On the Disparity Between What We Say and What We Do in Libraries

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In July of 2014, a woman named Trish Kelly was running as a candidate for a seat on Vancouver's park board with Vision Vancouver, a center-left civic party in Vancouver, British Columbia. She had won the most votes in a nomination race on the party's slate and was, in many people's minds, a clear front-runner in the election. In her own words, "After 25 years of serving my community, I put my name forward as a Park Board nominee to move my life as a community activist fighting for social justice issues, to claiming a seat at the decision-making table."[1] Kelly is also a sex positive artist and in 2006, she had performed in a video where she was filmed walking down the street and talking about masturbation as part of a series by Way Out West TV, a LGBTQ online TV station. The piece is funny, provocative, honest, and it was never hidden by Kelly. A Vancouver blogger named Raymond Tomlin wrote a blog post about this "*potentially* explosive"[2] [emphasis in original] video and a short while later, Kelly stepped down. The official response from Vision Vancouver was that they did

1 Charlie Smith, "Trish Kelly Quits as Vision Vancouver Park Candidate to Halt Distractions Over Her Sex-positive Activism," *The Georgia Straight*, July 14, 2014. Accessed January 20, 2017, http://www.straight.com/news/688731/trish-kelly-quits-vision-vancouver-park-candidate-halt-distractions-over-her-sex-positive-activism.

2 Raymond Tomlin, "Decision 2014: Another Shiny Nail in the Vision Vancouver Coffin," *Vanramblings.com* (blog), July 14, 2014. Accessed January 30, 2017, http://www.vanramblings.com/decision-2014-another-nail-in-the-vision-vancouver-coffin.html.

not want to divert attention from the issues of the election and keeping Kelly on the ballot would have been too distracting for Vancouver residents. Kelly is a queer woman of Métis and Ukrainian descent, a demographic not typically found on the ballot in the City's municipal elections. Many Vancouverites were frustrated with Vision Vancouver and wanted to come together to discuss and debate the issues; they wanted to talk about democracy, diversity, and what it is like to be a woman and a woman of Indigenous descent in Canadian politics. One Vancouver resident, a supporter of Kelly, contacted the university library where I work to ask if we would be willing to host a panel discussion with Trish Kelly and other experts. After a few internal conversations, we concluded that our library was not the "best unit" to host an event of this nature. A few days later, the event took place at the university but without the support or involvement of the library.

I share this story here not because it is particularly unique or remarkable, but because it is illustrative of the disconnect between our professional values of democracy and social responsibility[3] and our decisions and actions. We routinely make decisions that oppose our declared values. We decline opportunities to host forums on democracy and citizen engagement. We choose library vendors that do not align with our stated goals and principles. We claim intellectual freedom as a core value, but silence professional dissent within our own ranks. And—disturbingly—we seem to get away with it with few or no repercussions. My main questions, and the reasons for this exploratory chapter, are what are the systems that help create and sustain the disparity between what we say and what we do in libraries? And can we disrupt these systems in ways that are both viable and generative?

It is useful, I believe, to consider the situation I describe in the example above and others like it not in terms of what is being declared, in value statements for example, but instead in terms of what is being done or not being done. What is the action or inaction? I find a compelling analog in Keller Easterling's critical spatial/political analysis, in particular in her work on what she calls "infrastructure space," where she probes the discrepancies between what is said and

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3 American Library Association, "Core Values of Librarianship," Adopted June 29, 2004, http://www.ala.org/advocacy/intfreedom/statementspols/corevalues.

what is done.[4] Easterling's concept of infrastructure space goes beyond what she describes as "object forms" such as buildings, roads, policies, strategic plans, and value statements, to probe "active forms"—the undeclared rules and activities that form the disposition or propensity of a system, be it a city, an organization, or a free trade zone. According to Easterling, while we act in relation to object forms, our actions are also influenced by de facto forms of power that are often more consequential than our official positions. In libraries, our policies, strategic plans, and value statements are examples of our official positions; they are the object forms of our profession. Yet, there are forces that are more influential on our daily actions than what we document and declare. Easterling explains this dynamic: "It is not the pattern printed on the fabric but the way the fabric floats. It is not the shape of the game piece but the way the game piece plays. It is not the text but the constantly updating software that manages the text."[5]

