

YOUTH-LED ADVOCACY GUIDE



Citi Foundation



MENTOR

Illustrations created by Maite Nazario

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 ABOUT MENTOR

One in three young people are growing up without a mentor. MENTOR aims to close this gap and drive equity by fostering quality mentoring relationships with youth.

Our movement supports positive relationships and elevates mentoring programs and individuals

who mentor youth. We believe mentoring relationships can be a tool for driving equity and that all young people deserve caring relationships with adults they can trust. We work to create and expand connections for young people everywhere they go — from schools to workplaces, and beyond.

For over 30 years, MENTOR has unified and uplifted the mentoring movement for our nation's young people. We collaborate nationwide with local Affiliates through research, training, recruitment, and advocacy to serve the mentoring field.

1.2 ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Thank you to our funder, Citi Foundation, for believing in mentoring as a tool for a more equitable and just world and for supporting this work; the *Youth-Led Advocacy Guide* would not be possible without their generous investment.

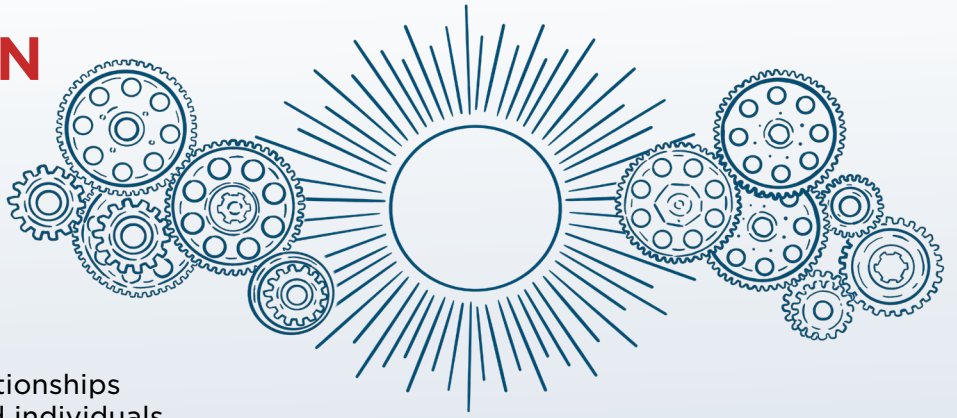
With the support of Citi Foundation, MENTOR has also helped launch Youth-PAC (*Youth Powered Advocacy Collective*), an online magazine designed by young people, for young people. This guide was written by Kathleen Anaza with illustrations provided created by Maite Nazario. The Youth-Led Advocacy Guide and YouthPAC were both managed by Amaris Ramey, MENTOR's Grassroots Organizing Manager.

1.3 WHY A YOUTH-LED ADVOCACY GUIDE

The Youth-Led Advocacy Guide was designed to be a practical tool for youth mentoring programs, youth-serving organizations, and current and aspiring youth advocates looking to establish and expand effective youth-led advocacy activities and initiatives. This guide is a culmination of the vision and expertise of a team of youth advocates, committee members, and staff at MENTOR Affiliates (non-partisan, nonprofit organizations that galvanize local or statewide mentoring movements) and MENTOR National. The theme of power runs throughout both the Youth-Led Advocacy Guide and Youth-PAC, connecting our guidance for youth advocates with their personal experiences.

In MENTOR's Youth-Led Advocacy Guide, we will:

- Compile the best practices, tools, and insights to serve as a resource for youth advocacy.
- Amplify the voices of youth activists.
- Equip programs with skills to implement authentic youth-led organizing activities and programs.
- Showcase local and national stories of youth advocacy through diverse media.
- Inspire mobilization and support emerging community leaders.



1.4 YOUTH-LED ADVOCACY GUIDE IN PRACTICE

Every chapter of this guide concludes with a series of questions and activities for both youth (advocates, mentees, and peer mentors) and adults (mentoring advocates, mentors, and mentoring program practitioners). These thought-starters offer an opportunity to more deeply engage with the material and are organized into four sections: learn, research, reflect, and act. Readers are encouraged to engage with each section in the following ways:



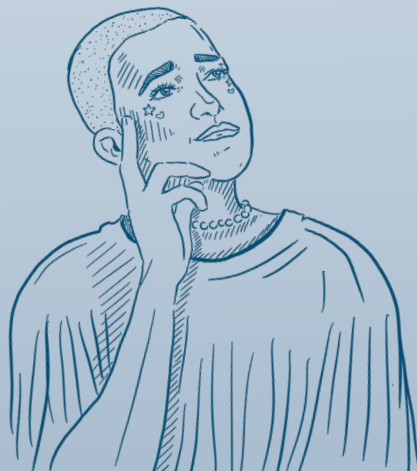
Learn:

Readers should ensure they comprehend each section of the Youth-Led Advocacy Guide by answering the guiding questions in every “learn” section.



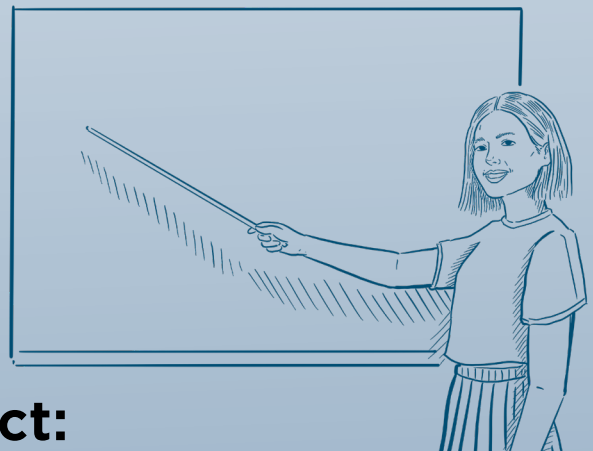
Research:

Readers are encouraged to conduct their own research to deepen their knowledge on topics discussed in the Youth-Led Advocacy Guide. As a starting point, links to specific resources are shared in every “research” section.



Reflect:

The “reflect” sections include open-ended questions that ask readers to share their own points of view on the topics discussed in the Youth-Led Advocacy Guide. Readers can use these critical questions to consider how the material applies to them. Answers to the “learn” questions can also help readers respond to the “reflect” questions.



Act:

The “act” sections encourage readers to gain a greater understanding of an issue that they care about and to take actions that drive positive change. These sections also support adult readers in developing a mentoring-mindset approach to advocacy and elevating youth-led activities and initiatives.

2. POWER

2.1 UNDERSTANDING POWER

Power is a relational concept. It can be internal -- a compilation of personal, familial, and communal experiences from within an individual's life. It can also be external -- shaped by one's relationship with the individuals and systems holding authority and influence. We are mindful that people uniquely define power and the abuse of power for themselves. In this guide, we will analyze five types of power:

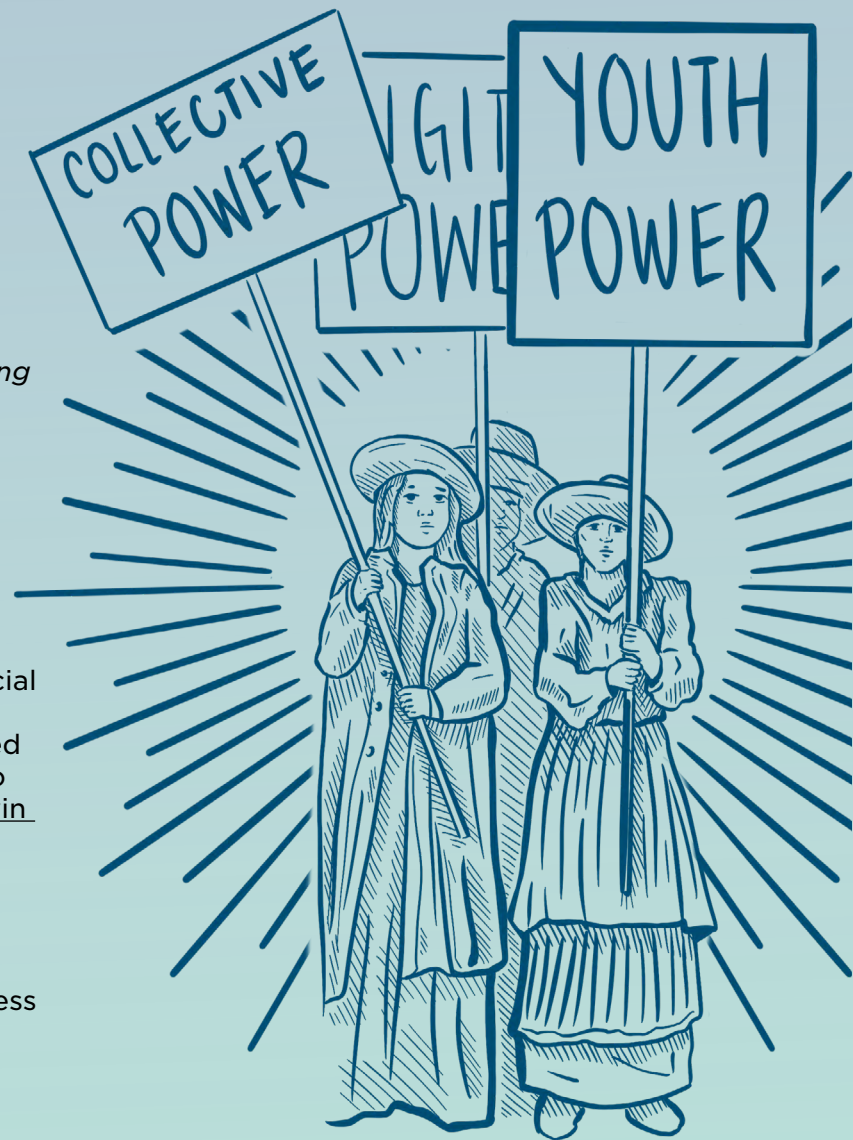
- **Institutional Power:** organizations and entities with formal and informal authority to make decisions for others and determine who receives resources.
- **Youth Power:** young people's capabilities to exercise authority and influence their own lives and the world at large.
- **Collective Power:** organizations and individuals working together to achieve common goals.
- **Digital Power:** the ability to leverage digital tools to organize, communicate, and influence.
- **Personal Power:** the ability to enact change through individual efforts.

