Fugitive Administrative Rhetorics

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Abstract

This article is a work in defining fugitivity in writing program administration. We return to the intersecting phenomena of the pandemic, of climate change, of state-sanctioned violence, of gerrymandering, and of stolen rights. We recognize the complicity writing programs have with this status quo, and we hope that Fugitive Administrative Rhetorics is a helpful framework for developing WPA practices that diverge from this complicity. Our writing is intended to acknowledge a deep scholarly debt within rhetoric and composition to the first fugitives of the academic space, the multiply marginalized students and faculty that built the undercommons: Black, Indigenous, Latinx, queer, women, immigrant, neurodivergent.

[T]he proliferation of borders between states, within states, between people, within people is a proliferation of states of statelessness. These borders grope their way toward the movement of things, bang on containers, kick at hostels, harass camps, shout after **fugitives**, seeking all the time to harness this movement of things . . .

> — Fred Moten and Stefano Harney, *The Undercommons: Fugitivity and Black Planning* (p. 94; boldface added)

Justice is possible only where it is never asked, in the refuge of bad debt, in the **fugitive** public of strangers not communities, of undercommons not neighbourhoods, among those who have been there all along from somewhere. To seek justice through restoration is to return debt to the balance sheet and the balance sheet never balances.

> — Fred Moten and Stefano Harney, *The Undercommons: Fugitivity and Black Planning* (p. 63; boldface added)

This writing is fugitive, something stolen. It's a labor within the University but not for the University. Harney and Moten (2013) would say *criminal*—fleeing but not escaping. From? Racism, misogyny, entrenchment. Capitalism. The perpetual assimilation of students into white language supremacy and racial capitalism (despite whatever liberal brainwashing certain media outlets claim is occurring). And it's important to start here, like this, because conversations about carework are rarely (ever?) preventive. Carework¹ in the workplace is reactionary, undervalued, gendered, and racialized. It is a necessary response to those in harm's way but does not necessarily address the source of the harm. Hassberg, Esparza, Baralt, and Alimahomed-Wilson (2022) demonstrate the ways that the undervalued carework of women of color in the workplace during the COVID-19 pandemic exacerbated their undervalued carework at home, creating a crisis for caregivers. Writing programs like ours and yours reacted to the COVID-19 pandemic. It happened to us, and then we scrambled to "pivot." So much *pivoting*. In the pivoting, we (us, the field, each other, our colleagues, you and me) realized, or perhaps were confronted with the realization, that we were not all right—but also, and more to the point, that we weren't really okay before either. The institutional response was that we should continue our teaching, mentoring, and department meetings. Some universities and colleges moved online or offered hybrid sections. They said, "Take care of yourself first!" but there was a silent ellipsis hidden at the end of their well wishes . . . so that you can return to work. And the second silent ellipsis is ... because the institution needs your labor to survive. Harney and Moten (2013) again:

In the face of these conditions one can only sneak into the university and steal what one can. To abuse its hospitality, to spite its mission, to join its refugee colony . . . to be in but not of—this is the path of the subversive intellectual in the modern university. (p. 26)

Real carework, then, must begin with fugitivity.² Look, what if we shift our frame of reference? Instead of carework, mutual aid. Mutual aid = carework + solidarity + critical consciousness. Dean Spade (2020) defines it as "collective coordination to meet each other's needs, usually from an awareness that the systems we have in place are not going to meet them" (p. 7). The shift from carework to mutual aid is a shift from liberal caring to radical caring. It seeks social systemic change. People care. Or, we hope they do. But the institution does not care. That's not pessimism or cynicism. Whatever we might argue about the ontology of the University, our emotional-mental-physical well-being is not part of its mission (unless there was suddenly no one with which to replace us . . . and even then . . .). The US University has, from its inception, been a tool of racial capitalism, founded on principles of (among other things) exploitation and accumulation. Look no further than this issue of *WPA*. It's about the local work WPAs and writing programs are doing to respond to burnout and exhaustion. We are on our own. If we care for ourselves and for others, we do it in secret, stolen moments. If we don't do it, then it doesn't happen. Fugitive.

