ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation:	COMBATTING WHITE SUPREMACY ON CAMPUS: RACIALIZED COUNTER-MEMORY AND STUDENT PROTESTS IN THE 21st CENTURY
	Alyson Farzad-Phillips, Doctor of Philosophy, 2022
Dissertation directed by:	Associate Professor Kristy Maddux, Department of Communication

Over the past two decades, we have witnessed an abundance of student protests at colleges and universities in the United States. Many of these protests cluster around the issues of white supremacy and anti-Black racism as they function in higher education settings—issues that have historically and contemporarily plagued United States colleges and universities. In this project, I analyze the arguments produced by college student protestors during race-based controversies at the University of Missouri, the University of Maryland, and the University of Georgia between 2015 and 2020. In each of these cases, college student activists have addressed racist cultures, actions, and policies upheld by their white peers, faculty, and university leadership. The student protest discourses developed during these controversies illuminate a theory of racialized counter-memory, which I define and elaborate throughout each chapter. Racialized counter-memory, as a rhetorical concept, brings

together scholarship concerned with race, memory, and place/space, and it is best understood as public memory that centers race and racialized experiences in a way that counters dominant or institutional memory and promotes an anti-racist perspective. This study shows how racialized counter-memories—and the students that create, negotiate and circulate them—can combat the challenges of hegemonic white supremacy on college campuses by making white supremacy known, by marking racism's existence on campus, and by envisioning anti-racist solutions. I also illustrate the ways in which students' use of racialized counter-memory re-constituted the places and spaces of campus towards anti-racist ends, such as redistributing campus resources, constructing memory sites, and altering town-and-gown relations. Overall, this dissertation analyzes specifically how and in what way college students demonstrated the power of racialized counter-memory, in theory and in practice. I posit that rhetorical scholars should further develop and study racialized counter-memory, enacted in anti-racist protests and social change, as a rhetorical lens that can address and combat the assumed white standpoint and white supremacist systems imbedded in U.S. institutions and landscapes, including higher education institutions and their campuses.

COMBATTING WHITE SUPREMACY ON CAMPUS: RACIALIZED
COUNTER-MEMORY AND STUDENT PROTESTS IN THE 21st CENTURY

by

Alyson Farzad-Phillips

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
2022

Advisory Committee:
  Associate Professor Kristy Maddux, Chair
  Professor Shawn J. Parry Giles
  Associate Professor Carly S. Woods
  Associate Professor Damien Smith Pfister
  Professor Jessica Enoch

Dedication

To Brooklyn.

I always said that I would *never* write a dissertation with a baby on my lap.

Never have I been more delighted to be wrong.

Acknowledgements

I could spend a lifetime acknowledging everyone and everything that made this dissertation possible. But I will be brief, despite the fact that such brevity will inevitably leave some gaps in my written acknowledgements. First, to my husband, who has been forced to read absolutely wretched drafts of my research for over five years, who has comforted me when I cried from the stress of my doctoral journey, who has celebrated my accomplishments and helped me balance life during this final leg of the doctoral journey with our infant daughter, I have nothing but eternal gratitude. To my family, I thank you for weathering the five years I spent away from you all while I pursued this PhD. It was never my intention to move so far away, but I am so thankful to finally be back in proximity of your loving arms. To my dad, specifically, for "giving me your brain," and my mom, for giving me your management skills. I am so grateful to be your daughter. To my advisor, Dr. Kristy Maddux, I am thankful not only for your scholarly and professional support, but also for having you as a role model for what real compassion, balance, and effort looks like as an academic mom. I am your biggest fan, and I have learned so much as your advisee, teaching assistant, and colleague. Words do not do justice for how much I am indebted to you for your time and attention and grace. To the UMD grad-student cohort who got me through coursework, comprehensive exams, various defenses, and the incessant cycling of panic/drudgery that can characterize dissertation writing—especially Skye de Saint Felix, Matthew Salzano, Victoria Ledford, and Nora Murphy—I have y'all to thank for my sanity and for a true understanding of what academic comradery should look and feel like. To my students, past and future, I am

so thankful for the opportunity to learn collaboratively alongside you, as I irrevocably support your development and challenge your thinking.

And finally, thank you to The Black Keys, Glass Animals, and Taylor Swift for being the vibe check I needed while writing alone, from home, for hours and days and months, during a global pandemic.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction: The Histories and Memories of White Supremacy on Campus and at Large

> "**We did not forget** the events of July 1967, where police violently threw Black community members to the ground after attempting to break up a fight downtown, where Black people were denied the right to ride the bus back to North Minneapolis, and where four white boys beat a Black boy while police watched. **We will not forget** the events of 1989, where a botched SWAT raid which resulted in the deaths of Black Elders Lillian Weiss and Lloyd Smalley and the brutal arrest of Black youth at Embassy Suites downtown. **We will not forget** the murder in 1990 of Tycel Nelson, who was killed by Officer Daniel May who was then awarded for this fatality. We will not forget the murder of Courtney Williams who was shot by Minneapolis police in 2004. **We will not forget** the murder of unarmed Jamar Clark in 2015, who was killed when officers responded to a 911 call in North Minneapolis. **And we will not forget** the murder of George Floyd who was suffocated to death by Officers on May 25th 2020 amidst a global pandemic. **We will never forget** George Floyd, Philando Castile, Jamar Clark, and the countless lives that have been lost senselessly and needlessly at the murderous hands of police brutality. May you Rest in POWER."[1]

Jael Kerandi, a Black woman and the 2019-2020 undergraduate student government president at the University of Minnesota, penned this argument in response to the murder of George Floyd by the Minneapolis Police Department (MPD) on May 25, 2020. Invoking the memory of police violence against Black people in the Twin Cities area, Kerandi addressed the University of Minnesota's President, Joan Gabel, to, "DEMAND that the University of Minnesota Police Department ceases any partnerships with the Minneapolis Police Department *immediately*."[2] In the letter, Kerandi delineates multiple incidents of anti-Black violence perpetuated by the

Minneapolis police over the span of fifty years. In doing so, she not only provides evidence that the death of George Floyd was not a one-off incident by a singular "bad cop," but she also narrates a collective memory of injustice that alters the racialized landscape of the Twin Cities. "We will not forget," rings over and over again as both a calling and a warning. Overall, the use of public memory in her letter transforms the narrative of George Floyd's individual death to a larger issue of police violence as systemic and historic, and it also reminds audiences that this memory will be enduring. This memory will demand systemic change. Hours after Kerandi's published her letter, which was subsequently signed by hundreds of faculty, staff, student and alumni, Gabel announced that the university would be terminating some contracts with the MPD, specifically citing the end of MPD support for large events and suspending the use of MPD specialized services.[3]

Kerandi's activism on behalf of her university is but one of many recent examples of the ways in which racialized memories contest and alter the landscape of higher education institutions. In recent years, we have seen other examples of student activism and institutional responses that engage in public (counter-)memory regarding race and racism. For instance, students at the University of Missouri organized as #ConcernedStudent1950 in 2015. The organization's name and main arguments highlighted the short history of integration of Mizzou, reshaping the public memory of "racial progress" on campus as they advocated for racial change at an institutional level.[4] Similarly, students from the University of North Carolina protested the Silent Sam confederate statue in 2018 and 2019. They cited the university's history of benefiting from the labor of enslaved people and pointed to

histories of white supremacy in order to publicly reconstruct campus memory and to illuminate the university's relationship to and protection of the Silent Sam statue on (and off) campus.[5] In a decade that will almost certainly be remembered for national racial justice protests and dialogues—student activists are also engaging in this movement, using public memory as a key argumentative source for reshaping their campuses.

But racialized counter-memories are not always evoked to the same effect and do not always lead to the immediate desired institutional changes. At the University of Maryland (UMD), the murder of a Bowie State University (BSU) student Second Lieutenant Richard Collins III by UMD undergraduate student Sean Urbanski on campus the early morning of May 20, 2017 remained a controversial subject for years.[6] The controversy revolved around how the UMD community named and remembered the murder—an issue of public memory. Urbanski's involvement in alt-right online communities and his unprovoked stabbing of Collins, a Black man he had never met, raised the question of plausible hate-crime persecution, or whether the murder would be classified as hate-motivated. Contested arguments over the apparent hate crime came to head when, first, the FBI refused to investigate it as a hate crime on the federal level and, second, when the Prince George's County Court dismissed the hate crime charge due to "lack of evidence."[7] Others, especially BSU and UMD students, however, have argued that to remember Lt. Collins III's death as anything but a modern-day lynching is to disgrace the memory of this horrific incident.[8] For over three years, the leadership at UMD had yet to formally memorialize Lt. Collins III's death; however, an informal, unofficial memorial continues to mark off the bus

stop where his murder occurred. The university bus stop location has been moved and the original bus stop shelter includes a hand-written sign that says, "This is not a bus stop. This is a scene of a murder."[9] This counter-memorial unveils the racial violence that marks the physical place on campus, transforming a supposedly neutral space—a university bus stop—to a racially charged one. The unofficial memorial likewise calls to attention the failure of the administration to sign or mark the university's memorialization of the hate-motivated lynching of Lt. Collins III.

While the case at the University of Maryland may seem rare, racism and racial violence marks every college campus in the United States. Race, racism, and especially anti-Blackness has affected how our campuses our built, who has been allowed on campus, and who feels as though they belong. Hundreds of colleges and universities were founded under the conditions of slavery and were built, at least in part, by enslaved peoples.[10] Countless more colleges and universities specifically and profoundly blocked the admittance and enrollment of Black students through the better half of the 20th century.[11] And today, many institutions of higher education continue to struggle with issues of diversity and inclusion, with many state flagship universities still showing single digit percentages for Black student enrollment.[12] In short, anti-Black racism is inextricably woven into the fabric of U.S. college campuses. On these physical campuses, both the material and the rhetorical conditions collide and illustrate racism as both a contemporary issue and a historic evil perpetuated since the founding of higher education in the United States. From buildings named after white supremacists, to hate-crime incidents perpetuated by students, to erasures of Black narratives, to harmful policies that target Black people

on campus, the conditions of campus continue to be unequivocally marked by anti-Black racism.

As an undergraduate student in the early 2010s, a master's student from 2014-2016, and as a doctoral student at the end of the decade, I have lived, worked, and experienced university campuses and the racial tensions, reckonings, and movements that mark this decade. I distinctly remember walking through Tate Plaza at the University of Georgia during a silent die-in protest in response to Trayvon Martin's murder in 2012. I participated in several student protests in 2015 at Vanderbilt University in support of my Black, Latinx, and Asian students who I mentored as a graduate assistant in the Center for Social Justice and Identity. And at the end of my first year at the University of Maryland as a Communication PhD student, Lt. Collins III was murdered only a couple hundred yards from where I studied and taught. In the years to follow, I would protest the administration's handling of not only Lt. Collins III' death but also the death of Jordan McNair, a Black UMD student and football player who died under the supervision of his coaching staff. As a white-passing, Middle Eastern American student and scholar, I have seen and been deeply disturbed by the effects of racism and racial violence on multiple campuses. Therefore, it is with an explicit and profound commitment to anti-racism that I turn to analyze and amplify the ways in which students have tirelessly toiled to make campus a safer, more equitable space for all, and especially Black students.

Many scholars and practitioners have described the 21st century, especially the 2010s, as "a renaissance of student activism" in reference to the particularly active contestations between students and university officials that have occurred across the

nation and in all types of higher education institutions. Over the past twenty years, students protested the war and occupation of the Middle East and have participated in Occupy Wall Street protests. They contested non-sustainable and harmful environmental practices on campus and have advocated for stronger sexual assault policies and grievances. And they raised their voices over issues of racism.[13] In the fall 2014 alone, Angus Johnston, a history scholar specializing in student activism, tracked over 160 student protests that took place—a majority of them focused on issues of race and racism both on and off campus.[14] Combatting racism on campus has become a particularly salient and profound focus of student movements over the second half of the 2010's, as Millennial and Gen-Z students grappled with the concerted national attention on police brutality against Black people and the systemic racism in institutions across the United States, including higher education. The proliferation of Black student-led campaigns such as "I, Too, Am Harvard," (Harvard University, 2014), "Concerned Student 1950" (University of Missouri, 2015), and "HU Resist" (Howard University, 2018) have illustrated and contested the legacies of racism that exist in all types of institutions—from Ivy League schools, to land grant universities, and even historically Black colleges and universities (HBCU).

What links many of these student-led social movements is the heavy involvement of racialized counter-memories. "Racialized memory" or "racial cultural memory" is an interdisciplinary concept, especially used in qualitative research. And it remains a key idea that is often discussed, but not defined, in rhetorical studies. Jamie Shultz, a kinesiologist who studies racial politics and cultural memory, defined racialized memory as "a communal form of remembering imbued with racial

meaning."[15] Kefferelyn Brown in *Race, Gender, and Class* defined racial cultural

memory as those where "race and racism is *the* narrative that is defined by the

architects of history."[16] Building on these definitions, I define racialized memories as

public memory narratives or arguments that illuminate, reveal, or center race or

racism as central to the memory's meaning. A racialized memory is "counter" when it

contests or opposes a traditional narrative or dominant meaning. Bradford Vivian

defines counter-memories as subverting, transforming, and disrupting the dominant

meaning of a particular public memory.[17] Therefore, in the context of student

protests, I argue that student activists engage in racialized counter-memories when

they counter the race-neutral or racism-hidden histories of higher education

institutions; instead student protestors highlight a public memory that centers race and

racism, and typically from an anti-racist, anti-white supremacy perspective.

In a moment of concerted anti-racist student activism, in a decade rife with

national controversies and discussions about racism, it is imperative that we pause

and seek to understand the significance of racialized counter-memory as a rhetorical

force. This dissertation aims to understand, in the context of recent (2015-2020)

student protests in the United States, how students create, negotiate, and circulate

racialized memories to confront legacies of white supremacy and (re)constitute space

and place on campus. In other words, I seek to understand how students combat

institutional forms of remembering on campus by transforming public memories with

racialized counter-memories. I will focus on student movements that address anti-

Black racism on campus, specifically. At the intersections of race, memory, and

7

space/place, this dissertation elucidates the complex relationship between memory, activism, and space/place through the subject of racial justice activism on campus.

The Institutionalization and Resistance of White Supremacy in Higher Education

Universities are racists institutions. This fact has been argued by BIPOC communities in a cacophony of voices and evidence. Since the inception of U.S. higher education, a profound and specifically anti-Black racism has colored the way that the university functions, serves, and educates for the public good. Similarly, since its inception, higher education institutions have faced resistance by students who envision a different way of being. Some of these moments of student protest have focused explicitly on addressing anti-Blackness in the academy. In what follows, I delineate the immense history and contemporary function of white supremacy in higher education. I also explicate the history of anti-racist resistance led by students over the centuries. Overall, what I demonstrate is the many ways that white supremacy has been institutionalized in colleges and universities, and how student disruptions, activism, and resistance constitute means to destabilize the structures of white supremacy on their campuses.

Founding Through Mid-20th Century

Unquestionably, the founding and early years of the colonial and U.S. colleges and universities both benefited from and bolstered the economic force of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Thorough research has been done in this area of history, as Craig Steven Wilder has articulated in *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities* that, when it came to "the economic and social

8

forces that transformed West and Central Africa through the slave trade and devastated indigenous nations in the Americas," "the academy was a beneficiary and defender of these processes."[18] Indeed, not only were U.S. colonial colleges founded on the premise of securing colonial interests—including the profitable slave trade—they also actively used the labor of enslaved people to "raise buildings, maintain campuses, and enhance their institutional wealth."[19] Wilder claimed that many U.S. campuses stand "as a silent monument to slavery."[20] At the University of North Carolina, after a ceremony laying the first stone on campus, the rituals and symbols of Freemasonry were celebrated. However, "once the ceremonies concluded, black laborers filled the area to begin constructing the university."[21] At the University of Virginia—commonly known as Thomas Jefferson's intellectual monument—enslaved people were foundational to the campus's construction.[22] It cost the university more than $1000 per year to hire and outfit dozens of enslaved people from their enslavers.[23] And in the northern colonial campuses, "little places named for forgotten black people" mark university spaces and their college towns.[24] For instance, Pomps Pond outside of Boston was named by a freed black man, formerly enslaved by a Harvard alumni, even though the university officially traces that history differently.[25] "Campus folklore and places record the story of slavery in college towns," Wilder argued; "These local legends and landscapes are a diary of the long, intimate association between the academy and slavery."[26] However, Wilder also reminds us that the "relationship between colleges and slavery was not limited to the presence of slaves on campus"; in addition, the U.S. colonial colleges produced knowledges and

purported ideologies that supported and legitimated the African slave trade and advanced white supremacy.[27]

The early colonial colleges—including Harvard, William & Mary, and Princeton— were established as integral tools of colonization and imperialism as well as "instruments of Christian expansionism, weapons for conquest of indigenous peoples, and major beneficiaries of the African slave trade and slavery."[28] Harvard's founding was predicated on the spread of the Christian gospel to the Natives. Puritan ministers published about these happenings, claiming "the nascent college as a symbol of Christianity's success."[29] To help finance this Christian mission (at Harvard, but similarly in the other colonial colleges), colonial colleges relied on the trans-Atlantic African slave trade to subsidize the cost of running the educational institution.[30] Indeed, Wilder posited that "the birth of slavery in New England was also the dawn of slavery at Harvard."[31] The colony's first documented enslaved person served the Harvard campus and was enslaved by Nathaniel Eaton, the first faculty of Harvard.[1] In other words, early colonial colleges were not only tools of white supremacy, but they were beneficiaries in systems such as slavery and colonization.

The presence of and mistreatment of enslaved people became commonplace in the colonial and early U.S. colleges. For instance, Dartmouth College is noted to have

---

[1] Interestingly, Nathaniel Eaton was also a major source of first recorded instance of student rebellion in the college. According to Wilder, under Eaton's leadership, "students complained that they were regularly and severely beaten, their meals were either inedible or insufficient, the rooms were not cleaned, and the servants were recalcitrant and undisciplined." One night, when a student returned to his room to find Eaton's enslaved man sleeping in his dormitory bed, the student and his peers began to draw connections between their treatment as students and "compared their plights to that of the slave." Wilder, Craig Steven, *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities* (New York City: Bloomsbury Press, 2013), 30.

had more enslaved people working on campus than there were free people studying on campus in the late 18th century.[32] Wilder asserted that, "even on college campuses, slaveholders could not maintain the fiction of gentle or humane servitude. Violence undergirded bondage." Enslavers were anything but kind to their on-campus slaves, argued Catherine Adams and Elizabeth H Pleck, who pointed to "the record of slaves who were branded by their owners, had their ears nailed, fled, committed suicide, suffered the dissolution of their families, or were sold secretly to new owners in Barbados in the last days of the Revolutionary War before they became worthless."[33] Lives of the enslaved were also made more torturous by the students on campus. Wilder offered plentiful evidence for how students "often used enslaved people for amusements ranging from boxing to singing, dancing, and fiddling," and that, "college boys felt particularly entitled to terrorize slaves and servants."[34] For instance, there is record of students at King's College (now, Columbia University) and Williams College who would attack enslaved people by kicking, spitting on, and battering them.[35] At the University of North Carolina, during student rebellions against the college which commonly occurred in the early 19th century (a time that historian Steven Novak described as "really the first major wave of student revolt in American history"),[36] students would turn their riotous energy against the enslaved servants of the college, who would be assaulted and even fired upon.[37] As the presence of enslaved people because ubiquitous in colonial and early American colleges, so, too, did the records of abuse and mistreatment they faced.

In relation to the economics of the slave trade, early U.S. colleges financed their institutions—through enrollments, donations, and more—by "targeting" the

good graces (and pockets) of wealthy enslavers.[38] This was especially true of the next cohort of colonial colleges—including Columbia, Brown, and the University of Pennsylvania—as these colleges, according to Wilder, "relied upon the generosity of the colonial elite."[39] The estates of colleges were tied to enslavement—either through the lands decreed by the grants or via people who donated their lands.[40] For example, the College of Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania) campus was donated by Governor Thomas's Penn. His 250,000 acre estate had been built and worked on by enslaved Africans for decades.[41] Not only would enslavers provide lands for colleges, they would also fund campus endeavors. Enslavers funded departments and became endowed chairs, started scholarships, and made other gifts to the colleges; as such, "profits from the sale and purchase of human beings paid for campuses and swelled college trusts."[42] Wealthy enslavers would also serve as public trustees for colleges, making critical decisions for and on behalf of the colleges and allowing them to "leverage the slave economy" on campus.[43] The leadership and financing of these colonial colleges, therefore, were inextricably linked the wealth these merchant families procured through the lucrative business of enslavement and trading enslaved people. Consequently, the colleges became under some control of these families, as presidents of the colleges worked to stay in the good graces of these generous families.[44] Enrollment was another key financing concern for college presidents, and it was not uncommon for the college to act in service of the wealthy gentlemen who they recruited.[2] Wilder argued that, "the politics of the campus conformed to the

---

[2] In the colonial colleges, many of the students who performed such acts of resistance and rebellion typically hailed from affluent and notable families who knew they would be protected from expulsion, for the most part due to these connections. For example, Katherine Moore reports that the Harvard Bad Butter Rebellion of 1766 was led by the governor's son and targeted the board of overseers, who was

presences and demands of slave holding students as colleges aggressively cultivated a

social environment attracted to the sons of wealthy families."[45] Overall, as this

wealthy merchant and planter's class of enslavers became "the benefactors and

guardians of colonial society" though higher education, these same educational

institutions became even more integrally linked to the degradation of Black people

and the rising wave of U.S.-specific white supremacy.[46]

    In addition to universities being advised by slave-holding trustees, enslavers

also regularly became college presidents.[47] In addition to faculty, incoming presidents

"often brought enslaved people to campus or secured servants after their arrival."[48]

Wilder explicated the documentation of the exchange of people for and by college

presidents that "fills the historical records of American colleges."[49] For instance, the

first eight presidents at Princeton were enslavers. Even the president of Queens

College in New Brunswick was able to buy and own an enslaved person, despite the

serious financial issues at his school—the college closed only two years after he

secured a slave, and the college was closed for more than a decade.[50] The anecdote

illustrates the commonplace attitude of president's owning people, even at less

wealthy institutions. For college presidents, the ownership and use of enslaved people

during their tenure on campus remained, notably, mundane and accepted—at times

even desirable.

---

led by the governor. The student group was called "Boston Rakes and Blades" to indicate both their rowdy behavior and to identify them as sons of Boston's most wealthy families. Kathryn McDaniel Moore, "Freedom and Constraint in Eighteenth Century Harvard," in *History of Higher Education*, eds. L. F. Goodchild & H. Weschler, 2nd ed. Ashe Reader Series (Needham Heights: Simon & Schuster Custom Publishing, 1997), 110-111.

While the early U.S. colleges unequivocally benefited from the institution of slavery, the antebellum college often became a place that, in turn, benefited and justified the expansion of slavery. This often took place in the form of knowledge production. Wilder posited that students and scholars at U.S. colleges crafted "a science that generated broad claims to expertise over colored people and thrived upon unlimited access to nonwhite bodies."[51] This science was developed over time by those who considered themselves "race scientists." Early race scientists, studying in their colleges, believed their studies proved a single origin of all humans, thereby dealing a blow to multi-genesis argument that supported the subordination of the "inferior species" through enslavement. In fact, in the earlier decades of the 19th century, even southern scholars "routinely and vigorously debated slavery" using the evidence of early race scientists, according to Wilder.[52] For example, at the University of Georgia, student literary societies such as Phi Kappa and the Demosthenian Society took up the question of the morality of slavery on the basis of race science. Wilder claimed that "such exchanges were fairly common on southern campuses before the escalation of sectional tensions in the antebellum era." In 1828, the Phi Kappas determined slavery was "unjust" and in 1838 they concluded in favor of abolition.[53] However, while early race science offered some moralistic and scientific reasoning to question slavery, "the transition to a more focused scientific racism required not a leap but a casual step," argued Wilder.[54] Early race scientists would soon be drowned out by researchers who purported scientific differences in race through the field of anatomy and medicine. Indeed, as the field of medicine was institutionalized in higher education, enslavers began of sponsor the departments and

research, which in turn "brought science, particularly the human sciences, under the political and financial dominion of slave traders, owners, and their surrogates."[55]

Open and robust debate over the scientific and moral questions of slavery was weakened with the growing control that enslavers had over higher education due to their wealth and influence. As enslavers took control over the education of medicine and science through funding streams, they "distorted the knowable" and placed scientific education and discovery squarely in service for white supremacy.[56] Academic science, buckling under the pressure by pro-slavery funders, began to "discover" more evidence for poly- or multi-genism—a theory that purported that humans of different races had separate origins."[57] By separating the origin of the races and by illustrating anatomical difference between the races through cadaver inspection, college scholars allowed the production of a scientific verdict that defended enslavement and condemned Black people into what many colonists saw as justifiable subordination.[58] At the time, scholars at U.S. colleges had quite the platform to frame the national conversation about race. Wilder posited that, "the political struggles to decide the composition of the United States marked the first time that college professors and officers occupied the public sphere as an interested class."[59] In other words, college faculty were being asked to speak, based on their expertise, about race and slavery. And those who spoke on behalf of their research in science and medicine were often those also funded by enslavers and pro-slavery individuals—and likewise spoke about race differences in condemning and pro-slavery supporting ways.

In addition to the science and medicine fields, other scholars in antebellum colleges increasingly became "more reluctant to criticize slavery" in the decades leading up to the Civil War and as sectarianism deepened.[60] These sectarian lines were especially drawn between northern and southern colleges. Southern students stopped enrolling or withdrew from northern institutions. Concurrently, southern colleges "found a growing defensiveness about slavery and a rising insecurity about the migration of people and ideas into the South."[61] Students and their families at southern institutions became warry of their university's presidents and other leadership who hailed from northern states—for example, a faculty vote regarding a decision made by the University of Mississippi's northern-hailing president in 1859 found a divided faculty vote, with northern-based faculty supporting the president and southern-born faculty siding against.[62] Not only was there pressure by southern-born faculty, families, and students at southern institutions; but also, according to Wilder, "politicians, editors, and academics in the South urged the necessity of expanding the educational infrastructure [in] the region to defend slavery."[63]

While pro-slavery financial and political pressures were applied to many scholarly research areas and institutions, antebellum colleges also experienced the effect of the Second Great Awakening which encouraged many other scholars and students to grapple with the moral concerns of social reforms, including the topic of race, slavery, and abolition.[64] Wilder found that, "a lively antislavery discourse flowered on the young nation's campuses" in the wake of the religious revival.[65] However, the abolition discourse on campus was often limited to the conservative perspective of African colonization. College faculty and leadership viewed

16

colonization as "a compromise between the evangelical urge to solve the moral problem of slavery and the political and social rejection of a multiracial society."[66] The colonization sentiment was so strong amongst college faculty and leadership that we can assert that the American Colonization Society (ACS) gained much of its footing, power, and circulation on the antebellum U.S. campus. Wilder illustrated that by the 1830's, the American Colonization Society was present and active in 60% of the colleges in slavery-free states and 75% of colleges in New England and the Mid Atlantic.[67] The organization's control of the most established and oldest new England schools has also been reported.[68] And while the colonization sentiment was strong amongst those teaching and leading the university, the same cannot be said of the college students. Students, instead, tended to hold more radical abolitionist stances, which created tensions and conflicts on campus. ACS-organized administrators thought abolitionist student fervor to be dangerous and inappropriate, and they blamed abolitionist students for the factionalism and violence that descended from proslavery forces. Students, in turn, viewed their colonization-minded faculty as less progressive and limiting. For example, at Amherst College, the student chapter of the New England Antislavery Society was founded in direct response to the professors who organized a colonization chapter. Conflict at Amherst would intensify over the years, with faculty attempting to put an end to the chapter by barring abolitionist speakers on campus and placing restrictions on the student organization's recruitment and organizing procedures.[69] Overall, then, those with the power to make policy and oversee curriculum were, on many campus, the same individuals quelling calls for immediate emancipation.

The emancipation of enslaved people in 1863 and the building of a multi-racial society did little to curb white supremacist policies, actions, and frameworks from higher education. Instead, white supremacy simply evolved to address the question of Black education in a mixed-race society. Higher education for Black Americans had been all but impossible prior to emancipation—less than two dozen Black people received degrees before 1863.[70] Following the Civil War, however, Christian missionaries rushed to organize education for Black people. For these missionaries, Black colleges were "moralizing" spaces that engaged, according to Ibram X. Kendi, "classical academic curricula to school intellect, self-reliance, moral regeneration, Christian orthodoxy, and the tools for American citizenship."[71] These colleges would become known as Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU). Christian missionaries founded seventeen HBCUs between 1865 and 1867, many with the stated purpose to train teachers and preachers in order to uplift the alleged "moral degradation" of the Black race.[72] When not founded by Christian missionaries preoccupied with concerns regarding the moral order of Black bodies and souls, HBCUs were also founded by white industrialists who saw Black education as needing to become agricultural, mechanical, and manual labor training sites. These wealthy benefactors wanted to eliminate the classical curriculum established at early HBCUs, and instead create trained laborers "controlled by white capital."[73] Kendi argued that, "by 1900, capitalists and Christian missionaries marched in unity…, financing HBCUs in the name of civilization, progress, and moral growth, when their real aim had been to establish civilized racial order, progressive white supremacy, and capitalist growth."[74] Overall, then, even HBCUs—

which today are considered havens for Black culture and education—were created under the premise and guidance of white supremacy.

Historically Black colleges and universities did not just exist due to wealthy philanthropists or because of mere preference for the separate education for Black people; rather, HBCUs were often founded because the federal government mandated such. For example, the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1890 expanded upon the allowance of the historic 1862 act by giving each state funding to initiate a second land-grant college for Black students.[3] This resulted in the founding of 19 HBCUs that remain open today.[75] In addition to the Morrill Act establishing the legitimation of separate Black and white higher education institutions, the *Plessy v. Ferguson* 1896 Supreme Court verdict ultimately upheld legal racial segregation of all institutions—under the (il)logic of "separate but equal"—which included the higher education realm, and would continue to do so for over fifty years.[76] Segregation in higher education became commonplace, and, as such, a tool for not only "maintaining social order and stability but also as an effective way of preserving economic and political opportunities for themselves and their posterity," argued historian Robert A. Pratt.[77] Overall, segregation's utility in upholding white supremacy in higher education was bolstered and protected by the legal ramifications of federal practice and policy.

---

[3] According to the legal language, each state actually had the option of either (1) demonstrate that there was NOT a "distinction of race or color… made in the admission of students," or (2) establish and maintain a Black land-grant college. To fail to do either would result in the withholding of funding to the previously established land-grant institution. In other words, the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1890 sought to restrict racial discrimination in college admission but ultimately resulted in the establishment of separate Black and white institutions. 7 U.S. Code § 323. "Racial Discrimination by Colleges Restricted," (1890). https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/7/323

While the admission and enrollment of Black students were barred at several institutions in the first half of the 20th century, this restriction was not ubiquitous and Black students did, occasionally, find themselves at predominantly white institutions (PWI). However, early Black education at white colleges and universities was often characterized by isolation and segregation. Kendi explained that, "in the first few decades of the twentieth century, the stifling sense of isolation and segregation at [PWIs]… contributed to a low retention rate, as it would for decades."[78] For instance, at Cornell University, which allowed for the enrolment of Black students starting in 1869, none of the six students admitted in 1904 returned the following school year.[79] For the remaining Black men enrolled at Cornell, this exodus catalyzed the founding of Alpha Phi Alpha—the first Black Greek-letter organization—as a means to help the few Black students remaining at Cornell find brotherhood, solidarity, and strength to endure the isolation and segregation on campus.[80] Two more Black fraternities and sororities were founded at PWIs in the following years. And in the early years of the "divine nine"—called such for being the original nine Black fraternities and sororities in the United States—most of the intercollegiate growth was established at white colleges where, argued Kendi, "the need for social refuges and campus housing became vital in the early twentieth century."[81] In other words, the first instances of Black student organizing on predominantly white campuses came out of a need to survive the white supremacy that thrived on their campuses.

Higher education continued to feed and be fed by systems of anti-Blackness in more creative ways in the early-to-mid 20th century. Between 1918 and the 1950's, colleges began to introduce *numerus clausus* policies that limited the number of

students they would enroll based on their race or religion.[82] This policy predominantly targeted Jewish and Black students who could be denied admissions simply on the basis of race or religion. These quotas were especially damaging to World War II Black veterans who intended to take advantage of the higher education benefits the Servicemen's Readjustments Act of 1944—also known as the GI Bill— offered. According to the bill's language, veterans could receive up to four years of college tuition and housing, and, as a result, by 1947, veterans equaled nearly 50% of college students in the United States.[83] Black veterans, however, often found themselves shut out of these opportunities. Higher education historian Christopher Loss noted that, "racist college admissions systems largely prevented African-American veterans from enrolling in the nation's elite [white] schools."[84] Black veterans, therefore, turned to enroll at vocational schools or HBCUs; however, according to Kendi, "Black colleges experienced a roughly 25 percent increase in the fall of 1944, maxing out their space," which led to many rejections of interested veterans over the issue of institutional capacity.[85] Race-based quotas used to limit the number of Black students on campus would continue to be a tool of white supremacy in higher education until the *Regents of University of California v Bakke* 1978 Supreme Court case which nullified the use of racial quotas for the purpose of limiting enrollment and upheld the practice of affirmative action to support the admissions of minority applicants.[86]

Racial quotas were not the only admissions-based tool that white colleges and universities used to limit higher education opportunities for Black students; white universities were extremely creative in formulating policies and rationales to keep

Black students out. In the 1930's and 40's, graduate programs enrolled a handful of

Black students—for example, at the University of Maryland Law School.[87] But many

more graduate programs, like those at the University of North Carolina and the

University of Virginia, found creative avenues for ensuring racial segregation at their

institutions.[88] White universities reacted to Black student applications by offering

Black students scholarships to enroll elsewhere, by closing down programs upon the

admittance of a Black student, by dragging on court cases until students chose to

enroll elsewhere, and, at times, by even resorting to racial violence against the student

or legal persecutors.[89] These tactics were similarly applied for Black undergraduate

applicants. Even the Supreme Court decision handed down by the 1954 case of

Brown v Board of Education—which stated that public education institutions must

desegregate with "all deliberate speed"—did little to quell segregationist policies and

practices, especially in the deep south. Robert A. Pratt argued that the court decision

"did not signal societal acceptance of integration, but rather a declaration of war in

defense of segregation, and many battles would be fought on the nation's school

grounds and college campuses."[90] He elaborated on this backlash:

> "In the post-Brown era, racism and segregation had become principal
>
> themes in southern politics…. Some historians have argued that the
>
> most immediate effect of *Brown* was not to bring about an end to
>
> segregated classrooms, but to galvanize the opposition into make its
>
> last stand in defense of segregation…Clearly, there was a profound
>
> southern white backlash against *Brown* and the unification of this
>
> racial intransigence, known as 'massive resistance,' temporarily

destroyed racial moderation in the South and helped create a climate in

which racial fanaticism flourished."[91]

In many instances, this meant subverting the legal process with the support of the

state-level justice system.[92] For instance, in Georgia, legal cases for integration of

education no longer discussed race as a qualifying reason for excluding Black

students from admissions and enrollment; rather, Pratt argued, "Georgia lawmakers

and university officials, including the university chancellor and president, one after

another took the witness stand and swore under oath, as late as 1961, that race had

never been used to disqualify black applicants, despite the fact that none had ever

been admitted."[93] Instead, the officials pointed to other alleged factors, such as lack of

space in classes and dormitories as a safe, legal cover for their refusal to admit Black

students. In the southern states, individuals and groups who did support integration—

for example white college students or other white-led organizations—often faced

allegations of communist activity as an attempt to discredit these more progressive

voices within the state.[94] Overall, then, even in the face of legal mandates, many

colleges and universities clung to the culture of white supremacy that they had

moderated through segregation for decades. As the history has delineated, above, this

resistance to integration and a multi-racial campus for teaching and learning should

come as no surprise and be seen as merely a moment in the arc of anti-Black racism

that has permeated institutions of higher education.

Contemporary Struggles and Structure of White Supremacy

As we take stock of the historic ways in which colleges and universities have

sustained racist and violent acts, ideologies, and policies upon Black people, we must

also note how these legacies remain firmly in place within contemporary contexts, despite claims of post-racial equity and progress. "Old ideologies and tools for oppressing and marginalizing people of color are connected to newer strategies of repression and policing within universities," Dian Squire and her research team have argued.[95;4] Indeed, along with many higher education scholars, Squire and others have pointed to the ways in which white supremacy continues to engage people of color on campus for the past several decades. This includes theories of plantation politics, neoliberalism, neocolonialism and more.

Plantation politics refers to the current discourses, practices, and policies that follow similar patterns of control and exploitation as the historical plantation politics.[96] The characteristics of slave plantations institutionalized in the United States have been described by Thomas J. Durrant as (1) the import of Black bodies, (2) forced labor of Black people to increase economic wealth of white people, (3) a "social and labor hierarchy" (Squires et. al, 9) upon which Black people are at the bottom (4) a controlling and punitive form of governance (5) "slave and non-slave subsystems, represented by emerging social institutions such as family, economy,

---

[4] For example the racist pasts of many academic disciplines have contemporary consequences. Eric Herschtal argued that "if scholars are to continue researching slavery's ties to the universities, which they must, they need to pay closer attention not only to which universities profited from slavery, but what particular branches of knowledge within those universities gained from it."[4] For instance, if we believe, as Wilder posited that, "the medical profession and medical schools in colonial North America were founded on the bodies of the poor and subjected," we must consider how practices of the past— such as academic intellectuals treating diseased people of color as free "human curios" and students using collections of human bones (of people of color, typically enslaved and free Black people) to terrorize the campus and townspeople—affect the contemporary struggles and structures in STEM fields today. In other words, the medical and science fields within many universities was a home of an American brand of science that sought to prove the racial inferiority of Black and Native people. These are the same institutions that now judge admissions packets, admit, and serve Black and Native students. Herschthal, Eric. "The Missing Link: Conservative Abolitionists, Slavery, and Yale," History News Network, March 31, 2017. https://historynewsnetwork.org/article/165599; Wilder, Craig Steven, *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities* (New York City: Bloomsbury Press, 2013), 195.

education, politics, and religion"[97] and (6) a continually adaptive structure.[98] Squire argued that when comparing these characteristics to the racialized politics of college campuses today, "the parallels are incriminatory, and it is clear that plantation politics can serve as an apt framework from which to view the university."[99] Higher education institutions today engage in plantation politics in that it can be seen as a "neo-plantation," where "people of color, and particularly Black people, are exploited in various ways for economic gain at the sake of their humanity."[100]

Plantation politics truly come to life when we start to draw the connections between past and present institutional structures and practices. Perhaps the one element of contemporary higher education that connects most strongly with the theory of plantation politics is the need for Black bodies and Black labor "for recruitment purposes, to pay tuition, for rankings," and more.[101] For example, Black faculty are engaged as tools for diversity initiatives or to reach diversity quotas.[102] Black student athletes are treated as income generators who are too "amateur" to be paid; a system that Taylor Branch likened to contemporary colonial or plantation politics.[103] Black staff are given minimum or low wages to maintain the backbone of the day-to-day campus.[104] Or as Squire has argued, "put simply, the thousands of white people in senior administrative positions who run universities need Black people to attend and labor within their universities in order to stay open."[105] At the same time, however, the university does not serve those whose labor increases the economic wealth of the white institution, harkening the action back to the sociological structure of a plantation. While Black people on campus are not in a literal antebellum plantation, which socially controlled and financially owned Black

25

bodies, the parallels of plantation structures of the past and today cannot be ignored. Some policy parallels that Squire has named include, "over-regulation of spaces for marginal populations," "campuses, resources, publications, grants, and other normative university facilities that promote the plantation economy," "hierarchical control of university structure," "threatened adjudication of people of color," "removal of trouble-makers," and "militarization of campus police."[106] Overall, the need for Black presence on campus, Squire argued, "does not remove the negative mindsets with which many white people think about and treat Black people; nor does it necessarily generate the desire to create equitable, structural change."[107] As a result, Black people on campus must not only deal with the discourses, practices, and policies akin to plantation structures, but they must also face an explicit anti-Black mindset that views Black bodies as trouble, dangerous, at-risk and remedial.[108] Interrogating this anti-Blackness is integral to understanding how the contemporary university not only perpetuates plantation structures, but continues to produce anti-Black structural violence.

Anti-blackness has and continues to structure higher education as a neo-plantation. T. Elon Dancy II, and his research team, makes the distinction that anti-Blackness might not take place in the "physical insecurity" that marked historic plantations, but that "psychological and economic vulnerabilities persist," including "microaggressions, tokenism, impostorship, and racial battle fatigue."[109] These conditions of precarity point to the anti-Blackness ideology upon which higher education has been built. Michael J. Dumas defined anti-Blackness both broadly and in the context of education. He argued that the basis of anti-Blackness is "to have

26

one's very existence as Black constructed as a problem—for white people, for the public (good), for the nation-state, and even as a problem for (the celebration of) racial difference."[110] The theory of anti-Blackness stems from Afro-pessimist scholarship and describes how an anti-Black society treats Blackness as non-agentic and non-human.[111] Since its inception, U.S. society has so continually and consistently perpetuated the politics of Blackness as nonhuman that Dumas argued that "even as slavery is no longer official state policy and practice, the slave endures in the social imagination, and also in the everyday suffering experienced by Black people."[112] In the realm of education, he likewise posited that, "any racial disparity in education should be assumed to be facilitated, or at least exacerbated, by disdain and disregard for the Black."[113] Several scholars such as Bianca Williams, Dian D. Squire, Frank A Tuitt, T. Elon Dancy II, Kristen T. Edwards, and James Earl Davis have built from Dumas's presumption about anti-Blackness in education to elucidate the conditions of the neo-plantation in higher education.[114]

Being able to name and address plantation politics and the imbedded anti-Blackness within higher education during the twenty-first century offers anti-racist scholars and actors with several opportunities. In their edited volume *Plantation Politics and Campus Rebellions*, Briana Williams and Frank A. Tuitt argued that, "teasing out a plantation politics framework has the potential to help us identify the machines of white supremacy in higher education."[115] They ponder, "what one might see, understand, and imagine they might do, if we recognize the haunting of plantation life as existing not only in the walls and structures that buttress the university but also in its operations, hiring practice, recruitment and attainment

strategies, curriculum, and notions of sociality, safety, and community."[116] In other words, to reconceive the way the campus functions is the first, crucial step to transforming higher education away from white supremacist practices. However, to reconstitute higher education in light of plantation politics is but one way we can understand how the past shapes current practices.

Many higher education scholars have also pointed to neoliberal structures in higher education which have, contemporarily, led to the proliferation of diversity and inclusion initiatives on campuses across the nation in such a way that relates back to white supremacy ideology in higher education. While valuing diversity and inclusion at an institutional level might not, at face value, appear to be a tool of white supremacy; however, when coupled with neoliberal ideologies and practices, the institutionalization of "diversity" leaves much to be desired. Neoliberalism is an economic and political theory that explicates all human behavior as wedded to the logic of individual production and economic competition.[117] Wendy Brown argued that neoliberal logics at the university have led to proliferated concerns about human capital as the main product being bought and sold on college campuses.[118] Glyn Hughes noted how under neoliberal regimes, schools enact diversity by "by breaking it down into résumé-ready "cultural competencies" imparted to students in service of stated missions to prepare them "to compete in the global marketplace."[119] Under this model, diversity is an individualized social good that the university distributes to students through their education marketplace.[120] Neoliberalism hasn't just affected how diversity gets co-opted for students, but also used as a marketing tool to compete with other universities. Ana M. Martinez Aleman and Katya Salkever posited that,

"much like advertisers might pitch a product by highlighting its most marketable trait (e.g., 'lite,' 'non-fat'), these colleges used 'diversity' as a means to attract the consumer to what they perceive is a desirable educational condition: the presence of racial and ethnic minority students."[121] This waters down the potential of diversity as a radical practice on campus, instead turning it into a marketable product rather than a critical engagement. One example of this neoliberal and highly problematic take on diversity can be seen in Nana Osei-Kofi and her research team's analysis of diversity in university viewbooks. The analysis found that not only were racial diversity messages in the viewbooks aimed at a white audience who is assumed the dominant group, it also illustrated how the university is concerned with catering to this dominant group and offering "the benefits these individuals can attain through different forms of interaction with minoritized populations."[122] Osei-Kofi also found that viewbooks rarely included photos of students of color in the classroom, marking diversity as "being fun and extracurricular, an optional add-on rather than a vital part of the learning environment."[123] Overall, then, viewbooks point to how diversity has been used to cater to a white majority of paying customers (students and their family) as an extracurricular benefit, rather than what diversity initiatives have the potential to do—to transform their universities into minority-serving and white-supremacist limiting institutions.

Similarly, another way neoliberalism organized diversity in higher education is through diversity recruitment that the university engages without implementing inclusive structural transformation. Squire argued that it is the neoliberal structure that gives higher education the profit motive to "do just enough to keep Black

students here on our campuses… while at the same time dehumanizing them."[124] Sarah Ahmed called this the "non-performativity of anti-racism," wherein the university believes that simply denouncing racism or admitting to their own racist past constitutes an act that subverts white supremacy on campus.[125] Again, these "diversity" tactics relate back to neoliberalism's intense focus on individualism and economic interest. Ahmed argued that universities will not only produce diversity and inclusion policies because of the way in which doing so favors their social-economic reputation, but then also tout those policies to discredit people of color on campus when they do share that such policies fail to disrupt systems of white supremacy on campus.[126] The university then places the fault on the individual struggling staff, faculty, or student member by arguing that the university maintains equitable policies and cultures. Osei-Kofi argues that this neoliberal stance allows differences among racial groups to be "explained away as simply being about merit."[127] Jennifer F. Hamer and Clarence Lang asserted that, "this approach absolves predominantly white universities of any responsibility in substantively altering institutional policies and decision-making, effectively leaving the burden of racism to people of color."[128] The diversity policies therefore are not only powerless in altering white supremacist culture in academia, but they are then weaponized to dehumanize the very people the policies were allegedly intended to assist. One clear example of this overall neoliberal "non performativity of anti-racism" would be, as Hamer and Lang explained, when "faculty readily express their outrage at high-profile instances of campus hate speech or mass shootings" but then are "reticent to highlight the far more quotidian patterns of structural violence that occur every day on our campuses."[129] For people of color

30

in their institutions, they are left reading through their institution's diversity

statements and aspirational goals, knowing they only provide hollow truths and the

authority behind the gaslighting they face. Williams and Tuitt explained that, "they

know that the reality they are presented with in the university's materials isn't the

reality of what they live each day on campus."[130]

Another guiding theory that scholars use to describe the perpetuation of past

histories of white supremacy within higher education is neocolonialism.

Neocolonialism is a social, economic, and political theory which describes the

continued and contemporary domination of non-Western and (formerly)-colonized

peoples by Western and (formerly)-colonizing mindsets, practices, and discourses.[131]

This continued exploitation is often subtle and indirect but draws power from its

history. More specifically, neocolonialism helps make sense of the differentiated

labor practices in academia—in other words, what is considered the work of white

people and BIPOC people.[132] Black scholars, specifically, are expected to take on

increased forms of mentoring, advising, service work, and more.[133] Neocolonialism

also determines the expectations for the type of research and courses that Black

faculty and staff are expected to teach and the type of academic programs and

conversations they are expected to engage—for instance, being relegated to diversity-

related work and serving as token representation on committees.[134] The message here

is that Black bodies hold a differentiated labor expectation—they have their own

place at the university—separate to the more often-rewarded labor of their white

counterparts. These differential positions on campus exemplify what Dancy has

called "not simply a trend of exclusionary practice, but also a performance of

inclusion that reasserts the colonial order and engages the Black body as property."[135] The colonial order also exists in the desire to regulate what Black bodies do and how they act on campus. Western frameworks of rationality, decorum, productivity, and merit continue to dominate the culture of higher education; as such, Black people are subjugated when they do not conform to these neocolonial expectations when, for instance, these individuals or groups protest, speak-up, and create differently. Hamer and Lang argued that in order to disrupt neocolonial logics, Black and other marginalized people on campus should "harness equity and access to the work of fostering 'insubordinate space' within the university" to the effect of "inspiring democratic imagination and energizing democratic action against the manifestations of structural violence in our midst."[136] Overall, institutions of higher education remain tools of white supremacy in the ways in which the logics of neocolonialism continue to determine labor, bodily, and communicative practices.

