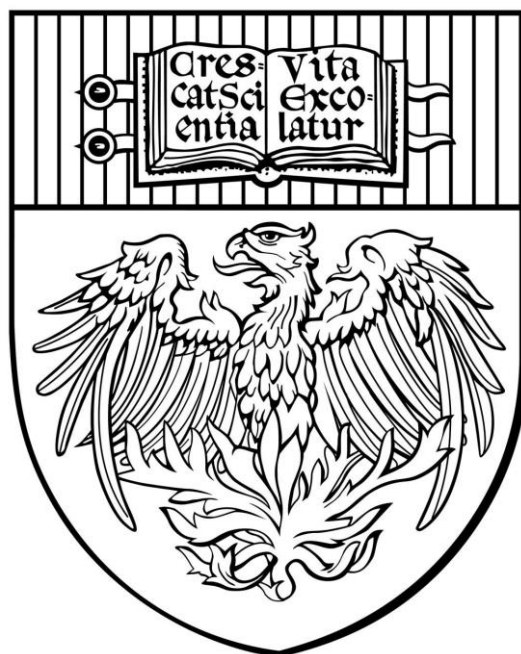


**THE REPARATIONS WON CURRICULUM: EXAMINING DIGNITY RESTORATION
THROUGH EDUCATION**

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ABSTRACT

The Reparations Won curriculum operates within a larger quest for justice and reparations for survivors of Chicago police torture in the 1970s to the 1990s. Little, however, is known about how Reparations Won works in the context of Chicago Public Schools and the Chicago policy landscape; moreover, little is known about how the curriculum interacts with the goals of forward-looking reparations and healing for torture survivors. In this paper, I explore how the participation of impacted survivors of Chicago police torture impacts the curriculum and how it is experienced by survivors and students. Using qualitative interviews with various stakeholders in the curriculum and a qualitative analysis of the curriculum, I find that survivors have a tenuous and conditional relationship to the creation and implementation process of the curriculum; as a result, the curriculum has the potential to and does, for at least some survivors, afford the promises of dignity restoration and reparations, leading to healing, hope, and enhanced understanding. I recommend that survivors' role in Reparations Won be solidified and better supported by Chicago Public Schools and collaborating organizations. This study has implications for reparations policy and social movements as they wrestle with the role of impacted individuals and communities.

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CONTENT WARNING

This thesis includes sensitive content. I reference and describe methods of torture used against predominantly Black and Latinx individuals by officers of the Chicago Police Department. This content could potentially be triggering for readers.

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INTRODUCTION

I feel freer, liberated, emancipated, every time I share my story.

— LaTanya Jenifor-Sublett, Chicago Police Department torture survivor, interview

After decades of activism from torture survivors and other supporters, on May 6, 2015, the City of Chicago passed an ordinance and a resolution, granting reparations to survivors of Chicago police torture (*History of Chicago's Reparations Movement*, n.d.). The ordinance and resolution apply to survivors who were tortured between the years of 1972 and 1991 by Chicago Police Department (CPD) Commander Jon Burge or one of the officers under his command at Area 2 or Area 3 Police Headquarters (*History of Chicago's Reparations Movement*, n.d.). The reparations package is the first comprehensive municipal reparations package for survivors of racially-motivated police violence in the United States, and it includes many revolutionary components (*History of Chicago's Reparations Movement*, n.d.). One component of the reparations package is a lesson on “the Burge case and its legacy,” taught to eighth- and tenth-grade students of Chicago Public Schools (CPS) in their United States history classes (Reparations to victims of torture by Police Commander Jon Burge, 2015). In 2017, rather than a lesson, CPS unveiled the curriculum “Reparations Won: A Case Study in Police Torture, Racism and the Movement for Justice in Chicago” and mandated it to be taught in all schools across CPS (Masterson, 2017).

“Reparations” is a key term of the curriculum’s title. The “Reparations Won” curriculum must be situated within the definition of reparations to evaluate the curriculum as it works within the larger goal of reparations for torture survivors. Reparations require three parts: acknowledgement, redress, and closure; the need for reparations is predicated on a grievous injustice or harm (Darity & Mullen, 2020). However, the concept of reparations has further

layers of complexity than these three parts. Not only have scholars debated the purpose of reparations and whether they serve to rectify the past or strive to harmony in the future, but the term “reparations” historically has a racial connotation in the United States, underscoring racism and abuse by the state (Boxill, 1972; Wenar, 2006; Somashekhar, 2015). Specifically, “reparations” reminds Americans of calls for the compensation of Black Americans for slavery and Jim Crow (Somashekhar, 2015). Even the use of the term itself in the case of Chicago police torture has caused some debate (Somashekhar, 2015). In Chicago, the Reparations Won curriculum has garnered fears of blame on law enforcement and White people in general (Nitkin, 2017; Jones, 2018).

Additionally, the Reparations Won curriculum specifically focuses on the education of youths, implying an attempt to change the sociopolitical consciousnesses of youths in Chicago (Mezirow, 1978; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 2014). Taken together, the reparations and education dimensions of Reparations Won have consequences for the achievement or progress toward reparations for torture survivors. How and whether survivors participate in Reparations Won affect the possibility of dignity restoration through the reparations fight (Atuahene, 2016; Baer, 2018).

Currently, due to the recent and uneven rollout of the curriculum, no scholars have conducted comprehensive studies of the curriculum. At the same time as this study, PhD candidate Jessica Marshall, in partnership with the CPS Department of Social Science and Civic Engagement, is researching teachers’ sense-making of the curriculum and implementation in CPS. Since the curriculum’s unveiling in 2017, several journalists have examined the curriculum’s implementation and impact in a few classrooms, and they have published qualitative ethnographic observations and interviews of teachers (Baker, 2019; Jones, 2018;

Kunichoff, 2021). Teachers and members of the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) have also published blog posts and magazine articles (Stieber, 2017; Johnson, 2020). Nevertheless, little is known about the curriculum's implementation, how it serves as reparations for torture survivors, and how survivors participate in the process.

In this study, I address this gap in knowledge by drawing on 15 interviews with various stakeholders in the curriculum, as well as qualitative analysis of the eighth and tenth grade curricula. I conducted interviews with torture survivors, creators, teachers, former students, and other stakeholders. I investigate the following question: in the creation and implementation of the Reparations Won curriculum, how does the participation of impacted survivors of Chicago police torture affect survivors and students receiving the curriculum? I found that survivors were not directly involved with the creation process but are deeply involved in implementation by speaking in schools and speaking to teachers. Survivors achieve a sense of dignity restoration and healing from their participation and from being listened to and believed; students, especially those who have been impacted by racism and police violence, benefit from listening to and interacting with survivors. Because of the impact that survivors' participation can have on Reparations Won, these findings show that by bringing impacted people into policymaking and policy implementation, policy can improve and is able to increase its impact.

As a result, I recommend that CPS increase its efforts and support to include survivors in both the creation/revision process of the curriculum and in the implementation process, as survivors speak in front of students and teachers. As local, state, and federal governments contemplate reparations policy or even social justice policy in general, understanding the role impacted people and communities can play will inform these discussions and help policymakers better understand this emerging landscape.

HISTORY

But the bottom line is that what people didn't understand was they tortured us, they suffocated us, you know put plastic bags over our heads and especially over my head... I bit through it, he put another one over my head, and I couldn't bite through that one, that's when the torture began. I was trying to breathe but I couldn't breathe. And... he put them prongs on me and he went and got a paper bag, came back in the room. In the paper bag was the black box, had two wires in front and one wire [in the back]. There was a plug going into the socket on the side of the wall, put it on the table and hooked me up to that. I couldn't see him put the wire on my handcuffs but I did see him put the wire in my ankles, on the handcuffs they put on my ankles. And from that time on, it was over with... I didn't know if I was going to live or die and finally I just gave up... And that's the state I was in when they finally got through with me. They made me confess to something I didn't do.

—Anthony Holmes, Burge torture survivor, interview

Anthony stated that people did not understand the torture; now, by law, every eighth and tenth grade Chicago Public Schools student learns about it. From 1972 to 1991, Chicago Police Department Commander Jon Burge and other officers under his command tortured over 120 people, predominantly Black men, in police custody. The officers used racial epithets, mock executions, electric shock, and beatings, among other tactics, to elicit confessions that were then used to convict and incarcerate these individuals. Some of the torture survivors were sentenced to death (*History of Chicago's Reparations Movement*, n.d.). Many in City government, including then-State's Attorney, later-Mayor Richard Daley, knew about torture under Burge's command. In the 1970s and 1980s, however, no one in City government or the media paid

attention when torture survivors alleged that they had been abused by police (Conroy, 1990; Taylor, 2016). Complaints were often ignored by defense lawyers, discredited by prosecutors, and dismissed by judges (Taylor, 2016). The news broke to the general public in January 1990, when John Conroy published “House of Screams” in the *Chicago Reader*, exposing the torture of survivors Andrew and Jackie Wilson. When Andrew Wilson filed a civil suit against Jon Burge and the City of Chicago, his case exposed other instances of torture by White detectives against Black individuals in CPD custody. Conroy explicated the process of Andrew Wilson’s trial and revealed that such abuses were not only systemic in the Chicago Police Department but tolerated throughout the City of Chicago (Conroy, 1990).

For decades, family and friends of survivors, lawyers, and activists organized to expose the torture, win new trials for survivors, and hold Burge and members of his crew accountable. Some survivors’ sentences were overturned or commuted, and Burge was convicted of perjury and obstruction of justice (*History of Chicago’s Reparations Movement*, n.d.). Yet, organizers’ vision of redress expanded beyond these demands. In 2007, attorney Stan Willis, along with his organization Black People Against Police Torture (BPAPT), demanded reparations and wide-ranging repair for torture survivors (Casanova Willis & Willis, 2016). BPAPT’s ideas included: compensation; a center for therapy and healing services for domestic torture survivors; curriculum in Chicago schools; services for formerly incarcerated victims and their families (education, job training, work); and freedom for those still-incarcerated torture victims (Casanova Willis & Willis, 2016). In 2011, activists formed the Chicago Torture Justice Memorials (CTJM) (Kim, 2018). CTJM launched a project inviting the public to submit proposals for a speculative memorial to the survivors of Jon Burge police torture, encouraging people to imagine how community members and the City of Chicago could grapple with the

brutal state violence and its impact (*History of the Campaign*, n.d.). Building on BPAPT's ideas, attorney Joey Mogul's draft of what would later become the reparations legislation was one of the speculative memorials (*History of the Campaign*, n.d.). In collaboration with other organizations, including BPAPT, Amnesty International, Black Youth Project 100, and We Charge Genocide, CTJM continued to organize teach-ins, rallies, marches, sing-ins, and more (*History of the Campaign*, n.d.).

In October 2013, CTJM, along with Aldermen Joe Moreno and Howard Brookins, announced the filing of the Reparations Ordinance and Resolution in Chicago City Council. However, the reparations legislation stalled in City Council until, on April 13, 2015, Mayor Rahm Emanuel and his administration agreed to a comprehensive reparations package; on May 6, 2015, Chicago's City Council unanimously passed reparations legislation (*History of the Campaign*, n.d.). Efforts to pass the ordinance came from years of struggle, resulting in the culmination of many local and national organizations working together with Chicago Torture Justice Memorials to launch campaign after campaign, finally ending with the #RahmRepNow campaign (*History of the Campaign*, n.d.). At the same time, Mayor Rahm Emanuel was facing pressure to address the police torture as he ran his re-election campaign (*History of the Campaign*, n.d.). Thus, after organizers' struggles, the ordinance was passed in City Council. The ordinance and resolution included: a \$5.5 million fund to monetarily compensate eligible torture survivors; a formal apology from the City of Chicago; the creation of a psychological counseling center on the South Side of Chicago; free enrollment and job training in City Colleges for survivors and their family members including grandchildren; job placements and prioritized access to City services and programs; a history lesson taught in Chicago Public Schools to 8th and 10th graders; and a permanent public memorial to the survivors

(Establishment of “Reparations for Burge Torture Victims” fund, 2015; Reparations to victims of torture by Police Commander Jon Burge, 2015).

While the promises of the legislation were great, I focus on the curriculum taught in Chicago Public Schools, examining it as a policy in and of itself. The resolution promised “a lesson,” but CPS and other stakeholders developed a three-to-five-week curriculum called “Reparations Won: A Case Study in Police Torture, Racism And the Movement for Justice in Chicago” (Reparations to victims of torture by Police Commander Jon Burge, 2015; Masterson, 2017). The middle school curriculum focuses on the role of police, police-community relations, police torture, and community responses to the torture (Chicago Public Schools, 2017, Middle School). The high school curriculum delves into the impact of torture on survivors and their families and how social factors like race, the War on Drugs, and housing segregation precipitated police torture (Chicago Public Schools, 2017, High School). Both curricula utilize Talking Circles for students to share their stories and learn from one another. Both ask students to consider the future, with middle schoolers writing op-eds on the role of racism and the proper role of police and with high schoolers creating speculative memorials like CTJM’s (Chicago Public Schools, 2017, Middle School; Chicago Public Schools, 2017, High School).

The curriculum launched in the spring of 2017, with mixed responses. While some praised the curriculum and lauded CPS’ effort, others were against the curriculum for various reasons. Particularly in Chicago’s Far Northwest side where a high concentration of law enforcement lives, some parents and former teachers questioned how teaching anti-police values would affect students’ relationship with law enforcement (Nitkin, 2017). Leticia Kaner, parent and 19-year police veteran, called the curriculum “one-sided” and questioned its exclusion of the Police Department’s 2016 reforms (Nitkin, 2017). Angela McMillin, mother of three and former

Local School Council member, did not want her daughter to “grow up too fast” and be exposed to such horrifying acts as “a man’s testicles being electrocuted” (Balthazar, 2017). Former educator Amanda Biela questioned what would be excluded from history lessons once Reparations Won was added in (Balthazar, 2017). Not only did the curriculum face backlash from parents, police officers, and teachers, but it also was criticized and called “the Burge mythology” by the Fraternal Order of Police (Gorner, 2017). Schools, on the front lines of the curriculum’s implementation, had to handle many of these complaints. At the same time, teachers and administrators were completing their own educational professional development, learning about the contents of the curriculum as well as its social-emotional demands (Masterson, 2017).

The backlash against the Reparations Won curriculum temporally coincides with the increasing prevalence of the question of how public schools teach history—especially as a result of the #BlackLivesMatter movement and the police killings and subsequent protests of the summer of 2020. Because no national history standards exist, history standards across states differ vastly. For example, seven states do not directly mention slavery in their state standards (Duncan et al., 2020). In addition, the topic of critical race theory, a framework to study the intersection of race and policy in history, has sparked much debate and misunderstanding. Some school boards, in states such as Florida and North Carolina, have recently forbidden critical race theory (Harrell, 2021; Childress, 2021). These actions have caused others to respond: the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) published a press release, titled “We won’t be bullied against teaching the truth about Chicago, U.S. history” (Geovanis, 2021). Specifically, in the press release, CTU mentions its advocacy for Reparations Won (Geovanis, 2021).

At the same time, the topic of reparations has also become more prevalent. In 2019, a neighboring city of Chicago, Evanston, IL, approved a \$10 million reparations fund for Black residents to address the effects of historical racism (Ali, 2021; Spielman, 2020). In 2020, the City of Chicago approved the formation of a sub-commission to discuss reparations, and discussions began in March of 2021 (Spielman, 2020; Byrne, 2021). As these discussions continue, Kamm Howard, co-chair of the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America, has pointed to the reparations granted by the 2015 Reparations Ordinance and the accompanying resolution: “They got a monument. They got curriculum change. They got compensation. They got a process in which torture does not happen again” (Spielman, 2021). Within this context—discussions of reparations and critical race theory and the backlash against the curriculum—looking at the intersection of reparations and the teaching of history has become increasingly important.

