

# Reckoning with History

## *Confederate Monuments in American Cities*

### *Educator Guide*

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## Overview

This Educator Guide is designed to assist instructors in teaching this case to students and practitioners. It is based on [case pedagogy](#), which invites participants to put themselves in the shoes of the protagonist(s) of the case and imagine how they would respond to the circumstances. Participants should read the teaching case in advance and identify key issues as a preliminary step toward meeting the learning objectives. Instructors may then use the time in the classroom to guide participants in exploring the issues and examining the challenges in the case; to introduce key concepts, tools, and frameworks; and to assist participants in applying their learning to their own environments and challenges. (See Appendix 1.)

This guide includes learning objectives, a synopsis, key questions, pre-discussion resources, a roadmap for discussion, and appendices with additional pedagogical information and theoretical applications. The roadmap and appendices are offered to initiate meaningful conversation but are by no means the only way to teach the case. Each educator or facilitator should feel free to design their own teaching plans; both the structure and the time allotted for each component are suggestions. The slide deck associated with this case is downloadable from our website and can be used alongside this guide.<sup>i</sup>

## Learning Objectives

The aims of this case are to help students and practitioners:

- Recognize that public leaders need to grapple with moral dilemmas from a
  - **Personal perspective** (personal values and identity);
  - **Professional perspective** (role obligations and opportunities); and
  - **Political perspective** (community norms and stakeholder interests).
- Use a conceptual framework to explore the tensions among these perspectives and guide moral reasoning and decision-making for public leaders.
- Deepen their understanding of key concepts in:
  - **Moral philosophy** (deontological vs. consequentialist orientations);

<sup>i</sup>See the associated slide deck and epilogue for this teaching case on the [Bloomberg Harvard City Leadership Initiative website](#).

- **Public administration** (discretionary authority and role obligations, permissions, and prohibitions); and/or
  - **Leadership theory** (adaptive leadership and leading change).
- Reflect on their own reasoning and decision-making about prior, current, or anticipated moral dilemmas and leadership challenges.

## Case Synopsis

When the Reverend Clementa Pinckney and eight worshipers were massacred during Bible Study at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church in Charleston, South Carolina in 2015, a widely circulated photograph showed Dylann Roof, the white supremacist who carried out the attack, posing proudly with a Confederate flag. Many Americans responded with calls for the removal of Confederate symbols and monuments in public places. As mayors and city governments took steps to remove, contextualize, or relocate these relics, factions mobilized to defend them as essential markers of American history and heritage. In August 2017, white supremacists and other right-wing extremists gathered in Charlottesville, Virginia, where city council had recently voted to remove a monument to Robert E. Lee. Clashes between participants in the “Unite the Right” rally and counter-protesters quickly turned violent and then deadly, when a neo-Nazi drove his car into a crowd of people, killing counter-protester Heather Heyer. With white nationalists threatening to descend on other cities, mayors scrambled to respond.

This case study follows the stories of mayors in three cities—Baltimore, Maryland; Lexington, Kentucky; and Charleston, South Carolina—as they worked to acknowledge and address the legacy of violence, dehumanization, and injustice represented by the Confederate monuments in their public parks and plazas. They faced varying degrees of public pressure as well as practical and legal obstacles as they grappled with these objects’ moral implications.

The case is designed to help mayors, city leaders, other public executives, and students of public leadership and public policy think through moral leadership challenges and questions about the bases and boundaries of authority, discretion, and legitimate action on combustible topics with highly sensitive moral dimensions.

## Key Questions

1. What constraints did Tecklenburg face when deciding what to do with the Calhoun statue?
2. What would be the advantages and disadvantages of Tecklenburg’s idea to use Calhoun’s own language on the plaque?
3. What factors did he consider as he moved to address Calhoun and other Confederate symbols and sites in Charleston?
4. What alternatives could Tecklenburg have considered, and what would be the likely consequences of those alternatives?

## Pre-Discussion Resources

The following resources provide guidance when discussing the complexities of race and racism as well as other sensitive topics.