In addition to the ways plantation politics—as well as neoliberal and neocolonial structures—exemplify the perpetuation of past systems of white supremacy manifesting in the present, scholars also note the white racial frame from which the university functions. Joe Feagin has defined the white racial frame as "the country's dominant 'frame of mind' and 'frame of reference' in regard to racial matters" in which whiteness is the pervasive and assumed standpoint and Blackness is viewed as "the dominant issue, menace, problem, and reference point."[137] The white racial frame describes the ways in which higher education institutions currently function from a position of assumed whiteness while also perpetuating a progressive and "racially/ethnically tolerant" narrative that, in turn, "renders inequity and White

32

privilege invisible."[138] Osie-Kofi likened the white racial frame to the advancement of color-blind and post-racial representations that "hinders racial progress by looking only on the surface of racial classification without addressing social practices."[139] In other words, the white racial frame avoids addressing its own engagement with white supremacy. This white racial frame structures the contemporary university, which, while allegedly trying to function from a position of valuing diversity, is unable to remove the white racial frame and thereby unable to see the ways in which the university continues to construct whiteness as the norm that perpetuates privilege and power and upholds the status-quo of white supremacy.[140] When a university functions from the white racial frame, they perpetuate white supremacy culture that de-racializes legitimate structural issues on campus, even at the same time that these university purport inclusive practice.

One of the clearest examples of the ways in which the white racial frame preserves implicit and explicit forms of white supremacy culture is to consider the bias incident reporting and reactions at colleges and universities. Universities commonly define bias incidents as conduct, speech, or expression that is motivated partially or fully by conscious or unconscious bias or prejudice.[5] Dancy described typical bias responses at progressive institutions as being promptly addressed with a public statement that summarizes the guilty parties involved and renounces the act as

---

[5] This definition is a combination of wording/phrasing that I found at multiple institutional websites such as Texas State University, Bryn Mawr College, and Saint Mary's College. Additional explanations of bias incidents, as defined by universities, can be found in the following source: Snyder, Jeffrey Aaron and Amna Khalid, "The Rise of 'Bias Response Teams' on Campus." The New Republic, March 30, 2016. https://newrepublic.com/article/132195/rise-bias-response-teams-campus#:~:text=Definitions%20of%20bias%20incidents%20vary,class%2C%20national%20origin%2C%20religion%2C

a misrepresentation of campus culture.[141] Hughes argued that universities tend to treat

bias incidents from a place of colorblindness—e.g. that racial bias is bad regardless of

who and how it is perpetuated in a way that ignores the power differential and

structural violence.[142] In this way, the bias incident reactions by universities "appears

to be anti-racist while upholding the racial status quo" and " conceal[s] the ways that

higher education is invested and implicated in the racial order."[143] Hughes and Dancy

both argued that there are a few ways in which this white racial frame manifests.

First, the white racial frame manifests in bias incidents as the university treats the

issue as incidental. Hughes claimed that to even call them racial bias *incidents* serves

to "minimize their gravity."[144] Dancy stipulated that, "higher education's insistence

on characterizing anti-Black violence as incidental or anomalous functionally erases

the history of trauma experienced by Black bodies on White campuses."[145] For Black

people on campus, the biased or racist act simply "affirms or punctuates the pervasive

normality of everyday racism" that the white racial frame fails to see.[146] The second

way the white racial frame is activated is that the university frames the bias as being

perpetuated by a few foolish individuals.[147] The "bad apple" narrative minimizes the

structural, systematic, and historic racist precedents. Hughes argued this "enacts a sort

of additional violence" on people of color on campus who know "without a doubt that

the entire situation is haunted by the ghosts of thousands of others, and that to talk

about ghosts makes one look crazy to those who do not see them."[148] Lastly, the fact

that the bias incident activates repression and denial by the university provides clear

evidence of the institution functioning from a white racial frame. Dancy noted how

the university response is often more concerned with the potential damage of the

white institution's public image rather than "the assault on Black humanity."[149] The university's reaction to bias incidents also indicates a shock to the institution's "white neoliberal psyche," posited Hughes; "it activates strategies of re-repression and denial stemming from a desire to return to the (white) law and order normality that preceded the incident."[150] Overall then, university bias incident responses indicate the white racial frame at work within the university and the way the contemporary university may wish to see themselves as heroes for racial progress while also perpetuating and recreating systems that harm and alienate.

Black students, faculty, and staff continue to face conditions of white supremacy through practices, policies, and discourses that uphold higher education as a neo-plantation that perpetuates anti-Blackness, a place for neoliberal diversity and inclusion limitations, and a space of neocolonial domination of Black bodies. Histories of exclusion and violence continue to mark the very heart of campuses despite contemporary assertions of diversity and equity by higher education administrators and leadership. Instead, colleges and universities continue to function from the white racial frame which limits radical anti-racist transformations. As a result, Black people continue to face isolation, microaggressions, overt racism, subtle forms of domination, unequal labor expectations, surveillance and regulations of their bodies, temperament expectations, violence, and even death on campus due to the histories of white supremacy that thrive today.

Histories of Resistance to White Supremacy in Higher Education

Facing expansive histories of violence and compounded with contemporary settings of oppression, how do students—particularly Black students—resist

structures of white supremacy and anti-Blackness in higher education? The challenge is astronomical, and we should pause and consider the strength, resilience, and ingenuity that students draw from in order to address these systemic issues. From direct action, to legal recourse, and the use of critical race theory's counterstorytelling, there is a robust and rich history of anti-racist student activism. Student activism is as old as institutions themselves; however, anti-racist student activism—especially activism that targets anti-Blackness in higher education—troubles not only the policies of campuses, but the very histories, ideals, and structures of these institutions rooted in white supremacy. Dancy argued that "Black student, faculty, and staff experiences that have ignited these protests reflect higher education's investment in maintaining an institutional and social relationship of ownership with people of color and Black people in particular."[151] And William and Tuitt posited that the enactment of Black resistance on campus "often explode when universities count Black *bodies* as present," but are not prepared to fundamentally transform these institutions to "ensure Black *people* are welcome, safe, and treated equally."[152] In this section, I focus on how Black students and their allies have combatted white supremacy and especially anti-Black racism in their higher education institutions.

For over 100 years, Black students have resisted histories of racist-centric paternalism in their colleges and universities—what Ibram X. Kendi called "moralized contraption," or the policies and regulations based on "the racist, sexist, and ageist paternal notion that black students were incapable of acting responsibly with academic, social, and political freedom."[153] As stated previously, in the late 19th

36

and early 20th centuries, HBCUs were founded by either white northern missionaries, white industrialist-"philanthropists," and, less frequently, by Black southerners. These institutions, often led by white presidents or segregating-accommodationist Black presidents, often treated Black students as "a project of charity or a community of people who needed saving from 'unscrupulous moral behavior.'"[154] Therefore, an early and frequent source of Black student protests has been the pushback against moralized contraption at HBCUs. Starting in the 1920s, campus rebellions occurred at Talladega, Fisk, Livingstone, Oakwood, Howard, Lincoln, Shaw, Hampton, St. Augustine, Knoxville, and Wilberforce.[155] In the 1920s and 1930s, during what has been called the New Negro Campus Movement (NNCM), Black students protested mandatory chapel, poor dining hall food quality, restrictions in student organizations and socialization, and more—similar issues that white students had already objected in the centuries prior within the colonial system of *in loco parentis*.[156] While early 20th century white students were fighting new instances of paternalistic rules relating to drinking, smoking, and sexual freedom, Black students were, according to James Alford, "battling White administrators and faculty on their campuses for freedoms that their White counterparts were already enjoying at their institutions based on racial and cultural privileges."[157]

The 1920's is often categorized as the New Negro Campus Movement (NNCM) which Kendi defined as, "a fight for basic social and academic freedoms for black students in higher education." He went on to argue, "the stress of basic cannot be understated…these basic freedoms to live on campus, eat tasty food, dictate their campus life schedules, socialize… and not face expulsion for breaking a rule."[158]

For instance, Howard University students began to petition against what they called "plantation behavior," which they described as "being forced to sing spirituals during compulsory chapel services."[159] When Howard students were reprimanded for refusing to sing, they began to rebel by "staging sit-ins, refusing to attend class, blocking classroom doors to prohibit other students from entering, and organizing student-led speak-outs by the student council," reported Alford.[160] At Hampton University, students also found singing spirituals to be "demeaning and redolent of the olden days of slavery."[161] Additionally, the protests were not just about being required to sing or attend chapel, but were broader, including demands, claimed Alford, for the "rights and freedoms on campus to govern themselves."[162] For instance, students at Grambling State University, as late as 1967, could not enjoy their breakfast without overlooking large signs in the dining hall which ordered students to "'take bite-size mouthfuls" and "break bread before eating."[163]

During the NNCM, students at HBCUs also resisted their institution's curricular authority, especially when that curriculum signaled assimilationist and segregationist standpoints. In the 1920s, several outspoken activists, including W.E.B. Du Bois, sparked student protests against the curriculum. As an alumnus, he spoke (and incited subsequent student protests) against his former HBCU for taking part of what he called the "corrupt bargain" of forgoing a classical curriculum in favor of what wealthy white industrialist and segregation-accommodating donors demanded—vocational training.[164] In 1923, Black students at Florida A&M engaged in three-months of protest—including class strikes, curfew rebellions, and even arson—in order to remove their segregation-accommodating college president who

38

oversaw and supported a limited curriculum.[165] At Oakwood College in Alabama in 1931, students petitioned their vocational training; as historian Holly Fisher explained, students called their college a plantation, "because of the heavy work schedule, low student wages, and the inability to accumulate academic credits due to their workload."[166] Overall, Black students in the 1920s and 1930s demanded, as quoted by activist E. Franklin Frazier, "a Negro University, for Negroes, by Negroes," where the curriculum was not determined by white trustees set on the industrial training of Black people for labor, but rather a Black controlled university whose curriculum could compete with white institutions.[167]

By the 1960s, the calls for a Negro University were supplanted by calls for a Black University. Following the ideological prowess of Black Power, students in the 1960s pressured their campuses to transform from the "white-controlled, Eurocentric, bourgeoisie accommodationist 'Negro University,'" to become, "a black-dominated, oriented, and radical 'Black University.'"[168] In other words, students wanted a relevant curriculum that rescinded white texts and theories. Argued one Tuskegee Student, Ernest Stephens, in the spring of 1967, "the black student is being educated in this country as if he were being programmed in white supremacy and self-hatred… How long will it be before black leaders and educators take hold of Negro colleges and transform them from 'training schools for Negroes' into universities designed to fit the real needs of black people in this nation?"[169] Kendi reported that in their newly released national magazine, *The Black Student,* editors proclaimed that universities "do not prepare black students to cope with their problems 'as well as the schools seemingly prepare white students to cope with theirs.'"[170] Calls for a Black

curriculum circulated not only at HBCUs but also PWIs. For instance, at Columbia University, Black students demanded "a racially well-rounded body of scholarship, a well-rounded faculty, a well-rounded curriculum, and a well-rounded scheme of services and facilities" after a Columbia admissions officer announced that they cared not as much for the "well-rounded boy" as they wanted a "well-rounded student body."[171]

Black student activists called for a relevant education by and for the Black community; they demanded a curriculum that, as Kendi described, "interrogated progressive African American and Third World literature and gave students the intellectual tools to fix a broken society."[172] Black students petitioned for educational programs similar to Point #5 in the Ten Point Program of the Black Panther Party, which stated:

> We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this "
> American society. We want education that teaches us our true history
> and our role in the present-day society. We believe in an educational
> system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does
> not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the
> world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else."[173]

For instance, in 1968, Malcom X Liberation University opened for students, "proclaiming that this was a school for the members of 'a new generation of black people who have become disenchanted with the entire system and who are ready now and willing to do something about it."[174] During the founding day speech, the Director asserted that "this university will provide a framework within which black

education can become relevant to the needs of the black community and the struggle for black liberation."[175] More common than founding new institutions was the demand for independent and autonomous Black Studies Programs at both HBCUs and PWIs. During the 1968-1969 school year, which Kendi considered the apex of the Black Campus Movement, Black students at all types of higher education institutions engaged in several and various protest strategies to demand the inclusion of Black Studies.[176] These protests included tactics such as class strikes (including the longest student strike in U.S. history at San Francisco State in November 1968), student athletes boycotting their games, students of all kinds occupying buildings and even taking members of boards of trustees hostage (as happened at Morehouse College in 1969).[177]

Of course, mid-twentieth century Black student activism is remembered for more than just demands of curricular change, but also for the advocating of civil rights for Black students in all white spaces and institutions, including but not limited to higher education. Indeed, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) which was founded in 1909, created a "Youth and College Division" in March 1936 and began to form college chapters.[178] In the 1940's, NAACP college students hosted voter registration drives and, according to Kendi, "launched direct action protests in northern, midwestern, and western states… against area establishments that discriminated against Black students."[179] What many casual students of the civil rights movement may not know is that sit-ins which became nationally recognized through the media in 1960, had been happening in the decades prior, but they were local events that had not been nationally reported.[180] On Feb 1,

1960—the start of the Greensboro lunch counter-sit-in by four freshmen at North

Carolina A&T University—a concerted movement was sparked, organized by the

student chapter of the NAACP and CORE. And, "within five days hundreds of

students from area colleges were 'sitting in.'"[181] While sit-ins happened

predominantly off campus, colleges still attempted to quell the student organizing by

expelling students or attempting disband student chapters of NAACP and CORE on

campus.[182] The few noted exceptions were schools such as University of Alabama

Talladega and University of Mississippi Tugaloo who, according to Jeffrey A. Turner,

had activist-oriented campus administrations whose "political views and educational

philosophies allowed them to permit and in some cases protect students who

employed nonviolent direct action."[183] Overall, instead of being stifled by their

universities' attempts to discourage activism , the student-led civil rights movement

expanded. In April 1960, Ella Baker organized and coordinated the first conference

and creation of the Student Non-Violent Coordination Committee (SNCC). Kendi

explained that SNCC defined themselves as student-led organization committed to

"nonviolence and the 'politics of direct action' as well as 'group centered

leadership.'"[184] And SNCC, like the NAACP and CORE on campus, tended to focus

action off campus. According to Turner, they "never developed a comprehensive plan

for how black campuses should fit into the movement."[185] However, "black students

still looked to the group for leadership," Turner argued. For instance, "they read the

Student Voice , the primary connection between SNCC and the South's black

campuses during the early 1960s.[186] While these movements were led by college

students who organized and met on campus, the main focus of these protests were

less on the white supremacy existing in their colleges, and more so directed towards white institutions in the community.

Another major component of students' involvement in broader civil rights organizations was the combined efforts to combat admissions-based segregation that still existed at many all-white higher education institutions. From the 1930's through the 1960's, and especially following the passage of the Supreme Court ruling of *Brown v Board of Education* in 1954, NAACP leaders and college students worked together to apply for admission and petition their cases in legal courts. The first case that the NAACP took legal action on was *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada* in 1938 in which the registrar at the University of Missouri Law School, Silas Woodson Canada, refused admittance of Black student Lloyd Gaines. The Supreme Court sided in Gaines's favor because the state did not have a law school for Black students within its borders. Similar legal cases were launched over the next several decades, in which Black students (predominantly applying for graduate programs) and the NAACP partnered to petition admission based on premise of personal choice. Legal historians Jacqueline A. Stefkovich and Terrance Leas posited that, "these cases began to question the separate but equal doctrine as it applied to higher education, and they laid the groundwork for the Court's 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* declaration that, when it comes to education, separate is inherently unequal."[187]

Following *Brown v Board of Education* (1954), the NAACP more actively recruited student volunteers to petition segregationist admission policies. For example, the North Carolina State Conference of NAACP "urged the youth of their state and the nation to look upon the decision as a challenge to 'make Democracy

work.'"[188] This collaborative effort produced several mixed effects, for instance, the NAACP successfully received a court order against the University of Alabama in 1956 to enroll graduate student Autherine Lucy; however, this attempt failed after the university couldn't keep her safe and therefore expelled her. Ultimately, the University of Alabama case study "galvanized the American resistance to and for *Brown*" and more students came forth to partner with the NAACP to engage in this type of legal action.[189] In the year following, high school graduates became involved, as the NAACP would solicit the energies of outstanding Black high school students to build solid cases in support of their admittance into undergraduate programs.[190] Overall, the legal challenges, and eventual success, against segregation in higher education would not have been successful without the labor and bravery of Black college students.

In the 1960s, student activism would only temporarily be focused off campus and in partnership with national civil rights organizations. Many Black students began to question the civil rights platform, its strategies and goals, as being the most effective for cultural change. Kendi posited that, "one idea steadily gathered ground—African American solidarity (or black nationalism), and in the context of higher education, the need for black students to band together and discuss the movement, their history and culture, and their lives."[191] In the mid 1960's, several events catalyzed this move towards Black solidarity, on-campus activism, and what would be known as the Black Campus Movement (BCM). These events included the Birmingham Church bombing (September 1963), the assassination of Malcolm X (February 1965), Bloody Sunday (March 1965) and the Watts rebellion (August

1965). For instance, Kendi noted that only four days after the Birmingham bombing, Black students at San Francisco State University demanded the establishment of the Negro Student Association (NSA), "the predecessor to the first known Black student union, which formed in 1966."[192] The year of 1964 is also remembered as having a marked move from off campus demonstrations and civil rights to campus activism, with campus protests breaking out at universities such as Jackson State University, Norfolk State University, and Alcorn State University."[193] And the first few days of May in 1964 also saw the first "Afro-American Student Conference on black nationalism" at Fisk University.[194] Student organizations such as SNCC were significantly radicalized after 1965 and, as such, their relationships with more moderate civil rights groups—including the NAACP and SCLC—deteriorated.[195] SNCC leaders began to focus on "racial separatism" and be concerned over "Black consciousness." They elected Stokely Carmichael as their organization president in 1966. Carmichael popularized the term "Black power" in U.S. rhetorical discourse, generally, and on campuses, specifically.[196] Black power called to "reject the racist institutions and values of this society.'"[197] This call was vigorously answered on U.S. campuses.

The Black Campus Movement (BCM) is distinctly labeled in order to crystalize its moment as separate from, but, of course, interconnected to other social movements at the time – including Civil Right Movement off campus, anti-Vietnam protests, and even other forms of college student protests during the same decade. Specifically, Kendi makes the distinction that "this late 1960s black power campus struggle represented a profound ideological, tactical and spatial shift from the early

1960s off campus civil rights student confrontation."[198] For Black students, campus transformed from being a dormant place of learning geared just towards individual growth to one where "black campus activists circulated black power ideas that enhanced their self-determination, self-love, and sense of black solidarity and raised their consciousness about the irrelevant racial constitution of higher education."[199] In other words, the Black Campus Movement was a concerted effort to reconstitute higher education for and by Black people. It is during this era—roughly 1965 to 1973—where many of the nation's Black Student Unions in both HBCUs and PWIs were formed. For student activists, some of the most common activities included "informal campus discussions, widespread reading, cultural weeks, conferences, and newspapers," which altered campus culture.[200] Indeed, students heavily relied on avenues to promote racial discourse to expand the ideology of Black Power on campus. Kendi importantly noted:

> "Black student newspapers influenced the construction and circulation of their ideology. Urban rebellions, black power, gender issues, and the notion of a Black University were a few of the many topics columnists discussed in the HBCU newspapers, just as writers carried stories on the demands and protests in their schools."[201]

Black student newspapers were also especially important—if not more important—at PWIs, where Black students engaged in written discourse as an avenue of building Black consciousness in a majority white place.[202] Of course, the BCM movement did not just focus rhetoric inward within groups of Black students, but they also agitated outwardly against their universities. These activities included submitting formal

demands and getting them resolved by all means necessary. For instance, in the fall of

1968, the BSU at San Francisco State enacted the longest student strike in U.S.

history.[203] With the support of most of the white student body, the strike was

successful after almost five months.[204] The newly fired president remarked that higher

education was "at a serious and crucial turning point."[205] In the spring of 1969—the

climax of the BCM—students also took siege of buildings on campus; for instance,

the infamous case of the Howard University occupation on March 19, 1968 lasted

five days.[206] February 13, 1969 is historically remembered as the most turbulent day

for Black student activism. It was on that day that "Black students disrupted higher

education in almost every area of the nation… It was a day that emitted the anger,

determination, and agency of a generation that stood on the cutting edge of

educational progression… This day had been in the making for more than one

hundred years and changed the course of higher education for decades to come."[207]

The Black Campus Movement, therefore, exemplified a concerted period in which

Black students combatted white supremacy with Black power.

The Black Campus Movement did not just proliferate on the campuses of

HBCUs; instead, PWIs across the nation reckoned with calls by Black students to

alter their institutional policies, relationships, and mindsets regarding Black people on

campus. Black student protests at PWIs happened with regularity, especially from

1968-1969.[208] Many of the most popular demands included increased faculty and

student recruitment and retention, Black cultural spaces and curriculums, and

programs.[209] Protests often took to the form of official written demands, class strikes,

and rallies. Of course, some of these protests escalated and received national

attention—two of the most notorious cases of Black student occupations at PWIs happened at Cornell University in 1969 and Columbia University in 1968. Black students at Cornell, protesting the racial climate on campus and the incident of a burned cross, occupied the student union as they instituted their demands. The occupation quickly escalated after the student protestors were attacked by white fraternity brothers; following the incident and fearing for their safety, the occupiers took up arms as they remained occupied in the union. The national media picked up the story and were there when they university met student demands, including the fact that students wanted to "sign the agreements at their headquarters after a procession across campus."[210] They did this, guns in hand, and images of the event circulated nationally. Faculty originally claimed the agreement was "coerced" but ultimately gave into student pressure, accepting the agreement while also "giving students more power and establishing an autonomous Black Studies department."[211] At Columbia University, another infamous example of student activism was nationally recognized. In April 1968, Columbia students occupied multiple buildings to protest unilateral decisions made by university administration at the expense of student voice. And while white students' occupation of the library received the most national and, ultimately, historic attention, the entire occupation was organized, administrated, and motivated by the university's Black students.[212] In the same days, the students of the Student Afro-American Society (SAS) occupied Hamilton Hall to protest the university's growing encroachment into Black neighborhoods.[213] In other words, the student occupation was catalyzed over Black students concerns over the white supremacy imbedded in university-community relationships. Like the students at

Cornell and Columbia, Black student activists constituted a small but vocal and powerful group of agitators on campus throughout the 1960s and into the early 1970s. Overall, Kendi stipulated that "Black activists did not succeed in revolutionizing higher education. However, they did succeed in shoving to the center a series of historically marginalized academic ideas, questions, frames, methods, perspectives, subjects and pursuits."[214] This work is undoubtedly significant and created the precedent from which current activism builds.

While Black student activism continued throughout the 1980s and 1990s with several topical campaigns, such as increasing funds for multicultural programing and disinvesting from South African apartheid, and a new wave of student activism and resistance formed in the opening decades of the 21st century. Williams and Tuitt posited that between 2012 and 2018, "Black students were at the forefront of [sic] campus rebellions, with actions ranging from minutes-long die-ins and street blockings to weeks of hunger strikes, building takeovers, and sit-ins."[215] In the fall 2014 alone, Angus Johnston, a history scholar specializing in student activism, tracked over 160 student protests that took place—a majority of them focused on issues of race and racism both on and off campus.[216] Frank Tuitt, along with a team of researchers, studied the demands of over 100 campus rebellions that have occurred in the past decade.[6] He noted that "many of the demands were almost exactly the same

---

[6] While I use the term student protests, authors Williams and Tuitt prefer the term "rebellions." They argue that the terminology recognizes "that these multisite uprisings (sometimes spontaneous, but often organized) are socially, spatially, and temporally connected." The authors go on to posit that "'Rebellion' allows us to get a wide-lens view of campus activism, understanding how the work of residents and Dream Defenders in Sanford after Trayvon Martin was killed is not only linked to that of community members in Ferguson and students at Mizzou, but also to the legacy of Black resistance during the 1960s and 1970s. Moreover we use rebellion to note how these acts of disruption and open defiance against administrative and police authority trigger the fears of those in power at universities as they scramble to reestablish what they view as order, contain the movement and emotions of Black

as the demands from Black students' movements in the 1960s and 1970s: more Black faculty; a more inclusive curriculum; more resources for programming and residential issues."[217] However a few new trends in Black student demands exemplified a current concern over mental health services and other institutional resources to "assist Black students dealing with racism and anti-blackness." Another trending demands was for financial and other forms of reparations "to address present and historical campus inequity."[218] In other words, Black students combatting white supremacy on campus in the 21st century blended continuing and evolving needs that were brought on by both historic and contemporary contexts.

However, contemporary student activism addresses different contextual challenges than those in the past. Faced with plantation politics, neoliberal and neocolonial frameworks, and an undergirded white racial frame, Black students have had to creatively navigate the propositioned and so-called post-racial and racially equitable landscape to demand and enact meaningful changes on campus. They have had to work within institutional policies that suppress student activism and limit student governance.[7] While many scholars and practitioners have turned to theories of

---

folx, and mitigate white anxiety." Williams, Bianca, and Frank A. Tuitt. "'Carving Out a Humanity': Campus Rebellions and the Legacy of Plantation Politics on College Campuses." In *Plantation Politics and Campus Rebellions: Power, Diversity, and the Emancipatory Struggle in Higher Education,* edited by Bianca Williams, Dian D. Squire, and Frank A Tuitt (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2021), 4.

[7] Universities have grown more strategic in their responses to student unrest and learned to defuse situations before they grew unruly. One popular strategy for universities in the late 20th and early 21st century has been to cooperate with student demands before they became charged or gain political momentum. Roderick Ferguson in *We Demand: The University and Student Pretests* argues that university administrations learned to incorporate radical student demands in a way that simultaneously diffuses the charged atmosphere on campus, but also institutionalizes and therefore dilutes student demands. In addition to being more savvy in taking control of student resistance movements, Tony Vellela argues that most institutions have "redesigned their disciplinary procedures, security measures and even, some charge, admissions policies accordingly." For example, universities, by and large, have moved their dedicated free speech zones to spaces central to campus and away from the public's eye. Universities restrict the hours for, the placement of, and the groups available to reserve space on campus or table for their causes. Alia Wong argues that we are dealing with a "less transparent, less

abolitionist university studies as a potential avenue to combat white supremacy in higher education in the 21st century, college students have turned to other strategies, such as carving out their own spaces on campus and engaging in counterstorytelling, in order to persist within and resist white supremacy on campus.[219] For instance, Hotchkins and Dancy illuminated the resilience of Black students who (should not *have* to, but of often must) "creat[e] or join spaces absent of White peers (e.g. Black Student Union) to distance themselves from racial microaggressions experienced in residential halls."[220] Additionally, counterstorytelling is a strategy central to critical race theory.[221] According to Daniel G. Solorzano and Tara J. Yosso, it is a "tool for exposing, analyzing and challenging majoritarian stories of racial privilege."[222] Cherly E. Matias argued that counterstories can "reveal how the invisibility of whiteness in the academy creates a plantation-like renaissance."[223] For example, Williams and Tuitt explained how the "I, Too, Am Harvard" Black student initiative serves as an example of counterstories. Black Harvard students who collaborated on this project argued that, "this project is our way of speaking back, of claiming this campus, of standing up to say: we are here too. This place is ours. We, Too, are Harvard."[224] Like the "I, Too, Am Harvard" campaign, Black students continue to be rhetorically creative in their resistance to the universities histories and contemporary politics of anti-Blackness and white supremacy.

---

responsive, less democratic university than we've seen in the past." Overall, then, universities have strategically diluted, diffused, or restricted any sustained radical student action on campus. Roderick A. Ferguson, *We Demand: The University and Student Protests*. American Studies Now: Critical Histories of the Present (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2017), 14-34; Tony Vellela, *New Voices: Student activism in the '80s and '90s* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1988), 1; Wong, Alia, "Student Activism Is Making a Comeback," The Atlantic. Atlantic Media Company, November 13, 2015, pp. 19 https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2015/05/the-renaissance-of-student-activism/393749/.

Rhetoric scholars' sustained interest in public memory spans the past few decades and can be seen as part of the larger shift in humanities and social science disciplines to take part in the "memory boom."[225] Public memory studies, as an area of rhetorical studies, analyzes and evaluates the rhetorical effects and significance of public memory texts within a certain culture and context. In other words, public memory scholarship considers who and what is being remembered as an inherently rhetorical process—both in terms of how that memory is rhetorically negotiated but also in terms of what the memory signals and/or produces about a given culture. Public memory research, therefore, interrogates the present through the past. In this section of the dissertation, I will overview the major considerations of public memory studies in the field of rhetoric. As various rhetoric scholars have demonstrated throughout the years, analyzing the rhetoric of public memory articulates arguments of who belongs, who is remembered, how dominant ideologies circulate, and when memory serves as disruptions to ideologies.[226] Additionally, public memory scholars have argued that the particular *way* a community remembers has profound consequences for our material culture and political rhetoric.[227] Major areas of public memory in communication scholarship include public address, space/place, commemorations and rituals, affect and trauma, forgetting, and transnationalism.[228]

Public memory must be distinguished from confounding concepts, such as history and private memory. Public memory is different from private memory in that public memory texts manifest in public, which suggests a move from individual, private remembering to a network of shared, cultural and collective memory.[229]

52

Contrasting public and private memory, G. Thomas Goodnight and Kathryn Olson argued, "public memories are more than the concatenations of individual recollections; to be collective and public they must connect among people and bear on questions of interest."[230] Public memory cannot take place as private forms of remembering because there needs some form of textuality, public-ness, or collectiveness that allows for the formation of, and communal communication about, a shared public memory event.[231] For instance, one's private memories regarding a past sexual trauma is not "public memory." However, attending a public ritual in which the audience members collectively share and make shared sense of their past traumas as a form of gender activism (e.g. Take Back the Night events) can be a form of public memory.[232] Public memory also differs from "history" in that public memory is alive and active—it's collective meaning is negotiated in the present— rather than what history tends to present itself as either a "passive depository of facts"[233] or a "perfect record of the past."[234] History is typically framed as complete, official, objective, and formal—"the final word in relation to past events."[235] History has been used by institutional powers to legitimize the nation-state, has been presented as an almost scientific-like type of objectivity, and has been constructed around the idea of a singular correct way of knowing.[236] This, sociologist and memory-scholar Pierre Nora has argued, "does violence onto memory," killing the possibility for the many ways of cultural knowing through public memory versus official history.[237] Barbie Zeilzer speaks differently on the relationships between history and memory, arguing that the two "can be complimentary, identical, oppositional, or antithetical at different times,"[238] while other scholars have more

simply described the relationship as "entangled."[239] At the very least, public memory, private memory, and history are all reconstructions of what is no longer present. As Thomas Dunn argued, "the past operates not as a historical fact but as a historical interpretation for the purposes of making a public argument."[240] When we study public memory, we focus not so much on individual claims of memory or claims of official history, but rather the rhetorical nature of public memory as public discourse or as public argument.

Public memory is defined through and by a given community or communities via public discourse. For instance, public memory is defined by Matthew Houdek and Kendall Phillips as "the circulation of recollections by members of a given community."[241] Deborah Atwater and Sandra Henderson described public memory as "the potential to create a shared sense of the past, fashioned from symbolic resources of community, and subject to its particular history, hierarchies, and aspirations."[242] Mark Vail outlined public memory as "a remembering together that occurs in a public place… which allows for discursive social formations about that space"[243] Calvin Coker, citing Carole Blair, Greg Dickinson, and Brian L. Ott, suggested that public memory is "a political process to shift remembrances of the past, to solidify group identity, or to justify actions in the present."[244] Taken together, what we can infer from these definitions is a common understanding of "public memory" as the network of ideas, narratives, and values about the past that are processed, (re)constructed, and shared in the present, by a given community who rhetorically constitute and are constituted by the public texts of public memory. Public memory is, at its core, interested in *how* we collectively remember. Due to its "public"-ness—being rooted

in a community and in a public form—public memories are as "informal, diverse, and mutable" as the publics that constitute them.[245] Ultimately, public memory is inherently rhetorical as a situated form of public discourse.

Public memory is rooted in textuality, meaning they take place in texts—what Blair, Dickinson and Ott define as "discourses, events, objects or practices"—that circulate culturally.[246] John Lynch and Mary Stuckey interpret the relationship between memory with textuality when they argued that "public memory is the materialization of a text, often tied to a specific place or location."[247] Indeed, sometimes public memory takes place in the form of physical sites and landscapes. For instance, commemoration markers, museums, street and building names, as well as monuments, are considered the physical places, or sites, of public memory, and they are the focus of many public memory studies.[248.] In these instances, public spaces and places are marked by the rhetorical remembering rooted in the site itself. These physical sites "project communal values," as David Maxson proclaims.[249] However, public memory takes place not only through physical manifestations, but also through word and practice. Public speeches and news media may utilize various fragments of public memory discourse to address the specific audience, exigencies, and constraints of a given rhetorical situation.[250] Public memory can also take place through commemorative and ritual practices that combine elements of physical place, body rhetoric, performance, and speech.[251] Public memories, therefore, take place in multiple forms—spoken, performed, written, and material—and their meanings are never static, continuously negotiated, and always mediated through its various textual forms.

Because the collective remembering of past people, places, and things does not exist in a historical or cultural vacuum, public memory-making amplifies and responds to controversies over the present state of affairs. Stephen A. King and Roger Gatchet argued that public memory is inherently "a site of active struggle over what happened in the past and how we will remember it in the present."[252] Jenny Woodley explained that the present context is what calls us to remember and construct public memory (and to also forget certain memories, as I will discuss subsequently). Public memory places are built to respond to the context of the then-and-now, and therefore can potentially tell us as much about contemporary issues as it can tell us about the past.[253] Bradford Vivian noted that the same event can be remembered "over and over again," and yet remembered differently, each time, based on the present needs and desires of the community engaging in the remembering.[254] In other words, how we remember the past depends on the present conditions. Bruce Gronbeck added to this concept, explaining that that public memory arises when "some present need or concern is examined by calling up a past and shaping it into a useful memory that an audience can find relevant to the present."[255] However, Gronbeck also promoted a more nuanced relationship between past and present that exists in public memory texts where the "past and present live in constant dialogue…where neither can be comprehended without the other."[256] This ever-evolving relationship between past and present is an important element of public memory and likewise a significant process, culturally. Sarah Florini argued that public memory "transforms the past, extending [it] into the present and reimaging it in ways that make it 'usable' for addressing contemporary needs and concerns."[257] Public memories, therefore, are

56

cultural texts about the past that order, sustain, and articulate a community's *current*

civic values. In other words, as Beth Messner and Mark Vail posited, public memory

is an important cultural process where "social sanctioning and signposting of a

discursively negotiated past manifest[s] in symbolic action to meet contemporaneous

exigencies."[258] The public negotiations over present-day collective values enliven the

communal negotiations of public memories and makes public memory a rhetorical

phenomenon worthy of our concerted scholarly attention.

The cultural construction of public memories is rarely, if ever, constituted

without some negotiation or contestation.[259] The public memory of a singular event

(e.g. a community's founding, a community tragedy, the life of a public figure, etc.)

produces polysemic meanings and uses, which necessitates, at times, communal

reckoning. Goodnight and Olson noted that these public negotiations over public

memory are constituted when "interpretive frames become detached or

contradictory;" as a result, "space opens for contestation within or across publics."[260]

Because public memories are constructed through public meaning-making, and

because there is no singular or stable notion of "a public" from which a public

memory resides,[261] rhetorical scholars are particularly interested in how public

memories illustrate conflicts of and by different groups.[262] Public memory contests

are "markers of culture clash over significant issues," argued Roseann Mandziuk

when studying such significant issues such a race and gender.[263] Lynch and Stuckey

went as far as to label public memory "a competition" because of the central element

of contest within and across publics.[264] Indeed, the conflict involved in public

memories is what makes them rhetorical; Kendall Phillips argued as much, citing "the

ways memories attain meaning, compel others to accept them, and are themselves

contested, subverted, and supplanted by other memories" are processes central to

rhetorical inquiry.[265] A rhetorical approach to memory studies, therefore, interprets

the pluralities and tensions in public memory meaning-making, and analyzes the

form, content, and contexts of public memory texts to consider who decides the

answers to these questions. Houdek and Phillips argue that these controversies and

conflicts are not "merely disputes about the historical record, but entail fundamental

questions about the structure and legitimacy of social and political institutions."[266] As

such, we must be mindful about the ways in which these disputes play out, as they

have meaningful repercussions for the society involved.

Power, Ideology, and Memory

Of central concern to the study of public memory contests are the co-

constitutive concepts of ideology and power. Power has many definitions, including

(1) "the ability to get things done" and (2) "a social force" wherein people or groups

have both "power to" and "power over" that can be transferred, diminished or

enhanced.[267] The issues of public memory are particularly related to the concept of

"symbolic power," which was defined by John Thompson as the "capacity to

intervene in the course of events, to influence that actions of others, and indeed to

create events, by means of the production and transmission of symbolic forms."[268]

Public memory contests, therefore, are struggles over symbolic power, or the ability

of the various values, narratives, and ideas of public memories to influence our

political culture. Mandziuk, in studying various monumental memories of Sojourner

Truth, claimed that "many of the contested meanings embedded in the processes of

58

public memory are related to the politics of identity and the processes of power;" for example, when different groups and organizations contested the curation of Truth's memory, they were inherently struggling for the memorial site as a form of symbolic power.[269] Determining *how* we remember the past is, as Zelizer noted, "an effort to claim and exert power."[270] Overall, then, public memories have symbolic power, and, therefore, are often a site of struggle over wielding that power.

Public memories can also be tools of those in power to maintain disciplinary control and to define what is normal or deviant in a given culture.[271] The concept of power denotes issues of control, and, as such, public memories do not only wield symbolic power, but they can also be a mechanism for what Michel Foucault defined as "disciplinary power," or the power to dictate, strategically and tactically, by those in control of various institutions. Because public memories produce and transmit civic values, to control their narratives is to maintain control over elements of political culture. Public memory is often wielded by those in power, as Kirk Savage argued when he stated that memory sites "are built by people with sufficient power to marshal (or impose) public consent for their erection."[272] Likewise, Lynch and Stuckey studied the memory-curation of FDR at The Little White House to note how memory works as "reflections of the politics of those who manage them," wherein public memory becomes a "cultural competition" ultimately won by those with power taking control, producing, and amplifying their preferred narrative. Whether concerned with disciplinary or symbolic definitions of power, scholars of public memories must consider the way in which power is wielded by and moves through public memories.

Power is articulated through ideologies, which are produced by rhetoric; therefore, public memories are a form of public discourse with a particularly ideological role. Michael Calvin McGee defined ideology as "political language preserved in rhetorical documents with the capacity to dictate decision and control public belief and behavior."[273] Catherine Helen Palczweki, John Fritch, and Richard Ice, in *Rhetoric in Civic Life,* defined ideology as the rhetorical manifestation of power that "are known to members of a society and that guide their behaviors." And Bernard L. Brock, along with Mark E. Huglen, James F. Klumpp, and Sharon Howell in *Making Sense of Political Ideology*, have defined ideology as "typical ways of thinking about the world [that] help shape human action," by appearing natural and/or certain.[274] Public memory articulate and are articulated by ideologies since public memories' productions, circulations, and contests function "in accordance with reigning ideologies and social relations."[275] In other words, public memories can and do create, reflect, and reinforce dominant ideologies, or the ideologies of those in power. Rhetoric scholars have long agreed on the ideological characteristic of public memory. John Bodnar posited that public memory is an ideological system.[276] Mandziuk argued that public memory "functions as sites for engaging—or eliding— difficult ideological battles," and that memories "provide indexes to social values and ideologies."[277] Derek H. Alderman stated that public memory, "inscribes its ideological messages" onto our public life.[278] Building from these scholars and those mentioned in the paragraphs prior, public memory produces and transmits power through the creation, reflection, and reinforcement of ideological messages embedded within ways in which we remember collectively. Maxson built on this notion of

memories' ideological power, stating that public memories are an important

ideological phenomenon in that they "train collective habits of remembering;" thus

questions of how and what we remember are hinged on issues of ideology and

power.[279] As scholars, attuning ourselves to and analyzing the ideological messages

inscribed onto our culture by public memories is the crucial and critical task of public

memory scholars.

Because public memories exist as a site of power and ideological struggle, and

because power is sustained by those in control, certain memories and their ideologies

are privileged in a given community. As an ideological process, public memories, as

Mandziuk reminds us, "privilege some meanings over others and functions to exclude

and forget as much as it includes and remembers."[280] For instance, commemoration

and memorialization processes are imbued with "a hierarchical advocatory attribute,"

claimed Vail, and it is "this intentional ordering [that] foregrounds some narratives

wile marginalizing or erasing others."[281] What Vail points to here, relating back to

disciplinary power, is that certain ways of remembering are privileged over others

due to their fitting into the "correct" hierarchy of dominant values to that those in

power want to attribute to the memory. In addition to privilege that comes to fitting a

type of ideological narrative, identity and issues of identity also often relate to how

public memories are contested, especially when, as Michael Krammen posited,

"interacting considerations of class, ethnicity, race, regionalism, and a desire to social

stability have been highly consequential in determining what traditions are dominant

and what are subordinate."[282] Overall, the issues of how and why certain memories

are privileged over others can be summarized easily by Meagan Parker Brooks, who

added to this claim of dominance/subordinance in public memories and argued that "dominant memories of the past tend to serve dominant interests in the present,"[283] and by Mandziuk, who found that public memory contests "often accommodates and dissipates political challenges to the values held dear by the dominant culture."[284] In other words, those in power use memories to stay in power. In this way, public memory can serve to uphold hegemonic—defined as dominant to the point of being perceived as "common sense"— ideologies. Rhetoric scholars must (and do) consider the ways in which dominant memories fail to serve marginalized interests, values, and needs. For instance, how one group remembers and makes sense of their identity via public memory "may come at the expense of another's, as voices that seek to interpret the past in contradictory ways are silenced," argued Florini in regards to public memories about the Black Power Movement and Civil Rights Movement as a whole.[285] Furthermore, Florini stated that dominant public memories "appeal to the past, validate political traditions, and create social cohesion and stability," which comes at the cost of silencing others for the sake of cohesion. This silencing comes not just at a rhetorical cost of lost voice and lost perspective, but can also, according to Vail, "have substantial political and social consequences for communities."[286] Because the process of selecting privileged forms of remembering is a critical process, it is important to consider the strategies for doing so.

Forgetting, silencing, and depoliticizing public memories are three major strategies that explain how hegemonic perspectives of public memory "win out" in a given cultural context. Studying these equally important memory processes is crucial to understand the power disparity, ideological maneuvering, and overall

consequences of public memories that serve dominant interests. Public memory

scholars have often accounted for issues of power and competition in memory

through the remembering/forgetting dichotomy. This dichotomy claims that by

selecting one way to remember, other ways are forgotten or erased.[287] Forgetting is

often seen as a natural element of memory, and King and Gatchet remind us that

"commemoration, no matter what forms it takes, is always already incomplete… 'any

historical narrative is a particular bundle of silences.'"[288] And while forgetting and

the silences involved can be used in critical justice-oriented ways, as Vivian claimed

in *Public Forgetting*, Messner and Vail (2009) conversely argued that "public

forgetting is a critical—and treacherous component of public memory."[289] For

instance, Coker studied the memory-making process of Harriet Tubman in a petition

to include her on the twenty dollar bill, and he posited that "memorialization risks

tarnishing or significantly altering the public memory... by erasing aspects of [sic]

identity," especially in a way that undermines their complex and intersectional

potential.[290] Kristen Hoerl, advancing the critical concept of "selective amnesia,"

defined a sort of strategical forgetting that "negates our deep histories of social

injustice."[291] Mary Triece called this "hegemonic memory" and relates it to issues of

race when she claimed that "hegemonic memory facilitates the 'rhetorical silence' of

whiteness (Crenshaw, 1997) by omitting key histories that bear on the present."[292]

Overall, then, forgetting is intimately relating to silencing. Hoerl argued that "silence

may be the most effective rhetoric in the maintenance of existing power relations, as

those who would seek to challenge prevailing hierarchies may face recrimination for

doing so."[293] In other words, silencing creates absences in public memory—absences

that one should not speak from or explore. To a similar effect, depoliticizing public memories can also make it harder to challenge dominant ideologies related to the memory at hand. When it comes to contests over public memory, Stephen H. Browne argued that, "ultimately there is a powerful tendency in the United States to depoliticize traditions for the sake of reconciliation."[294] Likewise, Florini noted that in the U.S., public memories of historical events often "depoliticize it and works to produce consensus;" therefore, "controversial or contradictory accounts of the past are often erased or marginalized." [295] These acts of forgetting, silencing and depoliticizing "elides a more critical perspective" that I would argue rhetoric scholars need to have when analyzing public memories.[296]

A critical approach to public memory analyzes the ideological content, form, and context of memory sites and asks who had the power to decide and how different power structures may be (re)constituted through public memory. This critical study is particularly important in that it "provides a starting point for imagining how those conceptions function ideologically and how they might be re-envisioned toward more equitable ends," argued Brooks.[297] Public memory rhetoric scholars have taken various approaches to the critical study of memory work. For instance, Maureen Reed took a critical position on public memory when she studied the hegemonic narratives constituted through the commemoration of Sacagawea in statues across the United States, ultimately showing how commemorating past people, places, or events does not release institutions from justice work, especially when that past commemorating can simply serve to uphold differential and unequal power structures such as sexism, racism, etc.[298] Additionally, Arnold Modlin posited that, in relation to public memory

of slavery narratives on plantation tours, unequal memory work is often done to make people with power more comfortable. This brings up the question of affective inequality, which is how public memory sites evoke different affective reactions, as well as who and how certain populations are not affectively connected with the memory told.[299] Overall, these scholars each consider the ways in which various public memory ideologies are privilege or marginalized, by whom, and to what effect. In other words, public memory comes down to power and how power moves through the creation, circulation, and interpretation of public memories.

If critical public memory scholarship considers the relation between systems of power and the rhetorical constructions of public memories, then we can (and should) also study how, and in what ways, public memories can *trouble*, rather than strictly uphold, the current and dominant systems of power. For instance, Christopher A. House forwarded the idea of "moral memory," citing religion scholar Kelly Brown Douglas. Moral memory, according to Douglas, "is to recognize the past" in terms of "[what] we need to make right," or memory that recognizes problematic structures and ideologies and seeks to transform them for moral, ethical, and justice-based reasons. Most rhetorical scholars, however, study alternative memories in terms of "counter-memory" and the way counter-memories disrupt dominant ideologies and work to address issues of inequitable power structures. According to Vivian, counter-memory is one of the four redemptive strategies of forgetting.[300] Counter-memory is an act of subverting the way the memory of a given thing is told. Counter-memory serves as an act of "forgetting" in that it purposefully adapts and transforms the public memory and illuminates a radically different perspective or understanding to disrupt

65

the traditional narrative or dominant meaning.[301] The word "counter" connotes a

position against something, in which case the counter-memory exists in dialogue and

in dialectic with the dominant read of a public memory event, site, or text. Dunn

added to the concept of counter-memory by specifically identifying counterpublic

memory, which he defined as a shared alternative memory or memory practice of a

counterpublic.[302] Building these concepts together, we can consider how in what

ways public and/or counterpublic's memory may constitute counter-memory in

contrast to the other publics' dominant read of a public memory.

It is in this arena of public memory work that I am interested in the potential

of memories to counter hegemonic ideologies, specifically racism and white

supremacy. Many scholars have considered the ways in which subversive or counter

narratives of public memory can challenge systems of racism. These perspectives—

often dubbed vernacular, alternative, or subversive—challenge the versions of public

memory that forget, silence, or depoliticize racial politics. For instance, Florini

studied the Malcom X Grassroots Movement website and found that "it not only

curated and circulated counter-memories and counter histories, but that those

alternative versions of the past were deployed with increasing frequency to interpret

contemporary racial politics."[303] Houdek theorized ways in which oppositional

rhetoric of race-based public memory, what he calls "fugitive memory," can trouble

"common-sense discourse of dismissal and disavowal."[304] And Maxon forwarded the

idea of "residual memory" to consider how the taking down of Lost Cause

monuments counters regressive memorial practices and the hegemonic hold of white

supremacy in the location of such monuments.[305] Later in this literature review, I will

summarize and synthesize the various ways in which public memory can be used to reflect, construct, and amplify anti-racist politics.