Moreover, discussions of how to push for social change are further complicated by discussions of who should be leading social movements and whose voices should be foregrounded. Organizations that are built by and for people impacted by incarceration have existed for a long time (e.g., Formerly Incarcerated, Convicted People and Families Movement; All of Us or None; Voices of the Experienced; and National Council for Incarcerated and Formerly Incarcerated Women and Girls). The organization All of Us or None clearly states on its website: “not only do we need a seat at the table, we need to set the agenda and center our voices in the work. Nothing about us without us” (*Reports*, n.d.). All of Us or None borrows the phrase “Nothing about us without us” from disability activism in the 1990s, but it has been used by many interest groups and movements since. All of Us or None and many other organizations and social movements have claimed that impacted people should be centered in any movement or justice work.

Through decades-long advocacy, the social movement that sought justice for torture survivors did forefront and center survivors, their families, and the impacted, predominantly Black communities (Casanova Willis & Willis, 2016). Casanova Willis & Willis (2016) argue that, without the leadership of survivors and the affected communities, the movement would have never devised such revolutionary tactics and solutions to their problems. In particular, Black People Against Police Torture brought the issue of Chicago police torture to international human rights fora and first proposed the idea of reparations (Casanova Willis & Willis, 2016). Even after the passage of the 2015 Reparations Ordinance and Resolution, survivors, their families, and their communities have continued to fight for justice in individual cases as well as for continued action on all facets of the reparations package, like the memorial (Evans, 2021).

Though Reparations Won and its implementation joins a larger body of conversation around teaching racial history in schools, reparations, and how to build social movements, little is known about the curriculum itself. Despite widespread local press coverage announcing the curriculum and covering responses to the curriculum and despite advocates' pressure for greater progress on fulfilling the promises of reparations legislation, the City of Chicago has provided little transparency. In terms of the curriculum, little data exists about the implementation of the curriculum and *how* it works in classrooms. There are currently four articles that feature observations of the classrooms. Jen Johnson, chief of staff of the Chicago Teachers Union, gained access to classrooms because of her participation in the curriculum's creation (Johnson, 2020). Journalists seem to have been stalled in their efforts to receive permission from CPS to observe classrooms; Peter Baker, for example, came to an arrangement with a teacher Juanita Douglas who is not actually required to teach Reparations Won because she does not teach 8th or 10th grades (Baker, 2019). Another account, by Thai Jones, also utilized observations from

Douglas' classroom (Jones, 2018). Most recently, Yana Kunichoff interviewed CPS teacher William Weaver about his experience with the curriculum (Kunichoff, 2021). A few teachers have written op-eds or blog posts about their thoughts on the curriculum—but mostly in response to people's pushback (Stieber, 2017). Many of these accounts forefront the role of survivors in the classrooms, guest speaking and providing students with their real-life experiences (Kunichoff, 2021). The sparse and limited amount of information available prompts the question: how is Reparations Won being taught in classrooms across CPS, and what role do survivors play in implementation? Even though the curriculum is mandatory, it is unknown how many classrooms actually teach it because of a lack of publicly available, recorded information about implementation. According to self-reporting conducted by CPS, more than 90% of schools teach Reparations Won, but no public data exists about individual classrooms (Kunichoff, 2021). A survey conducted by the Chicago Torture Justice Center in collaboration with CTU had such low response rates that the organizations could not come to any conclusions (Kunichoff, 2021). What is known about the curriculum is that survivors have participated in the activism and policymaking processes of reparations, and they continue to participate in guest speaking in classrooms and sharing their experiences. The interactions between survivors and students, however, have only been shared anecdotally by the few who have reported on the curriculum.

THEORETICAL FRAMING

The foundation of the Reparations Won curriculum stands on several theories from different areas of scholarship. As explicitly named, the curriculum is part of a larger reparations package; the conscious choice to use the word “reparations” implies the racial, social, and theoretical context of reparations (Somashekhar, 2015). As part of the reparations package *for* survivors of Chicago police torture, reparations and therefore the curriculum participate in the

process of dignity takings and subsequent dignity restoration for survivors (Baer, 2018). On the students' side of the Reparations Won curriculum, I will understand the logic behind education curricula as reparations through theories of education and perspective-taking.

Reparations: Backward-looking vs. Forward-looking

According to Darity and Mullen (2020), reparations, catalyzed by some grievous injustice, involve three elements: acknowledgement, redress, and closure. Acknowledgement means the recognition of harm by perpetrators of the injustice, but redress and closure are more nebulous (Darity & Mullen, 2020). Redress can take two forms: restitution or atonement (Darity & Mullen, 2020). Restitution restores survivors "to their condition before the injustice occurred or to a condition they might have attained had the injustice not taken place": a pre-harm state (Darity & Mullen, 2020). When this is not possible, perpetrators must meet certain conditions for forgiveness, set by the victims or survivors, called "atonement" (Darity & Mullen, 2020). Only then will closure be achieved (Darity & Mullen, 2020).

Reparations theory divides into two schools of thought: "backward-looking" and "forward-looking" reparations (Boxill, 1972; Wenar, 2006). Backward-looking reparations considers the past and its repercussions (Boxill, 1972). This kind of reparations specifically aims to repair and redress a past harm; its definition is comparable to that of "restitution," the restoration of victims to a pre-harm state (Boxill, 1972; Darity & Mullen, 2020). On the other hand, forward-looking reparations (which Boxill conceptualizes as "compensation") does not concentrate on the act of harm itself; rather, it considers the lasting effects of harm and how to repair these effects to restore a sense of community and equality (Boxill, 1972; Wenar, 2006). The Reparations Won curriculum, as well as the memorial promised by the reparations legislation, can be situated within forward-looking reparations.

Boxill (1972) and Wenar (2006) hold contrasting beliefs about the nature of reparations, its motivations, and subsequent resolutions of harm. Importantly, these philosophers differ on the topic of blame and their definitions of community. Boxill (1972) believes that reparations should be backward-looking. Boxill (1972) frames his argument in terms of acknowledgement of harm and the ensuing fulfillment of the Lockean social contract; because Boxill believes the past must be acknowledged, he also emphasizes and necessitates identifying a winner and a loser. So, where there is harm, there are winners and losers. Specifically, there are winning *communities* and losing *communities*—collectives who, even passively, benefit from or are injured by some harm, respectively (Boxill, 1972). Reparations, then, would restore those injured to a pre-harm state—which may or may not even be possible (Boxill, 1972). The reparations package’s formal apology and provision of counseling services is in line with Boxill’s concept of backward-looking reparations, as it seeks to address the harm and specifically seeks to remedy it for those injured.

In Wenar’s (2006) conception of forward-looking reparations, however, reparations theory should only be based in *one* community—those who were involved in the injustice. Instead of focusing on the past, which can never truly be repaired or returned to its previous state if it was “never whole,” Wenar believes that reparations should be for the future and focused on building trust to create healthy relations going forward, whether—in Boxill’s words—winners or losers (Wenar, 2006, p. 398). Wenar (2006) explores a variety of limitations of backward-looking reparations, including the uncertainty as to who the injured are (e.g., descendants or would-be descendants of victims) and how best to address different harmful effects. For these reasons, especially in the case of long-past injustices or long-term injustices, Wenar (2006) believes repair is more powerful when it works to distribute justice throughout the entire

community. Thus, this form of forward-looking reparations seeks to heal from harm and prevent further harm rather than to directly repair it; so, in Darity and Mullen's terms, it may more aptly be considered atonement to the point of closure rather than redress. The *Reparations Won* curriculum and the memorial fit into Wenar's concept of forward-looking reparations—reparations for the future. Healing the community is also in line with restorative justice, which aims to re-establish equality in relationships and dismantle the identities of “offender” and “victim” (Calhoun, 2013). The curriculum and the memorial both acknowledge the harm but also work toward healing the community and preventing harm from happening again, so the curriculum can be understood in terms of forward-looking reparations.

Dignity Takings and Restoration

Reparations and restorative justice are not as straightforward as simply healing the community; they are complex processes, with many moving parts. In the case of Chicago police torture, part of reparations and restorative justice focuses on torture survivors and what closure might mean for them. What has been taken from survivors is not only property but also dignity (Atuahene, 2016; Baer, 2018). Baer (2018) draws on Bernadette Atuahene's (2016) concept of dignity takings and restoration and makes a direct connection to Chicago police torture in the 1970s to 1990s. Atuahene writes that dignity taking occurs “when a state directly or indirectly destroys or confiscates property rights from owners or occupiers whom it deems to be sub persons” (2016, p. 3). Conversely, Atuahene defines dignity restoration as “compensation that addresses both the economic harms and the dignity deprivations involved” (2016, p. 4). Baer (2018) expands upon Atuahene's (2016) definitions to emphasize the agency of the dignity takers and restorers and to define the body as a form of property in the case of torture.

When examining Chicago police torture, Baer (2018) looks beyond the reparations package passed in 2015. Instead, with the view of reparations and dignity restoration as a long-term process, Baer (2018) argues that torture survivors and their families were, themselves, dignity restorers and that the process of fighting for reparations accomplished some part of dignity restoration. Baer points to a revised definition of Atuahene's original definition of dignity restoration: "a remedy that seeks to provide dispossessed individuals and communities with material compensation through processes that affirm their humanity and reinforce their agency" (Baer, 2018, p. 774). The campaigns for justice for torture survivors stressed empowerment of individuals and communities, lifting the spirits and voices of affected individuals, and including the voices of survivors in the claims-making process (Baer, 2018, p. 774). Thus, social movement organizations helped restore dignity to torture survivors by affirming their humanity and reinforcing their agency, thus aligning with Atuahene's revised definition.

Given Baer's (2018) argument that survivors participating in the claims-making process is a part of dignity restoration and makes survivors themselves dignity restorers, continued claims-making processes should also be viewed in the lens of dignity restoration. The Reparations Won curriculum, therefore, should be seen as a continuation of the claims-making process, not just the result of claims-making; indeed, survivors' participation in the curriculum may be seen as agential participation in dignity restoration as well.

Education Theory

Another aspect of the Reparations Won curriculum is the students who are impacted by and receive the curriculum. Forward-looking reparations and its goal of healing the community for the future align with Jack Mezirow's (1978) theory of transformative learning.

Transformative learning is a process that makes people "critically aware of the context... of their

beliefs and feelings about themselves and their role in society,” which allows them to effect change (Mezirow, 2000, p. xii). In the context of Reparations Won, the change, ideally, would advance the goal of forward-looking reparations and work toward healing in the community. This theory of transformative learning has been clarified and refined by many scholars, including Chad Hoggan (2016), who defines transformative learning as “processes that result in significant and irreversible changes in the way a person experiences, conceptualizes, and interacts with the world.” Unfortunately, Mezirow’s (1978) theory and subsequent theories and analyses have been specifically limited to adult learners.

In adolescent education, the concept of “transformative learning” splits into related concepts. Transformative learning can be conceptualized in two parts: first, students become aware of how they are situated within what they learn; then, they utilize this information to interact with the world differently and potentially create social change (Mezirow, 2000). In K-12 schools, “deeper learning” partially addresses the first part: it requires that teachers ground their classrooms in students’ previous knowledge and experiences in a way that enhances meaning making and leads to conceptual understanding so that students can apply it to new situations (McTighe & Silver, 2020).

Further, though, Ladson-Billings’ (1995; 2014) theory of “culturally relevant pedagogy” connects adolescent education theory to the second part of Mezirow’s idea: the development of a critical consciousness that has the potential to challenge the inequities that schools and other institutions perpetuate. Ladson-Billings (1995) also brings in the idea of culture, framed in terms of race, ethnicity, and language; she states that students of culturally relevant pedagogy should be able to achieve academically, demonstrate cultural competence, and understand and critique the existing social order. Paris (2012) builds upon this work with the concept of “culturally

sustaining pedagogy,” meaning that teachers not only are responsive of or relevant to students’ cultures but actively help them sustain their cultural and linguistic competence while providing them access to dominant cultural competence. Yet, despite evolving work on culturally relevant pedagogy or culturally sustaining pedagogy, according to Ladson-Billings (2014), few have addressed the sociopolitical consciousness dimension of pedagogy. The combination of transformative learning and culturally sustaining pedagogy theories has produced an emphasis on teaching and learning but not on the development of a critical, sociopolitical consciousness.

Nevertheless, more informally, this method of pedagogy which emphasizes critical consciousness has been utilized in organizations such as Facing History and Ourselves, which also aids CPS in culturally relevant teaching of history. Facing History and Ourselves implements professional development for teachers to develop their use of student-centered pedagogy and foster civic learning (Barr et al., 2015). Barr et al. (2015) found that, after their teachers underwent professional development sessions for five days, students improved historical analysis skills, reported greater civic efficacy and tolerance for others, and had more positive perceptions of the classroom climate and engaging in civic matters. Thus, programs such as Facing History and Ourselves’ professional development have implications for advancing social justice issues like reparations. Yet, few interventions are targeted at adolescent students as a body.

Reparations Won is a case study of the intersection between culturally sustaining pedagogical interventions and reparations/dignity restoration theory. In the context of reparations, these interventions should accomplish the goals of forward-looking reparations to work toward a healthy, trusting community (Wenar, 2006). Transformation and development of critical consciousness can be viewed as a potentiality of the Reparations Won curriculum and

will be determined by how students are impacted by the curriculum and interacting with torture survivors in classrooms.

DATA & METHODS

In researching Reparations Won, I asked stakeholders how the participation of impacted survivors of Chicago police torture affects survivors and students. To investigate the question, I used a qualitative approach, using interviews I conducted with stakeholders as the primary data set and the Reparations Won curriculum as a supplementary data set.

Over the course of 3 months, I conducted 15 semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders in the creation and implementation of Reparations Won. I sought to speak with stakeholders that belonged in five different groups: *creators*, *torture survivors*, *former students*, *teachers*, and *other stakeholders* (see Appendix A). In the creator group are representatives of the organizations and others who met to design the curriculum. These creators included members of CPS' Social Science and Civic Engagement team, members of the CTU, CPS teachers, historians, members of Black People Against Torture, and members of Chicago Torture Justice Memorials. Torture survivors are people who have been tortured by Burge or others in the Chicago Police Department; they might have been involved in creation and/or implementation. Former students were the receivers of the curriculum; from them, I gauged how the curriculum was implemented and how students experienced it. Teachers are implementers of the curriculum; though some educators participated in the creation process, the teachers I interviewed did not. Other stakeholders include people who were involved or invested in the curriculum, whether in its creation or currently in its implementation and revision. In this study, this group of other stakeholders had the greatest potential for limitations because, without being credited in any way, they were inaccessible other than through personal networks. In addition, the group of

torture survivors includes torture survivors who are still incarcerated; these people’s perspective might be vastly different from others, but I was limited in my ability to gain access to speak with them. The category of former students is limited by its sample size of one; as a result, I reach conclusions about student experiences based on what teachers and other observers say about students.

Interview Count by Category	
Category of Interviewee	Interviews
Torture Survivors	3
Creators	3
Teachers	4
Former Students	1
Other Stakeholders	4
Total	15

For each group, the questions shifted depending on their knowledge of the curriculum and their participation in its creation and implementation (see Appendix B). However, interviews were not limited to these questions, and not all questions were covered in the interviews. These decisions were made at my discretion. I chose this method of semi-structured qualitative interviews in order to center interviewees’ own expertise and experiences and allow them agency to collaborate with me on the formulation of the interview and the research. Thus, interviewees also did not have to limit their responses to coded language, and they could speak broadly and freely to express what they would like, unprovoked.

To initially reach out to interviewees, I used convenience sampling within my network of contacts, including torture survivors, reparations activists, and members of the CTU. I also

posted on Discord pages for the University of Chicago Class of 2025 and the Facebook page for the University of Chicago Class of 2024 to recruit alumni of Reparations Won. Then, I used snowball sampling to contact stakeholders across the five categories. On average, the interviews were about 40 minutes in length, scheduled at times that worked best for both the respondent and me. I asked the interviewee whether or not they were comfortable with my using their name or identifying information in the paper, and if they were not, I used a crosswalk, accessible only by me, to code their information and assign them pseudonyms. Interviewees were also free to change their minds during or after the interview, to end the interview at any point, and to change their comments after the interview.

