Centering Healing, Political Clarity, and Resistance Amidst Threats to Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion

A Position Paper from TODOS: Mathematics for ALL

TODOS Mathematics for All's central mission is to advocate for equity and high quality mathematics education for all students — in particular, Latina/o students[1]. Over the past two decades we have worked fervently toward equitable access to mathematics for all students that reflects their brilliance, culture, language, and lived experiences. In the current sociopolitical climate in the United States and beyond, our work and students', teachers', families', and community members' work toward equity, diversity, and inclusion is under attack. In this 2026 position statement "Centering Healing, Political Clarity, and Resistance Amidst Threats to Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion," and the accompanying resource guide, we reiterate our staunch commitment to equity and justice and share our support for individuals, families, students, and educators facing threats to equity and justice. The current statement highlights and further supports our 2016 position statement "Mathematics Education Through the Lens of Social Justice: Acknowledgment, Actions, and Accountability" (with the National Council of Supervisors of Mathematics) and our 2020 position statement "The Mo(ve)ment to Prioritize Antiracist Mathematics: Planning for This and Every School Year."

Our 2016 joint position statement with the National Council of Supervisors of Mathematics "Mathematics Education Through the Lens of Social Justice: Acknowledgment, Actions, and Accountability" shared four essential actions:

1. Eliminating deficit views of mathematics learning
2. Eradicating mathematics as gatekeeper
3. Engaging the sociopolitical turn of mathematics education

[1] The official Mission Statement of TODOS uses the phrase Latina/o, and throughout this position statement we use Latina/o/x/é/@/* in our efforts to use more inclusive language to include nonbinary and trans communities.

4. Elevating the professional learning of mathematics teachers and leaders with a dual focus on mathematics and social justice

We recommitted to these actions in our 2020 position statement "The Mo(ve)ment to Prioritize Antiracist Mathematics: Planning for This and Every School Year." In this 2026 position statement "Centering Healing, Political Clarity, and Resistance Amidst Threats to Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion," we triple down on these four essential actions. We especially focus on engaging the sociopolitical turn of mathematics education to explore how sharpening our political clarity may support our equity efforts to take action.

Goals and roadmap of this position statement

In this statement, we name **four types of current threats to the health, well-being, and education of marginalized individuals and communities**. Our discussion of such threats is not intended to be exhaustive, nor fully up-to-date, as the time of our writing is earlier than its publication. We also do not claim to be experts on these atrocities and injustices, and we are committed to being lifelong learners. In addition to naming threats to marginalized individuals and communities, we consistently reiterate that **we stand[2] in solidarity with impacted and marginalized communities**. As Audre Lourde teaches us, "Your silence will not protect you," and we use our collective voices[3] to support communities and work toward justice. When many voices speak out, we amplify our power, and we stand in solidarity with others in our pursuit of equity and justice. We conclude by offering actions to support (1) **healing and growth**, (2) **"reading the world[4]**," or sharpening one's political clarity and critical consciousness, and (3) **"writing the world,"** or

[2] We use "stand" metaphorically and do not intend to use ableist language. We are open to learning more inclusive language.

[3] We use the word "voice" metaphorically and do not intend to use ableist language.

[4] "Reading and writing the world" refers to Paulo Freire's (1970) Pedagogy of the Oppressed, where reading the world means gaining critical consciousness to analyze the world as it is influenced by systemic oppression. Writing the world refers to taking action toward equity and justice. Freire conceptualizes actions as led by those who are marginalized.

taking action to resist efforts intended to dismantle diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives to ultimately support marginalized students and communities.

Threats to marginalized individuals and communities

In the United States and abroad, individuals and communities are currently surviving, resisting, and navigating a) threats to global safety and humanization, b) threats to community and school safety, c) threats to free speech, critical thinking, and civic discourse, and d) threats to equitable access to high quality education. These actions greatly threaten the health, well-being, and education of individuals across the globe, and we stand in solidarity with marginalized communities.