<u>Memory and White Supremacy</u>

Two of the most important concepts I analyze through the study of public memory are racism and white supremacy. White supremacy is defined by Elizabeth Martinez of the *Challenging White Supremacy* national workshop as "a system of exploitation and oppression of continents, nations, and peoples of color by white peoples and nations."[306] And critical race scholar Frances Lee Ansley described it as "a political, economic and cultural system in which whites overwhelmingly control power and material resources, conscious and unconscious ideas of white superiority and entitlement are widespread, and relations of white dominance and non-white subordination are daily reenacted across a broad array of institutions and social settings."[307] In current contexts and historically in the United States, white supremacy is intensified by *and* amplifies the conditions of racism, defined, in part, by race scholar Ibram X. Kendi as the unequal and differentially harmful policies and ideas that affect people based on their racial identity.[308] White supremacy gains power and salience by racism, and in turn, racism perpetuates more easily through the system of white supremacy. White supremacy has been and remains a dominant paradigm of contemporary life in the United States, despite a cacophony of claims of post-racial bliss. One does not have to look far to see blatant examples of white supremacy, but there also exist embedded and less obvious forms of white supremacy in all elements of our public discourse. As Wendy K. Z. Anderson argued in the 2017 *Rhetoric*

Review symposium on race and whiteness, white supremacy thrives in the rhetorical codes that mask its malignant existence in society.[309]

In order to discuss the link between public memory and white supremacy, it is important to begin with the premise that all public memories in the United States are raced—or, maintain a specific race ideology—due to our historic and continuing legacy of racism as a principle form of oppression in this country. In other words, all public memories in the U.S. function in relation to ideologies of, for, and about race. And all public memories in the U.S. are affected by and effect our political and cultural understandings about race. This remains true when studying both dominant and oppositional memories, all of which are encoded with messages about race. Dominant public memories may or may not highlight issues of race. Oppositional public memories may be racialized, or they made render race invisible. Therefore, it is important to take a critical approach to all public memories—from dominant and hegemonic to subversive and oppositional—from the lens of race and racism, especially because public memories are not always or even often considered by their racial ideologies. In this section of the dissertation, I consider both the ways in which dominant public memories can and do uphold ideologies of racism and white supremacy, as well as the ways in which oppositional memories, or what I call "counter-memories," have illustrated alternative and anti-racist understandings of race.

The racial elements of public memories are often casted as invisible because dominant memories are embedded in a place of whiteness, which is assumed the norm or the neutral position. Houdek called this phenomenon "white habitus," and

Lynch and Stuckey described it as "a backdrop of whiteness."[310] Public memories whose racialized elements are not centered exist as a form of what Meagan Parker Brooks calls "white conceit," a mixture of deception and arrogance to "resist its own visibility."[311] Similarly, Chloe Banks, citing Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, built from the theory of racial grammar and cites *whiteness a priori* as an example of public memories engaging in a grammar where "whiteness is the assumed and un-named normative speaking position" that "normalizes white supremacy in society."[312] In other words, if a memory's dominant read does not center or consider identifications, ideas, or narratives of race, it is not because those things do not exist as a part of that public memory, but because that the public memory takes part in white conceit and the racial grammar of *whiteness a priori*. Its racial ideology comes from an assumed standpoint of whiteness that resists identification as part of the legacy of white supremacy.[313] Kalpana Seshadri-Crooks emphasized this always implicit connection between whiteness and memory when she defined the concept of whiteness as "an unconscious or preconscious signifier of difference," and argued that "access to whiteness is never available to amnesia," which "alerts us to the deep relation between whiteness and the unconscious."[314] What all these scholars have identified, thus far, is a problem with public memory as it relates to race and white conceit; however, this issue produces additional rhetorical problems across our political culture.

Public memories that engage in the phenomenon of white conceit produce additional rhetorical problems for addressing and combatting white supremacy. First, these public memories become "markedly less able to serve as a rhetorical resource

for conversations on race and its place on our national politics," argued Lynch and Stuckey, "because its narratives are grounded in a default position of Whiteness."[315] If we cannot address the racial elements embedded in public memory, then we cannot do much to address or fix the problem of racism. Additionally, the invisibility of race produced in many dominant public memories creates a political culture that depoliticizes, deradicalizes and delegitimizes issues of racism and white supremacy through the rhetorical effects of forgetting, silencing and erasing. This is a form of disciplinary power where dominant public memories related to race define what is considered the preferred, normal, and desired way of remembering of racism, racial violence, and racial crisis. For instance, in their study of the Little White House (LWH), Lynch and Stuckey illustrated how the dominant public memory of the commemorative sites of FDR in Warm Springs, GA elided issues of racism, and "rendered the complexities of racial inequality during FDR's presidency less visible."[316] In other words, the LWH museum normalized the racist dimensions of FDR's history in Warm Springs by remaining silent about this racialized dimension of the past. This becomes part of what Houdek called "common sense racism" in the United States and what Triece said allows racism to persist without seemingly doing anything at all.[317] Furthermore, as Messner and Vail have argued, "it is a rhetoric that … re-intrenches hegemonic sociopolitical monoliths."[318] These depoliticizing, deradicalizing, and delegitimizing public memories, consequently, "allow little room for complexity, reflection, or challenge," as Mandziuk has critiqued .[319] The silencing or masking narratives of these dominant public memories do the work of, "obscuring the history of injustice," argued Lynch and Stuckey, "[that] inhibits our ability to

70

address contemporary injustice" and "impedes our ability to understand our complicated present."[320] Houdek builds on this sentiment, stating, "the ideology of white supremacy masks and legitimates its most violent discursive manifestations through a rhetorical process of normalization, dismissal, and erasure, making its own historically driven logics seem like taken-for-granted truths."[321] As many rhetoric scholars have argued, the burying, masking, and smoothing-over of racism and white supremacy remains one of the largest rhetorical problems of the 21st century; it is a problem that dominant public memories enact.[322]

In addition to partaking in the rhetorical process of masking that furthers the hold of common-sense racism, public memories can, and do, uphold white supremacy through various rhetorical arguments or tropes. In these memories, rhetorics of race and racism might not be invisible, but they are framed in a way that strengthen the hold of white supremacy in our political culture. Having surveyed and synthesized the literature of communication scholars studying memory and race, I have found that dominant public memories about race in the Unites States typically engage in specific tropes and arguments that include, (1) promoting themes of racial conciliation, (2) individualizing structural issues, (3) creating temporal distance between present and past, and (4) engaging in conversations of multiculturalism but not racism. Each of these tropes contribute to white supremacy by downplaying the importance of racism as a structural mechanism of oppression in the United States. And while the rhetorical power of these tropes may seem marginal ("what's so bad about racial conciliation?"), each of these strategies contribute to a rhetoric that discounts structural, contemporary racism that functions to strengthen white supremacy. These

71

themes carry, what Houdek would call "the charge of racism [as] frequently dismissed or disavowed," which "evidences a rhetoric that upholds the racial ideology of white supremacy, protects its interests and beneficiaries, and silences those who speak its name." These four dominant public memory race-themes exist in seemingly harmless cultural fragments but build into a hegemonic system: dominant and seemingly invisible. Indeed, Houdek has identified public memories as one of the primary fragments that can augment hegemonic white supremacist ideology.[323] As I will demonstrate, even the most benign public memory referencing racial conciliation or forwarding hero narratives can accrue into a rhetorical network that masks and delegitimizes the material reality of white supremacy.

First, public memories constitute politics of racial conciliation when they universalize a certain racialized person, event, or site, and then use that symbol as proof for racial peace and healing—as if the commemoration itself is enough to overcome the harm of racism perpetuated for centuries. Racial conciliation becomes a tool of white supremacy when its symbolic argument does not match the material conditions assumed by claims of racial healing. Claiming there is justice and the actual existence of justice are not one in the same. An example of racial conciliation in public memory can be found in Mandziuk's study of Sojourner's Truth material image commemorated in a statue at Battle Creek, Michigan (her long-time home and place of her burial). In this essay, Mandziuk critiqued the memorial as constructed as "a symbol for the abstract civic value of racial conciliation," which served to frame Truth's memory as one "equally accessible to any race, the sign of a utopian integrationist vision."[324] In this case, the narrative of racial conciliation is

accomplished with the strategic choice of location, in the evaluation of character as the physical representation of the monument, and in the process of deciding who speaks for the memory. Additionally, the Civil Rights Movement is often remembered in terms of racial conciliation. Banks argued that the "Civil Rights Movement is framed as being worthy of remembered according to socially acceptable discourse on nonviolent advocacy" that "perpetuates a discourse that only some forms of protests are socially acceptable."[325] The radical and racialized narratives of the movement are obscured behind a concerted and repeated veil of racial conciliation. Overall, racial conciliation serves to put racism "in its place" by framing memories of non-white people and issues as a symbol of conciliation.[326] It accommodates white supremacy's most nefarious lie that that racism is no longer an issue and we should all hold hands and celebrate. Narratives of racial conciliation in public memories discount and silence arguments that try to complicate or challenge the accuracy of claims of racial healing. Or, as Mandziuk also posited, the danger is that themes of racial conciliation in public memory "will function to completely silence the aspects of [sic] history that instead could interrogate dominant ideological definitions…"[327] Like mentioned earlier, silence(ing) is one of the strongest rhetorical practices of public memory, and racial conciliation is a mechanism of white supremacy that facilitates such silencing through false claims of peace and equality.

Second, public memories can underwrite structural racial issues by creating hero and villain narratives that place racism and anti-racism as the responsibility of individuals rather than the systems that perpetuate racial oppression. Anti-racism advocates have long pointed to structural racism as the root of enduring racial

73

inequities. Public memories that exalt a particular individual—be that Harriet

Tubman, Sojourner Truth, or Frederick Douglass—detract from the structural racism

argument as they tend to pacify audiences with "proof" of racism's vulnerability in

the face of these great leaders and orators. Public memories that celebrate a singular

hero in the narrative of racism perpetuate the "bootstraps" fallacy wherein any

individual who speaks and does well can rise through the rankings to overcome any

obstacle, including, in this case, racism. Dana Cloud defined this genre as "tokenist

biography," where an individual is framed as a hero—one who arises from a

marginalized or oppressed identity group to illustrate liberal ideals of individual

success, responsibility, and an industrial-nature.[328] Woodley's analysis of the statute

of Mary McLeod Bethune illustrated how hero narratives often paint the individual

being remembered as transcending race; in the case of Bethune, her memorialization

emphasized her nature as an "American" hero and smoothed over her gender and

racial identity and the structural racism that she faced because of it.[329] The "tokenist

biography" trope is closely entwined with arguments of post-racial neoliberalism,

which "place[s] more emphasis on individual responsibility for how a person's life is

structured by choice as opposed to structural conditions (such as racism) shaping

what choices are afforded to individuals," explained Banks.[330] In other words, hero

narratives frame the challenge of overcoming racism as an individual responsibility

rather than a community or society-based one. Post-racial, neoliberal discourse in

public memory "directs attention away from structural systems of racism" and instead

offers praise or blame towards the individuals.[331] King and Gatchet observed this

argument in their analysis of the Mississippi Freedom Trail (MFT) markers that are

located across the state. The MFT markers represent both the idea of tokenist biography and post-racial neoliberalism by remembering the Civil Rights Movement activists in the discursive frame of the "American Dream." King and Gatchet argue that this framing is accomplished "through references of local leaders' entrepreneurial spirit and success in business, and through their participation (or persistent attempts to participate) in politics, education, and other state institutions."[332] Again, this becomes a problem because it masks white supremacy and racism as problems that individuals can triumph over, thereby discounting the hegemonic hold of these ideologies and their structural manifestations.

On the other end of the spectrum, public memory narratives that highlight the horrific acts of just a few "bad racists," rather than a racist system which produced and protected these racists, also mask the work of white supremacy. Houdek labeled this discursive move as "lone-wolf rhetorics," a type of public memory rhetoric that "sets a few individuals… on public trial while disregarding the enmeshed structures of power that perpetuate structural and institutionalized racism."[333] For instance, Houdek analyzed how, during the Civil Rights Movement and during the 2015 string of church arsons, public memories about Black church burnings were framed as "an episodic act of racialized violence" or "isolated acts" by a few bad people; this way of remembering ultimately worked to "de-racialize" the incidents, Houdek argued, and to delegitimate those who interpreted the acts as rooted in a more structural, cultural, pervasive racism.[334] Likewise, Dave Tell showed how some of the sites of public memory regarding Emmett Till's lynching tend to highlight the murderers as evil rather than the system of racism via Jim Crow segregation as evil; these sites tend to

have a less critical impact on the racial politics of the area.[335] Additionally, Florini denounced the rhetorical move to remember racists rather than systems of racism, arguing that we are "constrained by discourse that work to foreclose interrogation of or challenges to contemporary institutionalized racism by relegating racism to the realm of individual bad behavior."[336] In general, when we narrow our focus too much on individuals rather than systems, the system goes out of focus, is depoliticized, and remains hegemonic "common-sense" that undergirds the events and people being remembered. More specifically, Houdek argued that this is a problem related to public memory because it produces a public discursive frame where "bad" individuals become scapegoats, and those who consider themselves "good" white publics are liberated from the very real need to reflect on the ways in which racism is perpetuated in *their* everyday routines, social practices and unquestioned assumptions.[337] This failure to reflect critically produces "white liberal racism," or what Kelly Madison has labeled the "anti-racist white hero" identity.[338] As King and Gatchet argued, the public memory trope that villainizes individuals allows white people to locate white supremacy "in bad actors who reside outside the system," rather than looking within the system or within themselves.[339]

Third, public memories engage in the system of white supremacy when they tell the story or arc of racial justice progress that exacerbates the temporal distance between the "here and now" and the racial injustices of the past. In other words, public memories which regard previous moments of race activism, especially the Civil Rights Movement, as a historic and separate moment of time than our current realities can erase the continued legacy of racism and can frame the problems

associated with racism from the Civil Rights Era as antiquated. Temporal distance paints the Civil Rights movement, according to Florini, as "the end of the nation's systemic racism;" in other words, "institutionalized racism is thereby relegated to history" in the extricated temporal distance.[340] The Mississippi Freedom Trail markers, claimed King and Gatchet, provided an example of this argumentative trope as the markers presented the Civil Rights Movement as "something that is confined to the past" that thereby "limits the MFT's ability to speak to contemporary racial struggles in the present."[341] For the state of Mississippi who commissioned the markers, remembering the Civil Rights Movement is done in a way that emphasizes the "safe distant past at the expense of addressing cotemporary controversies."[342] The MFT markers, therefore, "avoids engaging in the temporal relationship between the past and present," instead framing the Civil Rights Movement as "won" and the struggle, "over."[343] The authors claimed that, "this understanding of history delegitimizes contemporary civil rights efforts" and paint a false narrative of the state as having transcended its racist history.[344] Houdek likewise argued that bombings and burning of Black churches that occurred in the 1960s are often framed as a historic issue, disconnected from the present, rather than a current issue faced by Black churches in the 21st century.[345] By framing racism as an issue of the past, public memories, Florini argued, "facilitates contemporary disavowal of its existence." And by framing racism as a "resolved issue," public memory allows for rhetorics that "obscure structural racism."[346] In other words, temporal distance is the hinge upon which erroneous post-racial arguments are built. The rhetorical work of this public memory framing silences folks who wish to show the continuous link between past

and present, depoliticizes past issues as only an issue of the past, and diminishes the historic significance of current racist structures.

Finally, public memories that engage in conversations about race but fail to recognize the legacy of racism as having material effects on individuals and communities take up the trope of multiculturalism that erases the need to talk about racism and white supremacy. Rhetorics of multiculturalism within public memory sites, such as museums, are problematic, according to Atwater and Herndon, because they "may give rise to an illusion of influence or power, as yet insufficiently realized."[347] Mary Triece also identified the rhetorics of multiculturalism in public memory, especially noting that "appeals to multiculturalism hinge on the term 'diversity' in order to celebrate race while eliding racism."[348] While many might consider multiculturalism and diversity positive, even anti-racist, ideologies, Triece argued that "diversity connotes inclusiveness without controversy," in that it buries the necessity of conflict and confrontation to dismantle systems of racism and white supremacy.[349] We see rhetorics of multiculturalism and diversity in public memory texts about race; for instance, King and Gatchet critique the MTF markers as a form of public memory that "privileges narratives about activism," but fails to "embrace the very system that attempted to disenfranchise Black Americans."[350] This exists as a form of remembering the controversy of past activism as an abstract idea related to progress for diversity without actually grappling with the structures of racism embedded in this activism. Coker, in studying the memorialization of Harriet Tubman on the $20 dollar bill, critiqued the uncritical and non-intersectional treatment of her memory on currency that creates a problematic "symbolic politics;" this case study, I

argue, exemplifies the issue with multiculturalism-based advocacy that does not address racism.[351] Those advocating for Tubman's memorialization on currency did more so out of appeals to multiculturalism than out of critical interrogation about material and economic oppressions.[352] This discursive trope takes on a neoliberal bend when public memory promotes "a sort of marketplace of diversity that recognizes race in terms of apolitical markers (e.g. food, dress, cultural practices) without acknowledging persistent structural racism."[353] Neoliberal concepts of difference exists where "difference is depoliticized, relegated to the private sphere and thus divorced from relationships of power," argued Jodi Melamed.[354] For example, Triece analyzed the "Connecting Cleveland" city plan and noted how the document engages in public memory work that "renders race in market-friendly terms, as a mode for engaging a depoliticized difference as opposed to a construct for understanding constraint and collectively experienced injustices."[355] The issue that all of these authors point to in their scholarship is the critique that overlooking racism in favor of multiculturalism, diversity, and inclusion "eliminates the need to rectify it."[356]

In addition to public memory tropes that promote ideologies of racial conciliation, individualism, temporal distance, and multiculturalism, dominant public memories also uphold white supremacy not only in form but also in context—when specific controversies surrounding public memory sites give way to arguments that privilege whiteness, especially arguments that assume white ownership, white authority, and white action. One way this occurs is through the discrediting of Black people as arbiters of official memory. Houdek called this "racial gaslighting" and

illustrated how white people questioned the interpretive authority of Black publics in framing the public memory narratives surrounding the Black church burnings controversies.[357] Rhetorical gaslighting occurred when arguments were made that Black people were "too intimately close to the subject to have an objective understanding."[358] Likewise, public memory controversies can be constructed in such a way that only white actors or white institutions that uphold white supremacy are those considered to have the agency to rightfully act or remember. When Brooks studied the public memory of the Keyes decision to desegregate schools in Denver, Colorado, she noted how the public memory controversies cast students and families of color as "acted upon rather than active in the struggle," which then contributed to "a savior characterization for White and middle-class families."[359] Citing historian Dell Upton's work on confederate monument removal, Maxson noted that many of the related controversies and arguments about monument removal assume a position of "white approval," which connotes that "whites are neutral arbiters of what is fair and truthful."[360] In addition to stripping agency and claiming authority over public memories, white supremacist arguments also circulate when white people claim victimage over public memory contestations. For instance, Maxson explained how public controversies related to confederate statutes has offered opportunities for white supremacists to defend values of supposed "white benevolence, gentility and superiority" in the name of "history," while also giving reason to perform "white victimage."[361] As these examples show, rhetoric scholars must not only conduct close textual analysis of the arguments offered in public memories, but they must also

consider the contextual details of the controversy to see how white supremacy exists in the situation surrounding the public memory text.

While the arguments made by dominant public memories of race may appear pervasive and powerful, we must also take note that white supremacy can be challenged by racialized memories that de-naturalize and un-mask the assumed and upheld whiteness in our public sphere. "Oppositional ideologies," argued Bonilla-Silva, "attempt to challenge common-sense by providing alternative frames, ideas, and stories based on experiences of the subordinate."[362] Public memory can promote oppositional ideologies, as research on counter-memories and counterpublic memories have come to indicate. Likewise, racialized counter-memories can contest the dominant ideologies and tropes related to white supremacy to illuminate, reveal, or center race or racism as central to the memory's meaning. More specifically, racialized counter-memories challenge the race-neutral or racism-hidden systems and, instead, highlight race and racism, typically from an anti-racist perspective. For instance, Brooks, citing Kendall Phillips, implied that racialized counter-memories can break the cycle of memories serving dominant interests by "disrupting the 'dominant enthymematic logic."[363] An enthymeme is an unstated premise and its persuasive power comes from asking the community collectively to make meaning and reasoning. White supremacy, I argue, often thrives enthymematically; therefore, revealing and troubling the enthymeme is one way that racialized counter-memories can resist white supremacy logics.

Drawing from the race and public memory scholarship already published, I posit that anti-racist actors have attempted to re-negotiate public memories as

racialized counter-memories by (1) decreasing temporal distance, (2) framing issues of racism as not episodic or individual but "indigenous to a white supremacist culture writ large,"[364] and (3) stimulating affect via memorial presences and absence. For instance, Florini highlighted the MXGM's website as an example of counter-memory in that it recontextualizes current events as connected to the past and decreases temporal distance between the past and present, thereby "constructing an uninterrupted historical continuum of racial oppression."[365] This connection between "past racial oppression" and "present racial politics" allows room to politicize, legitimize, and radicalize racial public memory.[366] Houdek considered the anti-racist vernacular rhetoric on Twitter that "gestures to an unbroken legacy… of racialized violence that pushes up against the logic of linear and progressive time that implicitly posits racism as a thing of the past."[367] Maxson argued that that histories of the confederacy can be re-remembered by anti-racist activists to "expose legacies of violence" and use rhetorics of residual memory to "reshape dominant memorial practices, reorienting them toward social justice," and to "facilitate collective conversations about the ways monuments participate in the production of power, privilege, and place."[368] Overall, what each of these scholars have identified and amplified through their research is a type of public memory work that engages in anti-racist discursive tropes while expanding the process of remembering to those typically depoliticized, deradicalized and delegitimized.

My dissertation aims to unveil and analyze the racialized counter-memory discourses that are created, negotiated, and circulated by college student activists; therefore, my research centers resistant epistemologies and the activist rhetorics of

anti-racist actors. It is important rhetorical work, for when we study racialized counter-memories that forward anti-racist tropes, we identify information, tools, and strategies that communities can wield to combat the hegemony of white supremacy. Our communities can and must do better anti-racist work, and many are trying. Messner and Vail remind us that communities often engage in public memory to "sanction calls for change" but these communities "remain deeply divided about how to uses that past to address ongoing racial discord."[369] Therefore, as rhetorical critics, our job should be to both name the hegemonic hold of white supremacy through the depoliticizing, deradicalizing, and delegitimizing issues of race/ism through dominant public memories and to also analyze and amplify racialized counter-memories that loosen the nefarious hold of white supremacy through strategies to re-politicize, re-radicalize and re-legitimize anti-racist discourses. As critics, we must expose and challenge, as the case study by J. David Maxson illustrated, "supposed neutral markers of history" and public memory in order to make space for more actively anti-racist public memory projects. "More inclusive memories must be shared," Maxson urged, "memories that foreground the voices and experiences of communities of color who continue to lead the struggle against institutionalized oppression."[370] This dissertation project explores these and other rhetorical strategies by student protesters in an attempt to combat the rhetorical and material legacy of racism and white supremacy on campus.

<u>Constructed Memories and Memories that Construct: Memories, Race, and</u>

<u>Space/Place</u>

As insinuated throughout this literature review, public memory is connected to and studied through places and spaces, often called *public memory sites* or *commemorative sites*. Scholars of public memory frequently assume, as Dave Tell pointed out, that, "site secures memory, anchors memory, modifies memory, intensifies memory, and even performs memory."[371] It is important, therefore, to take stock of this relationship between memory and place/space, and the directional nature of its relatedness, as studied by communication scholars. In this section, I review how public memory is typically studied as having two primary relations with space and place. First, we have studied how a place mediates or constitutes public memory ideologies. Second, we then study how those materially constructed public memory places exert rhetorical force or engage in "memory work." However, I will also advance the importance of a third relationship between public memory and place/space. Because public memories are not always mediated or constituted in public memory places, we need to consider how public memories (located in place, or not) can have material force on place and space, not just as a rhetorical force, at large. Overall, rhetoric scholars study public memory because we believe that it matters, as a symbol and as a force, in our political culture. Atwater and Herndon argued that "public space can display and reveal the intersection of race and culture in the recovery of a society's historical and cultural memory."[372] Likewise, Weisman stated that "the spatial arrangements of our buildings and communities reflect and reinforce the nature of gender, race, and class relations in society."[373] I, too, want to consider

84

the multiple forces that public memory may have in relation to physical places and practiced spaces.

I base my definitions of space and place predominantly on the ideas of Carly S. Woods and Michel de Certeau. In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, de Certeau argued that place "implies an indication of stability" through "an instantaneous configuration of positions."[374] Woods clarified, arguing that "a sense of decorum relies heavily on the idea of 'place'—some belong, others do not."[375] And it is *this* sense of decorum, or, as de Certeau claimed, a "law of proper rules" that gives place a distinct location, or sense of stability.[376] I build on that conceptualization of place by asserting that places are more physically rooted and socially recognizable. Indeed, place-making refers to the way an individual, community, or society constructs a place's meaning through dominant practice.[377] Space, on the other hand, is often considered more abstract than place. Rather than being fixed in concrete, specific, and distinct locales, space is relational and more complexly rooted in the intersecting and constantly in-motion ideologies, materials, and cultures over time.[378] There has often been confusion about the relationship between space and place, as space has been traditionally understood as "a static stage on which changing cultural practices take place."[379] Instead, we must consider how space is not an empty and stationary form waiting to be made into place, but that space is rhetorically powerful and complex— that "space is place as it has been constituted and shaped by practices," as Woods

posited. This offers a more complex understanding of space as idealized and open to transformation, via performances, that affords a more agentic definition of the term.[8]

In this dissertation, I clarify the difference between public memory places and spaces, giving special attention to the ways in which space serves as having agentic capacity to affect public memory as it functions in society. In relation to public memory, then, place is the specific, practiced, and concrete geographical or built environments upon which memories are negotiated. Public memory places, therefore, are the distinct locations that are practiced as public memory repositories. Examples of public memory places include statues, memorials, monuments, museums, graveyards, etc. The spaces of public memory, on the other hand, indicate the cultural enactment of space for the purpose of public memory. In this case, almost any area or place is available to be transformed into spaces of public memory, and this transformation is determinant on the "momentary articulation of moving matter," as Joshua Ewalt has asserted.[380] For instance, the area outside Breonna Taylor's apartment where activists and neighbors held vigils and created a memorial in her

---

[8] The recent spatial turn asks communication scholars to consider how space has the capacity to constrain or create. McAlister (2016) argued that we need to see space as "a dynamic dimension of all communicative encounters." For example, Kundai Chirindo (2016) considers how space can be formative to political subjectivities. Raka Shome (2003) argues that space is a "central component in communication. It functions as a technology—a means and a medium of power that is socially constituted through material relations." And Joshua Ewalt (2016) posits the connection between critical spatial theory and new materialism to understand how space and the materials of space effect world making and rhetorical existence. To Ewalt, space is the "momentary articulation of moving matter.".[8] Seeing the agency of the spatial is important in terms of activism and social justice work, as it allows us to, "understand how arrangements of material-discursive phenomenon participate in the (re)production of inequality.". McAlister, Joan. "Ten Propositions for Communication Scholars Studying Space and Place." *Women's Studies in Communication* 39, no. 2 (2016): 119.; Shome, Raka. "Space Matters: The Power and Practice of Space." *Communication Theory* 13, no. 1 (2003): 40.; Chirindo, Kundai. "Rhetorical Places: From Classical Topologies to Prospects for Post-Westphalian Spatialities." *Women's Studies in Communication* 39, no. 2 (2016): 127-131.; Ewalt, Joshua P. "The Agency of the Spatial." *Women's Studies in Communication* 39, no. 2 (2016): 139.

honor can be identified as a public memory space—transformed into a memory space via cultural enactment, material accumulation, and more. Likewise, I argue that public memory spaces are constituted in the cultural performances of and through the intra-active relation between discursive and non-discursive elements in specified memory places. Here, the distinction between place and space is the focus on the enactment of space at the memory place, and the resulting interaction of materials and subjectivity as individuals or communities relate, make sense of, and have embodied experiences with memories located in a public memory place. It is important to note the places and spaces of public memory are not in opposition or mutually exclusive; in fact, they are co-constitutive, informing and affecting one another—for instance, space is strategically utilized in the creation of place; place is given new meaning through the enactments of space.[381] I suggest that with public memory scholarship, we must be concerned with both the traditional focus on concrete and specific forms of place, as well as affordances of space as flexible, undesignated forms of cultural contribution.

As previously mentioned, much of our research in public memory rhetorical scholarship tends to emphasize the constitutive process of memory within places and to consider how public memory sites are made up of various public memories and resulting ideologies. If, as Vail argued, "public [places] become public memory repositories of their transmutations," rhetoric scholars attempt to understand how, and in what ways, places become said storage bins for memory.[382] The emphasis on the rhetorical process of public memory sites considers what public memory narratives, tropes, and ideologies are mediated by and through the places of memories. Scholars

such as Reed, Mandziuk, Lynch and Stuckey have taken up this task, analyzing contests in the memorializing process to show how various ideologies were negotiated in the memorial-making or museum-creation process. In other words, they illustrated how the physical site created on behalf of a public memory mediates the resulting dominant ideology which was chosen to be presented, constructed, and performed. Megan Fitzmaurice also argued that "the type of material used in [sic] commemorative places works to shape the social beliefs and practices embedded."[383] Special attention, therefore, is required to attend to how the physical places of public memory—including "the relative location of statues and memorials, the physical structures of the places they occupy, and the embodied elements of their positioning"—are produced to promote certain knowledges and practices related to the memory. Similarly, King and Gatchet illustrated how dominant public memory narratives about the civil rights movement were constrained through the physical form of the state-sanctioned trail markers.[384] Overall, these scholars illustrate the necessary work of interrogating the seemingly benign or singular understanding of a public memory place as one that was not already singular or complete, but rather rife with contests and competitions of various ideologies, from the past and through the present moment. By studying the way in which the memory is constituted for and by material memory sites, we can see how choices made "reflect a mediated process."[385]

Rather than only critiquing how memories are constructed within physical public memory sites, rhetoric scholars also consider how public memory sites construct. Indeed, it is impossible to argue that a public memory place is constructed of public memory narratives that are universally applied to and understood by the

88

public sphere. Rather, "there is a reciprocity of influence regarding space… it defines the individual, but so too does the individual define the space," argued Atwater and Herndon.[386] Rhetoric scholars, therefore, need to also understand the ways in which the public memory site, constructed physically and with its various public memory narratives and ideologies, interacts in space with various publics as a rhetorical force. In other words, studying place, public memory, and how these relate to the public can help rhetoric scholars understand the ways in which public memory places and spaces (re)produce ways of understanding, relating, and discussing with one another and our past.

First, public memory places promote various values and identities in the public sphere. Memory places, according to James E. Young, "provide the sites where groups of people gather to create a common past for themselves, places where they tell constitutive narratives, their 'shared' stories of the past; they become communities precisely by having shared (if only vicariously) the experiences of their neighbors."[387] In other words, public memory places and the practiced spaces of public memory constitute culture, identity, and community. Public memory places and the process of memorialization has, as Brooks posited, "a strong connection to the construction and maintenance of communal identity," that is especially important in matters of memory and race. For example, Maxson, in studying the removal of confederate statues in New Orleans, illustrated the importance of public memory places on various, and often competing, cultural identities and communities. The removal or non-removal of confederate statues in the city served to frame and enliven certain values and responsibilities of a community—in this case, one in the direction

towards justice and inclusion and the other in terms of white supremacy.[388] A public

memory place, therefore, in projecting certain communal values and identities,

affords the public the opportunity to "recognize … and re-envision a more equitable

culture," or not.[389]

Second, public memory places also affect how we collectively discuss and

engage in communal discourses. Gronbeck argued that public memory places can

function as:

> "a prologue for varied social dramas: political deliberation over
>
> future action, economy controversy over what indicators of supply
>
> affect what indexes of demand, myth of origin the ground the
>
> religious dogma and the collective identity of a people, and
>
> repository of the neuroses and psychoses that affect us individually
>
> and collectively."[390]

In other words, public memory sites serve as resources—or challenges—for

deliberation, debate, and discussion. For example, Lynch and Stuckey illustrated that

the way FDR's LWH museum was materially and discursively constructed absent of

conversations of race made it "markedly less able to serve as a rhetorical resource for

conversations on race and its place on our national politics." Fitzmaurice

demonstrated how the spatial dynamics of memory in the U.S. Capitol's National

Statuary Hall and visitor center communicate gendered, raced, classed, and other

types of inequities that affect how we understand and discuss topics such as political

reverence, the institution of slavery, and U.S. self-governance. We must pay attention

to this effect of public memory places, especially in terms of memory and race,

because scholars, such as Lynch and Stuckey, find that the places of public memory about race can, and do, inhibit "our ability to address contemporary injustice" and "understand our complicated present."[391] The effect of such rhetorical processes cannot be overlooked or oversimplified. How we remember, rooted in the places and spaces from which we remember, affects what discursive frames are available presently and in the future.

In addition to considering how public memory places and spaces affect our political culture, there are also a few rhetorical scholars considering how public memories (re)construct the material conditions—the places and spaces—of our world. For these scholars, public memories exert tangible and physical force on our landscapes, neighborhoods, and communities. For example, Dave Tell, in studying how Emmitt Till's memory has transformed the site of his murder, argued that "commemorative work is a powerful mechanism for transforming a site."[392] He used the example of Emmitt Till's murder that occurred across various counties in Mississippi and analyzed the memories (and memory places) surrounding the racial violence to show how it has "made geography a purchase point for racism and how racism has, as it were, spread itself out, unevenly, within the various topographies and jurisdictions of the Mississippi Delta to such an extent that things as otherwise innocuous as hills, bridges, river beds, apartments, and county lines begin to appear as evidence of racial politics."[393] Tell makes a considerable contribution to the study of public memory and place by suggesting that "an essential part of memory work is the remaking of place" and that "site is no more stable than commemorative work."[394] Another scholar who contributes to this line of thinking is Mary Triece, who posited

that *how* we articulate and frame public memories in public texts, such as city documents and strategic plans, can transform (or notably *not* transform) actual city landscapes.[395] For both of these scholars, how we remember does only affect identity, rhetorical resources, and deliberative potential, but it also has a profound effect on the material conditions around us.

Scholars of public memory places often note that public memory sites—traditional physical sites of memory such as statues or museums—are incomplete and imperfect as the limitations of place and physical manifestations of memory leads to the erasure of nuance, the formulation of incomplete accounts, and the exclusive focus on a singular and distanced past.[396] Therefore, should we not then consider how other forms of public memory work—those not necessarily rooted in place but rather through the cultural practice of space, such as those instantiated through protest—may be potentially less limited in making more complete, more transformative effects on our communities, specifically in the place and spaces of our communities? I believe that an anti-racist inquiry into race and public memory must reach this level of evaluation, if possible, in order to consider the physically rooted, material ways that public memory can either negatively or positively affect the environment, the cultural spaces, and the lived experiences of non-white people. It is not enough to consider public memory purely from an ideological perspective—how memories are constructed by or construct various ideologies—instead, we must also consider how the interactions of public memory, race, and space/place affect individuals and communities in praxis, and in the places/spaces they relate to one another. A key

concept to this form of public memory scholarship is the consideration of how spaces and places are materially (re)constructed by the rhetorical force of public memories.

A crucial premise to my dissertation is that the world is not shaped through "natural" forces; instead places and spaces are shaped and reshaped through rhetoric. For instance, I posit that college student protest rhetoric—especially in the case of making public memory arguments—can have markedly significant effects on the practices of spaces and physical places of college campuses. Additionally, I argue that the rhetorical and material force of white supremacy has also significantly shaped our world, as places are constructed from the standards of a westernized, colonized, racist society, and our spaces are practiced to function for and uphold hegemonic white supremacy. Katherine McKittrick agrees, claiming that "race and racism are serious geographic projects."[397] Fitzmaurice, citing sociologist Caroline Knowles, argued that the spatial dimension of "race-making" is made up of the complex social, communicative processes that (re)constitute racial hierarchy and order.[398] Fitzmaurice further claimed that, "the historical formation of places also shapes sites into racialized locations."[399] For instance, pointing to examples like the Indian Removal Act of 1830 and the redlining practices of the Home Owners' Loan Association more contemporarily, Triece argued that "historically, colonialism and White supremacy have guided the construction and configuration of spatial arrangements."[400] In my own published essay, I argued that the D.C. wards exist as government and community recognized racialized spaces, formed through a combination of historic redlining and school districting policies, current practices of gentrification, and the material unequal distribution of resources across the district. On-the-ground

narratives and communication phenomena, like the Huddles map I analyzed, reinforce racialized spaces through both community discourses and material practices.[401] It is important to interrogate the ways in which spaces and places are planned, employed, and practiced through hegemonic white supremacy because it causes "disparities across the city landscape," that "impact[s] residents' material well-being and access to basic resources."[402] For example, Triece critiqued city plans as "a social construction negotiating how a public will understand and engage with their physical space" and often through the hidden discourses and inequitable resources of racism."[403] The same can be said to be true of not just city landscapes, but rural geography, campuses, neighborhoods, and more. The rhetorical effect of policies and other political texts that shape our places and spaces through the logics of white supremacy remain important, because they have "left a legacy, an indelible mark on the landscape."[404]

The most nefarious element of white supremacy's effect on place/space is not just the way in which it creates inequitable landscapes based on race, but how this effect has been naturalized and made invisible—the hiding of this common-sense racism in our geography while simultaneously producing conditions of injustice and inequity. Indeed, the danger with this sort of inequality exists when the logics of white supremacy embedded in places and spaces are hidden, framed as neutral, or value-free. For example, arguments defending the protection of confederate monuments are often couched in claims for historical preservation and cultural preservation, citing an alleged value-neutral nature of history that must be preserved.[405] However, Maxson reminds us that these places "train collective habits

94

of remembering" related to white supremacy that thereby constitute "an active and material part of everyday life in the South."[406] In this way, white supremacy is allowed to live in broad daylight across the region, but under the protection of arguments regarding supposedly neutral landscapes of history. White supremacy is able to evade critique and scrutiny in the ways it is spatially rooted in arguments of "a presumably postrace landscape."[407] It is this normalcy of white supremacy in our places and spaces that I believe protestors using racialized counter-memories can trouble.

If ideologies of white supremacy have historically altered and currently shape our practices of space and place into a hegemonic, hidden system, then I argue that racialized counter-memories can disrupt the notion of a neutrally raced landscape by illuminating the connections deemed otherwise unintelligible. By publicly remembering race as a crucial component of the places and spaces of our communities in our past and present, the process creates a rupture in the supposedly neutral landscape and affords for ways of re-thinking how our spaces function. Vail agrees when he posited that "explicating the latent ideologies embedded in these [memory] sites can help reveal hegemonic structures while intimating alternative narratives that give voice to the historically marginalized and forgotten."[408] Maxson, for instance, illustrated how racialized counter-memory was effective in New Orleans when used by anti-racist activists to challenge the accounts that confederate memorials are "a neutral markers of Southern history," and allowed the community to remember the past "in a more capacious register."[409] Racialized counter-memory allows people of color to not only remember differently, but to occupy space in their

community differently by racializing their landscapes in attempt to combat white supremacy and fight for equity. Racialized counter-memory, therefore, works in concert with the theory of Black geography. Black geography is a theoretical framework and source of praxis that combines Black studies/feminism and human geography. In *Demonic Grounds*, Katherine McKittrick defined Black geography as "subaltern or alternative geographic patterns that work alongside and beyond traditional geographies and a site of terrain of struggle."[410] According to communication scholar Armond Towns, Black geographies are "contradictory, complex, dynamic challenges to the solidity of place" and serve, therefore, as a challenge to the white policing of space and place.[411] Racialized counter-memories, therefore, can serve as a tool of Black geography, one that I posit has strong rhetorical and material force in our presently racist society. Triece agrees, also citing McKittrick, arguing that this type of counter-memory "conjure[s] 'black geographies,'" which can inform a different way of producing and practicing place and space.[412] I am interested in understanding the rhetorical force of racialized counter-memories in (re)constructing spaces and places rooted in white supremacy, which in turn alters the future of our collective reality. Overall, I believe that racialized counter-memories can function to disrupt the enthymematic logic embedded in the neutral-facing white conceit in our places and spaces.

The relationship between public memory, place/space, and race was illustrated very recently during the national race protests of summer 2020. For instance, in public arguments over the nature of the deaths of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor by the hands of Minneapolis, MN and Louisville, KY police, respectively, we can

note that the way these tragedies were remembered and marked in our landscapes around the nation—from public art murals and street painting, to the rededicating of Black Lives Matter Plaza in Washington D.C.. And while many activists were quick to point out the performative rather than policy-driven nature of these actions, it still remains that the racialized counter memories of their deaths altered not only the places of these cities, but also the spaces, as cities across the nation were transformed from pandemic-ridden ghost towns to vibrant communities of impassioned protesters. Additionally, as a nation, the public discourse about their murders often collectively remembered their deaths not as one-off incidents of "bad cops," but as part of a larger institution of racial violence in the United States.[413] This public memory frame suggested and even contributed to instrumental, material, every-day change—from the enactment of Breonna's Law in Kentucky to the disinvestment of the MPD by a city council vote.[414] These transformations of space and place demand we answer the question, how does *how* we remember race, racial tragedy, and racial politics affect the way we exist and relate to one another in our spaces/places of community?

Project Significance and Scope

Clearly, many scholars have already studied public memory, generally, as well as public memory as a resource for upholding and disrupting white supremacy. So, how does this study add to rhetorical research about race, memory, and place/space? First, this dissertation is a significant contribution to rhetorical studies because it offers concerted attention on disrupting the ideology of white supremacy through a theory of *racialized counter-memory*. While we have often studied race and memory together, we have yet to name the rhetorical work of racialized counter-

97

memory. Theorizing racialized counter-memory answers the call by Matthew Houdek to "listen to the authority of those who speak from these differently articulated spaces, to think, critique, question, and feel beyond the logics and effects of the dominant epistemic terrain, and to open space for radical meaning-making practices that defy what might be taken as common sense,"[415] by David Maxson to "better understand how regressive memorial practices can be countered with broader memories of oppression and resistance," and by Megan Parker Brooks to "call out White racism, as it makes explicit the unstated enthymematic premises undergirding dominant memories that define [sic] identity." I define racialized memories as public memories that illuminate, reveal, or center race or racism as central to the memory's meaning. A racialized memory is "counter" when it contests or opposes a traditional narrative or dominant meaning of a memory event, person, or thing. Given the context of white conceit, common-sense racism, and hegemonic white supremacy, it is imperative that we theorize and identify racialized counter-memory in an attempt to challenge the supposed neutrality or naturalness that racism hides behind. Activists who engage in racialized counter-memories dare to remember differently, to infuse memory with race, and to ultimately alter the way in which we understand race relations and politics. My dissertation seeks to center racialized counter-memories as a key rhetorical phenomenon.

Second, my research will consider not just the mediated effects of public memory places or the rhetorical effects of the spaces of public memory, but it will also analyze the material influence of racialized counter-memory to alter the places and spaces of university campuses. Not only does this fill an understudied area of

public memory studies—short of Dave Tell and Mary Triece, the scholars of public memory often do not study the material effect of memories to better or change our conditional lives via space and place (re)constitution—but the focus on material effects is necessary to an anti-racist project. Scholars of race need to not only understand the rhetorical connections between race, place/space, and public memory, but to also analyze how rhetorics of race—in this case, rhetorics purposefully remembering memories in terms of race—can have a material influence on the physical world and lived experiences. In other words, this dissertation takes on a practical dimension by analyzing how the material conditions of the institution of racism and white supremacy may be disrupted by racialized counter-memories. Devoted to producing meaningful race scholarship, I am committed to engaging in scholarship as praxis and study the ways in which rhetoric can and does affect the every-day lives of people of color who experience racism through white supremacy. My dissertation will, therefore, reveal different rhetorical public memory strategies that students used to engage their universities in conversation about justice, and thus act as pedagogical material for scholars and students who hope to create a more equitable world.

Lastly, my dissertation research contributes to the field of rhetorical studies by amplifying the communication discipline's obligation to center the study of race and engage in anti-racist praxis. As the proliferation of the #CommSoWhite 2018 publication and the subsequent national conversations and controversies have indicated, communication scholarship, and the discipline as a whole, "normalizes whiteness."[416] Indeed, in the top communication journals, less than 10% of the

articles include race-related key words.[417] This statistics points to both the consistent

marginalization of race-related scholarship and the reproduction of institutional

racism at the publication and citation level. To counter the discipline's lack of critical

race engagement, authors Paula Chakravartty, Rachel Kuo, Victoria Grubbs, &

Charlton McIlwain recommend, "a collective engagement with work that addresses

racial antagonisms as central features shaping modern communicative practices."[418] A

2018 special issue of *Communication and Cultural/Critical Studies* on race and

rhetoric defended this stance through the arguments of dozens of communication

scholars. For instance, Matthew Houdek argued that the field must engage in

disciplinary board crossing, shifts in epistemology, and inventive re-imagining

practices in order to "fashion the tools and perspectives capable of militating against

the deep, transformative structures of violence and racialized power that continue to

bear down on black and other nonwhite communities with little relief."[419] Lisa Flores

asserted that we must move beyond mere inclusion of racial rhetorical criticism as the

goal for race scholarship; and instead, we must be critically insistent, present, and

vulnerable in the service of transformation.[420] I heed these clear calls for race

scholarship, as I hope to join the collective process by scholars that insistently,

interdisciplinarily, and inventively searches for and amplifies rhetorical forces that

can combat legacies of white supremacy and hopes to contribute to the project of

racial liberation, equity, and justice.

I believe a key element of this dissertation's significance is the decision to

study race and memory through the lens of college protests. First, I study race on

college campuses because racism is one of the fundamental ideological ills of our

nation and, therefore, our nation's institutions, including and implicating all of United

States higher education. To study racism as it occurs on college campuses is to

consider one of the United States' most historic, as well as largest, institutions— U.S.

higher education affects a significant population, over 16.5 million domestic and

international students were enrolled in U.S. colleges and universities in 2020. Second,

I want to study racialized counter-memory in the context of college protests because

student activism is understudied rhetorical work. While student protest does, indeed,

have a special place in the history of rhetorical criticism and the study of social

change by forcing scholars to rethink the foundations of rhetorical theory and

education in the mid-20th century, there are only a handful of recent publications that

consider student protests as a worthy source for rhetorical study.[9] However, I believe

the campus is a place brimming with rhetorical invention, as we have seen throughout

the history of college student protests—from engaging political theories like

participatory democracy, to producing inventive, satirical forms of argument such as

the Veterans of Future Wars/Future Gold Star Mothers organizations, to forcing new

ways of existing on campus via various protest forms. Scholars such as Risa

---

[9] According to anthology of essays in *Readings on the Rhetoric of Social Protest,* student protests in
the mid-twentieth century forced scholars to re-think the rhetorical implications that had previously
been laid out by rhetoric scholars.[9] Instead, rhetorical scholars had to consider how "the rhetoric of the
streets," as Franklyn Haiman postulated, could and should be incorporated into more traditional
rhetorical theory.[9] For example, Robert Scott and Donald Smith argued in their essay "Rhetoric of
Confrontation" in 1970 that student protest bring up the question of confrontation as a rhetorical tactic
and it required new considerations. They posit at the end of their essay that: "a rhetorical theory
suitable to our age must take into account the charge that civility and decorum serve as masks for the
preservation of injustice, that they condemn the disposed to non-being, and that as transmitted in
technological society they become the instruments of power for those who 'have.'" Additionally, when
looking at recent literature, the few examples of student-protest rhetorical study include Isaac West
(2010) on the PISSAR student movement in *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* and the
scholarship of Jamie Landau (2014) about the 1964 Berkeley protests as detournement in
Communication Quarterly. Hariman and Lucaites also reference college student resistance in their
recent (2001) inquiry into the 1970 Kent State University incident.

