# The White Response to Mike Brown & #BlackLivesMatter

By Chaz Briscoe

2015, for some people in the Black community, has been deemed the year of resistance. For many this resistance was inspired by the release of the movie Selma and the 50 year commemoration of Bloody Sunday and the Selma march; set against a backdrop of multiple police killings. The resistance is episodic. However, for others the year 2015 and its resistance is about Black Lives Matter. It is about Trayvon Martin, Jessie Hernandez, Rekia Boyd, Tanisha Anderson, Tamir Rice, John Crawford, Sakia Gunn, Emmett Till, Amadou Diallo, and Alex Nieto. The resistance, in this instance, is continual, and a part of much larger narrative for Black liberation.

For American society at large 2014 could have been something completely different, and so 2015 could mean nothing at all. Accumulating “racial” tensions for mainstream white American society have appeared more an annoyance and frustration, especially opposed to the disruptive long range scope some people take for this movement. One view of white liberal society is evidenced in a Rasmussen Poll conducted in March 2015. This poll stated that for black voters 56% felt police discrimination against minorities was a bigger issue than black-on-black crime. However, for mainstream society this view of discrimination was juxtaposed by 78% of white voters who saw the opposite, that inner city crime (blacks killing blacks) was a bigger issue than police brutality.[[1]](#footnote-1) The division of perception, however, is paramount for understanding the real consequences of racial power for what we are observing right now. While black-on-black crime has been stated at “93 percent of black homicide victims killed by black people,” white-on-white crime stands at 84 percent of white homicides victims by white people.[[2]](#footnote-2) However, the narratives of white American liberalism provide zero room for this reality, much less an appreciation for statistics establishing black humanity.

It is these narratives of black criminality in the face gross discriminations that reinforce racial norms in our society. Utilizing Joel Olson’s political theory of race as the backbone for the overall paper, the events behind the Black Lives Matter movement will serve as a catalyst for understanding current critiques of policing and state violence. Historically, policing has served institutionally to insulate white racial hegemony. This relationship is evidenced in Olson’s cross-class alliance, breathing current relevancy into his work. This purpose will proceed to highlight the transition of race as standing to race as a norm, as Olson chronicles in “The Abolition of White Democracy.” The transition of race took relations from standing in a Herenvolk democracy to a colorblind norm. The formation of race as a norm, however, contributes to the strength of Black Lives Matter claim of invisibility in continuing the liberatory struggle for the recognition of black citizenship. Through establishing the fundamentally racist construction of American society the state becomes an actor in mobilizing models of revolution. As Black Lives Matter seeks to abolish racial subordination, it separates itself from a reform movement to a revolutionary moment. Situating this context within a frame of Black radical tradition, Black Lives Matter becomes a link to Olson’s abolition democracy. Seeking to highlight much more than the circumstances for an abolition of white hegemony, this moment calls to task the role of the intellectual, and identifies academia as an institution involved in the decolonization of society. And so this paper concludes with asking the question of what this moment asks of all of us.

In constructing the relationship between Olson’s political theory of race, the contemporary events of racial injustice and brutality, and social movement literature on mobilization, this paper argues for the positioning of Black Lives Matter in our current context. This broad thesis subliminally attempts to discuss the continuation of Olson’s work to encourage and foster militant, abolition principle. The paper articulates the revolutionary potential of this current moment, and promotes the need to formulate an opposition to white liberal democracy and develop decolonial narratives.

It is difficult to place the current Black Lives Matter movement in one place and time. The extrajudicial killings of black bodies can be linked as far back to America’s long legacy of lynchings and slavery. For the founders of the #blacklivesmatter, their work was inspired by the 2013 acquittal of George Zimmerman for the murder of Trayvon Martin in Sanford, Florida.[[3]](#footnote-3) That inspiration was only further ignited by the killing of Mike Brown and the explosive response of Ferguson. For days, social media was ablaze with images of public uprising and police militarization. America watched as Eric Garner took his last breath and spoke his final words. We watched as police killed Tamir Rice and John Crawford. Contradictory they were killed holding weapons in a nation that loves arms, but is more threatened by black violence. We read the circumstances of the murder of Tanisha Anderson, robbed of her humanity and killed in police custody. In 2014, one study found 1,029 people killed by police[[4]](#footnote-4), with black youth represent 9 times more often than blacks.[[5]](#footnote-5) The names went on, as cities across the country erupted with protest – Philadelphia with the death of Brandon Tate-Brown, Jessie Hernandez in Denver, and Alex Neito in San Francisco.