Threats to global safety and humanization

We denounce violence, murder, starvation, and displacement of individuals, families, and communities across the world. Additionally, despite a fragile ceasefire, many are enduring collective trauma as a result of genocide, violence, murder, starvation, and displacement in the occupied Palestinian territories.. As concerned mathematics educators, the data is deeply concerning with over 69,000 Palestinians murdered[5] and 170,000 wounded[6], where many of those killed, wounded, and starved are children. **We denounce all acts of hate and violence, in particular attempted erasure, genocide, and/or stealing land, homes, and/or belongings of any group, especially when targeted for one's race or ethnicity, gender identity, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, religion, ability, language, or culture**. For many of us we also acknowledge our own complicity in genocide and erasure as settlers on Indigenous lands. We call on educators to learn about the history of Palestine, such as the Nakba, or "the Catastrophe" in Arabic, that intentionally and violently displaced three quarters of Palestinians from 1947 to 1949 from their homes to create the

[5] As of November 8, 2025 according to the Associated Press and Politico: https://www.politico.com/news/2025/11/08/palestinian-death-toll-gaza-00643643

[6] As of October 7, 2025 according to the Associated Press and NPR: https://www.npr.org/2025/10/07/g-s1-92367/october-7-two-years-gaza-war-israel-hamas-palestinians

ethnostate of Israel. While violence in Palestine and the Ukraine has received more attention in the United States, we also recognize violence, displacement, and starvation around the world including the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, Syria, Yemen, North Ethiopia, Somalia, and Afghanistan. These actions are grave violations of the most basic human rights and destroy many of the necessary conditions for human life and well-being.

Our commitment to mathematics from a critical perspective calls for us to **stand in solidarity with individuals, families, and communities experiencing harm and condemn violence that threatens their lives, well-being, livelihoods, and land.** For those who may not be directly impacted, they may be traumatized by watching the news and social media coverage of violence, war, and murder. They may also be implicitly internalizing that such violence and is normalized and expected, where they may feel dehumanized and/or view others in dehumanizing ways. We also acknowledge violence (including state sanctioned racialized violence, domestic violence, etc.) occurring within the United States and stand with survivors and individuals navigating such dangers. We extend an invitation to educators, students, families, and members of our global communities to stand for humanity and peace.

Threats to community and school safety

Students across the globe also face threats to their safety within their schools, especially for students of marginalized backgrounds. In the United States, for many students (e.g., Indigenous students, Black students, students of Color[7], students of the global and historic majority[8], and those who identify as immigrant, refugee, multilingual, 2SLGBTQIA+

[7] We capitalize "Color" to recognize and honor the dignities of radicalized individuals in a formalized way, just like we would capitalize African American, Asian American Pacific Islander, Latina/o/x/é/@/*, Mexican American, Cuban American, etc. We do not capitalize "white" because the history of whiteness has been wielded as a tool of violence and domination, and we do not wish to advance such notions by capitalizing "white," indicating formality (Kohli & Pizarro, 2022).

[8] We use global and historic majority to indicate that Indigenous, Black, and people of Color make up (and have always made up) the majority of the world's population. We use people of Color or people of the global

students, etc.) school has never been the kind of safe space necessary for thriving learning communities (e.g., Waid, 2023; Valenzuela, 2010). The current display of authoritarianism of the executive branch under the 47th presidency is exerting inappropriate control that exceeds the responsibilities of its branch of government, threatening democracy in the United States. Recent policy changes have stripped many of the few existing protections creating a culture of fear in schools for students and teachers. This includes the removal of protections for students of immigrant communities, students of the global majority, trans students, students with disabilities, among others.

This culture of fear also extends to the communities and homes of these same students as government agents are authorized to use violence, harassment, and terror against various targeted communities. For example, during the 47th presidency of the United States, students, teachers, and their families, who are members of or may be perceived as members of immigrant communities, are afraid to leave their homes or even answer their front door. These are justified fears given the targeted deployment of government agents (Immigration and Customs Enforcement or ICE, National Guard) to violently kidnap, harass, terrorize, detain, and disappear communities of Color, including kidnapping and deporting individuals who are United States citizens, and indiscriminately use noxious chemicals (tear gas) in the presence of children, infants, and medically vulnerable people of all ages. This normalization of state sanctioned violence, and discourse that condones such violence, are incompatible with an education system that centers human thriving. Such state sanctioned violence has terrorized communities of Color for ages (e.g., Alexander, 2011; Eidy et al., 2020). We draw on the strength, leadership, and brilliance from the Black Lives Matter movement and the great legacy and diversity of the civil rights movement. We must also remember that mathematics is not a neutral party to state sanctioned violence – instead it is and has been used both to create mechanisms of violence and to justify the use of

majority interchangeably throughout this statement. We acknowledge and honor the complexity of these choices and we do not select one convention as "correct."

