, all these bills being put up at
16 the state level can only be neutralized by the federal
17 legislatures eschewing the filibuster. But it appears to
18 me that, you know, the commitment to the politics of
19 compromise still has our federal lawmakers not willing to
20 do what it takes in order to neutralize some of these
21 states' rights arguments that are just another expression
22 of should we integrate public schools or not? Right?

23 Now, eventually, that did happen. But it
24 happened at great cost to Black people and those few
25 whites who joined. Right? So the question is, are we

1 resigning the oppressed among us to have to spill our
2 blood continuously because the white majority can't
3 recognize the imminent danger?

4 And I think that, for me, is the rock in my
5 shoe as we do organizing work. You know? Because I'll
6 speak for Black folks. Black folks should not have to
7 risk our life for our whole lives in order to experience a
8 good life.

9 It appears to me that there are way too many
10 among us who are being invited into the status quo to help
11 steward it and keep it going and just leaving the
12 revolutionary work to those who can't afford to integrate
13 into whiteness as a social status. So I'll stop.

14 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Pastor Mike. Thank
15 you very much. So we're going to hear from Dona.

16 And then, Leah and Monica, I'll come back to
17 each of you and give each of you enough to make any
18 closing comments or any other thoughts you'd like. And
19 then, we'll go over to Bruce.

20 So, Dona, over to you.

21 DR. MURPHEY: Thanks, Katharine. So, yeah. I
22 just wanted to share that I think everything that
23 everybody has said is, like, super relevant. I think our
24 theory of change should be holistic. It should be
25 organismic. Right?

1 So like we are an organism. All of us, each
2 have the ways in which we contribute to this change,
3 whether you're a public official, whether you're somebody
4 who votes, whether you're a journalist, an activist, an
5 organizer, an academic, an influencer. All of these
6 people have a part to play in the change that is possible.

7 And I think that each of us needs to just
8 figure out where we fit, and that can be dynamic, too.
9 Right? Depending on where we're at in our lives. And I
10 think that's fine. That's okay. But we should all be
11 doing something towards making the change that we want to
12 see.

13 So, also, the other thing that I think is maybe
14 more of something we can operationalize, in terms of what
15 this organism looks like is there is this paper -- again,
16 I don't know I have it here. Let me see.

17 It's another *Nature* paper. This is from 1998,
18 and this paper is about small world networks, which I
19 don't know if I shared this paper with you all in here
20 before. But it's a really compelling paper about self-
21 organizing networks that you see as a motif in nature, as
22 well as in human networks. So in social networks.

23 So they talk about -- it's something akin to,
24 like, Six Degrees of Separation from Kevin Bacon. It
25 wasn't exactly that, but it's something like that. So

1 that being one of these types of networks. Or the nervous
2 system of the C. Elegans, which is a kind of worm, or the
3 Western power grid -- all of these are different kinds of
4 networks, and what they find is, the most efficient
5 networks.

6 So if we want to talk about urgency and the
7 urgency of this change, the most efficient networks are
8 networks that are small world networks. They actually are
9 not, like, one node connected to the next connected to the
10 next. That's like, supremely inefficient.

11 One node connected to every other node, and
12 every other node connected to every other node. That's
13 also not as efficient as you can be.

14 The most efficient kind of network, actually,
15 has hyperconnected nodes that are connected to many, many
16 people, right. Institutions, organizations, people, but
17 they're also connected to one another -- these
18 hyperconnected nodes.

19 So this kind of thing -- that what happens here
20 with people who are presumably connected in our domains,
21 where we are, then, connected to one another, actually --
22 that creates this very, very efficient network. And so, I
23 think that should be part of our model of change, our
24 theory of change -- is how do we create, sustain,
25 cultivate, leverage small world networks?

1 And then, I think some of the other folks here
2 talked about the importance of the who and the how, as
3 well as the what. And I think that is also a really
4 critical point, and we see this having happened in the
5 pandemic, right.

6 So, like, some of the trouble that we've had, I
7 think, in all of the health disparities that we saw during
8 the pandemic -- that could have been in large part
9 resolved if we're thinking about the who and the how as
10 much as the what. That message of all of the public
11 health things that you need to be doing to keep yourselves
12 and your community safe. Who is delivering that
13 message? And how is being delivered?

14 Not just what is the message? That is super
15 important, and I think that because of all of the valid
16 reasons for distrust between people, we saw a lot of
17 people suffer, ultimately, right.

18 So that, unfortunately, I think is a message
19 that we kind of learned a little bit too late. This is
20 now 600,000 people that we've lost in this country as a
21 result of this pandemic, and it's disproportionately been
22 people who are Black and Brown -- particularly, people who
23 are Black in this country.

24 So anyway, those are some of things I wanted to
25 share. I do think that, at the end of the day, the

1 electoral politics really are important, because that's
2 what codifies the change we're trying to make, but it has
3 to come from both the grassroots and the glass tops.

4 And then, the last thing I'll say is -- the
5 very last thing, is something that I don't hear a lot of
6 here, or really, in general, is, like, talking about the
7 foundational change that occurs with changes in equity and
8 public education, and also, civics.

9 And not just boring civics, but a really
10 integrative, relevant civics. So I can envision a world
11 in which we can do K through 12 public education -- every
12 subject that you learn -- everything that you're learning
13 in that subject is contextualized, right. So for
14 instance, in math, your problems in your word problems are
15 problems that reflect the actual problems in your
16 community, and you've turned those into word problems.

17 In science, you talk about the history of
18 science and exploitation -- science as a human enterprise,
19 intrinsically a human enterprise subject to some of the
20 same vulnerabilities and corruptions as any human
21 enterprise. And you talk about some of those ugly things
22 that have happened in the history of science.

23 These things we could learn in a way that is
24 much more interesting, that is much more empowering, and
25 that will actually be the roots of change that we -- that

1 will be sustainable, a sustainable change. Because we're
2 working on a lot of things now way downstream, and we
3 could also, at least, be in parallel working on that kind
4 of really transformative change in education that will
5 just, I think, be incredible.

6 So anyway -- yeah. Thank you.

7 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Dona. Thank you so
8 much, and just huge thanks to everybody. We're nearing
9 the end of our time.

10 I'll turn it back over to Leah and Monica. I
11 ask you to each take just a couple of minutes to respond
12 and give any wrap-up thoughts you'd like to give.

13 And then, same thing -- just a couple of
14 minutes for Bruce, and we will finish on time so we have a
15 chance for a break before we continue our conversation.

16 So, Leah, do you want to go first?

17 DR. WRIGHT-RIGUEUR: Sure. There's so much.
18 This has been really a rich and engaging discussion, and
19 perhaps I speak for Monica as well -- Monica will speak
20 for herself. But I have to say that even though we
21 started off as panelists, it felt more like a conversation
22 and a roundtable -- a full-bodied roundtable with everyone
23 bringing really important analysis and commentary to the
24 conversation.

25 Actually, I think is the way to go. This is

1 the way to actually -- as we're thinking about theories of
2 change, and as we're thinking about models for moving
3 change forward, this kind of roundtable conversation is
4 the way to go where practitioners and scholars are coming
5 to the table.

6 So I want to go back to a couple of different
7 points, but I want to root them all in something, I think,
8 DeAnna said maybe about a half an hour ago or so -- a
9 little bit before that -- which is that we're in a moment
10 where we've seen these people -- people in the streets
11 before. Right? We've seen this again and again and it
12 couldn't be clearer about what their message is.

13 So even as we debate things about who are the
14 stakeholders? Who are -- you know, what are the values
15 that people are saying? What are things that they're --
16 we know what the underlying value is, which is human
17 dignity. Treat us as humans.

18 And so, I want to think about that,
19 particularly around this idea of compromise within
20 change. And I actually want to think about this idea of
21 compromise as a value, and as a value that has been
22 propagated and put forth within these various institutions
23 and structures and systems.

24 Now, over the course, I think, of the coming
25 years, we will see incremental change when it comes to

1 restorative justice. We just will. We're already there,
2 in terms of seeing change.

3 But the question is will we see more than
4 incremental change? And how long will that change take?
5 And I think that at the moment that we're in right now, I
6 can't confidently say that we will see more than
7 incremental change because, in fact, part of what
8 compromise ensures is a watering down of a particular
9 agenda.

10 And so, it's expressed because that is what
11 compromise is about. That is what compromise,
12 particularly within the electoral system was designed to
13 do from intention. So it's not about introducing a
14 radically restorative justice agenda, but instead, finding
15 ways to water that down, to dilute it across a broad
16 political spectrum.

17 And then, of course, to think about how do we
18 quell insurrection and rebellion as a way of getting the
19 people to accept this watered-down compromise version.
20 And we see this historically, and not just say, the 1957
21 Civil Rights Act that everyone hates.

22 I mean, everyone hates this. It's just a
23 watered down version of what eventually will be the 1964
24 Civil Rights Act. But we also see this in the failure of
25 the federal government to pass most of the resolutions and

1 solutions proposed by the Kerner Commission.

2 We see it in kind of the build-up for the 1968
3 Civil Rights Bill. We see it with the neutering of the
4 Voting Rights Act in 2013. Right? So all of these
5 moments that are designed to be about compromise
6 ultimately end up undermining this radical goal of
7 restorative justice across multiple fields and areas.

8 So I think in the same way that we have been
9 deliberate and calculated, as a nation -- particularly,
10 the power brokers and the stakeholders in our nation have
11 been deliberate and calculated about watering down very
12 specific agendas. Then we have to be very deliberate and
13 calculated about taking risky and huge moves that are the
14 antithesis of compromise in order to move this agenda
15 further.

16 We also have to be very clear that any movement
17 of this agenda, right -- any opening of this space, I
18 think, to use Monica's language -- is going to be a long-
19 term project. And that, again, we didn't really talk
20 about this, but I would love to really re-introduce the
21 idea of being comfortable with this metric of failure in
22 the immediate, because we also understand that failure in
23 the immediate does lead -- can lead to success in the long
24 term, particularly as we are talking about a rejection of
25 compromise, even as we are meeting these stakeholders

1 where we need to meet them.

2 So I want to think about that, and I want to
3 think about it being calculated and deliberate risk
4 taking, and really emphasize this idea of risk taking,
5 even though it may not seem like risk taking to us. Now
6 is that time to do that.

7 And then, the final point that I want to think
8 about, that we didn't really talk about, but that is
9 necessary to think about, is that it's not just the George
10 Floyd moment that opens up this moment for a possibility
11 around shared value building and world building and
12 consensus building. It's also the pandemic. And it is
13 the moment of the pandemic -- people watched George Floyd
14 die, that nine minutes and 26 seconds, or if you saw
15 another version, eight minutes and 46 seconds -- because
16 they are stuck at home. \

17 They can't turn away. They can't move away.
18 And so, there's a moment where they've -- because of
19 technological changes and because of a global pandemic,
20 they're forced to focus their attention on injustice, and
21 they can finally hear and see what human dignity, right,
22 what the antithesis of human dignity -- but what human
23 dignity would entail.

24 So I want us think about what that means in
25 this moment. What is the impetus and the opportunity that

1 the pandemic provides us, particularly since we are also
2 on the cusp of the pandemic -- of moving beyond the
3 pandemic?

4 And so, that -- again, this is a window of
5 opportunity for us to do the work of shared value
6 construction and construction building, and to take big
7 deliberate, calculated risks in terms of moving an agenda
8 forward that is not rooted in compromise, but that is
9 actually rooted in some kind of measurable change for
10 long-term goals.

11 MS HUFFMAN: Thank you, Leah. Thank you so
12 much. Monica, I'll turn over to you for just a couple
13 minutes, and we'll go just a couple minutes over here,
14 folks, if that's okay. But then, we will wrap up quickly
15 and have a full break time.