Casting our eye away from the object forms of our profession is useful because it allows us to examine our character, which results from the interconnections and totality of our activities—our active form. It will allow us to examine the influential and yet undeclared information about the profession, which resides in our protocols, routines, and myriad other instances of active form that create the infrastructure space of librarianship. In the Trish Kelly example at the beginning of this chapter, the ALA "Core Values of Librarianship" statement[6] declaring our professional commitment to democracy and social responsibility is the object form, while our refusal to host this event is the expression of our active form. In *Extrastatecraft,* Easterling writes about infrastructure:

> The word "infrastructure" typically conjures associations with physical networks for transportation, communication, or utilities. Infrastructure is considered to be a hidden substrate—the binding medium or current between objects of positive consequence, shape, and law. Yet today, more than grids of pipes and wires… [t]he shared standards and ideas that control everything from technical objects to management styles also constitute an infrastructure. Far from

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4 Keller Easterling, *Extrastatecraft: The Power of Infrastructure Space* (New York: Verso, 2014).

5 Ibid., 21.

6 American Library Association, "Core Values of Librarianship," Adopted June 29, 2004, http://www.ala.org/advocacy/intfreedom/statementspols/corevalues

hidden, infrastructure is now the overt point of contact and access between us all—the rules governing the space of everyday life.[7]

She further illustrates the significance of this space: "Contemporary infrastructure space is the secret weapon of the most powerful people in the world precisely because it orchestrates activities that can remain unstated but are nevertheless consequential."[8]

There are of course a myriad of historical, socio-political, cultural, and institutional forces—big and small—at play in every library which contribute to forming its organizational character. But for the purposes of this discussion, I am keen to consider the infrastructure. Since the beginning of my work as a practitioner in Canadian libraries almost a decade ago, I have been interested in the details of how the culture and disposition of the profession is set, communicated, sometimes obscured, and policed in our everyday practice. More recently, after I became a middle manager with a significant amount of decision-making power, this interest became more pronounced as I struggled to reconcile the belief that our decisions are made in accordance with our values, policies, and resources with the reality that there are significant disparities between what we say and what we do. For example, at the 2015 Association of College and Research Libraries Conference in Portland, Oregon, a ballroom full of librarians sat listening to Lawrence Lessig talk about the tragic death of American computer programmer, activist, and open access advocate Aaron Swartz at a conference sponsored by library vendors who actively oppose Lessig's call for equality and equal access to knowledge.[9] There is something disconcerting about our ability to dissociate ourselves personally from our collective actions and responsibilities. It is as though my inaction and my lack of protest as an individual librarian is not part-and-parcel of the greater cultural and professional whole. Of course, this is a familiar group dynamic, but what makes our situation particularly interesting is that libraries and librarians claim to be organized around progressive ideals both on institutional and individual levels. Perhaps this understanding of ourselves as "being on the right side,"

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7 Easterling, *Extrastatecraft,* 11.

8 Ibid., 15.

9 Lawrence Lessig, "Keynote," *ACRL 2015 Conference,* Accessed Feb 2, 2017, http://acrl. learningtimesevents.org/keynote-lessig/.

institutionally and professionally, allows some of us to dismiss the need or urgency for personal action. But it is important to probe and problematize our progressive professional rhetoric by looking at what we actually do. Easterling writes that "many disciplines are questioning their own presumptions and searching for alternative ways to adjust the global political landscape. Infrastructure space is a good test bed for these experiments—a complex matrix harbouring all kinds of social habits, cultural values, economies, and technologies. A web of active forms contributes to the disposition of infrastructure space—its immanent capacity, propensity, or political bearing."[10] This idea of an unseen and yet influential infrastructure space is reminiscent of Edgar Schein's model of organizational culture, where "basic underlying assumptions" or deeply embedded "beliefs, perceptions, thoughts, and feelings" which constitute the essence of an organization's culture, are a significant source of values and actions. In Schein's model, however, these assumptions often remain unconscious.[11] Easterling's notion of infrastructure space is different in its intentionality; it functions in active form without the threat of scrutiny typically reserved for object forms. For example, "diversity and inclusion" are mentioned explicitly as part of many library strategic plans and values statements across North America and yet the appetite and willingness to engender any significant cultural shift is not present in most of our institutions. As Chanda Prescod-Weinstein argues, "If you're serious about diversity, then you have to be serious about ending discrimination, and if you are serious about ending discrimination, then you have to be serious about letting go of your unearned power."[12] In libraries, as with all institutions, there are unconscious factors which inform our organizational cultures, but the decision to maintain the status quo, to preserve current power structures, and by extension to remain exclusionary, is intentional.