I used the program Dedoose to perform inductive, qualitative coding and look for patterns in both the middle and high school Reparations Won curriculum; specifically, I looked for mentions of torture survivors. Since the curricula are implemented by teachers and other stakeholders, or street-level bureaucrats, the analysis of the interviews I conducted informs how the curriculum should be viewed (Lipsky, 2010). I also coded the interviews to find common themes across interviews. After all the data was gathered, I cross-referenced data from the curriculum and interviews to come to my findings.

Because of my status as an Asian-American, leftist student researcher who was not affected by Chicago police torture or Reparations Won, my positionality is important to consider. My position as a student researcher placed me in a position of power over interviewees. I addressed this in my interviews, while establishing familiarity, by explaining my position and my interest in Reparations Won and communicating that interviewees shared control of the interview's progress. However, my interview sampling and conducting may still contain volunteer bias. Those I interviewed may have different views than those I was not able to

interview as extensively or at all. In addition, while I tried to ask objective questions, I cannot guarantee pure objectivity, given that questions were chosen based on my interest and, in particular, the questions outside of the interview protocol were less pre-planned than those in the protocol.

FINDINGS & DATA ANALYSIS

In order to answer my research question, using the methods outlined above, I investigated three aspects of Reparations Won and survivors' participation in the curriculum: (1) how survivors are involved, (2) the impact of survivors' participation on survivors and students, and (3) moving forward with revisions and changes to the curriculum. I found that, while survivor participation can be impactful for both students and survivors, survivors are largely only involved in the implementation of the curriculum and not with the creation process. Nevertheless, the experience of survivors speaking in classrooms can be and is profound, healing, and dignity-restoring for survivors. At the same time, it enhances students' understanding of the material and allows for students to make deep connections with the experiences of survivors and the activism that followed their torture, thus potentially developing students' critical consciousnesses. Moving forward, the curriculum is changing, taking many stakeholders' perspectives into account, with the use of professional development as well as through a formal revision process.

Section 1: How Survivors Are Involved in Reparations Won

Survivors' participation in Reparations Won was conditional; rather than their participation being an inevitability, participation depended on them being invited to participate. In the creation process, survivors were only invited to participate by speaking to educators, which gave them a sense of purpose in their work, and by providing feedback on the curriculum;

this participation is distinct from the actual design and creation of the curriculum. In the implementation process, after some debate, arrangements were made to allow survivors to speak in schools. However, participation in implementation is also conditional on teachers' and administrators' discretion to invite them. Thus, while survivors' participation in Reparations Won is established in some ways, with the existence of a speakers' bureau and with the movement's general efforts to center survivors, survivors' relationship to Reparations Won is also tenuous and conditional.

Creation and Implementation of the Curriculum

To understand the impact of survivors' participation in the creation and implementation of the curriculum, I first had to understand the creation and implementation processes and how survivors and other actors were and are involved. I asked interviewees about the processes, and I found that survivors were not involved in the creation of the curriculum at all; rather, they were kept top of mind by the creators, and representatives of the directly-impacted community were present at the meetings through Black leadership. Survivors were invited to give feedback on the curriculum after its initial creation. I also found that survivors are greatly involved in the implementation of the curriculum and impart their knowledge and stories to students—though survivors' participation in implementation was not initially planned. While these findings might not explicitly answer my research question, they show the extent of survivors' participation in Reparations Won and avenues for potential change, which is necessary to understanding the present and future of Reparations Won.

According to former Director of the CPS Department of Social Science and Civic Engagement (SSCE) Jessica Marshall, the process of creating the curriculum began with the SSCE and the Constitutional Rights Foundation, which had been writing curricula for CPS. Soon

after the beginning of the process, CPS began meetings with members of the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) and representatives from the coalition that fought for reparations. Later down the line, Jessica started to facilitate workshops with different community organizations, the coalition for reparations, CTU members, CPS officials, and classroom teachers; they talked about the content of the curriculum and how students should engage with it. Andrew Baer (personal communication, January 11, 2022), a historian who was part of these meetings, related that Jessica often asked questions like: “What do you guys think the curriculum should look like? What do we want to see in it? Who should be involved?... What are the major controversies and issues that we need to address or avoid?” The series of workshops took about a year and a half. The ideas people shared in the design workshop were brought to a curriculum writer, and then the new draft of the curriculum went back to the working group to add ideas and make suggestions.

However, according to Jessica, Andrew, and fellow creator Vickie Casanova-Willis, torture survivors were not at the table in the creation process, though creators sought to center their experiences. Andrew characterized it as if, during those meetings, he had a note beside him that reminded him not to forget whose story it was. Though Andrew remembers Vickie as a representative of the survivors, Vickie (personal communication, January 31, 2022) claims:

I would absolutely never try to speak for, you know, a rape victim, a torture victim, or whatever. It would absolutely diminish their experience... I could speak for what I think based on experiences that I have heard and seen and, you know, what I would want. Or what I’ve heard families or torture survivors themselves say. And I would urge all of us to do that in their absence, but I would not dare.

Thus, though all three interviewees acknowledge the physical absence of survivors from the working design sessions for the curriculum, there seems to be dispute about the degree to which survivors were represented. Still, of note is the fact that members of the directly impacted *community* were represented. Namely, Vickie represented the organization Black People Against Police Torture (BPAPT), and she pushed to make sure that “people really understand what has occurred and that the community of Black people were not just sitting there helplessly shrugging their shoulders” (Vickie Casanova-Willis, personal communication, January 31, 2022). In fact, some members of BPAPT were torture survivors themselves. Also, Vickie reminded members of the design sessions that the people in Areas 2 and 3 were also directly affected by the torture, hearing the screams coming from the police Areas and dealing with that trauma. There were also people who had been brutalized by the police but did not fall under the specific umbrella of having been tortured or tortured specifically by Burge. So, even though impacted survivors of Chicago Police Department torture were not part of the creation of the curriculum, members of the directly impacted community were.

Torture survivors were directly involved in two particular points of the creation process, though they did not design or directly contribute ideas to the curriculum. First, according to co-founder of the Chicago Torture Justice Memorials (CTJM) Alice Kim, survivors, along with members of CTJM, were consulted early on when educators were beginning to facilitate the process of creating the curriculum. Survivors spoke to the educators, and Alice remembers the impact: “torture survivors really... imbued them with a sense of everyone's humanity, and the depths to which this impacted people... And then you also see that torture survivors... are not homogenous, they have varied experiences” (Alice Kim, personal communication, February 10, 2022). Alice described these discussions as giving educators a sense of purpose, as if, like

Andrew Baer said, they were constantly reminded of their goal and the goal of reparations in general for the survivors. Importantly, Alice believes that hearing from survivors affected the way that creators centered survivors' voices and prioritized survivor testimony in the curriculum. Second, after the curriculum had gone through the series of workshops but before it was piloted, Jessica and others on the CPS team met with a group of torture survivors to receive feedback. Nevertheless, though survivors like Anthony Holmes remember this feedback process, survivors did not participate in the development of the curriculum, and few interviewees spoke of what came out of the feedback process.

I found that survivors' greatest contribution to the curriculum is in its implementation, by sharing their stories with educators and students alike. Survivors also participated in the rollout of the curriculum. Chief of Staff of the CTU Jen Johnson reported that when the curriculum launched, CTU held a house of delegates meeting with around five hundred educators, and survivor Darrell Cannon spoke to the group about why the curriculum is important. Again, during the curriculum piloting, Darrell Cannon spoke directly with teachers who were about to pilot the curriculum and emphasized why the curriculum is critical.

The major way that survivors participate in Reparations Won is by guest speaking in classrooms. While the content and format of these presentations and discussions may vary depending on the torture survivor, I coded five main themes contained in what survivors share with students: torture/incarceration, after incarceration, resources, lessons, and the reparations fight.

Table 1: Sub-themes of What Survivors Share	
Code	Description
torture/incarceration	describing torture or incarceration

after incarceration	describing the effects of incarceration on survivors' lives after they are released from prison
resources	resources for students to use if they have questions for the survivors, want to learn more about reparations, or want information about the resources available at the Chicago Torture Justice Center
lessons	lessons or experiences survivors share with students in order to protect them or teach them to protect themselves
reparations fight	describing the campaign for reparations and why reparations was approached in the way it was

As is shown in Table 1, the survivors cover a wide variety of topics relating to their experiences and what they have to offer to students. These topics impact the benefits survivors receive from speaking in schools and impact what students gain from the experience.

However, survivors' ability to participate in implementation and speak in schools was not and is not necessarily a foregone conclusion; survivors and other stakeholders had to push for survivors to be given permission to speak in schools. The process of what this push looked like is difficult to piece together, with different vantage points from the participants I interviewed. However, CTU staff Conrad attended a meeting with a couple survivors; CPS students who were giving feedback; and CPS officials. He remembered that survivors were focused on "being speakers, coming into the classrooms, and letting the students actually ask questions of them, and not getting in the way or other folks getting in the way of that process" (Conrad, personal communication, January 24, 2022). Indeed, when students gave feedback on the curriculum, they too wanted to know more about the survivors and put "a face" to the curriculum. Survivor Mark Clements (personal communication, January 3, 2022) corroborated Conrad's statement:

My entire process was to ensure that torture survivors would not be left out, that they would be included, and that they would have the right to go into the school and to

basically provide their accounts to the students and that it would not be done by a third party.

Therefore, it was important to survivors and to the students who gave feedback that survivors be able to come into schools to share their narratives. However, according to survivor Anthony Holmes (personal communication, January 4, 2022), allowing survivors to speak in schools “was a problem in the beginning because they figured we would come in talking crazy, putting the police down and all that. But... we assured them that that’s not what we on.” So, having survivors as guest speakers was initially a point of contention early in the process of developing the curriculum and rolling it out for implementation.

From the creators’ side, however, the process seemed to be more logistical rather than agreement or disagreement with the concept of inviting survivors to speak in classrooms. Former Director of the Department of Social Science and Civic Engagement Jessica Marshall (personal communication, January 11, 2022) considered it “an ethical commitment that... our work should be powered by centered in, rooted in the voices of the people who fought for this and who are most directly impacted by this history.” Thus, she was not concerned with the question of whether torture survivors would speak in schools. Rather, Jessica was concerned with orchestrating what survivors’ speaking would look like; she stated that the process was collaborative and more about how a speakers’ bureau, the organization of survivor speakers, would function:

As we thought about preparing teachers, I think the idea to connect survivors first to teachers came because we thought it was more important for teachers to hear directly from survivors than from us to tell the story of survivors... And so, I think the first step in our relationship was really about having survivors come to teachers’ professional

development. And teachers naturally asked, we want our students to also hear these stories and be connected and be part of this. And so, we knew that, and so we also had conversations early on about what would a speakers' bureau look like? (Jessica Marshall, personal communication, January 11, 2022)

Jessica's quote contains two concerns: how to support teachers and how to implement a speakers' bureau. Both are important to consider. Supporting teachers might look like professional development on how to prepare classes to interact with torture survivors. Especially considering the social-emotional learning component of the curriculum that arises when students are taught potentially emotional and traumatic material, students must be sufficiently prepared to receive the material. For Jessica, the logistics of a speakers' bureau was also tied with conversations of how the new Chicago Torture Justice Center would be structured and how it would work. Thus, coordination was necessary to start the speakers' bureau, figure out how to expand the number of speakers in it, and figure out how to sufficiently pay survivors for their time and work.

The push for survivors to speak in schools was approached from two angles: the first considered whether survivors should be allowed to speak in schools; the second considered how such a process might logistically work. However, in implementation, getting survivors to speak in schools has come up against a few barriers.

Teachers' and Administrators' Discretion

Whether or not survivors are able to speak in classrooms and, therefore, how much survivors can participate in curriculum implementation largely rests in the hands of teachers and school administrators. Survivors' participation is conditional on their invitation into classroom spaces; as a result, any benefits of their participation is also conditional. Though the curriculum

is mandated by CPS, the mandate does not mean that teachers necessarily teach it in their classrooms. Teachers and administrators choose if they teach the curriculum, how they teach it, and whether or not they want to invite survivors. The curriculum writes in points for teachers specifically to exercise their discretion as implementers of the curriculum—they can choose which videos to share, which testimonies to read, etc. Even the length of the curriculum depends on the teacher; Reparations Won is intended to be three to five weeks, depending on the length of time teachers allot in the year. These uses of discretion vary, from the length of time to what resources students use or what activities they do.

Despite the curriculum mandate, not all schools—only about 90%—teach Reparations Won, and this statistic is likely higher than in actuality, since it was acquired through self-reporting; additionally, no data exists about implementation in individual classrooms in schools (Kunichoff, 2021). Former CPS student Brandon (personal communication, November 18, 2021) stated, “I talked to a lot of my friends outside of my school, and they actually didn’t even learn [the curriculum]. And they’re also CPS students.” Not only does this mean that the curriculum is not taught in all high school classrooms, but it also means that it may not be taught in the communities most affected by CPD torture and therefore most directly impacted (Mark Clements, personal communication, January 3, 2022).

Inviting torture survivors or other guest speakers is also not a requirement of the curriculum. In the middle school curriculum, the unit extensions suggest that teachers invite police officers or community activists to speak to students, but neither the middle school nor the high school curriculum suggest inviting torture survivors (Chicago Public Schools, 2017, Middle School, pg. 74; Chicago Public Schools, 2017, High School). The Chicago Torture Justice Center reports that it receives about 75 requests per year for guest speakers (Kunichoff, 2021). Brandon

said that, though it likely would have helped his understanding, his teacher did not invite any guest speakers.

In order for teachers to invite torture survivors, they need to be exposed to them first as a resource and as someone they can invite into the classroom. Teachers also must understand the impact that guest speakers can have on students. Teacher Dave Stieber stated that he already knew the impact that guest speakers have. He also explained:

Once I heard Darrell speak to teachers, I was like, you know, he's definitely gonna speak to students. And then I think the person was Vincent Wade the very first year, I think, so when he came and spoke the first year at CPS at Chicago Vocational, you know, he did an amazing job. And so I was like, "Okay... there will always be a survivor that speaks during this curriculum. (Dave Stieber, personal communication, January 10, 2022)

Thus, Dave who was already passionate about having guest speakers, still required the push from first listening to survivor Darrell Cannon speak. Having experienced Vincent Wade speaking to students in a classroom, only then did he decide that he would *always* invite a survivor to speak. All of the decisions were made by Dave, and no one else. So, teachers have an enormous amount of discretion when deciding whether or not speakers will have access to CPS classrooms.

For teacher Justina, the decision to invite a survivor also came from previous exposure to a survivor guest speaking when she was a student teacher. Though she stated that inviting guest speakers was part of her training as a history teacher, she learned about the impact of torture survivors speaking to students when her cooperating teacher, who was trained at a CPS professional development, invited a survivor to speak in the classroom (Justina, personal communication, February 10, 2022). As a result, in her first year of teaching, Justina prioritized inviting a torture survivor as a guest speaker. Therefore, not only is survivors' participation

conditional on their invitation, but their invitation is conditional on teachers' exposure to survivors as resources to aid students' learning of Reparations Won.

In addition, though teachers make the final decision to invite survivors, two barriers emerged within Chicago Public Schools that made it difficult for survivors to get into the classrooms. Teachers and administrators faced CPS rules and lack of support, as well as speakers' fees. Both factors have placed a strain on teachers who wanted torture survivors to speak in their classrooms.

The CPS curriculum does not explicitly tell teachers to utilize survivors as guest speakers as a resource. According to CTU Chief of Staff Jen Johnson (personal communication, January 5, 2022), "the district put together an FAQ [Frequently Asked Questions] that included some instructions on how you could get a survivor to come and connected you to the torture center. But it wasn't as well-known as I think it should have been." Teachers might find this information at elective professional development sessions with CPS or CTU, but both methods require that teachers seek out information about the curriculum first.