The events of 2013 and 2014, and even so far 2015 with incidents surrounding Martrese Johnson and Anthony Hill, sparked the consciousness of the Black community. Those who were unaware of the depraved standing of Black people were awakened and for those already immersed in the despair these examples became intolerable. The post-racial society had failed to live up to its promise. 7 years of America’s first Black presidency had not produced material consequences for the majority of the Black community. Racial wealth gaps have become even more exacerbated.[[6]](#footnote-6) Millennial generation racial perceptions remain insignificantly changed from those of previous generations;[[7]](#footnote-7) all while the Supreme Court rolls back voting protections as superfluous. The symbolic narrative of Barack Obama produced neither procedural equality, as in jury indictments, nor substantive equality in the way of social and political capital for Black communities. What many people woke up to was the real-world operation of race in America.

Race in contemporary American society is both identifiable and absent. The term cognitive dissonance has been used to articulate the schizophrenic way race is acknowledged but then quickly subsumed under a pretense of powerlessness in American society. Colorblindness, the attempt by liberal society to make races equal by erasing racial existence/history, has fomented this racial ambivalence into every walk of society. However, the racial order is anything but ambivalent or powerless. “Race is by definition a system of discrimination, hierarchy, and power.”[[8]](#footnote-8) It functions in the preferential treatment of one dominant group over the repression of the subordinate group. In the case of Black Lives Matter, the inferior justice Black people receive at the preferential treatment of white citizens’ concerns becomes a perfect example of the power differential. The construction of a powerless color line while Black communities are essentially unable to seek justice in their own communities and determine the control of their lives dislocates this liberal conception of race.

Race becomes then not as much your skin color, but as Olson frames it, a political relationship. Since the beginning of early colonial slave codes, the Black race was constructed as not only a marker of servitude, but also as a designation of inferiority. The degraded status of servitude had to be justified by inferiority, just like the inferiority justified the subordinated position.[[9]](#footnote-9) Even during America’s beginning formation this created contestations around the meaning of liberal society. Paramount to the construction of liberalism are the values egalitarianism, individualism, and meritocracy. However, what was constructed in place of a liberal democracy was a *Herrenvolk* democracy of privilege.[[10]](#footnote-10) Race allowed Blacks to assume inferior status to bracket them from the full privileges of liberal society. Defensibly, egalitarianism’s universal access and opportunity, individualism’s protection, and meritocracy’s thrift and social uplift could be separated from the dominant master white race and the subordinated Black group without upsetting liberal standards. What becomes damning to current liberal constructions is that colorblindness classifies this construction of race as an isolated episode instead of part and parcel to the practice of American democracy.[[11]](#footnote-11)

Black Lives Matter is a fight against not only police brutality, but also against the totality of housing, wealth, education, economic, and social discrimination. Simultaneously, the movement is about tearing down the institutions and reproduction of alienation that plague American democracy and American society. The police become one such tool in the institutional oppression of Black people. By constructing races as pitted against each other, those not excluded as the subordinate race, the “white citizen” as Joel Olson frames them, become the standard of American society. Within the binary conception of black-white, brown-white, yellow-white, red-white, the consistent pattern reaffirms the importance of white supremacy in any analysis of political race theory. Even more by negating anti-Blackness, Black Lives Matter overcomes barriers to product a more revolutionary moment.