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10 Easterling, *Extrastatecraft,* 239.

11 Edgar Schein, *Organizational Culture and Leadership* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1992), 17.

12 Chanda Prescod-Weinstein, "How to Make a Real Commitment to Diversity: A Guide for Faculty/Managers Especially," *Medium*, Aug 17, 2016. Accessed January 30, 2017, https://medium.com/@chanda/how-to-make-a-real-commitment-to-diversity-30ddb2cc4cc3#.2nkehrxmd.

In libraries, these disparities are increasingly less visible in our structures. We are, for example, diligent about using diversity statements in our job advertisements. They are, however, present in our infrastructures. For example, we continue to look for "fit" when hiring new librarians, which tends to mean more of the same: same backgrounds, same perspectives, same worldviews. While the concept of "neutrality" was and is still sometimes being used to maintain and perpetuate the status quo, the tactics have been changing. In my experience, we often relied on the language of neutrality to explain and justify our decisions. In the Trish Kelly incident, for example, we were keen to maintain neutrality and hosting her at our library would have signalled a non-neutral, political stance. This pursuit of neutrality in libraries has, in the past, provided an effective strategy to silence dissent and to secure consent from marginalized groups. At times, the appeals to remain neutral and impartial are explicit still, but there have been convincing arguments made against them in LIS literature[13] and so they have shifted shape. Now, they are most effective in restricting behaviors and decisions to acceptable levels of deviation from the norm in our seemingly benign responses and justifications (e.g. "the library is not the 'best unit' to support an event of this nature") or as Easterling puts it, in "the bits of code" that run this particular profession's "operating system."[14] And if the norm in North American librarianship is forged by decades of racism, sexism, white privilege, colonization, and institutional oppression,[15] then preserving the norm is an act of injustice.[16] Further, this infrastructure space of language, style, and practice evolves to respond to new conditions or behaviors. A few years ago, after arguing—not dispassionately—

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13 Alison Lewis, ed., *Questioning Library Neutrality: Essays from Progressive Librarian* (Duluth: Library Juice Press, 2008);and Chris Bourg, "Never Neutral: Libraries, Technology, and Inclusion," *Feral Librarian* (blog), January 28, 2015. Accessed January 30, 2017. https://chrisbourg.wordpress.com/2015/01/28/never-neutral-libraries-technology-and-inclusion/.

14 Easterling, *Extrastatecraft*, 92.

15 nina de jesus, "Locating the Library in Institutional Oppression," *In the Library with a Lead Pipe*, September 24, 2014. Accessed January 30, 2017.

16 Nicole Pagowsky and Niamh Wallace, "Black Lives Matter! Shedding Library Neutrality Rhetoric for Social Justice," *College and Research Libraries News*. 76, 4(2015): 196-214, accessed January 30, 2017, http://crln.acrl.org/content/76/4/196.full.pdf.

against a particular policy decision, I was told by a colleague that the choice we were making was "not religious." This language caught me off guard. What I believe my colleague was saying is that we have to stay detached from the moral and ethical considerations of our decision; we have to stay "neutral." But it was said in this new way that was meant to unsettle, and to halt further objections and discussions. The language may be different but the results remain the same. The results are equally consequential. As Easterling argues "the things that make infrastructure space powerful are its multipliers, its irrational fictions, or its undeclared but consequential activities. They are also perhaps the very things that make it immune to righteous declaration or prescription. The rational, resolute, and righteous, while cornerstones of dissent, are sometimes less consequential than the discrepant, fictional, or sly."[17]

So what do we do? How do we interact with these practices in ways that increase the capacity and longevity of those who wish to unsettle and disrupt this infrastructure space? Activism and direct resistance play a significant role in this work, but what else? Remember, the rational and the righteous are less effective in this arena precisely because the crucial information about the profession cannot always be found in our vision, mission, and values statements or our strategic plans. It can, however, be inferred from our dispositions, our propensities, and the subtleties with which a particular agenda is pushed through while a different goal or intention is espoused. It is difficult to fight with indignation what is not there. Easterling advocates for an "expanded activist repertoire"[18] in infrastructure space. While there are times to oppose injustice directly and openly, there are also times to resist in tacit ways that exploit the differences between our professional declarations and our actions. Easterling elaborates on context: "There are times to stand up, name an opponent, or assume a binary stance of resistance against authoritarian power, but supplementing these forms of dissent are activist stances that are both harder to target and less interested in being right."[19] In the library profession, if those with power do something different than what they are saying, then are there ways to use what is being said in the service of disruption alongside of active, open resistance? Released

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17 Easterling, *Extrastatecraft,* 23.