This article should feel fugitive-in its affirmation and confirmation of the illicit work you're doing, in its theoretical foundations, and even in its paragraphs, punctuations, and asides. This work owes a debt-the kind of debt that is "social" and "mutual" and "runs in every direction, scatters, escapes, seeks refuge," a fugitive debt that "seeks refuge among other debtors, acquires debts from them, offers debt to them" (Harney & Moten, 2013, p. 61). It owes this debt to scholars like Harney and Moten; to Jacqueline Jones Royster (1996; 2014) for calling us toward deliberately reciprocal inquiry within contact zones, including our own discipline; to Genevieve García de Müeller and Iris Ruiz (2017) for calling us to question white assumptions about the effectiveness of antiracist WPA approaches and to García de Müeller (2016) for calling us to reimagine WPA work in an activist context; to Cody Jackson and Christina Cedillo (2020) for calling us to our own accountability for disability justice; to Neisha-Anne S. Green and Frankie Condon (2020) for calling us to not flinch from the pain of confronting white supremacy; to Victor Villanueva (1997) for calling us to consider the colonial impulses of writing instruction and program administration; to Lynn Z. Bloom (1996) for calling us to attend to the ways firstyear writing assimilates students into (white) middle class values; to Alyssa Cavazos (2019), Vershawn Ashanti Young (2010), April Baker-Bell (2020), Steven Alvarez (2016), Stacy Perryman-Clark (2012), and others for calling us to resist white, monolingual language ideologies in first-year writing programs; to the CWPA task force members (Asao B. Inoue, Beth Brunk-Chavez, Vershawn A. Young, Tanita Saenkhum, Melvin Beavers, Iris Ruiz, and Neisha-Anne Green) for calling us to confront white supremacy in our institutions and ourselves; and to Asao B. Inoue (2021) for calling us to address the connection between white racial violence and white language supremacy and for reminding us that "[s]ometimes, the best way to fix fucked up things is to fuck them up right" (para. 15).

To be clear, the ways this article might push against traditional scholarly-publishing guidelines are not stylistic flourish. We are writing against conventions that are socially and professionally stifling. While many genre conventions are about facility and accessibility, too many are about uniformity, propriety, and reifying academic "standards" (scare quotes) and conventions that are really meant to entrench institutional and white language supremacy. Our teaching can't move beyond reading statements about linguistic justice until our professional journals move past myopic views of what is and isn't academically rigorous writing. The first step of fugitive rhetorics, and the first real moment of disciplinary mutual aid, is to enact our scholarship in real ways. Further, true fugitive rhetorics cannot co-opt marginalized knowledges to fortify the whitestream. Our writing style is intended to acknowledge a deep scholarly debt within rhetoric and composition to the first fugitives of the academic space, the multiply marginalized students and faculty that built the undercommons: Black, Indigenous, Latinx, queer, women, immigrant, neurodivergent. (And, yeah, this could have been a footnote. But fuck that. It needs to be above the line.)

FINDING THE UNDERCOMMONS

Where were you when you realized you were tired with a kind of exhaustion that had nothing to do with sleep? Was it early days? Or was it after picking up your second and third pandemic hobby? That tenth loaf of homemade sourdough? Zoom class? For us, our burnout bubbled to the surface after the pandemic ("after the pandemic" = when we had to come back to campus and has little to do with access to vaccines, local infection numbers, or faculty and student feelings of health and safety). We sat at a picnic table outside a cafe writing our calendars and syllabuses for the next semester when we, all together, confessed that we didn't have the bandwidth to do this, to create our materials, to pretend like we weren't exhausted, to continue feigning that everything would be okay.³ To be clear, we were burned out much earlier, but there's a sort of shame stage associated with burnout where you bluff about doing just fine. Vulnerability is difficult even for folks who work at it. Together at that picnic table, we found the space to talk through how and why we were burned out. And it's all the same reasons you've heard at your own picnic table confessionals and within this issue: overwork, too many "high priority" agenda items, never-ending pivoting, continual stress about job security, health, and current events. The sociologist Lara Maestripieri (2021) explains that the COVID-19 pandemic is "an intersectional phenomenon" (p. 1). The pandemic was amplified by police violence and the murders of Breonna Taylor and George Floyd, the January 6 insurrection and the increasing political upheaval leading up to and through it, and climate change. We were, all of us, enmeshed in intersectional injustice, stress, and fear, and then one more meeting request or exhortation to take attendance or reminder that we needed to be on campus—and our candle was blown out. Then began initiatives of self-care.

