#USvsHate: the power and core tensions of using an 'anti-hate' *onramp* for K12 antiracism today

Mica Pollock & Mariko Yoshisato

Published online: 06 Mar 2022.

Submit your article to this journal ↗

View related articles ↗

View Crossmark data ↗

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Check for updates

#USvsHate: the power and core tensions of using an 'anti-hate' *onramp* for K12 antiracism today

Mica Pollock [a] and Mariko Yoshisato [a,b]

aEducation Studies, University of California, San Diego, CA, USA; bSchool of Education, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD (Maryland), USA

ABSTRACT

This paper launches public analysis of #USvsHate ('us versus hate'), a collective initiative to invite 'anti-hate' lessons and youth-made public messaging in U.S. schools. Building on multiple research traditions, the Authors designed and piloted #USvsHate regionally, then nationally, starting in 2017. Here, we explore the pros and cons of using an *'anti-hate' frame* as an *onramp* to K12 work against bias, injustice, and racism particularly, in an era of emboldened bigotry. As antiracist project designers, we had specific hopes and worries regarding the 'anti-hate' onramp, particularly the worry that its focus on heightened cruelty might turn students' attention away from normalized bias and structural inequality. This paper tracks our initial effort to leverage a frame avoided by scholars, given its K12 utility and familiarity.

Introduction

Which 'onramps' invite work against racism into schools? This paper offers a first conceptual and empirical analysis introducing a project that has now engaged over 10,000 U.S. students. We analyze #USvsHate ('us versus hate') (usvshate.org), a project we designed and piloted with K12 educators and students to invite 'anti-hate' lessons and youth-made public messaging in schools starting in 2017. Here, building on scholarship from multiple research traditions and pilot data from interviews, focus groups, participant observation, and message submission between 2017 and 2019, we introduce a research agenda exploring the pros and cons of using an 'anti-hate' frame as an *onramp* to K12 work against bias, injustice, and specifically racism, in an era of emboldened bigotry and division.

By 'onramp', we mean a structured invitation to enter collective efforts, starting where people are. We build on scholarship on *framing* that indicates how *language* (Lakoff 2004; Snow, Vliegenthart, and Ketelaars 2019) can provide an onramp to work on collective problems. If the collective effort is a highway full of travelers going in a shared direction, an 'onramp' offers language, concepts, and action steps that prompt and motivate K12 actors to join the effort. #USvsHate strategically offered an *'anti-hate' frame* as an 'onramp' inviting K12 educators and students to

---

respond to an era of spiking bigotry after the 2016 U.S. election, via 'anti-hate' teaching and public messaging in schools of any demographic or political orientation.

Unlike more structured interventions, #USvsHate offers curated resources, invites open-ended 'anti-hate' teaching and student-made public 'anti-hate' messaging, hosts collective contests to amplify messages, and lets participants take the 'anti-hate' effort where they want (see below). In this paper, we analyzed student messages and participant commentary from #USvsHate's San Diego pilot (2017–2019) as first data on project outcomes, along with data on our own design efforts, paying particular attention to participants' use of an 'anti-hate' frame as an onramp to ongoing K12 work against *racism* in 2017–2019. While our overarching research on #USvsHate has explored more general questions (e.g. *How are educators and students in various contexts experiencing the dialogue and messaging efforts of #USvsHate, and what adjustments do they recommend? What can we learn about implementing such efforts in polarized contexts?*), here, we grapple publicly with a more specific self-critical research question: *As teachers and students react to #USvsHate's 'anti-hate' frame, how, if at all, does their 'anti-hate' work maximize or minimize attention to antiracism specifically?* Indeed, this paper tracks our initial effort to leverage a frame avoided by some scholars, given its K12 utility and familiarity.

After the 2016 election, scholars, journalists, and educator organizations documented a wave of 'emboldened' bigotry, harassment, and hate crimes on the nation's campuses particularly targeting students of color, LGBTQ+ students, immigrants, Muslims, Jews, and girls (Costello 2016; Hassan 2019; Human Rights Campaign 2017). Rogers et al. found schools nationally were increasingly 'hostile environments for racial and religious minorities and other vulnerable groups' (2017, 32); educators described 'a very divisive climate since 2016' leading to a 'heightened sense of fear and suspicion of others' (Alabama) and 'a noticeable increase in incivility overall and outright hostility toward minority groups' (Washington), with students 'more and more willing to say outrageously racist, homophobic, "whatever-phobic" things, believing it is their "right" to do so' (California) (2019, 9–10). In our region, educators described increasing scrawls of N-words and swastikas, slurs denigrating immigrants and Muslims, and homophobic language.

Following the Charlottesville, Virginia white supremacist rally in summer 2017, we started convening a small group of San Diego educators to design #USvsHate as a mechanism to unite classroom and school communities against 'hate' in schools as a first step (onramp) to engaging more normalized forms of bias and injustice 'under' explicit bigotry. We designed and piloted #USvsHate in San Diego through 2019 and then through national anti-hate messaging contests (the first hosted by the Southern Poverty Law Center's Teaching Tolerance, 2019–2020), eventually engaging over 10,000 students to date in open-ended 'anti-hate' learning and messaging. As self-critical researchers seeking to improve the project's ongoing design (Barab 2006; Penuel et al. 2011) and as 'critical ethnographers' attending carefully to the task of remedying injustice and harm (Nelson 2016), we have, since 2017, documented and analyzed students' and educators' real-time response to the 'anti-hate' frame (Snow, Vliegenthart, and Ketelaars 2019), to see whether the 'anti-hate' onramp in fact invites learning and action that other researchers as well as practitioners would support. Snow, Vliegenthart, and Ketelaars

(2019) note that 'comparatively little research has examined systematically the discursive processes through which frames evolve, develop, and change' (404). Our research attempts to critically analyze the anti-hate frame *in use*, here as one 'onramp' to antiracist teaching and learning in K12 schools. Other common frames or 'onramps' inviting K12 antiracism include (e.g.) 'culturally relevant pedagogy' (Ladson-Billings 1995), 'multicultural' education (e.g. Nieto 1999), 'equity' (e.g. Pollock 2017, among many others), 'social justice pedagogy' (Chapman and Hobbel 2010), and, literally, 'antiracism' (e.g. Pollock 2008a), among others. In this article on #USvsHate's 'anti-hate' frame in initial use, we offer an empirical analysis of #USvsHate pilot participation (2017–2019) while engaging theories on both framing and antiracism, including scholarship on how 'frames' can *limit* thinking about countering racism specifically (Bonilla-Silva 2014).

Throughout, as described below, #USvsHate has tried to leverage a K12 'anti-hate' invitation to refuse explicit bigotry, to *also* invite deeper K12 analysis of bias and injustice underlying such bigotry – including structural racism and inequality (Crenshaw et al. 1995; Bonilla-Silva 2014). This article begins our public analysis and self-critique of this endeavor. In the spirit of ongoing assessment of antiracist and equity-oriented efforts, what Pollock has called antiracist *equity design* (Pollock 2008a, 2017), we have grappled throughout with the 'anti-hate' frame's ability and limitations to invite students into deep analysis of antiracism particularly.

Specifically, building on prior race scholarship, we have worried since #USvsHate's inception that students rejecting *racism* as 'hate' might turn their attention *away* from 'structural' or 'systemic' forms of racism by focusing *only* on mitigating explicit bigotry (Crenshaw et al. 1995; Delgado and Stefancic 2001; Pollock 2008a; Tatum 2017). Indeed, Bonilla-Silva (2014) used the term 'frames' to describe ideological offramps *away* from antiracism, or more specifically 'cul-de-sacs' – language through which respondents predictably *minimized* the full continuing existence of racial discrimination. Through framing 'discrimination exclusively as all-out racist behavior', Bonilla-Silva noted, (white) respondents '*eliminate*[d]' from analysis 'the bulk of' 'more normalized and systemic racism involving individuals and institutions' (78). Yet in an era of spiking explicit cruelty to 'groups', we hoped the 'anti-hate frame' would actually *maximize* K12 opportunities to invite into schools the explicit refusal of normalized racism and other 'isms' (Milner 2011).

We first explain the project design and its roots in practice, theory, and related literatures, then turn to methods and analysis of initial pilot outcomes. Overall, we find that the 'anti-hate' frame could *both* minimize and maximize attention to racism in schools. The invitation to 'anti-hate' teaching and messaging risked leading some participants to focus on 'all-out racist behavior' as the problem or on kindness as the antidote to generations of societal racial inequality – the key 'framing' problem of minimization worried about by scholars. Yet the frame also seemed to invite both students and teachers to engage and critique, *in school*, normalized and systemic forms of injustice, including systemic racism, as *hurting people*. We found that while the 'anti-hate' onramp did not automatically invite critique of racialized opportunity inequality normalized in our society, it did lead students to refuse any societal devaluation of types of people – a proactive orientation perhaps crucial to then investigating and remedying all forms of systemic racial injustice (Delgado and Stefancic 2001).