The next difficulty teachers might encounter also relates to CPS' rules; teachers must get administrative approval to invite guests. Jen (personal communication, January 5, 2022) states, "Some principals are totally fine with that, they make it happen. Other administrators are leery." When administrators are leery or are not supportive of having a guest speaker, particularly a torture survivor, administrators may use CPS rules to block teachers from inviting guests. Jen (personal communication, January 5, 2022) explains one example:

The district put in place, as a result of the sexual abuse scandal... kind of an overly burdensome background check policy, which they then tried to apply to what they call certain levels of volunteers, and they tried to consider guest speakers, these volunteers.

And it's like, well, these [torture survivors] are gonna have stuff come up on their background checks. They were incarcerated... So some schools did not get speakers and they wanted them. Some teachers did not get speakers and they wanted them.

In this case, principals are able to use applications of CPS rules to block teachers from inviting survivors. In particular, the use of background checks on survivors, who have been convicted and incarcerated, is difficult to get around.

Finally, the other barrier to inviting torture survivors is the speaker's fee. Teachers often have to pay the speaker's fee themselves out of pocket, which is \$200. Jen (personal communication, January 5, 2022) claimed, "they couldn't get their administrator to write a check, or they couldn't get the school to open a bucket." Therefore, administrators create a potential barrier for the teacher, especially if they are not informed or exposed to torture survivors as educational sources and therefore motivated to find a way to pay for the speaker. Teacher Dave Stieber (personal communication, January 10, 2022) related:

There's multiple years where I just had to pay the, the, whatever, the \$200 out of pocket, because I'm like, it's going to be worth it... I wouldn't teach the curriculum without having a survivor... you'd miss so much of the actual learning that happens, if you have the chance to bring someone in who experienced this thing.

So, because some teachers think it is that important, they pay the speakers' fees themselves, which places a financial burden on teachers. Many, understandably, will choose not to do so.

According to Jen Johnson (personal communication, January 5, 2022), the district's FAQ includes "direct and easy guidance that principals should pay for [speakers]" and "if the principal can't pay for this, you can reach out to CPS." Unfortunately, the FAQ is not well-known to teachers or administrators. Dave also mentioned that another teacher at his school last year paid

for it because the administration said they did not have the budget to pay for a survivor to speak. Dave, who is involved in the CTU, did not know until last year that there was money set aside at the CPS Department of Social Studies and Civic Engagement to pay for speakers.

Section 2: Impact of Survivors Speaking in Schools

Since survivors' speaking in schools is the main way in which they participate in Reparations Won, I examined this aspect in more depth. Survivors' speaking in schools impacts both the survivors by participating in the process of dignity restoration and reparations and the students by forging connections with survivors, their stories, and their lessons. The potential effects created by this interaction between survivors and students speak to the importance of survivor participation in Reparations Won.

Survivors: Restoring Their Dignity By Owning Their Stories

For some survivors, the existence of the Reparations Won curriculum is a central and important part of the 2015 reparations package. CTJM co-founder Alice Kim (personal communication, February 10, 2022) recalled that the curriculum was an important part of reparations negotiations because of survivors' desire

to impact, to have their stories told, but really to be in conversation, to be able to influence, to be able to guide young people, to share their experiences with young people... to prevent this from happening to anyone else ever again.

This quote from Alice summarizes my findings about the impact the Reparations Won curriculum has and continues to have on survivors. As a crucial part of the reparations package's pledge to forward-looking reparations, it works toward healing the community and protecting the future; survivors want to educate future generations and prevent harm from happening to them. When I spoke to survivors LaTanya Jenifor-Sublett, Mark Clements, and Anthony Holmes, I

found that, for them, the curriculum is a source of dignity restoration. They felt like they were reclaiming their freedom and dignity from a system that had wrongfully convicted them under tortured confessions, and they felt freer in living their truths. Speaking in schools is a way to push their truth and their narrative against the narrative the system had brought up against them—and even the narratives taught in schools from third-person perspectives; being able to speak directly to students seems to play a part in dignity restoration for the survivors. Moreover, the curriculum provides space to connect with young students and teach them about the law and policing so that students can avoid dangerous situations. By playing a part in educating young people, survivors see hope in the future generations and hope that what happened to them will never happen again.

Dignity Restoration, Healing, and Hope.

The curriculum is a testament to the resilience of the survivors as they have faced a system that has repeatedly covered up the truth and refused to believe survivors' experiences. Survivor Anthony Holmes (personal communication, January 4, 2022) stated:

This is our way of, you know, explaining ourselves to everyone to listen to what we had to say. Because if you notice, in the beginning, didn't nobody believe us. So it took a lot of you know, going around speaking and everything else to get where we at now. The reason we hooked up reparations in the schools is that we want the young people to understand what was going on and what happened to us and know the truth instead of being handed the lies that they'd already put out about us because all of us got convicted on charges that Burge brought up against us.

As Anthony said, the curriculum is a way to be believed, against a system of prosecutors, judges, and government officials that has created narratives of criminality for the survivors, through the

use and perpetuation of their tortured confessions. Especially when no one believed them for decades, being able to speak in classrooms to many young people about their experiences is valuable and potentially healing for survivors. In the face of a massive system pushing narratives of their criminality, survivors persevere and fight for their dignity by speaking their truths.

Yet, even when the system attempts to tell the story of torture survivors, the curriculum's third-person perspective is not enough. Mark (personal communication, January 3, 2022) claimed,

It leaves a lot of important factors as to really what took place inside of the interrogation room. What was the process of our judiciary system like? And what did they experience behind the prison wall? You know, I think those accounts can only be told accurately by torture survivors.

Mark (personal communication, January 3, 2022) goes even further by saying “the system’s narrative is watered down.” Without survivors going to the classrooms to share their stories, Anthony (personal communication, January 4, 2022) says “[students] only have knowledge of what the police are saying, what the newspaper is saying, instead of about us.” Thus, as both Mark and Anthony have suggested, being able to tell their stories to students not only means they are believed, but they are believed *against* an opposing, convoluted, or simply detached narrative. Though the curriculum includes some survivors’ testimony, which was an important part of the design of the curriculum, both Mark and Anthony believe that reading testimony or watching a deposition is different from the firsthand experience of being able to talk to and interact with a living survivor. Mark implies, by stating that the accounts are “told accurately by torture survivors,” that the account of each survivor is different from another’s account and that survivors are not a homogeneous group.

The theme of survivors' narratives being pitted against the system's narratives is reflected in my interviews with all three survivors. LaTanya, in particular, is impacted by the curriculum because her narrative, in the system, is omitted. As one of the only women survivors to come forward, she has not benefited from the reparations package in terms of monetary compensation, access to housing, etc. One of the few benefits to her, therefore, is the curriculum. She participates in the speakers' bureau at the Chicago Torture Justice Center and has been invited to many classrooms across CPS to speak about her experience. She said, "I have been able to say to many different audiences that reparations is not done, because guess what, they didn't think about me...So I still fight today saying include women and include things that benefit women" (LaTanya Jenifor-Sublett, personal communication, January 15, 2022). By sharing her story, she is able to feel some form of healing from when she was not believed in the beginning or even thought about when reparations were put into policy. Her dignity was not even taken into consideration when the reparations package was created; by affirming her humanity and reinforcing her agency, the curriculum helps to restore that dignity when students and educators listen and believe her. LaTanya was initially not even believed by fellow survivors, so the impact of being believed by so many students is significant. In some ways, with the students' help, LaTanya is restoring and reclaiming her own dignity, after it was stolen by her torturers and those who did not believe her story. At the same time, LaTanya is able to share her fight to continue revising reparations as well to make it accessible for women survivors.

As a result of being believed and being able to share their stories, survivors feel liberated, free, and hopeful. LaTanya (personal communication, January 15, 2022) claims:

So, because I was trying to fit in this society without telling my story. I have been more free since I have just said, This is who I am. This is my story. And either you like me or

you don't, nothing for me to be proud of. It's for me to fight for other people. You know, life has changed for me. And I think that comes through to people, you know that this is all I got. I don't profess to sing or dance or anything. What I have is that the worst freakin' thing that ever happened to me has created space for me. And I try to fill that space as much as I can.

By acknowledging what happened to her, LaTanya is able to slowly come to terms with her truth and her own story. She can better recognize her own humanity, dignity, and agency. When she first was released from prison, she tried to be “basic,” live what she considered a normal life, and move past what happened to her, but she found that being “basic” would never be possible for her. Therefore, she feels “freer, liberated, emancipated, every time [she shares her] story” (LaTanya Jenifor-Sublett, personal communication, January 15, 2022). For survivor Anthony Holmes, speaking in schools is about taking back his freedom, which was stolen from him when he was tortured. For both Anthony and LaTanya, reclaiming their stories has allowed them to reclaim their freedom as well. Thus, as they are agents of reclaiming themselves and their stories, they are agents of reparations and dignity restoration. Forward-looking reparations involves healing the community; participating in the curriculum is a part of that healing for the community. In addition, because the process of speaking in schools helps survivors heal, they, as agents, restore their own dignity.

Furthermore, survivors gain hope from being able to talk to students and knowing that students are now armed with the knowledge of what happened to torture survivors. Mark (personal communication, January 3, 2022) said, “I see a lot of hope with the young people of today opposed to the young people 30-40 years ago. I see a lot of pushback by the young people.” By interacting with students and listening to their comments and questions, survivors

are able to see hope for a future free of torture. The future generation's growing knowledge of their rights, what happened to the torture survivors, and why it happened gives survivors this hope. Perhaps, armed with that knowledge, as their critical consciousnesses grow, students might take up advocacy for themselves. For LaTanya (personal communication, January 15, 2022), this hope prevents her from being jaded by the continuous fight for justice:

What I love about it is it allows me to know that there are people who are 20 years younger than me, who are fighting, you know, this cause. And I think if I didn't go in the classrooms, if I didn't speak in the classrooms, I would just be jaded by, it's just, you know, us torture survivors. You know, what the classrooms do for me is really solidified that you don't necessarily have to have this as a lived experience, to have the passion, you know, to have the drive to say this isn't right. You know, so that impacts me on a level that I probably can't even verbalize. But that really, really impacts me that I can speak in a classroom and move students to change... Really, I feel liberated, even more anytime I speak in any classroom.

If reparations is about healing the community, then torture survivors are included in that community. By speaking in schools, torture survivors are healing, liberated, freed, and hopeful. In doing so, they participate in the healing that forward-looking reparations and dignity restoration suggests. Furthermore, LaTanya speaks of the potential to “move students to change.” This hope of change is in line with theories of transformative learning and culturally sustaining pedagogy, as students' perspectives may be transformed and their critical consciousnesses may grow because of what they have learned from the curriculum and from torture survivors in particular. This potential for transformation also seems to be part of the reason survivors speak in

schools. Classrooms are an avenue through which survivors can share what they learned and create change in future generations.

Value of Imparting Lessons to Students.

Beyond explaining to students their truths or their stories, survivors also share lessons with students. While the lessons may be related to their stories, survivors' lessons focus on helping students understand their rights and how to protect themselves. Part of the goal of reparations is to prevent injustices from happening again. By being a part of the curriculum's implementation and engaging with students, survivors are directly able to influence this goal of prevention. Survivors may utilize their own experiences to try to deter students from engaging in harmful practices, they might deliver lessons to students to instruct them how to act in certain situations, or they might share resources to help students.

Survivor Anthony Holmes particularly wanted to stress how not to get "caught up" and how to act with police officers. Repeatedly, he tells students to "be humble" with police officers in order to get respect back and hopefully avoid getting "caught up":

The bottom line is, you know, as long as you respectful, then expect to get respect back... they say you get on the ground, get on the ground... I'm not saying it still won't happen. But I'm saying that you have a better chance of getting by without getting pushed down, stomped on, or maybe even shot. And that's, you know, that's the way it goes. But the bottom line is, you know, we ain't got to worry about that because of the fact that that's why we're here telling y'all how to conduct y'allselfes with them. So y'all don't go through the same things that we went through, you won't get put in jail, you won't get, you know, caught up in something that you didn't have nothing to do with, you won't get accused... police gonna do [what] they gonna do. And that's the bottom line. So what we

saying is, just be respectful, no matter how you feel. Just be respectful. And that's all.

(Anthony Holmes, personal communication, January 4, 2022)

For Anthony, going into classrooms to speak to students is also a chance to warn students about how to act around police to avoid getting into trouble. While he cannot guarantee that students might not be mistreated or abused by police, he shares tactics so that the chance of getting hurt decreases. Anthony seeks to “open their eyes” about what police officers are capable of and what they might do. He warns them, “Once you get caught up in that circle... Whether you're good or bad, it don't matter, because you're gonna end up with an X on your back, either dead or in the penitentiary” (Anthony Holmes, personal communication, January 4, 2022). Anthony’s remarks make it clear that he is trying to influence students to be safe and act according to the law, so that he can prevent future harm from happening. This intention is directly related to the goals of forward-looking reparations. In enacting this intention in classrooms, Anthony enacts reparations for himself and for the community.

Similarly, LaTanya Jenifor-Sublett tries to deter students from committing acts that could get them into trouble, or as she calls them, “something stupid.” For example, she told me:

I said to one of the young ladies, I said, ‘How would you feel if somebody told you to get naked right now in front of all these people? And then you had to put on the clothes that she has on?’ And she was like, ‘ew’... And, and the thought was, I said, that's what happens when you get to prison, and you have to strip search, naked. And then you put on a jumpsuit that somebody else had on. And they were like, ‘Oh no, I'm never going to prison.’ And I'm like, so if I can get in your mind don't go to prison, just because you want to wear all your little fancy clothes, you know, I have done my job. (LaTanya Jenifor-Sublett, January 15, 2022)

LaTanya believes that part of her job is to prevent students from doing “something stupid” and getting, as Anthony said, “caught up” in something they do not intend to. LaTanya used a description of the prison system and of incarceration to deter students, while Anthony used his experience with torture to encourage students to act respectfully. Furthermore, LaTanya is able to offer niche knowledge of the law of which students may not know. Since LaTanya was convicted based on Illinois’ theory or law of accountability, which states that one can be convicted of a crime they were present for before, during, or after the crime, she stresses Illinois’ law to Chicago students. She will explain that, for example, if a student is waiting in the car for someone and that other person assaults someone else without the student knowing, the student could still be held accountable. This information, LaTanya states, warns students to not only watch what they themselves are doing but also what their friends and acquaintances are doing as well. Teacher Dave Stieber (personal communication, January 10, 2022), whose students have heard this lesson from LaTanya, states: “that kind of resonates with students on a life level of like, oh, yeah, for real, think about who you're dating because it can really impact you.” Therefore, the lessons that survivors share come through to students; this recognition of survivors’ impact is part of why survivors speak. Interestingly, these lessons seem to line up with what might be considered the “system’s” messages about how to behave; whether intentionally or unintentionally, survivors use their influence and the impact they have on students to emphasize these messages in order to protect students.

In addition, survivors might tell students not only how to avoid getting caught up, but also what to do when something happens. To survivor Mark Clements (personal communication January 3, 2022), talking to students is an “opportunity to educate the young kids about knowing their rights” and knowing what to do when they encounter police officers or when they encounter

something wrong happening. He tells students that they are allowed attorneys; he tells them that they are allowed three phone calls once they are arrested. Without these safeguards in place, “generally the police gets away with it each and every time” (Mark Clements, personal communication, January 3, 2022). So, for Mark, it is important that students know their constitutional rights and know what they are owed in the judicial system. He sees it as an “educational opportunity back to the community” that has borne the harm of torture and abuse (Mark Clements, personal communication, January 3, 2022). Education for the directly impacted community aligns with the purpose of reparations: to heal the impacted communities. So, not only are survivors benefitting from the speaking in classrooms, but the community is also benefitting from hearing their lessons.

Anthony (personal communication, January 4, 2022) adds onto this advice for students to know their rights by reminding them what to do if they see something bad happen:

What you do is you tell your mother, teachers, counselors, anybody that's an authority, let them deal with that, give them the information they need... All you gotta do is remember the badge number, or the car number or a name and that's how you do that so that way you won't be caught up.