The pandemic was a radicalizing moment (for those with privilege). Everyone else knew that we were all overworked and treading water in a system that used our labor while rarely ever implementing our knowledges. The turn toward self-care was also a turn toward coalition, initiating the privileged into the undercommons, into fugitivity. In an interview included at the end of Harney and Moten's (2013) *The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning and Black Study*, Moten explains that pandemic (in this case) coalitions "emerge[d] out of your [the privileged] recognition that it's fucked up for you, in the same way that we've already recognized that it's fucked up for us. I don't need your help. I just need you to recognize that this shit is killing you, too, however much more softly, you stupid motherfucker" (p. 140). The pandemic wasn't when things got bad; it showed us just how bad it's been for a long time. For some of us, that's an indictment. But, it's also a way forward.

It's not like burnout is new. Before 2020, we'd all seen or felt varying degrees of burnout. Why are we talking about it now? Why is self-care/us-care/we-care important now? Undoubtedly the sheer ubiquitousness.⁴ But the implication, at least institutionally, is that when a few people struggle, it's just a thing that happens sometimes, but when everyone struggles, it's worth an initiative. The silent ellipsis is that institutional care or mental health programs aren't about care but are about continuity. (For some of us, that's an indictment. But, it's also a way forward.) Actual mutual aid and carework is a fugitive act.

FUGITIVE Administrative Rhetorics as Theoretical Apparatus

The thoughts and views expressed here are our own and do not represent the views of our employer.

Fugitivity begins with a recognition that the US University is, administratively, an institution of statecraft that replicates racial capitalism and insulates it from insurgency. The good news is that there is no escape. No position to which to withdraw that does not require accountability to modes of accumulation and domination. Ideological purity? In this economy?! We might as well keep our jobs. The question is not (only) what *other, more just* society could the University produce, but what is the way forward *from here*? How do we work with the knowledge that our labor supports an institution that produces social injustice? If carework, including social justice work, is co-opted by the University, how do we move forward without becoming hopeless, giving into cynicism, and selling out?

Fugitivity is a kind of double consciousness, and Fugitive Administrative Rhetorics is the practice of administering a shadow program within the official one. The underlying apparatus that allows Fugitive Administrative Rhetorics to function is a capacity for strategic decision-making about when to resist institutional formalization. Don't write everything down. Meet, instead, in empty classrooms, offices, and across picnic tables and talk, scheme, connive. This is a direct contradiction to the writing program's instinct to survive. It feels counterintuitive to how we build things. One of our discipline's threshold concepts is that "our identities are the ongoing, continually under-construction product[s] of our participation" in discourse communities and that our writing is "about becoming a particular kind of person, about developing a sense of who we are" (Roozen, 2015, p. 51) or perhaps a particular kind of writing program. If mutual aid was about program building, then certainly, "producing public documents [is] one enactment of this productive theorizing [program building], as one way of materializing the program and bearing witness to the breadth of the activity system it represents-past, present, and future" (Charlton et al., 2011, p. 143). Documentation and policymaking are designed to render the writing program within the institution, to help justify its value and purpose, and to describe its scope of existence (e.g., a writing program that partners with the library and the writing center and the learning center is an active and enmeshed program, and projects, symposia, papers, presentations, and policies help describe and define those relationships).

But mutual aid isn't exactly program-building work. It also definitely is. Just not how we normally think about program building. There is programmatic building space in the undercommons that doesn't get formalized in the same way student learning objectives and annual peer review and curriculum "[bear] witness to the breadth of the activity system" (Charlton et al., 2011, p. 143) of the writing program. Why not simply make it a part of the writing program's stated goals and objectives? Why not put everything public-facing and in writing? In fact, Roozen (2015), explaining how writing and identity are connected, argues that "writing serves as a key means by which we act with and come to understand the subject matter [of a discourse community, person, rhetorical ecology, etc.] . . . as well as the beliefs, values, and interests they reflect" (p. 51). Why wouldn't we want our programs to be overtly associated with care and community? (We do though. This is difficult.)

What we don't want is to create nonperformatives. In the summer of 2020, many organizations, universities, and even writing programs published (sometimes on a website but usually on social media) statements in support of the ongoing protests and against police violence. DEI statements were a focus for the summer and fall of 2020 as well. What did those statements accomplish? Sara Ahmed calls such statements nonperformatives that "work' precisely by not bringing about the effects that they name" (105). How many statements were followed by scholarship programs, housing initiatives, holistic changes to affirming and linguistically inclusive curriculum, and other document-worthy policies and partnerships? There were some. As many as there were statements?