18 Ibid., 213.

19 Ibid., 213.

from "the tense grip of binary resistance,"[20] can we wreak havoc in infrastructure space? Among Easterling's expanded activist repertoire, I have chosen four techniques to explore in the context of libraries: gossip, doubling, hacking[21], and exaggerated compliance.[22]

Whether we call it storytelling, rumor, or telling tales, gossip is an old strategy and can be a profoundly political act. Talking has always been dangerous for those in power. Easterling sees it as a common tool for decentering power and creating alternative narratives.[23] I further see it as a significant tool of information sharing with and among marginalized individuals and groups—a possible way to subvert established norms, procedures, and assumptions. And it is not necessarily for our own benefit that we tell tales; we can help others by talking as well. By telling our stories, we may help reduce the epistemic doubt of others. For example, in a profession where approximately nine out of ten credentialed librarians are white,[24] "gossip" can play an essential role for minority librarians. I have lost count of the number of times I have left a conversation or interaction and wondered, "Did he say what I think he said? Did others hear him? Was it all in my head?" If, instead of going our separate ways quietly and "professionally," we took the time as colleagues to speak informally about what we saw, heard, or what others have seen or heard, these observations and histories would begin to give shape to patterns—patterns that can help us gain confidence in what we see, hear, and experience. Saba Fatima writes, "As women of colour, we are greatly underrepresented in academia. This adversely impacts our ability to speak about our experiences with an expectation of understanding such encounters by our allies. And when one is constantly given alternate banal explanations for their overly sensitive perceptions, one loses the epistemic ground they stand on. [We] cease

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20 Ibid.*,* 215.

21 Easterling uses the phrase "hacker/entrepreneur" to describe this particular tactic, but I have made the decision to use hacker and hacking alone as I find it more evocative and relevant to the library context.

22 Easterling, *Extrastatecraft,* 213.

23 Ibid., 214.

24 American Library Association, "Diversity Counts," Updated 2012, http://www.ala. org/offices/diversity/diversitycounts/divcounts.

to give credibility to [our] own perceptions."[25] Talking about your daily experiences in the workplace helps others keep a tighter grasp on their own reality. Malinda Smith describes stories as forms of communication that weave together individual minority experiences into meaningful, situated episodes.[26] Our discretion is being counted on to maintain the status quo. By keeping the marginalized in a state of uncertainty and self-doubt, the powerful gain time to repeat, reinforce, and reproduce—to consolidate their power. Imagine a librarian of color coming out of a meeting and gossiping with her colleague about what they both heard. Imagine her being told that she is not being too sensitive or too defensive and that she did, in fact, hear what she thinks she heard. Witnessing and acknowledgement can be powerful tools in disrupting the status quo. It is time to start talking.

A second tactic of resistance in infrastructure space is doubling, where Easterling describes the double as "not only as a source of competition but also an opportunity for confusion and disguise. The double… can sometimes fool the world or launder an identity. A double can simply hijack the place of power of its counterpart to increase its territory in the world."[27] The tactic of working within existing structures, even if you are ultimately opposed to them, in order to bring about change, is a familiar strategy. April Hathcock has written about the idea of taking on an identity to take power.[28] Hathcock has referred to this as "playing at whiteness," which in the context of librarians of color in libraries, she defines to mean playing the game, getting in, and then doing what we want and making room for others to do the same. "It is important that those of us in LIS with privilege—be it the privilege of actual whiteness or the privilege of skill in playing whiteness—serve as effective allies to those who do not. We need to make space for our

25 Saba Fatima, "Am I Being Paranoid? Being a Woman of Color in Academia." *SIUE Women's Studies Program Blog.* April 20, 2015. Accessed January 30, 2017, https://siuewmst.wordpress.com/2015/04/20/am-i-being-paranoid-being-a-woman-of-color-in-academia/.