16 DR. BELL: Well, that's wonderful. I'm mostly
17 just going to defer to Leah. That was great. There is
18 one thing I do want to say, which is I really appreciated
19 what Susan was saying about the different styles of
20 politics that are really essential to our theories of
21 change. I think that's really important.

22 I also do think we need to be careful in spaces
23 like this where we talk about those different styles of
24 politics, to be aware that all through history, certain
25 types of politics have been blessed, and certain types of

1 politics have been maligned and rejected. I'm thinking in
2 particular about politics of confrontation.

3 The politics of truth telling has been placed
4 on the backs of marginalized people, as Pastor Mike was
5 inviting us to think about. That is stressful. That is
6 hard. It is also so necessary.

7 And so I think in spaces like this, we have a
8 lot of different types of people. And we're all the types
9 who want to talk to people who, like, are different from
10 us in some way because we're all different from each
11 other.

12 But we have to be willing to take up some of
13 that labor from the people who are constantly doing it.
14 And so, I think that is also a critical value -- is
15 recognizing the power differentials in the styles of
16 politics and the deep necessity of all of them for
17 building the type of world we want.

18 Thank you.

19 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Monica. Thank you
20 both so much.

21 Bruce, I'll let you take us out here. And then
22 we'll quickly share the logistics for the break and
23 reconnecting.

24 Bruce, go ahead.

25 MR. WESTERN: I'll be as quick as I can. Two

1 big parts to this conversation, I think, which I felt was
2 incredibly rich and productive -- so, the two parts, the
3 two big parts was beginning with a discussion of values,
4 and we're really focused on that. And then, the second
5 part was talking about how values connect to politics and
6 power.

7 Values, I took three things away. One is what
8 are values? Values are principled statements of the good,
9 and Monica said this directly. We don't talk about
10 equality. We talk about equity because equity embodies
11 within it a statement of the good.

12 A bunch of ideas about candidates for
13 preeminent values in our work included rehabilitation,
14 empathy, and human dignity, for example, and Leah
15 mentioned some of those. So values are a statement of the
16 good.

17 They're rooted in position -- whose values?
18 Different people have different values. Whose values are
19 we talking about? And who is at the table to articulate
20 our values? So values are rooted in position.

21 Third thing about values -- values are not
22 simply words. They're embodied in action, in social
23 movement, in mobilization -- as DeAnna was saying, in
24 institutions, the way institutions are structured, and in
25 budgets, as Nicole was saying.

1 Values have a symbolic component. Pastor Mike
2 spoke to this. So places like the media, places like the
3 university are seats where the symbolic work of the
4 articulation of values happens. That's my very condensed
5 read on the values conversation.

6 Politics and power -- and then, we really
7 pivoted, I think, with Pastor Mike's contribution. So
8 what is politics? Vivian described it -- this is how I
9 heard it -- as the thread that connects our values to some
10 outcome in policy or legislation. For example, the outcry
11 of the movement at one end and the statute at the other.

12 What lies between is politics. Jeremy asked
13 very pointedly, So what's our agenda? Electoral politics
14 is crucial in this process connecting values to statute.
15 What agenda can we run on to eliminate mass incarceration
16 and build an alternative?

17 We can look to a history of wins, like Civil
18 Rights. I would also -- Dona made me think of the
19 Progressive Movement of the early Twentieth Century that
20 created the common school and mass public education, and I
21 think that's often overlooked, actually, in how we think
22 of big progressive change.

23 But a number of people -- Courtney, Pastor
24 Mike, Kris, Gabriel -- raised the question, Is our
25 political process capable of producing the change that we

1 want? That's how I heard their comments. I think that's
2 a really fundamental question.

3 We talked about the how of politics, which I
4 thought was really valuable. Susan and Dona both spoke
5 about the how -- how do we do the how of politics? This
6 translation from the values to the statute.

7 I think their contributions, for me -- Susan
8 and Dona talking about the how -- empathy, storytelling,
9 indivuating, making heterogenous in opposition that
10 appears to us as homogenous, self-organizing networks,
11 small world networks.

12 One question this raises for me is if we think
13 about the how, can there be greater change potential in
14 our political process than maybe we've seen so far? Can
15 we think more ambitiously about our political process? Is
16 it capable of more change than we might be giving it
17 credit for?

18 Very interesting idea that we, at this table,
19 are enacting a political process itself. We're modeling a
20 political process. Are there lessons that we can take
21 from this? Leah spoke to this. Kris spoke to this, and
22 Monica spoke to this.

23 Just incredibly fertile discussion, I think,
24 and it's a great platform for this afternoon. So I know
25 I'm standing in the way of our bathroom break, so I'll

1 stop.

2 MS. HUFFMAN: Bruce, thank you so, so much.
3 Huge thanks again, Leah and Monica, for your writing and
4 your thinking and for starting us off in this conversation
5 today, and to the whole group for where we've taken this.

6 We are going to be taking a break. We're going
7 to -- it's now 2:38 here on the East Coast. We'll give
8 folks an extra few minutes. Let's try to come back at
9 five after the hour, just so everyone gets close to the
10 full half hour to regroup.

11 You know, we'll be continuing this conversation
12 in another context this afternoon with introductory
13 thoughts from Keith and Fatimah and Abbey, and then
14 breaking out into groups. And one of the things we found
15 we kind of lost in our last virtual roundtable was the
16 continuity and the ways that the sessions could build on
17 each other as they come in closer proximity. So that's
18 why we're trying this longer day today.

19 We want to really be able to continue the
20 discussion that started in this past session as we move
21 into the next one because there's just much richness and
22 so much more to discuss there. So with that in the back
23 of your minds, please, everyone, take a few minutes break.

24 If you don't mind, if you could just stay
25 connected, if that's possible. If technologically, you're

1 not able to do that, that's fine. But if you just --
2 we're going to mute and video turn off everyone. And
3 then, that way we'll all be able just to jump right back on
4 at five after the hour.

5 So we will look to see everyone then, and we'll
6 get started with our next part of this discussion. Thanks
7 again, and thanks to all of our observers, and we'll be
8 back soon.

9 (Whereupon, a brief recess was taken.)

10 MS. HUFFMAN: Welcome back, everyone. Thanks
11 again to all of you for that great conversation earlier
12 today -- this morning, or this early afternoon depending
13 on where you are right now, and glad to be back together
14 here and moving into the next part of our conversation.

15 So we're going to open up -- just to quickly go
16 over the logistics here. We're going to be opening up
17 hearing from three of our colleagues around the Zoom
18 screen here, starting with Keith Wattley. And then going
19 to Abbey Stamp, and then going to Fatimah Loren Dreier.

20 Each of them can take seven, eight, nine
21 minutes to talk about the paper that you prepared for
22 this, and just also your thoughts based on the earlier
23 conversation, and the way that connects as we move into
24 this discussion about the values of justice.

25 We'll then go into breakout rooms. You will

1 automatically be routed into a breakout room. And so, you
2 don't have to do anything at all, other than -- through
3 the magic of Zoom -- arrive in a breakout room where we'll
4 be talking in smaller groups for a little while. So we
5 have more of a chance to dig in on some of the things that
6 we will hear from our colleagues, and that we talked about
7 already.

8 And then, we'll all come back together for the
9 final part of our day together to share thoughts and
10 compare notes of it. And then, wrap up for the day.

11 So with that, I will hand things over first to
12 Keith, who is going to kick us off. Keith, who's the
13 founder and executive director of Uncommon Law out in
14 California.

15 Keith, I'll hand it over to you.

16 MR. WATTLEY: Thank you. Thank you,
17 Katharine. Great to be with you all again. I don't think
18 that the ideas I shared in my piece are especially novel,
19 but I think that the perspective that I bring is a little
20 different, hopefully helpful.

21 I'm reminded each time we get together that --
22 I think every time that I've showed up at one of these
23 roundtables, I've made the comment that I'm always going
24 to take you to prison. And that's because it's really
25 from people inside that I've learned most of what I think

1 know about how the world operates.

2 In my piece, I recounted a little bit of the
3 lives of a handful of people I've worked with over the
4 years. There's so much more I could write about each one,
5 but it'd, of course, be so much better for you to hear
6 from them directly.

7 These are their stories, not mine. And while I
8 do have permission to share them, I certainly don't own
9 them. I also like the fact that I didn't come across
10 these stories as individual stories starting from like a
11 research or theoretical standpoint.

12 You know, I started with one client -- one
13 person at a time, really, about 21 years ago by doing this
14 work. And most of the work has been about helping an
15 individual client connect all the dots between all the
16 historical milestones in their lives leading up to and
17 including murder, in most cases.

18 And we got there through many, many hours
19 sitting together in prison visiting rooms and prison
20 cells. And in my writing, I talk about adverse childhood
21 experiences -- ACES, people refer to them as -- even
22 though, the study of these experiences is not without
23 controversy, I realize.

24 For example, some people have expressed concern
25 that ACES testing among kids might actually lead to

1 excessive and inappropriate referrals to Child Protective
2 Services. Fortunately, most studies have not borne that
3 out, but it's definitely a concern.

4 Another one is that ACES data might be used to
5 make predictions or decisions on an individual level,
6 rather than focusing on institutional and structural
7 deficiencies that really impact entire populations. I
8 think that's what further stigmatized kids and
9 pathologized their responses to their traumatic
10 conditions. And the last thing we want to do is make kids
11 feel broken or that they're somehow destined to negative
12 life experiences in adulthood.

13 But in our work, when we think about ACES, we
14 think about it as a tool to really raise awareness about
15 the various impacts of stressful life conditions and how
16 they disproportionately affect Black and Brown folks.
17 Specifically, I think about it as providing useful lessons
18 about what healthy conditions might look like.

19 So the four stories that I shared in my piece
20 are really intended to help us recognize the need to be
21 proactive about protecting kids from violence and helping
22 them understand that their own victimization is not their
23 fault. It's not a reflection of their worth.

24 I offered some ideas about what safer
25 conditions might look like, which would also include ways

1 to be more responsive to the harm that's already been
2 caused. One person in my piece, José, who had an abusive
3 stepfather -- for him, safety doesn't just look like
4 locking his stepfather up in jail or prison. It looks
5 like getting the stepfather treatment for his alcohol
6 addiction and for his own trauma history, while also
7 helping José heal from the harm that he experienced.

8 For two women in my piece, Sheila and Peggy,
9 who both survived lifelong abuse and ended up with life
10 sentences, it looks like believing in supporting women and
11 girls when they report sexual violence. And it also looks
12 like teaching men and boys not to objectify and seek
13 control over women and girls.

14 And some cases might also look like a
15 restorative process to help these families heal, but none
16 of those things happen in prison. For Donald -- also in
17 my piece -- it would look like a living wage for his
18 mother. It would look like responsive schools and real
19 mental health care for him. Even his experience in prison
20 might look different.

21 You know, when I met Donald, he'd been in
22 prison for 30 years already. And he had seemed to have
23 given up on ever getting out of prison, in fact. He
24 hadn't even attended his previous parole hearing, and he
25 was sort of shocked.

1 What happened was I was looking for some new
2 clients to assign to some students who were working with
3 me, and I got Donald's name from a list of people who had
4 parole hearings coming up. And so I wrote to him, and he
5 said when we met, he was shocked to get this letter from
6 me out of the blue offering to help him.

7 And in our meeting, he just couldn't quite wrap
8 his mind around the fact that we were there for him, to
9 offer help to him at no cost, and what he explained was
10 that no one had ever done that before. And this is
11 someone -- if you read the piece -- he's been basically
12 locked up since he was 7. From the ages to 7 to 15, he
13 was locked in various institutions, was out briefly from
14 age 15 to 19. And then, landed in prison on a life
15 sentence.

16 In both cases, he was held responsible for
17 someone's death even though he didn't kill anybody. It's
18 a whole other story about that. But his experience was
19 that there's no one who's coming to help him. And so, we
20 showed up and we ended up working with him for about five
21 years to really help him understand that the things that
22 had happened to him weren't his fault, and that he wasn't
23 just destined to die in prison -- that there was more to
24 offer in life -- that life had to offer than that
25 experience for him.