Carework is often gendered, exploited, and co-opted by the University. During the pandemic, faculty, particularly women and faculty of color, burnt themselves out trying to fill the gap in mental health support for struggling students (Chronicle of Higher Education, 2020). Carework, like antiracism, has been taken up as a nonperformative. Mutual aid is always vulnerable to co-optation. Mutual aid within a state institution is especially vulnerable.

When we cite Inoue's boycott of CWPA in *WPA: Writing Program Administration*, who is co-opting whom?

The answer is discomforting.

We have to remember that "we are never outside the networked interconnection of forces, energies, rhetorics, moods, and experiences . . . [and] our practical consciousness is never outside the prior and ongoing structures of feeling that shape the social field" (Edbauer Rice, 2005, p. 10) of the rhetorical ecologies in which we work and live. Our United Statesian social field is marked by corrupt and harmful abuses of power, entrenched in systems of domination. Whatever statements or policies we write operate within these structures.⁵ We are drawn to formalizing things, maybe, because it's evidence of the work we're doing and notable on annual reviews and end-of-year program reports, and writing programs are constantly on the move justifying their existence. But, Moten speaking with Harney (2013) again:

It's funny, this ubiquity of policy making, the constant deputisation of academic laborers into the apparatuses of police power. And they are like night riders, paddy rollers, everybody's on patrol, trying to capture the ones who are trying to get out—especially themselves, trying to capture their own fugitivity. That's actually the first place at which policy is directed. (p.120)

We want to make change and to do good (we hope that's the core readership, anyway). As WPAs, however, we embody strange precarities, both representing and never fully representing students, faculty, upper administration, or even ourselves. Our own future professional goals (dean? provost? president?) further muddle how and why we work. We are employed in the system and trying to change the system, but the "possibility of change is muted by the fact [that we are] interpellated with the dominant ideology. Actions oriented toward change will tend to be conducive to power maintenance rather than to its removal" (McKerrow, 1989, p. 94). Muted, not destroyed. Change is possible but it's counter to the institutional and United Statesian hegemony. We have to be careful, most of all, not to confuse our fugitive labor with however the institution has deputized us into authority. The labor of authority is policy making and ensuring that policy is followed (even good policy involves supervision). Those approved and sanctioned policies will generally work for the institution and not against it, and policy-ensuring (perhaps it's worth coining a portmanteau, "polic/ ing"?) is a state action. What happens if care and policy are at odds? Is the WPA an institutional agent or a fugitive operative?⁶

Is it possible for *us*, three white/white-passing faculty, to engage in fugitivity without appropriating Black liberation on behalf of the University? The answer is discomforting.

A commitment to fugitivity is a commitment to building a third university within the first. In la paperson's (2017) formulation, "The first world university accumulates through dispossession. The second world university 'liberates' through liberalism. The third world university breaks faith from its own machinery by inspiriting the academic automaton with a fourth world soul" ("A Third University Exists," para. 6). Like Moten and Harney's undercommons, the third university exists within the first and second and is "made up of their scrap material" (la paperson, "A Third University Exists," para. 20). Fugitivity is creating from the material and ideological resources of the University machines for decolonization and just ways of being together. It is not a utopian project of decolonizing the University but a pragmatic, imperfect project of creating a decolonizing university. Fugitive Administrative Rhetorics are strategic, kairotic experiments in building justice machines from the time, energy, materials, and rhetorics of an unjust institution. It is the ability to discover in any particular case the available means of liberation.

FUGITIVITY IN MOTION

The activity that counters policy, according to Harney and Moten (2013), is planning, and planning is hope (p. 73-82). While policies are laws on the books, planning is the passed word. Policy will come after planners, eventually, to formalize participation and capitalize hope (and by doing so reframe the planning-participation-hope into an institutional structure). Fugitive Administrate Rhetorics, though, are always planning again, inventing, experimenting, and revising.

Heuristic pre-requisite: a commitment to invention and experimentation.

Heuristic: Fugitive Administrative Rhetorics of mutual aid has (at least) three co-occuring strands, none particularly more important than the next.

The limitations of the page might suggest an order or hierarchy, but these items essentially happen together.