violence against particular groups (e.g., Benjamin, 2019; Martin, 2013). One example of this is Israel's use of AI-backed military technologies. As a mathematics education community, we must grapple with this role of mathematics. **We condemn the complicity of the mathematics and mathematics education communities as bystanders to the use of mathematics for violent purposes**.

In addition to immigrant communities and communities of Color, members of the trans community are also under attack. The president signed an executive order "Defending Women from Gender Ideology Extremism and Restoring Biological Truth to the Federal Government" declaring that the federal government maintains a binary and incomplete interpretation of what counts as gender, recognizing only two sexes. This executive order removes Title IX protections against discrimination for the LGBTQ+ community. The president also signed another executive order "Keeping Men Out of Women's Sports" to "rescind all funds from educational programs that deprive women and girls of fair athletic opportunities, which results in the endangerment, humiliation, and silencing of women and girls and deprives them of privacy." These executive orders greatly decrease the inclusivity for how students participate in sports and participate in school as a whole, additionally putting trans students in grave danger of bullying and violence, further threatening trans students' well-being and opportunities for learning. **We stand in solidarity for individuals and communities under attack and vow to resist violence in our work toward equity, justice, and well-being for humans and the earth**. Please read our 2021 TODOS' Statement in Support of LGBTQ+ Persons for further discussion, resources, and suggestions for action to support the LBGTQ+ community.

Threats to free speech, critical thinking, and civic discourse

The federal government is also attempting to wield its power by controlling public discourse, suppressing free speech, and exerting coercive control over universities and K-12 schools. **We emphatically support free speech and freedom of expression as**

guaranteed by our First Amendment: Freedom of Religion, Speech, Press, Assembly, and Petition. To share just one example of threats to free speech, the federal government froze $2.2 billion in grants to Harvard University after claiming the university violated federal civil rights law and demanding the university change its DEI (diversity, equity, and inclusion) programs and revise hiring and admissions policies. The federal government has also targeted the University of California Berkeley, University of California Los Angeles, Brown University, Cornell University, Northwestern University, University of Pennsylvania, Princeton University, among several others. Tenured university faculty have been fired such as Dr. Thomas Alter, a tenured history professor at Texas State University, who was terminated without due process for comments he made at a virtual conference criticizing the United States government. Dr. Maura Finkelstein, a tenured professor at Muhlenberg College, was fired for reposting an Instagram story in support of Palestine. Senior lecturer Melissa McCoul, a part time instructor at Texas A&M University was terminated for her discussions of gender identity, and her dean and department chair have been removed from their positions, and the president resigned although did not confirm that his resignation was related to the incident. Measures have been instituted at universities across the country to prevent student protests and silence student and faculty voices.

K-12 educators are also being silenced en masse. Dozens of educators at K-12 schools and universities throughout the country have been fired for their social media posts following the killing at Utah Valley University with notable targeting of educators. Teachers are also facing consequences for simply sharing inclusive and welcoming messages for their students. For example, in Idaho, middle school world civilizations teacher, Sarah Inama, was instructed by her principal to remove a poster from her wall that reads, “All are welcome here.” The effects of these overt efforts to silence teachers have a greater effect that silences many more teachers out of fear of facing disciplinary action. **We stand in solidarity with educators, administrators, students, families, and communities’**

efforts to exercise their First Amendment rights to free speech, religion, press, assembly, and petition.