The targets of police brutality, such as Mike Brown and so many other Black bodies, are no coincidence. The use of policing as an institutional tool to control the racial line has existed since the 1820s-1850s. “Between 1830 and 1865 over seventy percent of all cities with a population of 20,000 or more experienced some kind of major civil disorder.”[[12]](#footnote-12) By 1850, the Fugitive Slave Act sanctioned by law the policing of the color line.[[13]](#footnote-13) These legal responses and public demonstrations were an acknowledgement of a fragile balance preceding the Civil War. Policing became an institutional practice to quell anti-Blackness. Pattyrollers and slave catchers policed the free movement of slave labor, restricted them from acquiring both property and arms, and prevented the speech and assembly of Black people and abolitionists.[[14]](#footnote-14) These groups policed the Black population in such a way white citizens could never be treated. The “wages of whiteness” or the material consequences of being a white citizen in America equated to an incomparable freedom. The pre-Civil War era was affirmed by 1857 Dred Scott case where no Black person had any right a white citizen had to respect.[[15]](#footnote-15) These and other material conditions of the environment meant for Blacks life or death. It is replayed every time a Black person is killed by state sanctioned violence. The slave rebellions and abolitionist riots fomented the police structure to guarantee those not white obeyed their subordinate position, as whiteness, even for poor whites, became to at least mean not black. The rights to vote, bear arms, and own properties were equated to a right to life and safety.

While the disparity of the Black-white divide expanded the demarcation of citizenry between the elite whites of society and the white working-class poor dissipated. Policing by whites often meant the retrieval of black property for property-holding whites through the means of working class white vigilantes.[[16]](#footnote-16) The state was the propertied interest of society and slave catchers the institution. However the relationship was reified by what Olson calls “the cross-class alliance.”[[17]](#footnote-17) Olson states “this cross-class alliance between the capitalist class and a section of the working class is the genesis of the American racial order.”[[18]](#footnote-18) Enlarging whiteness to include universal white male suffrage and the pattern of predominantly Irish immigrant groups in police departments highlighted the logical appeal and incentive to white status.[[19]](#footnote-19) As mentioned, at worst it meant though not rich you weren’t black either. Before many others had the language to express the costs of white class solidarity W.E.B DuBois established the cross class alliance. In “Darkwater: Voices from Within the Veil” DuBois mentions the striking example that “white men drove black union men out of their unions and when the black men, beaten by night and assaulted, flew to arms and shot back at the marauders, five thousand rioters arose and surged like a crested stormwave, from noon until midnight;”[[20]](#footnote-20) Connecting the enlargement of whiteness and the class consciousness of white desirability, DuBois also mentions for the formerly ostracized Irish immigrants, “the Irish had two chances, the factory and the kitchen, and most of them took the factory, with all its dirt and noise and low wage [and still depraved status]. The factory was closed to us.”[[21]](#footnote-21) Whiteness was the result of choices[[22]](#footnote-22) and effectively white cross class solidarity would rupture the obvious proletarian alliance of exploited poor whites and subordinated Black laborers.

Instead the bond between whites elites and the white working class poor made the access to whiteness that much more advantageous and Blacks that much more oppressed. Police became petty sovereigns whose directives became legitimate authority and tantamount to law.[[23]](#footnote-23) The working class police were granted the power to administer unilateral decisions without accountability to law and without cause and reasonableness.[[24]](#footnote-24) This power came in exchange for the privilege of security and stability. The elevated use of failure to comply citations and predominantly white law enforcement departments are but minimal examples from the Department of Justice’s report that reflect the institutional racism.[[25]](#footnote-25) Of these results are examples of long lived patterns of Black existence and police violence in Black communities. The undefined limits of failure to comply and disorderly conduct directives, and as well as the “arrest abuses,” mostly perpetrated on Black bodies exhibit the power of race in American society. Each police killing becomes another reminder and each situation an example of historical anti-Blackness being portrayed in current racial practices. The state of exception and suspension of law these police officers exercise demonstrate a privilege and power beyond the average citizen. Ferguson, Black Lives Matter, and the amalgamation of incidents invoke subsequently a resistance to such deep-rooted structural injustice. The revolutionary moment embodies this potential all at once because its actions seek to disrupt the maintenance of this social/racial/white supremacist/capitalist order.