Applegarth have pointed to a need to understand the rhetoric of youth as agentic and capable, as it has often been traditionally discounted, infantilized, and resisted.[421] I argue that college students have proven, over the centuries, to have meaningful and significant rhetorical contributions. In a country held captive by the conditions of neoliberalism, late-stage capitalism, white supremacy, and extreme skepticism about the future, perhaps college student protests can offer alternative paths and solutions for some of our society's deep-seeded issues. By studying college student protest rhetoric—especially as articulated through racialized counter-memory—I believe that we can articulate a more critical understanding of democratic society, and thereby promote liberatory and inclusive social practices.

With these stated contributions, the research question I will be answering can be framed as the following: *In the context of college student protests in the 21st century, how do students create, negotiate, and circulate racialized counter-memories to confront legacies of white supremacy and (re)constitute space and place on campus?* The research question considers the multiple relationships among race, memory, and space/place and therefore will consider the following secondary research questions, including: How do the dominant discourses and landscapes of campus inform and affect what is available in terms of creating, negotiating, and circulating racialized memories? What types of anti-racist arguments do racialized counter-memories construct and how does these arguments confront legacies of white supremacy on campus? What material and rhetorical effects do racialized counter-memories have on the spaces/places of campus?

To answer these questions, I will take on three major case studies—one per chapter. Each chapter will analyze racialized counter memories that were wielded in student protest movements about racism and white supremacy in the 21st century at the University of Missouri, the University of Maryland, and the University of Georgia. The three universities studied here are all very different from one another, but in many ways, they are also similar. Each university is a large public state university. They are each their state's flagship university.[422] They all serve predominantly white student populations.[423] Although Missouri admitted women in 1867, Georgia and Maryland did not until the twentieth century; all three schools remained race segregated until the mid-twentieth century.[424] In choosing these three specific universities to study, I have identified universities representative of large, public, state-funded, white-serving colleges and universities—campuses where it is particularly easy for white supremacy to thrive enthymematically and/or in broad daylight. I chose each case study as they elucidate unique connections between student protest, race, memory, and place.

The first case study (Chapter 2) analyzes the Concerned Student 1950 protests at the University of Missouri (MU) that lasted for several weeks during the fall semester of 2015. From late September through mid-November 2015, the Black student activists at Missouri captured the attention of our nation as they named themselves "Concerned Student 1950" and engaged in multiple forms of protests, including digital activism and direct-action campaigns. While university discourse painted a picture of campus as a diversity-friendly or already-inclusive space, this sentiment contradicted the lived experiences and history of Black students at the

University of Missouri. Concerned Student 1950, therefore, racialized campus in order to disturb the sedimented culture of white supremacy at MU. In this chapter, I illustrate how, in many of their specific protest events such as the mock tour, parade disruption, and the sharing of their demands, the students produced racialized counter-memory arguments to (re)constitute MU's history, campus spaces, and its current leadership as serving an enduring racist university. In doing so, Concerned Student 1950 succeeded in their anti-racist activism, as university leadership conceded to many of the students' eight demands and the student movement's digital life motivated subsequent activism on other campuses across the nation. Overall, the texts and effects of racialized counter-memory analyzed in the University of Missouri chapter highlight the discursive power of the memory practice to racialize a predominantly white (and white-serving) institution.

The second case study, in Chapter 3, evaluates students' enactment of place at the University of Maryland (UMD) following the murder of a Bowie State University (BSU) student—2nd Lt. Richard Collins III—by white UMD student Sean Urbanski on campus on May 20, 2017. Students made explicit connections between Urbanski's crime, his ties with white supremacist groups, and a university culture that had conservatively supported ideological diversity, which students argued empowered Urbanski's actions. While university discourses painted the tragedy as an unfortunate incident stemming from external, national issues of white supremacy, UMD students engaged racialized counter-memory by creating and maintaining an informal memorial to Collins and by advocating for a formal, university-sanctioned memory site on campus. Therefore, this chapter focuses on the power of *racialized counter-*

memory places, and I argue that the student practices of and advocacy for a racialized

counter-memory place in honor of Lt. Collins worked to (1) infuse a racialized

standpoint to combat issues of unchecked ideological diversity, and (2) localize issues

of racism and white supremacy to campus, which countered institutional discourse

that located white supremacy as an external issue. Overall, the chapter elucidates the

role of memory sites and places within the context of racial violence that occurred at

the university campus.

In chapter 4, the last case study examines the demands by a coalition of

student and community activists at the University of Georgia (UGA) in 2019

regarding the recognition of and reparations for the history of slavery on campus. The

coalition was derived from years of controversy surrounding the unearthed remains of

enslaved people during a campus building expansion project in 2015. University

leadership had been defensive and secretive during the reinterment of the remains and

in response to calls asking UGA to recognize their historic role in slavery;

consequently the university struggled to produce meaningful physical memorials to

contextualize the remains and the history that accompanied them. Students, in

collaboration with faculty, staff, and community members, illustrated the limitations

of public memory sites to engage in appropriate anti-racist justice work. This chapter

analyzes why and how the student activists wielded racialized counter-memories to

connect past and present to advocate that UGA recognize and redress their historic

and current role in the economic oppression of Black people in the community. I

argue that these racialized counter-memory arguments served as a foundation for the

demands as the coalition asked for more than just retrospective justice that truth

105

offered; rather, they wanted to see economic justice. Ultimately, this case study prompts the question: "What can public memory *do*?"

I conclude this dissertation with a brief summary of the unique insights and comprehensive lessons learned from the case studies. Overall, I posit that, both in theory and in action, racialized counter-memory empowers communication scholars to reconsider the rhetorical and material work of race and memory when exerted as a force upon the conditions and systems of white supremacy. Overall, this project seeks to encourage not just rhetorical scholars, but also anti-racist (student) activists to study, enact, and amplify the power of racialized counter-memories in our rhetorical theories and lived experiences, as we collectively combat white supremacy on college campuses and beyond .

Chapter 2: "This Campus was Built on my B(l)ack":

#ConcernedStudent1950 and the Disruption of Institutional

Memory at the University of Missouri

This institution was created for white men ONLY.

Only white men.

And it was built on the backs of Black people.

- Jonathan Butler; graduate student, University of Missouri, 2015

Jonathan Butler, a graduate student at the University of Missouri (MU), was

uncertain if university leadership would act on the demands presented to them… or

let him die. He was on day five of his public hunger strike, which he announced on

November 2, 2015, as part of a larger campaign of students called Concerned Student

1950 advocating to end anti-Black racism on campus.[425] Black undergraduate and

graduate students began to camp outside, on a quad in the center of campus, to show

their support for Butler and the Concerned Student 1950 demands.[426] The publicity of

Butler's strike via the campsite was how the University of Missouri football team,

who had a 4-4 record in their first Division 1 NCAA South Eastern Conference (SEC)

season, learned about the student movement and Butler's strike. Members of the team

visited Butler at the campsite throughout the first week of November to discuss

progress towards the demands and their role and identity in the movement as Black

athletes.[427] On Saturday November 7, Ian Simon, the team's starting safety—

alongside several of his teammates—called Missouri coach Gary Pinkel to tell the

coach their plan to sit out of any upcoming games until the university president addressed Concerned Student 1950's eight demands and resigned.[428] Within 48 hours, amidst a flurry of media activity and Twitter updates, the entire team had signed on to boycott, and University of Missouri President, Tim Wolfe, stepped down from his position of leading the university. The hunger strike ended. Butler would live, but would the rest of the student demands?

The hunger strike. The boycott by the University of Missouri football team. The deluge of Tweets with the hashtag #ConcernedStudent1950. These are perhaps the most recognizable elements of the MU student protests in the fall of 2015. However, these events marked the end of a longer, more complex and evolving student protest campaign that occurred from late-September through mid-November in 2015 in Columbia, Missouri. During that time, the Black student led group "Concerned Student 1950" engaged the university administration through several disruptive tactics to demand that MU—and especially the President and the Chancellor—actively address the explicit anti-Black racism that characterized the campus. While news media eventually focused on the hunger strike and football team's boycott, the Concerned Student 1950 protest included several marches, educational events, written letters, and several other strategies and events to prove their ultimate claim, "racism lives here" and because of that, meaningful changes needed to happen across campus. The students provided eight non-negotiable demands to the university administration. First and foremost was an apology from and the resignation of Tim Wolfe. As the students wielded persuasive strategies over the course of six weeks, they ultimately succeeded in many of these demands. And in

doing so, they also received national attention—by both sympathizers and challengers—making Concerned Student 1950 perhaps the most well-known case of anti-racist student protest in the past decade.[429]

Scholars from across disciplines have been quick to study the structures, barriers, and institutions related to Concerned Student 1950 and have been vocal in their praise of the effectiveness of the protest movement. For example, John A. Fortunato et. al (2017) took an organizational approach to leadership and stakeholders when analyzing the protests at the University of Missouri.[430] Jason M. Martin and Stephanie Van See (2020) studied the case through the theories of crisis communication.[431] And Paige Alfonzo and Christina Foust (2019) built an ecological chronology of the student activism via social media to indicate the consequential rhetoric produced.[432] These and several other sources are quick to cite the Missouri case as not only perhaps the most well-known and published upon student campaign in the past decade, but also one of the most effective. Higher education research about the case often focuses on the failure of university leadership from an organizational standpoint.[433] For instance, Rick Seltzer of *Inside Higher Education* claimed that the university administration effectively "broke under the weight of those racial tensions, student protests and leaders who struggled and stumbled as they tried to respond."[434] Bianca Williams and Frank A. Tuitt noted that the Concerned Student 1950 protest "is a great case study not only of the effectiveness of student organizing, but also what can happen when the larger political context influences campus activism, and vice versa."[435] Overall, the Concerned Student 1950 strategic protest campaign has offered many opportunities to analyze the potent force of anti-racist activism on the

109

Missouri campus in fall 2015, and the institutional responses that succumbed as a result.

I posit that more attention needs to be paid to the rhetorical power of the students of Concerned Student 1950, especially given that the students' arguments centered issues of race, and previous scholarship on the Concerned Student 1950 protest movement has elided this topic. What arguments, symbols, and discourses did the students produce to bolster the power of their overall movement? What collective rhetorical formation did the students wield to bring attention to and change the condition of white supremacy on campus? Here, I focus on the particular student-produced rhetorics related to racialized counter-memory, as I view racialized counter-memory to be a key rhetorical strategy in many of the events and texts in fall 2015.

In what follows, I illustrate how student protestors at MU crafted rhetorical messages imbued with racialized counter-memory to persuade the university to make necessary changes for anti-racist ends. The Concerned Student 1950 demands, when implemented, not only encouraged conditions of equity for Black students, but they also altered campus landscapes and digital spaces in meaningful ways. To argue this point, I first explicate the history of anti-Black racism at the University of Missouri, illuminating the campus's sedimented racist culture. Next, I analyze three major texts from the student movement—the letter issuing demands, the homecoming parade disruption, and the mock campus tour—to show how racialized counter-memory was evoked and how the arguments produced by the student protestors specifically racialized the campus and advocated for change. Additionally, this chapter analyzes the rhetorical and material effects of racialized counter-memory on campus, drawing

connections to the way both campus places and digital spaces were altered in the process of student activism. Ultimately, the University of Missouri student protests exemplify the strength of wielding racialized counter-memory in the context of a sedimented white supremacy culture at MU.

A Landscape of Exclusion: The History of Anti-Black Racism at Mizzou

The University of Missouri's history related to enslavement, segregation, and discrimination follows a familiar arch. The state flagship was founded in 1839 for the admission of white men, exclusively. The construction of the institution's campus in Columbia, Missouri, was fundraised, in large part, by enslavers, and built by enslaved people. Indeed, James S. Rollings, often considered the "Father of Missouri" was himself an enslaver who owned at least 36 Black people;[436] furthermore, Rollins was instrumental in determining the location of MU by securing large donations from residents of Boone County, predominantly other wealthy enslavers.[437] While there is no official record of enslaved people's labor on early campus construction projects, according to a Missouri teaching fellow and historian Zach Dowdle, the likelihood of such practice is undoubtable, as the use of enslaved labor was common in Boone County.[438] Additionally, Dowdle posited that, "slaveholders also frequently rented out their slaves to the university for use as janitors and servants."[439] Two out of the first three presidents alleged pro-slavery stances, with James Shannon, the second president from 1850-1856, being famously known for campaigning and preaching in defense of slavery.[440] Shannon's oratory likened abolitionists to sinners and claimed that slavery was sanctioned in the Bible.[441] The university's archives also hold records of Shannon bringing enslaved labor to campus for janitorial purposes.[442]

111

Unquestionably, the success of the university's founding and fledgling years were bolstered by the labor of enslaved people and the wealth they provided to their enslavers.

After the abolition of enslaved people in the 19th century quickly led to the proliferation of separate higher education institutions for Black citizens, the University of Missouri actively campaigned to ensure segregation thrived despite early push-back in the 1930s and 40s. At least 70 Black students applied to the University of Missouri between 1935 and 1950, and yet they were all unsuccessful in their enrollment into any programs.[443] The most harrowing case was that of Lloyd Gaines, who applied to the University of Missouri School of Law. When he was denied and told that the state would pay for him to attend law school at a Black college out of state, Gaines sued the university. In 1938, his case was heard by the U.S. Supreme Court, and the case was awarded in Gaines's favor. However, the newly admitted Lloyd Gaines was never able to take advantage of his legal rights to attend the University of Missouri, for he inexplicably disappeared in March 1939.[444] As with universities across the nation, white supremacy's grip on admissions policies held strong as universities came up with creative legal loopholes to bar the admission and entrance of Black students. For instance, in 1939, after finding out one of their new admissions into the journalism school's graduate program—Lucile Bluford— was, in fact, a Black woman, the school barred her entry. And when Bluford finally won her case in the Missouri Supreme Court two years later, the university closed the graduate program under the pretense of wartime scarcity.[445] The university's history,

therefore, includes active and implicitly violent examples of barring mixed raced education at the state flagship institution.

The University of Missouri officially accepted and enrolled its first Black student—Gus T. Ridgel—in 1950; however, and not shockingly, the legacy of white supremacy held firm at the institution over the next seventy years.[446] The 1960's was rife with racial tension on campus. For instance, white fraternities and other organizations often engaged in pro-slavery and white-supremacist symbology and activities. These activities included "slave parades" and the display of confederate flags regularly on campus and during marching band performances at football games.[447] In response to the campus climate, in the fall of 1968, Black students—and especially the members of the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity—founded the Legion of Black Collegians (LBC), and they would spend the next several years advocating for changes such as (1) hiring Black faculty members, (2) establishing a Black studies program and cultural center, and (3) removing "Confederate Rock" from its place on campus.[448] Confederate Rock is a 5.5-ton stone memorial to confederate soldiers, and it was dedicated by the Daughters of the Confederacy in 1935 in a prominent location on campus.[449] The LBC student demands were met, in part. The university did hire its first Black faculty member—Arvarh Strickland—who taught the university's first Black history class.[450] Students did not immediately receive a Black Studies major, but a minor was created in 1970.[451] The university established a "Black Culture House" in 1971—it was later re-opened in a newer, bigger space (following student protests in 1998) and renamed the Gaines/Oldham Black Culture Center in 2000.[452] And Confederate Rock was removed from campus in 1974… only to be relocated in

113

1975 to the steps of the county courthouse, a stone's throw away from the main campus.[453]

Racist incidents, anti-Black culture, and Black student activism continued on campus throughout the 1980's, -90's and into the 21st century, marking the university's continued struggle to include, accommodate, and prioritize Black students. In 1987, hundreds of students and faculty members marched on campus to demand a "boost in minority enrollment, condemn racism and hold UMC colleges and schools separately accountable for failing to meet black recruiting goals."[454] At the time, there were only 740 Black students on campus, or roughly 3% of the student population.[455] In 1988, the Legion of Black Collegians argued against the University of Missouri's homecoming theme: "Show me Old Mizzou" for its glamorization of the antebellum and segregationist past. The LBC instead created a counter-theme which they called "Show me a New Mizzou" with the tagline "Black to the Future."[456] Roughly 10 years later, students advocated for a new and larger Black Culture Center that would be located more centrally on the university campus.[457] And despite the hiring of the first Black president of the MU system in 2003 and the creation of the Chancellor's Diversity Initiative in 2006, racist incidents on campus mounted in the 2010s.[458] For instance, two undergraduate students, Zachary Tucker and Sean Fitzgerald, were arrested in 2010 for scattering cotton balls on the lawn in front of the Gaines/Oldham Black Culture Center.[459] They were charged with littering since the university had no hate crime policy instituted on campus.[460] A year later, another white student, Benjamin Elliot, was arrested for spray-painting the word "n*****" on a sculpture on campus; he was not charged with a hate crime.[461] None of

these three students were expelled from the University of Missouri despite their criminal charges. In a documentary about the Missouri protests, produced by Spike Lee and called *2 Fists Up*, student leaders reflected on their experiences as Black students on a white campus, which they argue lead up to the 2015 protest campaign. The students remarked how they regularly were called various derogatory phrases including "n*****" and other micro and macro-aggressions.[462] "This is just a common rite of passage for black students when we embark on Mizzou's campus," argued graduate student Danielle Walker, "to be prepared to have these interactions with white students; this is just something that's part of our culture here."

While the racist culture at the university offered plenty opportunities to radicalize Black student protestors in 2015, perhaps one of the most important historic events was the killing of Mike Brown by Ferguson, Missouri, police officer Darren Wilson in August 2014. With Ferguson located only 110 miles from the University of Missouri's main campus in Columbia, many students not only had ties to the St. Louis suburb, but also attended Ferguson protests in response to Brown's killing. These predominantly peaceful protests often turned violent when police and national guard officers, dawned in riot gear, attacked protestors with weapons such as rubber bullets and tear gas.[463] On Missouri's campus, the university leadership released a public statement denouncing police brutality, hoping to distance themselves from the violence occurring down the street. The university organized listening sessions with the purpose of allowing students and other campus community members to process the Ferguson incident and the death of Mike Brown. Instead, what happened at many of these events was that attendees, especially Black students,

reflected on their experiences with racism on campus, allegedly leading the Chancellor to label the talks "bitch sessions."[464] Later in the fall of 2014, a new anti-racist student organization—MU for Mike Brown—was founded by three queer Black women. It was described as "a collective of students interested in organizing and interested in making sure we knew that our lives matter… Making sure we put pressure on our students—white and black students here—to know… to learn about the injustices going on outside in the world but also translate those injustices to what's happening at our institution," explained student leader DeShaunya Ware.[465] The listening sessions and new student collective provided Black students with an avenue through which the Black consciousness on campus was elevated.

Consequently, the history of anti-Black racism and white supremacy at the university produces dominant discourses and landscapes that inform and affect the material lives of students at the university. Black students have had to reconcile their existence on a campus that consistently names and valorizes former enslavers— indeed James S. Rollins's name can be found everywhere such as prominent street names (Rollins Street), building names (Rollings Dining Hall), scholarships (James S. Rollins Scholarship Fund), and honor societies (The Rollins Society).[10] There is a statue of Thomas Jefferson prominently featured on campus. Even the Gaines/Oldham Black Culture Center, a safe space and refuge for Black students, serves as a reminder of the violence of white supremacy, as Gaines's name marks the

---

[10] It is interesting to note that, the great-great grandson of James Rollins created a permanent endowed fund—the James S. Rollins Slavery Atonement Fund—in 2008 to benefit the Black studies department; Watson, Jamal. "Descendent of University of Missouri Founder Creates Slavery Atonement Fund," Diverse Issues in Higher Education, February 20, 2008. https://diverseeducation.com/article/10697/

campus with a reminder of a man who chose to challenge racism and segregation and, more than likely, paid with his life. The campus is also marked by other discourses of exclusion; for example, the Women's Center, Multicultural Center, LGBTQ Resource Center, and Relationship and Sexual Violence Prevention Center are all located in the basement of the Student Center.[466] Students and scholars are quick to point out the basement metaphor; graduate student A.F. Lewis explains, "the inclusion of these spaces implies a commitment to diversity, while still placing those values as literally and figuratively 'below' the status quo of the unmarked campus space."[467] The Gaines/Oldham Black Cultural Center is located more prominently on campus than these other student spaces, but only after 1998 student protesters "convinced University of Missouri administrators that the mission of the Black Culture Center was still pertinent" and demanded that the center be more centrally located.[468]

The meaning of these campus landscapes should not be diminished. In each of these cases, whiteness is naturalized, and the campus is implicitly reiterated as a space that privileges white students. For instance, the baseline inclusion of marginalized community spaces offers enough evidence to say that the campus is an "inclusive environment," without critically questioning not only the location of these safe spaces (e.g. the basement), but also the actual culture, policy, and interpersonal relationships that dictate campus. As A.F. Lewis posited, "if the diversity centers are in the basement, there is little reason for privileged students to be down there, making this 'inclusion' not so integrated into the fabric of the campus."[469] The presence of people of color on campus offers anecdotal statistics that the university is diverse and multicultural without critically questioning how the business model of the university

117

superimposes the needs of BIPOC students once they arrive on campus and are

berated with derogatory labels and microaggressions by white students. As a result,

BIPOC students reflected that marginalized students often stick to their safe spaces,[470]

allowing their diverse presence to be, in many ways, hidden in a campus that

overwhelmingly identified as a privileged space for white students. Overall, the

rhetorical accumulation of racist people, places, and incidents under the guise of a

neutral and seemingly inclusive landscape "sediments" as Matthew Houdek would

say into common sense logics and naturalizes landscapes.[471] The effects of white

supremacy over the course of the University of Missouri's history had sedimented

onto campus, making it so imbedded that an uncritical observer could observe

campus as a benevolent place for *all* students.

In official university communication, university leadership portrayed their

campus as a diversity-positive space, despite its sedimented culture in white

supremacy. For instance, the diversity website for MU in 2015 boasted the scope and

resources for diversity on campus—from the office of equity, to bias incident

reporting services, and enrichment programs for students of color.[472] The university

had also published a progress report on diversity-related initiatives from 2010-2012

without stating that these initiatives stemmed from the racist spray-painting and

cotton ball incidents that occurred in those years. The report highlighted both "some

baby steps, some giant steps" that the university had made since that period of overt

racism.[473] And despite all of this signposting that occurred on the website, the

diversity website at MU in 2015 still fell into the trap of what Nana Osei-Kofi, Lisette

E. Torres, and Joyce Lui have exposed: how university communication about

diversity often centers and caters to a white majority audience.[474] Indeed, the very first drop down on the MU diversity website included the tagline "Why Diversity? How an Inclusive Campus Benefits Me," with the assumed "me" taking on a white viewpoint and indicating that white students at Missouri needed to be convinced of the benefits of a multicultural campus.[475] Overall, what the diversity website at MU articulated was both problematic forms of institutional diversity rhetoric and engagement in what Jennifer F. Hamer and Clarence Lang called an approach that "absolves predominantly white universities of any responsibility in substantively altering institutional policies and decision-making, effectively leaving the burden of racism to people of color."[476] Clearly, MU spent resources proving that their campus combatted white supremacy through institutionalized initiatives, but, by catering to the white majority, they failed to meaningfully address the racist culture on campus.

These rhetorical and material structures of white supremacy at MU also affected what rhetorical invention was possible for Black students at Missouri. The discourses of a diversity-friendly or already-inclusive campus contradicted the lived experiences and history of Black people on the University of Missouri campus from the inception of the institution to the current moment students experienced in 2015. Therefore, one of the main rhetorical tasks for Concerned Student 1950 was to racialize campus and to do so in a way that demanded anti-racist reckonings. In other words, students needed to mark campus as a space that should afford *more* than just white people, and they did so by (re)marking the institutionalized memories of white supremacy.

119

The Concerned Student 1950 protests at the University of Missouri lasted for several weeks during the fall semester of 2015. The student movement was catalyzed by a Facebook post by the Missouri Student Association (MSA) President Payton Head on September 12, 2015, where he disclosed being called a "n*****" and a "faggot" by students as he walked on campus.[477] In the post, he reflected on all the types of discrimination—based on race, gender, sexuality, and more—that he had seen on campus, and he urged students to sign up to be a Diversity Peer Educator.[478] The post went viral and was shared thousands of times by those both within and outside of the University of Missouri network.[479] While students waited for Chancellor R. Bowen Loftin's response, they organized. On September 24, students held a "Racism Lives Here Rally," where Black students and some allies marched from the campus's "Speaker's Circle" to the administration building.[480] The rally remarks, made by students Danielle Walker and Jonathan Butler, condemned the Chancellor's six-day waiting period to respond to the racial harassment incident of Payton Head.[481] They also discussed the university's failure to act in the face of the many racial incidents on campus in the previous years.[482] A second rally took place a week later, on October 1, when students marched through the much more public and crowded student center, articulating the same arguments.[483] Organizer Danielle Walker was quoted saying that this protest felt like a "big deal" because, "we were no longer regulated to our safe spaces, of being in the black culture center. We were going to continue to disrupt these spaces—spaces where students of color, Black

students, don't feel comfortable."[484] These events were only the beginning of a concerted student protest movement.

Over the next month, several events would propel a group of discontented students into a well-organized and robust protest campaign. A few days following the second rally, on October 5, members of the LBC organization were practicing for their programming in the upcoming homecoming parade when they were harassed and accosted by a white male student who called the Black students "n*****." In a statement by the LBC on Twitter that night, the members reflected that:

> Not only did this individual disrupt our rehearsal, but we were also made victims of blatant racism in a space that we should be made to feel safe. Just as our white peers, we have earned our place at the University of Missouri, paying tuition to further our education at the institution we love. We feel that under no circumstances should we be made to feel as though we don't belong. But, on a daily basis, we face the reality that we are the minority on a predominantly white campus. We have to attend lecture halls knowing that we will likely only see a handful of faces that resemble our own. We walk on campus acknowledging that it was only 65 years ago that the first black student was admitted to this institution… We are reminded daily of our blackness and for that we are prideful. We will not, however, tolerate this type of behavior towards us at Mizzou and we sincerely hope that the University feels the same way."

Chancellor Loftin issued a formal response three days later, and his main action was to initiate mandatory online diversity training for all MU faculty, staff, and students. For Black students, the announcement was the step in the right direction, but it was not a strong enough action to alter the landscapes and logics of white supremacy imbedded on campus.[485] Black student activists, likewise, were frustrated from a lack of communication with the university president, Tim Wolfe, and others in upper administration.[486]

To make their case clear, a small group of 11 Black students notably disrupted the 2015 homecoming parade in advance of President Tim Wolfe's motorcar as it made its way through the parade procession. The students wore black shirts that on the front depicted the Black Power symbol and, on the back, read, "1839 WAS BUILD ON MY B(L)ACK." The students then linked arms to form a human chain in front of Wolfe's car. After the event, Butler explained, "we disrupted the parade specifically in front of Tim Wolfe because we need him to get our message." The protest blocked Wolfe's procession for less than 15 minutes, during which the students participated in chants and speeches led by various Black students with the amplification of a bullhorn. The speeches themselves highlighted the history of anti-Black racism at the University of Missouri and demanded swift and direct action by the university administration. The protest reached an apex when, after the rest of the parade was diverted through a parking lot, Wolfe's driver, who was unable to be diverted and remained stuck amidst the protesters, began to lose his patience. The driver was seen and heard revving his engine and even bumping into the line of protestors. A few minutes after that, the university police removed the students from

the scene. Reflecting on her experience as one of the 11 demonstrators, student Ayanna Poole revealed, "the homecoming demonstration was probably one of the most traumatic experiences for me. It was like staring white supremacy in the eye."[487]

On October 20, the student collective officially named themselves "Concerned Student 1950" and released a set of demands to the administration. In the letter, Concerned Student 1950 framed themselves as a representation of "every Black student admitted to the University of Missouri since [1950] and their sentiments regarding race-related affairs affecting their lives at a predominately white institution."[488] The document also charged the university of engaging in "reactionary policies," and for "perpetuating oppression through their inaction."[489] The letter concludes with a list of eight demands, the first two including: (1) a call for MU President Tim Wolfe to apologize for his behavior in the homecoming parade protest and (2) a demand for Wolfe to resign and be replaced by a president selected by "a collective of students, staff, and faculty of diverse backgrounds."[490] The other demand items comprised of calls for systemic changes related to curriculum, recruitment, retention, and mental health on campus. Notably, the third demand compelled the university to meet "the Legion of Black Collegians' demands that were presented in 1969 for the betterment of the black community."[491] A week later, on October 27, Wolfe met with representatives of Concerned Student 1950 but none of the demands were met.

The following week would be the most tumultuous of the semester for the students and administration. On November 2, prominent Concerned Student 1950 organizer and graduate student Jonathan Butler announced in a letter to the University

of Missouri System Board of Directors that he would undertake a hunger strike until Wolfe resigned.[492] He made the announcement after discussing the option with the members of Concerned Student 1950 and other Black students at the university. Many of Butler's friends and allies did not agree with his tactic, worried that he was putting his life on the line and giving Wolfe the power to determine his ultimate fate.[493] However, in the evening of the same day as Butler's official hunger strike announcement, about ten students involved in Concerned Student 1950 began to camp on Carnahan Quad, also known as Freedom Plaza, to "push for the removal of Tim Wolfe as UM System's president, and also in support of Jonathan Butler and his endeavors to generate change," explained one MU senior.[494] The number of students camping on the plaza increased over the next few days, and they prepared themselves to campout until the end of the semester, if necessary.[495] The following day saw another failed meeting, this time between graduate student activists and Wolfe. By November 5, the campus climate was so racially charged that Concerned Student 1950 decided to postpone a protest scheduled to occur following the Missouri-Mississippi State University football game in the evening of November 5, citing their fear of physical retaliation by white students and visitors.[496] Then, on November 7, Concerned Student 1950 participated in yet another protest, this time during a large campus recruitment event for prospective students. The protest served as a "mock tour" for the prospective students and offered counter-narratives to some of campus's most recognizable spaces.[497] Students marched from the Plaza 900 dining hall to Rollins Dining hall, then to the Black Culture Center, the MU Student Center, Freedom Plaza (the student campsite), Mark Twain Hall and then concluded

124

at the Alumni Center, where they spoke to the Griffiths Leadership Society of Women.[498] Throughout the mock tour protest, student activists highlighted racial histories and incidents that had occurred over the years and on various spaces and places on campus.[499] Around 9pm on November 7, Black members of MU's football team announced, on Twitter, their plan to boycott all upcoming football games.[500] The LBC shared the news on their own Twitter thread, amplifying the Black football players' message that, "we will no longer participate in any football related activities until President Tim Wolfe resigns or is removed due to his negligence toward marginalized students' experiences."[501] News outlets around the United States shared the news, especially in the following morning, November 8, when the entire MU football team—players, coaches, and staff—claimed solidarity with the Black athletes and confirmed their intention to boycott as an entire team.[502]

On Monday morning, November 9, 2015, Tim Wolfe resigned as president of the University of Missouri. Despite Wolfe's statement that his resignation was made in light of concerns over escalating violence, many journalists have attributed the pressure by the football program as a catalyzing factor in his resignation announcement as it began to affect potential athletic donations and other related monetary aspects of the university.[503] By then, thousands of people around the nation and world were following the Concerned Student 1950 movement—especially when it began to affect Missouri athletics and its coveted NCAA South Eastern Conference (SEC) schedule.[504] The result was a deluge of media reporters who not only covered the president's resignation, but also the reaction of hundreds of students who celebrated at the Freedom Plaza student campsite. Humble requests by students and

faculty for the removal of the media from the student campsite turned into staunch demands, including the use of bodily force and body-chains to remove or keep media out of Freedom Plaza. Part of this incident spotlighted Dr. Melissa Click, a MU mass media faculty member whose aggressive support of the students' privacy became both a national story and source of commentary for conservative outlets.[505]

While the celebration turned to frustration over media-protester clashes in person, observers online took their reactions to Wolfe's resignation to platforms like Twitter. Supporters applauded the voice and power of student protestors; for instance, acclaimed anti-racist author Ijeoma Oluo tweeted "truth to power. I'm so unbelievably proud of these kids."[506] Anthony Tretter, who served as the Student Government Association president at MU in 2020-2021, tweeted as a high schooler, "never underestimate the power of students. Our voices WILL be heard."[507] Critics also raised their voices on Twitter. Fox sportscaster Clay Travis tweeted "Mizzou president resigns despite doing nothing wrong. Mob gets another scalp." And other members of the public articulated disgust at the resignation. @SprayCanAnn tweeted, "I support YOU Mr Wolfe @UMPrez;This is #UNFAIR and #WRONG. Hypersensitive and out of control! #TimWolfe #Pressured. #StrongArmed? #Forced?" and @ehilli99 lamented *"Tim Wolfe gives in to the stupid protest and resigns. How ridiculous."*[508] While folks tweeted to show favor or critique of the student protestors, the controversy unfolded further on another social media platform, Yik Yak. The then-popular social media app allowed individuals to post anonymously within a geographic area. On Tuesday, November 10, three anonymous posts alluded to the shooting and killing of Black students on campus.[509] Following the elated

reactions to Wolfe's resignation announcement, Black students then had to face the reality of fearing for their lives simply due to their activism. After the arrest of a MU student for the threats, the semester ended quietly, although Concerned Student 1950 continued to organize, protest, and hold events throughout the remainder of the school year.[510]

As the media attention died down and Black students resumed classes albeit with residual fear over their safety, what remained was a legacy of an anti-racist student movement that engaged many strategies and arguments that effectively exerted pressure on the state flagship of Missouri. By isolating and studying a few of these strategies, we can get a better understanding of the content and form of these persuasive tactics, and especially the role of racialized counter-memory in the success of the Concerned Student 1950 movement.

Mock[ing] Campus History: Racialized Counter-Memory and Concerned Student 1950

Organizing under the motto, "racism lives here," Black students at the University of Missouri spent a full semester challenging both students and administrators to reckon with and take responsibility for their perpetuation of white supremacy on campus. Racialized counter-memories have the capacity to negate the assumed neutral or natural "white" standpoint of institutional history by infusing such histories with memories that center race and promote anti-racism. To racialize, or make race known, within the institutional history serves to destabilize the assumed history and offer a counter-memory that, in turn, activates exigencies for racial justice. For Black students at Missouri, their greatest frustration was the inability of

127

white students, faculty, and leaders to recognize the legacy of white supremacy at MU and to connect the resulting tendrils of racism that occurred frequently on campus. Therefore, engaging in racialized counter-memories served as a viable rhetorical strategy for illustrating what white members of MU seemed unable to see: "racism lives here," or in other words, that white supremacy continued to thrive in the environment provided to it by the larger campus community. The three events from the overall Concerned Student 1950 campaign that best highlight the use of racialized-counter memory—the list of demands, the homecoming parade disruption, and the mock campus tour—offer a robust study of how students create, negotiate, and circulate such memories.

Creating Identity Through a Collective Past: The Naming and Demanding of Concerned Student 1950

One of the most compelling examples of racialized counter-memory rhetoric took place in the document that named and situated the "Concerned Student 1950" student protest group, and explained the group's identity, purpose, and demands. Published on October 20, 2015, the originating document framed the student group as not just a stand-alone entity, but one whose power was reinforced by its connection to the collective past. The two-page document began with a five-paragraph letter addressed to "The University of Missouri," and articulated the rationale for the existence of the students' activism and concern. The end of the letter also included a date, October 28, 2015, when the students expected to hear back from university administration. The letter also claimed that if such a response was not made, then

Concerned Student 1950 would "take appropriate nonviolent actions." Following this ultimatum, on page two of the document, the students presented their eight demands.

Overall, throughout the document, the students of Concerned Student 1950 evoked rhetorics of racialized counter-memory that painted anti-Black racist incidents on campus as part of a decades-long legacy—as old as integration itself; in doing so, the collective history of white supremacy connected Black student struggles in the past, present, and future. The document justified the long-term need for Black student advocacy at the University of Missouri. In the first part of the statement, Concerned Student 1950 framed their need to amplify the "raw, painful, and often silenced history of racism and discrimination on the University of Missouri's campus," which included, "the actual year that the first Black student, Gus T. Ridgel, was accepted in the University of Missouri wasn't until 1950, hence where the concept of 'Concerned Student 1950' comes from."[511] The document went on to illustrate the intimate link between the first-admitted Black students and the current Black students: "Concerned Student 1950, thus, represents every Black student admitted to the University of Missouri since then and their sentiments regarding race-related affairs affecting their lives at a predominantly white institution.[512]" In other words, within the first paragraph of the demands document, Concerned Student 1950 recognized Missouri's painful past and refused to acknowledge successful desegregation as the endpoint to discrimination and violence against Black people at MU's campus. They linked the struggle of every enrolled Black student from 1950 to 2015 to indicate a shared and long-lasting experience of oppression at the predominantly white institution.

Another element of racialized counter-memory was illustrated in the student demands section of the letter, where they made an explicit link between past and present through rhetorical constructions of time and memory. Integral to the eight demands presented in 2015 was the inclusion of the LBC demands from 1969. More specifically, Concerned Student 1950 continued, "we demand that the University of Missouri meets the Legion of Black Collegians' demands that were presented in 1969 for the betterment of the black community,"[513] alluding to the list of 15 demands made during the initial formation of the LBC student group. Some of the issues named in this mid-20th century document included the recruitment and hiring of Black students and faculty and the creation of and programming for the Black Cultural Center, as well as demands for additional financial support for Black and other minority students, concerns over university policing, and requests related to cultural change (e.g. changes to the marching band program and the removal of confederate rock). The 1969 demands sound eerily familiar to the 2015 list, which also includes funding, recruitment, hiring, and broader campus culture concerns. While the 2015 document might differ in their demand for Wolfe's resignation and the aspiration for additional mental health resources, the third demand in the Concerned Student 1950 document explicitly alluded to the stark similarities between what Black students needed in 2015 in order to feel safe, accepted, and fulfilled on campus and what they needed in 1969. In marking this similarity between past and present and by alluding to the continuation of needs for university changes, the demands insinuated a racialized counter-memory wherein the traditional narrative of

130

campus racial progress is troubled. Indeed, for needs to remain constant between 1969 and 2015 was evidence of a stubborn *lack* of progress.

Overall, what the naming, framing, and demanding elements of the document serve to do is to unify "concerned students" around an identity that explicitly linked past and present struggles by Black students. In doing so, Concerned Student 1950 articulated a racialized-counter memory in dialogue with institutional claims of racial progress by arguing that racism at the University of Missouri was not an isolated event experienced by some Black students in the past or in the present; rather, the presence of racism faced by Black students is and has been the norm that had affected the collective Black student population from 1950 through the current day. The document therefore exemplified a practice of racialized counter-memory that frames issues of racism as neither episodic or individual, but rather ubiquitous and pervasive throughout the institution.[514] This framing was a crucial rhetorical argument that the students needed to articulate as part of their protest movement, as it counters white supremacist-minded arguments that racism is regulated to the past or is perpetuated by a few bad actors who have already faced justice. The document, instead, painted the narrative that the institution was presently complicit, and that the issue was ultimately systemic.

Because Concerned Student 1950's framing document was built from racialized counter-memory rhetorics that identified racism as systemic rather than episodic, the students' collective identity and concern did not exist in the single relationship between the past and the present; additionally, the politics of racialized counter-memory also sought to act in service of the future. Concerned Student 1950's

list of demands included such a look forward. When lamenting the university administration's lackluster treatment of inclusion on campus, the document stated, "these temporary adjustments to the university's behaviors are not enough to assure that future generations of marginalized students will have a safe and inclusive learning experience during their time at Mizzou."[515] In using racialized counter-memory to connect past to future, the Black student activists justified their action and their demands through the moral imperative of worrying over the continuation of white supremacy culture at Missouri in the future. The demands were both past and future facing, and the introductory letter, signed "the struggle continues, concerned student 1950" demonstrated how every inch of the letter, from start to finish, insinuated a student-led movement that continued from the past and into the future.[516]

Overall, the originating document of Concerned Student 1950 was an integral text for understanding the purposeful use of and power of racialized counter-memory. As a coalition of student protestors, the students could have framed their identity and existence in many other ways. They could have engaged in presentism and only focused on the needs of students in the current moment. They could have framed their activism in relation to the events that occurred in Ferguson, Missouri just a year prior. Instead, Concerned Student 1950 chose a name and a framework that rooted their activism to look both backwards and forwards, linking their work to Black students throughout the University of Missouri's history and positioning themselves as speakers for this collective past of Black MU students. In doing so, they marked themselves as formidable stakeholders in relation to larger campus politics and as careful arbiters of university history.

132

Bringing Institutional Memory to a Halt: The Homecoming Parade Disruption

On October 10, 2015, eleven Black students brought the homecoming parade to a screeching halt as they stood in front of Tim Wolfe's motorcar as he made his way through the homecoming parade procession. The homecoming parade disruption marks one of the clearest and earliest examples of Concerned Student 1950 producing and amplifying racialized counter-memory. The parade protest occurred before Concerned Student 1950 had created their naming and framing document, and it served as perhaps the crystalizing moment for their identity. The disruption lasted less than 10 minutes, but in that time, the handful of Black students who participated were able to address not only Wolfe, directly, but also the larger homecoming crowd made up of predominantly white observers. The Black students created a human chain as they stood in front of Wolfe's car and shared a timeline of racial injustice and trauma by the hands of the University of Missouri. In doing so, the students engaged in the disruptive potential of racialized counter-memory. In this section, I argue that the content, form, and context of the homecoming parade protest illustrates the nuance and force of racialized counter-memory as an anti-racist student activist tactic.

The content of the speeches offered by the student protestors during the march brings to life a counter-memory timeline of racial progress. While the nearly a dozen students stood in a human chain in front of the car, each student would pass the megaphone, and a single orator would step out of the human chain to offer a different flashpoint in Missouri history. The first student to speak was a tall Black male who began the presentation with the following statement: "This isn't an indictment of white folks, but it is an indictment of white structures and white supremacy." He then

launched into the first of many historical narratives that would be shared during the ten-minute protest. "In 1839, the university of Missouri was established as a flagship institution west of the Mississippi river. This institution was created for white men ONLY. Only white men. And it was built on the backs of Black people. Let me repeat that, let me repeat that…"[517] The speeches carry on, highlighting the 1865 founding of HBCU Lincoln University in lieu of "separate but equal" legislation, the 1935 mystery surrounding Lloyd Gaines admittance to the university and then disappearance, and the 1939 racist blocking of Lucile Bluford's enrollment to the graduate program.[518] The timeline then takes on a more contemporary turn, looking at the founding of the LBC and describing the deluge of racist incidents that occurred on campus in 2010, 2012, and earlier that fall 2015.[519] Each student in the human chain took responsibility for one part of the narrative in the telling of the historic events, collectively weaving together a racialized timeline that condemned the University of Missouri.

One of the main effects of the collective student speeches is that they served to highlight the small, and at times nonexistent, temporal gap between the current day—October 10, 2015—and the racial struggles that Black students have had to face to gain unrestricted access and acceptance on campus since its inception. For example, a Black female student discussed the 2010 cotton ball incident; and while her speech was overwhelmed by crowd noise, the one thing audible over the crowd is the phrase "five years ago," which she repeats.[520] The final student to speak, a Black graduate student named Jonathan Butler, discussed the historic events of the current school year. He again, underscored the non-existent temporal gap between struggles

134

in the past and in the present: "Two-thousand-fifteen. The first year the

Gaines/Oldham Black Cultural Center was allowed to be in this parade. The first

year. The first year."[521] Especially as these temporal emphases are offered towards

the end of the student-curated oral timeline, it does two types of rhetorical work.

First, it illuminates the injustice that occurred contemporarily by demonstrating a

small temporal gap between present, very recent past, and the larger institutional

history. I argue that this is fundamental rhetorical work in racialized counter-

memories. One of the most common white supremacist frameworks in dominant

public memory about race is to emphasize the distance between past and present, or

to frame previous incidents of racism in the past as events of a bygone era. To create

temporal distance is to frame issues of the past as belonging in the past and therefore

delegitimizing current arguments of racial injustice as unrelated and thereby random

and not related to structural historical issues of race. What the Black student activists

do in their emphasis of time is to undo the narrative power of extended temporal

distance and instead frame the issues as a very recent part of a much larger historic

struggle. Second, the students' emphasis on temporal space via the strategy of a

counter-memory timeline also highlights a hypocritical standpoint that many in the

audience may have—that despite there being a common-sense belief that racial

progress has been made since the first Black student was enrolled in 1950, that indeed

65 years later Black students still struggled to be feel safe and be recognized on

campus through cultural events like homecoming.

The racialized counter-memory timeline also sought to challenge the

traditional institutional timeline that is often purported around homecoming events.

Institutional histories are practices of dominant public memory that often highlight remarkable and celebratory moments. As Thomas Dyer explained about the practices of institutional history, "almost as soon as American colleges sprang into existence, historians began writing institutional histories that normally had the exaltation of the institution as their prime reason for being."[522] In contrast, the students' timeline of racial injustices seeks to disrupt the laudatory nature of institutional history by highlighting what the university would not traditionally want to spotlight—the events of the university's racist past. Even seemingly positive histories, like the founding of the university, are framed by the student protestors as an oppressive event, or one that did not benefit, and indeed harmed, Black people in Columbia, Missouri. With phrases such as "built on the backs of Black people," "impossible for Blacks to attend," and "the first year… allowed," to describe the conditions of the university historically and today, the students produced a public memory of violence, discrimination, inclusion and, overall, white supremacy. Set at the homecoming parade, which is itself a more conventional institutional memory-practice, the student protest and the racialized counter-memories created a contentious dialogue with the university's public memory practice. Dialogic monuments or commemorations have been theorized by Quentin Stephens, Karen A Frank, and Ruth Fazakerley as those that are juxtaposed to another, pre-existing monument to provide a dialogic coupling that can advance complementary or contradictory memories.[523] This is a crucial component of racialized counter-memory—that it confronts the dominant or public memory interpretation and dialogically superimposes meaning on such narratives. The homecoming parade disruption offers this clear example.

The protest was a surprising disruption to the convention of the parade, and this disruption is a key element to the resistive potential of the students' act in the homecoming parade and the rhetorical force of racialized-counter memory, overall. Indeed, racialized counter-memory is, by definition, disruptive to a white supremacist society. While some definitions of disruption paint the act of "disrupting" as seeking to destroy, more contemporary insights into disruption defines the concept in a more productive light. Meg Worley, in the 2016 digital essay "The Rhetoric of Disruption," in the *Disrupting the Digital Humanities* digital essay project, argued that the word "disruption" has evolved meanings in the English language. She pointed to early definitions such as "disruption as destruction and disintegration" and "disruption as misbehavior." Perhaps most interestingly, she highlighted more preferred definitions of disruption with biologist roots, wherein disruption is "using high contrast and difference, counterintuitively, to emphasize unity and preserve the organism."[524] Disruption, under this new understanding, is enacted to illuminate a difference or conflict for the purpose of bettering the institution. Barbara Bieseker considers the role of disruption as a way to "defy translation, throw sense off track, and, thus, short-circuit the system through which sense is made," as a means to rhetorically "re-boot" issues within an institution.[525] Other communication scholars, such as J. Blake Scott and Carl Herndl, have studied disruption as a way to "acknowledge the durability of existing relations while critiquing technical practices and creating opportunities for engaging with technologies in novel ways."[526] Disruptions, therefore, act as a type of reformist resistance strategy, where, according to Milborn, "disruptive acts that occur within existing systems, using familiar codes in anomalous ways, offers a potential

strategy for contesting accepted meanings while acknowledging the durability of existing systems."[527] In other words, these scholars argue that disruption serves the ultimate purpose of strengthening and building the unit, rather than seen as a strategy to destruct and destroy as an end goal.