1 Something I didn't include in my piece about
2 Donald was that when we finally got to the point where he
3 was found suitable for parole -- granted parole after five
4 years of working with him -- three different parole
5 hearings in that period of time, we came out of his last
6 parole hearing where he'd just been granted parole. He
7 looks over at me and through tears, he thanked me for
8 saving his life.

9 And I said, Well, you know, I appreciate you
10 trusting me with your story and trusting the students with
11 all that we asked you to do. And he said, No. You don't
12 get it. Really, you saved my life. See? Because when I
13 got your letter offering to help me, I was about to commit
14 suicide. And I figured, Well, if out of the blue these
15 people want to help me change my life and get out of
16 prison, I might as well participate. I might as well work
17 with them and see what happens.

18 He never told me that until the end of our time
19 together while he was still in prison. He's now out. He
20 got out. He's been out a couple of years. He's doing
21 really well.

22 But it's just a reminder for me that safety
23 also looks like real pathways home for people in prison,
24 even after acts of violence -- even after murder,
25 potentially. And that's tough for a lot of people to deal

1 with, frankly.

2 I think what's often missing in the lives of
3 people I work with is a clear and compassionate
4 understanding of the events of their childhood and
5 adolescence, and an opportunity to heal from those
6 experiences. When there's no one around to help a kid
7 understand that parent's divorce or death or incarceration
8 or substance use or violence -- it didn't happen because
9 that kid is unlovable.

10 If there's no one to remind them of that, to
11 point that out, then they're at greater risk of believing
12 they are unlovable, unwanted, unacceptable, and at greater
13 risk of really acting accordingly in all the ways we can
14 anticipate that might look. So the absence of that
15 communication -- young people really interpret those
16 dangerous conditions they may live in as a negative
17 reflection of who they are and what they're worth.

18 And so the theme I noticed -- the theme from my
19 piece that ties directly into most of the other readings
20 for the session is that nearly all of them highlight this
21 value of healing -- healing opportunities. I mean, if we
22 looked at all the carceral responses that we offer and
23 punitive responses that we offer when really, not just
24 kids, but everyone -- when we react to negative
25 experiences, we get labeled, and we punish them. If we

1 offered instead of a punitive response, a healing
2 response, we'd get very different outcomes.

3 I sense that in the readings that there was
4 this value of healing that showed up at both an individual
5 level and a community level, and I think healing really
6 starts with telling the truth about our trauma. It starts
7 with being accountable to one another. I really
8 appreciate this group for the truth-tellers and the
9 getters of stuff done who show up here.

10 But here's the thing about that, because I come
11 out of these sessions mad. You know, mad that I haven't
12 done more. Mad that I'm not moving aggressively enough.

13 So I both thank and blame this group for that,
14 and I do focus on these real-life, individual stories
15 because they're what I see. They're what drive us to do
16 what we do at UnCommon Law. These individual stories
17 really -- they drive me much more than the theoretical
18 concepts that we sometimes get involved in discussing when
19 we have these conversations.

20 And I feel like this Square One Project really
21 takes, I think, a thorough and thoughtful approach to
22 identifying the problems. But at the same time, sadly, I
23 would say most of us can't name or count all the people
24 who died as a result of jail, prison, and police violence
25 since this project started.

1 I think offering different perspectives on the
2 problems is an important and inclusive process. But as
3 I've heard in several comments already today, it's well
4 past time that we start to implement some real solutions
5 on a large scale.

6 And I know that's happening in different
7 pockets. I look forward to learning from and working with
8 this group to really move those solutions forward.
9 Particularly as it involves those large scale changes that
10 really start at the local level. I'm reminded of that by
11 several people who presented today.

12 So thanks for letting me share some of my
13 observations with you. I look forward to continuing this
14 conversation.

15 MS. HUFFMAN: Keith, thank you so, so much.
16 And thank you to your clients for letting you bring their
17 stories to us in your writing and in your words today.

18 And I share your sense of coming out of all
19 these sessions both inspired and daunted and angry at
20 myself and others, and really, really appreciate the
21 willingness of this group to engage in all of that and to
22 think about the different ways that all these pieces can
23 fit together, or should, we hope.

24 We're going to turn to -- if it's okay, Abbey,
25 Fatimah has requested that she might be able to go next.

1 It's just in our lineup, so that is no problem at all.

2 Absolutely.

3 So with that, we'll turn to Fatimah.

4 MS. LOREN DREIER: Thank you, and thank you,
5 Abbey, for allowing me to kind of jump the line a little
6 bit. I will kind of just start off and say how grateful I
7 am to be with all of you.

8 I shared last night my heart is heavy. Just
9 the ongoing trauma of this time, and I feel like this is a
10 group where I don't have to pretend and operate on top of
11 it. I can just really be real with all of you and be with
12 you.

13 I share the sentiment with Keith that I leave
14 these calls full in my heart -- angry, excited, grateful
15 that you exist. It is so astounding to be a part of a
16 group that opens my heart, that kind of opens me up and
17 says things in right relationship.

18 We get to name and be truth-tellers in here and
19 beyond. That you exist and are out there doing the work
20 you're doing is so powerful, and I'm just immensely
21 grateful for that.

22 So I want to say a few remarks. And I'm going
23 to kind of just share in kind of what we're working on
24 now, because I think it's all related to values. I'm
25 going to just start with what I shared last night,

1 about -- many, many people have said this, the power of
2 human dignity as a value. And in particular, in the
3 context of our bodies -- the humanity of our bodies, and
4 that, for the lion's share of the time in this country,
5 Black and Brown bodies have been seen as inhuman and as
6 chattel, as disposable.

7 And so, the actual psychological shift for a
8 body politic to actually see our humanity is a pretty
9 significant shift in values, and it creates a context for
10 a whole host of other things. It requires reckoning. It
11 requires so much, and it's so simple, but incredibly
12 profound. I think that's why it's echoed so much in our
13 dialogue and our discussion.

14 So I wanted to kind of start there and say that
15 I share in a deep skepticism about structures and
16 institutions reforming or reimagining. I think that
17 racism and violence within this country is, in many ways,
18 a gravitational force. I think that leveraging the use
19 the physics is really useful here.

20 It is a gravitational force. And so, in the
21 same way that, you know, when I throw a ball or flick
22 something, it kind of behaves based on these kind of core
23 mechanisms of gravity. So too, I think that the way which
24 our country was founded and constructed around racism and
25 violence makes the project of reimagining a single

1 institution really challenging.

2 However, I do believe in rockets, and I do
3 believe in rocket fuel, and I do believe in the capacity
4 for other forces. We can actually leverage and
5 operationalize a force that actually defies or can move us
6 past the gravitational force. And I believe in that, and
7 I think that is what we are talking about.

8 What are the mechanisms by which we can
9 actually leave our atmosphere? And, you know, how much
10 force is required? And what are all the ways in which we
11 can leverage that force?

12 And we've talked about electoral politics.
13 I've very much appreciated in previous sessions the
14 discussion about force, and I'm thinking back to our
15 discussion in Detroit -- a really provocative piece about
16 force. So I've been thinking ever since about force and
17 how it operates, and I think this physics analogy has been
18 incredibly useful.

19 Of course, my contribution as a trauma
20 therapist is thinking about the role of trauma. And I
21 believe that given the prevailing history of our country,
22 the numbness we walk around with in the trauma of
23 structural violence and structural racism has been
24 incredibly heavy. And that healing is not only a practice
25 of human dignity -- the ability to witness love and

1 transform no matter the conditions -- whether violent or
2 nonviolent. No matter the conditions -- the technology of
3 transformation and healing should be available and given
4 with tremendous abundance to anyone.

5 That healing is also a political act. That
6 healing, itself, creates new people who, then, can
7 articulate truth -- tell truth, and operate this rocket
8 that gets us out. Right? I fundamentally believe that
9 healing and political acts are connected and situated
10 within one another and how critical that is.

11 So that kind of leads me to the work we're
12 doing now. I've been working very closely with Pastor
13 Mike and Eddie Bocanegra and many, many others in a broad
14 coalition.

15 We have -- I've been working very closely with
16 the White House. And I have gotten the commitment of the
17 President to invest \$5 billion through the American Jobs
18 Plan to essentially bring an infrastructure of healing and
19 transformation to communities that are disproportionately
20 impacted by the very trauma that keeps us numb, the
21 community violence.

22 And in doing so, we have an opportunity to -- I
23 think it's a historic, unprecedented opportunity to bring
24 to bear new stewards of transformation. New kind of
25 witnesses and bearers of truth to our movement who -- I

1 think as it's so rightly been said by so many others --
2 have not had sufficient opportunities to talk with us and
3 be with us in these discussions.

4 And that we have to -- instead of bringing
5 their voices there, just here with us. That this unlocks,
6 in our prayer, that it can unlock new generations --
7 several generations of people who are paid to do the work,
8 the labor of healing in places that have been forgotten.

9 So what a task to imagine. Now, \$5 billion is
10 not the whole system. And in many systems, it's a drop in
11 the bucket.

12 I'm acknowledging that, and I'm saying that we
13 are tasked with thinking about how to design -- how to
14 actually design an infrastructure that leverages those
15 resources in ways that effectively operationalize these
16 values, and put them directly in the hands of those who
17 want to create, heal, transform on the ground. That's the
18 work.

19 That is the work we're doing, and it is
20 powerful. It is challenging, but I think it undergirds
21 the meaning of self-determination, that we can leverage
22 this for self-determination and power through the act of
23 healing.

24 And so, I just want to share that if we do this
25 right, I believe that we will have just this really

1 profound opportunity to bring new people -- and I was
2 talking to Pastor Mike. We talk all the time about this,
3 that we have to kind of see these resources as a way of
4 thinking of this as an opportunity to resource those who
5 have tremendous innovation to make valuable the wounds.
6 Right?

7 The very thing that has created the trauma is
8 that lived experience; the proximity to pain itself is a
9 value in this transformative work. And to actually create
10 a mechanism for resources to go to those who have the
11 closest proximity to pain, how powerful and profound is
12 that as an activity?

13 And I'll stop there, but happy to talk more to
14 any and all of you who are interested in ways of
15 contributing to this thinking, because it will take all of
16 us, I think, to do this work effectively. So thank you.

17 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Fatimah. Thank you so
18 much, and thanks for the incredible work that you and
19 Pastor Mike and the rest of the Fund Peace leadership have
20 done to get us to where we are now with this possibility
21 before us in that way. It's really moving.

22 So, Abbey, I'll hand it over to you. And then,
23 we'll break out into our discussion groups.

24 MS. STAMP: Great. Thank you. Thank you,
25 Keith, and thank you, Fatimah, for helping -- reminding

1 folks like me who haven't worked with clients for a really
2 long time, just grounding the importance of our work and
3 the pain that the system has really enforced onto people
4 and how -- well, I'll talk about a little bit more, but
5 it's really important, I think, for the folks who pull the
6 levers of power to understand and be able to learn how to
7 acknowledge publicly.

8 So Kris talked about -- I think he said being
9 an elected official in recovery or something. I'm a
10 clinician in recovery. So my background is as a licensed
11 clinical social worker. I spent most of my career working
12 on the juvenile side here in Multnomah County, Oregon,
13 doing trauma work with young people and their families.

14 And so my work now, on the policy level, is
15 really grounded in that space and just experiencing the
16 extreme trauma and poverty and xenophobia that my clients
17 really brought to me in those spaces. And what happened
18 is I acknowledge that I am not built to carry that and I
19 got out of direct service because it was just too much.

20 So for folks who continue to work with folks
21 who are in pain, I just thank you and I honor that a great
22 deal because I couldn't. And so, instead, what I'll do is
23 I'll talk about the policy work that we're doing in
24 Multnomah County.