#USvsHate's basic design, theoretical frameworks, and related literatures

The shared experience of #USvsHate is its open invitation to 'anti-hate' teaching, learning, and particularly, student-made 'anti-hate' messaging. Educators teach 'anti-hate' lessons of choice, building on their curriculum or choosing 'anti-hate' lessons curated from partner organizations, including 'Lessons for Building an Inclusive School Community', and 'Lessons on Specific Forms of Hate, Bias, and Injustice'. Then, students create 'anti-hate messages' in any media for their school communities and the public. On usvshate.org, we suggested 'anti-hate messages' would do one or more of the following:

- Explicitly address, explore, and refuse racism, xenophobia, homophobia, Islamophobia, antisemitism, sexism, or other forms of hate, bias and injustice in schools and society;
- Communicate that people across lines of difference contribute to our communities, regions, and nation, are equally valuable, and deserve access to opportunity and well-being;
- Bust a myth (challenge a stereotype) about a 'type of' person too often misrepresented;
- Ask people to treat each other kindly, fairly and respectfully, so schools stay safe for learning and society includes us all.

Educators help students share messages locally to shape school climate, then submit favorite messages to bi-annual contests for broader sharing. Winning entries are chosen by participating students and an adult #USvsHate team composed of ourselves, K12 educators, and doctoral students helping to run the program. Winners are amplified via the project website and social media, with poster and sticker messages reproduced for display in classrooms and schools. Participants then ask themselves *What's Next?* for learning and action. While the outcome of student-created public messages rejecting 'hate' characterizes all #USvsHate participation, each project engagement looked different, as discussed later. Figure 1 shows the #USvsHate project process.

In crafting the project's 'anti-hate' frame and title ('us' versus 'hate'), we built on scholarship on social movements (Snow, Vliegenthart, and Ketelaars 2019) and from cognitive and political science (Lakoff 2004; Nyhan and Reifler 2012) indicating that *frames* in language focus attention on particular meanings, catalyzing feelings, problem diagnosis, and action for change. 'Frames' like 'Black Lives Matter', 'undocumented' (vs 'illegal'), 'marriage equality', and so on, 'function like picture frames', focusing attention such that 'one coherent set of meanings rather than another is conveyed' (Snow, Vliegenthart, and Ketelaars 2019). In 2017, given the multiple and intersectional forms of spiking harassment (Crenshaw 1989), we strategically chose not to design an '#USvsRacism' project but to reject many harms simultaneously with an 'anti-hate' frame, hoping that refusal of one 'hate form' would prompt a refusal to misrepresent any group as 'less-than'. We knew that in linking 'racism' to other 'hate forms' (e.g. xenophobia, homophobia, transphobia, Islamophobia, antisemitism, sexism), we risked masking the particularities of racism, such as its centuries of economic disparity
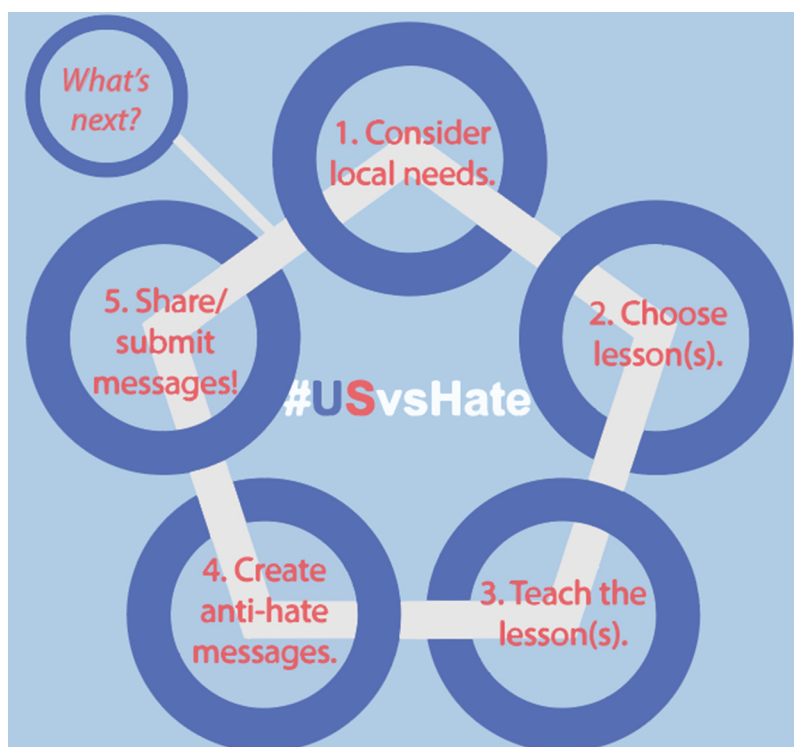
Figure 1. The #USvsHate process

(Smedley 1999). We still decided that inviting linked analysis of injustice forms was theoretically crucial (Hall 2000; Crenshaw 1989) and could turn more children's attention to racism as also unacceptably *wrong*.

#USvsHate's invitation to 'insist publicly that all people are equally valuable' built on the explicit antiracist tenet of *equal human value* (e.g. Smedley 1999; Sanjek 1994; Kendi 2019; Pollock 2008a, 2017; Hall 2000; Crenshaw 1989). After workshopping possible language with project leaders and participants, we defined 'hate' as 'any time people denigrate, disrespect or harm an individual or group as if their identity makes them an inferior or less valuable type of person'. Yet as scholars committed to antiracism, we had specific worries regarding this 'anti-hate' frame even as we strategically deployed it to invite K12 teaching and learning.

Scholars of racism have long argued against focusing only on people shouting slurs or wielding torches, since this framing minimizes racism's constant presence as systemic racialized denigration and structural, normalized opportunity denial (e.g., Crenshaw et al. 1995, xiv; Pollock 2008b). As Bonilla-Silva (2014) argued originally in 2003, 'the main problem nowadays is not the folks with the hoods, but the folks dressed in suits!' (xv). Yet in an era of again-explicit unleashed racism – as torches burned in Charlottesville and slurs, chants, and swastikas erupted across campuses (Costello 2016) – we reasoned that refusing 'hate' was something every K12 teacher might now be expected to do, especially as civil rights law requires U.S. educators to counter explicit harassment (Pollock 2008b). Refusing 'hate' seemed most of all familiar and *motivating*

to children and youth, a core recommendation of framing literature (Lakoff 2004; Snow, Vliegenthart, and Ketelaars 2019). As high-school focus group respondents put it in 2017, 'hate' was 'everywhere' and in 'every school … Obviously'. Our goal thus was to focus first on 'hate' as an onramp inviting deeper exploration of bias and injustice requiring action, including antiracism, even as we worried that the frame's focus on heightened cruelty might turn students' attention away from normalized bias and structural inequality.

We kept scholarly warnings in mind while designing the program and website, framing 'hate' as a version of old, systemic patterns of devaluing human beings and denying them opportunity, in order to critique racism in *all* forms as obviously wrong and requiring action (Pollock 2008a, 2008b). We knew a major risk of the frame was that educators and students might solely refuse interpersonal 'meanness' or 'haters' other than themselves, and fail to grapple with their own unintentional or passive participation in inequalities' systemic and opportunity-related forms (Tatum 2017). In the text on usvshate.org, we thus purposefully positioned 'us' working against 'hate' as ubiquitous in society, rather than against 'hateful' individuals positioned as aberrations (Crenshaw et al. 1995; Bonilla-Silva 2014). We also emphasized the antiracist understanding that the 'hate spike' was not actually 'new' or unusual, but a newly unleashed, explicit, and 'emboldened' version of centuries of treating some 'groups' as if superior (Sanjek 1994; Smedley 1999; Kendi 2016). We echoed implicit bias research (Banaji and Greenwald 2013) in urging collective and proactive refusal of ('vs') 'hate' by *all* of 'us', since 'good people' often passively allow hate and harm (Pollock 2008a, 2008b; Tatum 2017). We wrote on the site that '#USvsHate is about standing up when people get hurt, whether that hurt is subtle or not', and included in our discussion of 'what do we mean by hate'? harm that was passively 'allowed'. We wrote 'antihate principles' (usvshate.org/about) inviting all students to 'reject false ideas about "inferior" and "superior" people', 'refuse misinformation about other people's lives', and 'stand up against harmful treatment or opportunity denial' hurting 'types of people', not only individual 'incidents' of explicit cruelty.