- [“Let’s Talk: Discussing Race, Racism, and Difficult Topics with Students”](#) by the Teaching Tolerance initiative of the Southern Poverty Law Center<sup>1</sup>
- [“Guidelines for Discussing Difficult or High-Stakes Topics”](#) from the University of Michigan’s Center for Research on Learning and Teaching<sup>2</sup>
- *The Handbook of Race and Adult Education* by Vanessa Sheared, Juanita Johnson-Bailey, et al.<sup>3</sup>
- *Teaching Race* by Stephen D. Brookfield and associates<sup>4</sup>

For users of this case who find the material and/or discussion distressing (especially those who identify as Black), supportive guidance and resources are available at these links:

- [“What Is Racial Trauma and How to Practice Radical Self-Care”](#) by Dr. Charles Muorah<sup>5</sup>
- [“The Psychology of Radical Healing”](#) by the Psychology of Radical Healing Collective<sup>6</sup>
- [Family-Care, Community-Care and Self-Care Tool Kit: Healing in the Face of Cultural Trauma](#) by the Community Healing Network and the Association of Black Psychologists, Inc.<sup>7</sup>

For users of this case looking to understand what it means to be anti-racist and work to dismantle racist systems (especially those who identify as white), this compendium of resources organized by Princeton doctoral students Anna Stamborski, Nikki Zimmerman, and Bailie Gregory links to a wide variety of materials. See also *How to Be an Antiracist* by Ibram X. Kendi.<sup>8</sup>

For additional historical and contemporary context, see:

- *Stamped from the Beginning* by Ibram X. Kendi
- [Data and background on the history of Confederate monuments in America from the Southern Poverty Law Center](#)<sup>9</sup>

## Roadmap for Discussion

The following plan suggests approximate timing for an eighty-minute discussion, which instructors may tailor to the specific needs of session participants. For example, instructors may spend more time on the exploration and diagnosis sections and omit the application section.

**Introduction** (5 minutes): Briefly state the goal of the case session, cite the protagonist’s specific major challenges, and foreshadow broader learning objectives.

**Exploration** (30 minutes): Through class discussion, “buzz groups,” and board work, examine the protagonist’s issues and options.

**Diagnosis** (30 minutes): Introduce key concepts, frameworks, and tools to help participants pinpoint possible solutions to major conflicts in the case.

**Application** (10 minutes): Ask participants to relate the concepts and frameworks to their organizations’ challenges, to their previous professional experiences, or to another example provided by the instructor.

**Wrap-Up and Takeaways** (5 minutes): Review the learning objectives. Discuss the insights revealed during class, emphasizing those that are most relevant to the participants’ organizations’ challenges, if applicable.

### Introduction (5 minutes)

In your introductory remarks, briefly describe the case and frame the primary subject of the session: *How should public leaders understand and respond to complex moral leadership challenges?*

### Exploration (30 minutes)

Ask the class: *Why do we build monuments?*

The accompanying slide deck includes two versions of the Calhoun monument. The 1887 original, built by the Ladies’ Calhoun Monument Association in the post-Reconstruction era, featured the figure of “Justice” at Calhoun’s feet. Following mockery and defacement, it was replaced with a much taller monument in 1896 in then majority-Black Charleston. Vandalism continued. (For details, see [Blain Roberts and Ethan J. Kytle](#).)

Consider the problem Mayor Tecklenburg faced and the different ways he could have responded based on his past actions, perceived constraints within public opinion and the law, and the ways other mayors responded to similar problems. Ask participants to provide their initial answers to the questions below in small groups or as a class.

- *What constraints did Tecklenburg face when deciding what to do about the Calhoun Monument?*
- *Was Tecklenburg’s idea to use Calhoun’s own language on the plaque a good one? Why or why not?*

(For possible arguments for or against Tecklenburg's plan, see Appendix 2, Board 1.)

- *Are there alternatives Tecklenburg could have explored, given the challenges he faced?*

Tecklenburg's considerations:

- State law
- Size and visual impact of Calhoun Monument
- Trauma after AME Church massacre
- Ubiquity of Confederate history throughout the city
- Charleston's role in import and trade of enslaved people
- Etc.

Possible action alternatives:

- Revising language on plaque
- Relocating Calhoun Monument
- Advocating at state level
- Adding monuments to civil rights leaders
- Etc.