25 And I had some thoughts about what I would say,

1 but based on our first session this morning, I want to
2 pivot a little bit. So in that first conversation that we
3 had today, I heard a lot of curiosity about really how to
4 become more tangible and practical and on the ground, so I
5 thought I should briefly share the practical side of what
6 I wrote about in the blog piece, and how I've decided to
7 tackle our local system from my social work values that
8 does include self-determination and really honoring
9 process and individuals, as well.

10 And just for a brief piece of context -- so,
11 Portland, Multnomah County, the Willamette Valley -- and
12 shout out to CAHOOTS -- thank you, Dr. Bell -- is a deeply
13 blue part of the state of Oregon. But the rest of the
14 state is also incredibly conservative, at least in
15 comparison to the Willamette Valley.

16 And so, our focus, then, in Portland and
17 Multnomah County is very, very much at the local level --
18 very, very localized. And so, what we've been trying to
19 do is to lean into that change and figure out what the
20 local control is that we have over our system, no matter
21 who's in the White House.

22 So my job as Executive Director of this
23 collaborative council of all of the actors in the criminal
24 legal system is really as a facilitator. I'm not a
25 policymaker myself, but I have the privilege of using my

1 position to mediate and agitate -- to create a path
2 forward that I believe is the right path to move
3 forward. I would not be facilitating meetings and
4 projects if I didn't believe in them.

5 So in terms of a values discussion, among the
6 executives and elected officials and the work that I
7 facilitate, it has been really important to talk about
8 values for us as a tool to create buy-in across the
9 board. Because I believe as a facilitator, my job is to
10 keep people at the table and to keep them engaged.

11 The worst thing for me is if someone -- if I
12 piss someone off and they pick up their toys and they
13 leave the table. Because then they're gone, and they
14 can't participate and be willing to take some risks and
15 engage in change and process. That's particularly true
16 with those folks who have the authority and the power to
17 pull the levers that can change policy, that can change
18 laws in Oregon, and can change and fund budgets at the
19 city, state, and county level.

20 So I have been working really hard to find
21 those values that create common terrain -- Dr. Bell, I'm
22 going to take that from you, as well. Make sure to say
23 thank you for that -- new language for me. I think that
24 has been the way that I've been able to agitate and create
25 some meaningful change.

1 So in the blog piece, I wrote about healing,
2 and I want to talk about why I think that works for me and
3 works for us at the local level. So I think talking about
4 healing basically just kind of jibes with everybody, and
5 we can acknowledge that we have a system of oppression
6 that has caused harm, particularly for BIPOC communities.

7 Acknowledging harm, and then moving into
8 healing by shrinking that system is that even the most
9 fervent support of law enforcement can kind of start to
10 understand that and get with it. And that people in our
11 community are suffering with behavioral health conditions.

12 People are sick. So let's help heal and don't
13 prosecute folks, and harsh incarceration does harm. So
14 let's stop incarcerating people.

15 Victims don't get what they need or what they
16 deserve from the criminal legal system. So let's do
17 restorative practices instead, and acknowledge that when
18 people heal, everybody thrives.

19 So just talking about healing feels, right now,
20 like everybody's been able to belly up to the bar and
21 participate in a way that I haven't experienced before.
22 So in order to help judges figure out what focusing on
23 healing looks like, I have to remain curious.

24 So when discussions about values result in
25 statements like, I value reducing recidivism. That's when

1 my job, I think, is to lean in and ask why. Right? The
2 five why's -- to keep inquiring about what does that
3 mean? What does recidivism mean to you? And then some
4 depth emerges.

5 And so, we're looking at, oh, if we decrease
6 recidivism, then what we're really saying is that people
7 find recovery. Less harm is caused to others. There's
8 less exposure to a harmful system. And then, selfishly,
9 it costs less.

10 So very quick snapshot of the journey we're
11 experiencing here in Portland, Oregon. My participation
12 on the Executive Session of the Square One Project has
13 really helped me and challenged me to think about this
14 blue-sky thinking, like, abolition and what's square one,
15 and try to bring it to the ground to create change in two,
16 five, and 10 years here in Oregon.

17 We had a conference over a year ago. Dr.
18 Western came, and then Anamika came, as well. And what we
19 did there is I brought together all of the policymakers,
20 the budget-makers, and the lawmakers, and the behavioral
21 health authority -- and all of those folks who are the
22 influencers and the policymakers, and we just got together
23 and talked about, we don't have a vision.

24 We don't have a vision. We're all in chaos all
25 the time. People silo up. We need to come together and

1 say, What's a north star? And is there a possibility to
2 be willing to come together and work towards that?

3 So, really, it was a family meeting. Okay, all
4 of you executives, are you willing to come together so we
5 can engage with folks who we are harming to talk about
6 doing business differently? So we got some buy-in.

7 We focused on healing. We taught the
8 harmfulness of the dichotomy of victim versus offender,
9 how that's a terrible way to label and box people. We
10 acknowledged that the criminal system is harmful. It's
11 expensive and the outcomes are awful, so what the heck are
12 we doing?

13 We need to lean in and make sure that we're
14 intentionable about changing responses to folks in crisis,
15 changing responses to violence. To undo the 400 years of
16 harm to BIPOC communities the current system has done. To
17 decarcerate communities that have been most negatively
18 impacted. And acknowledge that there's not enough
19 capacity in the housing systems, treatment system, and
20 community-organizing spaces to really do what the criminal
21 legal system has asserted itself to do instead.

22 So change the paradigms. So if at first, do no
23 harm, what should we be doing to actually heal people and
24 heal the system? So we engage in this process that we
25 were now calling transforming justice. Turns out, lots of

1 people are calling their projects transforming lots of
2 different things. But that's our name for now.

3 We did a very, very competitive RFP
4 process. And we procured a consultancy to lead in and
5 help us see the forest for the trees and be our shepherds
6 and help us move forward. We are creating a vision across
7 all disciplines that shrinks the criminal legal system and
8 prioritizes diversion, deflection, decarceration for BIPOC
9 communities, grows the health, housing, and treatment
10 systems, and prioritizes restorative justice, healing, and
11 harm reduction.

12 We are having sessions -- facilitated sessions
13 that are public and posted to the web and transparent,
14 with people with lived experience, people who are
15 certified peer mentors, people who have been victimized --
16 whether they identify as victim or not -- providers with
17 natural or community leaders, with advocates, with
18 organizers, and also all of the executives who have their
19 hands on the levers of change to help create a vision for
20 the future of justice policy locally -- really have a just
21 criminal legal system.

22 And what we hope is that this process will also
23 have an implementation plan. Because as an executive
24 director of an agency, I walk in and there's three
25 strategic plans over the past 20 years, beautifully

1 written, nicely bound, but sitting on the shelf and that's
2 not okay.

3 So what I want to be able to do is to create a
4 plan that actually creates change, that outlasts
5 elections, and outlasts turnovers. So in two, five, and
6 10 years, we'll actually be able to have some tangible
7 changes.

8 And I have two very quick examples, just to
9 make this -- I'm going to use the word tangible one last
10 time. One is the deputy chief of police is on this
11 committee with us to try to figure out what the hell
12 should we be doing and what should this look like moving
13 forward.

14 And the Portland Police Bureau was under
15 consent decree from the Department of Justice for killing
16 Black men and people with mental illness. It's been about
17 a decade.

18 So part of that work was they created a
19 behavioral health unit, which is a law enforcement officer
20 and a crisis clinician together. They work in the
21 community. That's, like, a great model, right? Everybody
22 wants co-responder models.

23 But I pushed a little bit. I said, Wouldn't it
24 be great if you didn't even have to do that? If we had
25 really good grassroots, community-based solutions to folks

1 in crisis, and a mental health system, and a substance use
2 disorder system that wasn't totally broken and oppressive
3 in itself?

4 Why do we keep asking police to do more better,
5 instead of asking them and demanding they do less?
6 Particularly around folks who are really having struggles
7 with behavioral health. He was like, Yeah. I think that
8 actually makes some sense.

9 The last piece I want to share is, we need to
10 engage in some budget alchemy. Half of Multnomah County's
11 general fund go towards the public safety system, and that
12 doesn't even include policing. A quarter of that goes to
13 our local county jail. A quarter of the county's money
14 goes to jail because that's how expensive the systems are,
15 right?

16 So we have a newly elected DA -- good
17 friend. Seventy-seven percent of the vote -- like, super
18 landslide -- way progressive, and his job is damn hard to
19 help make change, even though he wants to do it.

20 So we had a meeting earlier this week and I
21 just said, Dream with me, Mike. 15,000 cases are
22 prosecuted in Multnomah County annually. 13,000 of those
23 are misdemeanors. Yes, that includes domestic violence.
24 Those include driving under the influence, and some scary,
25 scary things.

1 But what if we stopped prosecuting, like,
2 disorderly conduct and theft III and tiny little -- like,
3 why do we do this? What if we stop? How much money could
4 the system save?

5 And could we engage in agreements that says if
6 we stop prosecuting X percent of the charges, we could
7 save this many millions of dollars? And we have a
8 commitment through this planning process to infuse in
9 community-based agencies to culturally specific providers
10 that everybody's screaming for. There's a way to do this.

11 So I really hope -- I mean, I'm almost 50.
12 I've got, like, 10 years left in me in this job. If we
13 can do this, this is my try. This is my try to make it
14 happen.

15 Work with government and with folks who've been
16 impacted by systems to see if they can find a different
17 path forward, at least in our little microcosm of the
18 country. I certainly hope so. If it fails, I think
19 there'll be lessons learned. And if we succeed, there'll
20 obviously be lessons learned.

21 MS. HUFFMAN: Abbey, thank you so much for
22 sharing all that. And thanks again to Keith, Fatimah,
23 Abbey, all of you all for really giving us these specific
24 examples and putting images and ideas into our heads about
25 values in real life, in individual lives and policymaking

1 and practice in systems. Very, very much appreciated --
2 all your thinking and your work.

3 So we're going to be now breaking out into
4 small discussion groups for a little while, and you -- if
5 I understand correctly, we don't have to do a thing. The
6 magic of Zoom is going to route us into different rooms in
7 just a moment here, where we'll have a chance for some
8 informal discussions just for about 40 minutes or so.
9 We're going to talk together in our smaller groups, so we
10 have a chance to all dig in a little bit more and really
11 spend a little more time in conversation.

12 We'll then come back to this group -- again
13 automatically by the magic of Zoom -- and we'll have a
14 couple little quick housekeeping. And then we will have
15 our break from 4:30 to 4:45 Eastern before we come back
16 for one last hour together to report out on the
17 conversations we had in our smaller groups and to wrap up
18 our day together.

19 So we will -- if Sukyi will jump in and correct
20 me if I'm wrong about any of that, but I believe that we
21 will now be able to just move into our different breakout
22 groups and continue our conversations there.

23 (Whereupon, breakout group sessions were held.)

24 MS. HUFFMAN: Well, thank you to everyone. So
25 I think we're all back. Yes. Okay. So we are now going

1 to take a little break. Thank you to everybody, and it
2 was great to be able to be in those smaller groups and
3 have the more intense and detailed conversations in that
4 way. Really appreciate that.

5 So we're going to the same thing we did before.
6 Quick 15 minutes. Just stay connected and turn off your
7 mute and your video -- or mute yourself and turn off your
8 video. And then, we'll pop right back on at 4:45 Eastern
9 and wrap up our time together.

10 So thanks everybody, and we'll see you in a few
11 minutes.

12 (Whereupon, a brief recess was taken.)

13 MS. HUFFMAN: Welcome back, everyone. We are
14 back to livestreaming and also, therefore, welcoming back
15 our observers who've been joining us throughout the day.

16 Great to be back together here. So we're going
17 to take a little time to talk together about the
18 conversations we were just able to have in our smaller
19 breakout groups. We're going to start with short report-
20 outs from a person who was in each of the groups. And
21 then, we will move into a group discussion as before.