In addition, not only are educators' free speech rights being threatened, some schools are also using biased educational materials that promote propaganda and misinformation rather than historical facts, like Prager U's materials, available in 10 states. Moreover, a new partnership with the US Department of Education and 40 conservative organizations announced in September 2025, have launched a partisan project called the America 250 Civics Education Coalition. These biased initiatives come as millions of dollars in civics education grants for K-12 students have been canceled, reducing significant opportunities for civics education. This is concerning for our democracy given that critical thinking and civic reasoning are essential. Basic understanding of democracy and our government functions are also necessary, and unfortunately less than half of Americans can name First Amendment rights and less than two-thirds can name the three branches of government, according to the 2024 Annenberg Constitution Day Civics Survey. Civic reasoning and discourse are crucial for all students (of all ages plus adults and elders) for the health of a democracy. We share a definition of civic reasoning and civic discourse from the National Academy of Education.

> *To engage in **civic reasoning**, one needs to think through a public issue using rigorous inquiry skills and methods to weigh different points of view and examine available evidence. **Civic discourse** concerns how to communicate with one another around the challenges of public issues in order to enhance both individual and group understanding.*

Civic reasoning and critical literacy skills encourage students, adults, and elders to weigh different viewpoints and examine evidence by asking questions such as: Is this true? What credible evidence do we have? Is this biased? How can I verify its authenticity and accuracy? Who are the authors of this? What is their role? Why do they share this message? Who is the intended audience? Who gains to benefit or lose from this message? Might there be

bias in this and why? Students (and educators, family members, etc.) may be exposed to biased and/or untrue information at school, at home, in their community, online, and on social media. The prevalence and abundance of biased information we consume (from many viewpoints) requires us to constantly use our critical thinking skills to support a healthy democracy.

While mathematics classrooms have typically been excluded from civics education efforts, robust civic reasoning requires critical mathematics thinking in ways that use rigorous inquiry to consider various viewpoints and available evidence. Mathematics educators can promote critical thinking, civic reasoning, and discourse in our classrooms in a variety of ways. One way is by encouraging inquiry and sense making. The National Council of Teachers of Mathematics Principles to Action offer frameworks, definitions, and examples to encourage inquiry, reasoning and problem solving, use of evidence, consideration of multiple viewpoints or solution strategies, discourse, and productive struggle. These types of critical thinking in mathematics help foster students' *intellectual autonomy* (Yackel & Cobb, 1996) and may also promote critical thinking for civic discourse where multiple perspectives are considered and questioned. To promote inquiry and intellectual autonomy teachers may use approaches that center students' thinking and dismantle hierarchies, such as problem based learning (e.g., Freire, 1970), Cognitively Guided Instruction (e.g., Carpenter et al., 2000), complex instruction (e.g., Cohen & Lotan, 1997, 2014; Lo & Dunleavy 2025; Nasir, et al. 2014), strategies from the 5 Practices (e.g., Stein et al., 2008), as well as culturally relevant and sustaining pedagogies (e.g., Zavala & Aguirre, 2024). These approaches aim to cultivate an inclusive classroom climate where all students have opportunities to feel a sense of belonging.

Another way educators can take action to promote civic reasoning and discourse in mathematics (e.g., Gargroetzi et al., 2025; Moses and Cobb, 2002) is by using Social Justice Mathematics (e.g., Aguirre et al., 2019; Gutstein & Peterson, 2013; Kokka, 2015), Teaching Mathematics for Social Justice (e.g., Buenrostro, 2016; Gutstein, 2006; Larnell et al., 2016;

Leonard et al., 2010; Pinheiro and Chávez, 2023), and Critical Mathematics (e.g., Frankenstein, 1983; Skovsmose, 1994). These types of social justice mathematics tasks use dominant mathematics to investigate social injustices, engage in civic discourse, and ultimately take action toward justice. Some have also included healing-informed practices (Kokka, 2019) and affective pedagogical goals that center and care for students' well-being and emotions (Kokka, 2022). See www.mathsocialissues.com for lists of resources (books, websites, organizations, etc.) for using social justice mathematics in your own classroom. We note that student-centered pedagogical practices (briefly noted above in the previous paragraph) when used in tandem with anti-racist, anti-oppressive, social justice, and culturally relevant/sustaining pedagogical practices, may work to dismantle hierarchies in the classroom, as related to various systems of oppression.

