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To Take a Knee

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To Take a Knee

Abstract

Overview: Years ago, when slavery was legal, African Americans were viewed by many as less than human and were treated as such because of the color of their skin. James Wilson and Roger Sherman, delegates for the Constitutional Convention of 1787, even proposed an agreement that determined that each slave would only represent three-fifths of a man when determining state representation in Congress (Finkelman 2013). The Emancipation for African Americans was the key to a promised land of true freedom, but they were left disappointed because they were not actually granted the freedoms they hoped for. Today, even though slavery is illegal and black people have more rights than they ever had, they are still experiencing systemic racism in the form of police brutality and mass incarceration. This is a major issue in our society that needs to be fixed because this behavior towards blacks has a huge impact on African American communities as a whole, especially impacting the growth and development of the children in these areas. Former NFL quarterback, Colin Kaepernick, uses his skills as a parrhesiastes, or fearless speaker, to complete the first step in solving an issue like this, which is bringing awareness to what is going on because he knows that something needs to be done in order for our country to be truly equal.

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To Take a Knee

Years ago, when slavery was legal, African Americans were viewed by many as less than human and were treated as such because of the color of their skin. James Wilson and Roger Sherman, delegates for the Constitutional Convention of 1787, even proposed an agreement that determined that each slave would only represent three-fifths of a man when determining state representation in Congress (Finkelman 2013). The Emancipation for African Americans was the key to a promised land of true freedom, but they were left disappointed because they were not actually granted the freedoms they hoped for. Today, even though slavery is illegal and black people have more rights than they ever had, they are still experiencing systemic racism in the form of police brutality and mass incarceration. This is a major issue in our society that needs to be fixed because this behavior towards blacks has a huge impact on African American communities as a whole, especially impacting the growth and development of the children in these areas. Former NFL quarterback, Colin Kaepernick, uses his skills as a parrhesiastes, or fearless speaker, to complete the first step in solving an issue like this, which is bringing awareness to what is going on because he knows that something needs to be done in order for our country to be truly equal.

According to communications scholar, Lloyd Bitzer, there are three components to any rhetorical situation: exigence, audience, and constraints. Bitzer defines exigence as “an

imperfection marked by urgency; it is a defect, an obstacle, something waiting to be done, a thing which is other than it should be” (227). In other words, exigence is the problem that the speaker is addressing in which they hope to make a change. The exigence that Colin Kaepernick decided to speak out against is the continued racism and oppression within this country against minority groups, especially African Americans. He decided that he was not going to sit around and remain silent and he would use his platform as a voice to make a change. In one of his speeches, he stated that “history has proven that there has never been a period in the history of America where anti-blackness has not been an ever-present terror. Racialized oppression and dehumanization are woven into the very fabric of our nation” (Amnesty International 1:44). African Americans are no longer enslaved, but they still are suffering from harsh treatment by whites simply because of the color of their skin. This shows a belief of many social critics that slavery was not abolished, just redesigned by the government and police force.

The basic duties of a police officer are to enforce the laws and regulations throughout assigned jurisdictions, and to keep the citizens of these areas safe. However, oftentimes we see situations where officers come across innocent people that they feel threatened by and resort to violence to restrain them, many times leading to the officer shooting and killing an unarmed citizen, such as Mike Brown. The problem is how often this happens, and the fact that African Americans are the ones killed by police at a much higher rate. “Reports suggest that 18% of Blacks killed by police were under the age of 21 years compared to 8.7% of Whites. Overall, the data suggest that Blacks, consisting of 14% of the U.S. population, were three times more likely to be killed by police than any other racial and ethnic group” (Staggers-Hakim 2016). Most of these individuals were also unarmed at the time they were killed, showing that the situation could have been handled differently by the police officer. This is a huge issue because not only are the

lives of African American men and boys being taken from them by the men that are supposed to protect them, these killings are found to have a major impact on the social development, mental health, and overall well-being of young African American males, as well as females. Just the knowledge of these killings causes many black children to fear for their lives on a daily basis, giving many of them severe cases of depression. These children are growing up in a world where they feel they are not wanted, and for some this may be worse than being killed.