Consider the three mayors in the case and compare and contrast the decision-making processes of each.

- *Why do you think Mayor Pugh made the choice to remove the statues in Baltimore "quickly and quietly"? Was that the right decision for her city? Why or why not?*

Pugh's considerations:

- Racial tensions and unrest following the brutalization and death of Freddie Gray
- Baltimore demographics
- Legal questions
- What to do with removed statues
- Etc.

(For possible arguments for or against Pugh's decision, see Appendix 2, Board 2.)

- *Why do you think Mayor Gray chose to relocate the statues in Lexington? Was that the right decision for his city? Why or why not?*

Gray's considerations:

- Take Back Cheapside advocacy
- Recommendations of Urban County Arts Board
- Community preferences (contextualizing vs. relocating vs. destroying)
- Problematic site
- Courthouse renovations and federal tax exemptions
- Military Heritage Commission's jurisdiction
- Threats from white nationalists
- Etc.

(For possible arguments for or against Gray's decision, see Appendix 2, Board 3.)

- *What were some of the larger issues linked to the statues, and how did these mayors' actions address (or fail to address) those issues?*

**Diagnosis (30 minutes)**

When we first encounter a case with moral dimensions, we tend to jump immediately to verdicts: so-and-so did this right, this wrong, is blameworthy or praiseworthy for this or that reason, etc. The framework outlined here, however, is meant to provide public executives with the foundation for deliberative and thoughtful moral decision-making.

- *What are the characteristics of a moral dilemma for a public leader?*
  - A public leader must resolve conflicting perspectives. For example:
    - **Personal** values and identity vs. the obligations and opportunities associated with their **professional** role
    - **Personal** values and identity vs. the **political** realities—community and stakeholder expectations and interests—in a particular context
    - **Professional** role obligations and opportunities vs. **political** realities

The framework is not prescriptive; it does not offer an assessment of which of these conflicting realms of moral duty should “win out” when a public leader weighs heavy choices. It is instead a diagnostic tool for understanding moral decision-making and moral leadership as a function of these three interrelated bases of discernment. These nested, intertwined, and sometimes conflicting bases affect the perceived morality and political legitimacy of public leaders’ choices.

Depending on time, curriculum, and audience, instructors may choose to focus the conversation on any or all of these realms of moral meaning-making and use any of the background theoretical materials mentioned in Appendices 3, 4, and 5.

**Personal Perspective: One’s Own Values and Identity**

Moral agency is generally defined simply as the ability to tell right from wrong and to act within the context of that understanding. But public leaders act as moral agents within a complex “value environment” in which different actors and stakeholders prioritize among the various moral values at stake in different ways, at different moments, for different reasons.

Our personal morality stems from our capacity for empathy, our families of origin and relationships with others, our faith or belief systems, and our personal values. These ideas are not static but evolve over time as we learn about and interact with the world and the people in our lives, and they shape the ways that we self-identify and identify, understand, and engage with others.

**Questions:**

- *What personally held values played a part in the mayors’ decision-making process? How were those values evident in their public actions or comments?*
- *How did the question of what to do about the monuments challenge their personal morality?*
- *Over the course of the case, did you see shifts in any of the mayors’ expressions of their personal morality?*
- *Did any of the mayors risk violating their personal morality in the choices they made or contemplated?*

(For basic frameworks for a philosophical understanding of moral decision-making, see Appendix 3.)

Public leaders must make tough choices fraught with moral consequences all the time, whether or not the public is actively watching and weighing in with passionately held beliefs. Whatever their personal values around a given issue, leaders are expected to use their platforms to balance conflicting values and interests to produce a “satisfactory solution” that confers political legitimacy on their choice. Ideally, that solution addresses the issue’s deeper value conflicts in both procedural and substantive terms.

### Professional Perspective: Role Obligations and Opportunities

Public leaders occupy roles that are circumscribed by formal rules and responsibilities that constrain action as a matter of law or policy. They also enjoy certain privileges (e.g., the “bully pulpit”) that provide them a platform from which to survey and explore leadership possibilities. In any given profession, we work within the constraints of a limited number of explicit obligations and prohibitions on our actions and behaviors. We also use our own judgment (discretion) to understand what our platforms offer us in terms of opportunities and choices. In making moral judgments and evaluating actions, public leaders must consider:

- 1) the extent to which their decisions and actions could compromise their legitimacy; and
- 2) whether their decisions and actions make judicious use of their privileges.