22 So we're going to start with hearing from
23 Courtney, actually, to talk about what your group
24 discussed.

25 MS. ROBINSON: Our group had a really rich and

1 powerful conversation. Some of the major things that
2 really came out of our conversation was healing, and Bruce
3 said healing has essential value to the work that we do.

4 And I thought that that was really a great sort
5 of line to think about all the ways which we were talking
6 about healing, both as the new stewards of transformation
7 in terms of budget alchemy, you know, really sort of
8 digging into this notion of healing.

9 And something key that Vivian mentioned was
10 that healing had to happen at all levels. She used the
11 phrase, From the pulpit to the back door, in thinking
12 about when we're talking about healing and healing
13 communities -- that the whole community should be healed,
14 and not just who we have "identified" as the person who is
15 either been harmed or done the harming. And so, really
16 interesting to sort of talk through that.

17 And talking about the ways in which we're going
18 about the healing, in thinking about bigger issues around
19 government and should government be a part of the healing
20 process? And does the structural racism and other -isms
21 impact the government's ability to actually provide the
22 kind of healing that is needed?

23 And when we have those kinds of structures
24 taking on the healing process, are we taking away from the
25 community leaders and community organizations and

1 community healers that do this work in a very culturally
2 responsive way? So will the healing industry become co-
3 opted by bigger corporations and organizations who take on
4 the healing without thinking about the people that they
5 are indeed healing?

6 And Kris and Abbey talked about, it's really
7 time for us to rethink how folks in the government are
8 using the budget, how things are allocated, what that
9 looks like, and how that informs how we heal, and when we
10 heal.

11 And I know we have a short time, so those are
12 the big things, and I was fortunate -- we were fortunate
13 to have the master in wrapping up sessions in our group.
14 And so, if Bruce wants to add anything, the mic is for
15 him.

16 MS. HUFFMAN: Bruce will hold, and we will put
17 him to the test a little bit later on. So thank you,
18 Courtney. Thank you so much.

19 Let's turn to -- next we have DeAnna, who can
20 report out from the group that she was part of.

21 MS. HOSKINS: Well, thank you. I knew you were
22 going to call on me next, Miss Katharine. So our group
23 really had an enriched conversation, and we kind of
24 started the conversation off with Monica starting off this
25 idea that values can get co-opted. Right? That values

1 can become this sexy word, like criminal justice did re-
2 entry, and be co-opted to move the agenda to get what's
3 needed, but in practice, not being applied.

4 Emily went and shared about the power, and how
5 to dissolve those power structures. She said we need
6 intimacy and remarked about how people in power have such
7 little to lose. They're not really connected to the
8 issues.

9 One of her quotes was, If the same actors have
10 the power always, we won't get anywhere new. It's not
11 personal for most of them, so it really doesn't matter to
12 them. They don't have anything to lose. This issue
13 isn't -- it's not personal for those in power. So deeply,
14 when they have little to lose, they don't know how to stay
15 the course and they really don't see the human dignity in
16 others.

17 Then Gabriel kind of followed up and gave us a
18 sermon, a framework to understand all of it and how it
19 kneads together. And I know I'm going to mess this name
20 up, Gabriel, if you can help me. But you drew from -- is
21 it Paulio?

22 REV. SALGUERO: Paulo Freire. Paulo Freire.

23 MS. HOSKINS: -- where he talks about values,
24 that we think about them in a classic, Western
25 structure. In power construct, values are aesthetic.

1 They are superficial. They are not embodied. They are
2 not in coordination. It is not tactical.

3 Then, he went on to say that values are not
4 just right belief or right convictions, it's a right
5 that's lived out in action. If we are talking about a
6 theory of change, values are important, but it has to be
7 incarnational. It has to be embodied. It has to be lived
8 out.

9 Which is where our conversation kind of then
10 went about those who are most oppressed -- those who have
11 that lived experience carries the brunt of the trauma,
12 carries the brunt of -- almost the responsibility. And,
13 you know, Susan kind of chimed in about how we, as white
14 people, helping to organize -- helping to be allies, but
15 in reality, we really need accomplices in this work.

16 So we kept going on and I think Emily wrapped
17 us up really nicely. And Keith even spoke about the work
18 that he does in an equity manner of, you employ people who
19 have lived experience and actually, their lived experience
20 is more experienced and more valuable than the person who
21 has the education. But how do you make that equity within
22 your organization?

23 And that's when Emily kind of talked about
24 proximity and intimacy, right. Proximity is to the issue
25 and the problem, but the intimacy is considering them a

1 colleague, considering them to be equitable in those
2 positions of leadership and different things of that
3 nature based on the fact they may not have the education
4 that we put that is needed for that, but their lived
5 experience makes them much more valuable.

6 Did I miss anything? Because we were
7 everywhere. But it was really deep.

8 Jeremy? Do you want to follow up or share
9 anything I missed?

10 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, DeAnna. Thank you so
11 much. Yes, and we'll -- definitely others will have a
12 chance to jump in. I'm appreciating the themes that
13 emerged in these different conversations. And in ours as
14 well.

15 Dona, do you want to report out on the third
16 breakout group?

17 DR. MURPHEY: Sure. So I kind of tried to
18 organize a summary in my questions and some solutions that
19 we discussed. So some of the questions that were posed
20 that were interesting -- Nicole started us off with maybe
21 kind of reconsidering -- well, I mean, she said that we
22 actually spent the day kind of grounding ourselves in the
23 experience of the people who are most directly impacted by
24 these policies that we're seeking to change, and asked us
25 to kind of reconsider the framework of healing.

1 And, in particular, I think, some of what -- I
2 personally have seen this done more among my colleagues
3 who are in social work. I don't know if they do this -- I
4 think maybe also in my therapy. We refer to it as
5 patients. In the doctor/patient relationship, they're
6 referred to as clients, I think because that language is
7 supposed to be a bit more empowering.

8 But Nicole invited us to kind of reconsider
9 that because even that language is other-izing. And Eric
10 also added that -- he said we should regarding people who
11 would be those most who most intimately feel the impact of
12 these policies that we're talking about as brothers and
13 sisters, not as clients.

14 Yeah. So those were some of the questions, and
15 the question of, who are we healing? And who is doing the
16 harming? Is this framework useful when the people who are
17 actually responsible for the harm are now being asked to
18 heal the problem that they've created themselves?

19 So good questions to consider, also. Nicole
20 also mentioned that in terms of solutions, that we should,
21 actually, embrace the role of being loud. You know,
22 showing up in the streets. Shaming people because that
23 has, actually, been very effective ultimately.

24 She did mention, though, that there are people
25 who, of course, can't show up in those ways because fear

1 can be very paralyzing. Acknowledge that. Eric -- he
2 went long and deep on the importance of representation in
3 solutions and provided his own experience in the mayoral
4 office in New York as an example of how this is so
5 critical.

6 And he shared that he was from an impacted
7 community himself, and that him being in the position that
8 he's in has allowed him to represent the community that
9 will then be impacted by the policies that are being
10 generated by the mayor's office. And he really emphasized
11 the importance of leading from a racial justice framework
12 and leading with love.

13 He talked about how cultural change within
14 organizations is so, so important and that it's not
15 easy. He talked about it being important to regard people
16 with experience as experts in themselves, and that they
17 need to be themselves positioned to succeed and positioned
18 to lead their own communities -- resourced to lead their
19 own communities.

20 What else? He also mentioned, I think
21 importantly, how we sometimes -- in thinking about
22 government, we really over-rely on these external
23 structures to manage our experiences, as opposed to
24 thinking about ourselves as the solution generators.

25 And he said that it's important for us to be

1 connecting our communities to one another as vehicles for
2 change. And I, then, kind of provided a counterpoint
3 because all of what he discussed sounded very lovely to
4 me. Right? But also sounded very foreign, because the
5 community in which I'm embedded -- much of what he talks
6 about is not really possible. At least, not right now.
7 And I live in the south. I live in Texas.

8 And so, I mentioned, basically, how challenging
9 it can be to think about how these things work in other
10 places, but they really wouldn't work in that same way --
11 at least, not at this point in time where I am or where
12 others are in the world. That kind of drives home the
13 point that we have to think in a very local way about
14 solutions, but also that it is actually still valuable to
15 hear about how people have gotten there in other places.

16 What else? Jon mentioned that -- he had this
17 great quote that I forget now. He might be able to share
18 with us who said this, but that nations are imaginary
19 communities, and he, again, emphasized the importance of
20 the local.

21 And then, finally, in the solutions realm,
22 Fatimah also talked about the importance of networks and
23 community, and making sure that our communities have the
24 resources they need for political mobilizations. And
25 then, to make change, how network-building is ultimately

1 what is critical in making sure that we operationalize our
2 collective values.

3 And again, emphasized the point that locally-
4 owned and homegrown is going to always be the most
5 relevant in generating solutions that we need for our
6 communities. But that also we can benefit from national
7 networks, where we're talking more globally about what is
8 happening to all of our communities in different places
9 and learning from one another.

10 And then she also talked about the importance
11 of de-programming, decolonizing what we've learned about
12 how to make change, and who has the power to do so. So
13 yes. But that's basically it.

14 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Dona. Thank you so
15 much, everyone, for sharing those summaries of the
16 conversations, and we're going to open it up now for
17 reactions. If folks want to bring up things that also
18 struck you in your own group's conversations or respond to
19 others there, please go ahead and raise your participant
20 hand and we'll get folks in the queue.

21 And -- great. Courtney, why don't you go right
22 ahead?

23 MS. ROBINSON: As Bruce mentioned, we were kind
24 of wrapping up, so I kind of want to go back to some of
25 things we were saying towards the end.

1 We were talking about who gets to define
2 healing and who gets to teach healing. And Miss Vivian,
3 you were saying something, and we got cut off. So I'm
4 hoping you can recall what you were talking about in terms
5 of those thoughts.

6 REV. NIXON: Yes. I think when you've lived in
7 multiple spaces and on multiple sides of the coin, you're
8 able to hear and see things in a way that, oh, wow, if
9 that group heard that, they would feel alienated. And we
10 do this all the time.

11 We're in these group conversations. We're
12 speaking. We're making comments, and because we have this
13 particular frame, we tend to almost take sides. Well, if
14 we're on the side of this group that needs healing, then
15 we have to be against this group. But I don't think it's
16 either/or, because at some point, you may have been one
17 side of the coin or the other.

18 So right now, you know, I've been engaged with
19 a group of young people who are teaching, and some of the
20 members of the class are old enough to be their parents.
21 I'm old enough to be at least two of their grandmothers.
22 And a young man said the other day in class -- he said, I
23 have to confess -- and it's healing work that they're
24 teaching. I have to confess that right now, all the sides
25 of all my trauma triggers are being pulled because there's

1 the one side of me that felt inadequate because I wasn't
2 educated.

3 I didn't go to college, and who am I to be
4 doing this work? And in this position to teach this
5 class? And then there's the flip side of me that
6 remembers when I was a kid in the street hanging out and I
7 was teased because I liked to read and I liked books and I
8 liked school.

9 And he was like, How do we get a point where
10 neither of those things is an absolute? How do we get to
11 a point where people are, as I said yesterday -- that
12 people are allowed to pursue whatever gives them joy, to
13 pursue whatever their purpose is, and are also held
14 accountable to one another so that harm is not something
15 that we do to each other naturally?

16 And that's how an atmosphere of healing is
17 created. We're always able to somehow picture what the
18 other side looks like, and that's where I was going.

19 MS. ROBINSON: Thank you.

20 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Vivian. Thank you,
21 Courtney. Other thoughts or reactions folks have?

22 I'm really interested -- we had some
23 conversation that came up in our room as Dona was talking
24 about, you know, Eric was sharing his experience of
25 bringing his life in the community into a government

1 structure and being supported in a range of ways in both
2 of those settings.