Raja Staggers-Hakim, lecturer in public health at Yale University, conducted a study in which African American boys between the ages of fourteen and eighteen were asked to talk about the issues of police brutality and how they felt about it. During this study, many themes were found among the children. A majority of the boys stated that they are aware that black men are generally seen as a threat and many young black men are being killed because of this. One of the participants even stated that “we are not stereotypes- not every Mexican is illegal- not every Latino steals cars- not every Black person robs stores. That is ignorant stereotyping, not one bad apple makes us all rotten” (Staggers-Hakim 2016). This shows that they are aware of the stereotypes against them and know that they always have to be careful with what they do, say, and where they go because it could happen to them. Another participant noted, “I walk outside of the house I have to take my hood down. I remember my mother always telling me like if I go into a store to take my hood down because when I walk in with a hood on I’m seen in a certain way, I gotta watch out” (Staggers-Hakim 2016). As this might seem ridiculous for some people, this is a reality for many African American children and no child should have to worry about being seen as a threat for simply wearing a hood. Most white children never even have to think about many of the things that black children are worried about on a daily basis, and this alone puts them at an advantage. Many of these white children do not even understand this simple

privilege that they have throughout their lives of not having to protect themselves at all times from being judged for something they cannot control, being their skin color.

To further understand how black men are generally seen as a threat to society, it helps to look at a real-life example of a situation where an unarmed, young black male was brutally killed by a police officer. On August 9th, 2014, Officer Darren Wilson received a call concerning a robbery at a local market. On his way to the market, he saw eighteen-year-old Mike Brown and his friend walking in the street and assumed that they were the robbery suspects. According to Wilson, his attempt to stop Brown and his friend resulted in a physical altercation, which caused him to shoot and kill Brown. In his testimony, Wilson stated, “the only way I can describe it is I felt like a five-year-old holding onto Hulk Hogan” (Campbell 2019). Wilson’s testimony shows a very common narrative of young black males. They are generally seen as uncontrollable, aggressive, violent, fiction-like characters that are incapable of reasoning. The media often portrays them as a threat to society which can be stressful and scary for them because they know at any time they can be singled out because of their race.

Another important issue within society today on top of police killings is the problems of the prison system and the mass incarceration of individuals in the United States. African Americans are not the only group affected by this, but they are being incarcerated at a very disproportionate rate. “African American males make up 6% of the U.S. population, yet African American males make up 35% of America’s prison population” (Thomas 181). Not only are the men of this race being impacted drastically by this mass incarceration, but African American women have experienced major increases well. “As more and more inner-city children lose not only their fathers but their mothers, most often the primary caretakers, to the criminal justice system, their own risks for future involvement in crime and incarceration increase dramatically”

(Mauer 25). This shows that incarceration usually begins at a young age and is generally because of the zero-tolerance policy in schools. This is a policy that automatically leads to suspension or expulsion of students for misconduct without giving many second chances. This puts children at a much higher risk of future involvement with the juvenile system, as they are starting their lives already being given up on.

The majority of individuals who are in prison are locked up for nonviolent offenses, such as drug charges. “Combining the four components of the criminal justice system- prison, jail, probation, and parole- we find that about $\frac{3}{4}$ of all offenders under supervision have been convicted of a non-violent offense” (Mauer 14). This is due to public policies put in by the government that were supposedly designed to control crime and drug abuse. In actuality, these policies contributed to the growing racial disparity in the criminal justice system while having little impact on the problems they were aimed to address. An example of such a policy is the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 that was signed into law by Ronald Reagan (Thomas 185). This so-called War on Drugs was a way for the government to crack down on drug users and dealers by mandating minimum sentences for drug offenses, and many of these individuals return to prison because of the probation system. “Long and mandatory prison terms for use and intent to sell cocaine lump those who are committed to the drug economy with those who are using or are selling in order to survive. Our prisons are filled disproportionately with minority drug offenders...who in essence are being punished for the ‘crime’ of not accepting poverty or of being addicted to cocaine” (Mauer 16). In other words, this War on Drugs puts those who are selling drugs in order to put food on their tables, and those who use drugs because they are addicted, in the same category as actual drug traffickers.