Thus, he teaches them skills to remember if a police officer does something wrong and teaches them how to deal with that issue.

Finally, by speaking in classrooms, survivors share resources with students to add onto the lessons. Anthony makes sure to share ways to contact the Chicago Torture Justice Center, which offers help against police violence and institutionalized racism. LaTanya shares her email address with students to contact her. According to teacher Dave Stieber, female students frequently reach out to LaTanya.

Students' Responses: Forming Connections with Survivors, Their Stories, and Their Lessons

To find the impact of survivors' stories and lessons on students, I interviewed survivors, teachers, and creators who observed classrooms to understand how students respond to survivors' stories. Because I was limited in being able to interview former students, I rely on other perspectives to gain insight into what students displayed as a result of survivors' speaking. While I cannot measure impact or share students' perspectives, the observations of those who saw and interacted with students serve as a proxy; however, to some extent, these observations are colored by actors' own beliefs. With all perspectives taken together, though, I was able to form an approximation of students' experiences.

I found that, for students, having survivors in the classroom can be impactful because it gives students the opportunity to ask questions and listen to survivors. Students connect more deeply with the material when they can relate to survivors' experiences, whether of police brutality or of, like LaTanya, realizing how much trouble can result from associating with certain people. They are able to engage with the lessons survivors offer to them as well. However, I also found that the experience of students is difficult to describe and homogenize, since students have different backgrounds and listen to survivors who also have different stories. Students may respond in different ways that may or may not be reflective of how they feel or of the real impact of survivors. Some may be rude to survivors. However, by engaging with the survivors, students have the opportunity to understand the depth of torture and incarceration and are able to get firsthand information; at least outwardly, to those who interact with them, students seem to generally benefit and learn from this opportunity. Teacher Dave Stieber (personal communication, January 10, 2022) shared:

For the survivors to be, you know, real people and living and just have all these stories and the ability to, like, be able to share that story... and also share it without just anger, the whole time... just the way that they're able to share their stories is just very profound, and really impacts kids in a good way.

Being “real people” means that survivors can share their real stories in a way that inspires healing for themselves and promotes greater understanding for students. Survivors share what happened when they were tortured, as well as about their incarceration and the effects of their incarceration after they were released. When students respond, their responses reveal their comprehension and processing of the material.

Over and over again, in my interviews, participants stressed the importance of firsthand information and hearing stories from the survivors themselves. A theme that repeated itself as well was that hearing from torture survivors “makes it real.” In the student feedback process, according to Conrad (personal communication, January 24, 2022), students stated that “it’s important that somehow there is a face, a picture, to the folks who endure this horror, and so it made it real for the students.” LaTanya (personal communication, January 15, 2022) compared it to the difference between seeing something on the news or Facebook versus seeing it in real life and knowing that it is not “manufactured” or “Photoshopped.” Mark Clements (personal communication, January 3, 2022) claimed:

[Survivors’ speaking in schools] allows the students as well as the educators to get it firsthand. Firsthand information is very important. That way it leaves out the third party, I think that it is so important to have most of the survivors living to give their accounts. Because now it puts a face to the story. And I think that is always important. You know, it's not like, each and every day, you walk down the street and someone say, "Hey, by the

way, I have been incarcerated for X amount of years, locked up inside of a prison." I think that it is so very important to put the face of someone... I think that it is so very important for individuals to be alive and to basically tell their story to younger people. Because most younger people today, they think that they can't be touched by the system. They think that the system will not do this in the year of 2022. When in reality, it does it each and every day.

The idea that survivors make it real for both students and adults is an important one. By making something real to students, survivors and teachers are developing students' critical consciousness, an aspect of culturally sustaining pedagogy. They are making students aware of police torture, racism, and more. Not only does it show the potential impact that survivors can have, but it also has other implications. These stories, told by survivors directly, are seemingly necessary for learning. Teachers Dave Stieber (personal communication, January 10, 2022) and William Weaver (personal communication, December 5, 2021) said they would not teach the curriculum without inviting survivors and, more than other speakers or other lessons, classes that feature survivors as guest speakers create the highest level of engagement for students.

The survivors typically start by sharing their stories with the students, starting from their torture by members of the Chicago Police Department. Mark Clements (personal communication, January 3, 2022) shared,

Generally what I share with the kids is, I was 16 years old, I was taken down to the police station, handcuffed to a ring, called these degrading names such as n***** boy, n*****,* motherfucker, and all of these great names, smacked, kicked, punched, having my

* In the interview, Mark does not censor himself. Though I do not reproduce the word here, Mark's intentional usage of the word is indicative of the work it performs when he uses it when, perhaps, guest speaking in classrooms. It seems to provide a shock value that is important to the description of Mark's torture to audiences.

genitals and testicles grabbed and squeezed, not once, but I went through this episode twice. And the same system that I thought was in place to protect me were the ones that were doing this... And then, man, sitting around degrading, demoralizing prisons for 28 years of my life, basically begging, white, and I describe them as white, old, bald-headed people, you know, for 28 years of my life, and none of them willing to listen, you know, to my account of it.

From the above quote, students know exactly what happened to Mark when he was tortured, how he was treated, how he felt, and how he spent the next 28 years of his life in prison. Rather than reading about the torture or watching a video about it, instead, students have access to the primary source, alive and in front of them. After Mark tells his story, students can ask him more questions.

In addition, students might hear about what life is like after incarceration. Teacher Dave Stieber (personal communication, January 10, 2022) described,

LaTanya's got stories about, you know, once she got out and she was working, and then the job she worked, she was doing great, she was moving up, and then someone like Googled her name, and then they found that story, you know, they put that into the workspace and just made for a toxic work environment... And [students] just want to know, like all those ins and outs of that.

Thus, students learn about not only the terrible acts of torture that were committed, but they also learn about the brutality of the incarceration system and its lasting effects on people. For example, according to teacher William Weaver, Darrell Cannon discussed the impact that prison and solitary confinement continued to have on his life.

For the most part, when survivors talk, students are silent but attentive; high school teacher Dave Stieber (personal communication, January 10, 2022) related,

It's just very silent, but like, full on attention... When you teach long enough, that doesn't happen all that often... where, every single kid is like, 100% listening, every single word... And so, it's like that in the moment.

This kind of response from students is rare and indicative of the impact of survivors' words.

Though Dave is not a student himself, he notes from students' responses the potential effect of survivors. In my interviews with survivors as well, they also described students as usually respectful.

The impact that firsthand accounts have can bring up a lot of emotions. According to Mark, often, the reality of the situation hurts them and reminds them of people they know who are incarcerated or who have been mistreated by law enforcement; Mark (personal communication, January 3, 2022) said, "it brings up probably hurt and repressed anger and disappointment... they look at it that, well maybe their relative did have drugs or... was using drugs, but it's not their narrative that their relatives should be locked up." Survivor Anthony Holmes (personal communication, January 4, 2022) said, "It breaks them down, they see the realness... some of them cry... some of them, their sisters or brothers got caught up..." Of course, some students might connect to torture survivors more than others. Since torture survivors are predominantly Black, teacher Justina (personal communication, January 10, 2022) noted that Black students tend to connect more with the experiences of torture survivors and tend to have more direct connections to police brutality. On the other hand, Justina's Hispanic students are often learning about police brutality from a secondary perspective; even still, they have emotional reactions to the pain and suffering torture survivors underwent. They can still

connect to the experiences empathetically. Also, unfortunately, the CPD's recent killing of 13-year-old Latino Adam Toledo also brought the issue of police brutality close to home for Latinx students (Justina, personal communication, January 10, 2022). CTU Chief of Staff Jen Johnson (personal communication, January 5, 2022) states, "These guys are like people's uncles or people's relatives, right? They're familiar, kind of normal people that especially kids in Chicago can relate to." Thus, for the majority of students, hearing from torture survivors elicits an empathetic and emotional response.

Though students may be deeply impacted survivors' stories, students are still young and often do not know much about torture and incarceration. They can be rude and disrespectful. Some do not listen; as survivor Mark Clements (personal communication, January 3, 2022) said,

They are either 13 or 14 years of age. All they're waiting on is to hear the recess bell. You know, the lunch bell. Even in the high schools, I think it's 10th graders, man, they thinking about the party for the weekend, some boy or some girl that they like in the school building.

Some students ask many questions, and these questions can be accusatory; they often ask, "Are you sure you didn't commit the crime?" (Mark Clements, personal communication, January 3, 2022). Survivor LaTanya Jenifor-Sublett (personal communication, January 15, 2022) once spoke to eighth graders: "I told them my whole story. And then one of them got up and asked me a question and said, 'So you went to the police station and snitched?'" Every time she speaks, too, someone asks LaTanya about the TV show *Orange is the New Black*. Given these comments students have made, I found that I was not able to flatten experiences of survivors, students, and teachers into a single narrative, and it is important to recognize the multiplicity of experiences and perspectives. While some students outwardly empathized and perhaps deeply related to

survivors' experiences, other students were silent or even rude; without students' perspectives, I cannot conclude whether all students were benefitting from interacting with survivors, but from other actors' point of view and from students' responses, there is at least great potential for students to benefit.

Students still interact with the survivors, learn from them, and engage with the curriculum's material. Observers notice them talking to survivors and asking them questions. According to teacher Dave Stieber (personal communication, January 10, 2022), they frequently ask the following questions:

How are you not just angry all the time?... What is it like, now, when you see a police officer, or how are you able to go about living your life now? And how have you, like, survived the situation? And how does it impact your life now... good and bad?... There'll be... specific things to different survivors' stories.

Students' asking questions shows their engagement in the material and in what survivors say. They might ask Anthony Holmes "How did you feel when it happened?" and learn from his response:

You can't feel, you know, you have a lot of animosity and you've got a lot of hate because of the fact that there was nobody there to help us. But then you got to look at it this way. It's been like this for a long time. This ain't just started, you know, they've been doing this for years. Like I told the judge, I said, you know, I'm used to being beaten by police. But I'm not used to being in tortured by no police, make me say something I didn't do, ain't nothing like this to happen to me, you know, almost kill me. You know, fine, I just gave up, I'm dying. So let me go on and die then, you know, but I was fortunate enough and

I'm still here and I'm still here to speak on this and then I'm going to continue to speak on this. (Anthony Holmes, personal communication, January 4, 2022)

From Anthony's reply, students begin to understand not only how he felt, but the true, human impact of torture, in a way that they might not understand from the rest of the curriculum, after reading and talking about it. By hearing from Anthony himself, students do not need to guess how survivors might have felt, and they also are able to hear from an individual experience with torture that may be different from other survivors'. Like Dave said, different survivors have different experiences and lessons to share with students, adding to the complexity of the curriculum experience for students.

In addition, survivors' guest speaking in classrooms are chances for survivors to respond to students' reactions. According to teacher William Weaver (personal communication, December 5, 2021), when survivor Darrell Cannon spoke to his class, "There were many emotions that students exhibited based on what they heard. Some students cried, were visibly angry, quiet, and even surprised at what they heard. Most students showed sympathy for him." Thus, according to William, many students become emotional after hearing survivors speak, so survivors have some emotional impact on students. Then, when Darrell spoke to teacher Dave Stieber's (personal communication, January 10, 2022) class, Darrell was able to personally attend to their emotions and the impact he has on them:

One girl was crying, you know, just because she was feeling empathy towards, it was when Darrell spoke, just his story. And she was just feeling like, so like, you know, sad for him or whatever, that this thing happened to him. And like, he did a great job, like, talking to her.

Survivors can help students process the emotions and attend to their social-emotional learning considering the possible trauma the curriculum may bring up for students. Survivors may also respond with lessons to help students cope with their realities potentially shifting. For example, some students may be angry at the police or apologize for the way that survivors were treated; Anthony (personal communication, January 4, 2022) addresses these reactions with: “you can't be mad at the police... because you got some good cops, you got some bad cops, but the bottom line is, as long as you respectful, then expect to get respect back.” Therefore, survivors’ coming into classrooms to speak offer a chance for students to interact with them, learn beyond the content of the curriculum, and specifically, learn about individual stories, experiences, and lessons, which may differ from other guest speakers’.

When survivors speak, they estimate how many students are listening, processing, and fully understanding. While nothing compares to a comprehensive study, Mark (personal communication, January 3, 2022) “would like to believe that... maybe four or five kids out of each of these classrooms have learnt and caught on to the narrative about police tortures,” and he hopes that they are passing on the information to people in other states and universities. Of course, Mark could be under- or over-estimating his impact; nevertheless, he has found that typically,

You... reach one or two students, and then they are sliding into you. That means they're waiting until there's not so many ears. And they will tell you either that they have a parent or a loved one that is locked up, and you know, they want them out, and, you know, what is the requirements in getting them out and things of that nature. (Mark Clements, personal communication, January 3, 2022)

Therefore, in one day, in one class session, survivors are typically able to reach at least one or two students who need support and help and have experience with incarceration or police violence.

Section 3: Looking Forward

Reparations Won, as a policy, is constantly changing. Looking forward, I considered how the curriculum is currently changing and what, according to interviewees, could be changed. In general, I found that the curriculum and its implementation is evolving in response to stakeholders' feedback, particularly that of teachers, and stakeholders focus on teacher support and updating the curriculum with current events.

Revision Process

I found that there are two ways in which the curriculum is changing currently: through professional development and through a formal revision process. These two aspects are able to target different facets of the curriculum and its implementation. The professional development targets the way teachers receive the curriculum and the way they teach it in classrooms; the revision process targets content and also responds to feedback from teachers and others. Survivors are often invited to speak to educators in professional development sessions, and, unlike in the original creation process, survivors are also involved in the revision process. Thus, while I outline above the parameters for survivors' participation in Reparations Won, these parameters are continually evolving and changing as processes of revision and redevelopment change.

Though the curriculum itself has not changed so far since 2017, the professional development surrounding the curriculum has. According to CTU Chief of Staff Jen Johnson (personal communication, January 5, 2022), CPS and CTU were doing intense professional

development (PD) for a year and a half following the unveiling of the curriculum. Some of the PD is done by the individual organizations, and some are done in collaboration between CPS and CTU. The interviewees I spoke with mostly had experience with CTU's professional development. Aislinn Pulley (personal communication, January 27, 2022), co-Director of the Chicago Torture Justice Center (CTJC), noted that CTJC has developed a relationship with CTU and is part of CTU's professional developments. According to Aislinn (personal communication, January 27, 2022), professional development is a bit different every year as they learn more and things in the world change. When teacher Dave Stieber (personal communication, January 10, 2022) joined the CTU PD efforts, the educators at CTU broke the curriculum down into three parts: before, during, and after teaching the curriculum. CTU's PD instructs teachers to both prepare for teaching the curriculum and consider what to do next after teaching the curriculum. In addition, the curriculum itself only shows a snapshot in time, with the facts of what happened throughout the torture and advocacy surrounding it. CTU's PD educates teachers about the historical, systemic racism that led up to the torture of predominantly Black men, as well as the current events that informed what students might know about policing and race and racism. The professional development also seeks to remind teachers to empower their students and shows teachers troubleshooting tactics to help improve the curriculum and its implementation in the classroom (William Weaver, personal communication, December 5, 2021).

In addition to professional development, CPS and CTU are continuously putting out information about Reparations Won for teachers to improve their teaching. Most recently, Chicago Public Schools Department of Social Science and Civic Engagement, the Chicago Teachers Union, and Chicago Torture Justice Center compiled a tip sheet for teachers. The document contains best practices and resources, curriculum considerations, professional learning

opportunities in 2022, and contact information for more help (*Reparations Won Curriculum: Tip Sheet*, n.d.). Within the document are resources to learn about implicit bias, anti-racism, social and emotional learning, and teaching about race (*Reparations Won Curriculum: Tip Sheet*, n.d.).