Questions:

- *What were the expectations associated with the mayors’ roles? Were these primarily limitations or opportunities?*
- *Did the mayors overlook options inherent in their leadership positions?*
- *Did any of them challenge expectations associated with their roles? If yes, how? If not, could they have? What strategies could they have used?*

When public leaders exercise discretion in how they use their authority or challenge the authority of state or federal actors, they have a range of options.

(For a theoretical discussion of discretionary authority and authority relationships, see Appendix 4.)

Review the action alternatives for Tecklenburg on Board 4.

- *How could Tecklenburg have reframed his authority to work with others (including those with informal authority in the community) for these choices to acquire public legitimacy?*
- *How and with whom could Tecklenburg have spoken, consulted, and acted to reach a “satisfactory solution” that aligned with his own moral views (including his moral views about his professional duty to act on behalf of the public)?*

### Political Perspective: Community and Stakeholder Norms and Interests

Understanding the relevant social and cultural norms within one’s community—and the community’s expectations of its elected leaders—is critical when making decisions around morally fraught issues. Many of the judgments public leaders make about the tolerances and boundaries of “legitimate” action revolve around their constituents’ values, the community’s political and social culture, and their office’s institutional norms.

In any community, there is always a prevailing set of values and norms evident, and there are factions intent on challenging or protecting features of that status quo. Public leaders have wide discretion when challenging those norms, finding room to maneuver within the ambiguity, contradictions, and contested nature of the current reality.

Public leadership is about weighing competing values, claims, and interests against one another and working with the public to arrive at a satisfactory solution that can hold or acknowledge the various values at stake. It also involves helping those who experience policy choices as a loss come to terms with that sense of loss. This is often called “adaptive leadership.”

(For background on the adaptive leadership framework, see Appendix 5.)

Political legitimacy is grounded in the public’s belief that those who act from positions of authority are entitled to do so, and that those who are subject to that authority are required to obey.

Professor Danielle Allen of the Safra Center for Ethics asserts that in twenty-first century democracies, norms around political legitimacy have evolved to require public leaders to guarantee not just basic material security but also *individual autonomy and dignity—and the opportunity to flourish fully*—through:

- negative liberties (freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and so on);
- positive liberties (our rights to participate in collective self-government);
- social rights (that allow us to make full use of our negative and positive liberties); and
- social equality and nondiscrimination.<sup>10</sup>

Questions:

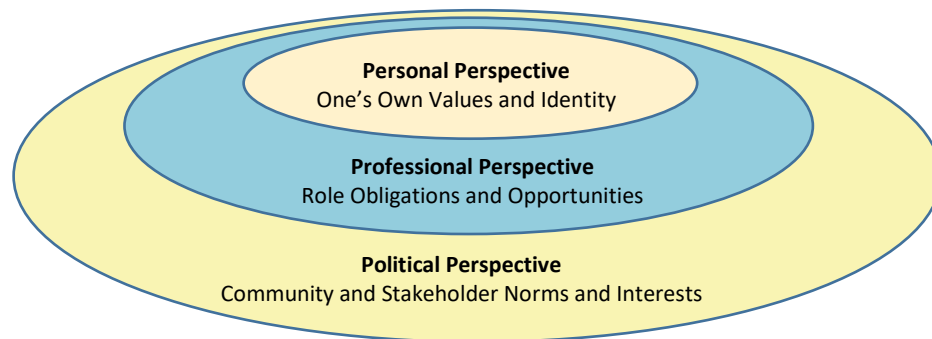
- *What institutional, societal, and cultural norms or values were relevant to the mayors’ decision(s)?*
- *How did their choices reflect or challenge social norms and values?*

Review the arguments for and against the mayors’ choices on Boards 1, 2, and 3 to identify where conflicts could have arisen between the three bases of moral reasoning named above and how they affect the political legitimacy of each mayor’s choice.