For the *Herenvolk* democracy, presented as American liberalism, security meant the administration of poverty, the colorline, and a protection of property.[[26]](#footnote-26) The petty sovereigns – the police, working class whites served a role to generate the exception to brutalization. This buffer between the races becomes acceptable by white liberalism for its safety and stability. It allowed an attempt, an excuse for getting rid of the problem of oppression rather than solving it.[[27]](#footnote-27) Current liberal reactions to everything that is Ferguson reiterate this power relationship between race and equality. The claims of reverse racism, white privilege, and “white fragility” reflect an inability to honestly face the material consequences of race.[[28]](#footnote-28) White fragility is “a state in which even a minimum amount of racial stress becomes intolerable, triggering a range of defensive moves. These moves include an outward display of emotions such as anger, fear and guilt, and behaviors such as argumentation, silence and leaving the stress-inducing situation.”[[29]](#footnote-29) These reactions serve to silence the conversation, obscure the problem, and maintain the white citizen in a colorblind society. Liberalism’s attempt to extend a universal egalitarian opportunity has had to mean whiteness is inevitably harmless without understanding its normalized, socially accepted behavior. The key is for race not to exist, especially whites. In this construction race becomes at once a private individual issue as it legally has been removed from the public domain. Race is a moral issue. Race is constructed on a good/bad binary. To challenge as racist the systemic discrimination of white privilege forces people to identify their race. Since all racial distinctions are bad the critique instantly turns personal, unnecessary, and intolerable.

The media relates the good/bad binary of race in its immediate defensiveness that the victim was a thug, criminal, thief. They replay narratives of inner-city chaos and black-on-black crime. Anti-racist solidarity is usurped for calls of All Lives Matter and Blue Lives Matter. The media bings in black surrogates to ameliorate white concerns and blame Black bullies. Protesters are framed as rioters and delegitimized. Police testimonies frame Black bodies as superhuman beasts and their own weaponized bodies as defensiveless. Select police departments are targeted, individual officials fired, but the actions minimize conversations of society’s broader complicity and federal, state, and local institutional relationships. The gross misuse of power in the aftermath of the Ferguson uprising coordinated between the federal national guard, the governor’s state of emergency declaration, state prosecutors, and local officials has mostly escaped the debate over what comes next. Not once has the imagination expanded to seriously consider the abolition of policing as an institution. Body cameras, community relation boards, de-escalation techniques, and even federal monitoring programs will do little to overturn the power relationship between police (the state) and citizens.[[30]](#footnote-30) The foundation of our society inhibits a recognition and a space for black experience to make way for universalizing, whitewashing.

Without such a confrontation the between liberal construction of colorblindness and the normalization of whiteness the racist practices inherent to American democracy will persist. Instead of altering the minds of moderate whites who have retreated to the safe narratives of All Lives Matter and reverse racism, the Black Lives Matter movement has awakened a consciousness in Black people. By focusing on anti-Blackness, the movement has mobilized an awareness that not only protests, but produces art, education, and community involvement. It has led to a re-imagination of Blackness and encouraged Black people to tell their own stories. From the “Book of Negroes” to revisiting the Black Liberation movement to connecting via Black Twitter, a new era of engagement seems to have taken root.[[31]](#footnote-31) Grassroot organizations have been formed around Black Lives Matter such as the Dream Defenders, the Organization for Black Struggle, Hands Up United, the Trayvon Martin Organizing Committee, Ohio Students Association, and Queer and Trans of Color.[[32]](#footnote-32) Black Twitter campaigns celebrate Black beauty, denormalizing Eurocentric standards. Around the world everyday bloggers offer stunning critiques of anti-Blackness via Tumblr, Wordpress sites, and through Facebook. The moment has attempted to merge technology with Black expression through mainstream spaces. In the streets Black people are being forced to look each other in the eyes and assert their self-actualization not only to the outside world, but to themselves.[[33]](#footnote-33) These developments prove the moment has potential as it stands in stark contradiction to the dissolution of race symbolically evidenced in 2008. Its eruption can be seen has a direct response to the desecration of such high hopes.