While professional development on the Reparations Won curriculum continuously changes, there is an official revision process on the curriculum itself that is currently happening. Former CPS official Jessica Marshall is part of the revision process, and she said the emphasis has been on including content that creators did not know about before—particularly, including the voices of women survivors and the work of mothers of survivors. Jessica stated that the focus has also been on responding to teachers’ feedback, about what they want to see from the curriculum and with which parts of the curriculum they need support. In particular, Jessica claimed that because the curriculum is mandated, it requires ongoing support and resources for teachers to “do right by it”: “for me, the answer is not so much about the revision of the curriculum, it's about the revision of what we think it means to implement such a curriculum and the resources that it takes to do it well” (Jessica Marshall, personal communication, January 11, 2022). Thus, Jessica is focused on teacher support and continuing to have professional development so that teachers are able to implement the curriculum to their fullest ability.

Survivors are being included in the formal revision process and sit in on design sessions. What does it mean for survivors to now be involved in the redevelopment process? Survivor Anthony Holmes (personal communication, January 4, 2022) claimed, “They upgrading it. I agree with what they putting in, because I was part of it. Teachers and all of us got together on that.” The reason he gives is significant—he agrees because he was part of it. By being allowed to include his voice in the conversation, Anthony is able to give support to the curriculum and

understand what it contains. On the other hand, survivor LaTanya Jenifor-Sublett had a different experience from Anthony. She felt ignored when she sat in on a revision meeting:

I did sit in on a meeting for the revision of the curriculum. I'm just going to be transparent... I felt like there was not a lot of space for us, survivors, to have an influence on the curriculum. Really, I did. I was like, on that call for hours, it was a Zoom meeting. Like I was on there for hours, like, y'all really—you know what I'm saying? Like, yeah, y'all want to revise it, just so it can have a new date at the end of the paper, you know what I'm saying? Like, revised in 2020, or whatever, 2021. But I really didn't feel like they wanted impact, like valuable impact from the survivors. I really didn't. (LaTanya Jenifor-Sublett, personal communication, January 15, 2022)

Thus, not only is it clear that survivors are not a monolithic group and have different experiences, but LaTanya's quote also puts into question how much the survivors are allowed to participate and contribute to the revision process. Given the potential value of their contributions, as explored in Sections 1 and 2, survivors' participation seems like it should be centered.

Nevertheless, as Jessica Marshall (personal communication, January 11, 2022) said, it is important to remember that "It's also in process... It's not done yet. Even the engagement with survivors and community is not over." It is difficult to make any conclusions about the revision process since it is still in motion.

Considerations for Improvement of Reparations Won

When I asked interviewees what they would change about the curriculum and the way it is implemented, most of their answers fell within two areas: providing more context and providing more teacher support. Both of these areas, also, inform how survivors might participate in the implementation of the curriculum and guest speaking in classrooms; teachers

and their teaching influence how students might react to survivors, what questions they might ask, etc.

Teachers William Weaver and Justina in particular felt like the curriculum did not connect enough to current events and needs to be updated. For example, William (personal communication, December 5, 2021) and Justina (personal communication, February 10, 2022) brought in the killings of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor into their classrooms in 2020 and 2021. In addition, they connected it to what is happening in students' communities. Justina, who has predominantly Latinx students, connected Chicago police torture in the 1970s to 1990s to the police murder of a Latino boy named Adam Toledo in Chicago's Little Village.

Not only does context need to be built around the police torture students learn about in Reparations Won, but according to teacher Susanne (personal communication, January 29, 2022), rather than place the burden of education and providing context on the survivors who guest speak, teachers should also appropriately prepare students with context for survivors' guest speaking. Both Susanne and Jessica Marshall were concerned about what it meant to rely on survivors' stories and rely on them reliving their stories to "make it real" for people:

Like, we have survivors come to speak to teachers. And part of the reason we're doing that is because we know that it's because it's the right thing to do. And because it centers their story and lets them tell them their story for themselves. But we also saw that teachers came to see this differently when they heard from a survivor than if we had said it... Part of that makes me angry because it means we're asking more work of the people who've borne this, the weight of this experience to now come and say it so you'll believe it. Yeah, that bothers me. Yeah, that's where I'm worried. (Jessica Marshall, personal communication, January 11, 2022)

While survivors may benefit in some ways from speaking in classrooms and find dignity restoration, healing, and hope through the process, the meaning and effect of speaking in classrooms is something to consider. Survivor LaTanya (personal communication, January 15, 2022) mentioned that there are survivors who don't go to the Chicago Torture Justice Center and don't speak because they think that survivors are "used as pawns, like people make millions of dollars off [them]" and "really don't care about justice." In addition, survivor Darrell Cannon, according to teacher Justina (personal communication February 10, 2022), often speaks about the emotional and psychological toll speaking takes on him. Thus, speaking in classrooms should be structured in a way that does not exploit or profit off the survivors' suffering and minimizes negative effects on survivors. Teacher Susanne mitigated this concern by making sure that students fully understood the torture and the weight of the torture before survivors came into the classroom. Nevertheless, I noted that only other actors had these concerns, not survivors themselves.

In addition to providing more context for students around the CPD's torture of Chicagoans, a number of interviewees, including Jessica Marshall, Justina, Dave Stieber, and Conrad, greatly emphasized the necessity of greater teacher support for those teaching Reparations Won. In particular, these interviewees highlighted the need for greater professional development and opportunities for teachers to integrate restorative practices and social-emotional learning practices into their teaching. Because the curriculum is mandated, Jessica (personal communication, January 11, 2022) believes that CPS needs to provide support so that teachers are actually prepared to teach the curriculum and take on the emotional labor of teaching the curriculum. CTU staff Conrad (personal communication, January 24, 2022) advocated for support for teachers to manage the pacing of the curriculum and how it is structured in the rest of

the year, as well as how teachers can practice and show their students how to practice self-care. Teacher Justina (personal communication, February 10, 2022) wished CPS provided more spaces through which teachers could collaborate with and learn from one another about how to teach Reparations Won. In addition, interviewees expressed the need for more support on how to teach about race and racism. Thus, within these two areas of providing context and providing teacher support, CPS and its partners have many issues to address.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Considering the factors that have played into the creation and implementation of the Reparations Won curriculum, I compiled the following themes that need to and can be addressed: survivor participation in policymaking and implementation and teachers' roles as street-level decision-makers. To address survivors' participation, I suggest that CPS invite survivors into the revision process, as well as implement a feedback process through which survivors can submit opinions about the curriculum and their experiences in classrooms. To address teachers' discretion, I suggest that CPS increase the number of professional development sessions (PDs) available to teachers. Within this recommendation are three subsidiary recommendations on how to improve PDs to make them more effective and more supportive of survivors' speaking in classrooms and participating.

I make these recommendations based on their feasibility. CPS has many initiatives and Reparations Won is only a small part of what CPS facilitates and implements; as a result, I suggest that CPS use already-established avenues to improve how survivors are able to participate in the creation and implementation process of the curriculum. Nevertheless, I acknowledge that, because there are so many decision-makers involved in implementing policy

on the ground involved (i.e. street-level bureaucrats), much of the policy implementation process is up to the discretion of these decision-makers (Lipsky, 2010).

Involving Survivors in the Reparations Won Creation and Revision Processes

According to Andrew Baer (2018), survivors are able to act as dignity restorers and restore their own dignity by participating in the reparations fight and claims-making processes. Thus, survivors should at least be given the opportunity to continue acting as dignity restorers in the process of working toward reparations in terms of the Reparations Won curriculum. By involving survivors in each aspect of reparations, the City and other actors are providing opportunities for survivors to heal and for the community to repair—just what reparations seeks to achieve.

The first recommendation is to invite or continue inviting survivors to meetings about the revision process of the curriculum—and to make sure to foreground their voices. In my interviews, I found that torture survivors were not involved in the designing of the curriculum; rather, they were invited to a feedback session before the curriculum was rolled out and announced. While they still engaged with the curriculum design process, their engagement was in a different format from direct participation. In the revision process, to maximize the potential of dignity restoration and participation in the reparations process, I recommend that torture survivors be directly involved and foregrounded. In my interviews with torture survivors, being a part of the curriculum, at least by speaking in schools, helped make survivors feel liberated and hopeful for the future, and it was an avenue for healing. These benefits could apply to continued efforts to revise the curriculum as well.

Even though some survivors like Anthony Holmes feel like they are part of the Reparations Won revision process, LaTanya Jenifor-Sublett did not feel heard when she joined a

meeting. She also only joined one—perhaps because she did not feel heard or perhaps she was not invited to more. Thus, the issue seems to persist, where torture survivors are not equal participants of the revision process, just as they were not equal participants of the creation process. As a result, I recommend that torture survivors be invited to meetings to revise the curriculum.

The second recommendation is to develop a continuous system through which survivors may give feedback on the curriculum and on their experiences in the classroom. Not only would this recommendation attend to some of the issues around survivors not being always heard with regard to the curriculum, but it also would attend to some of the concerns around how to best structure the interaction between survivors and classrooms. Currently, though CPS receives feedback from teachers, there does not seem to be formal process or a formal collaboration between CPS and the Chicago Torture Justice Center for the speakers to submit feedback on their classroom experience. For example, it might be pertinent that LaTanya stopped accepting requests to speak in 8th grade classrooms after she was asked why she “snitched.” It might also be pertinent to CPS that Mark Clements is concerned that, for him at least, requests are only coming from communities who were not directly impacted by the torture. Teacher support was a main focus of the implementation of the curriculum and of the revision process but supporting survivors as they go into schools was not named as a focus. However, getting survivors’ perspectives on how sessions with students have gone would result in more data to better support teachers *and* survivors as they implement the curriculum.

In terms of implementation, CPS and the Chicago Torture Justice Center’s (CTJC) speakers’ bureau, an established partnership, could facilitate the process of getting feedback. Co-director of CTJC Aislinn Pulley mentioned that a council of representatives from CTJC, the

Chicago Torture Justice Memorials, the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU), CPS, and the Invisible Institute already meet monthly to facilitate the full implementation of the Reparations Ordinance. This council could also facilitate the feedback process of the speakers' bureau and, every month, evaluate, synthesize, and pass information among the organizations to best support both survivors and teachers when torture survivors come to speak in the classrooms. CTU and CPS could incorporate feedback suggestions into their professional development sessions or release information to teachers to help guide teaching the curriculum and inviting survivors. Within this feedback process, the council could collect feedback from survivors on whether or not they feel heard with the newly implemented process and how their experiences in the classroom might improve over time as a result of their input; in addition, CTU and CPS could collect feedback from teachers annually to see how their experiences with survivors has changed as a result of the information from survivors. Because the policy will take approximately two years to implement in full and evaluate the changes, evaluation should be iterative and occur monthly throughout the two years and beyond. If survivors and teachers report improvements to their classroom experiences and interactions with one another, then the policy will have accomplished its goal.

Professional Development

The main way to influence how and what teachers teach and do in the classroom is through professional development. Another way is through mandates, but I recommend that instead CPS strengthens its support for the Reparations Won curriculum through PD instead. As teacher Dave Stieber shared, CPS has too many mandates for its teachers, which make it difficult to keep track and follow them all. Dave (personal communication, January 10, 2022) related,

There's so many to the point of like, well, I'm not going to do that, because it's just another thing I'm being told to do. I feel like some teachers feel like that about [Reparations Won] without knowing anything about this curriculum.

So, teachers often automatically disregard mandates. As a result, professional development sessions (PDs) would be a better way of ensuring that teachers teach the Reparations Won material in an appropriate manner. PDs are also a more hands-on way to engage teachers and offer opportunities to show teachers exactly what is expected of them. In addition, PDs are a consistent method that facilitators can build upon as circumstances change and thus the content of the PDs change.

Another recommendation is to increase the number of PDs around Reparations Won and renew CPS' support for the curriculum. Years ago, at the beginning of the curriculum's rollout, according to Dave Stieber, CPS went region by region in the city, had different meetings, workshops, and trainings, and required that each school send two people to the trainings. Thus, CPS should not only increase the number of PDs but, again, require that each school send two representatives. Without mandating that every teacher attend, which may be difficult, the representatives could share with schools' history departments what they learned and allow teachers to decide for themselves whether or not they would like to attend a session of their own. Jessica Marshall, who is also writing her doctoral dissertation on teachers' support through Reparations Won, is particularly concerned about and interested in the level of support offered to teachers. By boosting the number of PDs and requiring that schools show their support by sending representatives, CPS would not only be showing its support for the Reparations Won curriculum in a way it has not since the curriculum was first rolled out, but it would also be providing teachers with the support they need to teach the curriculum effectively.

Increasing the number of PDs to the level it was when the curriculum was first introduced may seem ambitious. However, CPS has already implemented this kind of support before and its financial situation has since improved, according to Jessica. Thus, this recommendation seems feasible and reasonable. Nevertheless, Dave suggested that there may not be enough teacher development days built into the CPS calendar, which may be a limitation of the recommendation and may influence the speed at which it can be easily implemented.

Within the recommendation that CPS increase the number of PDs and require that schools send representatives to the sessions, I have two other subsidiary recommendations. First, I recommend that CPS invite survivors to all professional development sessions to expose teachers to survivors as a primary source and potential guest speaker. Second, I recommend that, in the PDs, CPS include information on how and when to invite survivors to the classroom.

In order to expose teachers to torture survivors before they invite survivors to the classroom, torture survivors should be present at every professional development session. Survivors could be invited through the Chicago Torture Justice Center's speakers' bureau and be compensated accordingly. Not only would this tactic introduce teachers to survivors, but it would also provide an opportunity for survivors to share their stories and be believed—and, as I found, start or continue the process of healing. Three of the four teachers I interviewed expressed that their decisions to invite survivors at least partially depended on seeing survivors in professional development sessions. The one teacher who did not go to professional development learned about inviting survivors from her cooperating teacher, who did learn about survivors in professional development. By experiencing the impact that survivors' speaking could have on listeners, teachers were keener to invite survivors to speak to their students. Though survivors are present at some professional developments, CPS should strive to invite survivors for all sessions.

In the event that survivors are not available or that the arrangement is otherwise not feasible, survivors should still be present at PDs in the form of videos of depositions, speeches, etc. According to teacher Susanne, even when she watched footage of survivors, she still felt impacted—though nothing likely compares to having survivors speak in real time, in person. This way, teachers are able to understand how survivors can impact their audiences and therefore potential students, and teachers are more likely to invite them to the classroom.

My second subsidiary recommendation is that PDs should include resources on how and when to invite torture survivors, as well as the best ways to attend to students' social-emotional needs before, during, and after. These resources should contain ways to contact the Chicago Torture Justice Center speakers' bureau and request a speaker. They should also discuss how to pay for a speaker's fee and how, in general, to access a speaker when perhaps the school or the administration is not supportive. Though this information was in the FAQ page CPS put together, it was not widely publicized, and many teachers did not know about it. This recommendation should solve the issue of access to speakers, after teachers decide to invite them. In addition, professional development should include guidance on how to structure a survivor's visit to the classroom so as to attend to students' social-emotional demands and to ensure that survivors' stories are not being exploited. While PDs already include information about how to focus on social-emotional learning, it does not attend to the usage of survivors' stories. Teacher Susanne (personal communication, January 29, 2022) explained her methodology:

It was important for me that [students] knew already about what happened without having to hear, like I wanted them to already feel a certain way and not be convinced until they heard a story. Like it was so important for me that they knew, by analyzing the sources, by looking at all the material that this was wrong, that this was horrific. This

should never happen... Once they had that, they fully understood then, then I felt like okay, this is my way of reconciling with something that I struggled with and that, you know, we in our society, we have to hear horrific stories in order in order for us to pay attention and in order for us to believe that it was happening... because they had that strong understanding, it was okay and... it was impactful.

Thus, by ensuring that students fully understand the material of Reparations Won and by not using the survivors' stories to make them believe or, as I said earlier, "make it real," teachers can avoid sensationalizing and exploiting survivors' stories.

In order to evaluate the impact of this renewed and revamped professional development policy, CPS should collect qualitative data through surveys about how teachers implement the curriculum and how their teaching has been affected by the professional development. These surveys can be conducted at the end of PD sessions, but CPS should also conduct surveys annually from teachers to gauge if and how Reparations Won is taught. Like the evaluation procedure for the survivors' feedback, CPS should evaluate over the span of at least two years whether implementation of Reparations Won increases and whether teachers are more likely to invite survivors to speak in classrooms; CPS should also ask about how the professional development sessions impacted teachers' decisions.