Ronald Reagan's policy to eliminate the drug problem within the United States turned out to have a much greater impact on African Americans than other races. "Although whites have a higher rate of illegal drug use, 60% of offenders imprisoned for drug charges in 1998 were black. Drug offenses accounted for 27% of the increase in the number of African American state prisons in the 1990s, compared to a 14% increase for whites" (Roberts 1275). This proves that white people are punished less for these offenses, showing they are targeted less and let off with a warning more often. Whites are evidently more privileged and have the resources to both a better lawyer and bail if they are convicted. The mass imprisonment of blacks damages social networks in African American communities, distorts social norms, and destroys social citizenship. People that rely on these men going to prison, such as wives or children, are heavily impacted by not having them around financially and emotionally. The children are also losing the people they look up to, oftentimes leading to them being brainwashed to think that this is what will happen to them.

Going to prison can be just as difficult after being released because once someone goes to prison, they are disenfranchised and have a hard time making something of themselves. "As a result of his conviction, he may be ineligible for many federally funded health and welfare benefits, including food stamps and public housing. His driver's license may also become automatically suspended so he cannot drive anywhere for himself, he may no longer qualify for certain employment and professional licenses so it will be hard to find a job, and he may even lose the right to vote" (Roberts 1291). Therefore, if someone goes to prison for a nonviolent offense or even for something they did not do, they suffer more than just the time they spend in jail. They still have to deal with the problems of the prison system for years after they are so-called free.

Ernest Drucker, Professor and scholar at John Jay College of Criminal Justice, conducts research on drug policies and prisons and decided to come up with a scale that allows a comparison to see the true impacts of mass incarceration on large communities. YLL, or Years of Lost Life, is the scale that he decided to come up with (5). This measurement allows us to compare the impacts of mass incarceration to other community wrecking disasters throughout history. According to his computations to determine years of lost life, the YLL for incarcerations in New York State from 1973-2002 was 325,000 (6). Drucker compares this to the World Trade Center attack on September 11th, 2001, who's estimated YLL was 112,760, as well as the AIDS epidemic in New York City around 2001 which had an estimated YLL of 7,896 (7). This shows that even though this mass incarceration is not necessarily taking the lives of these individuals, it still has a major impact on their lives as a whole.

These major problems of police brutality and mass incarceration within societies led to the formation of many groups that realized the way African Americans are being treated is wrong and wanted to make a change. A very powerful group that emerged was the Black Lives Matter movement, whose goal was to bring together black people from all over the world who knew that they needed justice in their communities. The movement grew stronger after the death of 17-year old Trayvon Martin, in which enraged people took over the Florida State Capitol Hill after his killer, George Zimmerman, was acquitted. A year later, in search of justice for Mike Brown, these people set out together on a freedom ride to Ferguson (What We Believe 2020). This movement grew as powerful as it did because of the membership and all of the supporters that are dedicated to making a change. Colin Kaepernick is a big supporter of this movement because he has the same goals, which is reaching out to African Americans everywhere and to let them know that they are not alone, and that change will come.

Whenever there is a problem that impacts such a large number of people, there will always be people that speak out in order to promote change. In this case, a very influential individual who spoke out against this problem within America is Colin Kaepernick. To better understand the motives behind someone, it helps to start with gaining a better knowledge of where they come from and the situations that they grew up in. Kaepernick was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and was adopted when he was just a few weeks old. His biological father fled when he found out that Heidi, his biological mother, was pregnant, and she felt she could not raise a child on her own (Biography.com 2019). His dream was always to play in the NFL, and he even hoped at a young age to play for the 49ers. He went on to play football at the College of Nevada after always being told he was too small or too skinny. He eventually made it to the league and quickly became a rising star, being named the starting quarterback after the previous starter, Alex Smith, received a concussion (Biography.com 2019). Seeing how hard he worked to get to the NFL, it is not hard to see that he is a very motivated and dedicated individual. Therefore, it makes sense that he would stand up to fight for something he believes in, which is that minorities in this country have always been treated harshly by the people in charge.

After seeing these issues throughout his whole life, Kaepernick finally decided that it was time to bring awareness of these issues to the world. In one of his games in August 2016, he decided that he would no longer stand for the national anthem until he saw a change for minorities, and this turned into a huge controversy. “‘I am not going to stand up to show pride in a flag for a country that oppresses black people and people of color’ he said afterward in an interview. ‘To me, this is bigger than football and it would be selfish on my part to look the other way’” (Biography.com 2019). For Kaepernick, this was a respectful way to call for the country to begin protecting and upholding the rights of all of its people. This action was in response to

the disproportionate numbers of black people being killed by police, but turned into him having a poor reputation in the media. Many critics started to come out with stories arguing that he is being un-American and disrespecting our flag and our soldiers.