Building on these technical conceptions of disruption, when put in conversation with the form and meaning of the homecoming parade, the rhetorical force of the homecoming disruption is magnified. What is homecoming but not a technology of public memory? In other words, homecoming is a tool to look backward and remember one's time at the university and the hallmarks of its history. It therefore exemplifies what Danielle Endres and Samantha Senda-Cook identify as "place-as-rhetoric" which "refers to the material aspects of place having meaning and consequences…place as rhetoric assumes that place itself is rhetorical."[528] The homecoming parade is both a place and a practice that holds a particular meaning; therefore, to disrupt the homecoming parade is to stop a symbolic timeline; to bring time and memory to a screeching halt. Interviewed in the *2 Fists Up* documentary, key student organizer Jonathan Butler alluded to the strategic knowledge and planning by Concerned Student 1950 to target the rhetorical meaning of homecoming. He said,

> "What does this university value most? One, it's money. And, two, it's
> that connection to traditions and being this little Dixie ideal of what
> this former slave state used to be. So we knew that we could hit them
> hard and get that tension to address these issues during homecoming…

138

because I guarantee you there are still some people who value

homecoming more than they value black lives."[529]

So while the student protestors understood and attacked the place-as-rhetoric

construction of homecoming, additionally, the technical definitions of disruption

insinuate that they did so with the attempt to reform the institution. If we categorize

the university as a complex system that is programmed, coded and systematized,

disruption, therefore, serves to introduce opportunities for engaging the system in

new ways of thinking, being, and doing. When it comes to combatting white

supremacist culture, nothing short of a re-programming of the system will produce

substantial material and cultural changes; the homecoming parade disruption, and the

racialized counter-memory narratives shared, served to kick-start that reformed re-

programming of the institution. The protest's disruptive context and the racialized

counter-memory narrative coalesced into a formative rhetorical force.

The homecoming parade protest as disruption also amplified racialized

counter-memory rhetoric in relation to the audience of the event. It is safe to say that

a majority of the observers in the audience of the parade were in attendance to

remember and celebrate what they believe to be a benevolent and good university—

based on their own individual memories—and were then asked, by the student

protesters, to confront the collective memory of oppression of, exclusion of, and

violence against Black people at MU. In response, the crowd chose to berate the

students for their blocking of the homecoming parade. For many of these—

predominantly white—audience members, their loud negative reactions to the Black

student protestors illustrated that their being confronted with racialized counter-

139

memories was a key source of agitation to their own (white) collective memory of the institution. In a video made public by one of the students of Concerned Student 1950, the crowd can be heard shouting, "come on," and, "get on with it," and, at multiple times, attempting to overpower the student's voices—literally—by starting the collective university call-and-respond chant wherein half of the audience shouts "M-I-Z" to which the other half responds "Z-O-U."[530] In doing so, the audience engaged "a chant of unity, but to call us the opposition," argued Concerned Student 1950 student leader Ayanna Poole.[531] The Black students of Concerned Student 1950 overwhelmingly focused on *not* engaging the dissenters in the crowd, despite the chant that constituted a larger hostile community of anti-protestors. However, at one point in the demonstration, one of the student speakers broke down and addressed the audience's oppositional positioning. This Black female student broke from script and turned to an audience member: "Why? Because stuff like this happened. You do not care about our existence. You do not care about our problems because it is inconvenient to you. You do not care and that is why we are here."[532] The student pointed out the audience's general discomfort at the disruption and responded with a rationale for the dissonance. I posit that the discomfort from the audience stems from the rhetorical power of racialized counter-memory to serve as a disruption of the white psyche and white space that has come to dominate the homecoming parade tradition.

Another persuasive element of the racialized counter-memory event stemmed from the use of the students' bodies as the form of disruption. In a homecoming parade that consisted of motorcars and automated floats, the students created a human

chain and put their bodies in front a moving vehicle to disrupt the progression of the parade. This tactic not only illustrated a physically active form of racialized counter-memory that protestors engage to disrupt space, time, and memory, but the move also indicated a strategic use of the students' power to serve as literal blockades to the cogs of the white supremacy machine on campus. And the students did view their bodies as forms of power. At one point during the approximately twelve-minute protest, white counter-protestors created their own human link between the Black students and Wolfe's car in an attempt to help the driver divert the car away from the student protest line. The student—clearly involved or supporting Concerned Student 1950—filming the entire proceedings can be heard coaxing on the Black student protestors as a they are being jostled by the counter protestors. She offered advice and support such as, "don't give them your power," and "don't give them conviction over your body."[533] These statements point to the knowledge that Concerned Student 1950 had about the power of their own Black bodies within the context of the homecoming parade protests. Overall, the struggle between the student protesters and counter protesters—and the discourse coming from the students during this struggle— illustrated that Black students' bodies were both otherized in the moment (and nearly all moments while on Missouri's campus) but also a source of their power. Of course this form of disruptive protest using nonviolent direct-action stems from the legacy of the civil rights movement, where Black bodies' existence in white spaces served as a radical, and at times violent, disruption to the white landscape. The significance of Concerned Student 1950's body rhetoric, and it's clear connection to past eras of race activism, was noticed by people outside the university. Former President Barack

141

Obama made a statement about the Missouri protests, and was quoted saying "I think what you saw with the University of Missouri… harkens back to a powerful tradition that helped bring about great change in this country."[534] Overall, then, the use of nonviolent body rhetoric as part of the strategy of the homecoming parade disruption played into the racialized counter-memory message and signaled both a link to the past and a stark reminder of the precarity of Black bodies in the present.

The homecoming parade animated several key functions of racialized counter-memories in action. It highlighted how, when wielded strategically by student protestors, racialized counter-memories can serve as a disruption to institutional systems by placing the counter-narratives produced in a dialogue with institutional history, and in a way that highlights small and even non-existent temporal gaps. In doing so, racialized counter-memories force the university to reconcile with not only the protestors as a source of disruption, but also their own past. It creates an exigency for reflecting and acting upon meaningful anti-racist practice. Or as rhetorician Meg Worley might posit, it emphasizes a stark contrast between traditional institutional frameworks and the student realities—not to destruct the institution, but to hopefully build from and bring forth future justice.

Racism's Ghosts and Black Students' Experiences: Creating Presences and Absences inn the Mock Campus Tour

In terms of theorizing racialized counter-memory in action, the demands document and homecoming parade have indicated two fundamental rhetorical tactics: (1) the creation of a collective identity of shared struggle by Black students at the University of Missouri to counter notions of episodic discrimination, and (2) the

disruption to institutionalized memory through the reframing of temporal distance. I also posit that in another major element of the Concerned Student 1950 protest—the mock campus tour that the student group led on November 7, 2015—wielded racialized counter-memory in yet another meaningful way. The mock tour occurred on a Saturday, during a prospective student visiting day, and intended to co-opt the traditional model of a campus tour to illustrate racism on campus and advocate anti-racist ends. During the event, the Black student tour guides marched across campus and stopped at prominent locations on campus to share their experiences with white supremacy in those places and spaces. In this portion of the chapter, I argue that the major rhetorical function of this event was to highlight the presences and absences between the institutional pride and consumer targeting narratives that occur in a traditional campus tour and the racialized memories and meaning produced by the mock tour. In creating these presences and absences in the mock tour, the students show the dissonance between what the university wanted to show and hide in terms of diversity and white supremacy on campus.

Campus tours are an integral marketing strategy for colleges and universities to draw in prospective applicants and students. The campus tour, which has become a widespread and ubiquitous tool on campuses across the United States in the 21st century, exemplifies the competing tensions that the university must balance between the persuasive business logic (which states that the university should be itself as a consumable product) and historic social logic (which argues that the university is a social good that cultivates citizenship).[535] As universities grow more dependent upon the consumer model of recruitment, the campus tour has become a place to not only

highlight histories, features, and amenities, but in doing so, to establish an identity—

or brand—salient for potential students. Student tour guides become "mouthpieces"

for the university, and their role is to "present the university in the best possible

light, and they train intensively to do so," argued *The Atlantic* staff-writer Adam

Harris.[536] The way the campus tour comes together—from student tour guides to tour

routes and scripted narratives—is a crucial artform of enrollment management.

Prospective students in the 21st century have come to expect not only top-of-the-line

academic programs but also luxury amenities such as rock-climbing walls, luxury

dorms, and state-of-the-art classrooms, so promotional materials, including campus

tours, now spotlight such consumer-oriented products.[537] Physical amenities are not

the only thing highlighted in campus tours, as multiculturalism is often framed as if

the experience of "learning another culture" is an extracurricular perk of joining

campus life. Similar to viewbooks, which have been analyzed and deemed to promote

neoliberal consumer notions of multiculturalism, campus tours may also carry similar

themes.[538] Overall, then, the rhetoric of campus marketing—specifically the campus

tour—suggests institutional memories and alleged values constructed predominantly

from a business standpoint.

The Concerned Student 1950 mock tour flipped the format of the traditional

campus tour on its head and instead provided a perspective of campus through the

eyes of Black students who purposefully and craft-fully articulated implicit presences

and absences of racial knowledge and experience on campus. For instance, in the

official university tour, tour guides led prospective students to the recreation center,

where they highlighted the center's most lucrative features.[539] In the mock tour,

144

which they call "The Real MU," Concerned Student 1950 highlighted how it was only the day before that two Black female students were called "the n word" by "four white males" outside of the recreation center.[540] The contrast between the university narrative—marked by the consumer model, highlighting campus luxuries seemingly afforded to *all* students—and the counter-memory narrative offered by Concerned Student 1950, which argued that not all students accessed campus, produced a clear rhetorical gap. I call this gap "highlighting memorial presences and absences," and it serves as a juxtaposition that affords persuasive power. For Concerned Student 1950, the presences and absences would not be left implied, so as the Black female student told the story, she concluded her anecdote with, "fun fact, in 2005, our rec center was named the best recreational facility by sports illustrated."[541] At the end of another mock tour speech given at the student center, one Black student activist wrapped up their demonstration, saying, "and just like we end every tour, we welcome you to the number one school of journalism in the world."[542]

During the mock tour, the persuasive power came from the both implicit and explicit contradiction in presences and absences. The Black student activists highlighted the contradiction of what the university chooses to make present in their traditional tours and what typically remains hidden, only to have that hidden white supremacist reality brought forth—and thereby present—through the mock tour. Public memory scholars have often been concerned with the rhetorical significance of memorial presences and absences. Raymie McKerrow has argued, "absence is as important as presence in understanding and evaluating symbolic action."[543] His claim underscores the importance of evaluating the ideological messages constituted

through memorial absences. For instance, when studying the rhetorical significance of race in The Little White House memory site, Lynch and Stuckey noted it was the "balance of presences and absences in the various exhibits, as well as the means by which race is made present, that foreground Whiteness and obscure the role of African Americans."[544] If presences and absences in memory sites can uphold whiteness and white supremacy, then racialized counter-memory does the important work of addressing these types of presences and absences to racialize our landscape and trouble the backdrop of whiteness. Lynch and Stuckey note the challenge of this work:

> "Efforts to craft a narrative that would address these absences… would challenge the default position of Whiteness: the zero-sum game of racial politics instantiated by White/not-White binaries undergirds efforts to undercut and forget the experiences of African Americans specifically in this case and non-Whites generally. Changing the narrative would require altering the subject position to which it defaults…[545]

While challenging, the act of "attending to that which is strategically forgotten alongside what is constructively created in the ongoing process of collective memorializing," argued Meagan Parker Brooks, "is a valuable critical endeavor."[546] Indeed, what racialized counter-memory rhetorics may evoke is an affectively-charged gap, or dissonance, between the two forms of present and absent rememberings, which must be reconciled through anti-racist means.

The dissonance created between memorial presences and absences is imbued with affective potential. Deborah Gould, in her book *Moving Politics*, defined affect as the "nonconscious and unnamed, but nevertheless registered, experiences of bodily energy and intensity that arise in response to stimuli impinging on the body."[547] Zizi Papacharissi, author of *Affective Publics* defined it as an experience of a non-rational intensity, mostly non-conscious that "precedes the potential for activity."[548] Drawing from these scholars, I define affect as a sensory intensity that has the potential to propel feeling into existence. Affect is closely related to, but distinct from, emotion; while affect is the non-rational sensory stimulated from within, emotions are how we individually and socially read and express that intensity both cognitively and behaviorally. Houdek and Phillips have argued that affect is a crucial dimension "through which memories become visible, and gain, or lose, adherence among the broader public."[549] Scholars of public memory have often analyzed memory sites, such as the National September 11 Memorial and Museum and the Moore's Ford, from a lens of affect to show how the "experiential landscape" of the memory site encourages specific intensities in visitors.[550] Brian L. Ott, Eric Aoki, and Greg Dickinson explicitly considered the affective dimension of memorial presences and absence.[551] The authors posited that what moves us, affectively, in experiencing memory sites are the moments in which the individual confronts what is missing, or what is "barred from consciousness," within the site.[552] They likewise argued that, "absence is not without meaning; rather, it is a fully embodied rhetorical experience. And like a well-placed pause in a speech, it is a material space filled with affect."[553]

147

While memory scholars point to the many affective dimensions of memory and specifically memory-sites, I turn to the affective dimension of memorial absences that can be described as a haunting. Maxon discusses the absence left behind by removed Confederate monuments, arguing that "monumental absences… haunt the spaces they formerly occupied. These hauntings, I argue, take the form of residual memories."[554] While Maxson is citing monumental absences and residual memory from the unique context of Confederate monuments, I similarly evoke the theory of monumental absences and residual memory to describe Black student activists who see and articulate the hauntings of racism as being (un)represented on campus, especially in the everyday spaces and locations that *lack* monuments and commemoration to mark these experiences. While Maxson points to the hauntings left by the removal of physical monuments, I describe the hauntings left by the experiences of every-day and acute racism that have never been and perhaps will never be physically or officially marked on campus. For students, this residual memory of racism's legacy felt, but not seen, in memory sites exists in stark contrast with the presences of institutional memory and commemoration on campus.

The almost playful or satirical commentary offered by the mock tour guides was anything but lighthearted or humorous; rather, the narrative of the mock tour exemplifies a powerful racialized counter-memory strategy that gives students the potential to elicit affective responses. Audience members are encouraged to feel the difference between what the university remembers as its best and brightest features, and what Black students remember as places of racial harassment, violence, and isolation. As one mock tour guide concluded his speech in the student center's dining

148

hall, "if you're uncomfortable, I did my job."[555] It can be argued, therefore, that the

student protesters engaged in the act with hopes to stimulate an affective response

that would be cognitively and behaviorally processed by the audience members to the

effect of sympathy, dissonance, or discomfort. The fact that the mock tour occurred

on the same day as a massive recruiting event for the university—where hundreds of

prospective students were present on campus—also increased the affectively charged

hauntings produced by Concerned Student 1950.[556] As Black student activists worked

their way across campus—to three dining halls (one of which bears the name of MU

founder and known enslaver James S. Rollins), the student center, recreation center,

and alumni center—official university tour guides were making similar moves across

campus. As these two concordant groups took up space and attention, the contrast

between the official tour's narrative and the protestors' activism cultivated a charged

landscape whose racialized elements could not be ignored.

Altering Campus Place and Digital Space: The Rhetorical and Material Effect of Concerned Student 1950 Racialized Counter-Memories

By November 2016—one year after the Concerned Student 1950 protest

campaign—five of the original demands had been met by university leadership. By

fall 2018, the demand of increasing faculty and student of color recruitment to 10%

remained unsatisfied. In the summer of 2020, current Missouri students argued that

they "are still concerned."[557] Overall, then, the protests at the University of Missouri,

and its engagement in racialized counter-memory, led to mixed results in terms of

material effects on campus. In my desire to study racialized counter-memory, I want

to produce some baseline understanding about the ways in which racialized counter-

memories, wielded by student protestors, exert the rhetorical force needed to alter the physical and social conditions of white supremacy—including the spaces and places of campus. Throughout the Concerned Student 1950 movement, the Black students at Missouri did not request changes to the physical places of campus. There were no demands to change a building name, take down a statue, or produce a new memory site. However, the results of the University of Missouri student protests offer some crucial insights into ways in which the protests and demands altered the use of places and spaces, not just at Missouri but across digital space and national geography.

The Concerned Student 1950 protests led to many actual and proposed institutional changes by university leadership. Tim Wolfe resigned, altering campus with both his absence and his replacement by Mun Choi, the subsequent university president. Kevin McDonald was hired as the full time Chief Diversity Officer in June 2016. One of McDonald's first acts was to announce that "$1.3 million will be set aside for the recruitment and retention of minority faculty members, with an ultimate end goal of 13.4 percent faculty of color."[558] The university also mandated the Citizen@Mizzou program, "a two-part interactive program for incoming undergraduate students at Columbia designed to prepare them to think critically about a campus filled with people from diverse backgrounds."[559] The university's counseling center hired two new BIPOC psychologists in the year following the protests and hired the center's first diversity coordinator.[560] A step in the right direction, these new hires still fell short of the Concerned Student 1950 demand for one BIPOC psychologist per every 1,500 students. The School of Journalism, College of Education, College of Nursing, College of Arts and Sciences, and the Truman

School of Public Affairs all initiated diversity requirements within the first year, although it is unclear if they addressed Concerned Student 1950's calls for "comprehensive racial awareness and inclusion curriculum" to be overseen by BIPOC students and faculty.[561] These changes marked the places and spaces of campus by altering the way campus worked to recruit, retain, and serve Black students. The presence of new staff members focused on diversity, the use of campus as a place for the Citizen@Mizzou program, and the initiative to bring more Black people to the university all illustrated the potential to alter campus spaces and places in meaningful ways.

However, critics have also raised questions about the limitations of challenging white supremacy on the University of Missouri campus. For instance, although the university funded and supported the hiring of a Chief Diversity Officer (CDO), some scholars such as Frank A. Truitt have argued that the role of the CDO has become nothing more than a "descendent of the plantation driver," and as such has the potential to be "complicit in the systematic and often violent dehumanization of Black and Brown people in [traditionally white institutions]."[562] The role, in other words, is to manage Black people on campus to the benefit and profit of the white institution. Perhaps a bit less of an extreme view, Jennifer F. Hamer and Clarence Lang critiqued CDOs on the basis that they are, at the very least, limited in their impact on anti-racism work, stating, "often, their presence relieves others on campuses of accountability on matters of race and ethnicity, gender and sexuality, ability, class, and other social categories most affected by structural inequities,"[563] which takes the pressure off the explicit focus on racial justice. These critiques of the

151

newly designated CDO role at universities seem warranted, at least in some way, as they also go hand-in-hand with the stalemate of diversity numbers at MU. By 2018, Black student enrollment at the university had actually declined. According to Rick Seltzer, "African American students made up 7.2 percent of enrollment in 2015 but just 6.7 percent in 2017."[564] Similarly, recruitment and retention strategies for BIPOC faculty have also flatlined. In three years, the number of Black and African American faculty only improved from 2.8 percent to 3.3 percent.[565] In other words, the regime of so-called "plantation politics" structuring the university landscape seem to have a continued legacy at Missouri.

In addition to questioning the limitations of material changes initiated following the Concerned Student 1950 protests, we must also look at some of the ideological backlash that may hinder future possibility for racialized counter-memory at the University of Missouri and beyond. For instance, in 2017 the university revised its protest policies in a way that restricted and limited the tactics protesters used in 2015. One policy change seemed to directly attack the students' use of space at Freedom Plaza as a campsite, since the policy delineated that "camping was not permitted on university grounds except in certain circumstances."[566] Students on campus, such as founding Concerned Student 1950 member Maxwell Little, were critical of the policy, noting that the university chose to institute such a restrictive policy *before* they initiated an "anti- antiracist policy or an anti-hate speech policy," and also questioning, "what does [the policy] do to freedom of speech in higher education? What does that do to students' right to assemble and to assemble effectively and to create change?"[567] Additionally, the fact that the University of

Missouri overall experienced a decline in all undergraduate enrollment in the years following the protest, and the subsequent budget cuts required, fueled conservatives who argued that the university harmed its financial health by giving in to protest demands. A critical staff editorial in *The Wall Street Journal* argued that "indulging protestors can be expensive," and claimed, "apparently fewer parents want to send their kids to a school where activism eclipses academics."[568] John McWhorter has argued that anti-racist student demands are "destructive" and threaten "the very survival of the institution."[569] David French of the *National Review* claimed that MU ""paid a terrible price," for "capitulat[ing] to unreasonable, far-left demands"—demands by what he calls "social justice warriors" that "did more to limit their influence in red America than the combined efforts of a generation of conservative writers sounding the alarm over campus intolerance."[570] In other words, these editorials illustrate the national backlash against anti-racist student protests that followed in the wake of fall 2015. Although the Concerned Student 1950 protest campaign altered the way the campus functioned by hiring new staff, increasing diversity efforts and conversations on campus, and more, it also catalyzed arguments against student protests, possibly limiting the future potential of campus activism.

While the physical and cultural changes related to white supremacy on Missouri's campus have met mixed success, we must note, ultimately, where the students were successful as they combatted white supremacy via racialized counter-memories. As a key rhetorical strategy for the student protestors, racialized counter-memories garnered enough attention and pressure to force the administration to accede to a small group of vocal students. As Seltzer has argued, "the university's

administration broke under the weight of those racial tensions, student protests and leaders who struggled and stumbled as they tried to respond."[571] The racial tensions under which the university administrators broke were in large part magnified through racialized-counter memory. By constantly attacking institutional history with claims of consistently perpetuated racism—historically and contemporarily—as well as a collective historic identity that highlighted memorial presences and absences on campus, the students created a rhetorical force that could not be ignored. They supplemented their racialized counter-memory argument that "racism lives here" through bodily rhetoric that visually amplified these arguments—standing in front of a motorcar in a human chain and camping out on Freedom Plaza. They garnered the attention and allyship of powerful university entities such as the university's football team. And in a whirlwind of rhetorical action—of which racialized counter-memory was central—the students brought the university to its knees by effectively ridding the university of its president, Tim Wolfe. And they did so in a relatively short time frame of about six weeks after their initial "racism lives here" rally. The importance of such an impact should not be underestimated. Concerned Student 1950 demonstrated how anti-racist student protests could effectively produce results on campus, and, in doing so, stands as a hallmark and model for the future. Ultimately, "minority students must maintain the ability to credibly threaten costly unrest," argued Ben Trachtenberg, and I argue that racialized counter-memory offers a strong argumentative foundation for such a threat.[572]

I also want to analyze important changes in racialized landscapes from a more comprehensive understanding of "consequential rhetoric," as theorized by Social

Movement 2.0 communication scholars. For instance, Paige Alfonzo and Christina Foust have argued that, "rather than defining consequential activism in terms of mobilizing resources effectively (as did past movements), or using rhetoric to meet functions for a movement, consequential activism follows the formation of collective identity."[573] The ability to form a collective identity is perhaps what altered campus the most profoundly, as Concerned Student 1950's racialized counter-memory narratives and other rhetorical tactics built solidarity with the often isolated Black student athletes and created unity across the Black identity on campus. The Black student athletes, as they became aware of the protest campaign, began to visit the Freedom Plaza campsite and build a relationship with Butler and the other student leaders.[574] Concerned Student 1950's purpose, actions, and goals connected with the Black student athletes, which encouraged them to see themselves as part of the movement and thereby become involved. Alfonzo and Foust argue that, "the constitution of a collective identity is not only an end in itself. It can, and often does, set off chains of material consequences."[575] As we know, the involvement of the student athletes was the tipping point which broke down the administration. In an official statement following the end of the Concerned Student 1950 encampment and Jonathan Butler's hunger strike, one Black student athlete, speaking on behalf of the football team, said, "through this experience, we've really began to bridge the gap between student and athlete and the phrase student athlete by connecting with the community and realizing the bigger picture… [while] we don't experience everything the general student population does, and our struggles may look different at times, we are concerned student 1950."[576] In this example, we see how the Concerned Student

155

1950 protests were consequential in forming a unified identity and coalition of Black students across campus, including, importantly, Black student athletes. And it was this collective identity formation—of being concerned and of marking the unracialized landscape with racialized counter-memories—that offered the student protest group the most rhetorical and material power.

In addition to building collective identity and forcing the administration to act on behalf of student demands, the Concerned Student 1950 counter-memory campaign also had a strong rhetorical effect in digital spaces. In studying student protests movements, it is imperative to not just consider the physical effects of student activism, given the digitally hybrid world we currently occupy. Social movement scholars who study online activism also underscore the significance of media ecologies. According to Alfonzo and Foust, "media ecology invites metaphorical attention to how technology serves as a medium, akin to 'a substance within which a culture grows'" to illustrate "relationships between people and media as organic—both a process and product, simultaneously material and symbolic."[577] In addition to paying attention to this ecology as a source of rhetorical effects, paying attention to media ecologies also allows us to know more about how protest movements engage social media (and vice versa) as a form of resource mobilization and as a tool in the formation of a collective identity. For instance, hashtags coordinate and publicly organize one's tweet into a larger conversation within which you can "presuppose a virtual community of interested listeners," according to media scholar Michele Zappavigna.[578] Because hashtags form discursive communities, Erich Sommerfeld argued that they serve as a mechanism for mobilization.[579] Lastly,

hashtags offer evidence that, "foreground[s] how social movement is processual and found in identifications."[580] Alfonzo and Foust provide evidence of how the tweets published before November 8, 2015 served to build discursive communities, cue in interested audiences, and, most important, illustrate how students grew in their identification as a student movement. For instance, Alfonzo and Foust argued that the tweets, organized by the hashtag #ConcerendStudent1950, "allowed participants to construct a narrative from disparate events while also building trust and affinity."[581] These tweets also "helped lay down roots, shoots, and seeds for activists, inviting users to complete arguments or/and publicize experiences that connected them to the emergent collective identity."[582] Finally, the engaged Twitter community also, "aggregated and archived personal testimonies of racism," which ultimately "allowed students to disrupt institutional denial by intensifying the material presence of socially mediated discourse."[583] In other words, Twitter created an online social movement community wherein racialized counter-memory was amplified through the unique form of digital networks. Students shared personal testimonies and aggregated evidence on Twitter that fed racialized-counter memory narratives in the texts analyzed in this chapter.

Concerned Student 1950's use of Twitter allowed for not only amplified internal dialogue and identity-building within the university context, but also the inclusion of broader audiences to be active in the political discourse on campus. Alfonzo and Foust argued that by early November, "#ConcernedStudent1950 represented a political identity, with activists demanding specific, demonstrable changes to ameliorate campus racism."[584] The authors also noted how

#ConcernedStudent1950 outgrew immediate audiences and became a national digital tool for collective support and engagement after the MU student athletes became involved and national attention augmented.[585] Similarly, Grace Yan, Ann Pegoraro, and Nicholas M. Watanabe found that, in the 10 days following the football players' announcement joining the protest, "Twitter alone witnessed 214,636 public posts related to discussion of the protest."[586] Not only were there a cacophony of tweets about #ConcernedStudent1950 following the football players involvement, but it also, unsurprisingly coincided with more attention by audiences across geographic space. Between October 10 and November 7, "the biggest concentration areas for users of #ConcernedStudent1950 were in the Midwest (Missouri, Illinois, and Kansas)," argued Yan et. al; and after November 8, "the map revealed a considerably wider spread, with denser levels of concentration across the United States and the world," including not only urban centers but smaller towns across the globe, revealing awareness and interest in the movement.[587] Additionally, prior to November 8, 2015, 56% of the hashtag users "self-identified as being related to the University of Missouri," whereas, afterwards, the Twitter users engaging in the hashtag were "less exclusive to Mizzou."[588] While the Twitter audience changed in many ways, one thing remained the same. According to Yan's research team, one group of involved Twitter users that remained constant from the beginning were those actively involved in the #BlackLivesMatter environment on Twitter, "confirming that the student protest at the University of Missouri was involved in broader racial struggles."[589] Clearly, Twitter offers evidence of the ways in which the protest movement extended

conversations, and therefore rhetorical effects, beyond the geographic bounds of campus.

Perhaps the most exciting element of the Concerned Student 1950 movement's use of Twitter was not the student testimonies it produced or the number of people it drew in, but also the ripple effect it had on other campus spaces and places. Alfonzo and Foust argued that social media usage by protestors offers the important potential of building political consciousness by spreading "an argumentative kernel" capable of being "expanded and elaborated far beyond the imagination of any one producer."[590] For #ConcernedStudent1950 Twitter, that kernel expanded into a national university and college student campaign on November 12, 2015.[591] Black students and allies across hundreds of higher education institutions circulated messages of support on Twitter, adopted the hashtag, and engaged similar one-day protests on their own campuses. These disparate student protests used the hashtag #insolidaritywithmizzou to link their localized versions of combatting white supremacy on their own campuses with the specific protest campaign at the University of Missouri. In this way, the rhetorical and material effects of the Missouri protest expanded, thanks to the Twitter medium, to alter the racialized landscapes on campuses across the nation, if only momentarily, by giving Black students and other students of color an opportunity to be seen and heard at their universities and publicly through Twitter. The hundreds and thousands of posts on Twitter on November 12, 2015 also racialized Twitter spaces, as the expanded digital network illustrated a national student identity in relation to Concerned Student 1950. This national community produced through social media was not exclusive to Twitter. Payton

159

Head, MSA President, reflected on the rippling effect of his September 12, 2015 Facebook post that began the compounding snowball of student activism at Missouri. He received emails and letters from student government association leaders around the nation, offering support and praise in their participation of the solidarity strikes. Head commented on the sense of community this created for him; "it was really really beautiful to see that kind of support because honestly I felt really alone a lot of times."[592] Overall, this illustrates how community can be established through racialized counter-memories that transcend space and time via social media. By identifying Concerned Student 1950 as the originating catalyst for the #insolidaritywithmizzou protest day across the nation—made possible and organized through digital networks—we can see the effects of racialized counter-memories in a new light.

Twitter continued to be an important organizing space for concerned students at the University of Missouri beyond the fall of 2015. For instance, at the one-year anniversary, Concerned Student 1950 reflected on their successes in this tweet:

> "In 1 yr, an issuing of 8 demands #BoycottMU campaign, a
> #mizzouhungerstrike, a football team who was about it, multiple
> meetings, town halls many more demonstrations, and one year later 5
> of our demands have been met. If this is the power that can manifest in
> a year, imagine what we can do in our lifetime. Keep resisting! It is
> our duty!"

Here, the students highlight two of their most prominent hashtags, in addition to #ConcernedStudent1950, marking the significance of the Twitter platform beyond the

fall 2015 semester. And in 2020, Black students at Missouri joined in on yet another Twitter campaign that made the rounds this summer across the nation. As reported in the student newspaper, "hundreds have posted using the Twitter hashtag #BlackAtMizzou, sharing their experiences with racism at the University of Missouri."[593] The student editorial reflected that the use of Twitter to engage in yet another campaign highlighting the gap between student memories of their time on campus with the institutional assumption of racial progress highlighted that, "while minor steps have been made along the way, racial prejudice still has a strong presence at our school."[594]

Conclusion: Disrupting Sedimented White Supremacy Through Racialized Counter-Memory

This University of Missouri case study offers a clear example of how anti-racist student protestors can craft racialized counter-memory arguments, in many various types of protest forms, to combat white supremacy at the university. The Black students at MU took up the seemingly impossible task of illustrating exactly how racism thrived on campus—not just in the moments of overt racism, but also what, for many, were silent and invisible forms of racism that had sedimented into campus culture. The work of racialized counter-memory, therefore, was to racialize, or center race, in their ways of framing, remembering, and telling the story of the University of Missouri's past relations with Black students and the effects such realities had on present and future students. In addressing this challenge, some of the ways that Concerned Student 1950 engaged racialized counter-memory were to empower a collective identity rooted in past struggles, to counter notions of episodic

161

discrimination by delineating its permeance on campus, to disrupt institutionalized memory (literally and figuratively), to reframe narratives of progress by minimizing temporal distance, and to highlight presences and absences between the institution's highlights and racisms dark shadows. The student movement, therefore, provide ample evidence of the theory of racialized counter-memory in practice through the context of fall 2015 at the University of Missouri. In many ways, Concerned Student 1950's rhetorical persuasiveness succeeded in making their campus—and campuses across the nation—reconcile with its racist cultural flaws. Amplifying such effects, Twitter offered the digital network platform from which the student protests entered digital conversations and subsequent activism not just on MU's campus but across regional and national geographies. Overall, the texts and effects of racialized counter-memory at the University of Missouri highlight the discursive power of the memory practice as an anti-racist activist tool.

In the years following the 2015 protest campaign, Concerned Student 1950 and their allies at Missouri continued to make critical temporal connections between their activism and the activism in the past, present, and future. In a presentation to the interim Chief Diversity Officer Chuck Henson on February 24, 2016, the student group gave a report of progress yet to be made.[595] In their presentation, students doubled down on the calls to meet two unfulfilled demands from the LBC original 1969 document—this included an academic bankruptcy program and hiring oversight for the Office of Minority Affairs. The February 2016 presentation once again spotlighted the incorrigible connection between past and present needs; especially given that it was the third out of eight demands in the 2015 document, and the first

162

demand the students elaborated on in the February 2016 meeting. As the years

passed, in 2018, Seltzer reported that the Concerned Student 1950 leaders feared for

the enduring legacy and memory of the protest campaign—"we are the last bulk of

students that truly understand what it was like to either be a part of the movement, be

allies of the movement, activists, advocates or just people who watched it occur,"

student activist Kelsie Wilkins said. "I think these are things that we, especially

students of color on this campus, grapple with on the daily. What has changed? What

hasn't changed? What do we want to change?"[596] In 2020, concerned students

continued to raise their voices on campus. As the editorial staff of the student

newspaper, *The Maneater*, argued:

> Even today, we see MU's active role in racial injustice. A prime
>
> example of this is the university's refusal to remove Thomas
>
> Jefferson's statue from campus, despite his history of both owning and
>
> sexually assaulting slaves. Though MU claims to be addressing the
>
> problem of racism, it continues to ignore student demands on these
>
> issues.[597]

The editorial also goes on to argue, "it's important to note that racism never had a

physical beginning or end on this campus." In many ways, then, University of

Missouri students are *still* concerned with time and memory—especially racialized

counter-memory—and the effects it has on campus and the legacy of white

supremacy that still lives there.

Chapter 3: "This is Not a Bus Stop. This is the Scene of a Murder": Engaging Counter-Memory Places to Acknowledge Racialized Violence at the University of Maryland

> *"We talked through the noose,*
>
> *We talked through the email,*
>
> *We talked through all that stuff.*
>
> *Now that somebody's died, what's next?"*
>
> - Kristian Simon, undergraduate student, University of Maryland, 2017

On a bright spring day, May 20, 2017, graduate and undergraduate students, their families, and the broader University of Maryland (UMD) community celebrated the commencement of thousands of new graduates. As the graduating students milled about campus, taking pictures with proud family members and excited peers, it would be hard to ignore the yellow police tape that sectioned off one part of campus—the bus stop and surrounding area in front of Montgomery Hall, a co-ed residence hall located on the southeast corner of campus. What many of these bubbling graduates would soon know is that in the early hours of May 20—less than 12 hours before commencement—a young Black man was murdered in that very spot, on campus. His name was Second Lieutenant Richard Collins III, a senior at nearby Bowie State University (BSU). And he was murdered by a white UMD student, Sean Urbanski, who had known connections to white supremacist Facebook groups (including some images from the group that were saved to his phone).[598] So while thousands

celebrated new beginnings at the University of Maryland, a predominantly white institution, a Black family and community grieved an inconsolable loss.

While the case at the University of Maryland may seem rare, racism and racial violence mark every college campus in the United States. Unfortunately, concerns of racial harassment and violence are common for students of color and particularly Black students in the 21st century. According to the National Center for Education Statistics, 43% of on-campus hate crimes in 2017 were motivated by race, with 413 reported incidents nationally, although the actual number is likely much higher due to the complexity and/or unavailability of reporting.[599] At the University of Maryland, the Director of Bias Incident Support Services, Neijma Celestine-Donnor, left her job in July 2020 after previously reporting that the office was under-resourced with her as the only staff member.[600] The office, which was formed in 2018, in part due to Collins's death, has struggled to put out timely reports, releasing its 2018-2019 report in spring 2020. The 2018-2019 report cites over 30 cases of race-based on-campus bias incidents for the school year.[601] And while seemingly more rare, racial violence, defined by sociologist Kathleen M. Blee as, "acts with violent consequences in which… the victim is representative of a presumed racial classification," also occurs with regularity on college campuses, blemishing the supposed diversity-friendly landscape of these educational spaces.[602] How the campus community remembers such racial violence and the racial bias on their campus directly affects the ways in which racial justice is addressed in the university and amongst its populations.

In the weeks, months, and years that followed, the murder of Lt. Collins at the University of Maryland remained a heated controversy regarding accountability and

action; the university was quick to frame Collins's death as the result of racist

systems *outside* of the university, and students combatted such rhetoric by engaging

racialized counter-memory discourse to refute institutional claims of alleged

guiltlessness. Some, like UMD undergraduate alumna and PhD student Daniel Green,

argued that the institutional culture and the intensifying racist events on campus that

lead up to Collins's murder offered evidence of a "rot" that had festered on campus

"for decades."[603] Olivia Antezana, an undergraduate student at Maryland during the

2016-2017 school year, posted the following Facebook status addressing the current

university President, Wallace Loh:

> "Full offense, President Loh, but what was done when white
>
> supremacist posters were plastered around UMD campus this year?
>
> What did administration do when, on Social Justice Day, students
>
> wrote "DEPORT DREAMERS" and "TRUMP 2020" on the sidewalks
>
> of our campus? Did administration listen to the demands of student
>
> activists after a noose was found hanging in the kitchen of a fraternity?
>
> No. You said the same thing every single time…Wake up, President
>
> Loh. There are nazis at UMD and they think they can do whatever they
>
> want. A short paragraph on reaffirming moral values isn't gonna stop
>
> them, stop living in that fantasy."[604]

Antezana's poignant argument reminds her UMD undergraduate followers that

students and administration are not united against a common external enemy, as Loh

argued in his email correspondences about Collins's murder; rather, the

administration should be held responsible as actors who facilitated the racism on

campus that students had fought against in the past. Other community members, like

Dave Zirin (Maryland resident and sports justice analyst) engaged in racialized

counter-memory practices when he decreased the distance between the university and

Urbanski's white supremacist actions by highlighting the fact that Urbanski was not

some "interloper or an outsider," rather, he was a normal and natural effect of a

campus that allowed him to feel empowered and safe to act on his racist notions.[605]

And student group Black Terps Matter—founded in 2020 in part to uplift Collins's

memory on campus—even highlighted how Urbanski was a true insider by revealing

that he attended the university tuition-free as a result of his mother's role as an

employee of UMD.[606] These are just a few counter-arguments, produced

predominantly by students, that helped push back against the administration-controlled

narrative that they were not accountable for Collins's death.

Students also enacted the rhetorical power of place in their wishes to both

honor Collins and hold the university accountable for Collins's death. Within days of

Collins's murder, students and other UMD community members produced an

informal and evolving memorial in the place of the bus stop where Collins was

murdered. They left notes, personal items, and used the bus shelter as a space for

reflection and prayer. Students also demanded permanent memorialization of Lt.

Collins's murder, and their activism ebbed and flowed from 2017 through 2021, with

many students positing that a university-sanctioned permanent memorial was a

necessary first step to address years of rising racial tensions on campus. They argued

that a public memory site on campus—and the ways in which it would mark and alter

campus—was an essential action for what they viewed as the only-reactive, free-

167

speech purporting, and hate-speech denying university campus. Through this wellspring of student activist rhetoric and action, one thing that never changed was the emotional toll of the death of a Black young man on the grounds of a college campus—a place meant for the personal growth and learning transformed into a site of racial violence and murder.

In what follows, I examine the memorialization of 2nd Lt. Richard Collins III as it offers a unique perspective of the ways in which racialized counter-memory affects campus by transforming places and altering perceptions of space through the memory of racialized violence. Of course, campus places and spaces were inextricably altered the moment Lt. Collins was murdered at a little after 3 A.M. on May 20, 2017; however, UMD students continued to grapple with more visible and permanent reminders of that life lost. In this chapter, I argue that students participated in racialized counter-memory arguments, rooted in practices of and advocacy for place, to combat a campus culture that had allowed unbridled white supremacy to lead to the murder of a young Black man. To do so, first, I expound the recent campus contexts of the University of Maryland since both recent racial incidents and the institutional responses to them allude to the racial violence that would occur in May 2017. I also contextualize the university administration's responses to Lt. Collins's murder. I analyze how UMD students opposed the university's rhetorical framework by producing their own racialized counter-memory arguments, as they remembered Collins's death and the institutional contexts in ways that imbued race and raced standpoints. It is from this oppositional stance that students both engaged in an informal remaking of place and petitioned for the university to produce a formal

memorial to Collins. In the latter part of this chapter, I evaluate these student-led rhetorical acts, and I argue that UMD students demonstrated their confidence in a racialized counter-memory places to mark racial violence in place, to localize white supremacy, and to counter campus politics of unrestricted free speech. Overall, this case asks us to consider how and in what ways racialized counter-memory—especially those grounded in practices of place—can transform campuses as they struggle with the conditions of white supremacy and the racial violence that accompanies it.

A Campus on Edge: Deadly Institutional Contexts

The University of Maryland's historical ties to slavery set the scene for contemporary student activism. UMD's founding and ultimate success was made possible due to the use of enslaved labor. The founder of UMD, Charles B. Calvert, used his land and wealth accumulated through his slave plantation to petition for the charter of what would become the University of Maryland.[607] Calvert employed enslaved people for his personal affairs during his time as president and founder.[608] For instance, recent archival discoveries (by an undergraduate student, nonetheless) at the University of Maryland have brought to light the name and life story of one person whom Calvert enslaved—Adam Plummer.[11] Calvert, of course, was not alone in his status as an enslaver. Out of the university's first 24 Board of Trustee members,

---

[11] A brief glimpse into Plummer's life as an enslaved man is published on the archival blog for the University of Maryland University Archives. The story recounts the challenges of Plummer and his wife, Emily Saunders, who was an enslaved woman at a plantation eight miles from Plummer, who lived in Riversdale with Charles Calvert. For instance, the family experienced a failed escape attempt that led to their temporary incarceration, and in 1861, the children of Adam and Emily were separated from their family when they were sold—their eldest sent to New Orleans. https://umdarchives.wordpress.com/2021/02/25/1856-project-update-telling-adam-plummers-story/

the university recognizes that "at least 16 held nearly 400 enslaved people, collectively."[609]

The university's connection with enslavement reared its head again in the first decade of the 21st century. In 2006, Black faculty members reached out to the university president, C. Daniel Mote Jr, asking him to issue an apology for the University of Maryland's role in the use of slave labor.[610] Mote refused, noting that Maryland was not exceptional when compared to other colleges and universities founded during the time of slavery. In response, history faculty Ira Berlin tasked his undergraduate class to research the roots of slavery at Maryland.[611] They presented Mote with a final report on October 9, 2009. "If slaves didn't lay the bricks, they made the bricks. If they didn't make the bricks, they drove the wagon that brought the bricks. If they didn't drive the wagon, they built the wagon wheels," the report argued.[612] The student report also offered official recommendations to the university; these recommendations included not only issuing a statement of regret, like previously requested in 2006, but also adding classes on slavery, funding continued research on the topic, and honoring known enslaved people who worked on the early campus by naming them as founders of the university.[613] President Mote argued, instead, that, "it's a little difficult for a university to retrospectively change its founders. It's like changing the signers of the Declaration of Independence."[614] Mote's reaction indicated just how unprepared UMD was to take responsibility for their past racial traumas. However, in fall 2020, under the leadership of President Darryl Pines, the University of Maryland announced the "1856 Project," led by two library faculty, Lae'l Hughes-Watkins and Joni Floyd, to research and write about the

170

university's past connection with enslaved people and labor.[615] The project aims to "strengthen the university's commitment to its values for diverse and inclusive spaces and provide a narrative of the University of Maryland's history that embraces its past, stands firm in the challenges and achievements of its present, and lays the groundwork for a liberated future."[616]

In the less-than-two decades leading up to Collins's murder, the UMD campus had faced many disturbing incidents of racism, followed by administrative inaction. In the fall of 1999, a series of death threats were mailed to various Black members on campus, including the editor of the Black student newspaper *The Black Explosion*, the SGA President Juliana Njoku (a Nigerian-American and the university's first Black SGA president), the administrative secretary of the Black Student Center, and faculty members in the African American Studies department.[617] In 2007 and 2017, nooses were found hanging outside the Nyumburu Cultural Center—the university's Black community's gathering place—and inside the Phi Kappa Tau fraternity house, respectively.[618] The university also failed to effectively respond to a 56-page report produced in 2011 by the Black Faculty and Staff Association which accused the university of being abusive, repressive, and racist towards Black employees.[619] On a spring night in May 2016, the university also oversaw the racist handling of a graduation party, hosted and attended by several UMD Black students, at the hands of the University of Maryland Campus Police (UMCP).[12] The cops, responding to a

---

[12] This even occurred after fall 2014, when Black students engaged in a sit-in and march to protest the militarization of the University of Maryland Campus Police (UMCP) in response to the murder of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri. a few months prior. The students declared that the sit-in events would become a regular event until the university responded to student demands, which included (1) returning or retiring the militarized weapons that the UMCP owned through the Defense Department's 1033 program, (2) initiating required body cameras for campus police officers, and (3) issuing an

purposefully incorrect 911 call, broke up the party with pepper spray and bodily force.[620] When the university reviewed the incident, they suspended one officer for two weeks while arguing that the use of pepper spray was "justified, but could have been avoided had the officers used a less hostile approach."[621] These events, each disturbing in their own right, compounded in less than two decades to produce a very recent history of racial trauma and violence at UMD.

<u>A Campus in Racial and Ideological Chaos: 2016-2017 Challenges</u>

The 2016-2017 school year was a tumultuous one for racial incidents and activism on campus. Many of the events related back to the 2016 election of Donald Trump. For instance, just a week after his election, a group of twenty-five undergraduate student organizations came together to produce sixty-four "demands for new programs, resources, and initiatives" that served various marginalized student populations at the university. The group, called ProtectUMD, divided their demands into identity-based or "community" categories, including "for all marginalized students," "for the American Indian student community," "for the Black student community," "for the Latinx student community," "for the LGBTQIA+ student community," "for the Muslim student community," "for the pro-Palestine student community," and "for the undocumented student community." Some demands indicated that there was a general feeling of distrust and lack of safety regarding campus climate for marginalized students. For instance, demand #5 asked for a

---

official statement "condemning the murder of Michael Brown."[12] During the initial sit-in on November 25, 2014, students Tweeted throughout the event, using the hashtag #OccupyStamp to garner attention not just on campus, but across the DC area. DBK Admin. "University of Maryland Students Hold Stamp Food Court Sit-in Following Ferguson Decision," The Diamondback, November 25, 2014. https://dbknews.com/2014/11/25/article_b9ad0fdc-74de-11e4-91e7-43927461cd87-html/

statement by the university president "reassuring marginalized UMD students that the University is committed to making UMD a safe space for all marginalized groups, in response to the election and urging these students to speak out when they feel that the university is not meeting this goal."[622] And at least five of the demands were related to hate speech and slander directed at or about marginalized students. On November 17, 2016, the ProtectUMD student coalition organized an event called #ProtectThisHouse, where hundreds of students marched on campus on behalf of their demands, gaining the attention of local and national media outlets. The university response was slow, taking President Wallace Loh, who replaced Mote in 2010, over two months to respond to the demands on January 26, 2017.[623] In this email, which was sent out to welcome students to a new semester, he dismissed the student demands—first, by adding quotation marks around the word "demands," an American-English grammar device referred to as scare quotes or sneer quotes that are used to imply that the author does not agree with the use of the term or finds the concept unpersuasive.[624] And second, by undermining the active call of the demands by stating they were either already undertaken, requiring additional consultation, or "unlawful, or impractical, or unnecessary."[625] Overall, Loh's administrative response diffused the power of the demands and ensured action towards them would dissipate.

Less than a month later, in February 2017, students woke up to a campus that had been littered with white supremacist posters from a nationalist group called American Vanguard.[626] The posters, which argued on behalf of white people/white supremacists that "we have the right to exist" and "defending your people is a social duty," spawned additional fear and distrust on campus, especially after *The*

Diamondback student newspaper uncovered that the flyering was done by two UMD students.[627] The university's chief diversity officer Kumea Shorter-Gooden responded, saying, "anything that conveys to students that they are not welcome can have an impact on their capacity to excel and to thrive."[628] In response to the American Vanguard posters, the UMD Socialists student group posted flyers across campus that argued "We don't tolerate racism on our campus. We don't tolerate hate speech on our campus. We don't tolerate hate groups on our campus. Racists are not welcome here."[629] American Vanguard posters were found, once more, in March 2017.[630] Both American Vanguard incidents were investigated by the university as hate bias incidents.