#USvsHate lesson lists (featuring many U.S. organizations) draw from multicultural (e.g. Nieto 1999), 'anti-bias' (Derman-Sparks et al. 2020), 'social justice' (Chapman and Hobbel 2010), and culturally relevant pedagogy traditions, focused on affirming identities while developing 'students who can both understand and critique the existing social order' (Ladson-Billings 1995, 474) and actively 'fight against the many isms and phobias that they encounter' (Milner 2011, 69). In inviting a universal effort against 'hate' as obviously wrong, we also worked to neutralize critiques of the project being 'partisan' and so, 'off limits' to teachers (Levinson and Fay 2019; Pollock and Yoshisato 2021) and positioned fostering diverse and inclusive communities ('US') as obviously necessary in schools (Rogers Forthcoming). On the #USvsHate website, we asked each community to 'unite locally against hate' and to 'help spread the message that all community members are part of "US"!'

In then inviting students to make 'anti-hate *messages*' for schools and the public, #USvsHate combined work on equity-oriented communication in schools (Pollock 2017), 'counterspeech' in media (Benesch et al. 2016), and 'collective action' frames in social movements (Snow, Vliegenthart, and Ketelaars 2019), which proposes that shaping and actively sharing public messages can be key to mobilizing audiences to address social problems collectively. We also built on research calling for students to model pro-inclusion and 'upstander' behavior and for educators to create 'identity-safe'

communities actively messaging inclusive 'belonging' (e.g. Steele and Cohn-Vargas 2013; Cohen 2015). Finally, by inviting public statements of students' anti-hate perspectives, #USvsHate turned attention *first* to belief messaging, or people's 'thoughts, discourse, stereotypes, feelings, and mental categories' about people as equally valuable, as an onramp to also considering 'material' opportunity distribution supporting people (Delgado and Stefancic 2001; Bhopal and Chapman 2019, 101).

Snow, Vliegenthart, and Ketelaars (2019) note that 'Collective action frames in social movements' work by 'mobilizing grievances' to 'convert bystanders into adherents', 'activating' people to 'move, metaphorically, from the balcony to the barricades' (395). #USvsHate's frame 'grieved' 'hate' itself, as an onramp to questioning more normalized bias and injustice. Above all, we hoped our 'anti-hate' project would resonate in divided schools and prompt participants to consider each 'ism' as 'hateful' even when no slurs were shouted. We thus leveraged an 'anti-hate' frame for antiracism, too, framing racism as systemic and normalized harm to groups falsely deemed 'inferior'.

We then studied how participants used the frame, attending to the potential pros and cons of the 'anti-hate onramp' as students and teachers themselves began to use it. Each aspect of the process in Figure 1 invites educators and youth to define what 'hate' and 'anti-hate' mean to *them*. Studying participation and tracking our project design iterations (Barab 2006; Penuel et al. 2011) offered a unique window into youths', educators', *and* project designers' shaping and use of an 'anti-hate' frame in real time (Snow, Vliegenthart, and Ketelaars 2019). This analysis of 'the hate frame' in initial use lays the groundwork for a series of forthcoming analyses as use of the frame evolves. We encourage our readers to explore and critique usvshate.org and #USvsHate/@usvshate social media as a living, continually refreshed data source.

Methods

From winter 2017 on, we iteratively designed #USvsHate with participants through design meetings, focus groups, and interviews, ongoing analysis of participant input, and redesign (Barab 2006; Penuel et al. 2011). As Snow, Vliegenthart, and Ketelaars (2019) note, 'Framing processes occur during the course of conversations, meetings, and written communications among movement leaders and members within broader enveloping cultural and structural contexts' (398). To study such processes, we took field notes to document adult dialogues (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 1995) in hundreds of hours of planning meetings among a small diverse team of 10 educators representing three major districts, and broader participant gatherings where we introduced the project to others in San Diego. We also wrote extended project design memos, when we explicitly discussed the project's frame (for related methodology, see Robnett 2004). In spring 2017, we started to pilot #USvsHate collaboratively with a snowballing community of educators and students in San Diego County. Educators joined the work individually, or after an invitation from a colleague or professional development network. In 2018–2019, regional participants grew to 53 teachers and 427 students submitting anti-hate messages to contests; educators reported over 3300 participating students from twelve districts. Participating K12 teachers taught at traditional public schools and public charter schools, in small and large, racially and socioeconomically diverse school districts.

We invited interviews from every teacher who submitted students' anti-hate messages to our contests, and through an informal survey embedded on the project website. Teachers helped arrange student focus groups. Those who acted on this invitation were, de facto, teachers and students interested in informing the project's ongoing design, including through critiques. For the pilot data drawn from here, educator interviews were conducted by both authors, known to participants as #USvsHate codesigners. The first author, Pollock, is a white woman who is a university professor of education focused on K12 antiracism and equity work with educators. The second author, Yoshisato, is an Asian and white woman who is an equity-driven education researcher and former K12 public school counselor focused on student experiences. We interviewed seven teachers of color and eleven white teachers, with four men and fourteen women. Yoshisato conducted ten student focus groups, with 30 students participating across grades 7–12, including five young men, twenty-three young women, and two gender non-conforming individuals, with twenty-seven students who identified as people of color, and three white students. Interviews and focus groups centered on the #USvsHate experience, supports needed, and improvements participants felt might strengthen the project. We also asked direct questions inviting participants' take on the 'anti-hate' frame, as member checks (Richards 2005). Additional student and educator data came from the 'backstories' submitted with student entries to contests, where participants commented on the teaching and intentions behind anti-hate messages. We analyzed 427 submissions to our four contests between spring 2018 and spring 2019. We also analyzed 1562 youths' votes on final contest 'winners' in three contest processes in 2018–19.

Using discourse analysis techniques piloted in prior studies of race talk (e.g. Pollock 2004; Pollock et al. 2010), we analyzed student messages and participants' comments on #USvsHate's 'anti-hate' teaching and messaging (Charmaz 2006), considering themes that stretched and did not across project engagement (while not formally comparing sites, as most teachers participated as individuals). For this paper, we attended to race-related messaging, to 'framing moments' where people talked specifically about the 'anti-hate' frame in use (Snow, Vliegenthart, and Ketelaars 2019), and to 'core tensions' in our data (Pollock 2017) – indications that the project's invitation to combat 'hate' had both expansive and potentially limiting consequences for antiracism specifically.

We now analyze examples of participants using and shaping the 'anti-hate' frame during the pilot. We organize our findings chronologically, briefly sharing uses of the 'anti-hate' frame in the general public, in project material crafted in ongoing discussion with participants, and among participating teachers and students submitting messages to our contests. Throughout, we attend to moments when people using the anti-hate frame seemed to *minimize* and *maximize* attention to racism.

Findings: framing in real time

First framings: initial efforts and anxieties in designing #USvsHate

Following the 2016 election, many journalists (Samaha 2017), scholars (e.g. Rogers et al. 2017, 2019) and educator-focused organizations (e.g. Costello 2016) used the term 'hate' to reference a national spike of 'emboldened' bigotry exploding across U.S. schools and communities. A survey of 50,000 teens in January 2017 found 70% of the respondents 'witnessing bullying, hate messages or harassment during or since the 2016 election'

(Human Rights Campaign 2017). Teaching Tolerance produced running 'Hate at School' reports (Costello 2016; Costello and Dillard 2019) tracking a national explosion of school-based 'hate and bias incidents' as 'actions – verbal, written, or physical – that target someone on the basis of identity or group membership'.

In fall 2017 as these 'incidents' spiked and Pollock proposed #USvsHate to a group of national teacher support organizations, some organization leaders suggested messaging 'for' something (e.g. '#USforALL' or '#USforLove') rather than 'versus' something 'negative' – indeed a recommendation of some 'framing' scholarship, as repeating the frames of 'opponents' strengthens those frames (Lakoff 2004). Our local design team decided that general inclusive sentiments were already captured in anti-bullying initiatives, which actually tended to avoid direct discussion of 'isms' (see also Coulston and Smith 2013; P. Gorski, personal communication). Furthermore, in a process that scholars call 'frame crystallization', or the 'ascendance of one or more frames over competitors' (Snow, Vliegenthart, and Ketelaars 2019, 399–400), the ongoing spike in school harassment and community hate crimes nationally came to make 'hate' a more common currency public concept, with 'anti-hate' effort more obviously needed. By August 2018, the national educator organizations produced a joint public statement against 'hate' (Southern Poverty Law Center 2018) and shared it using the #USvsHate hashtag on social media for the first time. After a national April 2019 report (Costello and Dillard 2019) found 'over two-thirds of educators responding witnessed a hate or bias incident in their schools during fall 2018', often without administrative response, by summer 2019 organization leaders suggested removing the phrase 'hate spike' from the website's homepage because the need for an 'anti-hate' project would remain 'evergreen'.

We made the project's first anti-hate 'message' – 'Hate Never Made America Great' – in red-white-and-blue with the Statue of Liberty (https://bit.ly/3i1o1G9). In focus groups, San Diego educators debated the framing as carrying 'echoes of Trump' and decided a Trump era actually made it potentially resonant across party lines. Two colleagues in the national organizations asked whether the 'US', if pronounced 'U.S.', potentially excluded undocumented people. On usvshate.org's landing page, we clarified explicitly that the pronunciation of the project was 'us versus hate', not 'U.S'. even as we sought the double entendre to spark discussion of an inclusive 'national identity' (Hall 2000). In an article introducing the project, Teaching Tolerance created an image evoking a multiracial 'us' without the red/white/blue or Liberty connotations (https://bit.ly/3rCePLz), a move that also emphasized the project's antiracist possibilities.