Using these approaches may offer ways to operationalize social justice in mathematics, as articulated in our 2016 and 2020 TODOS position statements. **We emphasize the importance of social justice mathematics approaches to support students' (and adults') civic reasoning and discourse for a healthy democracy that cares for the lives, health, and well-being of its residents**.

Threats to accessing high-quality education

The 47th presidential administration has also attempted to dismantle the Department of Education, which funds federal programs for under-resourced school districts (Title I funding) and for students with disabilities (Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) and the Individuals with Disabilities Act (IDEA)). Eliminating the Department of Education may threaten Title I funding and harm marginalized students of low socioeconomic backgrounds who attend under-resourced Title I schools, which predominantly enroll students of the global majority. Students in these schools and communities are survivors of systemic racism, e.g., redlining practices that intentionally barred families of Color from home ownership, resulting in their children attending under-resourced schools funded by

local property taxes (Green III et al., 2020). The Department of Education also oversees funding and resources for special education, and eliminating the organization would threaten access to resources for millions of students with individualized education plans. The government has also withheld approximately $6 billion in funds from school districts across the country for grants that support programs for English learners, migrant education, after school programs, and teacher training. (The government has since released about $1 billion of these funds.)

The federal government is also limiting high quality education by threatening scientific research, terminating awards valuing $6.9 billion to $8.2 billion (based on how much of the grants had already been spent by the time they were canceled). These grants funded research for important projects such as a variety of medical research projects, the environment, and education research about teacher retention and about how to best serve marginalized students in mathematics and science. These funds also support research labs that fund undergraduate and graduate students and encourage them to pursue mathematics and science fields to improve our society. Not only have federal grants for scientific research been canceled, but the federal government is waging attacks against science in general - rejecting evidence-based recommendations regarding climate change, vaccines, reproductive health, and gender affirming care. For example, the president has made sweeping recommendations about the use of acetaminophen for pregnant women and birthing people, "based on what I feel," where his recommendations are not supported by, and are in fact contrary to, scientific research. Recommendations that are not grounded in scientific research are not only dangerous in and of themselves, but such irresponsible recommendations suggest to the American public that science is invalid and/or that making decisions based on untruths or unfounded feelings are appropriate. This spread of misinformation is further exacerbated by an increasing abundance of social media disinformation (Aïmeur et al. 2023). In addition, several books are being banned and removed from libraries across the country threatening students' learning and opportunities

to engage diverse viewpoints.

Access to high quality education is also threatened by the federal government's termination of programs funding minority serving institutions (MSIs), such as Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs) Predominantly Black Institutions (PBIs), and Asian American and Native American Pacific Island-Serving Institutions (AANAPISIs), claiming that such programs are "discriminatory" and "unconstitutional". These colleges and universities enroll sizable populations of students of the global majority, and are key to academic and economic success for communities of Color (Nguyen et al., 2025). Eliminating funding for MSIs may reduce the numbers of students from minoritized and marginalized racial and ethnic groups who have access to high quality education, which is TODOS's mission. **We stand in solidarity with marginalized students and communities and commit to working toward equitable educational opportunities for all, especially for those of marginalized and/or minoritized backgrounds.**

What should we do? Our role, responsibility, and power as educators, families, and community members

Teachers have the most impactful influence on student learning; in fact, teacher quality (as measured by certification and teacher preparation metrics) have been found to be have a stronger influence on student achievement in reading and mathematics than students' socioeconomic status, language background, and minority status[9] (Darling-Hammond, 2000). Given that teachers have such potential to positively impact our students' learning and well-being, it is imperative that we take action. We of course include school administrators, instructional coaches, families, and community members who also support students. As mathematics educators, administrators, instructional coaches, teacher educators, families, and community members there are several actions we can take. We

[9] "Minority status" is the language of the 2000 study. Students of the global and historic majority are more likely to be enrolled in under-resourced Title I schools, and therefore do not have equitable opportunities to learn, ultimately resulting in lower standardized test scores. Moreover, standardized tests emerged from the eugenics movement, and we argue are not equitable, accurate, nor meaningful measures of student learning.

share three types of actions below: (1) **healing and growth**, (2) **"reading the world,"** sharpening one's political clarity, and (3) **"writing the world,"** or taking action to resist efforts intended to dismantle diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives to ultimately support marginalized students and communities.