26 Malinda Smith, "Gender, Whiteness and the 'Other Others' in the Academy,"in *States of Race: Critical Race Feminism for the 21st Century,* ed. S. Razack, M. Smith, and Thobani, S. (Toronto: Between the Lines Press, 2010) 37-58.

27 Easterling, *Extrastatecraft,* 222.

28 April Hathcock, "White Librarianship in Blackface: Diversity Initiatives in LIS," *In the Library with a Lead Pipe,* October 7, 2015. Accessed January 30, 2017, http://www.inthelibrarywiththeleadpipe.org/2015/lis-diversity/.

diverse colleagues to thrive within the profession. In short, we need to dismantle whiteness from within LIS," Hathcock argues."[29] I find the immediacy and impact of this tactic to be particularly enticing. Serving as an ally can take many forms, both big and small, and the impact of one individual who helps clear the path for another cannot be overstated. As doubles, we would not need to necessarily engage on a policy level to disrupt or interfere with the status quo, even if systemic change remains our overarching goal.

Another strategy, which Sara Ahmed refers to as "inhabiting whiteness,"[30] is related but different from the deliberate doubling proposed by Easterling and described by Hathcock above. In this case, people of color surrounded by institutional whiteness in academe (and in libraries), inhabit whiteness as a survival strategy. Over time, we train ourselves to not see it: "I had become so used to this whiteness that I had stopped noticing it."[31] While the strategy may allow us to enter and stay working in the profession, Ahmed also warns of the emotional and psychic toll it can take—a toll that is hard to fully appreciate until we have the opportunity to unburden ourselves: "When you inhabit a sea of brownness as a person of colour you might realise the effort of your previous inhabitance, as the effort of not noticing what is around you. It is like how you can feel the 'weight' of tiredness most acutely as the tiredness leaves you. To become conscious of how things leave you is to become conscious of those things. We might become even more aware of whiteness as wearing, when we leave the spaces of whiteness."[32] Walking home after attending an event at Indian Summer Festival,[33] I found myself weeping unexpectedly. It took just a couple of minutes to recognize the relief and catharsis of having just left a theater full of brown people. "It can be surprising and energizing not to feel so singular."[34] The reasons why underrepresented individuals leave librarianship at a higher

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29 Ibid.

30 Sara Ahmed, *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 35.

31 Ibid., 35.

32 Ibid., 36.

33 An annual multi-arts festival in Vancouver, Canada with an emphasis on artists and performers from South Asia.

34 Ahmed, *On Being Included*, 36.

rate than others is an open research question,[35] but it is not difficult to imagine that the labor that is required to inhabit and double—even when it is done in service and as strategy—does take a toll.

In the library world, the hacker is a close ally of the double. While she may not have to explicitly or intentionally assume an identity to infiltrate the space of power, the hacker is committed to the long game of progressive change. Writes Easterling: "[The hacker] does not value purity but rather relies on multiple cycles of innovation, updating platforms, and tracking changeable desires that supersede, refresh, or reverse the products and plans they introduce into the world."[36] Her work, which can span the range of the activist repertoire, persists as smaller corrective measures. She is not daunted by nor is she seeking "a transcendent and singular moment of change—a comprehensive reform or a soulful masterpiece."[37] For example, the librarian who co-opts and subverts existing structures such as library display spaces to showcase progressive publications or the librarian who works to eliminate library fines by implementing smaller measures such as reminder emails, grace periods, or low fine cards for patrons with no fixed address—both fit the profile of the hacker. With the long-term goal of progressive change or equitable access in mind, these hackers make use of smaller opportunities to initiate shifts and make modifications. I admire the tenacity of the hacker and applaud her commitment to moving the dial in a profession which not only resists, but also works to undermine her efforts. I am grateful for her steadfastness and ingenuity, and acknowledge her focused change-making in a space that she sees anew for its potential for political action.

The last tactic in Easterling's expanded activist repertoire that I will discuss in the LIS context is exaggerated compliance. As a middle manager I have found that when it comes to openness and transparency, two professional values that we tend to declare widely and practice scarcely, exaggerated compliance can be a powerful tool. I have made a practice of investigating what information I am actually supposed to keep confidential (surprisingly few things are

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35 Jennifer Vinopal, "The Quest for Diversity in Library Staffing: From Awareness to Action," *In the Library with a Lead Pipe*, January 13, 2016. Accessed January 30, 2017, http://www.inthelibrarywiththeleadpipe.org/2016/quest-for-diversity/.