Charles Tilly’s mobilization model of revolution and social movement literature about the social movement society bring the evidence of Black Lives Matter into a context for understanding and uniting current struggles. The Black Lives Matter movement embodies the elements of common interest, organization, mobilization, opportunity, and collective action composed in Tilly’s mobilization model of revolution.[[34]](#footnote-34) For founder of #BlackLivesMatter Alicia Garza, “in some ways, [the focus on individual deaths] allows us to build the movement.”[[35]](#footnote-35) In its essence the rallying motto of the movement has served as a unifying experience for Blacks all over America. State violence and police terrorism represent an opportunity for collective action because it connects with variant experiences of Blackness. Referenced by DuBois and Olson, the “double consciousness” of American race has meant that all Blacks, regardless of class, share a specific trauma of exclusion.[[36]](#footnote-36) For the white citizen the barrier is about class – how close or how far they are from elites. However, regardless of class the “dark world” is still not inherently citizen. This trauma has meant a need for not integration, which recognizes all races, but an expression of a specific critique of power. The discontent with liberalism’s resistance to deep reforms without even a modicum of substantive justice expresses a direct link to Tilly’s model.[[37]](#footnote-37) Police militarization becomes a product of state mobilized defenses of elite interests through federal 1033 programs. These increases in force have merely intensified the relationships between communities of color rather than decrease them.

Though resource mobilization perspectives have been discredited for their determinism, it is relevant when considering the social movement society we inhabit. This connection to social movement society is meant to highlight the frequency of recent protest mobilizations such as Occupy and climate protests.[[38]](#footnote-38) It also places Black Lives Matter in the contested struggle of Black Liberation that extends to America’s founding. No one can deny the obvious connection of 2011-2012’s Occupy demonstrations and contemporary Black Lives Matter protests. Founder Alicia Garza has offered as an assessment that Blacks Lives Matter is an exhibition of the extrajudicial killings in 2013 but also underscores how reports such as Malcolm X Grassroots Movement Operation Ghetto Storm coalesced similar popular sentiments.[[39]](#footnote-39) Black Lives Matter embodies, she says, the remnants of the liberation movements and Occupy’s questioning of capitalism.[[40]](#footnote-40) This provides evidence of a society where, whether accepted or not, social activism has been inundated by public demonstrations. To Tilly’s model Garza connects the opening to, politically, a generally weak left, weakening labor, racial justice without a radical element, an anti-war society amidst endless war, deteriorating social conditions and an insurgent right, and growing and widening inequality, while existing in a carceral state despite a reality of declining crime rates.[[41]](#footnote-41) These incongruities are but a symptomatic response to the American construction of Black life in America.

Where possible the movement has picked up Black elites, connected to Palestinian struggles and anti-racist campaigns internationally, and built on the institutional knowledge of a Black radical tradition laid before it. The application of Black Lives Matter as a movement has introduced the question what would it mean for black lives to matter?[[42]](#footnote-42) It answers the concern of single issues movements as the question refracts the intersectionality of what would black trans lives look like if black lives mattered? What do black girl’s lives look like when black lives matter? Black Lives Matter or Ferguson, as a collective reaction to the political power of race, satisfies an inquisition for potential.

Toward the end of “The Abolition of White Democracy” author Joel Olson provides key elements to renewing an abolition democracy. Abolition democracy would represent a progression from our current norm based racial democracy. The abolition democracy would express “a politics committed to expanding freedom through the dissolution of whiteness.”[[43]](#footnote-43) As this paper has sought to highlight the inabilities of liberalism represented particularly as it privileges whiteness, an alternative exemplifies an attempt to abolish those privileges. Olson discusses the Black radical tradition, one of the principle components for constructing an abolition democracy perspective. The Black radical tradition is mentioned here for its reflection in current movement building. The connection is manifested in the Black Lives Matter tension with liberalism. Literature by Frantz Fanon, Hubert Harrison, Harry Haywood, bell hooks, and Angela Davis representing the Black radical canon have taken on a renewed meaning in the current environment. This continuation of movements validates a hope for the potential of this moment as a search for alternatives. The campaign to reclaim Martin Luther King, Jr. by movement activists across the country highlights one such understanding by the moment of the importance of narratives. As mentioned, race is a socially accepted norm, however by engaging and challenging the narratives that perpetuate this subordination the movement displays an awareness of power. The movement’s focus of anti-Blackness allows a destruction of power that would seek the abolition of oppositional whiteness.