2.2 POWER AS POTENTIAL

Power is a theme throughout MENTOR's Youth-Led Advocacy Guide because relationships are at the core of every type of power. A thorough understanding of power reveals how youth advocacy and mentoring will lead to a more equitable world. At MENTOR, we believe young people are the creative forces needed to help transform our society.

"Power comes from collaboration, from marshaling support and rallying others to the cause. Youth power is not power over, but power with and power to." - **Jerusha Conner, Ph.D., Professor of Education at Villanova University**, a leading researcher on youth activism, civic engagement, and organizing.

Throughout history, youth in the United States have driven social change locally and nationally. Examples of how youth have been agents for social change include the March of the Mill Children in 1903, when striking youth textile workers marched from Philadelphia to New York for three weeks to protest child labor abuses¹, and the Oceti Sakowin Youth & Allies, who in 2016 organized a relay run from the Standing Rock Reservation between North and South Dakota to Washington, D.C. to raise awareness about the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline². Over a century apart, both movements shifted the nation's consciousness through advocacy. These two examples, and countless others, demonstrate how advocacy works to build youth power and help us envision youth power as a communal and collaborative force with infinite potential to combat imbalances produced by previous generations.



¹ (McFarland, 1971)

² (Standing Rock Sioux and Dakota Access Pipeline, n.d.)

2.3 POWER IN PRACTICE

YOUTH:

Learn:

- When have young people driven social change?
- How is power internal?
- How is power external?

Research:

- Read, listen to, or view media about successful youth movements in America's history, such as the March of the Mill Children and Oceti Sakowin Youth & Allies.
- Read, listen to, or view media about the impact of modern youth activists on a topic you care about.

Reflect:

- When have you felt internal power?
- When have you experienced external power?
- When have you felt powerless?

Act:

- Pick an issue you are passionate about. This can be as big as achieving world peace or as local as the controversial name of a school or university. Identify who has the authority and power to make decisions on this issue.

ADULTS:

Learn:

- When has power been used for liberation?
- How is power internal?
- How is power external?

Research:

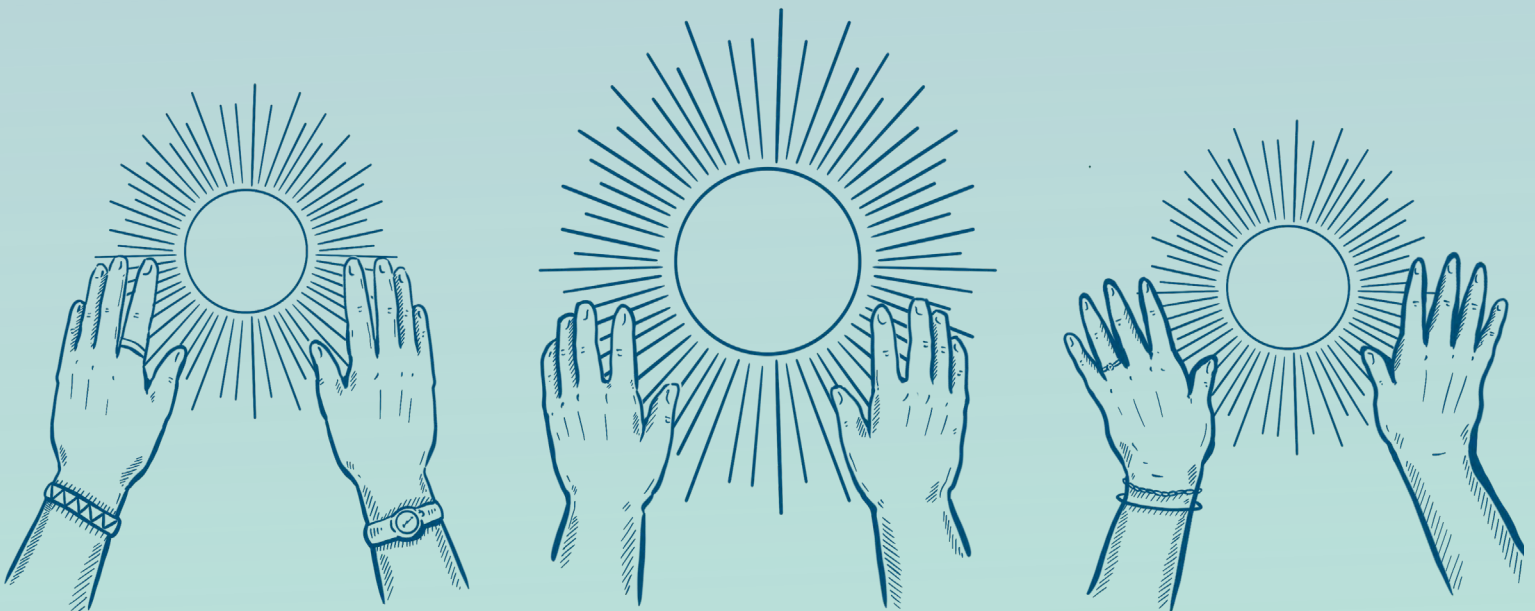
- Offer to consume with young people podcasts, videos, or readings on historical youth movements and modern activists, such as the March of the Mill Children and Oceti Sakowin Youth & Allies.

Reflect:

- When have you felt internal power?
- When have you experienced external power?
- When have you felt powerless?

Act:

- Help a young person identify a problem they are passionate about by having a conversation in which you ask open-ended questions and practice active listening. Then join them in the process of researching that topic and identifying the individuals and organizations who hold power in that space.



3. YOUTH POWER

3.1 UNDERSTANDING YOUTH POWER

Youth Power is the ability of young people to exercise authority and influence over their own lives and the world at large. Young people are often undervalued as talents that can contribute significantly to their communities; they should instead be supported and encouraged to do so. When young people engage in their communities, their participation comes in diverse forms and is often initiated through school-based efforts, athletics, highly localized projects, or various forms of **civic engagement** (e.g., school or district walkouts, volunteering at local service organizations, or competing in team-based athletics). Youth bring invaluable perspectives and energy to advocacy work by providing solutions that are often more imaginative than those suggested by existing institutional powers. Young people are personally and socially motivated to see progress on issues of concern that will greatly impact their futures. Researchers in the fields of youth development and youth advocacy recognize young people as experts on the youth experience. Their research emphasizes the importance and impact of acknowledging young people's agency to address social problems.

“Youth provide insight that is critical to justice work. Their knowledge, their visions of justice, and theories of change may diverge in salient ways from those of adults, so youth perspectives are essential if problems are going to be properly diagnosed and appropriate (desired) solutions brought to bear and implemented.” - Jerusha Conner, Ph.D., Villanova University

As they were during many other pivotal moments in history, young people proved to be leaders and critical assets of the civil rights movement, inspiring individuals of all ages throughout the nation to resist inequity. The Little Rock Nine, proved to be youth leaders and critical assets of the civil rights movement. As the pioneering group of students to enroll in an all-white, segregated school in Little Rock, Arkansas in 1957, they faced intense racial oppression. Despite experiencing extreme verbal and physical harassment at the hands of classmates, administrators, and even politicians, the Little Rock Nine became symbols of resistance and examples of successful nonviolent protests for generations.