Another campus clash occurred in mid-April 2017, in which a student group called "Terps for Trump" chalked sidewalks in front of the student center. Some chalk messages were anti-immigration and pro-deportation, such as "Build the wall" and "Deport Dreamers." At the time, UMD had at least 20 students protected by the DREAM Act and 113 students supported by DACA. Other chalk messages read "CNN is fake news," "Wage gap myth," "#MyPresident" "#Trump2020" and "MAGA."[631] While many UMD students were appalled by the chalk messages—taking it upon themselves to wash away the chalk or provide counter-chalking messages such as "Support Dreamers"—the UMD administrative community, such as the student union's Associate Director and even the university's president, vocally supported the rights of the Terps for Trump students chalking as "free speech."[632] President Loh framed the controversy as part of a healthy debate, tweeting "Students took to the sidewalk to exchange ideas and engage in debate today. Keep the

conversation going #chalkUMD."[633] Students replied to the tweet, arguing "students took the sidewalk today because you and our institution were complacent. Don't get it twisted. #ChalkUMD"[634] and "UNACCEPTABLE to justify the xenophobia that was presented on campus this morning. This is hate speech."[635] Even if the administration faltered on calling the Terps for Trump chalking hate speech, there was no ambiguity when, on April 27, 2017, a noose was found at the Phi Kappa Tau fraternity house.[636] The university was informed of the incident via the campus-wide alert system and the police investigated it as a "hate incident." Alysa Conway, a founder of Black Terps Matter, reflected back on that time on campus:

"Just a lot of minorities on campus were left very vulnerable and left very worried among, you know, Trump's win. And it left a lot of people distraught and left a lot of students scared... There were multiple, like graphics everywhere, just like really targeting minorities…The racial strife and tensions were really building up... And that was showcased all over the place from having graphics everywhere, to chalking, to students quite literally taunting minorities. You know, anything you can really think of, as to how chaotic it was for the time being had happened at the at the university. And so that really sparked a lot of students, specifically minorities, to really step up…"

Between ProtectUMD's focus on hate speech, and the winter and spring incidents related to free speech and hate incidents, understanding the cultural clashes that occurred from 2016-2017, and the administrative responses to them, is crucial, as

they constitute the unsafe, unchecked, and unrestricted environment that led to Lt. Collins's death.

The events of 2016-2017 point to a campus climate produced by a university administration that made distinctions between hate speech and free speech in a way that promoted broad ideological diversity. The administration, for instance, classified white supremacist flyering and the discovery of a noose as hate incidents and investigated them as such. However, when it came to issues such as protecting minoritized student positions and dissuading right-wing intimidation, the university was much less likely to intervene. Rather, the university's stance was to support extensive ideological diversity by upholding the first amendment right and freedom of expression. The term "ideological diversity" has historic roots in American conservativism and is often the hinge upon which right-wing iconoclasts are provided a platform on college campuses.[637] Since the 1950s, conservative academics have crusaded against what they believed to be a higher educational environment that was imbalanced and inhospitable to conservative viewpoints; and, according to media scholar Nicole Hemmer, over the past two decades, terminology such as "intellectual diversity" and "ideological diversity" have been produced by said conservatives to promote expanded educational space for conservative worldviews.[638] Katie Knibbs argued that the terminology illustrates the antagonistic position of academic conservatives, stating that, "conservatives eventually adopted the pro-diversity language of the left as an undermining tactic" to give them a stake in diversity conversations.[639] The term has recently been used by political pundits to poke at progressive student protests, arguing that (liberal) students need to be exposed to

176

ideological diversity, not safe spaces.[640] While the University of Maryland never used the explicitly-conservative terminology, their support of ideological diversity is apparent in their actions and statements. This is not surprising given that UMD serves as the state flagship for a politically divided Maryland—considered a "blue" state with a "red" governor since 2015. At the start of the 2016 year, Loh's email address to the broad university community included the sentiment, "The bedrock value of a university is freedom of expression. Without it there can be no learning or scholarly inquiry."[641] Additionally, Loh's comments about the April chalking event—which suggested that some of UMD's own students be deported—as being part of a healthy debate echoes the ideological diversity sentiment. Overall, I posit that the root of campus clashes was the university's promotion of ideological diversity despite the pronounced fears and concerns of minoritized students.

As a disastrous year of racism on campus came to a conclusion, Lt. Collins was murdered by Sean Urbanski. According to police and news reports, Lt. Collins, a Bowie State University student, was visiting two friends, who were UMD students, to celebrate their graduations.[642] After spending the night out at local bars and restaurants, Collins and his friends waited near the Montgomery Hall bus stop for an Uber around 3am. It was then that Urbanski approached. According to witnesses, Urbanski demanded that Collins "step left, step left if you know what's best for you." When Collins refused to move, Urbanski wielded a knife, stabbed him in the chest, and fled the scene.[643] Collins's friends called 911. The university police arrived first and performed first aid for the serious chest injury until paramedics arrived. Collins was reported dead at the hospital.[644] The university police, with the help of the

177

witnesses and security video that captured the incident, quickly identified and confirmed Urbanksi as the suspect.[645] Urbanksi was arrested and charged with first- and second- degree murder and first-degree assault.[646] As news outlets reported the murder overnight and into the next morning, a common description of the attack was that it was "unprovoked."[647] According to a press conference that Saturday morning, University Police Chief David Mitchell identified the UMD student as the primary suspect and reported that investigators found no connection between Collins and Urbanski—the two had never met and had no mutual networks.[648] It was also shared that Urbanski was a member of the Facebook group "Alt-Reich: Nation," a white supremacist group that posted racist memes, some of which were found saved on Urbanski's phone.[649] Lastly, Mitchell reported that Urbanski "had been drinking," potentially insinuating that this was a drunken incident, primarily, rather than a racially-motivated one (an argument the defense attorney would adopt in future years).[650] However, by Monday May 22, 2017, the FBI was involved in the investigation to look into the possibility of the murder being categorized as a hate crime.[651,13]

---

[13] The FBI ultimately decided not to investigate the murder as a hate crime on the federal level, leaving it up to the state of Maryland to try Urbanski for hate crimes. The Prince George's County criminal court also did not put Urbanski on trial for the designation of a hate crime, as the judge ruled there was not enough evidence to do so. Urbanski's defense attorney's argued that Collins's death was about "place, not race," in other words, that Collins was in the wrong place at the wrong time and not related to his race whatsoever. Price, Lily, "Judge drops hate-crime charge in trial of man accused of Bowie State student's murder at University of Maryland," Capital Gazette, December 17, 2019. https://www.capitalgazette.com/news/crime/ac-cn-urbanski-defense-trial-20191217-rhlismgjcbci7h2mxx65pu6mcy-story.html ; Bell, Brad. "Bowie State Student Killing was 'About Place, Not Race,' Hate Crime Trial Defense Says," WJLA ABC 7 News, December 11, 2019. https://wjla.com/news/local/bowie-state-university-of-maryland-sean-urbanski-richard-collins-hate-crime-trial

<u>In the Wake of Hate, Calls for Unity at UMD</u>

As news of Lt. Collins's murder spread, the community began to react to the incident by connecting it to the racial climate at UMD. For example, students and alumni, wanting to underscore the racial element of the murder, adamantly used the terminology of "lynching" to describe what happened to Collins by the hand of a white man.[14] And many more UMD students took to Twitter to share their experiences with racism and white supremacy on campus in order to connect the incident to the campus environment. Student's co-opted the university's sports marketing tagline "Fear the Turtle" to tell their own personal stories that highlighted the fear that marginalized students faced on the predominantly white campus.[652] Using the hashtag #FearTheTurtle, students on twitter shared racist sentiments that they faced at fraternity parties, on the YikYak app, in their classes, and around campus.[653] For example, @Shojo_Shawty explained "Walking on campus, people crash into me or move an obnoxious length away from me. Either I'm invisible or I'm seen as ignoble #FearTheTurtle." Another common narrative with the #FearTheTurtle thread was discussing racist interactions between cops and students, as well as critiquing President Loh and his administration's lack of response to the deteriorating

---

[14] Dave Zirin, a Maryland resident ad sports analyst focusing on race politics, shared this perspective nationally when he said "Make no mistake about it—this was a lynching, a lynching committed by a UMD student…" he went on to call Urbanski out as the culprit of such lynching when he said "[Urbanski] was not an interloper or an outsider. He is a homegrown terrorist who grew out of the soil of this college campus." Years later, this terminology was still used by students, as noted in a quote by Professor Mia Smith-Bynum in the Black student newspaper, *The Black Explosion*, in 2019. Zirin, Dave. "A Lynching on the University of Maryland Campus," The Nation, May 22, 2017. https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/lynching-university-maryland-campus/; Budd, Malika. "UMD's Presidential Committee Demands Disparaging Diversity on Campus Be Addressed," The Black Explosion, October 3, 2019. https://www.blackexplosionnews.com/blog/2019/10/3/umds-presidential-committee-demands-disparaging-diversity-on-campus-be-adressed?rq=Collins

racial climate. @theurbantea tweeted "'Why am I getting pulled over sir?' 'You looked out of place. Where are you coming from?'#FearTheTurtle." And @whatthe_yoana tweeted that she previously "Had a convo w Pres. Loh about need for mandatory anti-racism and diversity training for students/faculty... he told me it was a waste."[654] Students engaged in the Twitter conversation and used their stories and hashtags to link Collins's death with the unchecked racism that existed on campus—an unchecked racism that they believed Loh was directly responsible for fostering.

In the face of such public tragedy, President Loh was forced to address the racial violence that occurred on campus, and he had to balance doing so with several different audiences. Between the end of the spring semester, May 21, 2017, and a week into the new school year, August 28, 2017, Loh sent no fewer than six emails to the broad UMD community that addressed Lt. Collins's murder, directly or in part.[655] From legislators in Annapolis to media outlets across the region, to prospective students and potential donors, there existed several key audiences to whom Loh had to prove that campus was unified and safe, and, most importantly, that UMD did not have a white supremacy problem. The complexity of addressing all of these audiences is reflected in the language used in his formal communications and offers insight into the administrative standpoint of the tragedy. Loh's emails crafted various arguments that minimized the university's responsibility for Urbanski's killing of Collins—and especially the university administration—for their lack of addressing campus climate issues in the school year leading up to the murder.

I argue that in the months immediately following the murder of Lt. Collins, President Wallace Loh's communication to the university community framed Collins's death as part of a larger issue of racism and political extremism created by off-campus contexts, rather than taking responsibility for the incident as an avoidable tragedy that occurred as a product of specific campus climates. The discourse of framing white supremacy as an outside evil that was separate from the throughs of campus began in Loh's May 24, 2017 email and public statement. In the statement, he argued that "these are fraught times, on our campus, across the nation, and the world."[656] Similarly, the email stated that "we all want a culture that rejects hate and forges a more perfect union in our nation's rich multi-cultural and multi-ethnic diversity." [657] On July 6, Loh referenced Collins's murder as part of the "rising incidents of racism, hate, and violence that are spreading across the country."[658] In all of these instances, Loh lumped together the campus along with national and global instances of white supremacy and alluded to the nation-state and global politics as the scope within which white supremacy threatens.[659] In doing so, he framed Urbanski's crime as part of the tumultuous national and global politics, further allowing UMD administrators to elide responsibility for the violence which occurred on campus. When, on August 12, 2017 clashes between neo-fascist white supremacists and counter-protesters in Charlottesville, Virginia led to the death of a counter-protester Heather Heyer, the UMD administration's ability to talk about Collins's death in connection with national politics deepened. The August 28 email, which Loh sent to the UMD community to welcome the start of the 2017-2018 school year, explicitly

connected Collins' death to the Charlottesville incident to link the two incidents to national culture clashes:

"We are shocked and saddened by the tragic killings of Lt.
Richard Collins III on our campus in May and of a peaceful protester
in Charlottesville earlier this month. Our country is divided. The
brazen resurgence of white supremacist, neo-fascist, and other extreme
ideologies are an affront to our democracy"[660]

By mentioning Collins and Heyer in the same breath, Loh's communication about Collins's death continued to affirm the villain in Collins's tragic tale was larger white supremacist politics that existed in contexts beyond the scope of the university, as evidenced by Heyer's death. While this explicit connection between Collins, Heyer, and white supremacist actors across the nation can be viewed as a positive rhetorical action—to produce a more insistent anti-racist exigence to combat white supremacy in a grander context—Loh misstepped by not also reflecting on UMD's own culpability in these larger systems and national politics.

Instead, Loh framed the university community as the unified solution to the problems of white supremacy in the nation, rather than acknowledging that the campus was neither separate from, nor guiltless in its participation in, such culture. On May 24, Loh argued that the responsibility was "on all of us to stand up and fight the racism, extremism, and hate" and that "united by this recent tragedy, we can be a force for good. Together, we can be stronger and smarter than those who would divide us and subvert the values that undergird our University and our democracy."[661] This discourse framed the UMD community as being an antidote to, rather than a part

of, white supremacy. Again, Loh discussed UMD as an active antagonist that embattled white supremacy (rather than be a complicit actor in it) in his July 6 email, which stated "we have begun an intensive effort to combat the rising incidents of racism, hate, and violence that are spreading across the country." Loh treated the UMD community as a unified actor fighting national issues of white supremacy and racial discord, as he also framed white supremacy as a villain threatening UMD's progress as a university. At the end of the August 28 email, Loh argued "UMD's momentum continues to lift us on a rising trajectory. Yet, the national climate of divisiveness, incivility, hate, and violence tests our democracy and our campus."[662] Here, Loh again positioned the campus as separate from the national condition of white supremacy, and as a result of this national climate, Loh argued that "every one of us is called to action -- to reaffirm our University's core values of diversity, inclusion, respect, and civil discourse, and to do more to live these values each day. As a campus community, we must respond to the scourge of bias, hate, and violence based on race, religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and gender identity. Then, we can begin to heal."[663] Loh's call to action failed to acknowledge that the culture of white supremacy that the campus community is being called to combat both festered and flourished at the university itself.

Overall, Loh discussed Collins's death as part of a larger *external* system of hate and division that threatened the unity and strength of an allegedly anti-racist campus. Loh's multiple responses about the Collins tragedy, on behalf of the University of Maryland, created a problematic rhetorical construction wherein the university was allegedly separate from the institution of white supremacy; thereby

limiting the potential for anti-racist action on campus. Most notably, the institutional

communication about Urbanski's crime placed the blame for white supremacy outside

of the institution rather than take responsibility for how it existed internally. Matthew

Houdek has argued that this framing is a problem related to public memory because it

produces a public discursive frame where external issues become scapegoats, and

those who consider themselves "good" white publics are liberated from the very real

need to reflect on the ways in which racism is perpetuated in *their* everyday routines,

social practices and unquestioned assumptions.[664] This failure to reflect critically

produces "white liberal racism," or what Kelly Madison has labeled the "anti-racist

white hero" identity.[665] As Stephen A. King and Roger Gatchet have argued, this

public memory trope allows white people to locate white supremacy "in bad actors

who reside outside the system," rather than looking within the system or within

themselves.[666] As is clear in Loh's rhetoric, the University of Maryland leadership

attempted to distance the university from the systems of white supremacy, although

they clearly thrived on campus. Consequently, the public memory of Lt. Richard

Collins III murder lost its transformative potential and power in that the framing

allowed the university to maintain its status as a "good" white institution who will

"learn" and "heal" in the years to come, and to also take no responsibility in the

tragedy itself. In doing so, the rhetoric coming from the Office of the President in the

wake of the Collins tragedy severely limited any anti-racist discussion or action.

"A Safe Space was Built for Racism": Localizing White Supremacy on Campus

      Not surprisingly, students responded negatively to Loh's rhetorical frame that

elided responsibility for Collins's death. Faced with the institutional context of

unrestricted freedom of expression that promoted unbridled ideological diversity on campus, and having to address a president who placed blame on larger systems of white supremacy but did not see how the campus politics/culture allowed white supremacy to blossom, UMD students pushed back against institutional discourse about Lt. Collins's murder on campus. They evoked racialized counter-memory arguments in their reflections to describe the campus culture as a direct result of administrative inaction regarding hate speech, and they pushed back against the exaggerated space Loh created between campus and white supremacy. In doing so, UMD students reframed recent institutional history in connection with Collins's death in order to make sense of the memory of his murder on campus. In this section, I demonstrate how students reframed campus culture by remembering it differently. Specifically, I elucidate how students connected issues of free speech and the university's limited reaction to racial incidents to Collins's murder, countered the distance Loh produced between campus and white supremacy culture, and reflected on their fear as evidence of a campus who had yet to produce the unified conditions that the administration claimed. In these arguments, students localized the issues of white supremacy to campus and framed the administration's free speech policies and reactive dialogues as directly responsible for it and Collins's death.

The first way that students pushed back against Loh's rhetorical framework was to highlight the harm caused when the administration blurred the line of protecting free speech and permitting hate speech. UMD students had already been struggling with the administration's seemingly neutral claims for first amendment rights and for "blanket notions" of respect and tolerance for all ideologies since

185

before Collins's death.[667] And after the murder, they were fully unaccepting of the pedestal on which the university protected free speech to the extent that the administration seemingly permitted racist ideologies. For example, in December 2018, the UMD Snider Leadership Development Club held a panel forum about freedom of speech on college campuses. Launching the evening's event, the club president asked the crowd of 70 students if they believed speech should be regulated. At least half of the students in the room raised their hand. Despite the particular context surrounding this discussion on UMD's campus, these students are not alone. According to a recent national survey, nearly half of undergraduates across the nation "think some restrictions on free speech are justified," especially when that speech is racist or sexist or when "members of vulnerable groups might be harmed by certain forms of expression."[668] Sigal Ben-Porath, author of *Free Speech On Campus*, argued that for these progressive-oriented students, free speech is "another one of the master's tools, a lofty idea that helps people in power preserve their power while dismissing marginalized perspectives."[669] In other words, many students in the 21st century, and especially those at UMD in 2017, believed that free speech policies often harbored white supremacist ideologies by allowing unrestricted ideological diversity, especially by those perspectives on the far right which bordered on hate speech, to have protected space on campus.

For the students at the University of Maryland, the administration's staunch defense of free speech, despite plentiful recent racist and xenophobic incidents, created an atmosphere within which white supremacy flourished and BIPOC students suffered. Nadia Owusu, one of the founders of student activist group "Black Terps

186

Matter," reflected on the administration's failure to punish hate speech and the toll it took on students leading up to Collins's death:

> "President Loh… in my opinion, he really did not do anything at all, to make us feel protected, make us feel like this was our campus. One of the biggest things was the first amendment rights. So even when we brought up things like, you know, 'hate speech shouldn't be a thing on our campus,' the first [reaction] was never 'we understand you,' it's always 'it's a First Amendment right.' So immediately, you feel shot down for even saying, 'hey, hate speech shouldn't be a thing on our campus.' So that was a thing… within the Loh administration. So constantly feeling like, there's just nothing that can be done. It's just life. It's just America. You just have to live with it."

In other words, the university's conservative promotion of free speech and ideological diversity, as noted in events such as the Terps for Trump chalking event and Loh's Tweet following the event, served as a source of racial gaslighting for students who viewed such events as hate speech, at worst, and emotionally harmful, at best. In the months and years that followed the murder, students continued to question the appropriateness of the administration's stance of promoting not only free speech, but also the role of dialogue in reaction to racist events. For instance, in a town hall hosted by the African American Studies department in fall 2017, students centered the question, "in a campus seemingly only willing to engage in dialogue and protect free speech, when does diversity of opinion go too far?"[670] Black undergraduate student, Jasmine Braxton, was quoted in *The Black Explosion* newspaper,

explaining "there's a difference in being silent and being neutral," in reference to the university's response to racist incidents, including the racial violence that led to Collins's death, as being predominantly one of open dialogue rather than illustrating solidary by taking action in support of BIPOC students.[671] Overall, to UMD students in the wake of Collins's murder, the protection of free speech and the exaltation of open dialogue as a reactive event were not only key elements of the administrative response to Urbanski's crime and a campus-wide mitigation strategy for racist incidents prior to and following Collins's death, but they also produced the conditions of white supremacy on campus which allowed such racist incidents to occur in the first place. The cycle, in their eyes, was never ending—unrestrained free speech produced a climate where hateful, racist incidents could occur, and the university responded by promoting free speech and dialogue in the wake of such event, and so on and so forth.

The critique of free speech and the university's reactive dialogues created the conditions upon which students produced a racialized counter-memory in how they remembered Collins's death and the recent history of the university. Indeed, students directly connected the over-protection of free speech and the flawed reactivity of the administration to the tragedy, and they remembered Collins's lost life as the result of this climate. One of the clearest examples of this connection can be found in the student documentary called "3 Days, 15 Miles." Produced by several Black students and alumni, the film's title alludes to the number of days Collins was from graduation and the distance he was from his home campus of Bowie State University at the time of his death. According to the Black students interviewed for the project, the racial

violence that occurred when Urbanski murdered Collins was part of a natural progression of events following previous racial symbols and actions on campus. They also demonstrated their disapproval of the administration's reactive tendencies. Kristian Simon, one of the lead producers of the documentary, noted that their interviewees would often talk about the university's failure to act more preventatively to fix campus climate.[672] Simon also amplified the perspective his interviewees, poignantly stating that "we talked through the noose, we talked through the email, we talked through all that stuff. Now that somebody's died, what's next?"[673] In other words, UMD students viewed the administration's tendencies—to react rather than work proactively, to push for dialogue alone—to be directly linked to the intensifying racial violence on campus. Daniel Greene, a UMD undergraduate alumnus and a UMD PhD student, argued similarly, positing that the protection of free speech on campus, and the lack of meaningful action following other forms of racial incidents, produced the conditions of Collins's murder.[674] He concluded his argument, stating:

> "Tragically, Collins's death shows how high the stakes are. The rot has festered for decades. A safe space was built, purposefully or not, for racism. The timeline makes clear that tensions have escalated, and students of color have real reason to feel unsafe. Why then, can students' requests for life-saving resources only ever be met with calls for more dialogue?... What would be extraordinary would be if our campus was truly a safe space for people of color, where people could go about their days without fear. But that requires more than dialogue, it requires rebuilding the university. "[675]

Undergraduate Brendan Sullivan described such frustration when he took to Facebook to write "Hey Wallace Loh, Through your failure to address racism, white supremacists, hate speech and violence against people of color you have created an atmosphere where racists are emboldened."[676] In other words, students connected Loh's protection of free speech and over-promotion of dialogue to tolerance of hate speech and violence, and they viewed these discursive moves by Loh and his administration as producing a campus culture that was the root cause of Collins's death. In making theses connections, students produced racialized counter-memories in which they remembered the campus culture, and Collins's death, in opposition to the university administration and in a way that assigned blame for the racial violence on campus to UMD leadership.

Rather than listening to this student viewpoint, Loh persisted in framing Urbanski's crime and Collins's death as a tragedy whose roots existed separate from campus. He once again met the resistance of students, on May 21, 2019, during a town hall meeting on the second anniversary of Collins's death. At the event, Loh was accosted by students for his comments about the Collins tragedy. Following Loh's address at the event, where he stated that Collins "gave his life," one student responded directly to the university president, claiming that Collins did not give his life, rather, "his life was taken. And it was taken on this campus."[677] Loh's rhetoric, intentionally or not, located agency in Collins himself—the phrase "gave his life" implied that Collins was an active participant in the tragedy—rather than with Urbanski, which would require reconciling Urbanski's identity as a UMD student who was emboldened to act by the campus climate. The clash exemplified how Loh

190

continued to distance the UMD campus from Collins's death, and the means by which students opposed his rhetorical framework.

In addition to pointing to unrestricted free speech as a cultural root of Collins's murder, students also countered institutional rhetorics by pushing back against the university's virtue signaling communication in response to Collins's murder. For students, Loh's statements, and other comments made by various members of university leadership, did not do enough to address the racial violence that had occurred on campus. In a student-generated petition, the petition originator Senam Okpattah argued that "'heartfelt' emails written by a well-trained public relations team to commemorate the life and death of Lieutenant Collins are not going to suffice anymore. Inadequate means of commemorating a black man's legacy masked under a facade of concern and social awareness are no longer acceptable." In a similar sentiment calling out the act of reputation-guarding and distancing that the university engaged, a UMD reddit page from 2019 inquired about the status of the Lt. Collins memorial. User ravensfreak0624 responded "guaranteed the university wants to sweep this under the rug and pretend like it never happened."[678] Okpattah also named issues of complacency and disregarding the value of Lt. Collins's life as egregious faults by the university. She posited, "the University of Maryland should no longer remain complacent in its efforts to combat the many instances of racism and bigotry that frequent this campus," and went on say, "no price can be placed on the life of Lieutenant Richard Collins III, however, stronger efforts made to commemorate him will remind people that his life was and will forever be valued."[679] These arguments exemplify some of the key rhetorical frameworks students built to

demand that the university stop centering blame outside of the institution as a means of protecting its reputation. Students viewed the fact that the university continued to espouse diversity and inclusion as core values in their public relations communications as antithetical to the administration's lack of meaningful action; thereby UMD students engaged the memory of Collins as an avenue to highlight that gap between talk and action on the administrative level.

Lastly, students also illustrated that their fear of white supremacy did not stem from larger national politics but specifically the way campus functioned and as a result of university leadership. For instance, Alysa Conway, another student leader and founder of Black Terps Matter, reflected on the culture of confusion and fear following Collins's death:

"For the longest time, a lot of students were left confused, sick, hurt, really, any negative emotion and connotation of that emotion was felt on behalf of the student body, because … the university's administration at the time, they didn't really do the best effort with actually being transparent and accountable when it came to releasing information about Collins's murder.. The student body was really trying to figure out what exactly was going on, and [sic] there just really wasn't that many answers to it, that really got a lot of students, especially black students to… advise that 'black students matter,' whether they attended the university, whether they didn't, just in general, they don't even have to be a student, just the entire black community matters."[680]

192

Conway's comments indicate that despite Loh's plentiful emails affirming that campus was unified in their battle with white supremacy, the university's responses to Collins's murder failed in its attempts to distance campus from systemic issues of white supremacy and instead spawned confusion and fear. On April 10, 2018, almost a year after the murder, Loh sent another campus-wide statement to finally explain that "the University of Maryland will remember and honor, in perpetuity, the life of Lt. Collins, including with a physical memorial." The email, whose purpose was to announce plans for a memorial for Lt. Collins, offered familiar talking points about campus-wide healing; however, students still publicly voiced their discontent with how the administration failed to address the feelings of minoritized students on campus. Senam Okpattah, an undergraduate student, argued in the *Diamondback* newspaper that the email not only failed to contextualize the murder as rooted in racism and hate, but that it continued to ignore the needs of students of color on campus. She is quoted as saying, "There are a lot of students of color who are very uncomfortable and who don't feel safe here, which is absurd and should never be the case… [The email] seemed like a very calculated PR tactic." Students also commented in *The Diamondback* about the fear they felt passing the bus stop where Collins was murdered.[681]

For Black UMD students, the pain, grief and fear that resulted from Collins's murder were often expressed in various creative avenues. For some, it was expressed by leaving flowers and notes at the bus stop or using the informal memorial as a place to reflect and think. Students could be seen sitting at the bus stop and reading through the notes and journals left there. For other Black students, their pain was expressed

193

through art. At the "Black Renaissance" art show, hosted at the end of Black History Month in February 2018, a student dance group called the Prima Dolls performed an emotional tribute to Lt. Collins. The music, remixed with a repeating line from a local reporter saying "candles are burning in his honor here tonight" with the sound of a heartbeat, and the dance itself—which included an interpretive re-enactment of the stabbing, Collins's final breaths, and the mourning of the community—provided a clear example of how students processed the tragedy even as the university failed to take on this burden. Overall, by expressing the fear and discomfort that students felt in the wake of Collins's murder, students produced a counter-argument to the university's claim that the campus was united, that their campus was safe, and that institutional responses were enough.

As these student discourses demonstrate, the UMD student body pushed back against Loh's rhetoric that framed the university as a unified, active antagonist to white supremacist systems at work in national politics. Instead, students remembered Collins's death as inextricably linked to white supremacist systems thriving on the very campus they attended. Their arguments framed the university leadership as allowing uninhibited free speech and engaging in reactive dialogue to racial incidents, which they believed produced the conditions that propelled Urbanski to murder Collins. They also illustrated that university communication was insufficient to produce justice and alleviate the fears of BIPOC students. Of course, rhetoric scholars across the board understand and defend the power of dialogue and the necessity of free speech as cornerstones of anti-racist activism; however these rhetorical policies and practices remained the targets of UMD students who reflected on the tragedy of

Collins's murder. The university, rightfully, supported free speech (indeed, in a May 30, 2017 email, Loh defended the university's free speech policies, stating that "as marketplaces of ideas, universities prepare the next generation of citizens and leaders to wrestle openly with these ideas, so central to our democracy")[682] and the university provided ample space for dialogue and deliberation about racial issues before and after Collins's murder; therefore, students' reflections about the harm caused by such policies illustrates a contemporary tension in student protest politics and the foundation of rhetorical deliberation that rhetoricians should take seriously. UMD students argued that unrestricted free speech allowed for harmful (e.g. racist) rhetoric and that reactive dialogue to harmful (e.g. racist) incidents produced a culture of white supremacy on campus—in other words, they posited that free speech and dialogue, when left unattended and when engaged without nuance to BIPOC and other minoritized students' needs, produce the conditions by which white supremacy thrives.

Re-Constituting Lt. Collins's Memory & Legacy through Racialized Counter-Memory

In addition to countering institutional rhetorics about campus culture and accountability for Urbanski's killing of Lt. Collins, UMD students both engaged in and advocated for memorialization for Collins. From 2017 to 2021, they demanded permanent memorialization, and, in the meantime, did what they could to keep his memory alive and hold the university accountable for his death. For example, the bus stop where the murder occurred was transformed by the community into an unofficial monument to Collins, thereby altering the place and space of campus by both marking the death itself and its inconclusive memorialization. Students also advocated for a

195

permanent, university-sanctioned memorial. These students believed that a permanent memorial would offer a protected, long-term space for racial identity, organizing, and reflection. However, anti-racist student activists at the University of Maryland faced the challenge of asking for change from an institution that remained silent during common racial incidents but still believed it was separate from the conditions and systems of white supremacy that led to Collins's death. For many students, change at the institutional level could be symbolized through the permanent and formalized memorialization of Lt. Collins on campus. As the texts below will demonstrate, UMD students who advocated for a permanent memorial for Lt. Collins believed it would function both to help future UMD community members remember the tragedy and to keep the administration accountable to the racial violence which occurred on campus and as a result of an unchecked campus culture of white supremacy. Memorialization, therefore, was a major element of this case and the core of racialized counter-memory. In their advocacy, UMD students engaged in the process of racialized counter-memory both by creating an informal memorial and by advocating for the product of a racialized counter-memory place on campus via permanent memorial for Lt. Collins. In what follows, I trace these rhetorical forms of and arguments for racialized counter-memory via memorialization. Ultimately, what the analysis illustrates is a racialized counter-memory politic that not only altered the immediate places and spaces of the UMD campus, but also implicated long-term remembering for the sake of community and accountability.

<u>"This is the Scene of a Murder": How Death was Marked on Campus</u>

The University of Maryland campus was intimately changed in the early morning hours of May 20, 2017, when Lt. Collins was murdered. However, in the days, months, and years to follow, UMD students engaged in place-based practices that marked the ephemeral transformation of space that accompanies death and loss. In the wake of Collins's death, members of the UMD, Bowie State, and Prince George's County communities transformed the Montgomery Hall bus stop where Collins was murdered into an informal and temporary memorial. In doing so, the bus stop—a place for transportation, movement, and scheduled life on campus—became frozen in time as a place of loss and remembering from the moment that Collins was stabbed. This process of memorialization, enacted in an informal, community-driven form of remembering, illustrates the powerful effect of a racialized counter-memory to alter the practice of place on campus. As students engaged in the formation and maintenance of an informal memorial at the site of Collins's murder, they produced a racialized-counter-memory that countered institutional politics and Loh's communicative frames by (1) racializing campus by marking it with the memory of racial violence, and (2) localizing white supremacy onto campus by altering the practiced use of a commonly traveled bus stop.

By Tuesday, May 23, 2017, the Montgomery Hall bus stop where Collins was murdered was transformed into a memorial that included vases, flowers, votive candles, a photo of Collins, and hand-written notes.[683] Local news station WUSA reporter Michael Quander reported that the site had become a "growing memorial of flowers and candles."[684] In addition to these personal items, small posters were also

197

taped to the bus stop over the summer months following the tragedy. By September 2017, the memorial also included one sign reading "This is not a bus stop, this is the scene of a murder. RIP Lt Collins III," and another simply said, "RIP Richard Collins III."[685] The items at the memorial were continuously added to and maintained by members of the UMD community. Within the first year of the memorial's existence, items left at the temporary memorial included personal articles such as journals and letters, photos of Lieutenant Collins, a 2017 Spring Commencement program, candles and candle holders, a brown graduation-themed stuffed bear, ribbons, two American flags, vases, plastic flowers, and even black combat boots.[686] These were archived by the university at the end of 2017.[687]

In addition to leaving physical items, many others left their written sentiments. In sticky notes and in a reflective journal left available for the community, notes at the bus stop included phrases such as "I will work hard so that this world will become a better place," and "may our children's children only come to know of tragedies like this in history books."[688] This discourse indicates the future orientation that many had when considering the tragedy of Collins's murder. Other journal entries and notes paused to reflect on the significance of the site as a place of loss. Wrote Professor Rashawn Ray, "…as I walk past this bus stop as I think of you breathing your last [breath] here as I consider this world of evils which took you far too soon."[689] Another journal entry, anonymous and assumingly by a student, reads "My heart will not fail to break each time I pass this bus stop."[690] And yet another anonymous letter focuses in on the fact that family and friends "lost a presence here."[691] For those who left notes, and the many others that would come to reflect at

the site and read such notes, the bus stop was a site of meaning making—of proclaiming a sense of loss and promising a more just future on behalf of Lt. Collins.

As noted in the written reflections, for many students, faculty, and staff, the scene of the unofficial memorial was a jarring and emotional experience. Writing for *The Black Explosion,* undergraduate student Simret Akililu described the site: "the walls of the bus stop are surrounded with pictures of Collins, the seats dressed with sunflowers while the entrance of the bus stop draped with black tape." She went on to add that the bus stop memorial was "a painful reminder of how the life of a young man was ended in such a horrific manner."[692] Akilulu's statement illustrates the juxtaposition between life and death that the bus stop represented both in the physical details—the sunflowers and the black tape/pictures of Collins—and as a symbol of loss on campus. The Collins memorial at the Montgomery Hall bus stop stood out as a place of racial violence and death amidst the bustling nature of the university, which continued to carry on business as usual. With its affective charge, the place/space rhetoric of the practiced memorial site forced many students to reconcile their own personal feelings about the murder. Chance Albury, another Black undergraduate student, is quoted in the *Diamondback* as reflecting, "It's hard sitting [at the bus stop] as an African-American student. Every time I come here, I think about it and pray because it's scary."[693] For the UMD community, and especially Black students, the bus stop symbolized the university's disregard for Black life and death.[694]

In contrast to the practiced memorialization and the affective racial charge of the bus stop where Collins was murdered, much of UMD's 1335-acre campus had been built to support and remember whiteness. Just as Mary Triece argued that city

landscapes are planned, employed, and practiced through hegemonic white supremacy,[695] college campuses likewise have a history of white supremacy that endures in many ways, but specifically through its practice on the physical campus. Most college campus landscapes before 2015 simultaneously showcased whiteness while covering up racism in relation to institutional history.[15] For instance, in colleges across the nation, campus buildings that were named after white enslavers, white supporters of confederate causes, and white advocates for segregation remained un-contextualized. Statues of white men whose histories supported white supremacy remained prominently visible on campus quads, library entrances, and other communal spaces at countless universities. These memory places "train collective habits of remembering" on campus that allows white supremacy to breathe freely under the guise of benign institutional remembering norms.[696] The University of Maryland did not escape such discriminatory remembering practices. In 2015, UMD unveiled a statue of Frederick Douglass—known abolitionist, suffragist and labor organizer—in front of one of the university's libraries. However, the university proudly displayed the Douglass statue without also providing important context, such as the fact that Douglass was enslaved in Maryland and had to escape the state in order to become the free man and activist we know today. And despite the inclusion of the Douglass statue, the campus infrastructure still predominantly promoted and

---

[15] I make this distinction using the year 2015, as the 2014-2015 marked a major shift in focus to public memory on campus related to race and white supremacy. The 2014-2015 school year also marked the initiation of several commissions, colloquia, and working groups dedicated to studying university ties to slavery, including The President's Commission on Slavery and the University in 2014 and Universities Studying Slavery (USS) in 2015. // "Universities Studying Slavery (USS)—The Birth of a Movement," Universities Studying Slavery. Last Accessed October 5, 2021. https://slavery.virginia.edu/universities-studying-slavery-uss-the-birth-of-a-movement/

remembered white men with racist ideologies. The football stadium was named after staunch segregationist H.C. Byrd until 2016, and campus buildings such as Montgomery Hall, Francis Scott Key Hall, Calvert Hall, and Charles Hall are named in honor of white men who either owned slaves, opposed abolition, or promoted racist policies.[697, 16]

The simple but profound act of transforming the Montgomery Hall bus stop into an informal memorial to Lt. Collins offers important insight into racialized counter-memory on the UMD campus—specifically, that the practiced memorial site could mark the white campus with racial reckonings. Indeed, the bus stop memorial opposed the physically constructed (white) memory of the UMD campus by marking it, explicitly, with the memory of racial violence. As I argued in the introduction of this project, public memory places enact rhetorical force onto the surrounding areas by (1) promoting various values and identities in the public sphere (2) affecting how we collectively discuss and engage in communal discourses and (3) (re)constructing the material conditions—the places and spaces—of our world. The informal bus stop memorial, created and maintained by a grieving community, altered the campus landscape by forcing the university community to see and look at the effects of white supremacy at UMD. The bus stop memorial articulated its own values—the preservation of memory of a Black male victim— over others, such as the

---

[16] According to the University of Maryland, Montgomery Hall is named "after a county in Central Maryland." But Montgomery County is named after General Richard Montgomery, an Irish patriot soldier whose marriage to Janet Livingston made him a slave-owner. "Montgomery Hall," University of Maryland Division of Student Affairs Residential Facilities, Last Accessed November 17, 2021. https://www.4service.umd.edu/montgomeryhall; Kelly, John. "Naming Rights—and Wrongs: Montgomery Students Reveal Uncomfortable Truths," The Washington Post, May 21, 2018. https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/naming-rights--and-wrongs-montgomery-students-reveal-uncomfortable-truths/2018/05/21/64ebf2fe-5d08-11e8-9ee3-49d6d4814c4c_story.html

university's desire to be seen as a diverse and inclusive space. The bus stop memorial also promoted dialogue about the tragedy within the UMD community by standing as a visible reminder—and thereby talking point—for all who stopped there or passed by. And it reconstructed the material conditions of campus by altering the bus stop to become something drastically different than its intended use and a violent blemish amongst an otherwise unspoiled academic landscape. Overall, the informal, practiced memorial site made visible what many predominantly white college campuses in the 21st century (including UMD) often tried to hide—Black lives are in peril here.

In doing so, the informal memorial to Lt. Collins served as a racialized counter-memory place by forcing campus to face, head on, the messiness of the aftermath of racial violence. While UMD leadership attempted to create space between systems of white supremacy and campus, the practiced memorialization negated such space by localizing the effects of white supremacy on campus, at the bus stop where Collins was murdered. Its key rhetorical power was its ability to bring attention to and localize the racial violence which occurred at the spot, thereby constituting new connections between race and place at UMD. In relation to race and racialized landscapes, Deborah Atwater and Sandra Herndon argued that "public space can display and reveal the intersection of race and culture in the recovery of a society's historical and cultural memory."[698] By publicly remembering race as a crucial component of the places and spaces of our communities in our past and present, the process creates a rupture in the supposedly neutral landscape and affords for ways of re-thinking how our spaces function. This rupture certainly occurred at UMD, as the informal memorial, as a racialized counter-memory, symbolized a

202

turning point for racial politics at the university. It marked a need to re-think and (re)implement anti-racist policies, resources, and relationships. As one undergraduate commented in the *Diamondback*, the informal memorial forced students, faculty, and staff to "ask questions," he posited, "because blood is on the campus. Now it's not just a thought, like, 'All right — there was a symbol, or there was an email.' … Somebody died." Overall then, the informal memorial was an opportunity for students to lay claim to this truth and force the campus to take on this painful reminder. However, despite its power and significance, the memorial's long-term existence remained precarious due to its ephemeral nature as a makeshift monument that the university did not formally recognize or protect. For this reason, students began to shift their attention towards advocating permanent memorialization.

Infusing a Racial Standpoint onto Campus Landscapes through Memorialization

While the practice of place at the informal memorial exerted rhetorical pressure on campus by marking Collins's death with a community-driven marker of racial violence on the college campus, many students wanted to see such an effect institutionalized through a permanent memorial. The UMD student population had many ideas revolving around the production of the memorial—what it should rhetorically mediate, how it should be used, etc.—but the stated purpose was always to have the memorial honor the legacy of Collins and force university administrators to move beyond what they viewed as "PR statements" and hollow diversity signposting. Analyzing the following texts, I chronicle the student advocacy around university-sanctioned memorialization, including the strategies, goals, and practices

of various student groups. I then evaluate how the form of the memorial would or would not meet the stated goals for memorialization and serve as a racialized counter-memory place on campus.

Students and the university administrators clashed early in the fall of 2017 over the preservation of the practiced memorial at the Montgomery Hall bus stop. In early September 2017, during the second week of the fall semester, university officials announced that the Montgomery Hall bus stop was to be relocated slightly up the street. Prior to this announcement, from May to September, the temporary memorial for Collins still acted as a functioning bus stop, despite its emotionally charged status as a practiced memorial. The announcement to move the bus stop and preserve the informal memorial was positively received by the student body, especially by Black students who previously were required to sit and wait for their bus at the site of a murder of a Black man by a white student. At the same time, university leaders announced they would put up a temporary barrier to mark off the memorial; however, students remained unsatisfied by the various ways the university marked it off—first with black tape, then with three removable barricades strung together by a singular chain and a sign that read "Out of respect for the tragic death of Second Lieutenant Richard Collins III, this bus stop has been temporarily relocated near Annapolis Hall." Several students made public statements denouncing the effectiveness of such a barrier, claiming they still saw students using the bus stop as a personal shelter or seat when bad weather or drunken inhibitions struck.[699] A student published in the *Diamondback*, Kimberly Rodriguez, reflected on times she saw students leaning on the bus stop or using its shelter, which she viewed as a symbol of

disrespect. Sabrina Pierre, another student, also complained that the university "could at least put up a nice sign, better barriers," or "put up a nice painting of him." Instead, she argued that, "It's ridiculous … They haven't even done the bare minimum."[700] Additionally, students continued to question why the university failed to build a shelter for the newly located bus stop down the street. On a UMD Reddit thread, students commented on the lack of infrastructure of the new bus stop, with user AlphaPupRed articulating "this is UMD doing just enough to seem like they care without actually fixing anything."[701] Overall, student voices raised concerns and discontent over the university's lackluster response to the informal memorial and newly relocated bus stop.

In lieu of the precarious existence of the bus stop memorial, students began to articulate that creating a permanent memorial was necessary not just for demanding respect of Collins's memory, but also to make sure his memory was not forgotten by the campus community. Kimberly Rodriguez was again quoted in the *Diamondback* as being in favor of a permanent memory site because "it's really easy to forget what happened there if we don't really acknowledge it or put a plaque up or something." Apryl Ogallo, another undergraduate student, also articulated her support of a permanent memory site because she didn't want "Collins' memory to fade as time passes." Time was certainly a concern of UMD students, who knew how the administration could use it against them. One UMD reddit user commented, "wont surprise me UMD waits a few more years after classes graduate to open the [bus] stop back up and act like nothing happened."[702] And Nadia Owusu, one of the founders of

the student group Black Terps Matter, reflected in an oral history about the petition for Collins's monument:

> "All these promises [sic] were not coming to fruition. It felt like… something that's been going on for decades where administrations kind of wait for students to graduate because we're here for a temporary period of time, yet they stay for decades. So they kind of were just like, 'okay, these kids are a little rowdy… we'll just give them an ear, and then we don't follow through with it.'"[703]

Students, therefore, seemed to be cognizant of the interlocking process of passing time and the increased likelihood of forgetting, and especially how these processes were used as tools by the administration to slow down progress for memorialization. They advocated for a permanent public memory site in order to assure the long-standing memory of Collins at UMD.

While UMD students claimed that a permanent memorial for Collins needed to be produced to keep the memory alive beyond the graduating class of 2021, they disagreed about the scope, narrative, and goals of the memorial. For instance, student groups such as the Student Government Association (SGA) began planning a "diversity monument," while other groups wanted the memorial to more explicitly name the nature of Collins's death. According to SGA President AJ Pruitt, the SGA viewed the purpose of the memorial was to create a "lasting memory of not only Lt. Collins but also a lot about the impact that people of color have had on our campus."[704] The task force articulated a desire to make the memorial an educative tool on campus; "a discussion piece and something that people can look to on campus

and it spurs conversation," said Pruitt.[705] However, the appointed student leader for the task force, Ashley Vasquez, also explained that the group wanted the diversity monument in a prominent space such as the student union, as a way to attract prospective students, thereby showing a clear tension regarding capitalistic functions of memorialization. In contrast to the SGA vision for a broader and more general diversity monument, other student groups like the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and the Democratic Socialist Association (DSA) argued for an "explicitly political" monument to both honor Lt. Richard Collins III and name the nature of his murder.[706] ISO representative and undergraduate student Brendan Sullivan argued, "we believe that it is essential to put forward exactly what happened that night: that Richard Collins was murdered by Sean Urbanski, a University of Maryland student and a known member of white supremacist groups."[707] A DSA student representative Erin Oakes posited her fear that "the monument may eventually blend into the general landscape of the university if its significance is not overtly stated."[708] For both ISO and DSA, the importance of the monument was not only its existence, but also how the monument would be used on campus, especially by identity-based, politically radical, and/or social justice-oriented student groups. "A monument itself is not the most political of things, but the coalitions built around it can build the ability to fight white supremacy and to fight racism," argued Sullivan.[709] In contrasting these various student groups' visions for memorialization, we can see the tension between discussing Collins's murder in terms of vague multiculturalism and direct anti-racist narratives.

Between Spring 2018 and Spring 2020, activism regarding memorialization was sporadic and, at times, dormant. While SGA continued to propose bills, committees, and resources for diversity and inclusion, the work for producing a monument was no longer included in those proposals. Instead, infighting amongst SGA leadership in the 2018-2019 school year diverted attention away from the memorial.[710] During the Spring 2018 semester, Senam Okpattah created a petition for an official memorial to Lt. Collins as part of class assignment, and quickly accumulated more than 1000 signatures as students expressed their support for a permanent, university-sanctioned memorial.[711] In April 2018, almost a year after Collins's murder, Loh announced that the campus would honor Collins's life via a physical memorial, but that the university was "not proceeding with any planned actions at this time out of respect—and at the family's request—for privacy." Loh's email, although lacking particulars such as a timeline or location for the memorial, offered some peace to students who advocated for memorialization. In light of Loh message assuring memorialization, and after the death of yet another Black student in the summer of 2018—this time, UMD football player Jordan McNair at the hands of his coach's negligence following a heat stroke—student advocacy around the issue of memorialization temporarily diminished.[712]

As the years passed and the university communicated little about the alleged plans for formal memorialization, it would have been unsurprising if students—pulled in different directions by new and emerging problems—had moved on in their activism; however, in June 2020, over three years after Collins's death, a new student group emerged who vocalized, again, the desire to properly honor Collins on campus.