CONCLUSION

Since systematic torture began in Chicago in the 1970s, survivors and their families have sought justice; at the beginning, few listened, but as the movement grew, the fight for justice became a complicated question of *how*, through reparations, to work toward and achieve justice for survivors and other impacted. In this study, I investigated how the Reparations Won curriculum, just one facet of the 2015 reparations package, attempts to implement forward-

looking reparations, heal the community, and restore dignity to survivors. In particular, I asked what it means for survivors to participate in the process of creating and implementing the Reparations Won curriculum. This study joins grassroots efforts to center the voices of impacted individuals and communities; however, further academic scholarship should be done regarding the impacts of these grassroots efforts.

The data in this study comes from CPS' Reparations Won curricula as well as 15 interviews with stakeholders in the curriculum. I identified areas where survivors were and were not centered in the process of creating and implementing the curriculum, and I pinpointed reasons behind survivor participation. In addition, I found the powerful effects of survivor participation in guest speaking in classrooms, on both survivors and students. Finally, I made recommendations, based on the data and considerations brought up by interviewees as the current curriculum revision process moves forward. I suggested two areas of improvement: (1) the creation, feedback, and revision process, and (2) professional development for teachers. Both facets target lack of sufficient survivor participation in the curriculum and providing teachers, and subsequently students, with more support with regards to the curriculum. Overall, I found that survivors are not given enough space in the Reparations Won policy space to access the benefits associated with forward-looking reparations, dignity restoration, transformative learning, and culturally sustaining pedagogy. They should be centered in this policy space because the immediate harm was done to survivors, their families, and their communities. They should be centered because, when they are, it helps them feel "freer, liberated, emancipated."

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Interviewees

Name/ID	Category	Date of Interview	Affiliation/Title (if available)	Location of School (Chicago; if available)
Brandon*	student	November 18, 2021		Northwest Side
William Weaver	teacher	December 5, 2021	Teacher at Kenwood High School	
Mark Clements	torture survivor	January 3, 2022	Community Organizer at the Chicago Torture Justice Center	
Anthony Holmes	torture survivor	January 4, 2022		
Jen Johnson	other	January 5, 2022	Chief of Staff of the Chicago Teachers Union	
David Stieber	teacher	January 10, 2022	Teacher at Kenwood High School	
Andrew Baer	creator	January 11, 2022		
Jessica Marshall	creator	January 11, 2022		
LaTanya Jenifor-Sublett	torture survivor	January 15, 2022	Mental Health Worker, Social Justice Advocate, Public Speaker, Community Organizer, and Peer Reentry Program Director at the Chicago Torture Justice Center	
Conrad*	other	January 24, 2022		
Aislinn Pulley	other	January 27, 2022	Co-Executive Director of the	

			Chicago Torture Justice Center	
Susanne*	teacher	January 29, 2022		Northwest Side
Vickie Casanova-Willis	creator	January 31, 2022		
Alice Kim		February 10, 2022		
Justina*		February 10, 2022		

*The asterisk denotes the use of a pseudonym.

Appendix B: Interview Protocols

Questions for Creators

- Tell me a little bit about how you came to this kind of work and interact with the Reparations Won curriculum.
- What was the process of creating the curriculum and what was your particular involvement in this process?
- How were torture survivors involved in the development of the curriculum?
- What was your experience working with torture survivors in developing the curriculum? Were there any points of contention? What did they bring to the table?
- Are there any changes you'd like to see made in the curriculum or its implementation?

Questions for Teachers

- Tell me a little bit about how you came to this kind of work and what your role is in interacting with the Reparations Won curriculum.
- In what school(s) and in what time of the year do you [teach the curriculum/speak to students]?

- Have you invited survivors to speak to your classes? What do survivors share with students? How do students respond to survivors' stories? Can you share examples of the impact or value of bringing in torture survivors as guest speakers?
- Why did you decide to invite a torture survivor to speak in the classroom?
 - How did you mediate that discussion?
- How does having someone with lived experience of torture as a guest speaker in your classroom impact the learning or teaching experience?
 - What stands out to you about the guest speakers you've invited? Can you share any anecdotes?
- Have you seen students become inspired to take action because of the curriculum or because of torture survivors?
- Are there any changes you'd like to see made in the curriculum or its implementation?

Questions for Torture Survivors

- Tell me a little bit about how you came to this kind of work and interact with the Reparations Won curriculum.
- In what school(s) and in what time of the year do you speak to students?
- How many requests to speak do you usually get a year?
- What do you typically share with students? How do students respond to your story? Can you share examples of the impact or value of bringing in torture survivors as guest speakers?
- How does speaking in schools impact you?
- Are there any changes you'd like to see made in the curriculum or its implementation?

- What has the revision process looked like? What is your particular involvement in that process?
- Do you know of survivors who aren't as engaged and aren't going to classrooms to talk?
 - Why aren't they?

Questions for Students

- Tell me a little bit about how you interacted with the Reparations Won curriculum.
- What was the demographic of your high school (race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status)?
- What kinds of activities did you do to supplement your learning?
 - Talking Circles → What were they like? Was it a space for students to be vulnerable? Did you feel like you learned about your classmates?
 - Speculative memorial → How did this final project impact you and inform your learning?
- How long did you spend on the curriculum?
- Did your teacher invite guest speakers? If so, do you remember who? If not, did you watch videos of people?
- Was this the first time you learned and/or heard about the systematic torture by CPD? What was that experience like for you and for your classmates?
- Based on what you learned, how would you define reparations? What would that look like in a successful context?
- Did the curriculum change your viewpoints in any way? How so? What about the viewpoints of your classmates? Spur action?
- What do you think about the way the curriculum contextualizes this history?

- What do you think about the terms used in the curriculum? For example, the curriculum says “Burge torture scandal.”
- How do you feel like your teacher or your class connected the curriculum to you, your classmates, and your experiences?
- What were your favorite or the most impactful parts of the curriculum?
- Were there challenges to learning or understanding what was being talked about?

Appendix C (118 Documented Burge Area 2 and 3 Torture Victims 1972-1991, 2014)

118 DOCUMENTED BURGE AREA 2 AND 3 TORTURE VICTIMS 1972-1991

DATE	VICTIM	TORTURE METHODS	OFFICERS	DOCUMENTATION
8/5/72	Rodney Mastin Lindsey Smith Clarence Hill	vicious beatings, beating with ashtray, kicked in groin**	Burge,* Listkowski, Houtsma (Area 2)***	7/24/04 Sworn Statement of Rodney Mastin
9/72	Unknown victim	screaming, pants down, hiding implements, handcuffed to hot radiator**	Burge* and two unidentified dets.	10/4/04 Sworn statement of Detective Bill Parker
5/30/73	Anthony Holmes	repeatedly bagged, beaten, electric shocked with black box, called Anigger@**	Burge,* Pienta* Yucaitis,**** Wagner* Hoke* Listkowski Gaffney	4/19/04 Court Reported statement of Anthony Holmes; Judicial Admissions by City in Memo filed 1/22/92
1973	Lawrence Poree	shown black shock box, Athis is what we got for niggers like you@**	Burge,* Hoke,* Wagner* Corless****	4/19/04 Court reported statement of Lawrence Poree

1973	Lawrence Poree	electric shock to testicles, armpits, arm, beaten**	Burge,* Hoke*	4/19/04 Statement of Lawrence Poree
1975	unknown victim	electric shock	Burge	Witness statement on WLS TV 7
12/73	Howard Collins	beaten, Russian Roulette, noose around neck **	Burge,* Hoke*	4/89 Attorney Interview
9/25/77	Virgil Robinson	beaten with flashlight and police helmet, gun in mouth at railroad tracks**	Dignan,* McGuire* Yucaitis*****	Testimony in <i>People v. Robinson</i>
8/7/79	Lawrence Poree, Leroy Sanford	Electric shocked, beaten, hit with gun** beaten**	Burge* Wagner* Corless***** Basile* Gallagher	3/10/80 Testimony in <i>People v. Sanford et.al</i> ; 4/19/04 Poree Statement

11/13/79	James Lewis Edward James	kidnapped from Memphis, beaten, threatened with horror chamber and Fred Hampton Black Panther murder, ear cupped, Anuts@ threatened, called Anigger@**	Burge* Wagner* Corless,***** Basile* Gallagher	3/10/80 Testimony, <i>People v. James and Lewis</i> ; 4/19/04 Court Reported statement of Edward James
9/20-22/79	George Powell	repeatedly electricshocked on chest, groin, bagged, beaten**	Burge* Corless***** Basile* Hoke*	6/14/04 Court Reported Statement of George Powell; 1/22/92 Judicial Admissions by City

9/20-22/79	Ollie Hammonds	repeatedly beaten, threatened with electric shock on penis, held incommunicado without food or bathroom for several days**	Burge* Basile*	8/25/04 Court Reported Statement of Ollie Hammonds
9/28/-29/79	Tony Thompson	beaten with gun and fists until face totally swollen, 8-10 stitches, repeatedly electric shocked with dark box referred to as Anigger box@ on genitals and chest, repeated racial epithets, Hampton murder referenced	Burge* Gorman Unidentified detective	3/5/05 Sworn Statement Court Reported Statement of Tony Thompson; 5/22/81 Testimony in <i>People v. Porch, Thompson, and Golden</i>
9/28-29/79	Willie Porch	beaten, threatened with a gun (Russian Roulette), pistol whipped, hung by handcuffs, threatened with Fred Hampton murderer, stepped on groin**	Burge* Gorman	5/22/81 Testimony in <i>People v. Porch, Thompson</i> , 6/27/89 Testimony in <i>Wilson v. City of Chicago</i>

9/28-9/79	Raymond Golden	threatened with gun (Russian roulette); smashed in the head with shotgun butt**	Burge* Gorman	5/22/81 Testimony in <i>People v. Porch, Thompson, and Golden</i> ; 6/27/89 Testimony in <i>Wilson v. Chicago</i>
9/29/79	Timothy Thompson	threatened to look like ATony Puff face@, beaten**	Burge* Gorman	5/22/81 Testimony in <i>People v. Porch et. al</i>

2/23/80	Michael Coleman Derrick King	beaten to the body, kicked in groin, stitches pulled out with tweezers** beaten with a baseball bat to the body and with a phonebook**	Burge* Pienta* Dwyer* Basile* Corless****	11/20/80 Testimony in <i>People v. Coleman and King</i>
2/20/81	William Bracey	beaten, stomped on handcuffs, kicked on groin**	Hoke* O=Callahan	Post trial filings, <i>People v. Bracey</i>
11/13/81	Sylvester Green	bagged, beaten to body and head, repeatedly threatened and called Anigger,@ threatened his Aballs@**	Burge* Grunhard**** McCabe**** McNally*	3/4/83 Testimony in <i>People v. Green</i>
2/5-6/82	Melvin Jones	electric shocked on penis, thigh, foot, threatened to blow Ablack brains out@ with gun to head, beaten**	Burge* Flood* McGuire* McWeeny*	8/5/82 Testimony in <i>People v. Jones</i> and 2/92 at Police Board; 1/22/92 & 7/95 City judicial admissions
2/9-2/12/82	Larry Milan Paul Mike Alphonso Pinex	bagged and beaten** beaten on bottoms of feet and testicles** beaten, threatened**	Unidentified officers under Burge=s direct command during manhunt for Andrew Wilson	1989 Testimony of Julia Davis, Mike, Johnson. Brown and Pinexes in <i>Wilson v. Chicago</i>

	Roy Brown Walter Johnson	bagged, beaten** bagged, beaten**	Area 2 Lt. (Burge)	
2/12/82	Donald White Dwight Anthony Anthony Williams	beaten to the body and head while bagged, threatened with a gun** beaten** bagged, beaten with phone book, threatened with gun to head	Burge* Yucaitis**** O=Hara**** Hill* McKenna* Burge and another officer	7/14/89 White Deposition in <i>Wilson v. Chicago</i> Affidavit and deposition in <i>Logan v. Burge</i>
2/13/82	Donnell Traylor	bagged, threats, beaten**	Burge*	1989 Attorney Interview
2/14/82	Andrew Wilson	bagged, threatened with a gun, beaten to body and head, electric shock to ears, genitals, burned on radiator, racial epithets**	Burge* Yucaitis**** Pienta* McKenna* Hill* O=Hara****	Testimony of Andrew Wilson: <i>People v. Wilson</i> , 11/12/82, 1989 <i>Wilson I and II</i> trials, and 2/92 Police Board; 2/11/93 Police Board Findings.
2/14/82	Jackie Wilson	threatened with electric shock and a gun**	O=Hara**** McKenna*	11/8/82 Testimony of Jackie Wilson, <i>People v. Wilson</i>
2/14/82	Doris Miller	Held incommunicado for 20 hours, threatened, verbally abused, over heard screaming and torture of Andrew Wilson, forced to urinate in ashtray**	Burge* and company	11/12/82 Testimony of D. Miller in <i>People v. Wilson</i> ; deposition in <i>Wilson v. Chicago</i> .

6/9/82	Michael Johnson	beaten, electric shocked, threatened with a gun, called lawyer Anigger bitch@ **	Burge*	6/9/82 OPS Statement, 7/6/82 FBI Statement, 6/14/89 Deposition in <i>Wilson v. Chicago</i>
9/10/82	Lee Holmes	bagged, beaten to the body, beaten with a flashlight and rubber hose on penis**	Byrne* Dignan* Dioguardi*	6/24/93 Holmes OPS Statement
9/10/82	Stanley Wrice	beaten to body, repeatedly hit with flashlight and black jack including on groin**	Byrne* Dignan* Dioguardi*	1983 Testimony in <i>People v. Wrice, Benson</i> ; 9/23/83 Wrice OPS Statement
9/10/82	Rodney Benson	beaten with piece of rubber with tape on both ends and with flashlight on groin, back, knee, chest and stomach, threatened with hanging, like they had other Aniggers@**	Byrne* Dignan* Dioguardi*	12/23/82 Benson verified motion to suppress in <i>People v. Benson, Wrice</i>
9/10/82	Bobby Williams	beaten on thighs and groin with long black flex object with ball on end**	Byrne* Dignan* Dioguardi*	1983 Williams Testimony in <i>People v. Wrice, Benson et. al.</i> ; 1/29/94 Williams OPS Statement
1/1-1/2/83	Eric Smith	repeatedly beaten on side, back and groin with lead pipe encased in rubber hose, repeatedly electric shocked on side and groin, while naked and handcuffed, forced to give false confession**	Dignan* Kushner Binkowski* Burge	8/87 Testimony and Exhibits in <i>People v. Smith</i> ; 1/2/84 OPS statement; 3/21/05 sworn court reported statement

1/21/83	Alonzo Smith	beaten to the body with stick, blackjack, kicked in groin, while bagged**	Byrne* Dignan*	8/3/83 testimony in <i>People v. Smith</i> ; 4/00 testimony in <i>People v. Cannon</i>
4/26-8/83	James Andrews David Faultneroy	beaten with fists and flashlight** beaten on head, back, ribs**	McWeeny* Madigan*	10/1/84 testimony in <i>People v. Andrews</i>
9/2/83	Jerry Mahaffey	beaten to the body while bagged, threatened with a gun, kicked in the groin**	Byrne* James Lotito* Grunhard,**** Boffo* Leracz*	2/9/84, 2/16/84 Testimony in <i>People v. Mahaffey</i>
9/2/83	Reginald Mahaffey	Kicked in head, ribs, hit with flashlight, kicked in groin, beaten, bagged**	Byrne* James Lotito* Grunhard **** Boffo*	2/10/,84, 2/13/84 Testimony in <i>People v. Mahaffey</i>
10/27/83	Lee Nora Bernard Welch	Kicked, handcuffed with his arms pulled over his head, hit with a telephone book, and choked Unspecified allegations of abuse	McWeeny, Madigan, Gormam, O'Rourke	9/15/08 Deposition of Nora in <i>Cannon v. Burge, et al.</i> , 05 C 2192
10/28-29/83	Gregory Banks	beaten to the body while bagged, threatened with a gun in mouth, beaten with a flashlight, said Awe have something for niggers@ while bagging him**	Byrne* Dignan* Grunhard**** Dwyer*	5/17/85 testimony in <i>People v. Banks</i> ; 1993 OPS sustained findings; 4/00 testimony in <i>People v. Cannon</i>
10/28-29/83	David Bates	beaten to the body while bagged, kicked in the groin, threatened**	Byrne* Grunhard**** Dwyer*	5/17/85 testimony in <i>People v. Banks</i> ; 4/00 testimony in <i>People v. Cannon</i>