The Little Rock Nine, March of the Mill Children, and Oceti Sakowin Youth & Allies are just a few examples of successful youth-led movements. In addition to impacting local communities and national legislation, youth activism can transform the lives of the involved young people, especially those who come from communities historically excluded from civic life³. Youth experiencing marginalization can use advocacy to leverage agency and power on behalf of their communities in order to create a less biased society. Through advocacy, they challenge power imbalances and imagine more equitable futures. Simply put, youth propel society forward towards justice and a better world for everyone, especially the most marginalized.

3.2 IMPORTANT YOUTH VOICES OF TODAY

In 2008, Cristina Jiménez and Julieta Garibay co-founded United We Dream (UWD), a youth-led immigrant organization advocating for migrant rights. UWD's direct lobbying and protest efforts for the legal protection of youth with undocumented status played an essential role in the movement that led to the passage of the federal **Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA)** law in 2012.

Giovana Castaneda, Angie Ruiz, Fiona Joseph, and Matthew Skolar, youth organizers for the community project Make the Road New Jersey, coordinated a wage campaign to protect New Jersey workers and to ensure that New Jersey's \$15 Minimum Wage Bill will include workers under 18 when it goes into effect in 2024, instead of making them wait until 2029. This multifront campaign, which aims to engage people from all communities, includes social media outreach, marches, and press conferences dispelling misinformation.

Both Make the Road New Jersey and United We Dream transformed policies by educating the public on monumental issues and elevating youth voice and leadership in their advocacy efforts. These examples prove that youth today are utilizing their power the way generations did before them, mobilizing themselves around causes that impact their lives and taking action to shape a more equitable future⁴.

3 (Youth Activism and Community Change, n.d.)

4 (Nasheed, 2019)

3.3 HOW ADULTS CAN SUPPORT YOUTH POWER

Youth are communicating the support they need every day. By genuinely listening to young people, adults can champion youth power and help amplify the impact of youth advocates.

“Young people don’t just want a seat at the table, we want our own table with our own seats, and we’re inviting adults to come on board, and that’s the only thing that’s really going to push the message.” - **Meg Zeenat Wamithi, Youth Participant, MENTOR’s Black Youth Town Hall**

The Growth Mindset for Mentors is a way of thinking and interacting that centers young people and allows mentors and other caring adults to be partners in their journey. It is intentional, developmental, supportive, and communal. By adopting this approach, adults can support young people’s growth and help them advance in their personal, educational, and career goals and opportunities. A mentoring mindset helps adults create environments where youth power is prioritized and viewed with unconditional positive regard (the belief that all youth are poised for greatness). Adults can contribute to youth power by serving as a nonjudgmental sounding board, knowledgeable resource, and encouraging, affirming partner.



3.4 YOUTH POWER IN PRACTICE

YOUTH:

Learn:

- How do youth bring perspective and energy to advocacy?
- How can adults and peers support youth power and movements?

Research:

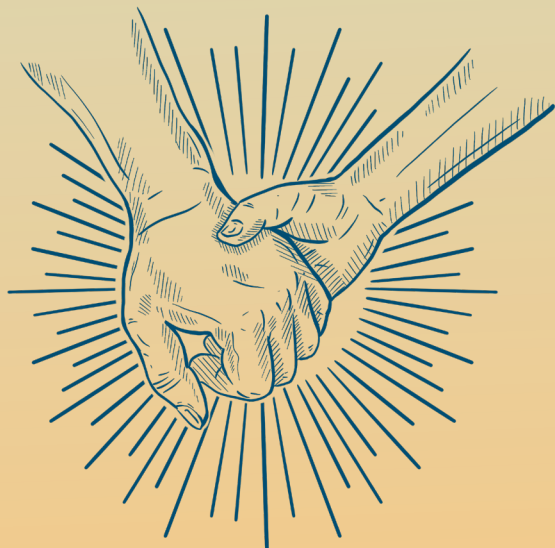
- Learn about the [Little Rock Nine](#).
- Learn about [United We Dream, Make the Road New Jersey](#), and other youth-powered campaigns.

Reflect:

- Why does youth voice matter?
- What are some lessons learned from successful youth movements of the past?

Act:

- Take some time to educate yourself about the problem that you selected in the “Power in Practice” section 2.3 to identify potential solutions. Why does this problem exist? Is there a clear, easy fix to the problem, or is it more complex than you originally thought?
- Have a conversation with a friend about the issue you chose and ask for their opinion on the problem. Read letters to the editor, op-eds, and information from trusted organizations to understand the different positions on the issue. Once you feel you have enough information, decide on your own position.



ADULTS:

Learn:

- Why is it important for adults to create opportunities for youth to build their voice and power?
- How do youth bring perspective and energy to advocacy?
- How can adults support youth power and youth-led movements?

Research:

- Review the [Growth Mindset Toolkit and Implementation Guide](#), which features information, tools, and resources for mentors seeking to guide their mentees in cultivating perseverance, self-reflection, and positive decision-making.
- The guide outlines how mentoring programs can implement “a growth mindset” into their training and procedures.
- Read or watch the video from Chapter Eight, “Honoring Youth Voice and Building Power” of [Becoming a Better Mentor: Strategies to Be There for Young People](#).

Reflect:

- As an adult, what powers and privileges do you have over youth?
- What spaces do you occupy?
- What resources do you control?
- Why does youth voice matter?

Act:

- After helping a young person identify an issue they want to advocate for, assist them with researching the problem. When prompted, offer your opinion on the topic.
- Share letters to the editor, op-eds, and information from trusted organizations with young people to help them understand the different positions on the issue. Help them finalize their own beliefs and positions.
- When working with young people to help build youth power, practice having a mentoring mindset and view your work with them with unconditional positive regard. You should aim to be a nonjudgmental sounding board, knowledgeable resource, and encouraging, affirming partner.

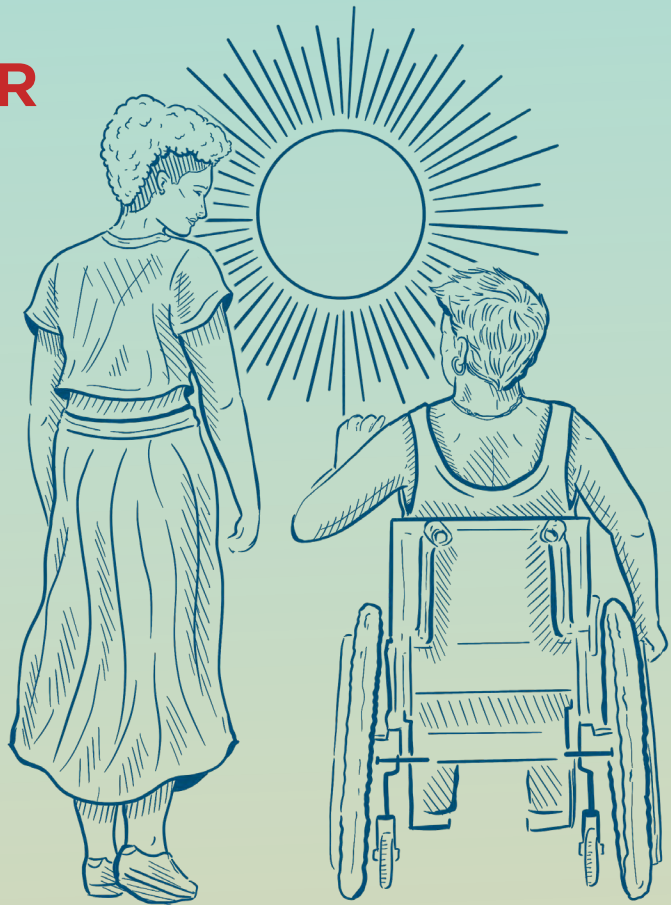
4. PERSONAL POWER

4.1 BUILDING PERSONAL POWER

Personal Power is the ability to enact change through individual efforts. Building personal power is a unique process of incorporating education, civic engagement, assessment of facts and news, connections with community groups, and many other activities. Building personal power is often described as a learning and growth process that leads towards self-understanding.

“Youth can build their power when they’ve reflected on their strengths and elements of purpose. It’s having a clear sense of what they bring to the table with strengths, skills, core values, and knowledge of the contributions they’re motivated to make.”