- *What moral goals or values were the mayors pursuing in each case? What were they trying to accomplish?*
- *What tactics and strategies, if any, did they use in their efforts?*
- *What tradeoffs were associated with the choices they made? How were they balancing competing values, expectations, and norms?*



Moral dilemma framework:



NOTE: Tecklenburg's initial moral stance (marching to protest the flag at the statehouse with former Charleston mayor) promoted removal of a Confederate symbol, but he ended up considering advocating for a plaque displaying Calhoun's racism without comment. Gray's initial stance was that adding context to the statues at Cheapside would be an adequate response, but he ultimately chose to relocate the statue after local activists persuaded him it was untenable to leave them in place. In this sense, both mayors arrived where the other started. You may want to use the personal/professional/political framework to explore why this happened.

**Application** (optional, 10 minutes)

Have students work together in groups or in plenary to apply the concepts and frameworks to their own moral leadership challenges.

**Wrap-Up and Takeaways** (5 minutes)

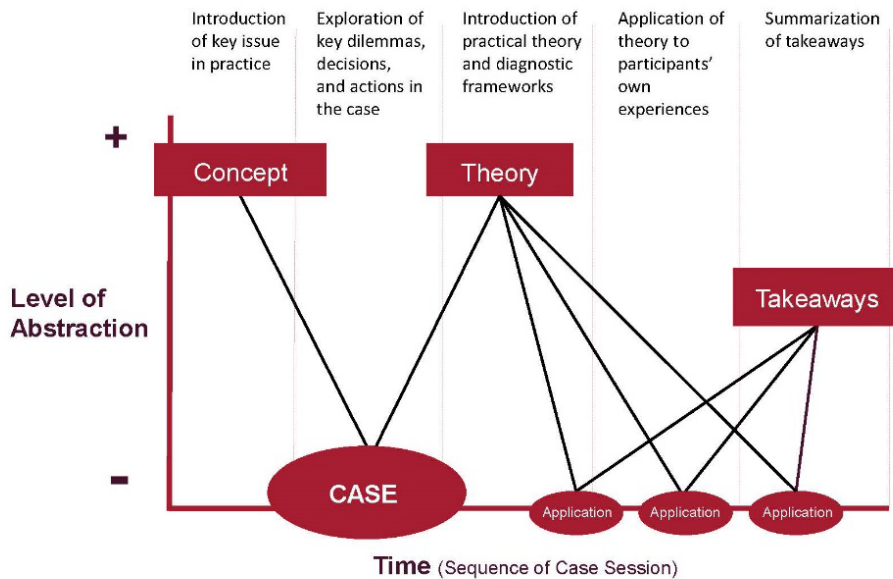
Discuss insights most relevant to participants' leadership challenges. Takeaways to review after a productive discussion about this case might include the following:

- Public leadership is normative work that requires a capacity for moral reasoning and moral leadership.
- Conflicts often arise among the realms of personal values, role expectations and obligations, and community social norms and values and must be thoughtfully navigated and negotiated.
- Sometimes it is not possible or not sufficient to make the "right" moral choice, and public leaders have to exercise discretion to help their communities reach a tolerable or satisfactory resolution.

## Appendices

### Appendix 1 One Approach to Designing a Case Session

A case session aims to increase participants' ability to use theory and frameworks to guide their thought and action in practical circumstances. To train the mental muscle and integrate theory and practice, a case session moves up and down in level of abstraction frequently, testing and refining abstract theory through practical application.



Jorrit de Jong, 2020

**Appendix 2** Board Plan

Board 1: Was Mayor Tecklenburg's idea of quoting Calhoun directly a good one? Why or why not? Sample answers:

YES	NO
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ It reveals historical facts without editorializing.</li> <li>○ It is honest.</li> <li>○ There can be shock value when hearing an unvarnished view.</li> <li>○ It allows people make up their own minds.</li> <li>○ It is legally feasible.</li> <li>○ Etc.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ The monument itself is the problem.</li> <li>○ It only makes it more overtly racist.</li> <li>○ It gives voice to racist views and could be perceived as an endorsement.</li> <li>○ The point will be lost on the general public.</li> <li>○ Cherrypicked quotes do not give a full picture.</li> <li>○ Etc.</li> </ul>

Board 2: Did Mayor Pugh make the right decision? Why or why not? Sample answers:

YES	NO
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ It was a public safety issue.</li> <li>○ The monuments did not belong in a majority minority city like Baltimore.</li> <li>○ The monuments were emblems of white supremacy.</li> <li>○ City council wanted them removed.</li> <li>○ Etc.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ She opened herself to legal challenges.</li> <li>○ It erased history.</li> <li>○ It denied community opportunity to participate in the decision.</li> <li>○ Etc.</li> </ul>

Board 3: Did Mayor Gray make the right decision? Why or why not? Sample answers:

YES	NO
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ The monuments were incompatible with the site.</li> <li>○ The monuments were emblems of white supremacy.</li> <li>○ The cemetery was a better location.</li> <li>○ There was a public safety issue: threats to the city and Take Back Cheapside.</li> <li>○ Etc.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ The monuments should have been destroyed.</li> <li>○ He should have acted sooner.</li> <li>○ Monuments in a cemetery need more context.</li> <li>○ Etc.</li> </ul>

Board 4: What action alternatives could Tecklenburg have considered? Sample answers:

He could have:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ created a less "inflammatory" contextualizing plaque.</li> <li>○ tried to relocate the monument.</li> <li>○ installed a (taller!) monument to a civil rights figure at the same location.</li> <li>○ continued to build on plans to add more context all around the city.</li> <li>○ etc.</li> </ul>

**Appendix 3** Moral Philosophy

Broadly speaking, there are two primary philosophical frames that the public and public leaders bring to bear on questions of morality: consequentialism and deontology.

**A consequentialist moral frame** assumes that the morality of an action attaches only to its consequences. Maximizing net positive consequences, usually taken to mean improvements in individuals' material welfare, is the goal. Since it is impossible to know the consequences of a choice before it is made, this frame is too retrospective to offer much guidance, but decision-makers often try to anticipate and estimate consequences in these terms before making important decisions.

**A deontological moral frame** imposes a duty to consider not just the anticipated consequences of choices, but also ideas of individual duties (to act in alignment with personally held moral beliefs) on the part of the decision-maker and individual rights (to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, for example) on the part of those affected by their decisions.

Although these two frames are in disagreement as to the appropriate basis for making moral judgments, few people are "pure" in their application of ideas from one frame or another, and the public routinely holds public leaders accountable for acting in accordance with both.

**Appendix 4** Discretionary Authority and Relational Authority

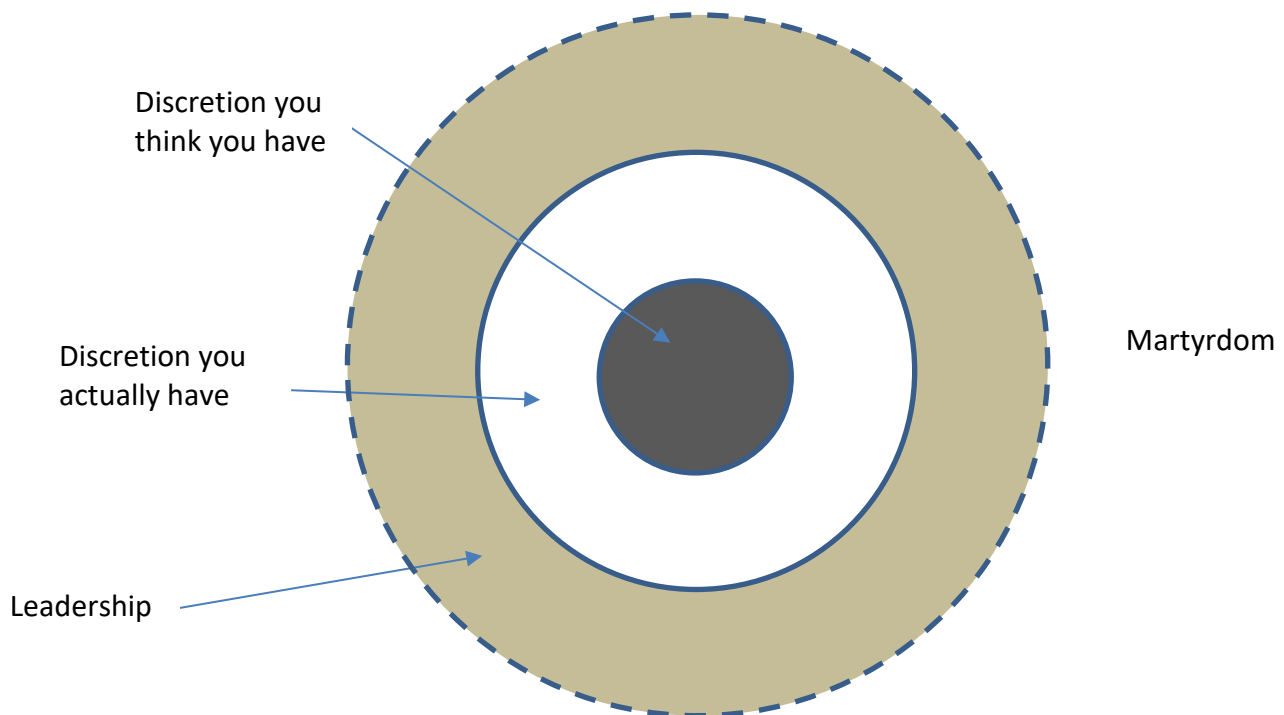
Legal philosopher Ronald Dworkin once compared discretion in the realm of law to the hole in the middle of a doughnut, in that it “does not exist except as an area left open by a surrounding belt of restriction.”<sup>11</sup>