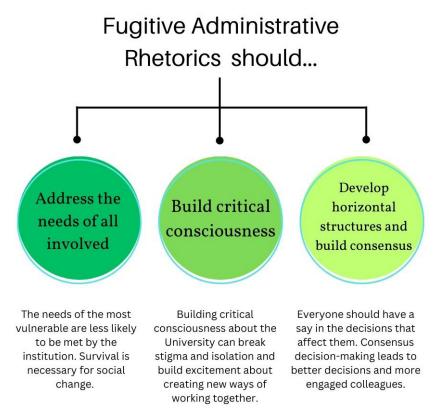


Figure 1. Components of Fugitive Administrative Rhetoric

What might this actually look and feel like? What are the avenues, and how do we plan so that it's not just possible but likely that a mix of lecturers, WPAs, and tenure-track faculty can find themselves vulnerable at a picnic table outside a local coffee spot? We offer our attempts not as a model but as an invitation to experiment. Our project began as a relatively simple question: How do we get to the other side of pandemic burnout? The first coffee confab was snarky, sarcastic, depressed, funny, mournful, and tiring. But it was not cheerfully fake. Something began in the honesty. It's still developing and hard to name. As we shared our work-in-progress with our writing program colleagues, who spoke in hushed tones about their own feelings of inadequacy, exhaustion, depression, and cynicism, we realized the need for a space of recognition, a space of creating and making that was outside the surveillance of the University. For us, this has taken shape in a series of moments and experiences that make us feel valued, supported, and as though not being okay is not a personal fault. We are beginning to whisper about where to lay the blame.

Survival

This shit is killing us all, remember? There's no one way this looks. And it's not as though mutual aid is labor-free. To provide for or support another's survival is work. Crucial to mutual aid, however, is reciprocity (though not necessarily person-to-person). Fugitivity is incurring debt and never quite paying it in full. You can never pay in full. We all get help when we need it and provide it when we can. Sometimes it looks like travel pub Fridays, where we all show up at someone's house after work and chat about nothing and everything. Sometimes it means covering a class last-minute or leaving a bottle of hand sanitizer on a classroom desk that doesn't have any. Maybe it's a monthly venting session. It could be paying for a meal or literally buying groceries. We can't do anything if we don't survive.

Critical Consciousness

In the University but not of the University. Understanding how colonialism, land acquisition, languaging, white supremacy, capitalism (and so much more) work within the University and the state and the United States and how we (un)consciously support those systems is essential for understanding our own fugitivity and the fugitivity of those around us. It's hard work, too. It can be emotional or cognitively dissonant. Building a critical consciousness can cause us to mourn the time it took to develop it. We are indebted to Maya Angelou: "Do the best you can until you know better. Then when you know better, do better." She doesn't absolve us of our former selves, but she makes space for the identities we can step into while also reminding us to always do better.

From our position as faculty and lower administration, it's natural to focus on pedagogy and curriculum as the University's primary ideological front. But raising critical consciousness among faculty means, in addition, laying bare the history of the University's mode of accumulation. Regardless of what or how we teach, the University continues to occupy a central role in racial capitalist regimes of accumulation. With the Morrill Act, for example, states were not only given recently appropriated Indigenous land for the purpose of building campuses. States were also encouraged to sell tracts of this land to build capital for these new universities (la paperson, "Land," para. 3). What the University does as a colonizing machine is not only about syllabuses and classroom management. It isn't even the half of it.

One way we operationalized building critical consciousness was by coopting our professional development (PD) programming. We were required to develop PD for the year. Large-group PD was often slow and tedious and impersonal. We redesigned PD to be small group and led by faculty. Each semester, six topics were offered, and each session was capped at ten people. From book studies (so far we've had faculty lead studies on April Baker-Bell's Linguistic Justice: Black Language, Literacy, Identity, and Pedagogy; Lisa King, Rose Gubele, and Joyce Rain Johnson's Survivance, Sovereignty, and Story: Teaching American Indian Rhetorics; and Jonathan Malesic's The End of Burnout: Why Work Drains Us and How to Build Better Lives) to special topics in pedagogy, writing studies, or educational technology, faculty self-selected what to attend. The goal of this small group professional development was to develop proficiency, sure (that's the University objective), but also to create small enclaves of discussion, challenge, and support. Every session was developed through frames of antiracist pedagogy, affirming languaging, personal growth, and responsibility.

Horizontal Organization

Of the three of us, only one is a WPA from the University's perspective. Yet all of us participate in the administering of our writing program through (still unevenly) shared decision making. Against the default practices of hierarchy within the University, Fugitive Administrative Rhetorics engage in building a horizontal organization that distributes decision-making in and responsibility for the writing program. For us, this means orienting toward consensus and ensuring that those most impacted by decisions are centered in making them.