- Belle Liang, Ph.D., Professor of Counseling, Education, and Developmental Psychology at Boston College, leading researcher in positive youth development and mentoring in adolescence and young adulthood.



Building personal power is hard to quantify, but can be witnessed in an individual’s personal efforts to change their life, recognize their personal growth, and develop practices like critical consciousness and self-care. Tyteeona Howard, a youth editor for Youth-PAC, challenges institutional power and expresses her personal power through mental health and wellness advocacy.

“Your well-being is more important than any assignment or bill. I want to encourage youth to honor breaks and vocalize when they need them. We must give ourselves the same grace we bestow on others when they’re not 100%. We have to take time for ourselves.”

- Tyteeona Howard, Youth Editor, Youth-PAC

4.2 CRITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

As youth build power, it is essential that they develop **critical consciousness** to determine how and to what extent they want to engage in advocacy. **Critical consciousness** is the ability to deeply understand the social conditions of one’s society (e.g., poverty, housing, homelessness, or unemployment) while feeling empowered to change or improve those conditions⁵. Critical consciousness requires thinking about how one’s own identities fit into the world and interact with others’ identities. It is an approach that helps individuals recognize societal contradictions and inequities so they can address them. Critical consciousness is a process that includes:

- **Reflection:** thinking about current social or community issues and how historical context has shaped that reality.
- **Motivation:** identifying what you can do to help.
- **Action:** working to directly address and impact issues of importance.

This process of developing critical consciousness is essential to building personal power because it requires recognizing that shared social conditions (e.g., racism, sexism, homelessness, and ableism) create a harmful and toxic environment for everyone. Youth engaging in advocacy expect other participants to be prepared to develop critical consciousness.

“It has never been our job and will never be our job to utilize our intellectual and emotional labor to explain to those who have not taken the time to do it themselves.”- Aric Hamilton, Youth Participant, MENTOR’s Black Youth Town Hall

It is vital that adults support youth in their development of critical consciousness. They can do this by engaging in or facilitating discussions that prompt reflection and boost a young person’s self-efficacy or trust in their own abilities. Adults can also provide youth with social capital, information, and resources to bring their visions to life.



4.3 SELF-CARE

Advocacy work can be draining, especially for youth. It can even harm the advocate’s mental health if self-care is not practiced. Dealing with controversial issues and the slow progress of advocacy work can lead to frustration, depression, or anxiety. These feelings can be further compounded when advocating for causes that directly impact an individual’s personal experience. Therefore, a critical step to building personal power is learning how to care for and protect oneself sustainably while practicing advocacy work.

According to ArtReach’s **Self-Care Tool Kit**, *“Self-care is about creating and maintaining practices that help you sustain your energy and spirit in whatever life path you choose.”*⁶

Self- and collaborative care are essential tenets of effective advocacy because they sustain the health and wellness of advocates and make advocacy work possible. A holistic approach to self-care incorporates various aspects of health (e.g., mental, emotional, physical, and spiritual), and can take the form of sleeping in, taking walks, putting on a face mask, or any other self-care activities that result in joy.⁷

⁵ Styslinger, M. (2019, January 24). *Becoming Teachers for Social Justice: Raising Critical Consciousness*.

⁶ *(Caring For Yourself Is a Radical Act, n.d.)*

⁷ *(Why Self-Care and Collective Wellbeing Are Critical to Winning Change, n.d.)*

4.4 PERSONAL POWER IN PRACTICE

YOUTH:

Learn:

- How can developing a critical consciousness help you build your personal power?
- How can self-care help build your personal power?

Research:

- Review ArtReach's [Self-Care Toolkit](#).

Reflect:

- What are your personal strengths?
- What are some of your personal elements of purpose?
- What is the current state of self-care in your own life?

Act:

- Take a moment to check in with yourself. Identify three self-care habits and incorporate them into your daily life.
- Practice developing a critical consciousness.
- Reflect: Think about your views on current social or community issues and how historical context has shaped them.
- Motivate: Identify what you can do to help.
- Act: Work to directly address the issues.

ADULTS:

Learn:

- How can you help build a young person's critical consciousness?
- How can you help young people engage in self-care?

Research:

- Review ArtReach's [Self-Care Toolkit](#).
- Read or watch the video from Chapter four, "Attunement in Mentoring Relationships," of [Becoming a Better Mentor: Strategies to Be There for Young People](#).

Reflect:

- What is the current state of self-care in your own life?

Act:

- Take a moment to check in with yourself. Identify three self-care habits and incorporate them into your daily life.
- Help youth practice critical consciousness through a facilitated discussion that includes:
 - Reflection: Think about current social or community issues and how historical context has shaped that reality.
 - Motivation: Identify what you can do to help.
 - Action: Work to directly address issues of importance.



5. DIGITAL POWER

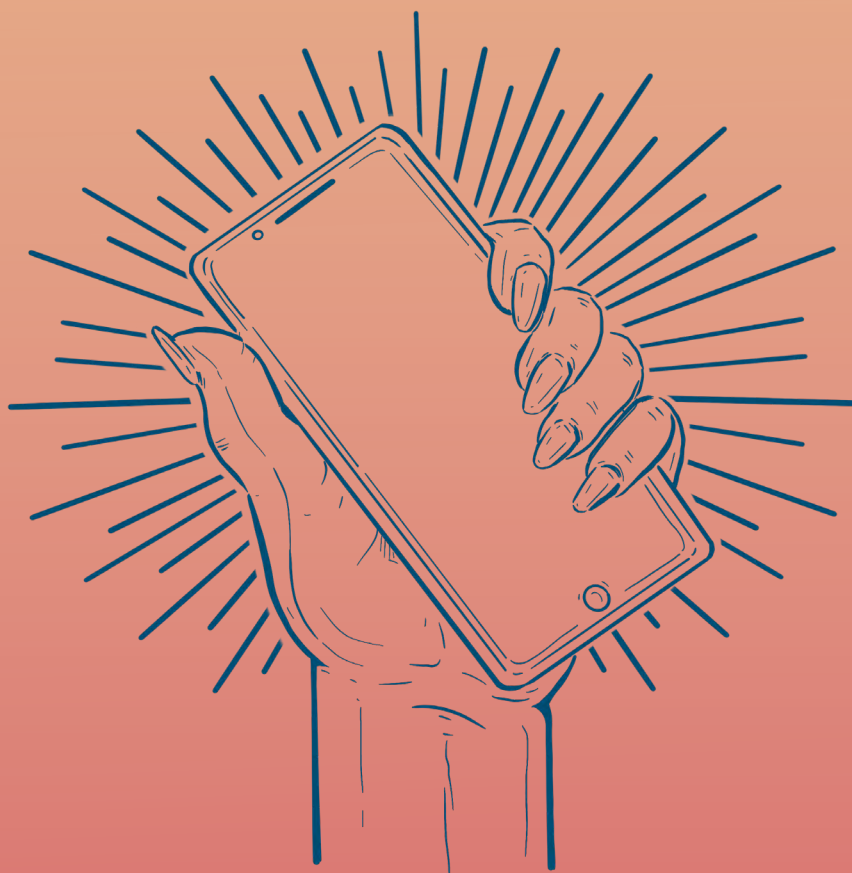
5.1 DIGITAL POWER AND SOCIAL MEDIA

Digital Power is gained by leveraging digital tools to organize, communicate, and influence. In today's age, digital power is driven by social media. Social media facilitates the sharing of resources and ideas across physical and social boundaries, and its tools are frequently leveraged to expand youth power through digital organizing and awareness. Activism through social media is increasing the direct actions within social movements and the use of innovative tactics. Technology has changed the accessibility of advocacy and activism as well as the social perception of activists.

Youth organizers have also popularized using online memes as a satirical way to raise awareness on social issues or injustices they have experienced. Although they are sometimes trivially dismissed or judged by adults, memes have become standard organizing tactics executed on social media. On June 20, 2020, teens on TikTok organized under the hashtags #K-pop and #AltTikTok to coordinate fake reservations for former President Donald Trump's reelection campaign rally in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Campaign organizers expected a large turnout of Trump supporters but were met with empty seats in a large arena. The campaign did not anticipate the impact or potential efficacy of youth-led online community efforts.