We requested and curated 'anti-hate' lessons from the education organizations, requesting 'one or more "top" lessons designed to spark a classroom dialogue refusing hate and pursuing inclusion in our diverse society' (https://usvshate.org/our-lessons/), and related professional development resources. In addition to overall 'Lessons for Building an Inclusive School Community', organizations offered lessons in what we called 'hate form' categories: racism, xenophobia, homophobia and transphobia, Islamophobia, antisemitism, and sexism. Organizations' proffered lessons on 'racism' explored longstanding societal racism far more than slurs-and-torches racism (Bonilla-Silva 2014), including racism in the U.S. Constitution, segregation, voting rights, police brutality, racial profiling, and racist mascots, for example, in addition to lessons about responding to slurs in school. Notably, however, organizations offered fewer lessons on racism as opportunity denial in education itself (Pollock 2008a). Yet lessons on (e.g.)

pervasive stereotypes and biases, the Black Lives Matter movement against police brutality, and civil rights struggles did invite both educators and students to consider deeper 'inequality', 'injustice', historic/current 'opportunity denial', and 'harm' overall.

We proceeded with the 'anti-hate frame', while exploring what students and educators made of it.

Next framings: teachers and students using the 'anti-hate frame'

Even with careful definitions on the project website, #USvsHate by design leaves the direction of 'anti-hate' work up to participants. In interviews, some educators said they simply started with the word 'hate' and asked young people to say where they had seen 'it', noting, 'the kids are our lead'. Others showed the website and invited students to make messages. Some teachers added #USvsHate lessons to their curriculum in all subjects, while others skipped the lesson lists and asked students to make anti-hate messages to conclude their own units on various topics. Still others embedded 'anti-hate' activity in school clubs.

Students then created 'anti-hate messages' of their own. Educators (sometimes, with students) then chose messages for submission to our contests. Collective voting processes (a Google Form circulated to student participants) chose #USvsHate 'winners' to be reproduced physically and shared online, allowing participating youth to define 'hate' and 'anti-hate' again with project designers. Educators retweeting or physically posting #USvsHate messages determined, again, which 'anti-hate' representations they wanted uplifted. Youth took cues from prior winning messages to make their own; we often saw prior winners' images or slogans modeled in next submissions.

We now offer a first glimpse of anti-hate messages (often, via usvshate.org) and commentary from students and teachers in our San Diego pilot (2017–19), sharing messages that project designers and students selected as first 'winners' (see also usvshate.org/winners) and some that were not chosen. We analyze here how the invitation to make 'anti-hate' messages both *maximized* and *minimized* students' attention to racism in the project. Some students responded to #USvsHate with messages of 'kindness' countering slurs. Yet many more simultaneously critiqued deeper forms of injustice harming people, including racial injustice, *as* hateful, unloving, unkind, and unacceptable – and importantly, youth voters tended to select these as winners. Such exemplars became catalysts for next messages, continually deepening what 'anti-hate' effort could mean. *In combination and over time*, then, messages about refusing explicit bigotry lived alongside messages refusing various forms of bias, injustice, and systemic harm, increasingly maximizing, more than minimizing, the forms of racism youth addressed in the project.

First glimpses of student anti-hate messaging

As 'anti-hate messages', some first student participants produced (and teachers submitted) seemingly more generic calls for 'love' and 'kindness', or simply repeated refusals of 'hate' (see https://bit.ly/3l1BNKJ and https://bit.ly/372E7Jl). In choosing the first collective finalists for participating youth to vote on, our project team

including ourselves and local educators did not choose such messages for amplification, indicating our own foundational role in shaping the meaning of 'anti-hate'. Yet voting youth typically did not choose such messages as 'winners' either, instead voting to amplify messages that signaled deeper anti-injustice sentiments. Consider the two messages below, the first (Figure 2) judged as a non-winning finalist (as was '20 ways to show you care!', https://bit.ly/3eYXG9U) and the second (Figure 3), chosen by K12 students as an early pilot winner.

To us and potentially to the youth voters who prioritized it, Figure 3 contained a deeper demand for 'belonging' and also signaled antiracism in the brown and yellow figures circling the heart-shaped world. In contrast, the first image's focus on being 'welcome' (or 'showing you care') did not seem to resonate as strongly. Versus more pointed assertions of equal human value ('*everyone* belongs'), some submissions repeated more generic statements like 'treat everybody the same' (https://bit.ly/3l1dyfO). Youth did not choose these messages as winners, either.

Figure 2. All are welcome

Figure 3. Everyone belongs

In contrast, peers chose students' more provocative critiques as winners. One such powerful winning poem (https://bit.ly/2TIspk9) was created by a seventh grader after his gym teacher did a one-hour 'Ally or Bystander' lesson from the Human Rights Campaign's Welcoming Schools, from usvshate.org. In such messages, students indicated how the 'anti-hate' invitation could prompt students to share their grappling with deeper aspects of racism, like 'stigma' and a 'tax of face, of people, of race'. Interviews, and 'backstories' submitted with messages ('tell us about the work behind this message!'), also indicated that teachers prompted such deeper thinking about racism through multiple 'anti-hate' lessons or texts over time. In an interview about 'Everyone Belongs', for example (Figure 3), this child's second-grade teacher described discussing a series of children's books before prompting 'anti-hate' messaging, including one featuring a Muslim protagonist that challenged Islamophobic ignorance. Another tenth-grade teacher invited #USvsHate messaging to end an extended unit on the Holocaust and contemporary racial injustice that she described as a 'six-week unit about using their voice to speak up against the injustices committed against others'. Her student's anti-hate message (Figure 4) gave a sharper antiracist edge to the classic phrase 'we are all human'.
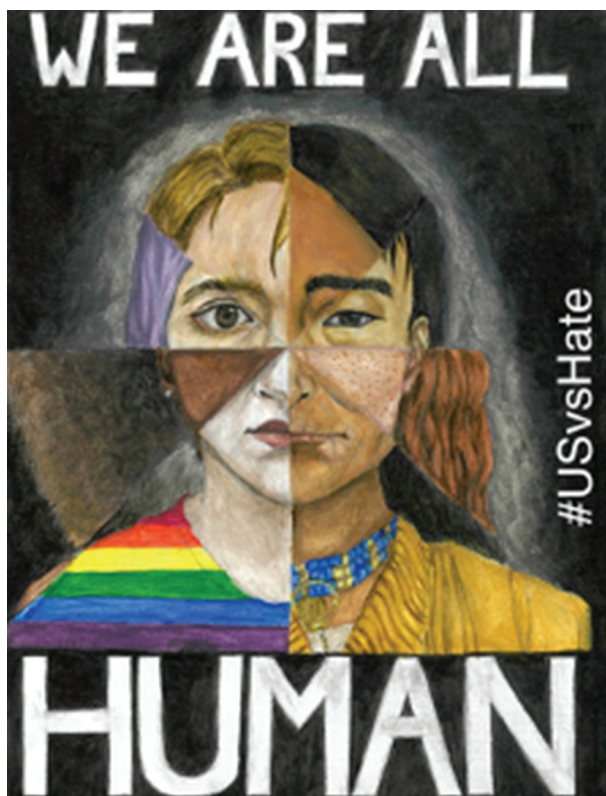

Figure 4. We are all human.

Other students experiencing this teacher's classes critiqued systemic racial injustices directly in their 'anti-hate' messages. The first winner of our San Diego pilot contest, below, decided to contrast images of police brutality with protest signs calling for 'love' (Figure 5). In a class visit, the artist (herself Black) also denounced casual 'N-word' use at her school as another reason 'anti-hate' work was needed.

In such 'anti-hate' messages, students publicly rejected systemic injustice harming people, in addition to explicit peer bigotry. The many signs raised in protest (including 'stop the violence' and hints of other 'hate forms' on the author's mind) also suggested collective refusal of systemic injustice by all of 'us', even as the sign calling for 'love' as antidote to police brutality risked minimizing potential solutions. One colleague referencing the same Figure 5 admitted that vs more 'positive' messaging on school walls, the project's term 'hate' felt 'scary' precisely because it was a frame 'about people' who threatened harm, not just faceless 'structures' (T. Chapman, personal communication). But the image's disembodied hand and repeated images of police brutality also somehow connoted the many people perpetrating or condoning such violence, or staying passive about it – and called that more systemically repeated harm hateful.