Healing and Growth

1. Take care of yourself, your family, your students, and your community, especially if you are a teacher of a marginalized or multiply-marginalized backgrounds. We hope that you consider how to care for your students while preserving your own identity and well-being. You may be interested in learning more about *rehumanizing mathematics* which honors the mathematics that has been practiced by humans and other living beings humanely for centuries (Gutiérrez, 2017). You may also be interested in operationalizing theoretical and analytic frames that center healing, such as radical healing (Ginwright, 2016), critical race love (Buenavista et al., 2021), humanization (Camangian & Cariaga, 2022), pedagogies of bodymindspirit (Cariaga, 2019; Lara, 2013), healing-informed social justice mathematics (Kokka, 2019), healing-centered educator activism in mathematics (Kokka, 2023), educational facials (Kokka & Cody, 2024), four I's of love in siSTARhood (Kokka et al., 2024), etc. We share additional descriptions and frameworks for healing-centered mathematics teaching in our 2020 Commentary Centering Our Humanity: Addressing Social and Emotional Needs in Schools and Mathematics Classrooms. Moreover, *critical affinity spaces*, with others with similar intersectional identities (e.g., women of Color math educators, queer math educators, trans and nonbinary math educators, multilingual math educators, etc.) may be another great way to find and/or create community (Pour-Khorshid, 2018). Finding community with like-minded people, organizations, and communities may offer critical affinity spaces for healing and action.

2. Find and create community with like-minded people, organizations, and communities. Who do you know who you can work with to support each other? Is this person (or people)

at your school, or can you connect with them virtually? TODOS aims to offer this space for our members, where we work together to resist oppressive systems (e.g., white supremacy, cisheteropatriarchy, capitalism, ableism, imperialism, etc.) and actions (e.g., ICE raids happening at schools, families being kidnapped, administrators who insist on using curricular programs that don't support marginalized students, termination of DEI programs, canceling federal research grants that center equity in mathematics teaching and learning, etc.). We believe in the strength, power, and beauty of solidarity, and additional equity-centered mathematics education organizations may also be great to connect with (e.g., Nth Education Partners, Benjamin Banneker Association, Just Equations, Young People's Project, the Algebra Project), in addition to non-subject specific education equity-centered organizations (e.g., Education for Liberation Network, New York Collective of Radical Educators, Rethinking Schools, Teachers for Social Justice Chicago, Teachers 4 Social Justice Bay Area, Zinn Education). These are not exhaustive lists, and there are many additional organizations and individuals doing great collective work. Conferences and events are another great way to find and build community with like-minded educators (e.g., Teachers 4 Social Justice Conference, Creating Balance in an Unjust World Conference on STEAMM Education and Social Justice, Free Minds Free People, International Conference on Education and Justice organized by Dr. Kevin Kumashiro) (For a list of more equity and justice centered mathematics education organizations and conferences visit this site: https://mathsocialissues.com/sjm-resources.)

"Reading the World" or Sharpening One's Political Clarity and Critical Consciousness

3. Cultivate (y)our political understandings, learn from multiple perspectives, and sharpen your political clarity. We draw on Bartolomé's definition of political clarity, as extended on by Dr. Rochelle Gutiérrez and her work on Political Conocimiento in Teaching Mathematics (Gutiérrez 2012, 2013; Gutiérrez et al., 2023, 2024) and Creative Insubordination (Gutiérrez, 2014, 2016; Kokka et al., 2025). Bartolomé (1994) writes,

> Teachers working toward political clarity understand that they can either maintain the status quo, or they can work to transform the sociocultural reality at the classroom and school level so that the culture at this micro-level does not reflect macro-level inequalities, such as asymmetrical power relations that relegate certain cultural groups to a subordinate status. (p. 178)