At the end of that season, he opted out of his contract with the 49ers to become an unrestricted free agent and to avoid being released by them and remained without a team or a job in the years following. On October 15th, 2017, he filed a grievance against the NFL owners for collusion (Biography.com 2019). Collusion is the secret or illegal cooperation among people, especially with the goal to deceive others. He believed that multiple NFL owners came together to deprive him of his employment rights. He ended up getting a few private workouts in 2019, in which he showed he still possesses the skills to play in the NFL, but he was still not given a job. Being without a job for so long gave him more time to address these issues in society and allowed him to give himself an even bigger voice.

Every famous speaker throughout history has their own strategies and skills to reach out and get their message across to their audience clearly. One of the ways that Kaepernick decided to reach out to his audience was by releasing a commercial that was sponsored by Nike. In this commercial that aired in September of 2018, Kaepernick is addressing people all around the world who have dreams that are seen as crazy or unrealistic. A quote from this commercial that stood out the most was when he said, “believe in something, even if it means sacrificing everything” (Papenfuss 1:17). He wants people to understand that no matter how crazy their dreams may be, if they believe in themselves enough and work for it, they can accomplish anything. Kaepernick always had dreams of going to the NFL which people thought were crazy, but he worked for it and made it. Now he has dreams of fixing the race problem in the United States and living in a country where blacks are seen as equal to whites and are treated as such.

Although after hundreds of years of racism this may also seem crazy to many, Kaepernick believes it is possible. To support his claim, he gives real life examples of people who also at one point had dreams that others thought were unrealistic, but they overcame all of their challenges and achieved their dreams. For example, Serena Williams coming from Compton and becoming one of the greatest tennis players ever, Shaquem Griffin having only one arm and still playing football at the highest level, and LeBron James being bigger than basketball and opening up a school (Papenfuss 2019).

Speaking out against such a controversial issue is something that many people are scared to do and furthering it to taking a knee for the anthem is definitely seen as crazy by many people because of the risks involved with it being a professional athlete. He ends the commercial by stating, “so don’t ask if your dreams are crazy, ask if they’re crazy enough” (Papenfuss 1:56). Kaepernick uses this commercial to let people know that no matter how crazy their dream is, do not worry about what other people say and just do it because the more crazy your dream may seem, the more it will mean to you once you achieve it.

On April 21st, 2018, Kaepernick gave a speech as he received the Amnesty International Ambassador of Conscience Award. The Ambassador of Conscience Award is Amnesty International’s highest honor and recognizes individuals who have promoted and enhanced the cause of human rights through their lives and by example (Amnesty International). “Just like the Ambassadors of Conscience before him, Colin Kaepernick chooses to speak out and inspire others despite the professional and personal risks. When high profile people choose to take a stand for human rights, it emboldens many others in their struggles against injustice” (Amnesty International). This shows that Kaepernick was a good fit for this award because he is an athlete that became widely recognized for his activism and refusal to ignore or accept racial

discrimination. He chooses to use his platform to speak out and address major issues within this country, while also taking many risks because of his job.

Kaepernick's former teammate and close friend, Eric Reid, handed him the award, and Kaepernick began his speech by acknowledging that his recognition would not be possible without Reid, who knelt by his side during the 2016 season and continued to use his platform to address systemic oppression (Amnesty International 0:10). In any successful speech, there are certain components that ensure its success, a major one being the audience that is being addressed. The rhetorical situation is determined by the audience because they are the ones who are either capable of making the change or whose expectations the speaker is trying to fulfill. In this case, Kaepernick's audience is not only the people of Amnesty International giving him the award, but all the open-minded citizens that want to hear what he has to say about these issues as well. He wants his audience to believe that love is at the root of their resistance, not hate, because it motivates them to move forward. "My love for my people serves as the fuel that motivates me and fortifies me on my mission. It is the people's unbroken love for themselves that motivates me even when faced with dehumanizing norms of a system that can lead to the loss of one's life over simply being black" (Amnesty International 1:25). He is reaching out to his audience by letting them know that his love for them is what motivates him to keep going, giving him a reason to trust him and follow him.