Many 'anti-hate' messages also directly emphasized the joy of a diverse 'us'. Several tenth graders produced one early pilot winner, 'Differences Make Us Beautiful', representing national flags as butterflies (https://bit.ly/3eV2fCc); their teacher explained that she started with a lesson about refugees from the Anti-Defamation League, connected it to the Holocaust, then 'used the idea of intersectionality to bring in other ideas about identities, and seeing the people around them as [people] with a multiplicity of experiences'. The students then chose to refuse xenophobia through celebrating the diversity of 'us', at a moment when national leaders were explicitly denigrating non-'white' immigrants.

Figure 5. Anti-police brutality

Other messages envisioned an 'us' collectively refusing racially denigrating language, a focus scholars could call a minimization of racism or crucial analysis of racially hostile environments (Bhopal and Chapman 2019). Figure 6, an entry by a ninth grader that was an early youth choice in our pilot, was one example.

The backstory to this message also showed how students could get to antiracist analysis through an 'anti-hate' project's 'anti-bullying' stance. This student's teacher had decided to show Lee Hirsch's film *Bully* (2011) as his first #USvsHate lesson, and the student recalled producing Figure 6 after a class discussion:

> I could've done something saying, 'Don't be homophobic' or whatever, . . . but I also wanted to focus on general bullying too. So, I decided to make a quote that could be implemented into almost every situation . . . the people on the poster have sticky notes attached to them and those sticky notes have words used to insult them. One of them is being made fun of for autism, someone else is being called racist slurs, the girl is being called a slut, and stuff.

Participants denouncing 'racist slurs' as part of 'general bullying' both potentially minimized the specific harm of a racial slur, and explicitly included antiracism in K12 'anti-bullying' effort, which often avoids directly confronting racism (P. Gorski, personal communication). In #USvsHate dialogues, teachers noted, even elementary students newly denounced the steady flow of racist as well as xenophobic and homophobic comments excused as 'jokes' at their schools and treated slurs or subtler 'microaggressions' as evidence of more societal denigration, just as scholars do (Bhopal and Chapman 2019; Pollock 2017).
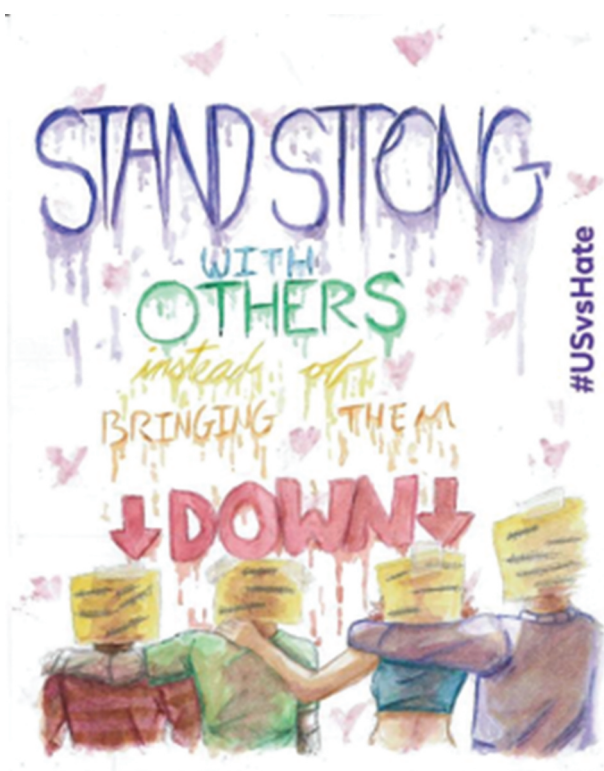

Figure 6. Stand strong with others instead of bringing them down

Fearing a minimization of antiracism only to anti-slur behavior or peer 'kindness', we at first fretted as several elementary educators launched #USvsHate 'in conjunction with World Kindness Day' and asked students where they had 'heard' both 'kindness' and its 'opposite', 'hate'. Yet we saw how starting with generic 'kindness' did not mean staying there. In interviews, these educators reported that in a group writing activity and follow-up dialogue, children turned their attention to racism instead of away from it. As one teacher put it, 'Especially at the fourth grade', students first reported 'hate' 'as some form of verbal put-down whether through cultural religion [or] orientation', along with peers 'calling other people gay or tr*nny' and pointedly, being called 'the N-word'. Asked 'Where do you see hate?', students also referenced dinner tables and 'Everyday! On TV!' as places where people were 'saying mean things about each other'. Then, the teacher noted, students took their own analysis to racialized immigration policy: 'Afterwards we did a drawing activity and three kids drew a wall. When I asked what it was, they said it represented hate and how hate divides people'.

While #USvsHate most obviously invited rejection of explicitly hateful language, then, the frame did not seem to prompt students to ignore other forms of harm. As one-tenth grader put it, #USvsHate suggested students should not *normalize* the 'really common' slurs and denigration of others that students heard 'on the daily'.

If asked, even young children could quickly explore how 'hateful' language contained deeper dynamics of denigrating 'identities' in both schools and society. Educators indicated that the 'kid' familiarity of the word 'hate' invited deeper dialogue about group treatment when educators invited thinking beyond colloquial definitions (hate as simply 'not liking' or 'being mean to' other people) to engage deeper forms of group-based harm. One teacher described first 'trying to think about how I could talk about this with fourth graders', noting, 'I didn't think that hate would be such an applicable word, because they throw around "hate" like the word dislike'. Yet as she started dialogue with the child-familiar term and then invited deeper societal examples, she said, students moved from a critique of schoolyard slurs to 'recognizing hate at an adult level'. The project onramp then brought racism, too, 'to the surface':

> Kids were talking about racism, [about] teasing kids because of their accents. Terms they hear on the playground, that were really hurtful . . . Rhyming words that had to do with skin color, gay . . . I didn't know they heard them that much . . . I was pleasantly surprised at how deep my kids were able to go. I was bringing up topics I've never discussed in my classes, and I've been teaching fourth grade for almost fourteen years. So we were talking about recognizing hate at an adult level, and how that plays out as bullying at the elementary level. We talked about why people are bullied and how they relate to the same things adults face, so we talked about race and sexual identity all the way to special needs and disabilities. It was surprising to see how much my kids are exposed to at school that I never realized. I'm glad those topics are now coming to the surface.

Her fourth-grade class created an 'empathy' video that student voters chose as a winner (https://youtu.be/JJWHABw32O8). It shared racist slurs alongside other slurs children had heard at school from peers, all of which the video deemed unacceptable:

> Multiple Students (quoting in video): You're fat! I don't like Mexicans. You're poor as hell. You're gay. You're a piece of shit. Asians, ching chong! You're so stupid. You're a bitch. You're ugly. At least I'm not the Black one.

Calling for viewers to 'show empathy', 'take responsibility', and 'avoid stereotypes', the filmmakers advocated to 'find ways to connect with others' and concluded, 'We are also defenders'.

The children's take on racism here perhaps still finally minimized racism as just peer bullying, in a way that might seem to overlook attention to more structural or opportunity-related racism forms that children in this racially segregated and under-funded school system also faced. Yet teachers noted that by *starting* with concrete examples of 'hate' inside schools and 'the hate they see every day' in students' own lives, discussions could in fact broach examples of underlying injustice hurting the same groups in society, historically and now.

Analysis of other harms could also lead to analysis of racism if teachers made this connection purposefully in an 'anti-hate' program. The ninth-grade teacher whose student made Figure 6 started with the *Bully* film and more comfortable (to him) discussions of homophobia in his usvshate.org lesson choices, then moved to racism lessons by year's end. (In the following years, he did #USvsHate while teaching John Lewis' memoir *March*.) A sixth-grade teacher whose students made a finalist video (https://youtu.be/nH63F7XJGr4) noted that her #USvsHate lessons in a unit ranged from 'how do we show unprompted inclusion to students in the special day class', to 'GLSEN [LGBTQ+ inclusion] guidelines for respect', to 'being an ally or bystander', and then to a documentary about the civil rights movement called 'The Children's March', where her students 'realized the children were the ones who changed history'. As here, students sometimes started with the 'anti-hate' issue of schoolyard inclusion and then explored societal harm, including systemic racism hurting people in law and policy even if their public 'anti-hate' messaging focused again on students' daily lives.

The onramp of condemning 'hate' thus could prompt critique of a wide range of societal harms to people if youth were encouraged or simply allowed. As one elementary teacher said, starting with 'surveying the kids' meant students took the conversation about 'hate' as deeply as they wanted: 'Look at what the kids are saying. That's where we should go'. Students with perspectives ready to share could then get others thinking. After an art teacher showed students usvshate.org and invited 'anti-hate' messages, a ninth grader immediately made a painting of a traumatic family experience of deportation by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (https://bit.ly/2VfnxmJ). The message exposing 'harm . . . to children' then was seen by thousands of students reviewing our voting form.

Students' messages also commented empathetically on others' experiences. One-fourth grader, whom the teacher described as 'white', made 'We've Got Your Back' (showing a girl wearing hijab; https://bit.ly/3kZJQIe) after her teacher's unit on 'how athletes use their positions of power to rebel against the status quo and become changemakers for their communities'. As the teacher reported, the fourth grader had been 'talk[ing] to my family about ["being white"]', and earnestly telling her teacher, 'I'm trying to understand how my history is caught up with these bad things but also I can do better'.