This student group, Black Terps Matter (BTM), was founded with an explicit anti-racist agenda for the University of Maryland. The name of the organization references the UMD mascot, the terrapin, also referred to informally as a "Terp," and links the purpose of the group to the Black Lives Matter movement. The three student founders—Saba Tshibaka, Alysa Conway, and Nadia Owusu—were all Black women and seniors at the university. According to Owusu in an oral history interview that I conducted in 2021,[17] the origin of Black Terps Matter can be traced to her decision to reach out to university leaders to organize a rally on campus in response to the national demonstrations surrounding the murder of George Floyd by Minneapolis Police Department Officer Derek Chauvin.[713] With the help of a small group of students and alumni, on Thursday June 25, 2020, Black Terps Matter made its mark on campus by bringing over a hundred demonstrators to march across campus. The event aimed to bring awareness to and to advocate for change regarding institutional racism as it existed at the university.[714] At the event, the student activists also presented the original BTM demands, which included divestment in and demilitarization of the local and campus police, ending contracts with ICE and the Maryland Correctional Enterprises, and creating a stronger anti-racist climate on

---

[17] As a researcher and as someone who experiences the privilege of my white identity, I was cognizant of the power dynamics that would affect an oral history interview, and as such, I had preliminary conversations with the BTM founding women—Tshibaka especially—regarding what type of questions and inquiry they would want to be asked about. I did this in order to cater the interview experience towards their own personal interests for having an oral history completed. Going through the IRB process, I was told by UMD IRB that the oral histories to be used in my dissertation research was exempt from review, however, I still opted to give each of the women a consent form which explained the oral history project, including the benefits and potential harms of participating. The women also understood that the oral histories could and would be used in future research and that they will be given editorial and co-writing power for any future publications of this chapter. The interviews took place on Zoom where the three women participated from the comfort of their homes and, in the case of Conway, cars. They have each been given access to the video and transcript of their interviews, which they have donated to BTM's archive.

campus via mandatory trainings, increased minority enrollment, and the renaming of racist buildings.[715]

The desire to honor Lt. Collins's memory is explicitly highlighted in the founding of BTM. In the early weeks of Black Terps Matter, one key topic that was repeatedly centered was the death of Lt. Richard Collins III. Tshibaka, reflecting in the oral history interview, argued that BTM was "formed primarily trying to seek justice for Lieutenant Richard Collins III" and that the student group has always aimed to "uplift Lieutenant Richard Collins's name, and try to make sure that people understand Black Lives Matter."[716] At the June 25, 2020 rally, one of the event volunteers and organizers, Sidney Richards, a senior, spoke to the crowd about the need for the university to permanently honor Collins in a campus memorial.[717] Frustrated, she demanded the university "keep his name out of their mouths" until they stepped up and dedicated a memorial for Collins.[718] While memorializing Collins was not listed in the original demands by BTM in their originating protest on June 25, by July 17, it was quickly elevated to the top demand by the organization. In a July 17, 2020 Instagram post, BTM updated their demands, explaining that they aimed to "create a healthier campus culture and monumental steps towards freedom, equality, equity, and justice."[719] The very first demand enumerated in this updated list was "Properly Memorializing Lt. Richard Collins III," where the student leaders remarked that such a memorial was necessary so that the community may "mourn in peace."[720] Overall, as Black Terps Matter established their identity, their platform, and their politics on campus, their concern over Collins's memorialization on campus remained central to their cause. In this way, the legacy of Collins's death, and the

activism surrounding his memorialization—and the process of racialized counter-memory—was carried on through the creation of and activism of BTM.

Charged with the desire for Collins's memory to be instituted on campus, BTM effectively pressured the UMD administration, including newly instituted President Darryl J. Pines to agree to meet an extensive list of demands. Unlike a few years earlier, when President Loh denounced the demands presented by the ProtectUMD protestors in 2016, Pines entertained the demands by BTM, and his administration suggested that BTM work with other Black student organizations to brainstorm a comprehensive list of demands and receive input from the student body to produce ranked action items that the university administration would commit to.[721] Black Terps Matter, along with 30 Black student organizations, presented President Pines with a list of 25 ranked demands, and he responded on November 24, 2020 announcing the creation of a task force to move forward with said goals.[722] Ranked eighth on the list of 25 demands was the petition to memorialize 2nd Lt. Richard Collins III "with a physical memorial in a visible location where all of the UMD community can participate in his remembrance."[723] While lower on the official list presented and accepted by President Pines, the call for memorialization was one of the 25 demands for which Pines agreed to be held accountable. In a press release, he remarked, "each of the objectives under discussion will proceed on varying timelines and will involve additional members of our community."[724] In other words, Black Terps Matter, in a coalition with students across the university, successfully pressured the university administration to agree to prioritize several campus climate changes, including the very crucial memorial for 2nd Lt. Richard Collins III. Less than six

months later, on April 23, 2021, during the first annual spring symposium hosted by the Social Justice Alliance, Pines announced the location of a permanent memorial near the bus stop where Collins was murdered.[725] However, neither a timeline nor any design details were presented.[18]

 As this analysis of student advocacy has so far demonstrated, UMD students not only engaged in the process of racialized counter-memory through the practiced, informal memorial, but also many student groups—such as SGA, ISO, DSA, and BTM—advocated for a product of racialized counter-memory place through the construction of a permanent memory site. What remains to be questioned is whether or not a university-approved memorial could be produced in such a way that it enacts the tenants of racialized counter-memory and does the rhetorical work for which students advocated. I argue that *racialized counter-memory places* can disrupt neutrally raced landscapes by illuminating the racial connections that are otherwise unintelligible. By publicly remembering race as a crucial component of the places and spaces of our communities in our past and present, the racialized counter-memory place creates a physical rupture to the established practices of place and affords ways of re-thinking how our spaces function. These places alter both material and symbolic realities by constructing a physical place that mediates hegemonic and opposing worldviews. Rhetorician Mark T. Vail posited that "explicating the latent ideologies embedded in these [memory] sites can help reveal hegemonic structures while

---

[18] Following the announcement by Pines, the Office of Diversity and Inclusion established a dashboard to track the progress of the 25 demands. The page was last updated on September 3, 2021 but the demand for Collins's memorial, marked as "in progress" has not been updated since April 23, 2021 // "University Partnership on Critical Issues Defined by Black Student Leaders," Office of Diversity and Inclusion, University of Maryland, Last Accessed October 6, 2021. https://diversity.umd.edu/black-student-leaders

intimating alternative narratives that give voice to the historically marginalized and forgotten."[726] I argue that the rhetorical force of a racialized counter-memory place at the University of Maryland to mark the murder of Lt Collins would disrupt the enthymematic logic embedded in the campus culture—including the UMD leadership's arguments that the campus was a unified and safe space separate from the national conditions of white supremacy, and active in its anti-racist advocacy, etc.—in ways that (re)construct spaces and places on campus.

Given the contexts that UMD students faced before and after Collins's murder and provided that racialized counter-memory places have the potential to disrupt institutional logics, it is unsurprising that students believed a university-sanctioned memorial could serve as a protected, long-term place for anti-racist identity, organizing, and reflection, Indeed, I posit that students favored a permanent memorial as a physical representation of their meaning-making about Collins's murder on campus. From the perspective of UMD students, the permanent memorial would, in theory, correct two major cultural issues through its form as a racialized counter-memory place. First, the permanent, physical memorial for Lt. Collins, if constructed, would exist as a racialized counter-memory place in the way that it would counter UMD's white supremacist-oriented claims that Collins's death was part of a larger, national, systemic issue and not rooted in campus politics that produced the conditions of white supremacy there on campus. As previously noted, students struggled with Loh's communication which framed the university as separate from— indeed a savior to—white supremacy writ large. Instead, the memorial would suggest the opposite, as it would mark racial violence on campus and interrupt any notion of

213

neutrality, unity, or tolerance that university attempted to articulate in the aftermath of Collins's death. A memory site that named the murder of a Black man on campus at the hands of a white UMD student would require the university to be held accountable for its role in Collins's death and the white supremacist systems which existed on campus and produced the conditions of his murder. Second, the production of a racialized counter-memory place could complicate and (re)frame calls for free speech and open dialogue regarding racism on campus by building a charged memory site into the physical campus. Many UMD students, fed up with the protection of hate speech via institutional claims of first amendment rights and disillusioned with discussion as an anecdote to racism, viewed the memorial of part of that rebuilding of a more anti-racist campus, not just metaphorically but in a physical way. A memorial marking Collins's murder would, theoretically, be a stronger, louder, and more potent rhetorical argument than any strategy of the university to proclaim first amendment rights. A memorial marking racial violence would not provide the space for "listening to both sides" when one side included a white supremacist murderer. Overall, the potential of a racialized counter-memory place as a permanent memorial to Lt. Collins has the power to demand accountability and counter the university's strategic distancing from the racial violence despite years of upholding ideological diversity and defending an allegedly neutral campus that ultimately fostered unbridled white supremacy. The memorial, as a physical racialized counter-memory place, would indubitably alter the campus landscape as a symbolic and physical reminder that white supremacy lives on campus, and because of that, a black man died there.

214

While, in theory, the narrative of racialized counter-memory imbued in a permanent memorial at UMD has the potential to both illuminate and push back against the racist campus culture, it remains unclear whether a university-sanctioned memorial would, realistically, engage in the rhetorical arguments of racialized counter-memory needed to address the cultural problems and practices on campus. Indeed, we should question whether an institution could or would be willing to create a racialized counter-memory place that would counter its own reputational interests. In this case, analyzing the rhetorical messages mediated by the physically constructed site becomes crucial in determining the anti-racist power of a site created by the university. However UMD has yet to produce such a monument to be analyzed, so we are left to wonder. Would the university-created memorial's physical representation of the tragedy—e.g. a memorial plaque, a realistic depiction of Collins, or an abstract representation of white supremacy or racial violence—communicate the counter-memory narrative needed to combat institutional rhetorics of ideological diversity and the distancing of white supremacy? Would the memorial be filled with or void of contextual clues about violence and white supremacy at the University of Maryland, or would it be stripped of such details so that it just became a memorial to Collins himself—a hard-working student who died a tragic death? For racially progressive student groups like DSA or BTM in their advocacy for a permanent memorial, they probably imagined the more radical, contextualized form of memorialization which would produce the desired effects of a racialized counter-memory place. However, given the history of this case and the communication produced by the office of the president in the past years, it may be unlikely that the university is capable of creating

215

a physical memorial site that produced the rhetorical conditions for a racialized

counter-memory place that would satisfy student demands.

Conclusion: The Reflective Power of Racialized Counter-Memory Places

As the case currently stands, the most powerful form of racialized counter-

memory that existed at the University of Maryland was the practiced memorial site at

the bus stop following Collins's death. Lacking permanence, the memorial troubled

students who believed that the passing of time would allow the university

administration to sweep the tragedy aside and allow the campus to continue in

existence without the memory of Collins imbedded. What this case, therefore,

demonstrates is what many memory scholars already know: public memory places

exert tangible, meaningful force on our landscapes, neighborhoods, and communities.

For example, Dave Tell, in studying how Emmitt Till's memory has transformed the

site of his murder, argues that "commemorative work is a powerful mechanism for

transforming a site."[727] He uses the example of Emmitt Till's murder that occurred

across various counties in Mississippi and analyzed the memories (and memory

places) surrounding the racial violence to show how it has "made geography a

purchase point for racism and how racism has, as it were, spread itself out, unevenly,

within the various topographies and jurisdictions of the Mississippi Delta to such an

extent that things as otherwise innocuous as hills, bridges, river beds, apartments, and

county lines begin to appear as evidence of racial politics."[728] Tell makes a

considerable contribution to the study of public memory and place by suggesting that

"an essential part of memory work is the remaking of place" and that "site is no more

stable than commemorative work."[729] The trajectory of the bus stop to informal

memorial to university-sanctioned permanent memorial—and the profound effects it has had on campus—is further proof of such theory. The commemorative acts practiced at the bus stop transformed the site and produced a racialized standpoint amidst buildings named by rich white donors, among bus stops that do not include murderous histories, on a campus built in part by the labor of enslaved people. Through the practice of racialized counter-memory, there existed (albeit temporarily, but hopefully, permanently) a public counter-memory site that loudly declared the presence of white supremacy that was only whispered about in other parts of campus.

The case study at the university of Maryland offers a lasting understanding of racialized counter-memory places and their potential to combat issues of unchecked ideological diversity. On a campus that seemingly purported first amendment rights over the rights of BIPOC students to feel safe on campus, and a university leadership that claimed unity against white supremacy despite the thriving of such culture on campus, I argue that the practice of racialized counter-memory place (and the advocacy for such) for Lt. Collins racialized the constructed environment, localized issues of racism and white supremacy, and honored the legacy of both a Black man and the Black student activism that arose on his behalf. Generally speaking, I also posit that, in general, racialized counter memory places—as physical, practiced places that center race and especially anti-racist narratives—can combat the neutral stance of other higher education institutions, especially when it comes to the issue of ideological diversity in the 21st century. Indeed, racialized memory places offer an anti-racist anecdote to the proclaimed policy of ideological diversity—especially white supremacist ideology that thrives under allegedly neutral ideological diversity

217

policies—by forcing the university campus to take a racial standpoint. This occurred at UMD with the process of informal memorialization at the bus stop, and, moving forward, the University of Maryland has the opportunity to produce an even more profound and permanent counter-memory place through university-sanctioned memorialization that takes responsibility for white supremacy that exists in these seemingly neutral spaces—spaces that purport free speech while producing the conditions for unchecked white supremacy. By producing a contextualized acknowledgement to Lt. Collins death as racial violence, indeed a lynching, that occurred during a year of unchecked racist symbols and actions, the university could model the anti-racist responsibility of reflecting on one's own power in white supremacist systems. And then marking that acknowledgement in place, on campus.

Unfortunately, the institutionalized construction of a powerful racialized counter-memory place for Lt. Collins remains incomplete; and so too is the project of making campus a more anti-racist and pro-Black space. The impact of Collins's death can be seen in the change in enrollment number of Black students from 2016 to 2018—12% and 7.8% respectively. This is particularly low when compared to the fact that 30% of the state of Maryland identifies as Black.[730] In 2018, the University of Southern California's Race and Equity Center published a report grading public colleges and universities on the basis of Black student equity. UMD was given an "F.[731]" Black students continue to cite Collins's murder as one of the reasons why UMD's campus fails to feel like a safe place or home base for students.[732] What all this evidence points to is, so far, a missed opportunity by the University of Maryland to alter its campus places, practices, and politics to acknowledge and eradicate white

supremacy and racial violence where it exists—on campus. Of course, we have to be realistic; whether or not a permanent memorial is built to remember Collins's life and lay claim to the conditions of his murder will likely not radically transform campus culture overnight. However, I argue that laying down the bricks to such a memorial could also be a form of creating a foundation or a signal of change to come. It would indicate to students that UMD was ready to take responsibility for the racial traumas of the past and re-build a stronger and more anti-racist campus. Until then, the effects of student activism regarding Collins's memorial remain unclear.

Chapter 4: "Face Our Past to Free Our Future": Moving Beyond Racialized Counter-Memory Places and Towards Demands for Transformational Economic Justice

> *"We knew that we had to come here and make some things clear —*
> *that slaves built this university,*
> *those bodies were slaves,*
> *their descendants haven't had any type of reparation,*
> *there's no scholarships for their descendants."*
> — Zaria Hampton, undergraduate student, University of Georgia, 2018

Breathing deeply to a guided meditation track, Imani Scott-Blackwell, a Black woman and University of Georgia (UGA) undergraduate student, waited for hours after requesting to schedule a meeting with the UGA President, Jere Morehead. She and a small group of student activists had entered the building on April 29, 2019 after leading several-dozen students and community members through north campus, carrying a large banner sign: "Face our Past to Free our Future." The UGA students were part of a large and diverse coalition of local community groups, political leaders, and student organizations who were demanding that the university publicly acknowledge its legacy of slavery by systematically addressing both recently unearthed truths of enslaved labor and long-standing realities of economic inequalities. Due to their protected status as "students," the UGA undergraduates, representing the coalition, had entered the administration building in the early

220

afternoon. By five p.m., they had not been able to secure a meeting with Morehead, and the Chief of Police, Dan Silk, began to threaten the students with arrest. The Black students, surrounded by and outnumbered by white male cops in the lobby of the building, grow more and more visibly distressed. Scott-Blackwell, when being asked if she understood her limited choices, stood and said, "I understand the process, sir. I am always subject to arrest." She and the other student activists exited the building, where Scott-Blackwell was greeted by cheers and a long hug by a fellow activist, presumably another UGA student. The battle had ended for the day, but the controversy remained inconclusive—the results of years of mismanagement, secrecy, and intimidation by the University of Georgia senior leadership.

The root of this storm of activism stems back to 2015, during the renovation and expansion project (costing $8.7 million dollars) of Baldwin Hall. The construction project revealed the fact that the original building, constructed in 1937, was built upon grave sites, predominantly those of African descent and who state and university archeologists identified as most likely the remains of enslaved people.[733] Between 2015 and 2019, a large and evolving coalition of Athens community members and UGA students, faculty and staff agitated against various institutional responses to this literal unearthing of white supremacy on campus. For instance, the university secretively re-buried the remains in 2017, amid critiques over how the university handled the issue in relation to community stakeholders, such as Athens-Clarke county Black residents who were ancestrally related to the exhumed remains.[734] Activists responded in 2018 and 2019 by advocating for truth telling, memorialization, and economic justice, and they delivered, in April of 2019, a letter

of demands to the president's office, asking that the university 1) publicly acknowledge and take responsibility for UGA's role in slavery, (2) fund the faculty-proposed Center on Slavery, (3) guarantee scholarships for descendants of enslaved people, and (4) implement a $15/hour salary for all UGA employees, who are predominantly Black.[735] Overall, the controversy evolved from one of an uncovered past to one demanding a more equitable future. The past transgressions of slavery were dug up, and as a result, the university was asked to acknowledge its responsibility to, and enact policies of, justice.

As noted in previous chapters, the University of Georgia is not the first institution to have to grapple with its direct history to slavery in the 18th and 19th centuries. Both the University of Missouri and the University of Maryland hosted academic events, joined consortia, and funded research grants that explored the connection between their dark past and the institutions' current understanding of self. This type of institutional research can be traced back to Brown University in 2003, where the university president Ruth Simmons tasked a special committee to research that institution's connection with the transatlantic slave trade.[736] When the committee reported back, it concluded by saying, "if there is a single common element in all exercises in retrospective justice, it is telling the truth." The controversy at the University of Georgia demands this truth-telling, and then some. Acknowledging the legacy of slavery was the first step; the next step was to decide what to do about current conditions of inequality spawned by this legacy. In the documentary *Beyond Baldwin: How an Expansion Project Unearthed a University's Legacy of Slavery*, produced by UGA undergraduate student Joe Lavine, the narrator poignantly asks:

222

"what does economic development mean to the university of Georgia, when it still neglects to acknowledge its history of enslaved labor?" For students and community members, the Baldwin Hall controversy was about more than the retrospective justice that truth brings; rather, activists demanded future-oriented economic justice by the institution.

As the nation's oldest public state-chartered university, the University of Georgia offers an interesting case study that explores demands for justice for historically enslaved people and descendants of enslaved people via racialized counter-memory. The racialized counter-memories produced by the student-faculty-staff-community coalition resisted the consistent silences, unfilled demands, and stubborn inaction from university leadership. For instance, at one protest event, one UGA student argued, "the university needs to tell the whole story about slavery on campus, slavery in the city, and racial violence… We only know half of the truth at this university. Our history won't be buried. We can't keep this a secret," pointing to the counterstorytelling and memory that marks this case.[737] Overall, the activist rhetoric consistently pointed to the need for the University of Georgia to make amends for the past by addressing the institutional silences and initiating anti-racist justice practices across the university and local community. However, unlike the UMD case study in the previous chapter, which centered around the presence of racialized counter-memory via a physical memorial, the Baldwin Hall controversy at UGA highlights the limitations of public memory sites to engage in appropriate anti-racist justice work. Indeed, as this chapter will explore, students grew weary over the dedicated memorial at Baldwin Hall and the contest over proper memorialization;

223

instead, the conversation illustrates more reparational forms of justice beyond place-based remembering.

In what follows, I trace the controversy over four years, 2015-2019, focusing on activists' concerns about institutional mistakes to illustrate how racialized counter-memory can be wielded to demand economic justice. First, I trace UGA's past racial struggles and how they are remembered and reflected on campus and in the community. Next, I explicate the mistakes made by the university in its unearthing and reinterment of the remains found at Baldwin Hall. I then analyze the deliberation surrounding proper memorialization of those remains. This controversy illustrates the constraints of physical memorialization as counter-memory, as the institution ultimately chose a memorial narrative that failed to address the whole story of enslavement at UGA. Next, I evaluate the Coalition for Recognition and Redress's racialized counter-memory arguments that advocate for economic justice in the current moment. Overall, the activists used the unearthing of UGA's legacy of slavery to draw a long-term connection between the university's past and economic injustice and to advocate for change now. Overall, then, this case study illuminates both the limitations and the justice possible when racialized counter-memory is utilized as a key rhetorical tactic. Analyzing student and community arguments from the lens of racialized counter-memories illustrates how racialized counter-memories can unearth white supremacy and confront it in broad daylight.

Racial History and Past Remembrances at the University of Georgia

The University of Georgia was founded in 1785, nearly 25 years before the peak and end of the trans-Atlantic slave trade in the United States. As such, the

university has several strong and early connections with the practice of slavery and owning enslaved people. Abraham Baldwin, the founder of what was then called Franklin College, is remembered as likely to never have owned enslaved people, even as he remained ambiguous about the issue of slavery in his politics, ultimately arguing that it was a legal matter to be determined by individual states.[738] Subsequent presidents of the university either owned enslaved people, defended the institution of slavery in their personal politics, or spoke up to support the extension of slavery in Georgia. The third president of UGA, Robert Finley, was the founder of the American Colonization Society, a national, racist organization who preferred emigrating freed slaves to Liberia rather than incorporate them into the United States as a mixed-raced society. The seventh president and chancellor, Andrew A. Lipsomb, was a vocal supporter of the Civil War and the institution of enslavement. In 1860, as president of UGA, he delivered a passionate address to the General Assembly meeting of the university. In it, he made religious-based arguments about how the God-chosen white race had morally benefited Black men through enslavement and that enslavement in the southern states had "enriched and exalted our country, and at the same time, promoted beyond computation the peace and prosperity of the world."[739] The campus remembers these men, and other slave owners and slavery supporters, with buildings named after them. For instance, Lipscomb Hall is a first-year dormitory in the center of campus. LeConte Hall (where the History Department is housed) is named after an enslaver and supporter of succession, and Joseph E. Brown Hall is named for the governor of Georgia during succession, of which he avidly affirmed.[740] As one student, Joe Lavine, said of the UGA campus buildings in 2019, "If you close your

225

eyes and point your finger on a map of UGA, odds are your finger will be touching a building named after a slave owner or segregationist."[741] In addition to the many slave owners who are remembered by name on UGA buildings, hundreds of university faculty, students, and staff owned enslaved people—a fact evidenced by recent research cataloguing the UGA Alumni Catalog of 1906. For a university founded and established in the height of the slave trade, the direct connection between university men and the act of enslavement is not surprising and easily verified.

Additionally, the university, as an antebellum institution, took part in the common practice of labor leasing from nearby enslavers, while never directly owning slaves itself.[742] In Athens, GA, the city within which the university is located, nearly half of its residents were enslaved people. Those enslaved residents were hired out and provided uncompensated labor for the university.[743] The details of this practice were provided in the notes in several Board of Regents meetings.[744] As such, slavery was a malleable institution made more prevalent through labor leasing and became a daily and heavily relied on practice in the first several decades of the University of Georgia. Some of the daily tasks required of enslaved people included tending to students, cleaning the dorms and college buildings, engaging in grounds maintenance and repair, and even carrying water "various places and at long distances" after a well digging project failed in 1855.[745] The University's long history and current success is indebted to these enslaved workers.

The university also has a strong connection with Civil War politics, a fact well remembered and documented on campus. Because those running and attending the University of Georgia supported slavery and succession so deeply, the university had

to close its doors during the Civil War, from 1864 to 1866, since it could not maintain enrollment numbers. During the war, campus buildings were used to house soldiers and supplies until 1865-1866, when union troops occupied campus, particularly Phi Kappa Hall, a tale repeated on campus tours.[746] UGA commemorates its connection to Civil War politics in several places across campus. For example, the university commemorates former student Alexander H. Stephens, the Vice President of the Confederacy, with a bronze plaque outside his old dormitory room on Old College, the oldest building at the university and located prominently in the center of north campus. At the north entrance of campus, located next to the famous "Arch" which often symbolizes the university, there stands a historical marker which includes the sentence, "During the War for Southern Independence, most of the students entered the Confederate Army…." The historical marker then goes on to name famous "pre-war" and "post-war" presidents, professors, and students, thereby creating a narrative of two UGAs, centered around the Civil War. Listed as famous pre-war professors are slave-owners John and Joseph LeConte and Confederate leaders Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, and Howell Cobb. Interviewed in 2018, Dr. Stan Deaton, the senior historian of the Georgia Historical Society, conceded that the wording on the sign illustrates that "someone wrote that marker and tried to tell UGA's story through the lens of the confederacy," and he claims that such wording would not be used if a marker was created today.[747] However, the marker still stands, at the entrance of UGA, remembering the Civil War through the lens of pro-Confederacy ideology.

The next chapter in UGA's racial history takes us to the mid-20th century, when Black activist organizations petitioned for racial integration of higher education

institutions in the deep South. White supremacists throughout Georgia resisted integration in the state's colleges and universities because, as Robert Pratt contends in his book *We Shall Not Be Moved: The Desegregation of the University of Georgia*, "whites viewed segregation not only as a device for maintaining social order and stability but also as an effective way of preserving economic and political opportunities for themselves and their posterity."[748] Therefore, southern states, such as Georgia, reacted with a strong backlash to *Brown v Board of Education*. White-led governments and education boards went into overdrive to block the reality of integration, specifically in higher education institutions.[749] During these years of what Pratt called "massive resistance that characterized the politics of integration and temporarily destroyed racial moderation in the South," Horace T. Ward, a Black man, petitioned to enroll in the University of Georgia Law School.[750] Ward was ultimately unsuccessful due to the relentless number of court delays for the final proceeding; however, Ward would go on to become a lawyer and one of the key members of the legal team that would successfully petition for the first Black students to enroll at the University of Georgia a decade later.[751]

In 1959, the next major—and ultimately successful—challenge to integrating UGA came about when Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes were hand-picked by the Atlanta Committee for Cooperative Action to be the next pair of Atlanta-based students to attempt to desegregate education in the state of Georgia.[752] Both students were top of their high school class—Holmes was valedictorian and Hunter was third in her class—and both had outstanding extracurricular achievements: star athletes, honors students, and student government representatives. As Calvin Trillin stated,

"both had always been considered perfectly cast for the role…they seemed to be light-complexioned Negro versions of ideal college students."[753] The high school seniors originally applied for admission in the University of Georgia for the fall quarter of 1960, but were faced with systemic barriers, such as claims by the university that they lacked of dormitory space, which were strategically employed to obstruct the desegregation law.[754] These delay tactics continued each subsequent quarter until U.S. Federal District Court Judge Bootle ordered their admission for the winter quarter of 1961.[755] On January 9, 1961, Hunter and Holmes walked into the registrar's office amid a crowd of nearly 1500 angry protesters and despite threats by the Georgia Governor, Ernest Vandiver, that he would have to close the university.[756] Student flyers and the student newspaper, *The Red & Black*, offered mixed reactions to the historic event, with some editorials urging students to act responsibly and others inciting protest over the potential closing of the university.[757]

Although the students successfully enrolled and attended their first classes in January 1961, their troubles were far from over and their status as students was all but secure. Indeed, two days after hers and Holmes's registration on campus, an angry mob gathered outside Hunter's dorm room, carrying signs with racial epithets and smashing windows with rocks and bottles.[758] Despite institutional claims that the mob resulted from an unhappy loss to Georgia Tech in basketball, Pratt argued that the riot was part of a strategically planned student protest with the aim to jeopardize Hunter and Holmes's enrollment at UGA.[759] During the riot, Georgia State Patrol was not quick to respond to the incident; instead, they delayed forcing the mob to dissipate.[760] Following the incident, and exactly as the racist white students and community

members had hoped, the Dean of Students suspended Hunter and Holmes, claiming that the suspension was for their own safety.[761] Judge Bootle, again, stepped in and curtailed the suspension, demanding the students resume classes immediately.[762] Following the re-entrance of Holmes and Hunter, students across the university remained torn over the issue. Some students wrote opinion pieces for *The Red & Black* newspaper in support of Hunter and Holmes, while others continued to threaten and verbally attack the two students.[763] In her autobiography, Hunter primarily remembers moments of solidarity and protection; indeed, professors used to stand guard outside of her classrooms to make sure she was not abused. She recalls one instance when her professor, Dr. Tresp, kicked out a reconnaissance reporter to save Hunter from illicit press—"as he was being evicted, everyone in the class, including me, roared."[764] Overall, both Hunter and Holmes were able to find allies across the universities, including classmates and also faculty members, who would support them through to graduation.

Despite the racial unrest and racist ideologies faced by the two students, Hunter and Holmes both graduated from the university; it wasn't until 1985, however, that the former students began to build a positive and collaborative relationship with their alma mater. Both Hunter and Holmes established their careers for about 20 years, separate and away from UGA affiliation, before the initiation of the annual Holmes-Hunter Lecture series in 1985. During the Holmes-Hunter Lecture initiation programming, a tearful Hamilton Holmes said, "I have come in the last three years or so to really love this University. I must admit that when I was here, I didn't get much chance to love it."[765] The inaugural event occurred during the university's

230

bicentennial programming and marked a turning point in the university's

remembering of its troubled segregationist past.[766]

The University of Georgia has become particularly proud of the relationship it

forged with Holmes and Hunter over the past few decades, especially lauding

Hunter's—now Hunter-Gault—involvement with university relations, stating that,

"Hunter has been back to campus several times—taking part in the Bicentennial in

1985, delivering the 1988 Commencement address, and returning again for the 1992

Holmes-Hunter Lecture, when she and her former classmate announced the creation

of a Holmes-Hunter scholarship."[767] Hunter-Gault has continued her relationship with

the university alone since 1992, which was the last time she and Holmes shared the

stage. Tragically, Hamilton Holmes passed away in 1995, at the age of 54, after

undergoing quadruple bypass heart surgery.[768] Since his passing, Hunter-Gault has

continued a relationship with Holmes' wife—Marilyn Holmes—in order to advance

Holmes's memory on campus. Both women attended both the 40th and 50th

integration anniversary celebrations.[769] During the 40th anniversary of integration, in

2001, the university renamed the university's registrar building as the "Holmes-

Hunter Academic Building." *The Red & Black* published an article about the building,

stating that the unanimous decision by the Board of Regents "was an outstanding

move by the University to finally recognize [Holmes and Hunter]. It sends a message

to the past, present and future minority population on where they stand."[770]

Even as the University of Georgia attempted to honor Holmes and Hunter-

Gault, the physical memory site indicates competing interests. The Holmes-Hunter

Building is the first building that visitors and university community members

encounter when they enter campus from its main entrance at the Arch. And while this seems like a strong anti-racist move for the university, a neoliberal critique would argue that the building is in such a location in order to play a role in prospective student tours and thereby benefit the university's financial health and diversity statistics. Indeed, Joshua Inwood, a landscape scholar who has previously studied racialized landscapes at the University of Georgia, argues my point similarly when he states that, "it appears that the Holmes-Hunter building was an attempt, in part, to counter UGA's wider image and the perception that UGA is unfriendly to African Americans."[771] Additionally, Inwood and his research partner Deborah Martin note that the commemorative plaque and building renaming ceremony may have functioned as a strategy for enrollment management. Inwood claimed:

> "In his remarks President Adams noted that recent lawsuits
> concerning UGA's affirmative action programs and the
> subsequent publicity has had a 'chilling impact on young African
> Americans who are looking at the culture of UGA' and that the
> renaming of the Academic Building has gone a long way in
> improving the situation and 'helped unite everyone at UGA.'"[772]

This explanation indicates that the President of the institution and the Board of Regents of the university system both viewed the re-naming as part of a strategy to recruit Black students for the benefit of the University of Georgia's diversity "situation." These leaders intended for potential Black applicants to engage the Holmes-Hunter memory for the purpose of encouraging those same bodies to apply for and ultimately enroll in the university. I argue that the memory of Hunter and

232

Holmes were, and still are, used for profit motive and as a long-term, institutional-wide strategy to re-brand the university and to draw in a more diverse application pool.

Overall, with a university as old as Georgia, there were bound to be a few skeletons in the closet of racial justice. However, as this section has indicated, UGA remembers its racist past in ways that fail any stated anti-racist goals. The university is quick to remember its ties to slave-owners and slavery-supporters but also capitalizes on remembering practices of racial desegregation, because both memories, although contradictory, serve its reputation and its bottom line. These remembering practices give air to white supremacist logics by allowing for spatial hypocrisy—for instance, the Hunter-Holmes building sits directly adjacent to the "War for Southern Independence" historic marker. At a university that chooses to honor enslavers through building names and historical markers, but fails to remember the enslaved, there stands much to be critiqued. And as the case study below demonstrates, UGA leaders ignored the institution's history of enslavement, as well as how the function of the university, historically and today, oppresses the Black working class in Athens, Georgia. In the following section, I show what happens when the university unearthed part of its past which it may have wished would have remained hidden. I analyze what happened when the enslaved came back to haunt the University of Georgia.

Racial Hauntings at Baldwin Hall: UGA's Botched Process of Unearthing and Reburial

Baldwin Hall is located next to Jackson Street Cemetery, also known as Old Athens Cemetery. The university began construction of the building in 1937, with

knowledge that there were likely graves located beneath the construction site.[773] And when the convict workers inevitably uncovered allegedly 120 wooden boxes of remains in 1938, their initial reaction of weariness was dissipated when "it was revealed that the digging was being confined to the southern end where the colored folks of Athens used to be interred," as noted by the manager of the Georgia Information Service George M. Battey in 1938.[774] The remains were removed and, according to Battey, "thrown 'over the dump.'" However, a 1978 article called "Graveyard" published in the student newspaper, *The Red & Black*, referred to an interview with then Dean of Men, William Tate, wherein Tate remembered that the university moved the bodies, under his direction, to an Athens waterworks area where a large stone monument would mark the remains.[775] Neither the remains nor the alleged monument have been located.[776]

In December 2014, the University of Georgia began an $8.7 million-dollar expansion project of Baldwin Hall, breaking ground at the adjacent parking lot which was to be turned into a new technology wing for the School of Public and International Affairs (SPIA).[777] However, on November 17, 2015 construction workers discovered human remains—part of a skull and jaw bone. The Athens-Clarke County Coroner's Office and Georgia Bureau of Investigation were called into the site, but they turned the case over to the State's Archeologists Office once it was determined that remains were considerably older than they would consider for an active crime scene.[778] By December 2015, exactly one year after the initial ground breaking, a total of 27 gravesites were discovered, forcing the halt of the construction

project for three months to figure out the scope of the issue and determine what to do with the remains.[779]

As the scope of the remains found grew, the university began to communicate details of the findings to the community. In their December 11, 2015 press release, university officials claimed that UGA was working with appropriate agencies to establish procedures for removal and reinterment. They also noted that "because it was not a crime scene and an archaeologist determined the remains were not those of Native Americans, the removal of the remains is up to the landowner and the Georgia Department of Natural Resources." Not only did the university claim authority over the remains, but they added an additional detail that "based on a visual inspection by the consultant hired to assist the university in this matter, Southeastern Archaeological Services Inc., the remains are believed to be of people of European descent."[780]

This line in the report piqued the interest of Black community activists in Athens, Georgia, who knew that burial practices during slavery and segregation made it more likely that the remains were those of Black people—specifically, enslaved people. Historically, white sections of southern cemeteries would be reserved in the higher ground, and grave sites would be more clearly marked with stone. Black people were buried in the lower grounds and marked with wood or sometimes not at all. [781] Fred Smith, co-chair of the Athens Area Black History Committee, in an interview for the *Below Baldwin* documentary, said that this allegation from the university's press release—that the remains were seemingly European—"woke me up!" He explained his suspicions, stating:

"For some reason they felt the need to save they were not slaves, or

not of African descent, and … that they felt like they were European

descent and based on I don't know what! But that's the way they was

pushing that story, and so, to me, I knew that didn't add up… I grew

up in the south, right? And I know that Black folks and white folks

were not buried together."[782]

Because of his concerns, Smith, along with other community members, pressured the

university in the spring of 2016 to follow up with DNA tests. Ultimately, UGA

agreed to conduct DNA tests to determine the ancestry of the remains; however, the

process was drawn out and the announcement of the findings would not come until

March 2017.

On March 1, 2017, the university published a press release acknowledging

that 105 gravesites had been discovered; and although only 30 gravesites included

enough DNA material for testing, the results indicated that "the vast majority of the

remains sufficient for analysis were of African-Americans."[783] The statement also

informed the community that "the reburial will be commemorated with a ceremony at

the gravesite at Oconee Hill Cemetery on Monday, March 20."[784] Fred Smith

expressed surprise and dismay at the university's announcement, less than three

weeks before the dedication ceremony. He wasn't the only one. The Black

community came together on March 4, 2017 at the Morton Theater—a historically-

Black theater in Athens—to hold a press conference to express their concerns over

the nature of the decisions made by the university. Some of those concerns included

the fact that the university did not get input from the local Black community, the

scope of the remains found (105 and not 27, like previously reported), and the timeline and decision to reinter at Oconee Hill Cemetery.

As coordinator of the community group Friends of the Brooklyn Cemetery, Linda Davis was especially upset about the decision to reinter the bodies into Oconee Hill Cemetery, rather than Black community cemeteries like nearby Brooklyn Cemetery or Gospel Pilgrim Cemetery. "I thought it made perfectly good sense, if you're going to unearth slave remains in Athens-Clarke County," she explained in the *Below Baldwin* documentary, "that you would reinter them near their relatives, or potential relatives."[785] Others saw the choice of Oconee Hill Cemetery as especially disrespectful given the cemetery's racist past. The university, in their communication, called Oconee Hill "biracial," but that term was used in a vague sense. Another more accurate term would be "segregated," as a portion of the land was allocated to the burial of Black people, separate from the white people. The UGA history department has reported that the portion of the Oconee Hill Cemetery allotted to enslaved and formerly enslaved Black people was at the bottom of the hill, "primary along the river and the floodplains," where, "the enslaved would rest eternally at the feet of their former masters."[786] Indeed, Smith offered a similar sentiment in regards to the reinterment at Oconee Hill when he said, "they're being placed close to their white masters again."[787] Additionally, historical reports indicate that white Athenians had, on numerous occasions in the past, barred Black Athenians from the grounds to visit their deceased family members. This and other disrespectful behavior (such as digging up and paving over Black areas of the Oconee Hill Cemetery) had caused

Black Athenians to turn to Brooklyn Cemetery and Gospel Pilgrim Cemetery—two burial societies founded by and for Black people.[788]

In response to these vocal concerns, university leaders updated their press release a week later to include what reads as a defensive explanation of their choice of Oconee Hill Cemetery: "Throughout this entire process, the university has strictly followed the guidance of the State Archaeologist's Office to reinter the remains individually, in a location close to the original burial site. Oconee Hill is the closest location…" The report also noted that "Oconee Hill Cemetery is the successor to Old Athens Cemetery. These remains therefore have been reinterred in a cemetery historically and geographically as close as possible to their original resting place. Based on historical accounts, both Old Athens Cemetery and Oconee Hill Cemetery were bi-racial from their inception."[789] The statement failed to address why decisions were being made behind closed doors and without community input.

Continuing in this enigmatic trend, on March 7, 2017, the remains were buried at Oconee Hill Cemetery without announcement or prior notice, and during the university's spring break, seemingly to ensure there would be no crowd or fanfare. Smith discovered this secretive burial after allegedly receiving a tip earlier that week. When he arrived at Oconee Hill Cemetery on March 7, he found the burial already underway and he was forced to watch from behind a locked gate. Once the staff overseeing the reinterment saw Smith standing at the gate, they moved their trucks to block his view.[790] For the Black community leaders, UGA's actions of burying the remains before the March 20 public event violated everything the Athens community had asked for—to have the community present when the university reinterred the

238

remains, and to let the community be a part of what many saw to be a "solemn moment" and "sacred ritual."[791] Explained Smith:

> "I personally went through a grieving moment, but they was like –
> 'bang, bang, bang, this is what's going to happen'… while we are
> going through this grieving moment. They, I say, rushed to bury them,
> and then locked us out." [792]

When asked about the early burial behind locked gates, UGA's Executive Director of Media Communications, Greg Trevor, said that university "didn't want to turn it into a spectacle."[793]

In the face of mounting conflict, the University of Georgia continued as planned with the reinterment ceremony on March 20, 2017, which included speakers such as University of Georgia President Jere W. Morehead, Reverend Dr. Winfred M. Hope of Athens's Ebenezer Baptist Church, and District Judge Steve C. Jones.[794] At the event, President Morehead reiterated that "from the moment the first remains were discovered in November of 2015, the university's guiding principle has been to treat these individuals with dignity and respect and it is in that spirit that today's ceremony was developed…"[795] Not mentioned by Morehead or any of the speakers was an acknowledgement of the university's historic relationship with enslaved labor. While the speakers didn't acknowledge enslavement, the memorial plaque does identify the remains as those of "slaves or former slaves." The entire headstone reads:

> "Here lie the remains of 105 unknown individuals, originally interred
> during the 19th century. The vast majority of the 30 remains able to be
> identified were those of men, women, and children of African descent.

Presumably slaves or former slaves. Others were of European and

Asian descent. Their remains were discovered in November 2015

during the University of Georgia's Baldwin Hall construction project

adjacent to the Old Athens Cemetery. In March 2017, they were

respectfully reinterred here. May they continue to rest in peace."[19]

The headstone reads as predominantly objective, factual. It offers no additional

insight to the conditions that led to their burial in the disturbed plot of land. It was not

what the stone said. but rather all that was left unsaid—for instance, that the

university had engaged in the practice of labor leasing, that the university had

knowingly built on top of the site in 1938, that it took over a year to get the DNA

results, that the university chose the site without input from the Black Athens

community, that it reinterred the bodies secretly, that the university had failed to

respect Black people in Athens currently and historically—that fueled the controversy

in the years to come.

Overall then, the controversy over the Baldwin Hall removal and reinterment

of enslaved people illuminated the conflict between university procedure and

community process, between claims of "dignity and respect" and the desire for

---

[19] Similar wording was used a bronze plaque dedicated inn the new addition of Baldwin Hall in 2017. The Baldwin Hall plaque sign reads: "This marker commemorates the discovery of the remains of 105 unknown individuals during the construction of an addition to Baldwin Hall in 2015-2017. Baldwin Hall is adjacent to the Old Athens Cemetery, which operated as a public cemetery through much of the 19th century. Approximately one-third of the remains could be identified for ancestry through DNA analysis, and of those, the vast majority were of African descent, presumably slaves or former slaves. Others were of European and Asian descent. The University of Georgia respectfully reinterred the remains in March 2017 in Oconee Hill Cemetery, a burial site in close proximity to the original resting place. A granite monument at the Oconee Hill Cemetery reinterment site includes a stanza from the Poem 'Day' by African American Poet Laurence Dunbar: 'And then a light along the hills, your laughter silvery gay, the sun god wakes, a bluebird trills, you come, and it is day.'"

"sacred ritual." University leaders purported that they followed all procedures required by law; the community argued the university ignored what should have been a collaborative process that allowed those whose descendants were enslaved Athenians to feel, connect, and grieve over the discovered remains. Indeed, despite UGA's frequent claims that the administration's actions were respectful to the remains, many Athenians felt that the university's position in public-facing communication was always to "avert blame away from UGA and to provide talking points to senior staff and sympathizers," according to Smith. He argued, "But for us, it's time to grieve for the girls, boys, women and men abused in life and in death; for the ones removed from the cemetery recently and to who-knows-where in the past; for the ones still buried there; and for those whose remains may have been removed with construction dirt."[796] The university, in other words, seemingly acted without emotion, claimed dignity without apology, and argued on behalf of respect without showing respect for community desires. The indifference of the university illustrated through reinterment left the community on edge; "if we don't get outraged about someone destroying our great-grandparents' graves, then what can we get outraged about," argued Smith, "Something good is gonna come out of this."[797]

"Tell The Whole Story": Students and Community Members Demand Further Recognition by the University

In an attempt to move forward from the problematic treatment of reinterment, university leadership announced at the end of March 2017 that they would be conducting additional research into the lives of those found in the 105 gravesites discovered. For folks like Cindy Hahamovitch, a professor studying southern history,

this was a productive step for the university, as she argued that "we have a huge opportunity now to continue this conversation in really positive and productive ways,"[798] For example, on March 25, 2017, just a few days following the burial, UGA professors hosted a discussion highlighting the history of slavery at UGA. The panel included community members such as Fred Smith and Linda Davis. Many community members and faculty alike applauded the event for its ability to draw connections between Athenians and campus politics.[799]

Despite these educational events, students, faculty, staff and local community members began to more vocally advocate that the University of Georgia formally recognize their role in and responsibility for the institution of slavery. One way students and faculty advocated for telling the whole story was through a proposal for a Center on Slavery at the University of Georgia to "create an ongoing initiative encouraging scholarship and exchange that explore the University's relationship to African Americans before and since emancipation."[800] The proposal explained that the center would be a place to document and display how the institution of slavery existed at UGA, with the expressed purpose to neither accuse or recriminate, but rather to "appreciate the contributions of formerly unacknowledged peoples to the growth of the university."[801] The proposal was denied by the Vice President of Research Dr. David Lee, who claimed the scope of resources needed to complete the project was beyond what was feasible.

For many in the Athens and UGA community, the best avenue of public reckoning by the university came in the form of memorialization. Whereas community members such as President of the Athens Anti-Discrimination Movement

Mokah Johnson still harbored ill feelings about the university "trying harder to protect the school as opposed to caring about the people of the community and what they have to say," she believed that a public memorial could help ease the tensions in the community. She argued, "I definitely could see some type of memorial ... So that the memory is never forgotten,"[802] Students demonstrated a similar sentiment by advocating for a monument on campus to honor enslaved people who labored for the university. "I really want UGA to be a progressive force in telling the stories of black students and black history on our campus," argued Jessica Douglas, a Student Government Association (SGA) Senator.[803] Former SGA senator and treasurer of Council of Negro College Women Alexis Boss agreed about the utility of a monument for enslaved Athenians, arguing "We need to explain to people that these are my ancestors and we matter too," Boss said; "That's not something you sweep under the rug."[804] Much like the students at the University of Maryland argued in relation to the Lt. Collins's memorial, UGA students and Athens community members hoped a permanent memorial could hold the institution accountable by marking a visible and permanent memory site.

In spring 2018, student advocacy for such a memorial was institutionalized though a formal proposal by the Student Government Association. Authors of the resolution 30-17, Jessica Douglas, Jada Steele, SGA Vice President Charlene Marsh, and a few others, advocated that SGA "stand publicly in support of acknowledging history of enslaved peoples at the University of Georgia" by passing the resolution for a memorial and sending it to the university president for action. According to the proposal, their hope was that a memorial to enslaved people on campus would

"serv[e] as a permanent reminder of their sacrifices and struggles made on behalf of the University of Georgia."[805] However, the students faced an uphill battle for passing the resolution that included unconventional university leadership oversight. According to the *Below Baldwin* documentary, before the resolution was presented at an SGA Senate meeting for a vote, a senior staff assistant to Morehead, Arthur Tripp, called a meeting with the authors and urged them to change the tone and wording of their resolution proposal. According to Douglas, Tripp claimed that the legislation "portrayed the administration as almost an enemy to [the] cause."[806] This behavior was highly unusual as SGA Senators were typically able to autonomously draft and present their resolution proposals.[807]

The proposal for a memorial to enslaved people at UGA never made its way to the university president. While SGA Resolution 30-17 ultimately passed in the SGA Senate after great debate and a split vote at the end of March 2018, it was vetoed by the outgoing SGA President Cameron Keen in April, on his last day in office—the day before inaugurating an all-Black SGA incoming executive board.[808] Keen cited two factual inaccuracies as reason of his veto: (1) one organization who had rescinded their support of the resolution was still listed on the proposal and (2) the resolution claimed there was only one marker recognizing the reinterned remains, but there exists a second one, off campus at the Oconee Hill Cemetery.[809] According to Douglas, the organization that had withdrawn its support, Georgia Daze, did so after its staff advisor asked the organization's leaders, "what would white students think walking past a slave memorial on campus?" and then told them they could potentially have their funding rescinded for supporting the monument.[810] The

244

anecdote offers a glimpse into a climate of fear and manipulation that surrounded the students' attempt to advocate for and propose a memorial.