11/2/83	Darrell Cannon	threatened with a gun, Russian roulette, mock execution, repeatedly electric shocked on testicles and penis, hung by his cuffs, repeatedly called Anigger@**	Byrne* Dignan* McWeeny* Grunhard*****	3/27/84 Testimony in <i>People v. Cannon</i> ; 1993 OPS Sustained findings; 8/27/04 Parole Board testimony
11/18/83	James Cody	beaten to the body with a flashlight, electric shocked on buttocks and testicles, threatened with castration, beating**	Paladino* Basile* McNally*	4/23/84 Testimony in <i>People v. Cody</i>

1/25/83	Leonard Hinton	beaten to the body while bagged, hit with gun, repeatedly beaten, kicked in groin, repeatedly electric shocked on genitals and in rectum**	Burge* Krippel Bajenski* Mokry*	7/1/85 testimony in <i>People v. Hinton</i> .
1/12- 13/84	Leroy Orange	beaten to the body while bagged, electric shocked on arm and buttocks and in rectum, testicles squeezed**	Burge* Flood* Bajenski* McGuire* McWeeny* Madigan* McCabe***** McNally*	5/22/81 Testimony, <i>People v. Orange</i> ; Orange Affidavit; 1/84 <i>Sun Times</i> Article; City Judicial Admissions of 22/92; 1/03 innocence pardon
1/12-13/84	Leonard Kidd	bagged, beaten on head with phone book and stick, electric shocked on buttocks and genitals, and in rectum**	Burge* Flood* Bajenski* McGuire* McWeeny* Madigan* McCabe***** McNally*	2/14/00 Kidd Affidavit; 1/84 <i>Sun Times</i> Article.

1/28/84	Lavert Jones	repeatedly beaten to body and head; beaten with a telephone book, club; kicked in genitals, called Anigger@**	Byrne* Dignan* Yucaitis*****	3/5/87 Testimony, <i>People v. Jones</i>
1/28/84	Thomas Craft	beaten with a flashlight, choked, foot crushed, threatened with weapon to face and nose, strapped naked to cell bunk**	Dignan* Yucaitis***** Ryan	8/20/ and 9/23/93 OPS statements; OPS sustained findings
1/28/84	Alex Moore	electric-shocked, beaten, repeatedly called Anigger@	Burge, Byrne, Dignan, McWeeny, Yucaitis	Special Prosecutor statement
4/84	Stephen Cavanero	phone book placed on head, hit on phone book with mag flashlight**	Burge* Dwyer*	Phone Interview, Statement

5/24/84	Franklin Burchette	threatened with electric shock on testicles, sleep deprivation**	Burge* McDermott* DiGiacomo* Solecki	10/21/85 Affidavit and Testimony in <i>People v. Burchette</i> .
6/7/84	Phillip Adkins	beaten to the body, beaten with a flashlight on body and groin, repeatedly called Anigger@**	Byrne* Yucaitis***** Boffo* Dignan* James Lotito*	Testimony in <i>People v. Cannon</i> ; 1993 OPS sustained findings
6/24-25/84	Robert Billingsley	repeatedly beaten, kicked, gagged with paper in throat, whipped with phone books, bribed to drop OPS complaint**	Dwyer* Dignan* James Lotito* Yucaitis *****	OPS complaint; 4/2/04 Affidavit; 3/28/05 Court Reported Statement, Deposition
8/12/1984	Vincent Wade	Knead in the groin, punched in the eye, beaten with a baton on a phone book on his chest, hit with a flashlight on his nose**	Paladino* Karl Hoke	OPS complaint; Interview with Special Prosecutors

10/28-29/84	Terry Harris	choked, arm twisted, held in underwear overnight, repeatedly threatened, sexually derogatory comments**	Burge* Sgt. Wilson Marley* Maslanka* McGuire* Mokry*	5/29/86 OPS Statement
11/2-4/84	Stanley Howard	beaten to the body while bagged, slapped and kicked until unconscious, called Anigger@ **	Byrne* McWeeny* Boffo,* Lotito* Paladino* Glynn*	1/28/87 Testimony, <i>People v. Howard</i> ; 1993 OPS sustained findings; 3/30/93 Affidavit; 1/03 innocence pardon
3/21/85	Jesse Winston	hanging after interrogation	Byrne* Dwyer* Yucaitis**** Grunhard	1986, 1990 Winston OPS files
5/31/85	Lonza Holmes	beaten and kicked to the body, repeatedly hit on the head with a phone book, judo chops under neck**	Burge* Madigan* Dignan*	12/12/86 Testimony, <i>People v. Holmes</i>

6/28/85	Alphonso Pinex	Severe beating	Maslanka, McDermott, Byrne	Testimony, <i>People v. Pinex</i> , OSP statement
8/28/85	LC Riley	repeatedly punched, slapped, kicked in ribs, stomach, face, hit in the groin with a rolled up newspaper**	Madigan* Dwyer*	3/13/87 Testimony, <i>People v. Riley</i>
10/9-11/85	Mearon Diggins	repeatedly beaten on back and legs with flashlight during 2 2 days of questioning, no food, water, or bathroom**	Paladino* Pienta* Burge*	OPS statement and pictures (destroyed); 7/5/04 Diggins Court Reported Statement
10/10/85	Terry Williams	beaten, screaming**	unidentified Area 2 detectives.	7/5/04 Diggins Court Reported Statement

10/30/85	Shaded Mumin	pushed into wall, threatened with .44 magnum silver revolver to head, Russian Roulette, suffocated with typewriter cover until unconscious, threatened with worse treatment, repeatedly called Anigger@ **	Burge* Paladino* McDermott* Lacey	5/13/87 Testimony, <i>People v. Mumin</i> ; 2/92 Police Board Testimony on behalf of City; 1993 OPS file
4/22-23/86	Michael Arbuckle	threatened with electrocution, death, assaulted, threatened with beating, framing, told they wanted to get Aaron Patterson **	Burge* Kolowitz	6/4/86 Motion to Suppress in <i>People v. Arbuckle</i> , Arbuckle 2/8/95 Affidavit and 11/19/04 Deposition
4/29-30/86	Aaron Patterson	beaten to the chest and upper body while repeatedly bagged with typewriter cover nose held while bagged, threatened with a gun and with worse treatment,	Burge* Byrne* Pienta* McWeeny* Marley* Madigan* Pederson* ASA Troy	3/30/88 Testimony in <i>People v. Patterson</i> ; Patterson Affidavit; etchings in bench; 8/11/00 decision in <i>People v. Patterson</i> ; 1994

		kicked, choked**	other unidentified Area 2 Detectives.	Affidavit of Dr. Martinez; 1/03 innocence pardon
4/29-30/86	Eric Caine	ear cupping, beating in chest, threats, sleep deprivation**	Pienta* Marley* Madigan* Brownfield*	8/88 Motion to Suppress and 9/25/89 trial testimony, <i>People v. Caine</i>
7/21-22/86	Steven Bell	repeatedly beaten to the head and body, head smashed into wall, kicked in groin, head and ribs, beaten with a phone book**	Byrne* Dignan* Boffo* Yucaitis*****	11/20/86 Testimony in <i>People v. Tillman and Bell</i>
7/21-23/86	Michael Tillman	repeatedly bagged, beaten to body and head, threatened with a gun to head, thumb pressure to ears, beaten with flashlight and phone book**	Byrne* Dignan* Boffo* Yucaitis***** Hines	11/21/86 Testimony in <i>People v. Tillman and Bell</i>
8/10/-12/86	Clarence Trotter	slammed against the wall, physical and mental brutality and held incommunicado for 36 hours	Madigan* Brownfield* Nitsche	post conviction petition and testimony in <i>People v. Trotter</i>
8/10/86	Ronald Wise	Beaten	Yucaitis	Listed as a witness in Michael Tillman's trial
10/13/ 86	Terrence Houston Darrell Cleveland	beaten to the body,** electric shock, beaten with a flashlight head slammed on table**	Pienta,* Marblocki, Hayes, John Lotito	10/4/88 Terrence Houston Deposition in <i>Houston v. Marblocki</i> ; Houston and Cleveland 1986 OPS Statements
11/12/86	Andrew Maxwell Jerry Thompson	beaten to the body and face, kicked during interrogation** kicked, beaten with	Paladino* Glynn,* Basile* McDermott*	7/23/87 Testimony in <i>People v. Maxwell, Thompson, and Howard</i>

	Jeffrey Howard	flashlight to body, slapped in face during interrogation kicked, slapped during interrogation		
1/6/87	Madison Hobley	hit in chest, thumbs to neck, racial epithets, including Anigger,@ kicked in groin, beaten to the body while bagged, held nose while bagged, passed out, threatened to kill him during interrogation	James Lotito* Dwyer* Burge* McWeeny* Paladino* Garrity* Cline	8/87 Hobley OPS Statement; 9/29/87 Testimony in <i>People v. Hobley</i> ; Hobley Deposition; 1/03 innocence pardon
11/6/87	Robert Smith	beaten during questioning	Dwyer*	<i>People v. Smith</i> decision
12/87-1/88	Philip Walker Johnny Walker Andre Wilk	kicked, beaten, cuffed to steaming radiator, called Anigger;@ ** beaten, kicked in groin, screaming;** 13 year old, beaten with flashlight, slapped into falsely naming Walker. **	Kill* (Area 3) Garrity* (Polygraph) Kill* (Area 3) Kill* (Area 3)	10/5/04 Sworn Philip Walker Statement Philip Walker statement 4/3/89 Testimony in <i>People v. Walker</i>
4/17/88	Grayland Johnson	beaten with flashlight, phone book, hung out window, head pushed into toilet, bagged **	Eldridge Byrne* (Area 3)	Testimony in <i>People v Johnson</i> , OPS file, civil complaint in Johnson
6/24/88	Donald Torrence	beaten	Paladino* Maslanka* (Area 3)	<i>Torrence</i> Civil complaint
7/29/88	Pedro Sepulveda	beaten, bagged	Kill	

8/25-26/88	Ronald Kitchen	beaten to the groin and body, beaten with a phonebook, with a black jack to groin, and with	Burge* Kill Smith Byron (Area 3)	2/2/90, 9/17/90 Testimony, <i>People v. Kitchen</i> ; 12/12/96 Kitchen Affidavit;
8/25/88	Marvin Reeves	phone receiver during interrogation** hit and kicked and threatened with a gun**	Area 3 Detectives under Burge's command	12/18/96 Journey Affidavit 2/2/90 Testimony in <i>People v. Kitchen</i>
8/25/88	Eric Wilson	kicked between his legs, and punched**	Kill, Almanza Area 3 Detectives under Burge's command	2/2/90 Testimony in <i>People v. Kitchen</i>
1/23/89	Aldoranus Burthon	beaten, beaten with a flashlight, phone book, had a gun put in his mouth, and called "nigger"	Kelly, Kill	OPS statement
12/29-12/31/89	Keith Eric Johnson	Repeatedly slapped, beaten, kicked from chair, kicked, called Alying nigger@ during 48 hours of interrogation	Sgt. Byrne, Paladino, Maslanka, Collins, Moser, McCann, Cesar	
10/3-4/1990	Gerald Reed	Kicked in lower leg (previously injured by a gun shot) and lower back**	Det. Kill and Breska	9.17.1992 Motion to Suppress Testimony in <i>People v. Reed</i> , TIRC claims

4/19-20/90	Tony Anderson	beaten on ribs, thighs with nightstick, gun to head, threatened to Ablow brains out,@ no food, water, or washroom during 2 day interrogation	at Area 2 by Paladino* Maslanka* (from Area 3), and McDermott* Gallagher (from Area 2)	5/1/91 Testimony in <i>People v. Anderson</i>
6/9/90	Demond Weston	17 years old, slapped, beaten, choked, hit with phonebook, threatened with hanging	Kill, Maslanka, Mosher	Factual Statement

9/21/90	Cortez Brown	beaten on chest and arms, and beaten on hands and legs with steel flashlight**	Paladino* Maslanka* (Area 3)	11/8/91 Testimony in <i>People v. Brown</i>
4/91	Unknown 14 year old	electric shocked	unknown Area 3 detectives	<i>Chicago Sun Times</i> article by Deborah Nelson
6/3-/4/91	Keith Walker	repeatedly kicked, beaten, repeatedly electric shocked	McWeeny, blond detective, reddish-brown haired detective, McCann, Halloran, Caesar	Motion to Suppress and motion to suppress testimony in <i>People v. Walker</i>
6/5/91	TyShaun Ross	beaten with nightstick on side, kicked on foot, pulled down pants, repeatedly electric shocked on groin and upper thighs, repeatedly called Anigger@ during interrogation	McCann, Caesar McWeeny* (Area 3)	Ross OPS Statement of 7/16/91; 8/5/91 OPS Interview with Ross= Grandmother; Dr. Raba Letter

8/8/91	Javon Delony Maurice Delony	repeatedly punched in chest, slapped in face, back of head, threatened during interrogation Punched to the floor	Area 3 Detectives	Testimony in <i>People v. Brooks and Delony</i> , Jevon Delony Affidavit of 10/2/97
8/19/91	Johnie Plummer	Hit in the side with a flashlight multiple times, struck in the face, hair pulled and threatened by detectives	Detectives Kill and Boudreau	Testimony in <i>People v. Plummer</i>
8/21/91	George Anderson	Kicked on the wrists while handcuffed to the wall, hung by his handcuffs and beaten with a rubber hose on a	Detectives Kill, Boudreau, Halloran, O'Brien, Stehlik	1.24.90 Motion to Suppress Testimony in <i>People v. George Anderson</i> , TIRC
		telephone book on his head		claim
9/25-26/91	Marcus Wiggins	13 year old, hit on head with flashlight; repeatedly hit in chest; electric shocked on hands with box like device, screamed, passed out **	Paladino* Maslanka,* Kill* O'Brien Boudreau (Area 3)	6/4/96 Wiggins Dep.; OPS file; Testimony of Myron James in <i>People v. Clemon</i> ; Dr. Martinez report
9/25-26/91	Jesse Clemon Imari Clemon Damoni Clemon Clinton Welton Diyez Owen	beaten on hand, face, and stomach** 16 year old, beaten ** electric shocked ** 16 year old, beaten with flashlight and fists ** 16 year old, beaten to chest and stomach **		Testimony of James, Damoni Clemon, Clinton Welton, and Dyez Owen in <i>People v. Clemon</i> ; decisions in <i>People v. Clemons</i> , 259 Ill App. 3d 5 (1994)

9/28/91	Michael Peterson Travis Richardson	choked, beaten, kicked, attempted burning with cigarette ** head slammed on table**	Paladino* Maslanka* O=Brien (Area 3)	8/11/04 Richardson Affidavit; OPS Statements
11/22/91	Ivan Smith	slapped in face, back of head, punched in chest, thrown to floor, open phone book placed on chest, repeatedly hit with stick on phone book, at Tennessee jail**	O=Brien Stehlik (Area 3)	4/15/94 Testimony in <i>People v. Brooks</i>

* Took Fifth Amendment when asked about this torture.

** Torture and abuse occurred during interrogation.

***All cases from 8/5/72 through 11/6/87 are Area 2 cases, except for the unknown victim in 1975 which took place at Area 2

**** Deceased