The diagram below illustrates that it is common for those working in the public sector to overestimate the tightness of the “belt of restriction” surrounding them. By adhering to “phantom rules,” they overlook the available discretionary space.

Beyond that discretionary space lies considerable latitude for alternative courses of action as well as opportunities for moral leadership. Those who push too far and fast out into that space, however, risk ending up a martyr rather than a leader.

Use this diagram to explore how the mayors in this case understood and used their discretion.

Dworkin Doughnut and “Phantom Rules” (Ronald Dworkin, Jorrit de Jong):



Authority relationships are fundamentally interpersonal.<sup>ii</sup> Formal authority is conferred by selection or election. But when a community extends formal authority to a mayor, for example, the community grants them power and certain resources while also expecting a set of outcomes or services in return. Others in the community may hold informal authority based on the community's trust in them to represent points of view or because, for example, they are viewed as honest brokers. Even those with formal authority rely on their informal authority to govern.

The **authority system** is made up of these constituent parts but is also determined by the interaction and intersection of various interpersonal authority relationships. In many communities, people are socialized to respond to authority in particular ways.

- **Relating to authority** might range from submission to exit (see below). There is no single "right" or "ideal" mode of engagement. The goal is to make deliberate choices along the spectrum.
- **Exercising authority** or **relating from a position of authority**, similarly, can range from permissiveness to coercion.

Questions:

- *On the spectrums below, where would you locate the mayors' decisions to both use their authority and challenge the limits of their authority?*
- *What "middle options" did they choose?*

#### MODES OF ENGAGEMENT WITH AUTHORITY

Submission  
Deference  
Respect  
Partnership  
Negotiation  
Challenging  
Questioning  
Rebellion  
Exit



#### MODES OF ENGAGEMENT AS AUTHORITY

Coercion  
Punishment  
Neglect  
Blame  
Curiosity  
Compassion  
Coaching  
Support  
Permissiveness



<sup>ii</sup> In a series of books and articles on adaptive leadership, Ronald Heifetz distinguishes authority as distinct from leadership. In a class he and Kimberlyn Leary taught at the Harvard Kennedy School, they began to further refine the interpersonal elements in authority relationships. Leary and her research team are expanding on elements of this idea in a forthcoming publication.

## Appendix 5 Adaptive Leadership

A **technical** problem has existing expert knowledge about how to address it. An **adaptive** problem has no current, established expertise or one right answer.

Most problems have both technical and adaptive features. The government can only do so much to address complex, multicausal social problems. Sometimes the primary role of the government is to give the work back to the people, and to keep passing it back and forth to make progress. A quick technical fix can inhibit progress by cutting off an opportunity to work collectively on a problem.