As here, students also addressed antiracism simultaneously with other 'hate forms' (here, Islamophobia) in their messaging. One-tenth grader called 'intersectional' her message 'when you fight for equality, fight for everyone', featuring bright signs supporting 'BLM', 'Protect POC', 'LGBT+ rights', and 'feminism' (https://bit.ly/3rz7L2r):

> I see a lot of things on [Instagram] about social issues. And a common thing I kept seeing was people fighting for the cause of feminism and stuff like that. But there was a lot of people that weren't completely for the whole thing–it wasn't intersectional at all–because they would fight for some rights, but not all. So for mine I was like, 'When we fight for equality, we fight for everyone.

Her call to 'fight for everyone' could be read as overlooking racism's specifics, or as refusing *any* 'hierarchies of value' (Kendi 2019, 82) by linking racism and other harms in a way an 'antiracism' frame alone might not. An elementary teacher noted relatedly that combining the 'hate forms' in a single 'anti-hate' project usefully sheltered some issues 'under' others by saying that denigrating any 'type of person' was unacceptable, allowing students to critique any 'ism' they felt passionate about. As one-tenth grader put it, the frame also suggested that hate in 'many forms' was 'sprouting from the same thing', even as it risked masking the particularities of racism in its 'mainstream' appeal:

> If you just say 'anti-hate', I feel that's going to be too mainstream. You have to recognize subtopics . . . But at the same time . . . hate comes in many forms, but it's all sprouting from the same thing.

Students routinely positioned antiracism explicitly alongside other anti-hate sentiments, as did the sixth-grade creator of a bookmark 'Be Whatever Gender/Color/Sexuality/You Want to Be'. (https://bit.ly/3y6aLWh). Critical scholars might find 'be whatever color' (and the creator's explanation in a focus group, 'we're all equal, we're all human, we're all the same') to be precisely the kind of weak antiracism that ignores structural racism's reality. The message's image of clasped multicolored hands were also common in #USvsHate entries; one could consider such messages refusals to acknowledge pervasive inequality. But youth voters also chose some such messages as winners, perhaps reading them as demands for crucial human freedoms ('be what you want to be') and powerful visions of interracial unity. Again, messages *stopping* at less critical perspectives like 'we're all equal' or 'we're all the same' or even 'we're all different' often didn't make it through the voting process, like the purely floral 'Every person is a different kind of flower' (https://bit.ly/3iRQAVF).

Harder-hitting messages won votes as best 'anti-hate' messages. Many of the messages that then circulated most virally tended to offer more provocative antiracist perspectives, along with being visually impressive. 'Mother Earth is Raceless' (Figure 7) was displayed on many school walls. The twelfth-grade creator explained creating a 'universal' message inclusive of all and conscious of difference:

> I couldn't decide if I wanted to highlight the struggles of Latinos, African Americans, or Asians, so I decided to try to create artwork that spreads a more universal message. I thought about how I could reach the entire world and realized that there isn't one universal or 'official' depiction of Mother Earth. . . . I drew two faces of Mother Earth with different colors and spread various flags across their heads.

Antiracist scholars could analyze this student's hope for 'a more universal message' negatively as a call for 'racelessness' ignoring racism, or more positively as a forceful advance beyond biological myths and more cliched 'white-nonwhite' imagery. A tenth grader's seemingly pro-LGBTQ+ message 'Hi, I'm Human' (https://bit.ly/3y8oFHF), produced in the same classroom as Figures 4 and 5 above, could similarly be analyzed as a less-sophisticated demand for 'colorblindness' (Bonilla-Silva 2014) or as an antiracist refusal to denigrate any person as less 'human' (Smedley 1999). We saw youth of color choose this message, too, to display on their own bodies when we produced it in sticker form.

Figure 7. Mother earth is raceless

Combined under one hashtag, displayed together on a website, and shared in physical form across schools and a region, #USvsHate messages *added up to* a collective refusal of harm in many forms, including racism framed as both interpersonal and structural. Indeed, in our border region, students embedded antiracism in some #USvsHate messages directly critiquing a nationwide resurgence of sentiments and policy explicitly excluding and denigrating non-'white' immigrants (Figure 8).

Other messages' viral spread maximized attention to antiracism. During our pilot, poster copies of Figure 9 (below) appeared in regional art galleries, nonprofits, dormitory windows, protests, and community events. Its creator, a tenth grader experiencing the same unit producing Figures 4 and 5 above, explained how the invitation to make an 'anti-hate' message prompted her to refuse publicly the criminalization of 'Mexicans'. 'I did a cultural Mexican woman with the colors of the American flag', she later said, 'to say that we can be American as well, and all the stuff happening in the government and against Mexican people'.

Finally, some students took the anti-hate onramp to comment explicitly on equalizing opportunity along racial lines. One student's architectural drawing 'Build Bridges Not Walls' creatively demanded 'equity' in economic and educational opportunity for all, under an administration demanding 'walls' and 'bans' to exclude non-European migrants (https://bit.ly/3zBsXHJ). Students chose it as a winner.

In sum, even as some students used the 'anti-hate' onramp primarily to refuse slurs as 'really annoying', other students went directly to antiracist messaging challenging systemic injustice in various forms. While only some #USvsHate messages commented explicitly on opportunity inequality-what Delgado and Stefancic (2001) would deem 'material' antiracism – and few literally used the phrase 'white supremacy', many messages refused both, insisting on the equal value and rights of people of color particularly along with 'everyone'.

We turn now to a concluding discussion of pros and cons.

Discussion and conclusion: core tensions of the 'Anti-hate Frame' as an onramp to antiracism

In a process Snow, Vliegenthart, and Ketelaars (2019) call 'Frame bridging', all participants 'bridged' the broadly resonant concept of 'hate' to refuse racism and other 'hate forms' in a single collection. Still, in combining all in an 'anti-hate' project, we risked one 'frame hazard' noted by Snow et al.: the overextension of a frame (404), or making it hold too much.

For one, the 'anti-hate' frame could imply that each 'hate form' harmed identically, overlooking, for example, the deep economic disparities of centuries of racism or the specific sanctioned violence of police brutality by simply merging each with the specific violence of transphobia or the generic harms of bullying. Still, including 'hate forms' under one umbrella encouraged participants to see parallels between injustices (e.g. discrimination enforced with violence) and to reject all false logics of inferiority/superiority, racism included (Sanjek 1994; Smedley 1999).

Put together in one website and under a collective hashtag, further, not every 'anti-hate' message perhaps had to be fully deep in its antiracist critique. That is, messages calling for 'empathy', 'love', or 'standing up' could be linked to messages decrying systemic group-based injustice; single messages also could combine these perspectives (see Figure 5). As our collection of winning messages expanded examples, students also
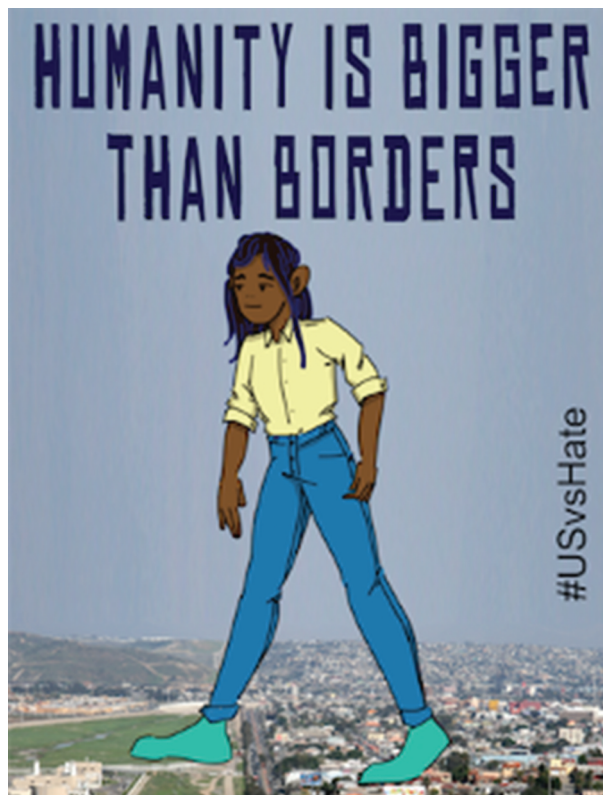

Figure 8. Humanity is bigger than borders

Figure 9. Being Mexican isn't a crime

continued to expand the analysis of 'anti-hate'. After a summer of protests for Black Lives (2020), for example, we saw even more students critique systemic racial injustice directly in their messaging, as did our very first winner (Figure 5).