No one could have expected that the brutal killings by police terrorism would have inspired a movement. Thousands of Black people have died at the hands of state violence before and continue to everyday. Ida B. Wells chronicled a time when the state allowed similar vigilantes to lynch Black bodies without impunity. This violence is not new. The extrajudicial killings may have been a catalyst, but the historical limits of race, the current betrayal of colorblind liberalism, and the development of technology have pried open that opportunity. Policing can be contextualized for the institutional role it has played in maintaining the colorline, to understand militarization, and then obliterated for its larger indictment of white supremacy. The observance of current cross-class manifestations of white solidarity reinforces the racialization of American democracy.

By emphasizing the liberal responses of black-on-black crime, media portrayals, and negations of white privilege this paper has sought to examine the alienation and reproduction of whiteness. This maintenance of whiteness is antithetical to Blackness and representative of the struggle Black Lives Matter faces. Openings exist for the movement to grow and it theoretically embodies a beginning toward something alternative, something radically different than the status quo. However, as academics observing this moment it is also a call to action. Even as a Black man writing this I must acknowledge my own educational privilege. I stand outside the experience in a certain way, observing and not embodying the struggle I reference, perhaps losing an important element. I struggle with the idea that by entering this experience into academic spaces I might contribute to the commodification of the movement and the removal/capitulation of its stinging zeal. Nevertheless I feel it is imperative to connect the dots of a lengthy racial legacy, to provide a critique and analysis of ideology, participate in solidarity, and to promote a discourse and environment that supports the movement’s survival.[[44]](#footnote-44) James Baldwin refers to whiteness less as a physical marker someone holds, but explains it as behavior that someone exhibits. This normalization infers that race is a process that no one is exempt from, including Black people, and so a progression you never complete but continually address whenever observed. The journey is revolutionary because of this dialectical quality as both an individual and larger collective, societal reprioritizing. To decolonize political science as a field, to decolonize American liberalism and American democracy, we must continue to prefigure in all forms a resistance that endows this imagination.

1. Rasmussen: http://www.rasmussenreports.com/public\_content/politics/general\_politics/march\_2015/bigger\_problem\_racist\_cops\_or\_inner\_city\_crime [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Dyson: http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/30/opinion/sunday/where-do-we-go-after-ferguson.html [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Alicia Garza: LeftRoots Hangout [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. http://thefreethoughtproject.com/data-shows-1000-people-killed-cops-2014/ [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. http://news.stlpublicradio.org/post/how-many-police-kill-black-men-without-database-we-cant-know [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. http://www.demos.org/sites/default/files/publications/RacialWealthGap\_1.pdf [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Millennial Racial Perceptions [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Olson: XVII [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Harris: Whiteness as Property [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Olson [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Olson [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Olson: pg.31 [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. US Policing and the State [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. US Policing and the State [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Olson [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. US Policing and the State [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Olson: Abolition [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Olson: 16 [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Olson [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. DuBois location: 1005 [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. DuBois location: 1166 [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Olson [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. US Policing and the State [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. US Policing and the State [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. DOJ Report [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. US Policing and the State [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. DuBois location 1019 [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Adler-Bell: http://www.alternet.org/culture/why-white-people-freak-out-when-theyre-called-out-about-race [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Adler Bell [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Mychal Denzel Smith: http://www.thenation.com/blog/200697/doj-report-confirms-racism-alive-and-well-ferguson-now-what [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Mychal Denzel Smith (2): http://www.thenation.com/blog/199337/three-years-later-legacy-trayvon-martin-and-blacklivesmatter [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Mychal Denzel Smith (3): http://www.thenation.com/article/181404/how-trayvon-martins-death-launched-new-generation-black-activism [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Mychal Denzel Smith (4): http://www.thenation.com/blog/202305/qa-alicia-garza-co-founder-blacklivesmatter [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Hank Johnston: States & Social Movements [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Mychal Denzel Smith (4) [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Olson [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Johnston [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. Johnston [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Garza [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Gazra [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Garza [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Smith (2) [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Olson: pg 126 [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. Noam Chomsky: “The Responsibility of Intellectuals” [↑](#footnote-ref-44)