The online youth mobilization popularized within the last decade was due in part to the momentum of the Black Lives Matter movement, which began online with the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter, in response to the acquittal of George Zimmerman for the murder of Black teen Trayvon Martin in 2013. The campaign aimed to combat anti-Black racism worldwide and was started by activists Alicia Garza, Opal Tometi, and Patrisse Cullors. Their work was echoed by younger activists in Ferguson, Missouri, in response to the murder of another Black teen, Michael Brown, by police officer Darren Wilson in 2014. Youth organizers in Ferguson created their own Black Lives Matter chapter in response to Brown's murder⁸. Throughout the 2010s, Black Lives Matter chapters continued to emerge in response to extrajudicial killings of Black civilians nationwide. The murder of George Floyd intersected with digital organizing influenced by #BlackLivesMatter, leading to half-a-million protestors marching the streets on June 6, 2020. It was a youth-led cultural shift heavily facilitated by social media⁹.

One of the assets of digital power is its ability to connect people and create an online community for youth advocates. Online platforms present opportunities for young people, especially geographically or otherwise secluded youth, to connect with others who share their identities or values. The sense of solidarity found online can be incredibly comforting for youth who experience social isolation or marginalization in their homes and communities. Online communities can also be productive spaces for building critical understanding and creating dialogue. Relationships fostered online can have real-world outcomes. An international study conducted in Helsinki, Finland found that teenagers involved in online communities identified more strongly with their online community than with their neighborhood or offline hobby group.¹⁰



⁸ (Nasheed, 2019)

⁹ (Buchanan et al., n.d.)

¹⁰ (Young People Identify with an Online Community Almost as Strongly as with Their Own Family, n.d.)

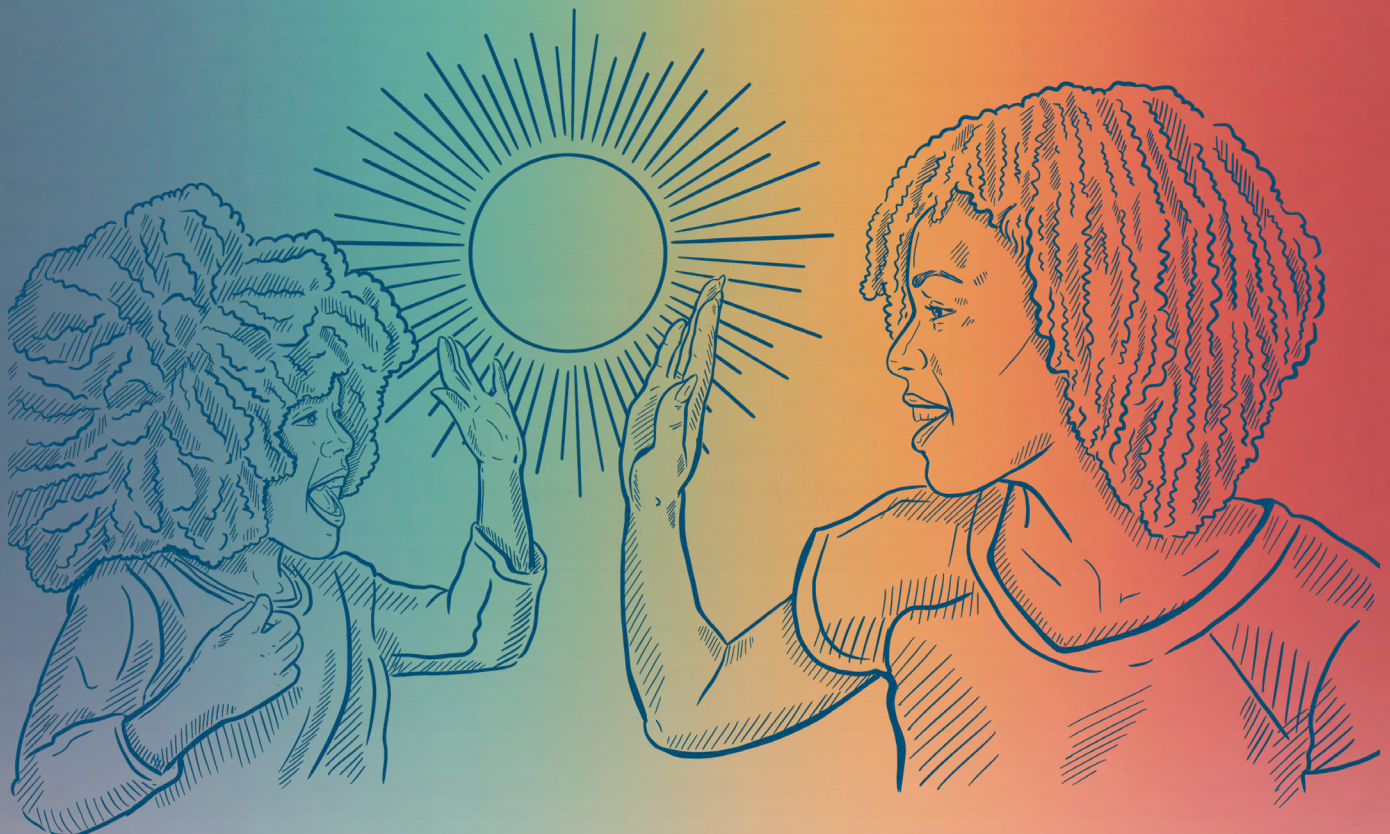


During the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, and with the support of [CricketTogether](#) and [iCouldBe](#), MENTOR built a Virtual Mentoring Portal to ensure caring mentor-mentee relationships continued even during a time of unprecedented physical distance. This platform provides mentoring programs with virtual access for existing mentees and their mentors, along with structured and unstructured communication methods. MENTOR utilizes digital power in its virtual mentoring work because it helps make mentorship accessible regardless of a person's location. By making mentorship resources and relationships accessible online, digital power can open doors to opportunities for young people that would otherwise be impossible to facilitate in person.

In partnership with [Youth Mentoring Action Network](#), and with the support of [UConn Health](#), [Cities United](#), [ANTI-BULLYING](#), and [America's Promise Alliance](#), MENTOR hosted a virtual Black Youth Town Hall in 2020. It was a youth-led community dialogue where Black youth participants processed recent events of police brutality and the state of race relations in response to the murder of George Floyd. In the Black Youth Town Hall's virtual space, Black youth around the country vented their frustrations and expressed what kind of support they needed.

"Don't let anyone tokenize you. I've had a lot of people who have slid into my DMs, like, can you educate me, can you teach me, and I'm like, excuse me, Google is free, there are so many resources on social media right now, and it is not my burden to carry to educate you." - **Gabrielle Bello, Youth Participant, Black Youth Town Hall**

"I feel like a lot of adults, they're trying to protect us right now, but, in this time, it's really not time to be convenient, protecting is important, but we need to be standing alongside one another, so the collaboration is sharing power with one another and is very important to think about we are talking about tackling systemic racism."
- **Aniya Wingate, Youth Participant, Black Youth Town Hall**



5.2 DANGERS OF THE DIGITAL SPACE

While digital platforms present an organizing opportunity for youth, they also can threaten their well-being. As youth navigate online communities and become more educated on issues of interest, they must learn effective **media literacy** and develop the ability to differentiate between trustworthy sources, misinformation, and disinformation.

Disinformation

[Internet Matters](#), a nonprofit that protects children and young adults online, defines disinformation as false information created and shared to deliberately cause harm. Disinformation campaigns can be sophisticated efforts that even trained journalists and politicians participate in or fall prey to. All digital consumers, but especially youth, are targeted by bad actors to share and react to disinformation, often via social media. Youth should be aware of internet echo chambers, environments where, due to social media algorithms designed to push extreme opinions, similar content is funneled at consumers.

Misinformation

On the other hand, **misinformation** is misleading information created or disseminated without a deliberate intent to cause harm¹¹. Although unintentional, it plays on our natural biases to interact with content that affirms or supports what we already think. Algorithms used by social media platforms like Twitter amplify posts with more engagement (retweets, likes, comments) to more people, therefore activating users' **confirmation bias**¹². As an advocate, learning how to identify disinformation and misinformation is essential to preventing the unintentional circulation of false information. The algorithms on social media platforms like Facebook, Instagram, TikTok, and Twitter often elevate inaccurate information, but there are ways that users can become savvy. Media literacy is a powerful skill to help young people become responsible consumers of information and media and more effective advocates for causes they care deeply about. Media literacy can empower people to find and use their voices. Some suggestions to practice media literacy include:

- Checking the author, sources cited, and publishing date of the content.
- Reading beyond headlines to identify the content's message.
- Reviewing links and supporting sources.
- Social media companies must hold their platform users accountable for knowingly spreading misinformation and disinformation against company policies.
- Halting the spread of false and inaccurate information by not re-sharing and by reporting violations of company policies
- Checking one's own biases and considering whether previously held beliefs could be affecting judgment.
- Revising opinions when information is disproven or new information is discovered.
- Not following or engaging with accounts that share disinformation.