We now feel the largest risk of the 'anti-hate' frame as an onramp to K12 antiracism is that the frame does not automatically lead students to analyze or reject racial inequality in opportunity, including economic opportunity and educational opportunity inside schools, even as the invitation to 'anti-hate' messaging prompted students' articulation of foundational antiracist beliefs (Delgado and Stefancic 2001). Instead, the frame led students to reject systemic injustice more generally (including more overtly cruel examples like police brutality) and to call more generally for improving opportunities along racial lines. The onramp of critiquing 'hate' also turned attention more easily to the discussion of peer relations in school than to opportunity in school, a pattern of 'comfortable' topics already common in K12 race talk (Pollock 2004). To address this, we continue to add website text and resources discussing 'racism' as involving opportunity denial in both society and schools, and we now are clarifying even more explicitly throughout usvshate.org that 'Refusing "hate" *starts* the process of repairing the deeper biases and injustices that divide us'.

To date, however, we have not yet seen the 'anti-hate' onramp become an *offramp* away from such broader thinking about antiracism as feared. We have seen instead that students and teachers need the encouragement or freedom to take it there. For example, one AP English educator inviting #USvsHate essays to respond to a scrawl of the 'N-word' on the front of her school seemingly did not take the time for study of racism's other normalized forms in her school or in society: she only invited op eds denouncing the unusual eruption of hate speech. Still, students' essays grappled with longer-standing dynamics of denigration, exclusion, and unequal opportunity underneath the eruptions- a recognition that could easily then be applied to exploring and remedying opportunity inequality in schools and society. As pilot participants took the onramp to denounce and refuse *all* forms of racism *as just wrong*, we wondered whether even messages demanding kindness and love were in fact shallow versions of antiracist work, or crucial onramps for some children to it.

We thus return to the goal of treating 'anti-hate' effort as an onramp inviting analysis of racism in all forms, driven by the baseline stance that 'all people are equally valuable'. Invited to challenge 'hate' as a starting point, sometimes youth took the conversation to racism embedded in policy, as in messaging addressing the exclusionary 'wall'; some-times, educators encouraged students' deeper analysis of their society, such as exploring the Civil Rights Movement after denouncing school-based slurs. One third-grade teacher noted that by inviting attention to a variety of harm forms under the 'anti-hate' banner, #USvsHate offered educators a portal into antiracist dialogue in communities that typically did not address racism at all:

> I think everybody needs this kind of thing, and [typically] we tread in really safe waters, where it's less about skin color and religion . . . and it leans more towards the anti-bullying side of the realm, instead of dealing with harder hitting issues.

While #USvsHate allowed participants to start in 'safe waters' or with 'anti-bullying', participants could keep taking the onramp to 'harder hitting issues' if they kept their foot on the accelerator. Our research now is exploring in more detail how educators support such complex perspective-sharing and learning in classrooms, including in politically divided communities; which activities lead to sustained inquiry engaging which student populations (by age group and along various identity lines); and how #USvsHate lessons and student-made messages are locally received, given varying community demographics and school contexts. As one example, while we have seen a few instances of school parent 'pushback' against #USvsHate messaging validating LGBTQ+ people or immigrants (forthcoming), to date we have not seen white students or families resist #USvsHate as making students feel 'bad because they're white'-something we continue to monitor and muse on, given current such battles now roiling many ideologically divided U.S. communities. So far, at least, students from all "groups" seem inspired to join the "us" of #USvsHate, as intended.

Throughout, #USvsHate *has* risked allowing participants to avoid 'harder hitting issues' by framing explicit bigotry or even just 'meanness' as the sole problem and kindness as the sole solution. Diagnostic framing 'provides answers to the questions of "What is or went wrong?" and "Who or what is to blame?"' (Snow, Vliegenthart, and Ketelaars 2019, 396), and we were not leading an initiative called '#USvsCenturiesofRacializedDisparitiesinWealth', even as our 'Definitions and

Concepts' resource discussed this aspect of racism head-on. We were leading an initiative called #USvsHate in part because it felt possible to implement in schools (Meyerson and Scully 1995). #USvsHate enters schools through the 'refusing hate' frame and goes where participants decide. And while #USvsHate did not automatically have students analyzing racialized and economic opportunity inequality, it did have them preparing to do so by explicitly denouncing the most foundational aspect of such inequality: the normalized, systemic devaluation of groups of people.

The project's explicit definitions of 'hate' and 'anti-hate' worked hard to make the frame more maximally vs minimally useful for antiracism, as did the resources waiting. Under the 'anti-hate' frame, we invited lessons exploring societal injustices harming people historically and today, not just peer cruelty. Voting on messages then amplified students' own takes on complex societal issues as calls to 'stand up for each other' and say 'everyone belongs', putting systemic harm to any community deemed 'inferior' on the list of hateful things possible to discuss in schools. As one-ninth grader indicated, including explicitly racist 'incidents' in #USvsHate at least catalyzed thinking about how racism in its various 'forms' was still 'a huge deal' and 'isn't okay'.

As an onramp, a 'hate' frame *first* turned attention to realities *obviously* 'not okay': 'anti-hate' led with egregious examples of harm in order to invite attention to more normalized harm forms. As one youth expressed, 'I liked how the project encouraged the class to have a meaningful conversation about the injustices and inequality that many people still face every day'. #USvsHate's refusal of 'hate' also insisted that all such harms to anyone falsely deemed 'inferior' required proactive repair *by us*: to date, #USvsHate did not have students only pointing fingers at rare 'bad people' that they themselves were 'not', as scholars of racism would warn, but rather calling for all to strive to be 'good people' proactively refusing harm pervasive in the world.

Snow, Vliegenthart, and Ketelaars (2019) argue that 'The ultimate measure of the effectiveness of proffered collective action frames … is whether they resonate with targeted audiences' (401). They also mention the understudied power of frames to 'motivate', including, crucially, through tapping emotion (307), by offering a 'rationale for action' that highlights 'the severity of the problem, the urgency of taking action now rather than later, the probable efficacy of joining others in the cause, [and] the moral priority of doing so' (397). The 'anti-hate' invitation seemed most of all to urgently motivate student participants to say aloud, possibly for the first time *in school*, that each 'ism', including racism, was *wrong*. Students told us how #USvsHate images on their school walls got them thinking, 'every day'; we heard of messages marched to the front office by kindergartners insisting on public display. Students also emphasized their excitement about lifting their 'ideals' outside the classroom: As one student noted, 'I was able to spread out within my surrounding community and was able to spark this campaign beyond my fingertips-and get more people involved'.

Of course, as Snow, Vliegenthart, and Ketelaars (2019) note, 'the same framing can have different effects on varying groups' (405), such that 'framing messages in hopes of resonating with one audience run the risk of undermining the prospect of resonance with another audience' (403). As our participants continue to expand nationally amidst vicious national division, we will continue to study who is and is not motivated to participate in #USvsHate where-and why.

We also increasingly acknowledge that the project's call to refuse racism and other 'isms' via *messaging* might turn attention away from other forms of 'involvement' in action to improve society, as if making a poster is 'enough'. We increasingly describe #USvsHate messages as beginning antiracist remedy at the level of ideals (Delgado and Stefancic 2001) by publicly refusing 'hierarchies of value'. As researchers, we are currently studying messages' production and reception self-critically, exploring effects on student thinking and positioning such 'amplification' of student voice as just one version of public-facing student work.

As public analysis of societal racism deepens nationally, finally, our instructions also now allow students to use multiple hashtags in addition to #USvsHate (#USvsPoverty, for example, or 'USvsInjustice', or even #USvsRacism) to support students to share perspectives for which the 'anti-hate' frame feels inaccurate. No youth have yet taken us up on that invitation; our research will explore whether anyone does. For teachers, we also are now hosting professional development events linking #USvsHate's 'anti-hate' efforts to other organizations' resources, to indicate to educators and students that they are on an 'onramp' to ongoing work in many forms, not at the end of the road.

Finally, it is possible that the 'anti-hate' frame has had the potential to function as a K12 onramp to antiracism because we have been in an era of spiking bigotry. In a process Snow, Vliegenthart, and Ketelaars (2019) might call 'frame transformation' (i.e. 'changing prior understandings and perspectives, among individuals or collectivities, so that things are seen differently than before', 401), we may need to continually adjust the concept of 'hate' as patterns of behavior shift-or even, eventually, abandon the frame. In the future, '#USvsStructuralPoverty' or '#USvsWhiteSupremacy' might be better onramps for antiracism and social change. Today, as explicit 'hate' rages on in our divided nation, '#USvsHate' gets some of the job done, by encouraging students to insist that no one is inferior, that everyone belongs, and that all must strive for both kindness and justice on a daily basis. We will continue to monitor whether the 'anti-hate' onramp serves to minimize treatment of racism in society and schools, rather than maximally turning attention to it.