3 So I'm about to put you on the spot, Eric. Did
4 you want to add anything there?

5 MR. CUMBERBATCH: Sorry for the delay. I'm
6 just trying to unmute.

7 MS. HUFFMAN: No worries. Sorry. I put you
8 on the spot, but just --

9 MR. CUMBERBATCH: No. And I appreciate it. I
10 think I take a lot of time absorbing. I think that these
11 are all amazing people that are part of this group, and
12 the contributions are wonderful. So I'm absorbing -- and
13 in New York, it would be, I'm peeping game. That's sort
14 of what's happening right now.

15 But I think -- yeah. You know, really,
16 representation is key. And to have people -- individuals
17 that are from the communities, neighborhoods that policies
18 and procedures are ultimately being played out in and
19 oftentimes -- or more than not -- most of the time, have
20 been adverse occurrences and outcomes for that community.

21 Those are the individuals that you want to hear
22 from. And those are the individuals that need to be at
23 the forefront as academics, as researchers, as natural
24 scholars from navigating rough terrains.

25 And those are the individuals that I love to

1 bring not just to the table, but really build plans
2 with: plans on what they're seeing, how systems are
3 hurting them. What are solutions for implementation? And
4 what are the resources needed to get to actual
5 implementation on the ground? And how can government best
6 support those practices?

7 So a lot of my work is lifting communities and
8 supporting communities, and I don't do that from a
9 bureaucratic approach or stance. I do that because my
10 love for communities that I come from, my love for my
11 people. And I think, you know, it's become such a foreign
12 concept to have love in government or think of leading
13 with love in this space.

14 And when we talk about a space that's so deeply
15 rooted in punishment and harm, and compare that to other
16 systems, we would never have a teacher hired that doesn't
17 love children, or an athlete that doesn't love the sport
18 they play. But in the justice space, we're almost
19 expected not to lead with love, and to really have this
20 very sterile and black-and-white approach to what
21 engagement looks like.

22 So for me, I'm really about defining justice by
23 healing, and healing environments that have been harmed
24 historically for centuries, healing individuals that have
25 experienced firsthand harm, healing individuals who caused

1 harm. And we know when we have all of these sort of
2 components in a healthy estate, then we have the
3 healthiest outcomes.

4 And that's really a lot of the position of just
5 how I lead and really grateful for the advocacy that we
6 have. People bring it up all the time -- well, in New
7 York, you have so many resources. And well, that's true.

8 But our greatest resource are actually the
9 residents in New York City. And we have a great wealth of
10 activists and advocates, like the A.T. Mitchells, the
11 Erica Fords, the [indiscernible], and Iesha Sekous, and
12 all of these people that have embraced me and lifted me to
13 these positions to best support and move communities
14 forward.

15 And, you know, I think we're just blessed with
16 great people, great minds. And those are the minds and
17 people that have to be elevated into positions of power to
18 really move us forward.

19 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Eric. Thank you so
20 much and that just -- you're putting me in mind that on
21 our final day together in two weeks, we're going to be
22 joined by more people from New York to talk about some of
23 that work that you're describing. And so, just really
24 looking forward to learning more and digging in more
25 there.

1 Jeremy is up next. And then, Nicole will
2 follow Jeremy. So, Jeremy, over to you.

3 MR. TRAVIS: Thanks, Katharine. So I just want
4 to challenge us to extend our healing boundaries, to have
5 in mind and have in our hearts some people we don't often
6 bring into that healing discussion.

7 Those of you who were at the Oakland Roundtable
8 will remember the moment -- I mean, it's on one of our
9 videos, Square One videos -- where Eric Gonzalez, who was
10 mentioned earlier today, who is the D.A. here in Brooklyn
11 found it very, very difficult to continue talking when he
12 was acknowledging the role that he and his office had
13 played over many years in putting people in prison.

14 And if you remember the picture, which I have
15 vividly in my mind, he just quit talking and sort of put
16 his hand down on the microphone and just couldn't move
17 forward. We have a number of members of the Roundtable,
18 of the Square One family -- and I'm thinking here, in
19 particular of our colleague, Nneka, who has written this
20 paper, which is almost ready for publication on
21 reimagining jails as healing facilities.

22 And she was also at Oakland, and talked a lot
23 about the difficulty and the challenges and the trauma
24 that she faced as a Black woman running the Cook County
25 Jail -- and trained as she is as a psychologist is an

1 additional layer of complexity. And as we watched the
2 challenges to the system, and some of the challenges to
3 those who are, to use a sort of generic phrase,
4 stakeholders who are running these agencies and have
5 devoted their lives to them -- and some of whom are like
6 Eric and like Nneka and others.

7 I put Abbey in this category. I think Kris
8 mentioned some of his similar issues. I would put myself
9 in this category, also. People who are just struggling
10 with their professional lives and what they've given their
11 lives to, and the shift in perspective in the country and
12 what it means to the challenges to their own
13 preconceptions of histories.

14 And in particular, lawyers, who have been the
15 handmaidens of this system as prosecutors, and as defense
16 counsel, and as judges. And when you talk to people these
17 days, talking about going to prosecutors' offices -- which
18 has always been problematic, unless you're going into one
19 of the progressive prosecutors -- the few of them in the
20 country -- I mean, that's just a no-no these days. You
21 don't sign on with the machine.

22 And for some people, that's their starting
23 point. But there are people who have worked in those
24 systems, many of whom think that they're doing good
25 work. And there's a healing obligation, too, for those

1 colleagues of ours, and we've tried at each of our
2 Roundtables in Square One to have system actors. You
3 know, police chief, a D.A. coming from the correction
4 system. They are to at least be part of these discussions
5 and maybe some of our best participants.

6 I think we just have to recognize that there's
7 a level of different complexity for those who are feeling
8 like they're doing their life's work when their
9 professional aspirations are being challenged as being
10 part of a system of oppression, which may be true. That
11 doesn't mean that they're not hurting.

12 So it's just -- I mean, when we think about our
13 healing obligations. I just want to put them in our minds
14 and hearts as well. I've no answer, no next step other
15 than just remembering Eric's face as he sat next to me in
16 Oakland. He was in pain.

17 MS, HUFFMAN: Thanks, Jeremy. Nicole, over to
18 you.

19 MS. GONZALEZ VAN CLEVE: Well, this is an
20 ironic comment. I remember that well. I was the person
21 presenting about violence committed by prosecutors in
22 Chicago, and I took Eric's comment as very sincere.

23 And within about a half hour ago, he has just
24 been tweeting out that Brooklyn is back. They conducted
25 the first jury trial in Brooklyn since March. A man has

1 been released since 2020 and he'll now be sent to a cage
2 for no less than 3.5 years, up to 15 during a pandemic,
3 and he was just saying, My dedicated prosecutors are ready
4 to continue conducting trials. The communication director
5 says, Brooklyn's back.

6 And I think one of the key issues is that four
7 days ago, cops had the pretextual stop and murder of
8 Daunte Wright in Minneapolis. And today now, the same
9 Brooklyn D.A. that was in front of all of us looking kind
10 of hurt by the role that he may have played and made a
11 commitment to all of us in public that he would do better,
12 celebrates that a man's been pretextually stopped for
13 tinted windows, and he'll now be in prison between 3.5
14 years to 15 years for gun possession.

15 And, you know, I struggle with this. I mean,
16 the fact that it just literally happened 30 minutes ago on
17 Twitter, and it's being adjudicated by the public, leads
18 to my larger comment was that sometimes we are under -- or
19 these officials are under lots of pressure to still
20 continue the political rewards of tough on crime.

21 And so, whatever commitment Eric made to all of
22 us at Oakland, his communications director certainly
23 didn't get the message. Maybe his staff -- the rank and
24 file prosecutors that provide additional pressure when he
25 gets back. The judges that are elected by being more

1 punitive, by incarcerating more people. More guilty
2 verdicts, right? Prosecutors are still promoted based on
3 convictions and not based on dropping charges when it's
4 just.

5 And I think this is the hard part, is that the
6 work that I do is very critical. And this idea of coming
7 to the table with, say, I don't know -- the new director
8 of the Chicago Cook County Jail, Tom Dart. Tom Dart has
9 positioned himself as a reformer.

10 He could easily be sitting at the table with
11 all of us saying that he has his values in the right spot,
12 saying that the largest provider of mental health services
13 is the Cook County Jail. Yet when he was required or
14 urged by almost every city leader and medical professional
15 to release people during the initial pandemic, he had to
16 be sued and forced to do it.

17 And then once he did release people and it
18 started to manage the COVID spread, he then used it to
19 spin that it was his will that did it, when you can
20 actually see the court records that don't tell that same
21 story. And so I struggle, because I think some of my
22 biggest wins in terms of advocacy have not been through
23 sitting at a table healing, but they've been, in some
24 ways, forcing the hand of public officials.

25 And I guess I want to put that out there,

1 because I think we have a responsibility not just to sit
2 at the table and make amends and heal. Because this Tom
3 Dart -- for instance, you know, I wrote a piece about a
4 sheriff mocking torture in the jail, knowing about torture
5 in the Cook County Jail, doing so in front of a crowded
6 room of people of color waiting for their loved ones to be
7 released, terrifying every single person.

8 I'm not sure I want to heal at a table with a
9 leader that condones that. And I don't know if I want to
10 heal at a table with a communication director that spins
11 that as something not so bad. Because at the heart of it,
12 that makes me complicit.

13 And what I want to do is have ethical standards
14 that draw a wall that say, This is the standards for which
15 we stand for or I stand for, and when political leaders
16 fall short of those standards, I will be the first one to
17 speak out, even if that's a person I partnered with in the
18 past. I think that is the ethical responsibility that we
19 have.

20 That is how I sleep at night. And if that
21 means, you know, we don't make friends or we don't pass a
22 budget together or we -- I'm not sure -- have bipartisan
23 support -- I don't know if it's a trade off. But I'm
24 putting it out there because sometimes the actors that
25 I've seen are so violent that I don't believe we can

1 partner with them and share the same values.

2 I will never be able to align with torture in
3 the Cook County Jail. I will never be able to. I will
4 never be able to say that that could be a healing
5 institution until I acknowledge openly that they have
6 engaged in human rights violation.

7 I cannot sit down with the Chicago Police
8 without saying they executed Fred Hampton. They've
9 executed and assaulted people in their homes. They've
10 done it for generations. I cannot sit down at the same
11 table.

12 So what's left is, what I joke is the
13 hatchet. I shame you. I call you out. I expose you with
14 either data or narratives or stories, but I make sure that
15 the truth be told. And if the court system can't provide
16 justice for us, then being a truth-teller is all we've
17 got.

18 Because as we see, sometimes the worst part of
19 these murders -- the murder of George Floyd or the murder
20 of Adam Toledo -- is the violence itself, but then, the
21 spin. The spin that conceals and covers it up. And so, I
22 think as reformers and as people who want to change the
23 system, these are the higher order callings that we have
24 to reconcile.

25 When do we sit down to heal? And when do we

1 say enough's enough and we need to burn it all down? It's
2 hard.

3 MS. HUFFMAN: Thanks, Nicole. Thank you very
4 much.

5 Pastor Mike, you're up next. And then Dona.

6 REV. McBRIDE: I remember when I was in
7 Ferguson. One of the times we got arrested -- myself,
8 Cornel West, a few of us were getting booked in the jail
9 and I had my San Francisco Hunters Point mean mug on. I
10 was just mean mugging every single cop. You know, every
11 single -- that was booking me.

12 And Dr. West is like, Oh, God bless you. Thank
13 you, dear brother. Thank you, dear brother, as they're,
14 Oh, we need to fingerprint you, Doctor. Oh. Thank you.
15 Thank you. Thank you, dear brother. Thank you, dear
16 sister.