The substantial growth in digital organizing also presents complex challenges. The online abuse and mistreatment of school shooting survivors is a stark example of the dangers present in the digital space today. On February 14, 2018, Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School students and staff survived a mass shooting that left 17 people dead and another 17 injured in Parkland, Florida. Student survivors co-founded [March for Our Lives](#), a youth-led organization and movement committed to eliminating gun violence through civic engagement, education, and direct action¹³. Parkland activists like Emma Gonzalez, Cameron Kasky, David Hogg, and Sarah Chadwick utilized social media to amplify their movement, garnering increased social media following and attention. Speaking out about their experiences and advocating for school safety throughout the country led to hypervisibility, turning these student survivors into targets of online harassment. While they were still grieving, they were accused of being "crisis actors" and participating in a media-driven hoax by politicians, journalists, and organizations opposing gun safety changes¹⁴. Even though they were minors, some activists were subjected to cyberstalking from individuals who believed the disinformation shared about them¹⁵. What happened to the Parkland activists is an example of what youth activists may face in their work. Mentors can help youth consider the risks of online activism and seek support systems to help them wield their digital power safely. By exercising media literacy and taking privacy precautions, youth can use social media as a safe and effective vehicle for their advocacy.

11 ("What Is Fake News and Misinformation?," n.d.)

12 (www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2018/05/09/how-misinformation-spreads-on-social-media-and-what-to-do-about-it/)

13 (Newcomb, n.d.)

14 (Newcomb, n.d.)

15 (Federal Appeals Court Upholds Brandon Fleury's Cyberstalking Conviction In Parkland School Case, n.d.)

5.3 DIGITAL POWER IN PRACTICE

YOUTH:

Learn:

- Name a time that social media helped fuel a movement.
- What is media literacy?
- What is the difference between disinformation and misinformation?

Research:

- Read about how the [March for Our Lives](#) harnessed digital power.

Reflect:

- How do digital and social media help movements?
- How do digital and social media hurt movements?

Act:

- Identify organizations and influencers that you trust on the issue that you chose to advocate for in the previous sections of this guide and follow their social media accounts.
- Use social media to follow the online conversation about the issue you selected by utilizing search terms and hashtags. Reflect on what messages seem to resonate with social media users on this topic.
- Practice media literacy skills: is there any mis- or disinformation being circulated on the topic? How does the information you see on social media change your potential advocacy tactics?

ADULTS:

Learn:

- How can you encourage young people to use social media for advocacy smartly and safely?
- What are some ways that you can practice media literacy?
- What is the difference between disinformation and misinformation?

Research:

- Read about how [March for Our Lives](#) harnessed digital power.
- Learn more about [MENTOR's virtual mentoring portals](#).
- Read or [watch the video](#) from Chapter Five, "Understanding Effective Online Communication," of [Becoming a Better Mentor: Strategies to Be There for Young People](#).

Reflect:

- How do digital and social media help movements?
- How do digital and social media hurt movements?

Act:

- Initiate a conversation with a young person about internet safety. Help them identify social media accounts from trustworthy organizations and influencers on issues they are passionate about.
- Help the young person identify any potential mis- or disinformation on the topic by using this guide's media literacy suggestions.



6. INSTITUTIONAL POWER

6.1 UNDERSTANDING INSTITUTIONAL POWER

Institutional Power is composed of the organizations and entities with formal and informal authority to make decisions for others and determine who receives resources. It is a power held by governments, religious institutions, and corporations to varying degrees based on sociocultural contexts. Institutions often work together to legitimize institutional power by reinforcing an institution's authority over society (e.g., a law passed by Congress enforced by local police).

Institutional power gives those in formal positions of power the authority to make decisions. Individuals with positions like policymakers, faith leaders, and CEOs are traditional power brokers who can influence who gets resources and who doesn't. Historically, institutional power created social hierarchies that led to the marginalization of specific communities based on parts of their identity.

Government efforts to limit voting rights are prominent examples of how institutional power has been used within the United States. Before 1965, Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Texas' state governments enforced laws that suppressed African American voters. In 1964, Congress ratified the 24th Amendment¹⁶, abolishing poll taxes, which were fees required to vote and manipulated to exclude low-income African Americans from exercising their voting power. In 1965, the Voting Rights Act passed, giving attorney generals the authority to enforce compliance with the 24th Amendment¹⁶. The Voting Rights Act was achieved through the collective advocacy of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the Southern Leadership Christian Conference. The two groups organized a series of marches in Alabama between Selma and Montgomery, led by activists Martin Luther King Jr., Hosea Williams, and John Lewis.

"There's no space in this country right now where power exists in spaces with predominantly non-white people. White supremacy has really inlaid itself in how we think about power. It is even perpetuated in spaces where there aren't white people." - **Andrew Mua, Youth Outreach and Engagement Specialist at Brooklyn Alliance for Youth**

Many youth advocates support changes in institutional power by coordinating political education efforts for the masses. Jenna Cain, a youth editor for Youth-PAC, created informational guides, such as "How to Meet With a Legislator" and "Political Advocacy Dictionary" to educate community members on how to navigate governmental institutions. Other contributors to Youth-PAC navigated institutional power by joining community initiatives, participating in mutual aid, and creating nonprofits.

6.2 POWER IN ADVOCACY

Adults can help youth utilize their power to resist oppression, challenge institutional power, and make positive community changes through advocacy, both from within and outside of institutions. To better support young people in their advocacy journey, adults can apply a mentoring mindset to help youth access and navigate institutional power. Mentoring can take place in various spaces (e.g., schools, workplaces, sports teams, and the community), offering many potential opportunities for adult mentors to impact young people and help them transform their passions into power to make a positive change and achieve their goals.



6.3 INSTITUTIONAL POWER IN PRACTICE

YOUTH:

Learn:

- Who holds institutional power?
- When has institutional power been used to stifle the voices of young people in the United States?

Research:

- Read, listen to, or view media about the organizing done by the Student Non-Violence Coordinating Committee and the Southern Leadership Christian Conference in the Civil Rights era.

Reflect:

- When have you seen power shift from one entity to another?
- Think about the institutional powers that affect you. How do you think the power should shift, if at all?

Act:

- Now that you have identified a problem that you are passionate about, learned who has authority, and researched your position, it's time to take action by advocating for policy changes to your elected representatives. Here are some ways to do that:

1. Contact elected officials' office via email, phone call, or social media to voice your opinion on the issue.
2. Set up a meeting with the official and/or their staff to discuss the issue further.
3. Prior to the meeting with an elected official:
 - Determine if it might be helpful to invite others to your meeting.
 - Do your research on the official and look for areas of connection: What is their legislative record, committees, and party? Search the official's name with keywords to see if there are past statements on the issue. Look for connections with their personal life experience and those close to them.

ADULTS:

Learn:

- When has institutional power been used to stifle the voices of young people in the United States?
- How can adults support young people as they access and navigate institutional power?

Research:

- Read or watch the video from Chapter Nine, "Building Critical Consciousness and Youth Activism," of Becoming a Better Mentor: Strategies to Be There for Young People.
- Review the Growth Mindset Toolkit and Implementation Guide, which features information, tools, and resources for mentors seeking to guide their mentees in cultivating perseverance, self-reflection, and positive decision-making. The guide outlines how mentoring programs can implement "a growth mindset" into their training and procedures.

Reflect:

- When have you seen power shift from one entity to another?
- Think about the institutional power that affects young people in your community. How do you think institutional power should shift, if at all?

Act:

- As young people wrangle with institutional power, they will likely come across more barriers than access points. It is critical to respond with empathy and encouragement, as discussed in the Growth Mindset Toolkit. When possible, help increase accessibility to advocacy activities for young people by providing support such as transportation.

6.3 INSTITUTIONAL POWER IN PRACTICE

YOUTH:

Act:

- Prepare questions and talking points that could resonate specifically with this elected official.
- Bring to the meeting research or data about the impact of the issue on your own community, including the number of constituents affected, estimated economic impact, and local success stories.
- During the meeting, ask if the elected official has taken a position on the issues you're advocating for (if they have not done so publicly).
- After the meeting, follow-up with contact information and, if possible, brief, locally-specific leave-behind materials.
- If you don't receive a follow-up within a reasonable or promised time frame, reach out to the office to see if they have taken action.
- Testify at a public hearing on a relevant topic.
- Determine who is best to deliver the message.
- Make sure you have evidence to back up your position in your testimony.
- Make the policy personal: why does it matter to you? Share your story.
- Check ahead of time to understand the committee's rules for public testimony.
- Keep your message concise; generally 3-5 minutes.
- Attend a town hall or public event and ask the official relevant questions.
- Another strategy to influence institutional power is through the media. Consider writing a letter to the editor or op-ed for a local newspaper on the issue. If your letter is published, make sure relevant elected officials know about the column - don't be afraid to share it with them!