Disclosure statement

Funding

ORCID

Mica Pollock ⓘD http://orcid.org/0000-0001-7783-5215
Mariko Yoshisato ⓘD http://orcid.org/0000-0002-4384-2078

References

Banaji, Mahzarin R., and Anthony G. Greenwald. 2013. *Blindspot: Hidden Biases of Good People*. New York: Delacorte Press.

Barab, Sasha. 2006. "Design-Based Research: A Methodological Toolkit for the Learning Scientist." In *The Cambridge Handbook of the Learning Sciences*, edited by R. K. Sawyer, 153–169. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Benesch, Susan, Derek Ruths, Kelly P. Dillon, Haji Mohammad Saleem, and Lucas Wright. 2016. *Considerations for Successful Counterspeech*. https://dangerousspeech.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Considerations-for-Successful-Counterspeech.pdf

Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2014. *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*. 3rd ed. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Chapman, Thandeka K., and Nikola Hobbel. 2010. *Social Justice Pedagogy across the Curriculum: The Practice of Freedom*. New York: Routledge.

Charmaz, Kathy. 2006. *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Cohen, Jonathan, and National School Climate Council. (2015). "School climate and pro-social educational improvement: Essential goals and processes that support student success for all". *Teachers College Record*. https://www.tcrecord.org ID Number: 17954.

Costello, Maureen. 2016. *The Trump Effect: The Impact of the Presidential Campaign on Our Nation's Schools*. Southern Poverty Law Center. https://www.splcenter.org/sites/default/files/splc_the_trump_effect.pdf

Costello, Maureen, and Coshandra Dillard. 2019. "Special Report: Hate at School". *SouthernPoverty Law Center*. https://www.tolerance.org/sites/default/files/2019-05/TT%202019%20Hate%20at%20School%20Report_0.pdf

Coulston, Clement, and Kaitlyn Smith. 2013. "School Climate and Inclusion." In *School Climate Practices for Implementation and Sustainability*, edited by T. Dary and T. Pickeral, 35–38. New York: National School Climate Center.

Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1989. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black FeministCritique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics." *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1989 (1): 139–167.

Crenshaw, Kimberle, Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller, and Kendall Thomas. 1995. *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement*. New York: New Press.

Delgado, Richard, and Jean Stefancic. 2001. *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction*. New York: NYU Press.

Derman-Sparks, Louise, and Julie Olsen Edwards. 2020. *Anti-Bias Education for Young Children and Ourselves*. 2nd ed. Washington DC: National Association of Education of Young Children.

Emerson, Robert M., Rachel I. Fretz, and Linda L. Shaw. 1995. *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hall, Stuart. 2000. *The Multicultural Question*. Sheffield: Lecture Given at Political Economy Research Centre Annual Lecture.

Hassan, Adeel 2019. "Hate Crime Violence Hits 16-Year High, F.B.I. Reports." *New YorkTimes*, 19 November 2019November 19, 2019. https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/12/us/hate-crimes-fbi-report.html

Human Rights Campaign Foundation. 2017. *Human Rights Campaign Post-Election Survey of Youth*. Human Rights Campaign Foundation. http://assets2.hrc.org/files/assets/resources/HRC_PostElectionSurveyofYouth.pdf

Kalwant, Bhopal, and Thandeka K. Chapman. 2019. "International Minority Ethnic Academics at Predominantly White Institutions." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 40 (1): 98–113. doi:10.1080/01425692.2018.1486698.

Kendi, Ibram X. 2016. *Stamped from the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America*. New York: Bold Type Books.

Kendi, Ibram. X. 2019. *How to Be an Antiracist*. New York: One World.

Ladson-Billings, Gloria. 1995. "But That's Just Good Teaching! The Case for Culturally Relevant Pedagogy." *Theory into Practice* 34 (3): 159–165. doi:10.1080/00405849509543675.

Lakoff, George. 2004. *Don't Think of an Elephant! Know Your Values and Frame the Debate: The Essential Guide for Progressives*. Hartford: Chelsea Green Publishing Company.

Lee, Hirsch, director. *Bully*. "The Bully Project and Cinereach", 2011. 1 hr., 38 min. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vdci4i_yNFY

Levinson, Meria, and Jacob Fay. 2019. *Democratic Discord in Schools: Cases and Commentaries in Educational Ethics*. Cambridge: Harvard Education Press.

Meyerson, Debra E., and Maureen A. Scully. 1995. "Tempered Radicalism and the Politics of Ambivalence and Change." *Organization Science* 6 (5): 585–600. doi:10.1287/orsc.6.5.585.

Milner, H. Richard. 2011. "Culturally Relevant Pedagogy in a Diverse Urban Classroom." *The Urban Review* 43 (1): 66–89. doi:10.1007/s11256-009-0143-0.

Nelson, Joseph Derrick. 2016. "Relational Teaching with Black Boys: Strategies for Learning at a Single-Sex Middle School for Boys of Color." *Teachers College Record* 118 (6): 1–30. doi:10.1177/016146811611800608.

Nieto, Sonia. 1999. *The Light in Their Eyes: Creating Multicultural Learning Communities*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Nyhan, Brendan, and Jason Reifler. 2012. *Misinformation and Fact-Checking: ResearchFindings from Social Science*. Washington, DC: New America Foundation.

Penuel, William R., Barry J. Fishman, Britte Haugan Cheng, and Nora Sabelli. 2011. "Organizing Research and Development at the Intersection of Learning, Implementation, and Design." *Educational Research* 40 (7): 331–337. doi:10.3102/0013189X11421826.

Pollock, Mica. 2004. *Colormute: Race Talk Dilemmas in an American School*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Pollock, Mica. 2008a. *Everyday Antiracism: Getting Real about Race in School*. New York: New Press.

Pollock, Mica. 2008b. *Because of Race: How Americans Debate Harm and Opportunity in Our Schools*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Pollock, Mica. 2017. *Schooltalk: Rethinking What We Say About—and To—Students Every Day*. New York: New Press.

Pollock, Mica, Sherry Deckman, Meredith Mira, and Carla Shalaby. 2010. "'But What Can I Do?': Three Necessary Tensions in Teaching Teachers about Race." *Journal of Teacher Education* 61 (3): 211–224. doi:10.1177/0022487109354089.

Pollock, Mica, and Mariko Yoshisato. 2021. "What's Going On: 'Partisan' Worries, and Desires to Discuss Trump Era Events in School." *Teachers College Record* 123 (10). https://www.tcrecord.org IDNumber: 23847

Richards, Lyn. 2005. *Handling Qualitative Data: A Practical Guide*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Robnett, Belinda. 2004. "Emotional Resonance, Social Location, and Strategic Framing." *Sociological Focus* 37 (3): 195–212. doi:10.1080/00380237.2004.10571242.

Rogers, John. Forthcoming. "Educating for Democracy in Contentious Times." In *Education: AGlobal Compact for a Time of Crisis*, edited by M. Suárez-Orozco and C. Suárez-Orozco. New York: Columbia University Press.

Rogers, John, Megan Franke, Jung-Eun Ellie Yun, Michael Ishimoto, Claudia Diera, Rebecca Cooper Geller, Anthony Berryman, and Tizoc Brenes. 2017. *Teaching and Learning in the Age of Trump: Increasing Stress and Hostility in America's High Schools*. UCLA's Institute for Democracy, Education, and Access (IDEA). https://www.fcis.org/uploaded/Data_Reports/Teaching_-_Learning_in_the_Age_of_Trump.pdf

Rogers, John, Michael Ishimoto, Alexander Kwako, Anthony Berryman, and Claudia Diera. 2019. *School and Society in the Age of Trump*. UCLA's Institute for Democracy, Education, and Access (IDEA). https://idea.gseis.ucla.edu/publications/school-and-society-in-age-of-trump

Samaha, Albert 2017. "16 students tell us about experiencing racist,trump-inspired bullying." *Buzzfeed News*, 9 August 2017. https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/albertsamaha/school-is-starting-soon-will-the-trump-inspired-bullying

Sanjek, Roger. 1994. "The Enduring Inequalities of Race." In *Race*, edited by S. Gregory and R. Sanjek, 1–17. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Smedley, Audrey. 1999. *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview*. 2nd ed. Boulder: Westview Press.

Snow, David A., Rens Vliegenthart, and Pauline Ketelaars. 2019. "The Framing Perspective on Social Movements: Its Conceptual Roots and Architecture." In *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, edited by D. A. Snow, S. A. Soule, H. Kriesi, and H. J. McCammon, 392–410. Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell.

Southern Poverty Law Center. 2018. *A Joint Statement on the Need to Counter Hate in Schools*. Southern Poverty Law Center. https://www.splcenter.org/sites/default/files/countering_hate-joint_statement-8-122.pdf

Steele, Dorothy. M., and Becki Cohn-Vargas. 2013. *Identity Safe Classrooms, Grades K-5: Places to Belong and Learn*. Thousand Oaks: Corwin Press.

Tatum, Beverly Daniel. 2017. *Why are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria?* Vol. 2nd. New York: Basic Books.