To further develop political clarity and critical consciousness, we recommend learning more about how politics and systemic oppression influence education, such as standardized tests emerging from the eugenics movement, or how illegal and racist redlining practices have intentionally barred families of the global majority, from home ownership relegating them to live in communities with lower home values (Rothstein, 2017) reducing their familial wealth and quality of schools, as schools are funded by local property taxes (e.g., Green III et al., 2020). You may want to learn more about exclusionary practices where students of the global majority, were prevented access to education due to segregation and exclusion of Black (Brown v. Board of Education, 1954), Mexican American (e.g., Mendez v. Westminster, 1947), and Chinese American children (e.g., Tape v. Hurley, 1885) from public schools. From the late 1800s to the 1960s Indigenous children were stolen from their families and sent to boarding schools where they faced horrific trauma and death (Lajimodiere, 2023). Girls were also excluded from schools where institutions were first created for boys and young men, with the first schools for girls created in the 1800s in the US (Hornick-Lockard, 2021). Contemporarily, students of the global majority, (Morris, 2016; Redfield & Nance, 2016; Skiba et al., 2002; Nguyen et al., 2019), queer children (GLAAD, 2015), trans children (Momen et al., 2024), children with disabilities (Annamma et al., 2014), and multilingual students (Hurwitz & Kambel, 2020) are punished and disciplined at much harsher rates than their peers of dominant backgrounds (e.g., white, wealthy, cis, nonqueer, English language dominant). Much of the work of grassroots justice-centered teacher activist organizations, both math-specific organizations (e.g., Radical STEMM Educators of the Bay Area) and general education organizations (e.g., New York Collective of Radical Educators, People's Education Movement, Teachers 4 Social Justice, Teachers for

Social Justice Chicago) focus on political education by selecting articles to study, discuss, and apply to their organizing work (Kokka, 2018; Picower, 2012; Valdez et al., 2018). Political education has long been a cornerstone and pillar of grassroots movements (e.g., Combahee River Collective's statement, 1977), and we encourage all of us to stay involved with grassroots justice-centered organizations like TODOS, and those we shared previously, to support our cultivation of political clarity. Sociopolitical knowledge may help sharpen our political clarity to help us work toward equity inside and outside your school. Making connections between the legacy of racism, cisheteropatriarchy, ableism, capitalism, and imperialism to our own school conditions and to students' lives may help us better understand how to advocate for our students. Examining our implicit biases (e.g., Harvard Implicit Association Test) may also help us center the needs and well-being of our marginalized students and communities.

4. Those of dominant backgrounds who may hold privilege(s) related to race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, gender identity, sexual orientation, ability, language, citizenship, land "possession[10]," among others have a responsibility to unlearn what privilege affords and how privilege frequently depends on the oppression of marginalized groups. A first step in this process may be to learn from marginalized perspectives to understand that there are other realities than one's own personal lived experience. In particular, people who hold privilege can prioritize learning from the wide variety of resources published by historically marginalized peoples. **Some good starting points are included in the linked resource guide.** We urge those who hold privilege not to seek out colleagues, friends, or neighbors of marginalized backgrounds to engage in undue labor to teach you about their marginalization. This will be a continuous process of learning. This process may require working through defensiveness, denial, and a desire to see oneself as "on the right side of justice."

[10] We use "possession" in quotation marks to indicate that land ownership or possession is a colonizer's concept.

"Writing the World" or Taking Action to Support Marginalized Students and Communities