36 Easterling, *Extrastatecraft,* 232.

37 Ibid., 231.

in that category in some academic libraries) and what information I can share with others. I have made a conscious decision to discuss everything that I am technically allowed to talk about with my staff and colleagues. Similar to the disruptive processes that I discussed in relation to the tactic of "gossip," I find that discretion and to some level arrogance—more so than mandated confidentiality—is at play when institutions who declare their commitment to transparency manage to keep their workers in the dark and out of decision making loops. Our discretion can be relied upon to keep non-confidential information confidential and further promote an unequal access to information by reinforcing the patronizing and false assumption that people would simply not be interested. I tend to not worry too much about whether or not people are actually interested in the information I am sharing, but rather I know that in being transparent I can learn from those in positions without easy access to this information. I know that by being a conduit for information, by becoming part of the infrastructure in this exaggerated way, I reduce my own chances of one day claiming one thing and doing another, of becoming propelled toward injustice. Ahmed writes about the importance of careful hesitation: "There is no guarantee that in struggling for justice we ourselves will be just. We have to hesitate, to temper the strength of our tendencies with doubt; to waver when we are sure, or even because we are sure. A feminist movement that proceeds with too much confidence has cost us too much already. We falter with feminist conviction. As we must."[38] I see an exaggerated commitment to transparency as fostering a system of checks and balances for me both personally and professionally.

I believe that accountability is a cornerstone of feminist leadership, but it is difficult to be held accountable if one does not actively provide an opportunity for others to evaluate us and hold us to account. As feminists and as feminists in leadership positions, we make mistakes. All we can hope for is that we are deserving of a community of colleagues who are willing to call us in. Ngọc Loan Trần defines calling in as the "practice of pulling folks back in who have strayed from us. It means extending to ourselves the reality that we will and do fuck up, we stray and there will always be a chance for us to return. Calling in as a practice of loving each other enough to allow each other to make mistakes; a practice of loving ourselves enough to know that what we're

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38 Sara Ahmed, "Losing Confidence," *feministkilljoys* (blog). March 1, 2016. Accessed January 30, 2017, https://feministkilljoys.com/2016/03/01/losing-confidence/.

trying to do here is a radical unlearning of everything we have been configured to believe is normal."[39] In the past two decades of working in supervisory and leadership roles in and out of libraries, I have time and time again been called in by friends and colleagues who have listened to my uninformed opinions and put up with my inexperience. And they have stuck around as I struggled and learned. They have done this because they are generous and kind, and my greatest hope going forward is that they are willing to do it over and over again. The very least I can do in response to these acts of grace and generosity is to practice uncompromising openness and transparency.

One of the early catalysts for this exploratory chapter was the realization that in libraries the presence of one or two librarians of color is the full extent of our commitment to "diversity and inclusion." Our presence is not, as I had assumed for years, a harbinger. It is not a signal that we are all here to do the work of unlearning and undoing that is necessary for substantive, structural change. The change, it seems to me, is considered complete on our arrival. In my experience, libraries are open to diverse populations as long as that diversity does not extend to how we behave, speak, or think. While the content of this chapter is not wholly or necessarily related to the lack of anti-racist and anti-colonial work in our profession, our declarations about the importance of diversity and inclusion while actively protecting the status quo and fostering sameness, has been a significant site of struggle for me personally. In the larger infrastructure space of this profession, it is necessary to scrutinize our actions and inactions in light of our declared values and intentions on multiple critical fronts, and I believe that many of us have and continue to do so. It is my hope that Easterling's concept of infrastructure space, as applied to everything from management style to daily practice, can help us to see our actions, our propensities, and our trajectories as deliberate, but also entities that can be resisted and reshaped by familiar as well as unconventional tactics—an expanded activist repertoire. It is my hope that we can understand and utilize these tactics not only as supplements to open dissent, but also as mechanisms that will allow us to organize and develop coalitions for future resistance.

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39 Ngọc Loan Trần, "Calling IN: A Less Disposable Way of Holding Each Other Accountable," *Black Girl Dangerous* (blog), December 18, 2013. Accessed July 15, 2015, http://www.blackgirldangerous.org/2013/12/calling-less-disposable-way-holding-accountable.

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