To further reach out to his audience, he gives real life examples of unarmed African American individuals that have been killed as a result of their skin color, such as Tamir Rice and Stephon Clark. He explains that it is our love for these people that keeps us fighting against a system that could cause you to lose your life due to the color of your skin. "It was James Baldwin who said, to be black in America, and to be relatively conscious, is to be in a rage

almost all the time. My question is, why aren't all people? How can you stand for the national anthem of a nation that preaches and propagates freedom and justice for all, that is so unjust to so many of the people living there?" (Amnesty International 4:24). This is a strong quote because it helps to better understand the impact of these racial injustices on black people. Baldwin is saying that even if they are just a little bit aware of what is going on within the country, they constantly have to live with an inner struggle of holding back this rage. Quoting famous individuals that are known for fighting for something they believe in also helps him reach his audience because it gives them a comparison of what he is trying to accomplish. Kaepernick goes on to question the rest of the country, the people who proudly stand for the flag. He does not understand how they can be so proud of a nation that was founded on the basis of equality for all, but has never been true to their word.

This leads to another component of a successful speech, which is the purpose, or the speaker's reason for making the speech. Obviously, he is making the speech because he received the award, but the true purpose of his speech is to clarify the motives behind his actions and why people's initial reactions to his activism may have been flawed. He believes that we live in a system that is designed for African Americans to fail, and he thought that someone needed to step up in order for there to be change. He decided to use his platform as a professional athlete with a large fanbase to try and make a difference, and believed that using a nonviolent protest, such as kneeling, would be a good way to begin this change by bringing awareness to the issue. A final component of a successful speech is the role that the speaker plays, or the voice that they give themselves. Kaepernick is no longer playing the role of an NFL quarterback that is trying to bring attention to a major issue. He is now acting as a civil rights leader, similar to Martin Luther

King Jr., as he is using his voice more to speak out against these issues and become a leader in trying to promote change.

From this speech, we can prove that Colin Kaepernick is indeed a parrhesiastes. According to Michel Foucault, the term parrhesia means free speech, and a parrhesiastes is someone who uses parrhesia, or someone who speaks the truth (11). He explains that a parrhesiastes is different from a rhetor, in that the parrhesiastes' says everything that they have in mind, hiding nothing, and uses the most direct words to make it clear that what they say is their opinion (12). Kaepernick makes it known to his audience that what he is saying is his own opinion because he even gives examples of what motivates him to keep fighting. Foucault believes that a parrhesiastes must have certain "moral qualities which are required, first, to know the truth, and, secondly, to convey such truth to others" (15). Kaepernick does have the moral qualities to be able to see these issues within society, and he does a very good job at getting his message across to his audience clearly so they can understand this problem. Duty is also a characteristic of a parrhesiastes, meaning the speaker feels as if they have to tell the truth and it is their responsibility to. Kaepernick would feel like he was letting African Americans down by keeping quiet, but in reality, the only one forcing him to speak is himself.

Another characteristic of a parrhesiastes is that they must be courageous. They must be in the face of danger or taking some type of risk by speaking out, not caring what happens to them as long as people know the truth (15). Kaepernick took many risks by speaking out on these issues and kneeling for the anthem, especially being a professional athlete. To quote his Nike commercial again, "believe in something, even if it means sacrificing everything" (Papenfuss 1:17). He knew that he would receive a lot of negative reactions and backlash from the media, but he did not care, he only cared about making a change. For example, not only did he lose his

opportunity to play football in the NFL for speaking out, many people thought that he was disrespecting our country. One of these people was President, Donald Trump, who was infuriated with both Nike and Kaepernick after the commercial was released. Trump made tweets asking what Nike was thinking and stating their ratings will go down. He also stated that Kaepernick was sending a terrible message and believed that him and every other player taking a knee should be fired. “Colin Kaepernick’s commitment is all the more remarkable because of the alarming levels of vitriol it has attracted from those in power” (Amnesty International). Vitriol is defined as cruel and bitter criticism, and by the amount he has received it is evident that he is addressing a very serious and sensitive issue. This proves the final characteristic of a parrhesiastes according to Foucault. “One must be a citizen: in fact, one must be one of the best among citizens, possessing those specific personal, moral, and social qualities which grant one the privilege to speak (18). Even though Kaepernick is still just a citizen and does not have the power to make changes alone, he was a professional athlete which gave him a voice and a platform that most people do not have that allowed him to speak out.