5. Activate your political clarity to take action to advocate for students, especially for students of minoritized and marginalized backgrounds. For example, mathematics teacher activists have organized to against military recruitment in schools, supported students to share their voices against various wars by joining protests in their local cities as well as traveling to Washington DC, organized town hall meetings with civil rights activists from the 1960s, facilitated opportunities for political education through organizations like the People's Education Movement, Radical STEMM Educators of the Bay Area, and organized conferences focused on social justice in mathematics education, e.g., Creating Balance in an Unjust World Conference on STEAMM Education and Social Justice (Catone, 2017). Mathematics teacher activists have also partnered with the California Innocence project to support students' analysis of and advocacy for wrongfully imprisoned California residents (Kokka, 2023). They have assumed leadership roles in organizations that support teachers of marginalized backgrounds like the Black Teacher Project (Kokka & Cody, 2024). And mathematics teacher activists have created podcasts about abolition in mathematics and science education (e.g., Abolition Science podcast by Atasi Das and LaToya Strong), social justice mathematics (e.g., Critical Math Drop), and of course our very own TODOS podcast that supports our mission to advocate for equity and high quality mathematics education for all students — in particular, Latina/o/x/é/@/* students[11]. We encourage all of us to engage in this work in community. Many teacher activists and educator organizers emphasize that organizing work IS healing work (Kokka, 2018, 2023; Pour-Khorshid, 2018; Valdez et al., 2018). The collective and supportive nature of grassroots organizing offers opportunities to simultaneously take action and care for one's self and community.

In addition to connecting with grassroots teacher activist organizations, we also encourage you to learn more about *creative insubordination* (Gutiérrez, 2014, 2016). Creative

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insubordination refers to strategies to advocate for students and for equity and justice in creative ways to avoid serious consequences, e.g., getting fired, doxed, reprimanded, etc. These strategies intend to offer educators, family and community members, and even students tools for how to respond to situations where equity and justice are threatened, such as when hearing deficit-oriented, racist, sexist, homophobic, transphobic, xenophobic, and otherwise problematic and offensive comments from colleagues, superiors, etc.

Creative Insubordination Strategies (Gutiérrez, 2014, pp. 6-8)

Press for Explanation—(Make them accountable). Allow others to talk; you are essentially buying time. "Say more" or "I'm not sure I fully understand. Can you give me an example?"

Counter with Evidence—(Educate). Do you have evidence that suggests a counternarrative or opposing perspective?

Use the Master's Tools—(Think alignment). Find ways to align your goals with written or oral statements of those in power or that are found in formal documents.

Seek Allies—(There's power in numbers). Do not do alone what you can do better with others.

Turn a Rational Issue into a Moral One—(Are we on high ground?) You are trying to convince others to "do the right thing."

Fly Under the Radar—(Don't engage. Hide out). You might decide to just do what you want to do and don't tell people until you have good evidence or a track record of success.

Also see Kokka et al. (2025) for Emotional Tools of Creative Insubordination.

These strategies may be useful to your work with colleagues to best support students' learning and well-being, especially for students of marginalized backgrounds.

En Comunidad / TODOS's role in supporting students, educators, families, and community members

As a mathematics education community, TODOS centers the celebration of students' languages, cultures, and identities. We work to partner with teachers and students to deeply understand mathematics as a tool for interpreting our world. The new TODOS website connects us to one another through resources that support our professional learning.

We invite you to engage in community with us through the following events and resources:

- The TODOS Resources (for parents and educators) include recordings of webinars audio, video, and written examples of enacting the Mission of TODOS.
- The TODOS Live Webinars offer opportunities to learn how to meet the needs of all students.
- The TODOS podcast centers the experiences of minoritized mathematics educators and shares resources for educators.
- Our website https://www.todos-math.org/ and social media accounts (IG: @todosmath; Bluesky: @todos-math) offer opportunities for connection. The TODOS Bluesky @todos-math community offers opportunities to center joy through live and slow chats around specific teaching and learning topics.
- The TODOS book study aligns with our mission to learn together as we enact antiracist education practices.
- The TODOS conference June 24-26, 2026 in Orange County, CA invites us to work, learn, and take action, in community.

Our resources, events, and community aim to combat the fatigue of constantly resisting oppressive systems and structures and to instead center love, joy, and connection in service of our students, families, and communities. We are proud to be a collective of educators who support and affirm the experiences of all students in mathematics,

especially for students of marginalized backgrounds. We hope you will join us in our collective efforts to work toward the TODOS Mathematics For All Mission and Goals, en comunidad.

In Solidarity,
TODOS Mathematics for All Board
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Note: Several additional electronic article references are hyperlinked throughout the statement and are not listed below. Please also see our accompanying resource guide to this 2026 position statement.

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