ADULTS:

Act:

- Identify programs in your community that give youth hands-on experience and knowledge in electoral and policymaking processes. Advocate for youth having a representative to vote on their behalf on governing boards (i.e. a voting member on the local school board). Share learning opportunities for technical skills and education support on topics such as research, reading legislation, grant-writing, and engaging with the media.



7. COLLECTIVE POWER

7.1 BUILDING COLLECTIVE POWER

Collective Power is when organizations and individuals work together to achieve common goals. It is a critical asset that helps young people change their lives through the power of the masses. Youth can use collective power to amplify their advocacy work. Collective power offers spaces for networking and connecting with people who share values.

“Power builds more rapidly when you have multiple voices and people. Not just amplifying and echoing but supporting and backing up.” - Ellen Middaugh, Ph.D., Assistant Professor in Child and Adolescent Development at San Jose State, a leading researcher on youth civic identity development and the impact of digital media on youth development

Collective power empowers communities with the ability to have influence over decisions that impact them and ensures that decisions by authorities reflect their needs. Because it involves people collaborating on advocacy work together, collective power is not dependent on any single individual, but rather a whole community. Through efforts to build collective power, youth advocates may recognize the connection and find alignment between their issues of concern and those of other youth advocates.

“Activist groups are banding together and supporting one another’s causes. Single issue organizing is dead. Most youth activists today are actively involved in three or more causes, and many use an intersectional perspective in their work, which means they not only tend to how people with different identities are variously impacted by oppression....” - Jerusha Conner, Ph.D., Villanova University

7.2 BUILDING INTERSECTIONAL COALITIONS

One way of building collective power is through the formation of intersectional coalitions. Intersectional coalitions are alliances or groups of diverse individuals holding different identities who unite towards a shared goal, outcome, or action. When building coalitions to utilize collective power, it is essential to remember:

- **The most impacted and marginalized members should be the driving forces** (e.g., physically and mentally disabled people leading accessibility discussions).
- **To center and practice intersectionality when analyzing issues** (e.g., understanding how a lack of access to affordable housing intersects with poverty and mental health).

Intersectionality is a term coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw, a professor at Columbia University’s School of Law. She describes intersectionality as:

“... A lens through which you can see where power comes and collides, where it interlocks and intersects. It’s not simply that there’s a race problem here, a gender problem here, and a class or LGBTQ problem there. Many times that framework erases what happens to people who are subject to all of these things.”¹⁷

However, intersectionality does not guarantee long-term success. Intersectional coalitions must ensure they share the same values and priorities to be effective. Successful intersectional coalitions prioritize the voices of those experiencing the most pain. Movements led by those most affected will more effectively address issues that ultimately benefit all coalition members.

One of the best historical examples is The First Rainbow Coalition, sometimes referred to as The Poor People's Army. Formed in heavily segregated Chicago in 1969, it was a youth-led, multiracial, multiethnic coalition between the Black Panther Party (African Americans), Young Lords (Puerto Ricans), and Young Patriots (working-class Southern Whites). As a collective centered around local community-based movements, the group advocated against police brutality and substandard housing¹⁸. Ultimately, they faced extreme institutional oppression and retaliation for their efforts, but their legacy lives on. Leyden Streed, a youth editor for Youth-PAC, explored her identity to find spaces to build intersectional coalitions and exercise collective power.

"Aspects of my identity (Latinx/female/college student etc.) led me to organizations such as CLUES, whose programs I have benefitted from and now work in support of their advocacy and community engagement. I have also taken advantage of my position as a college student, and accessed different school-associated clubs and opportunities. I'm a part of the Mixed Race Identity Collective and Latinx Student Union." - **Leyden Streed, Youth Editor, Youth-PAC**

Mentors can support youth in building collective power by guiding them to support networks, services, and programs that reflect their unique interests and needs. Mentors can help facilitate discussions where young people are able to recognize the intersections in their experiences and find common goals.



¹⁷ (Kimberlé Crenshaw on Intersectionality, *More than Two Decades Later*, n.d.)

¹⁸ ("When Black, Latino and Poor White Activists Formed Alliance | *The First Rainbow Coalition*," n.d.)

7.3 COLLECTIVE POWER IN PRACTICE

YOUTH:

Learn:

- What is intersectionality?
- When has an intersectional coalition been successful?

Research:

- Learn about the [First Rainbow Coalition](#).

Reflect:

- What leads to successful collective power?
- What is one issue in your community where collective power could help lead to a certain outcome?

Act:

- To build collective power to support your advocacy, you must find allies. Connect with friends, colleagues, and organizations who share the same position as you on the issue. Meet with them to understand the strategies they're using to organize and advocate for the issue.
- Build a coalition and take steps to organize your community around the issue:
 1. Determine leaders/deliverers of the coalition's messages and actions.
 2. Create a shared agenda/requests/talking points with coalition members.
 3. Collect stories from different organizations to connect with others.
 4. Determine in what settings will the tactics be taking place.
 5. Identify the specific tactics and activities that will be applied collectively to advance the work forward.
 6. Continue building the coalition with additional parties.
- If the best path forward is to bring significant attention to the issue, consider organizing a walk-out, protest, or boycott to rally against unjust events and/or policies.

ADULTS:

Learn:

- When building coalitions for collective power, what is important to remember?
- How can adults support youth in building collective power?

Research:

- Learn about the [First Rainbow Coalition](#).
- Read or watch the video from Chapter Six, "Facilitating Group Interactions," of [Becoming a Better Mentor: Strategies to Be There for Young People](#).

Reflect:

- What leads to successful use of collective power?
- What is one issue in your community where collective power could help lead to a certain outcome?

Act:

- Supporting youth as they build collective power is all about connection. Connect youth with friends, colleagues, and organizations who share their values and interests. Act as a sounding board for youth as they share ideas.
- If youth decide to organize or participate in direct action activities such as a walkout or protest, discuss the pros and cons of that decision with them so they have the information needed to make the right choice. If they decide to participate, compile a list of confirmed, safe community resources including reliable people to contact in case of emergency.



8. EXERCISING POWER

Exercising power will look different based on every young person's experience and confidence levels. If you are looking to begin your advocacy journey and don't know where to start, we suggest using this process as a starting point:

- **Reflection:** Use your experiences, observations, and values to reflect on the changes you want to make in your community.
- **Educate:** Unlearn assumptions and begin learning about the subject and its existing barriers from those with lived experiences and expertise.
- **Message:** Once informed, think about how you believe the problem should be addressed; use your experiences and data to develop your message.
- **Collaborate:** Identify, form, or join coalitions where you can collaborate with individuals who share your values to amplify your impact.
- **Plan:** Work with coalitions and the community to determine practical goals and plan tactics that can help address the problem.

8.1 VOTING AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Many young people characterize their generation by its awareness and engagement with social issues like police accountability, systemic racism, gun safety reform, community violence reduction, and health care access. Despite their engagement with social issues, many youths claim disinterest in politics because they do not consider social issues to be political¹⁹. Skepticism and criticism of our existing political structures and elected leaders dissuade many young people, especially in underserved communities, from engaging politically. Many of them have political apathy from being failed in the past by their elected leaders. These frustrations are valid and multigenerational, however, choosing not to vote is giving away power instead of utilizing it.

Voting is the literal demonstration of the power each of us has to play a role in the selection of our elected leaders. It is our most clear ability to influence the redistribution of representation. Electoral and political advocacy allows Youth-PAC contributor Jenna Cain to exercise her power, even though she cannot vote yet.