Of those people who initially had a negative reaction to Kaepernick’s protest, which was originally sitting down for the anthem, U.S. Army Veteran, Nate Boyer, decided to reach out to talk to him about it. He explained that he was angry at first when he saw this because he supported Kaepernick and now he thought Kaepernick was disrespecting the country he is fighting for. He decided to stop making judgements and realized that he should try to understand where Kaepernick was coming from. “And the more I thought about it the more I was like... I want to try to understand where he’s coming from at least somewhat. Because I hadn’t walked around in his shoes, but he hasn’t walked around in my boots” (Orfalea 0:23). When they came together, Boyer heard Kaepernick’s reasoning and came to understand why he refused to stand

for the anthem and actually was the one that suggested kneeling as a more respectful way to demonstrate this issue. Kneeling goes all the way back to the Black Rubric, which was an addition to the 1552 Book of Common Prayer. The rubric clarified kneeling at communion as a universal gesture that shows respect (Davis 2016). This shows that if people would just take the time to listen to Kaepernick to understand where he is coming from, they may have different opinions and would not think he is disrespecting the country and its soldiers. Boyer even stated, “the fact that he was willing to listen and go to a knee versus sitting I thought was huge. That’s an important step that he’s taken. I think other people need to step too and maybe listen to him” (Orfalea 1:03). In Nate Boyer we see a Veteran, the person who Kaepernick is supposedly disrespecting, understanding Kaepernick’s point of view and agreeing with him once he stopped making judgements.

Colin Kaepernick taking a knee for the anthem, commencing this nonviolent protest of his to bring attention to the harsh treatment of blacks is only the first step in making a change, which is making more people aware of the issue. With this particular issue, there are many steps that our country could take to actually make this change for the better. This could begin by changing certain policies, such as revising drug and sentencing policies, probation laws, or offering more treatment, such as rehab or therapy. Many of the drug policies, such as the War on Drugs, mandates minimum sentences for drug users and dealers. The biggest problem with this is that most drug offenders need rehab and substance abuse treatment to help them get better. Instead, many of these individuals are unjustly imprisoned, adding to their stress and depression, usually causing them to continue relying on drugs. If the government provided more accessible drug treatment, many of these individuals would have been able to find the help they needed more easily. “Since the mid-1980s, both Republican and Democratic administrations have

directed about two-thirds of federal drug funding toward law enforcement and only one-third toward prevention and treatment” (Mauer 25). This suggests that the system is more worried about punishing these individuals than actually helping them get better. The cost of criminal justice control for young African American males is about \$6 billion a year (Mauer 1). This is why the decriminalization of nonviolent drug offenses would be a better approach than the iron fist of the War on Drugs. Law enforcement should spend their time and resources on more serious issues than being so worried about citizens who are not harming anyone, just trying to get by.

“Further, it is critical that the Justice Department lowers the bar and burden of proof in civil rights cases that may lead to the conviction of officers who are engaged in racial profiling, abuse of power, and reckless murder. Failure to hold police accountable sends the message to police that they are untouchable and to children and other vulnerable groups that they are unprotected from reckless actions and abuse of police officers or other authority figures” (Staggers-Hakim 2016). There are too many cases where we see officers being found innocent for murdering an unarmed citizen because of their power. If every police officer was properly held accountable for their actions of discriminating against African Americans, there would be far fewer officers who did, and not as many children would fear for their lives on a daily basis.

For as long as humanity has existed, there has been some form of harsh treatment of minority groups by those that are of the majority and hold power. An example of this is the treatment of African Americans by white people throughout the past few centuries. “Imagine every day and every night, when the news is reported, one sees people one knows from the same ethnic group in adversarial positions with law enforcement and with the justice system. Contrary to that, other images one sees about family life, happiness, success, and educational achievement

are portrayed by people who look like someone else” (Thomas 178). Growing up an African American, you constantly see people from your race being portrayed on the news in a negative way, and these images become so ingrained into one’s subconscious that they soon start to believe it. Colin Kaepernick, who was a very popular quarterback in the NFL, used his platform to give himself a voice to address these issues of race. He believes that in order for our country to become unified, all individuals must be treated with more respect and equality.

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