For example, our writing program has recently begun revising our student learning outcomes (SLOs). Our goal is to update our SLOs every five years to ensure they are progressive, equitable, and inclusive. In the past, SLO writing was obscure. They just sort of showed up. But in 2017 and then again in 2022, we revised our SLOs with the goal of being more transparent and to have greater lecturer representation. All faculty who taught in the writing program were invited to participate in deliberation about the future of the program, but only lecturers were invited to make the decisions. Tenured and tenure-track faculty at our institution have less investment in the writing program because they have more opportunities to teach a variety of courses outside the program and more institutional protection and entitlement to depart from established programmatic norms when they do teach first-year writing. But consensus is hard. It takes a long time. It requires training and practice. It is at odds with the University's culture of scarcity, particularly labor scarcity. We must plan and pace our work in accordance with our collective abilities and capacities (Spade, 2020, p. 70). It takes as long as it takes (and it took eighteen months, but it was a fulfilling eighteen months).

THE SILENT ELLIPSIS

Dean Spade (2020) reminds us that "disasters are ruptures" (p. 31) and that we must intentionally sustain the lessons of the COVID-19 pandemic: racial capitalism and other forms of domination continue to create asymmetrical vulnerabilities, and the University is an institution invested in the maintenance of racial capitalism. Fugitive Administrative Rhetorics is not exactly a solution. It's not a straightforward path fully free from statecraft. This essay will be included in our annual reviews and pass through the administrative levels of accounting (not accountability) for the labor that it contributes to the University's accumulation of knowledge, publications, and prestige. Rather than an outright incursion against the University, Fugitive Administrative Rhetorics steal away in the neglected surplus of the institution, patiently tinkering with new forms of relationality, epistemology, and habitus in order to bring forth the otherwise. It is not utopian, it is not unproblematic, it is not revolutionary. But it works at building capacity for revolution.

We'll leave you with this: perfectionism is a byproduct of the scarcity and competitive logics of the University. Perfectionism siphons collective care in service of ego's anxieties. What we pose here is a struggle, not a respite from the exhaustion of the pandemic. But you must survive. Mutual aid is sustained by sustaining ourselves and each other, extending grace, and recognizing that none of us knows what a just university truly looks like or how one is built. As long as we are committed to the cause and actually accountable to each other, then imperfection and limited capacity are okay. What is worse is letting the fear of fucking up keep us from acting on our obligation to the lessons of the pandemic.

We return to the intersectional phenomenon of the pandemic, of climate change, of police violence and the state-sanctioned murder of Black and Brown people across the United States, of gerrymandering, and of stolen rights. We return to being burned out and overwhelmed. We return to and turn over the shit that's killing all of us. What is the way forward? Debt to the undercommons. This time from Assata Shakur (1973): It is our duty to fight for our freedom.

It is our duty to win.

We must love each other and support each other.

We have nothing to lose but our chains.⁷

Notes

1. For more on carework, community building, and the emotional labor of WPAs, see Wooten, Courtney Adams, Babb, Jacob, Murray Costello, Kristi, & Navickas, Kate. (2020). *The things we carry: Strategies for recognizing and negotiat-ing emotional labor in writing program administration*. Utah State University Press.

2. This entire article is a work in defining fugitive/fugitivity in administrative and rhet-comp/first-year writing contexts. But you already know what it is. It's the impulse to do something good while enmeshed within the persistent colonizing structures of the University. It's the activist instinct to remake the University while earning its wages. It's a third space speakeasy—the "undercommons" (Harney & Moten, 2013)—where the real but unauthorized work of a university finds sanction.

3. We are a white tenure-track rhet-comp faculty member, a white "quasi-WPA" (Hollinger & Borgman, 2020), and a white-passing Latina writing program lecturer.

4. The most energetic person you know is burned out (and if they're "not," it's because they're still in the shame-bluff stage . . . the more energy someone had, the longer the bluff period).

5. And this is not an argument not to write diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) statements or not to be vocally against police brutality. It's a reminder that these artifacts can be used by inequitable power structures as evidence that work is being done, however slowly (McNair, Bensimon, & Malcolm-Piqueux, 2019). The things we make can sometimes work simultaneously for and against social justice.

6. This one isn't for us to answer here or ever. This one's on you.

7. Nicknamed "Assata's Chant," this quote from Assata Shakur (1973) is often used in street protests, particularly in the Black Lives Matter movement.

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