"As we neared the 2020 elections, I began volunteering for political campaigns committed to making the changes. I came across the Sunrise Movement, a youth-led movement fighting for environmental justice. Watching high school and college students take charge drew me to join." - **Jenna Cain, Youth Editor, Youth-PAC**





MENTOR

Exploring different opportunities for civic engagement is an essential step in exercising your power. MENTOR's accompanying online magazine, Youth-PAC, details how youth advocates found civic engagement opportunities that work for them. Here are some places to start your search:

- **Taking Coursework:** Courses like [Action Civics](#) are student-centered, experiential classes where youth learn about the political process by participating in action geared towards specific issues in their communities. They engage in community examination, issue identification, research, strategizing, taking action, and reflection.
- **Participating in Youth Commissions:** Many cities, local municipalities and even some state governments have youth commissions or advisory committees, where high school-aged students serve as youth representatives for their communities and participate in civic decisions for their city. Programs like youth commissions, youth planners, and youth advisory groups meaningfully participate in city projects like developing a teen center. [The Hampton Youth Commission](#) in Hampton, Virginia has a 20-year legacy of youth civic engagement and leadership development in Hampton's city government. In Nevada, [the Youth Legislature](#), a program allowing high school youth to learn about government and civic process, can introduce a bill to address an issue they care about in each state legislative session.
- **Encouraging youth representation:** Are young people represented on your local school board? What about your local Workforce Investment Board (WIB) or state legislature? If not, advocate for additional opportunities for youth to formally exercise their power.
- **Engaging in Service:** Participation in activities like volunteering, national service, and service-learning are forms of civic engagement. Those interested in long-term service projects after graduating high school may consider service via [AmeriCorps](#), [Peace Corps](#), or [City Year](#) programs, as well as other public service initiatives. This could be one-time neighborhood clean-ups, tutoring students, or donating to a blood drive.



8.2 EXERCISING YOUR POWER IN PRACTICE

YOUTH:

Learn:

- What is the suggested process to advocate on an issue?

Research:

- Read more about the [Hampton Youth Commission](#) and [Nevada Youth Legislature](#).

Reflect:

- How can youth exercise their power today?
- What steps can be taken so youth have more power tomorrow?
- What is one way you can exercise your power in your community today?

Act:

- While the tactics you have used to advocate for the issue you chose in earlier sections are critical, change is more likely to happen when advocates take effective, strategic, and timely actions. Understanding the basics of civic engagement is critical to be successful. If it is not already required, consider advocating and lobbying for a required civics curriculum in your school or school district.
- Register to vote, and when you reach the required age, vote in all local, state, and national elections, including primary elections.
- Identify and consider participating in other civic engagement opportunities in your community, including service and training opportunities to become a more effective advocate.

ADULTS:

Learn:

- What can you advocate for so youth have more power tomorrow?
- What can you say to youth who are feeling hopeless or apathetic to encourage them to exercise their power today?

Research:

- Read more about the [Hampton Youth Commission](#) and [Nevada Youth Legislature](#).

Reflect:

- How can youth exercise their power today?
- What steps can be taken so youth have more power tomorrow?
- What is one way you can exercise your power to support youth in your community today?

Act:

- Adults occupy spaces that are often inaccessible to youth. For an adult to exercise their power to support youth, they must provide opportunities for youth to experience and exercise their own power. This can include:
 - Bringing a young person with them to vote.
 - Participating in a service activity together.
 - Lobbying governments to build youth advocacy learning programs.
 - Organizing for required civics curriculum in schools.
 - Organizing a “civics education week” initiative with programs, activities, and resources.
 - Researching and participating in other civic engagement opportunities.



EPILOGUE

Dear Mentoring Programs and Mentors,

A core belief in the mentoring movement is that we all rise together when young people are lifted up. Mentors and other caring adults supporting young people play a key role in centering youth voices and helping them build their power, form their identities, and forge their own paths to success.

We hope this guide gives you the tools and resources you need to walk alongside young people as they become advocates in our society. Please encourage the young people you serve to explore the Youth-PAC, the online magazine created alongside this guide, and reach out to its contributors. The communities they build are invaluable in their advocacy journeys.



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MENTOR

Illustrations created by Maite Nazario

GLOSSARY

Youth Power: Young people's ability to influence and exercise authority over their circumstances, experiences, and society.²⁰

Racial Oppression: When individuals and institutions exert power or authority to create a system that exercises prejudice, unjust treatment, disadvantages, or limitations against some racial groups while benefitting others. Racial oppression can be internalized, enacted systematically, socially, or institutionally.²¹

Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA): A policy for individuals who entered the U.S. unlawfully (without a visa) as children (before turning 16 years old) who have resided in the U.S. since June 15, 2007. This program does not grant recipients citizenship or a green card (legal status), but it allows recipients to apply for a driver's license, social security number, and work permit. DACA recipients are also frequently called 'dreamers' in media outlets and political settings.²²

Personal Power: One's individual ability to influence their own actions, the actions of others, and events. It is a power that comes from one's own characteristics and state of mind, not a formal institution or authority figure.²³

Critical Consciousness: A way of understanding one's position in the world with an awareness and understanding of the power structures that shape the world. It helps one critically analyze their social conditions and enact changes in them. It includes three main parts — critical reflection, political efficacy, and critical action.²⁴

Digital Power: One's ability to utilize digital tools and online spaces to communicate, educate, inform, and mobilize others online. Digital Power can also influence actions that occur offline.²⁵

Extrajudicial: An action that occurs outside of the rule of law or legal authority. It is an action deemed legally unwarranted.²⁶



²⁰ (remakelearning.org/blog/2019/09/18/from-youth-voice-to-youth-power/#:~:text=Youth%20power%2C%20the%20ability%20for,broad-er%20continuum%20of%20youth%20engagement.)

²¹ (nmaahc.si.edu/learn/talking-about-race/topics/social-identities-and-systems-oppression)

²² (www.ilrc.org/daca)

²³ (www.masterclass.com/articles/personal-power)

²⁴ (newdiscourses.com/tftw-critical-consciousness/)

²⁵ (repower.org/resource/itdo-1/)

²⁶ (www.omct.org/en/what-we-do/extrajudicial-killings)

GLOSSARY

Media Literacy: Utilizing critical thinking skills to interpret and analyze the accuracy, credibility, and reliability of mass media content one consumes or creates.²⁷

Disinformation: The intentional spreading of false or manipulated information to mislead audiences and create bias.²⁸

Misinformation: An unintentional presentation or spreading of false, inaccurate information that one mistakenly deems credible and factual.²⁹

Confirmation Bias: The human tendency to seek, refer to and utilize information that confirms one's existing thoughts, beliefs, and values on a subject or topic.³⁰

Institutional Power: The use of power by an institution (e.g., governments, schools, religious institutions, legislative bodies) to exert authority over people and their behaviors by establishing policies, practices, and beliefs as social norms and customs.³¹

Sociocultural Contexts: The set of circumstances, the social and cultural factors (e.g., habits, traditions, social values, customs, demographics, and beliefs) of individuals in a society.



27 (www.medialit.org/media-literacy-definition-and-more)

28 (www.lib.purdue.edu/misinformation-training/training-module/what-is-misinformation)

29 (www.lib.purdue.edu/misinformation-training/training-module/what-is-misinformation)

30 (www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/science-choice/201504/what-is-confirmation-bias)

31 (www.orangecountync.gov/DocumentCenter/View/12307/Glossary---Appendix-C)

32 (knoow.net/en/economics-business/management/social-cultural-context/)

GLOSSARY

Mutual Aid: A practice and politics of cooperation uniting community members on a local level to provide material support for one another. It recognizes personal needs as shared and connected to those of other community members, so people come together to mutually determine consensus and aid each other. Mutual aid organizations and cooperatives are not charities; they understand everyone has skills, services, and support they can contribute to the common good.³³

Collective Power: To use or enact the shared power of a group of individuals, communities, or organizations brought together for a common goal or shared interests.³⁴

Intersectionality: A term coined by Professor Kimberlé Crenshaw to express how people from different backgrounds encounter and experience the world. Specifically, it refers to how social identities (e.g., racial, religious, sexual orientation, gender expression, economic class) intersect (connect and overlap).³⁵

Intersectional Coalition: A group or alliance formed by various groups identifying with different social identities (e.g., racial, religious, sexual orientation, gender expression, economic class) uniting long-term or temporary to address shared issues that overlap between the communities.³⁶

Exercising Power: The use of one's power or authority within themselves, with others, or over society.³⁷



³³ (gdoc.pub/doc/e/2PACX-1vRMxV09kdojzMdyOfapJUOB6Ko2_1iAflm8ELelgma21wlt5HoTqP1QXadF01eZc0ySrPW6VtU_veyp?)

³⁴ (colorlines.com/article/what-is-collective-power-and-how-do-we-build-it-an-explainer-with-maurice-mitchell/)

³⁵ (www.vox.com/the-highlight/2019/5/20/18542843/intersectionality-conservatism-law-race-gender-discrimination)

³⁶ (scholars.org/contribution/how-social-movements-build-power-through-intersectionality#:~:text=Broadly%20defined%2C%20intersectionality%20is%20the,and%20sexism%20on%20their%20own.)

³⁷ (www.participatorymethods.org/method/power#:~:text=Power%20over%20others%20can%20be,or%20even%20imagine%20as%20possible.)