17 And he's calling the folks that are booking us,
18 Dear brother, Dear sister. And I'm coming up behind him
19 mean mugging all of them. Like, you know -- I didn't cuss
20 at them because I still had my collar on, but that's what
21 I was thinking in my mind, right.

22 So after we got processed, we're sitting in a
23 cell together. I said, Doc, why are you calling these
24 people, Dear brother, Dear sister? Man, like, we're out
25 here getting our heads cracked. He said, Oh, dear Brother

1 McBride, Brother McBride, Brother McBride. Always leave
2 the porch light on, because you never know when they're
3 going to want to come home.

4 And, you know, I didn't appreciate what he said
5 at the time, and some days I still don't. But I do
6 wrestle with this idea of what does it mean to keep the
7 porch light on so folks can come home. Which means that I
8 never give up on the possibility of people experiencing
9 transformation, even if it's not at the pace that I would
10 want them to experience it.

11 But I do believe that we have to make sure
12 we're defining what home is, right? And I don't believe
13 that home -- or, at least, the arrival or destination for
14 many of us, who, through the course of our lives, have
15 been elevated to positions to oversee spaces of systemic
16 and structural violence unbeknownst to us.

17 Home is not having a personal transformation,
18 and then going back to those systems and continuing to
19 superintend in the same way. I think home is realizing
20 that if I am an agent of this oppression and I have a
21 personal transformation, then I must continue to be
22 willing to be critiqued until I am an agent of liberation.

23 And I think that is the distinction that I want
24 to continue to make, and I want to be held accountable to
25 as a faith leader, as an organizer, as a citizen of this

1 world. You know, none of us can do this work from a
2 perfect place. We all have our foibles. We all have our
3 needs, as Vivian has profoundly stated, to be healed along
4 the way continuously.

5 But when we are a part of a system that
6 continues to literally take the lives of our family
7 members and loved ones and we personalize the critique of
8 those who are trying to remind us how death-dealing that
9 system is, then I think that we must make it a station
10 between the protagonist and the antagonist in the story,
11 right. And so, I still have to say I do think it's really
12 important for us to have space for folks to be at tables
13 where it may not be clear or may be very clear where they
14 sit in the kind of constellation of either status quo
15 reform or revolutionary.

16 But I think we must not allow their presence to
17 either mute the continued truth-telling that has to happen
18 in order for systems and conditions to be changed. We
19 should always, I think, create space for them to be there,
20 as long as they are willing to be willing to hear and
21 absorb the criticism that comes with their superintendence
22 of systems that continue, literally, to take the lives of
23 folks, to try to cover up those dastardly deeds, to spin
24 it and make it appear like we're all being gaslit.

25 And it is those conditions, literally, right

1 now that many of us are enduring. I mean, we are being
2 gaslit every day now. There are more law enforcement --
3 former law enforcement folks on cable news trying to
4 explain to all of us why we are not seeing what we're
5 seeing.

6 I mean, there used to be some balance. They
7 used to have, like, an activist and a law enforcement.
8 Now, I just see only former cops on cable news trying to
9 explain how a 26-year-old veteran can mistake a taser for
10 a gun. And we extend compassion to them and not to the
11 person whose family's literally openly mourning on TV.

12 That is a form of terror in my mind that this
13 whole experience of reimagining public safety, to the
14 point where now people who were in political office that
15 literally a year ago did not want to reimagine public
16 safety are now using the language of reimagining public
17 safety as a way to try to co-opt the whole movement
18 itself.

19 And so, I do want to leave the porch light on,
20 but I also want those who say they are coming home to be
21 willing to sit in the tension of what that actually
22 means. You can't be the emperor in the empire, and then,
23 show up to the rebellion the next day and say you are the
24 leader of the rebellion.

25 There has to be a cooling-off period, I guess

1 is what I'm saying.

2 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Pastor Mike. Dona,
3 you're up, and then, we'll go to Keith.

4 DR. MURPHEY: Yes. So, Nicole, what you said
5 super resonates with me. Like, I've been a part of so
6 many conversations like this, where there are attempts to
7 bring together people who are kind of part of the
8 establishment, and they're basically perpetuating systems
9 of harm. And then, people who are activists who are
10 really trying to transform the systems.

11 And it does make me wonder. For the people who
12 ostensibly commit to changing their practice, who haven't
13 really demonstrated that in the past -- who don't really
14 have political motive to really change what they're doing
15 anyway presently -- are they really going to change?

16 But what they're telling me, and I've seen this
17 many times, is that they don't ultimately change. That
18 they don't actually substantiate what's happening in these
19 kinds of conversations.

20 I don't think that that's everyone, though. So
21 like to Pastor Mike's point -- I think there are some
22 people who will change, right? So I absolutely agree that
23 there has to be space for that.

24 I mean, this, at the end of the day, is why I'm
25 like, Thank God for democracy. Democracy allows us to be

1 like, See ya. You know? Like, we gave you your chance
2 and you didn't show up. So goodbye. You know?

3 I mean, I'm so grateful that we have a system,
4 and this is why we have to do everything possible to
5 preserve the things in democracy that allow the system to
6 actually be truly reflective of the people. And I think
7 the way that democracy has meant to be instituted in this
8 country, it's not truly democratic. We know that by
9 things like the electoral college, for instance. By
10 things like voter suppression that's going on everywhere.

11 So it's like there are barriers in place from
12 us living out democracy in the way that I think it should
13 be lived out if all of us were showing up.

14 If we actually had ethnic studies in our
15 schools and kids were really learning about their
16 histories and embracing the contributions that all of our
17 communities have made to this country, understanding
18 fundamentally all of the harm that has been perpetrated by
19 the various actors -- that, I think, would empower us all
20 to really be engaged in these power structures and our
21 democracy would be much healthier than it is right now.

22 But I do think that democracy, fundamentally,
23 provides the opportunity for change and -- yeah. That's
24 why it works to do what you do, which is to show up in the
25 streets and be like, This is wrong. Right? And I'm going

1 to speak out about it. I'm not going to be quiet.

2 The other thing I also wanted to kind of invite
3 everyone to do, because this is something that I think
4 about on a constant basis -- I'm constantly reflecting on
5 this -- is that we all are complicit. We live in a
6 society that is fundamentally premised on exploitation and
7 extraction. All of us do.

8 You know, I thought about this when some of my
9 friends years ago decided that they were going to pull out
10 from Amazon. I'm not going to be an Amazon Prime member
11 anymore, and I was like, Oh, God. But it's so
12 convenient. It's so convenient.

13 But, you know, Amazon supports ICE. Right?
14 Microsoft supports ICE. Are we going to pull out from all
15 of these things? If we don't, aren't we complicit?

16 All of us are supporting these systems at some
17 level. So it's like your comfort and the proximity to
18 harm -- that's what it is at the end of the day. Right?
19 And when your community is being directly harmed, of
20 course, you're going to want to show up.

21 There's a necessity for you to show up almost,
22 right? Other people who don't experience that, they sit
23 apart from it. They're not going to necessarily show
24 up. They don't feel the pressure. The necessity isn't
25 there.

1 So, you know, those folks, in my judgment, just
2 shouldn't be sitting there. They shouldn't be sitting in
3 positions of influence or positions of power if ultimately
4 the policies are going to impact people who don't look
5 like them.

6 And again, thank God for democracy.

7 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Dona. Thank you so
8 much.

9 We had a quick insistent wave from Nicole. I'm
10 going to give you the floor for a moment. And then, we'll
11 go to Keith. No apologies necessary. Okay. Go ahead.

12 MS. GONZALEZ VAN CLEVE: I wanted to just make
13 a quick clarification that we've lived in a time where so
14 many elected officials have really gained from tough-on-
15 crime punitive practices. And I think the new hope for me
16 is that if we can make it politically disadvantageous when
17 people are overtly punitive, when people violate their
18 power -- when we expose that, and then, educate voters.
19 That, to me, is another, I think, short-term goal for
20 transformation is that people can be equally scared of the
21 other side.

22 And I think we see that in local D.A.s losing
23 races. And so, it happened in Philly, and it happened in
24 Chicago, and it happened in the district where Tamir Rice
25 was shot. It can happen. Right?

1 And so, when that happens, that momentum is
2 something we can capitalize on. So I bring in that more
3 critical point. I just wanted to end on that part, which
4 is that that can have political momentum, as long as we're
5 not scared to throw the hatchet when necessary.

6 Thank you.

7 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Nicole. Thanks.

8 Keith, over to you. And then, Gabe, you'll
9 follow.

10 MR. WATTLEY: Thanks. What I hear in what
11 Nicole shared, especially just at the end, is talking
12 about accountability. You know, I've seen a lot of
13 accountability in prison, but not because they're in
14 prison.

15 Prison's kind of the opposite of
16 accountability. Prison's just about punishment. But I've
17 seen it when people who are in prison create communities
18 of other people in prison to whom they're accountable.

19 And it's a public declaration. First,
20 ownership and telling of the truth -- who've they've been,
21 who they've harmed, how've they've been, and a declaration
22 that they're going to be and do something different. And
23 that it's public in a group of people who will hold them
24 accountable.

25 It's a safe space, so they don't fear physical

1 harm because one's going to be vulnerable in a space like
2 that. But there's a shared agreement that folks are there
3 to change their lives. And they do it publicly and when
4 they fall short, they're reminded. They're called out.
5 There's a consequence to the community.

6 And it seems like a missing piece when public
7 officials make these proclamations, declarations.
8 Usually, they don't tell enough of the truth first. And
9 then, even when they do, it's not clear that there's that
10 much of a consequence.

11 I mean, I think as Nicole offered some examples
12 of what negative consequences can do. People talk about
13 shaming. Shaming can be a great motivator, and I think we
14 don't take enough advantage of that opportunity. I think
15 we should we do that.

16 I think the thing I was also reflecting on here
17 in California -- just about how we make all these
18 statements about how we want to change. We want to have a
19 progressive system. We have dramatically reduced our
20 prison population. Yet even last year during the
21 pandemic, we had the lowest rate of parole grants in seven
22 years.

23 Only 16 percent of the scheduled parole
24 hearings resulted in parole grants in California.
25 California has almost 40,000 people serving life

1 sentences, and we continue to avoid the tough discussions
2 about how we are treating disproportionately Black and
3 Brown people as the most violent, feared.

4 We basically still consider them super-
5 predators who never had a chance to change. And we still
6 claim to have a progressive state because we haven't held
7 elected officials accountable to doing something
8 different -- to having different policies, different
9 practices.

10 And so, we're going to continue to get what we
11 got until we change that. But the accountability piece is
12 missing.

13 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Keith. Gabe, over to
14 you.

15 REV. SALGUERO: I think -- can you all hear me?
16 Thank you.

17 MS. HUFFMAN: Yep. You're good.

18 REV. SALGUERO: This last session is quite
19 difficult. I almost lowered my hand and withdrew because
20 first of all, I hear the word progressive a lot. I'm not
21 sure what it means. You know, I'd like a working
22 definition.

23 And I hear the word accountability and I'd like
24 to unpack accountability. I agree with what I think I
25 hear most people saying, and this is what I hear. It may

1 not be what people are saying, so please correct me.

2 You know, accountability -- some people have --
3 there's disparate amount of powers, right? So an attorney
4 general is not the same as Jane Doe or Juanita Doe citizen
5 in terms of power and impact that their decisions make.
6 And so, as to quote popular culture, With great power
7 should come great accountability.

8 I'm changing the actual phrase, right. It was
9 great responsibility, but there should be great
10 accountability, and that's for all of you Marvel fans.
11 That's from *Spiderman*.

12 And so, I used to live in New York. I'm born
13 and raised there. Now I live in the south. Never get it
14 wrong, Orlando, Florida is the south in many ways.

15 And so, when I hear that promises are broken, I
16 agree that there's accountability. There should be
17 accountability.

18 I'm looking at the Chauvin case, clearly, and I
19 remind people that's the Chauvin case. Right? He's on
20 the trial. It's not the George Floyd case. Okay? It's
21 the George Floyd murder, but it's the Chauvin case.