When facing an adaptive challenge, an organization (or institution, community, etc.) must decide what part of the group's past commitments (value commitments, organizational commitments, etc.) are worth preserving into the future and which are not. Leadership gives people the ability to manage the tension between resisting the fundamental changes needed to succeed, on the one hand, and overreacting by changing too much, on the other.

Consider Tecklenburg's dilemma. *If he were able to remove the Calhoun Monument, would that have solved the problem, or was there an adaptive problem he needed to address?*

- *What was the scope of Tecklenburg's authority (formal/legal vs. informal authority) to define and solve the problem?*
- *How did he define the problem? What were the technical aspects? What were the adaptive aspects?*
- *What actions made progress on solving the problem?*
- *Whose help did he need to make progress?*
- *Where did he find or build additional capacity to address the problem?*

### Adaptive Leadership Matrix: Distinguishing technical problems and adaptive challenges<sup>12</sup>

Kind of Challenge	Problem Definition	Solution	Who Is Doing the Work?
Technical	Clear	Clear	Authority
<b>Technical and Adaptive</b>	<b>Clear?</b>	<b>Requires Learning</b>	<b>Authority and Stakeholders</b>
Adaptive	Requires Learning	Requires Learning	Stakeholders

## Endnotes

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- <sup>1</sup> Teaching Tolerance, "Let's Talk: Discussing Race, Racism, and Difficult Topics with Students" (Teaching Tolerance Initiative of the Southern Poverty Law Center, undated), accessed September 21, 2020, <https://www.tolerance.org/sites/default/files/general/TT%20Difficult%20Conversations%20web.pdf>.
- <sup>2</sup> "Guidelines for Discussing Difficult or High Stakes Topics," University of Michigan Center for Research on Learning & Teaching, University of Michigan, accessed September 21, 2020, <https://crlt.umich.edu/publinks/generalguidelines>.
- <sup>3</sup> Vanessa Sheared, Juanita Johnson-Bailey, et al., *The Handbook of Race and Adult Education: A Resource for Dialogue on Racism* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2010).
- <sup>4</sup> Stephen D. Brookfield and associates, *Teaching Race: How to Help Students Unmask and Challenge Racism* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2018).
- <sup>5</sup> Charles Muorah, "What Is Racial Trauma and How to Practice Radical Self-Care" Expert Voices (blog), Council for Relationships, June 18, 2020, <https://councilforrelationships.org/racial-trauma-mind-body-connection-treatment-recovery-wellness/>.
- <sup>6</sup> Helen A. Neville, Hector Y. Adames, Nayeli Y. Chavez-Duenas, Grace A. Chen, Bryana H. French, Jioni A. Lewis, and Della V. Mosley, The Psychology of Radical Healing Collective, "The Psychology of Radical Healing," *Psychology Today*, March 5, 2019, <https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/healing-through-social-justice/201903/the-psychology-radical-healing>. For background on this approach, see also the Psychology of Radical Healing Collective, "Toward a Psychological Framework of Radical Healing in Communities of Color," <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0011000019843506>.
- <sup>7</sup> Community Healing Network, Family-Care, Community-Care and Self-Care Tool Kit: Healing in the Face of Cultural Trauma, July 2016, <https://www.abpsi.org/pdf/FamilyCommunitySelfCareToolKit.pdf>.
- <sup>8</sup> Ibram X. Kendi, *How to Be an Antiracist* (New York: One World, 2019).
- <sup>9</sup> Ibram X. Kendi, *Stamped from the Beginning* (New York: Bold Type Books, 2016); "Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy," Southern Poverty Law Center, February 1, 2019, accessed September 21, 2020, <https://www.splcenter.org/20190201/whose-heritage-public-symbols-confederacy>.
- <sup>10</sup> Danielle Allen, "Bulwark of Democracy—Solidarity and Democratic Resilience in Times of Emergency," May 18, 2020, accessed November 30, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MbW8vTP5shk>.
- <sup>11</sup> Ronald Dworkin, *Taking Rights Seriously* (United Kingdom: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013), 48.
- <sup>12</sup> Ronald Heifetz, Alexander Grashow, and Marty Linsky, *The Practice of Adaptive Leadership: Tools and Tactics for Changing Your Organization and the World* (Harvard Business Press, 2010).