22 He's being tried, and what accountability looks
23 like there. And we'll see in the days and weeks to come.

24 And the list goes on and on.

25 And so, I think that me, as a pastor, when I'm

1 dealing especially with my counterparts who we tussle with
2 a great deal, white Evangelicals, who oftentimes have not
3 had the experience I have, who do not get it, and take
4 different perspectives. Not always, but oftentimes on
5 issues of justice and criminal justice, and incarceration,
6 and parole -- everything like that.

7 But one of the things they say to me is, You
8 know, Gabe -- well, when they really want to kind of hold
9 me to it, they're like, Pastor Gabe -- when they start the
10 word with Pastor, I know they're trying to tell me
11 something. Say, Pastor Gabe, you say you want criminal
12 justice reform for some people and you want the justice
13 system to meet mercy, but for other people, you want
14 heavier sentences.

15 And so the argument becomes about consistency.

16 The consistency of my position across the criminal
17 justice system. That is, I think, a fair question, even
18 though it's historically uninformed and doesn't understand
19 the unequal distribution of power and politics and race
20 and all of that. But from their kind of very myopic lens,
21 I think what they're trying to say is if I want criminal
22 justice reform and if I talk about parole, when I hold
23 other people accountable, what is the equivalent to that?

24 That is a difficult conversation for me to
25 have. It's also difficult across generations. So I'm

1 Latino. I've been pulled over for DWB -- driving while
2 Brown. I worked at Princeton for a while and was asked,
3 even though I was in academia, what am I doing in this
4 neighborhood? And I was like, I'm going to my office.

5 So I get that. But I just -- when I have this
6 conversation with my parents, who are Boomers, and I think
7 some people posted that -- a few times a generational
8 divide -- they, too, ask me what is my consistency. Even
9 though they have had similar experience, and my father is
10 a formerly incarcerated person.

11 And so, in our breakaway session, the word
12 paradox and tension came up about six or seven times, and
13 in that conversation, the paradox and tension was tied to
14 the credibility of the movement. I don't have an answer,
15 but I do know those are the questions I have. Not with
16 academia. Not with my fellow academics. Not with
17 activists or advocates. With people who go to my church
18 every Sunday from every walk of life. Some with PhDs and
19 some who are formerly incarcerated persons and are
20 illiterate, and everywhere in between.

21 And so, how do we deal with the consistency of
22 accountability, even as we talk about reform,
23 transformation, undoing, whatever -- wherever you fall on
24 that spectrum. And I think that's a very sincere question
25 for the credibility of the movement in the communities

1 where I serve, and these are communities of color.

2 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Gabe. Thank you very
3 much. Thanks to everyone for those comments. Really,
4 really appreciate this conversation.

5 So we're going to be turning to Bruce in just a
6 couple minutes to kind of wrap us up from our day. Before
7 we do that, if anyone has any last thoughts, feel free to
8 raise your hand.

9 REV. NIXON: I can't see my raised hand button
10 right now. My eyes --

11 MS. GONZALEZ VAN CLEVE: It's okay. I'll just
12 interrupt you.

13 REV. NIXON: You know, in a world where doing
14 the work that we do, whether we're doing it from the point
15 of view of a researcher, an academic -- from a service
16 provider or an on-the-ground activist -- or someone who
17 works in government and is really trying to do the right
18 thing -- and I have to believe that some people in
19 government are.

20 So no matter where you're doing this work from,
21 the fact that it has become professionalized at every
22 level, from the grassroots activists to the high level
23 official in government, this work has become
24 professionalized. It has become an industry. No one can
25 deny that. There's too much evidence out there about

1 where all the philanthropic dollars are going.

2 And that has had an impact on the way the work
3 is done, on the risks people are willing to take. And I
4 think at the end, we each have to find where our own
5 center is -- our own moral center, our own center of
6 values, and decide where the line is drawn.

7 And then, when the line is crossed, what is our
8 response going to be? And it doesn't have to be in
9 unison, because my response may not be public shaming. It
10 may be a private conversation.

11 But if your response is public shaming, that
12 has to be okay with me. Because you know what? You have
13 a right to that.

14 But the rule for me, if we want a world with
15 less harm is going to be done to groups of people who have
16 historically been harmed, then we have to take on the
17 motto, First, do no harm. And that doesn't mean let
18 people slide. It just means doing harm is an active
19 decision to almost participate in the same systems that
20 have destroyed my ancestors and wants to destroy my nieces
21 and nephews.

22 And that's difficult. It's not easy because
23 it's not instinct. It's a choice.

24 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Vivian. Thank you
25 very much. Thanks to everybody who's been sharing your

1 thoughts.

2 So, Bruce, I'm going to hand it over to you for
3 a few minutes to help wrap us up a little bit. And then,
4 we'll talk about where we go from here with our
5 conversations next week.

6 Bruce?

7 MR. WESTERN: Yeah. Boy, this was a very
8 strong conversation for me. My summary is not very tidy.

9 So we began this morning with Monica and Leah,
10 the two big themes I saw in the morning's conversation --
11 we started with values. That was the charge.

12 But then, we turned to politics and the tension
13 between politics and values, these relatively contextless
14 statements of principle. And politics makes things
15 complicated because it is the context, and politics can
16 divert us from principle.

17 And then, after our break, we heard from our
18 three blog authors for whom healing was a central theme,
19 and healing, I think could be a central value. Certainly,
20 that's how I heard Abbey, Keith, and Fatimah. And it's
21 important because healing puts harm at the center of any
22 project and it's an alternative to a punitive response to
23 harm.

24 So for me, that's a lot of possibility in that
25 idea. And included in a project of healing are people who

1 have harmed others, and they themselves are candidates
2 from healing, as I heard that discussion.

3 And then, in this most recent conversation,
4 we've returned to the theme of politics again. So we're
5 iterating between the theme of values and politics. And
6 the question that has come up for us is to whom do we
7 extend this value of healing, right?

8 And as Gabe put it, this question -- this very
9 vexing question of consistency. If we want to see healing
10 in the communities that have been so victimized by mass
11 incarceration and over-policing -- and that's coming from
12 a place of compassion and connectedness -- do we extend
13 the project of healing to others that have harmed? The
14 officials that have staffed the whole edifice of mass
15 incarceration. Do we keep the porch light on, as Pastor
16 Mike says?

17 And we're divided over that question, and there
18 are ways -- I see constructive signs of how to think about
19 that question in the conversation. We can think of
20 accountability as part of a healing process and that's
21 helpful for thinking of the status of our officials, and
22 we should be thinking about accountability for them. We
23 may be able to think about shaming, as Keith said.

24 John Braithwaite, the criminological theorist
25 talks about reintegrative shaming. There is a positive

1 role for shaming, in his view, that brings people back in
2 to the social compact. Maybe that's a way of keeping the
3 porch light on.

4 And then, the final thing for me this whole
5 day, there's been this sort of subtext running through
6 it. You know, this is kind of the magic of the Roundtable
7 for me that things come out that I don't expect.

8 And so, a third piece of this is this question
9 about our own conduct. What does -- to conduct ourselves
10 morally in this work, what does that mean? And Vivian
11 spoke to this at the end. I felt that Kris and others
12 have been speaking to this, too, throughout the day.

13 I've got to think about this idea that Vivian
14 put on the table that there's a tension between
15 professionalization and moral conduct. And I think part
16 of it is to do with -- professionalization, in part, is a
17 structure of rewards. And for us to access those
18 rewards -- for us to advance professionally, we may be
19 motivated to do things that divert us from our own moral
20 commitments, and we may cause harm as a consequence.
21 Right? Embracing our professional role and the rewards
22 that it offers, and certainly, we see in the officials
23 that we have issues with.

24 But Vivian is saying, you know -- as I hear
25 Vivian -- we should turn that lens on ourselves as well.

1 So then I come to the end of today, I think, with more
2 questions than answers, which is why we're just at the end
3 of day one, I guess.

4 So I just think you guys are brilliant. And,
5 yeah, we've got more work to do.

6 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Bruce. Thank you so
7 much, and just huge thanks to everyone for being here
8 around this table with us and the sustained energy and
9 engagement and commitment to having these conversations,
10 even as there is so much happening in everyone's lives and
11 in our communities and our world otherwise.

12 So with that, we'll be wrapping up for today,
13 and I just have a few things to remind folks about. Next
14 week, we have a similar schedule to what we had this
15 week. We'll be gathering on Thursday evening. And then,
16 gathering again on Friday for the afternoon, or for the
17 six hours, depending on where you are in the country.

18 On Thursday evening, we'll gather as a group
19 first at 5 o'clock for some continued conversation and
20 reflections from this conversation -- from what folks have
21 had a chance to think about and bring to it after having a
22 period of time to reflect a bit when we connect together.

23 And then, we'll all join the keynote event for
24 this Roundtable, a conversation on reckoning with the
25 justice system. That'll be a conversation between Daryl

1 Atkinson, the founder and co-director of Forward Justice,
2 and Marlon Peterson, who's the host of the *Decarcerated*
3 podcast, and the founder and chief re-imaginator of the
4 Precedential Group.

5 I think many folks know both of them. As I
6 said before, they've been parts of our Roundtables and
7 played different roles in the past, and just really
8 looking forward to that conversation between the two of
9 them.

10 And then, we'll open up to a little bit of a Q
11 and A from this group, and also from others who may be
12 watching the livestream of that conversation.

13 Then, on Friday, we'll join again at 6:00, and
14 we're going to be building off of this conversation. We
15 have some really interesting sessions that I think are
16 going to build on this conversation today -- this last
17 conversation, especially.

18 We're going to be talking about the irreducible
19 minimum and abolition. We'll have opening remarks there,
20 similar to the way that we did this afternoon. Our
21 colleagues Marcia and Jonathan and Nneka will present some
22 opening thoughts, and you all already have the materials
23 that they've put together to start that discussion.

24 And then, we'll break out into breakout
25 sessions and come back together again. Similarly, we'll

1 follow in the afternoon with a discussion on
2 operationalizing the values of justice, and discussion
3 about what the guiding principles of that could like.

4 That'll be led by Danielle Allen, who
5 participated in our fourth Roundtable, and we'll open that
6 up. And then, we'll have a full group discussion there,
7 as well.

8 So you'll be receiving the information -- the
9 papers from both Danielle Allen and, actually, also the
10 final paper that you still don't have, which is written by
11 Danielle Sered and our other Square One colleague, Amanda
12 Alexander. Both of those are papers that are not yet
13 available publicly. And so, they'll be coming to you
14 directly.

15 And we'll again, ask you not to circulate
16 those, as with Monica's paper from earlier today just
17 because they're still pre-publication. But wanted
18 everyone to have those thoughts and information in
19 advance.

20 So with that, I will wrap us up for the day.
21 Again, with just huge gratitude to each and every one of
22 you for what you've brought to this today, and for what
23 you'll carry from this and bring back to us next week.

24 We just really, really appreciate that and you
25 are really informing the work that we're doing at Square

1 One, and also, will give us a lot to work with as we move
2 forward together over the next couple weeks. So thank you
3 for that.

4 So with that, happy Friday to everyone. I hope
5 folks have some moment of rest coming to you in whatever
6 way that might look like. And we'll look forward to
7 seeing you next week.

8 Thanks, everyone.

9 (Whereupon, the Roundtable was recessed, to
10 resume Thursday, April 22, 2021.)

C E R T I F I C A T E

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3 MEETING OF: The Square One Project

4 LOCATION: via Zoom

5 DATE: April 16, 2021

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I do hereby certify that the foregoing pages,
numbers 1 through 180, inclusive, are the true, accurate,
and complete transcript prepared from the verbal recording
made by electronic recording by Latrice Porter.

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DATE: April 26, 2021

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/s/ Anna Marie Reyes
(Transcriber)

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