Despite struggles within the Student Government Association that killed the monument proposal, university leaders announced their own plans for a memorial in June 2018.[20] This memorial was not intended to recognize the enslaved laborers who worked by and for the university—like the SGA resolution advocated— but rather aimed to contextualize and recognize the remains that were found at Baldwin Hall. Vice Provost for Diversity and Inclusion and Strategic University Initiatives, Dr. Michelle Garfield Cook, explained the choice to produce a physical site: "a memorial to commemorate the lives of the individuals buried at the Baldwin Hall site provides an opportunity for the entire community to reflect on our shared history."[811] Whether or not that part of the "shared history" that the community was intended to reflect about included the university's role in slavery was not clear. When the university

---

[20] Part of the reason for the timing of this announcement may be attributed to tensions between university leadership and faculty in the Franklin College of Arts and Sciences. In March 2018, Greg Trevor, the Executive Director of Media Communications, penned an op-ed to the local newspaper, the Athens Banner-Herald, calling out a recent faculty meeting by the college where the faculty discussed their concerns over the university's handling of the Baldwin Hall remains. His op-ed called out a junior faculty member by name, which resulted in additional op-eds provided by various members and departments of Franklin College in support of the attacked faculty member. The back and forth tension gained national attention when the *Chronicle of Higher Education* published details of the dispute. To deal with the mounting conflict, the university held a forum on May 9, 2018 with faculty members who expressed concern over the level of intimidation they've faced and the frustration they felt about procedures the university was taking in regard to recognizing the institution's role with slavery. With the level of dissent and conflict rising—between faculty, the university, and also students and their failed resolution—the university may have announced plans for a memorial in an attempt to ease the conflict. Trevor, Greg. "UGA: Article Misrepresents University's Actions Concerning Reinterment of Remains," Athens Banner-Herald, March 22, 2018. https://www.franklin.uga.edu/sites/default/files/ABH_March22_2018.pdf; Ad Hoc Committee on Baldwin Hall, "Report from the Ad Hoc Committee on Baldwin Hall to the Franklin College Faculty Senate," Franklin College of Arts and Sciences Faculty Senate, April 17, 2019. https://www.franklin.uga.edu/sites/default/files/Faculty%20Senate%20ad%20hoc%20committee%20report%204-17-19.pdf ; Parry, Marc. "New Tensions Erupt Over Georgia's Handling of Presumed Slave Remains" The Chronicle of Higher Education, April 3, 2018. https://www.chronicle.com/article/new-tensions-erupt-over-georgias-handling-of-presumed-slave-remains/

leaders announced their plans for memorialization, the press release also included details about an 18-person task force, which included folks from campus and community, who would help plan the physical design and placement of the memorial. Not included in the task force, however, were some of the most active and outspoken Black community activists, such as Fred Smith, Linda Davis and Athens-area NAACP President Alvin Sheats, despite their involvement in other on-campus events related to Baldwin Hall.[812] University leaders also unveiled a proposed timeline for the memorial, stating that they hoped to dedicate it in the upcoming fall semester.[813]

Beginning in the summer when plans for memorialization were announced, the university continuously framed the purpose of the memorial as a place for quiet reflection (in contrast to the boisterous activism that had occurred on campus and in the community thus far). The final design plans, released on August 24, 2018, doubled down on discourse describing this peaceful purpose. The design plans illustrated a circular memorial plaza, an elevated fountain, granite rectangular pillars as well as a granite marker and benches.[814] The place was designed to calm the senses—to hear the trickle of water in the fountain, to touch the cold granite, to see the formidable stone that stood tall to "create a sense of ascension," according to the press release, and to smell the dogwood trees, planted symbolically to represent "faith in the African American community," according to Judge Steve Jones who worked on the design task-force.[815] Morehead, in the university press release, thanked the members of the task force and argued that "the memorial they have helped to develop not only will further honor the lives of the individuals whose remains were discovered, but it also will serve as a source of contemplation and inspiration for

generations to come."[816] Dr. Cook was also quoted in the press release, saying, "it was an honor to work with the task force to design a memorial that will provide a tranquil, reflective place for our entire community."[817]

Not only did UGA communications frame the memorial as a place for peaceful reflection, but they also implicitly argued that the proper reaction of the Black community would be the support of such a place. In the August 24, 2018 university press release and in several additional newspaper articles mentioning the Baldwin Hall memorial design and dedication, the authors of these texts commonly mentioned the fact that Dr. Cook is a descendant of enslaved people in Athens-Clarke county. For instance, in the press release, Dr. Cook is quoted as saying "our family is proud to contribute to this historic project… This project is particularly important to me because of my own family history in the Athens area, which dates back more than 150 years." Additionally, *Red & Black* student articles often identified Dr. Cook not only as the Vice President for Inclusion but also as the person "who chaired the task force and whose ancestors were born into slavery and lived in Athens."[818] The repeated inclusion of this detail in the UGA press communications—which is then repeated in student publications—rhetorically crafts an argument that Dr. Cook can speak more authoritatively on the appropriateness of the actions and memorial design than other members of the community, especially the Black community in Athens, Georgia. When including details about Cook's family history, these university comments tokenize Dr. Cook, offering her up as the model for the proper Black perspective and evidence that the university is making decisions that Black people should agree with, just as Dr. Cook does. And as a well-educated university

employee, Dr. Cook serves as a representative for the Black perspective, which undermines the greater Black community's arguments regarding the university's handling of the remains.

These rhetorical choices—the framing of the site as tranquil and the inclusion of details about Dr. Cook's background—further the stronghold of white supremacist logics at UGA. Overall, these minor rhetorical details compound into a multifarious argument of what is proper and appropriate action in relation to the Baldwin Hall unearthing controversy. This rhetorical frame proactively establishes the conditions of decorum from which the administration can critique more radical activities such as protest and verbal pushback by students, faculty, and staff. Together, these university discourses box-in and restrict activist actions from university students and Black community members and preemptively produce conditions from which activist rhetoric will be judged.

And, as expected, while the university was strategically promoting reflective tranquility, student and community activists were advocating for relentless truthfulness. On November 16, 2018, during the dedication ceremony of the monument at Baldwin Hall, Morehead kicked-off the event with a speech, where he noted that that "the memorial we are dedicating this morning will provide for an enduring tribute as well as a physical space for meaningful reflection." However, the peaceful dedication ceremony was itself interrupted by student and community protestors. At the end of Morehead's speech, he was interjected when a student protestor, Imani Scott-Blackwell, walked up to the podium and asked him, "when will the University of Georgia publicly acknowledge the history of slavery? When will the

university issue an apology?" Morehead ignored her as he sat back down in the front row of the audience. The question was poignant and timely, as notably, according to the *Below Baldwin* documentary, none of the three speakers at the memorial event—President Morehead, Dr. Cook or Judge Steve Jones—mentioned enslaved people or uttered the word "slavery" during the dedication ceremony. Their lack of acknowledgement was juxtaposed with the physical presence of Black and white students, staff, and even the Athens-Clarke County district 2 commissioner, Mariah Parker, as they remained standing on stage while Jones and Cook spoke. The protesters held signs which included the following phrases:

> "South campus used to be a slave plantation"
>
> "UGA Presidents, Chancellors, and students owned slaves"
>
> "Slaves built UGA"
>
> "Reparational scholarships NOW!"
>
> "Fair wages NOW!"
>
> "When will UGA address its history of slavery?"
>
> "$63 million stadium renovations = no problem. Proposed center on slavery = 'outside the scope of resources'"
>
> "Tell the WHOLE story"

At the conclusion of the speeches, Morehead was once again asked directly "when will UGA address its history of slavery" by student Joe Lavine who held a camera and filmed Morehead's response. Morehead uttered, "I'm here for the memorial today. Thank you." Lavine pressed on, asking this question several more times and following Morehead as he walked away. At one point, Morehead stopped, turned

around, made eye contact with the camera and looked as if he was about to speak; instead, he then turned back around and proceeded to walk to the memorial in silence.[819] About an hour after the protest at the dedication ceremony, Morehead sent out a campus wide email titled "UGA Policies: Ensuring a Fair and Respectful Environment," which, according to the student newspaper *The Red & Black*, emphasized that "expressions of hate or hostility based on legally protected categories are prohibited and can include spoken or written language and use or display of images or symbols."[820] While the student protests were anything but hateful or hostile, the university had produced the exact conditions they wanted in order to make their point—after months of framing the memorial as a place for peaceful and silent reflections, any vocal action by student and community protestors would seem violent, in comparison. The email further framed the protesters in this way, which would fuel future confrontations between the administration and the activist coalition.

Ultimately, the memorialization process and the memorial that the university produced for the enslaved people unearthed at Baldwin Hall did not fully answer the call for retribution that so many students, faculty, and community members had been advocating. For instance, Smith and other Black community members had expressed hope that the marker at the on-campus monument would tell the whole story of the site as a cemetery for enslaved people and all the ways and times it had been disturbed by the University of Georgia, and to "acknowledge the contributions made by slaves to UGA and Athens."[821] Rather than "tell the whole story," as many student and community activists demanded, the memorial's granite marker reads:

"In memory of the unknown individuals interred in this area during the 19th century. On land that was part of the Old Athens Cemetery. In 2015, remains were discovered during the construction of the Baldwin Hall addition. The vast majority of the remains identified were those of men, women, and children of African descent. Most likely slaves or former slaves. Upon guidance of the state of Georgia, they were reinterred at the Oconee Hill Cemetery. The University of Georgia recognizes the contributions of these and other enslaved individuals and honor their legacy. May they continue to rest in peace."

The language is similar to the gravesite marker at Oconee Hill and the small plaque inside of Baldwin Hall. However, there a few notable changes. First, the memorial language omits information about those of European and Asian descent. Given the context leading up to the memorial—especially the vocal demands for and previous attempts to acknowledge and honor the enslaved people who labored for UGA—it is not surprising that the university decided to exclude this detail and describe the remains as predominantly those of African descent. Second, this marker attributes responsibility for reinterment to the "state of Georgia." I posit that this was a quietly strategic move to distance the university leadership from the criticism of handling the reinterment by passing off potential blame to the ambiguous "state" rather than the University of Georgia leadership. The last major difference is that the memorial language offers recognition for "the contributions of enslaved or formerly enslaved individuals." This is the closest the university had come to explicitly connecting and addressing the university's benefiting from the institution of slavery by employing

enslaved people. However, by using the phrase "recognize the contributions" broadly and without additional context about how those contributions were demanded by and taken place at the university, the phrase is just vague enough to keep the university from fully acknowledging the role slavery played on its campus and the contributions enslaved people made during its first eighty-eight years as an institution.

The omission of direct acknowledgement of enslaved people on campus was one of the main reasons the student and community activists advocated for more direct forms of apology and recognition by the university; likewise, the omission was the hinge upon which future advocacy developed. Interviewed about her involvement as a protester at the dedication ceremony, student Zaria Hampton explained, "we knew that we had to come here and make some things clear — that slaves built this university, those bodies were slaves, their descendants haven't had any type of reparation, there's no scholarships for their descendants."[822] The protest also indicated that the controversy surrounding the remains at Baldwin Hall was evolving and had moved beyond just honoring and remembering the contributions of enslaved people at UGA in the past. Also interviewed for her participation, Parker, the district commissioner, argued, "the university needs to acknowledge its role in slavery and the ways it continues to uphold white supremacy by not acknowledging that history or making amends for it. This gesture, while nice, is not enough. It's not going to bring justice to the descendants of the folks who are buried here."[823] As Parker's statement indicates, this demand for justice, rather than purely remembrance and honoring of those enslaved people unearthed by the construction site, was more about

252

actively "making amends"—and it was the current that drove the next year of activism on UGA's campus.

"No More Slave Wages": The Coalition for Recognition and Redress Demands More Than Retroactive Remembering

From 2015 to 2019, what the Baldwin Hall controversy unearthed was more than just bodies and more than a distant history of racism by the hands of the university; rather, it uncovered and brought to light the enduring legacy of white supremacy illustrated through the unwillingness by the current university leadership to address the lasting harms of racism and the irrevocable vice of slavery at the institution. As this truth became more and more clear—from the mishandling of reinterment, the lackluster memorialization, the intimidation by administration, and the university's refusal to accept responsibility for and publicly apologize for its role in slavery—student, faculty, and community activism grew more radical. In April 2019, what would come to be known as the Coalition for Recognition and Redress confronted university administrators, namely, President Morehead, to demand that the university address the controversy in more economically transformative and justice-focused ways. In doing so, the 2019 activist coalition shifted the conversation from one of justice through remembrance to one of justice through economic resource distribution. In this section, I illustrate how the coalition's activism engaged in racialized counter-memory by arguing that the university failed to address its history of slavery as a way to relegate it to the past and not see it as part of an issue in relation to the current labor practices. Additionally, I analyze activist arguments that the university's past injustices regarding the legacy of slavery contributed to unequal

economic realities for Black residents in the present, for which the university must make amends. Overall, the Coalition for Recognition and Redress illustrates the scope by which student and community activists can use memory to authorize demands for reparational economic policies.

Over the course the Baldwin Hall controversy, students and community organizers had grown increasingly concerned with the economic relationship between UGA and Athens, GA; this focus in advocacy makes sense given that the university's economic influence in the community is measurable. The university is the city's largest employer, and, as of 2018, it employed roughly 10,700 people in Athens.[824] At the same time, the status of impoverished people living in Athens-Clarke county illustrates dire economic need in the area. For instance, as of October 2021, the poverty rate for the county stood at 39.3% based on the federal poverty threshold.[825] Athens-Clarke County's poverty rate is the 5th highest in the nation, despite the fact that the unemployment rate in Athens is below national and state averages, at 3.4 percent.[826] The wage data available shows that the median pay per hour and the average weekly wages in Athens are well below the means needed to make ends meet. According to OneAthens, what these statistics point to is that "the Athens economy is not without jobs, but that the types of jobs ACC has to offer do not pay wages high enough to sustain self-sufficient families."[827] And while the Black population is slightly less than one third of the overall county, the most impoverished neighborhoods, where the poverty rate increases to over 50 percent, coincides with the mostly Black neighborhoods.[828] These facts motivated the creation of a new wave of activism in April 2019 that focused on reparational and wage justice. To these

activists, the economic realities of the present aligned with historic facts from the period of slavery in Athens, and the root cause of this continual oppression was UGA's labor practices.

On April 10, 2019, a group of local community and student activists came together to deliver a collaborative letter issuing demands of the University of Georgia. On that day, five representatives (three students and two community members[21]) from five local organizations—the Economic Justice Coalition, United Campus Workers of GA, Athens 4 Everyone, Athens Anti-Discrimination Movement, and the NAACP—stood in front of the administration building and explained the reason for their visit. "We're gathered here today," remarked Linda Lloyd of the Economic Justice Coalition, into a bullhorn, "to read and deliver a public letter to the University of Georgia President Jere Morehead." The small group read aloud the three demands from the written letter, which included:

> "(1) Issue a public statement taking responsibility for UGA's role in
> white supremacy and fully fund the faculty-proposed Center on
> Slavery as a first step toward researching and telling the whole story of
> UGA's role in slavery and Black oppression, a legacy which persists to
> this day.

---

[21] Economic Justice Coalition represented by Ms. Linda Lloyd; United Campus Workers of GA represented by student Chris Xavier; Athens 4 Everyone represented by student Imani Scott-Blackwell; Athens Anti-Discrimination Movement represented by student Erin Stacer; Athens NAACP represented by Mr. Alvin Sheats). Enlighted Media Productions. "[CC] Below Baldwin: How an Expansion Project Unearthed a University's Legacy of Slavery." YouTube Video, 1:09:28. October 9, 2020 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mwQcTfGqANQ&t=342s&ab_channel=EnlightenedMediaProductions

(2) Guarantee full-tuition, all-fees-included scholarships for

descendants of the enslaved people who worked on UGA's campus

and for every African-American student who graduates from a public

high school in Athens as a first step toward redressing the

longstanding reparational debt that UGA owes to the African-

American community and the local public schools in Athens.

(3) Implement wages of at least $15/hour for all full-time and part-

time/temporary UGA employees as a first step toward sufficiently

supporting workers, especially Black workers who are

disproportionately underpaid at UGA. As the largest employer in

Athens and the flagship university in Georgia, UGA sets a standard for

wages across the community and the state. The current inadequate

wages fuel poverty in Athens' Black communities, and UGA must do

more to address the massive racial wealth gap."[829]

The five activists then concluded the brief public event by issuing a warning to

Morehead: "President Morehead, you've heard from the Athens community on

countless occasions. As a sign of good faith, we are giving you one last chance to

listen and act on our three requests."[830] As a culmination of years of student and

community concerns regarding the Baldwin Hall controversy, the activists entered the

office and delivered the letter.

The document, titled "An Open Letter to University of Georgia President Jere

Morehead Calling for Recognition and Redress for UGA's Legacy of Slavery,"

illustrated several instances of racialized counter-memory rhetoric to advocate for

economic justice. The first example was the way the letter described the recent history of the controversy as "continued efforts to literally and figuratively bury the University's legacy of slavery."[831] The authors argue that they are "saddened" that they have to "look back and see that instead of taking advantage of this opportunity, your administration restricted input from the Black community, resisted meaningful proposals for repair, and neglected the University's history of slavery."[832] In other words, the activists engaged their own memory in the letter to illustrate the recent history of disappointing behaviors by the university from the point of view of the activists. The letter recalled the requests by community members Frank Smith, Linda Davis, and Alvin Sheats, noting that "the denial of these thoughtful requests displays a deep and troubling disregard for the community that was most impacted by the reburial."[833] The letter also detailed the demands by faculty and students, especially regarding the Center on Slavery proposal. In chronicling these events, in this order, the authors posited that the university had not engaged in passive acts of defiance, but active forms of derailing justice that has been demanded many times and in many ways. This compounding timeline, argued in the letter, places full responsibility on the current administration for its mistakes. The letter serves as a counter-memory because the narrative—a disappointing memory recalled by the activists—counters and contests how the university would remember its treatment of the controversy as one that was legal, acceptable, respectable, etc. And by centering failed race relations in the community and disputes by faculty, staff, and students, the letter builds a foundation for calling out the university's white supremacist actions.

257

Another racialized counter-memory argument was engaged when the letter to Morehead drew a direct line between past and present injustices. For members of the coalition, UGA's legacy regarding slavery was the root cause to many contemporary inequities, and those inequities served as evidence for a need to act. Indeed, the authors argued, "the current social and economic conditions in Athens make this legacy impossible to ignore."[834] More specifically, they connected the University's involvement with slavery to current labor practices resulting in poverty of the Black community in Athens:

> "This University was built by enslaved people, both in terms of labor
>
> and in terms of capital leverage. Today, as the largest employer in
>
> Athens, UGA plays no small role in our community's 38% poverty
>
> rate. While Black people were once enslaved to cook, clean, and
>
> maintain the University of Georgia for no wages, now Black people
>
> cook, clean, and maintain the University for poverty wages"[835]

In other words, the coalition drew parallels between the types of labor that Black people conducted for the university and the abysmal compensation offered by the University of Georgia in times of slavery and in the 21st century. Lloyd of the Economic Justice Coalition went so far as to call UGA's current low wages and lack of health benefits a form of "slave wages," and likened employment at the university to "a kind of a slavery."[836] This type of argument parallels those made by researchers studying plantation politics in higher education (see Introduction). Here, the coalition explained the direct parallel between the university in antebellum times and the type of labor done for no wages, and to the current practices where Black people, who

258

make up over 45% of the service and maintenance workers at the university, do similar labor to the leased enslaved laborers in the 19th century—cook clean and tend to the grounds—for what Lloyd calls "slave wages."[837] Overall, the letter by the Coalition sets out to counter what Joe Fu, of the United Campus Workers of Georgia, calls "a kind of whitewash." Fu called out the university for "trying to separate the epic of slavery into some kind of quaint period that ended long ago, whereas, in fact, if we look around the Athens community, it's pretty clear that oppressive labor practices and racialized labor practices have persisted from the days of slavery through the days of Jim Crow and into the present." By drawing the parallels and linking practices across time periods, the coalitions used racialized counter-memory to show how the university was complicit to and an active actor in the long-standing practices of economic oppression in Athens, Georgia.

Lastly, the letter underscored the amount of time that had passed since the initial injustices of slavery. In other words, the authors emphasized temporal distance as a rationale for why action was necessary in the current moment. This type of argument tactic was not utilized in either of the previously studied cases—indeed, I have often argued that anti-racist activists engage racialized counter-memory by decreasing temporal distance. However, in this instance, the activist coalition artfully engages in a rhetoric of emphasizing temporal passing as it forms the argument that justice has been delayed and is a long-time coming. For instance, the first two demands in the letter emphasized the passing of time, using phrases such as "a legacy which persists to this day," and "redressing a longstanding reparational debt."[838] Time is again emphasized when the letter refers to the "enduring harm" of slavery.[839] The

focus on temporal distance works in conjunction with the argument connecting of past and present injustices, and fuels the call to action. By illustrating that harms in the present are directly linked and caused by injustices in the past, the passing of time—and the legacy of inaction by the university—becomes even more egregious and produces a stronger exigence for action. In many ways, the passing of time becomes a type of evidence of the university's white supremacist actions, illustrating how this particular argument serves as a racialized counter-memory. By centering the racial effects of the time passed, activists ensure that the university understands the need for change in the current moment.

Overall, in the letter by the Coalition of Recognition and Redress, the activists engaged racialized counter-memory to frame the university as the acting antagonist in the long-lasting trauma that has occurred in the Black community. Likewise, the group remembered the university as being hostile to student, faculty and community concerns related to dignity and respect of racial issues prevalent in the Baldwin Hall controversy. The letter's call to action argued that "only a thorough accounting of UGA's participation in the institution of slavery and concrete actions to repair the ongoing damage caused by slavery can begin to make our community whole." In urging the university to make things right through apology and policy, the argument puts the moral responsibility squarely on the backs of university leadership.

The following day, April 11, 2019, President Morehead responded to the Coalition for Recognition and Redress in an op-ed letter in *The Red & Black*. In the letter he reaffirmed his belief that enough was done to recognize and remember on campus. He also denounced the letter's claims of intimidation, and he asserted that

the university could not provide scholarships for proven descendants of the enslaved in Athens-Clarke county on the basis of them being race-preferential.[840] None of these arguments are surprising, given previous university rhetorics; however, what is more interesting is the way Morehead portrayed the coalition and their demands. He began the op-ed by stating, "it is clear that a few individuals, obviously driven by a personal agenda, continue to try to leverage this issue and expand it to promote their own causes." This line works to discredit the group from the very outset; specifically by calling the Coalition a "small" group and claiming their demands are colored by their own personal motives, he deflates the appearance of their power and legitimacy. Morehead's discrediting is also similar to an argument Houdek analyzes Houdek named the phenomenon of "racial gaslighting" and illustrated how white people enacted racial gaslighting and questioned the interpretive authority of Black publics in framing the public memory narratives about Black church burnings controversies.[841] In the case of the church burnings, racial gaslighting occurred when arguments were made by the white media that Black people were "too intimately close to the subject to have an objective understanding."[842] Likewise, by arguing that the coalition of predominantly Black students and community members were driven by a "personal agenda," Morehead extends an argument of white supremacy by de-legitimizing their activism rather than see how the political force of their advocacy is strengthened by their personal connection to the issue. In the op-ed letter, Morehead also claimed that the group included inaccurate claims in the letter addressed to

261

him—for instance that there has been no intimidation of UGA faculty.[22] Overall Morehead's public letter not only attempted to rationalize reasons for not working with the activists' demands, but he sought to discredit the activists and the movement itself.

Finally, in the letter, Morehead offered the same university talking point that had been repeated over the years—that the university response was respectful; indeed, that it was "beyond what is required by law." However, I posit that setting legality as the bar to which we ethically judge our actions is insufficient. Indeed, these types of arguments proclaiming legality, respectability, and proper procedure for racial politics, while seemingly logical and nonthreatening, are cornerstones of white supremacist culture. These arguments aim to make the university seem morally defensible in its actions; however, history demonstrates that arguments claiming legality and proper procedure routinely become arguments supporting oppression. For instance, prior to *Brown vs. Board of Education*, the University of Georgia defended its stronghold of segregation with arguments about what was legal regarding mixed raced education. Governor Vandiver cited legal policy when he threated to close down UGA over the enrollment of Hunter and Holmes.[843] And when Dean Tate suspended Hunter and Holmes following the Myers Hall riot, the university defended its choices with claims of the proper actions to keep the two students safe. In a letter

---

[22] However, in mid-April, the faculty senate of Franklin College of Arts and Sciences released a 120-page report of the findings by the Ad Hoc Committee on Baldwin Hall regarding the troubling behavior of university leadership revolving around the Baldwin Hall controversy, including evidence and statements of administrative intimidation of faculty members. Ad Hoc Committee on Baldwin Hall, "Report from the Ad Hoc Committee on Baldwin Hall to the Franklin College Faculty Senate," Franklin College of Arts and Sciences Faculty Senate, April 17, 2019. https://www.franklin.uga.edu/sites/default/files/Faculty%20Senate%20ad%20hoc%20committee%20report%204-17-19.pdf

to Holmes, Tate wrote "I cannot permit your re-enrollment at the University until such time as the members of my staff and I determine that it is safe and practical for you to return to school."[844] Even UGA President Henry Holcombe Tucker (1874-1878) defended his ownership of enslaved people due to its legality in the South. "There were many who never liked [slavery], but who, nevertheless, after it was introduced and became thoroughly interwoven with the social fabric, defended that position of the slaveholders," Tucker said. "I always believe that the slaveholder, who inherited this condition was as innocent of wrong as the slave, who also inherited it."[845] Ultimately, defending one's actions as supported by the law is an argument to assume moral rightness but insidiously gives life to white supremacist acts.

The arguments spawned by Morehead and other leadership at the University of Georgia offer an excellent example of the utility and purpose of critical race theory (CRT) in determining white supremacist systems in seemingly benign arguments. Critical race theory derived from critical legal studies by those, like Derrick Bell and Alan Freeman, who recognized that "the law could be complicit in maintaining an unjust social order."[846] As it has developed, CRT is an "evolving and malleable practice" that "critiques how the social construction of race and institutionalized racism perpetuate a racial caste system that relegates people of color to the bottom tiers."[847] CRT purports five main tenants: (1) racism is a normal feature of American society, (2) liberalism must be critiqued (3) whiteness is property (privilege, power, etc.), (4) diversity efforts primarily benefit white people (5) storytelling is important for understanding how myths of common culture are raced where people of color are marginalized.[848] The University of Georgia, claiming respectability and legality in its

actions of reinterment, engaged in the underlying white supremacist logics that normalize racism, emphasized the white viewpoint, and illustrated the harm of liberalism. The university's arguments defending the legality of its actions of reinterment and remembrance also limit the conversation in regards to economic policies, illustrating how the university was willing to engage diversity work up to a certain point—that point which benefited the institution—and then refused to engage in further conversations about racial justice related to the case. These discursive moves by the university require a rhetorical analysis through the lens of CRT in order to see how higher education continues to advance white supremacy through seemingly legally justified ways.

In contrast, the Coalition of Recognition and Redress continued to counter Morehead's claims by illustrating exigencies beyond the law and by arguing that the issue was a matter of moral reckoning based on timing and economics. The Coalition penned an op-ed response to Morehead's letter on April 12th in which its leaders argued that university administration "lacks any desire or imagination of a better and more just future" and lamented about the way Morehead's response failed to even mention the call for fair wages.[849] Then, on Monday April 29, 2019, after Morehead failed to attend a Town Hall for which he was invited to discuss the demands in more detail, the Coalition for Recognition and Redress hosted a march on campus to pressure the UGA administration to make the next step towards justice.[850] At this event, the activists' chants and signs continued to do the racialized counter-memory work of (1) demanding a racialized history be told, and (2) connecting past and present economic injustice. From the university arch to the administrative building,

264

students chanted, "What's outrageous? Georgia's wages" and held signs—some in the shape of shovels—that read:

"Tell the whole story"

"Jere, don't bury the truth"

"Tell the truth"

"Redress or regret"

"Unearthed, unheard, unacceptable"

"UGA you have a debt to pay"

"#Tell the whole story"

"Our history won't be buried"

They were led by three students holding a banner that read "Face Our Past to Free Our Future." UGA student, Scott-Blackwell addressed the large and predominantly-student group when they arrived in front of the administration building: "Jere Morehead, wherever you are, here's your small group of local activists." She continued on to say "People are saying 'why now? Why so soon?' This has been 400 years in the making. Y'all can't tell us this has been quick," again emphasizing time and the long-standing wait for justice. To the activists at the march, their voices were raised to emphasize truth, time, and justice in relation to the racial legacy of UGA. Their activism was rooted in racialized counter-memory.

Again, the university illustrated a complete lack of willingness to engage with the Coalition on the day of the march and the days following. At the conclusion of the march, when the student activists entered the administration building to request a meeting with President Morehead, they were greeted in the lobby by UGA Police.

According to the *Below Baldwin* documentary, the students were "not allowed to talk to anyone who could schedule a meeting."[851] Determined, the students remained in the building until 5pm, when Chief of Police Dan Silk began the process of arresting the students. The remaining three students—Joe Lavine, Chris Xavier and Imani Scott-Blackwell—chose to leave over getting arrested, despite the fact that they were unable to schedule a meeting. Then, after silence from the administration building all week, the students returned on Thursday, May 2, 2019 to follow up on their request to speak to Morehead. On this day, students were barred from even entering the building by university police. The students, distraught that they were not allowed to enter the building—or as Scott-Blackwell framed it, "not allowed to come into the administrative building at the university where we pay tuition"—accosted the staff who argued that no "expressive activities" are permitted at the building.[852] The students were all but shoved from the doorway as the police attempted to shut the door. They were told by UGA police that they were "creating" violence and that they faced going to jail for obstruction if they did not move.[853] And, again, the students were unsuccessful in scheduling a meeting with Morehead due to the assertive behavior by his staff and police force. This shutting out happened once again on May 6th, the third protest in a week, held because the Coalition had yet to get a meeting scheduled. On this day, the protestors walked up to the administration building to find it closed with a sign on the front door that read, "Pursuant to University Policy, expressive activity is not permitted in interior spaces such as the Administration Building. Please call 706-583-0759 to request entry or to request an appointment."[854] According to *The Red & Black*, the sign was no longer posted by 6:15 p.m.[855]

For students, faculty, staff, and community members, the University of Georgia leadership shut down any possibility for conversation and action in the spring of 2019, a decision that amplified the university's commitments. "I don't want to believe that people don't see the value and dignity of the work being done by employees at the University of Georgia, " said Commissioner Parker, "but I can't help but to feel like that is true when people are complacent to let folks go home with this kind of wage in their pocket."[856] Lla Anderson, an undergraduate the University of Georgia, likewise argued, "what is an apology, what are words without actual action behind it? I want some action. I want some change."[857] For Scott-Blackwell, the university's choices were clear; she argued, "they're responding this way out of fear of exposing the true white supremacist nature of this university."[858] Overall, in the face of calls for public recognition, in light of the racialized counter-memory arguments, and in light of the demands for economic justice, the University of Georgia withdrew and stood defensively against the Coalition. In response to these compelling arguments, actions and stories, the university had nothing to offer but silence.

Apologies and Reparations: Lessons Learned from the University of Georgia

All institutions of higher education have skeletons in their closet—or in the case of UGA, skeletons in their basement—when it comes to racial violence, discrimination, and bias. The question then becomes, what can we do or change about these institutions when those skeletons are unearthed? The UGA case offers the most nuanced relationship between public memory, race, and space/place that I have studied thus far. The bodies found at Baldwin Hall exerted rhetorical and material

267

pressures on the university and the community. They haunted the university, asking it to consider what racial justice means in the present, when rooted in such a dark past. The remains of enslaved people found at Baldwin Hall called for the university to re-remember itself and reconstitute its identity through recognition. This reconstitution of memory and identity required not only a change to campus places—which happened in the form of memorial markers on and off campus—but more importantly, it called for the reconfiguring of boundaries between campus and town, past and present, policy and apology. In other words, the unearthed remains blurred time and spatial practices. They called for a change of how the university and city related with one another, they asked the university to reflect upon employees' rights, economic justice, and racial remembering. We like to say that the dead don't speak, but at Georgia, they demanded.

One of the most important lessons that the UGA controversy demonstrates to those of us concerned with anti-racist rhetorics, is the need to push racialized-counter memory beyond the advocacy of constructed memory-places. The contextual constraints of such memory places are well documented, and they often procure incomplete anti-racist transformations of campus. Indeed, as memory scholars such as Christine Bold, Ric Knowles, and Belinda Leach have argued, responsibility is eluded through a traditional memory process of one-time memorialization. They argue that one-time memorialization marks the beginning of the end of remembering; once a statue or plaque goes up, folks are allowed to stop remembering. "Instead of searing memory into public consciousness, conventional memorials seal memory off from awareness altogether and reduce the public to passive spectators," Bold posits.[859]

Students, faculty, staff, and community members felt this threat of passivity involved in the Baldwin Hall memorial, as the protesters at the dedication ceremony on November 2018 indicated. Although the physical campus was altered through the inclusion of the memorial, the rhetorical action failed to provide what activists demanded in terms of justice.

Ultimately, this case study prompts the question: "What can public memory do?" An anti-racist inquiry into race and public memory must reach this level of evaluation, if possible, in order to consider the physically rooted, material ways that public memory can either negatively or positively affect the environment, the cultural spaces, and the lived experiences of non-white people. It is not enough to consider public memory purely from an ideological perspective—how memories are constructed by or construct various ideologies—instead, we must also consider how the interactions of public memory, race, and space/place affect individuals and communities in praxis, and in the places/spaces they relate to one another. While previous chapters may point to the way racialized counter-memory can take form to counter institutional culture and be both a process and product of memory places, the Coalition of Recognition and Redress dares to push the work of racialized counter-memory further by using it to alter the economic realities of the campus and surrounding communities. Although memorial truth telling was supposed to be the objective of advocacy starting in 2015, it became just the starting point when the university couldn't seem to get any part of the memorialization project right. Students, faculty, and community members worked together to engage the memory of the enslaved as a foundation for the demands; they used memory as exigencies for

action. What makes the UGA case unique from the others in this dissertation project is the fact that the advocacy did not stop with the demand of telling racial truth. Rather, the truth (told by the unearthed remains, by the Black community, and by concerned students, faculty, and staff) revealed an argument as to why justice needed to take a certain economic form and to be acted upon in the current moment. From this, I argue that racialized counter-memory can create powerful pressure for reparational justice.

The Coalition for Recognition and Redress's demands, rooted in arguments of racialized counter-memory, if implemented, would radically alter the function of campus and city places and spaces at the University of Georgia. For instance, the increase in wages would make the larger community in Athens more economically sound, as thousands of workers would have financial security and be more able to afford the items and services their families needed. This security would, in theory, change the ways these individuals interacted with other individuals, businesses, and organizations across the city. Because of the reparational scholarships, more Black students, especially those from Athens-Clarke County, would potentially be seen on campus and attending classes, adding to the Black culture at UGA around campus and amplifying the power of the Black voice when needed. These are the changes that I posit, plus all of the other ephemeral and affective changes one might feel when walking around a campus whose leaders were confident in their role in racial justice. More than a disrupted parade, more than an alternative campus tour, the racial focus on campus would be more than a fleeting event. More than altering a campus building name, or adding a memorial marker, the material changes on campus would be

transformative. In this way, we can see how the activism engaged at UGA, and the use of racialized counter-memory, offered the most exciting and radical potential for anti-racist action in a higher education institution.

As of fall 2021, the University of Georgia has yet to initiate any of the demands given to them in April 2019. The proposed Center on Slavery remains unfunded and unplanned. The university did, however, extend a call for research proposals studying slavery at the University of Georgia. In the August 7, 2019 press release, Morehead announced $100,000 to fund these proposals with the goal to have the research "culminate in one or more definitive, publishable histories" about "the role of slavery in the early development of the institution."[860] Morehead claimed that this initiative was appropriate and within the scope of a research university, subtly, again, discounting the demands made by the Coalition earlier that year.[861] In what appears to be UGA leadership's attempt to "tell the whole story," their call for research still fails to directly address the demands for apology, scholarships, and fair wages. It also puts monetary resources in the pockets of faculty, to conduct research, rather than students or staff via reparational scholarships or fair wages. As the research group falls short of economic justice, the university continues to proclaim a deep-seated commitment to diversity and inclusion. In the "2021 President's Annual Report," Morehead proudly boasted of additional initiatives and growing scholarship endowments to make progress in diversity and inclusion goals at Georgia.[862] In these materials, Morehead shared a picture of Hamilton Holmes Jr. ringing the chapel bell on the 60th anniversary of integration.[863] And yet, none of the demands—for formal recognition and economic redress of slavery—have been realized.

In the meantime, students at UGA and community members in Athens continue to dream and advocate for a more justice-oriented future for the Athens community. Black students and community organizations, like the Athens Anti-Discrimination Movement, have used the Baldwin Hall memorial as a rallying point for reflection and activism.[864] For instance, on each Day of Jubilee (a local holiday on May 4th, marking the end of slavery in Athens) since the dedication of the memorial, community members and students have engaged in a vigil to "honor Athens's enslaved people and reflect on current racial justice movements."[865] Students also continue to advocate for reparational and economic justice. The Beyond Baldwin Steering Committee, a student group stemming from the *Below Baldwin* documentary, reissued demands to the university on January 4, 2021. These demands were organized into categories, including "acknowledgment of the university's history, transparency in its efforts to address racial issues, protection of campus workers' rights, and recruitment and retention of Black faculty and students."[866] The student group also published an argument in the *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, in April 2021, highlighting how UGA's proudly claimed diversity initiatives still fall short of the calls by campus activists and community members.[867] For example, authors of the letter, Phaidra Buchanan and Kyle Patel explained that "the university recently erected campus markers to recognize historically Black fraternities and sororities, while its Equal Opportunity Office was powerless to reprimand white fraternity students who pretended to be slaves and slave owners."[868] Overall, while the contexts have shifted slightly in the two years since the Coalition of Recognition and Redress demanded transformational economic change by university leadership,

the essence of these student demands, and the hollow signposting in response by university of leadership, continues.

While UGA holds out on apologizing for their role of slavery or enacting changes to alter the economic conditions of current Black residents, the truth of Baldwin Hall remains unburied and the pain caused by the controversy lives on. "I never want to forget them," Smith said in an interview with *The Red & Black.* "The enslaved Africans buried underneath this campus, many who could be my ancestors, still deserve justice." As the UGA case has illustrated, remembrance, powerful in so many ways, can be both the goal and the starting point for racial justice.[869]

Chapter 5: Conclusion: The Role of Racialized Counter-Memory Theory and Practice in 21st Century Student Protests

> *"We can focus on the way we change [racism]*
>
> *moving forward and how we address it"*
>
> --Clinton Washington III, undergraduate student, Furman University, 2021

"Abraham, Clark, Joanna, Jethro, Mary, Richard, Sylvia, and Toney," intoned Dr. Brandon Inabinet. "These names are among the 50 enslaved at the plantation known as Cherrydale, a home that now sits overlooking Furman's campus."[870] His audience was the Hearst Fellows, a selective sub-group of the Furman University student body who received additional financial aid and mentoring to bring historically underrepresented groups into higher education.[23] It was August 18, 2021 and their first day on campus. Throughout the day, they heard about the exciting internship opportunities, study away, and student research projects; but they also hit the asphalt on a more atypical campus tour. On this tour, Inabinet strived to provide additional context to the incredible inequalities in university history and the bold action of each generation since to persevere against, reckon with, and perhaps eventually overcome these historical harms. This was the newly instituted "Seeking Abraham Tour" which shared themes that "focus on African-American history" as it relates to Furman

---

[23] Details of the following excerpt is provided from a reflection by Brandon Inabinet, who is my colleague at Furman University. As a new Assistant Professor in Communication Studies at Furman (circa fall 2021), I engaged in personal communication with Dr. Inabinet via email, where he shared the details as tour guide for a recent Seeking Abraham tour.

University's history.[871] The historic walk across Furman's campus was developed in 2020 as part of the university-wide attempt to answer student demands for equity within the predominantly white university. The institutionalization of the tour, which directly engages in the rhetoric of racialized counter-memory, was just one part of a multi-faceted task force and report that researched Furman history and policy and, ultimately, promised to do better in terms of racial inclusion.

Sweating under the hot South Carolina sun, Inabinet explained how the plantation house was moved to campus in 1999 without the word "plantation" ever being mentioned—that the "historic mansion" that housed the university's first president was "coming home," and would welcome "all alumni home" as its new Cherrydale Alumni House.[872] And yet, fifty people were enslaved and used for manual labor under the supervision of James C. Furman, the president in the house, including families who were split apart, as children were sold off to plantations in neighboring states.[873] The university president had not only enslaved people, but he had used racist language to lead the upstate of South Carolina toward secession for the cause of maintaining the slave economy he and the university benefited from.[874] "As we take the rest of the walk," Inabinet told the fellows, wrapping up their stop at the Cherrydale Alumni House, "we will have a chance to talk and discuss between each stop. But let's take the long walk down this hill in silence, in memory of the enslaved people whose names we do know as well as all those we don't."[875] The group left the house in silence—in somber reflection on the crimes against humanity now witnessed on campus—and headed down the hill toward the campus where desegregation and Black excellence, systemic exclusions, inclusion initiatives, and

continuing episodes of racial discrimination all compete in the daily life of the university.

Much like the students walking down to the chapel in silence to reflect on the lives of the enslaved people who worked for James C. Furman, we too are taking a downhill stroll in the journey of this project, aiming to reflect and find salience in the complexity and strife exemplified in each of the three case studies. Black student activists at the University of Missouri, University of Maryland, and University of Georgia put their time, energy, and education on the line to advocate for a more anti-racist, justice-oriented campus from which they and future Black students could thrive. In doing so, they engaged in the rhetorical practices of racialized counter-memory to racialize institutional histories and policies and to highlight exigencies for substantial change across the university. In this section of the dissertation, I want to take the time to honor their ingenuity and labor, as these students dared to reimagine the conditions of their university and combat the white supremacy that insidiously thrived there.

In this conclusion, I evaluate the role of racialized counter-memory in both rhetorical theory and practice for 21st century student protests. First, I summarize the rhetorical lessons learned from each of the major case studies to fully apprehend the various ways students created, negotiated, and circulated racialized counter-memories. In doing so, I explicate the rhetorical and material effects of student protests that enacted rhetorics of racialized counter-memory in order to illustrate the power of this theory for moving communities closer to anti-racist goals. Lastly, I demonstrate the significance and utility of racialized counter-memory in student

276

protests beyond the three cases studied in this project. By illustrating additional examples of more recent student protests, I argue that racialized counter-memory can be a useful lens from which past and future student movements—and indeed, all movements for anti-racist social change—are considered. I end the project with pragmatic advice and expressed hope for anti-racist student actors now and moving forward.

<u>*Lessons Learned from Student Conflicts with White Supremacy*</u>

At the start of this project, I aimed to answer the question: *in the context of college student protests in the 21ˢᵗ century, how do students create, negotiate, and circulate racialized counter-memories to confront legacies of white supremacy and (re)constitute space and place on campus?* Each of the case studies analyzed in this dissertation offers a different way of understanding racialized counter-memories wielded by students towards their specific anti-racist goals. One of my main goals for this project has been to understand the rhetorical force of racialized counter-memories, which I defined as memory arguments and practices that center race and racism, and that are typically engaged by rhetors for anti-racist, anti-white supremacist ends. Given the challenge of white supremacy in higher education contexts, I chose to study this rhetorical concept from the places and spaces of college campuses and the contexts of student protests in the 21ˢᵗ century, hoping that such inquiry would illustrate new, useful rhetorical connections between memory, race activism, and space/place. What I have found is that anti-racist student activists create, negotiate, and circulated racialized counter-memory rhetorics in highly contextual, multi-faceted manners, and to address diverging anti-racist goals. Each

277

case study provides new understanding of the function of racialized counter-memories.

At the University of Missouri, students focused on the racializing of campus spaces and histories as a means of combatting insidiously sedimented white supremacist realities. Black students had faced decades of both implicit and overt racial bias, and they had contested these events since the 1960s. In 2015, administrative inaction over several instances of white students feeling empowered enough to call Black students racist epithets to their faces spawned a coalition of students to directly address university president Tim Wolfe, as well as past, present, and prospective students about the racism that existed ubiquitously across campus. The Black student activists called themselves Concerned Student 1950 and enacted a multifaceted protest campaign with several rhetorical forms and arguments. At the core, however, was a desire to combat institutional cultures that ignored racial inequity on campus. Through the originating demands letter, the parade disruption, and the mock campus tour, Concerned Student 1950 illustrated that the current demands for racial equity addressed systemic issues that existed from the admission of the first black student, that the institutional timeline of progress was exaggerated, and that racial trauma occurred in the very same spaces that the university highlighted as student amenities. Overall, the persuasiveness of their protest campaign, and the racialized-counter memories used in these strategies, forced the university to see, and therefore remedy, racism as it lived on campus. Remembered as one of the most effective student protests of the 21st century, Concerned Student 1950's racialized counter-memory produced several changes to the spaces/places of campus and

beyond. They altered university leadership, programs, and financial resources. And they affected campuses beyond Missouri, as their use of the organizing hashtag #ConcernedStudent1950 circulated and caught the attention of likeminded anti-racist student activists across the nation. The #InSolidarityWithMizzou spinoff protests across the nation illustrated the generalizability of what Missouri was proving through racialized counter-memory—that "racism lives here," in broad daylight in the everyday happenings of PWIs. Overall, when reflecting back on this case, we learned that the student-produced rhetoric exerted power through explicitly racializing, or centering race, in their many ways of framing, remembering, and telling the story of the University of Missouri's past relations with Black students, and how racializing a campus sedimented in their histories, cultures, and policies of white supremacy can effect such realities for present and future students.

At Maryland, students participating in and advocating for memorialization for Lt. Collins illustrated the role of racialized counter-memory to infuse a racial standpoint onto campus and localize white supremacy to the specific conditions and climates of campus. On May 20, 2017 the campus reeled from the murder of a Black student from Bowie State University—Second Lieutenant Richard Collins—by a white UMD student; however the UMD BIPOC community had, in reality, dealt with the compounding effects of racial violence and trauma on campus in the year(s) leading up to the murder. Indeed, the university's leadership had, for years, prioritized ideological diversity over the feelings of safety by BIPOC students, and, the university's president, in the aftermath of the tragedy, produced communication that placed the blame on white supremacist systems located outside of the university. In

279

reaction to these institutional contexts, students enacted practices and arguments for racialized counter-memory *places*. By practicing informal memorialization of the bus stop where Collins was murdered, and by advocating for a permanent, university-sanctioned memorial, students illustrated how racialized places on campus can both combat issues of unchecked ideological diversity as well as localize the effects of white supremacy to campus space. The bus stop memorial (and the still unrealized potential of a permanent memorial) marks a racial standpoint on campus—a campus that otherwise protects whiteness and white supremacy—by naming the racial violence that occurred there, thereby linking campus to the death and holding the university accountable for the contexts leading up to Collins's murder. In doing so, the meaning of race and place on campus were explicitly and intimately linked through the racialized counter-memory place and in a way that the university has been unable to separate since. Overall, the case illustrates the potential productivity of enacting place practices, such as memorialization, that center racial narratives and BIPOC identities as a way to (re)constitute racial meaning and responsibility on campus.

Down the coast and over to Athens, Georgia, UGA students worked alongside a coalition of faculty, staff, and community members to advocate for justice beyond the practice of place and instead to engage racialized-counter memory rhetorics to demand for transformative economic justice. This coalition confronted a university leadership who had engaged secret acts, intimidated students and faculty, and smoothed over responsibility when the university found that the Baldwin Hall expansion project occurred at the site of a burial plot of Black people in the 19th

century, likely those of enslaved people in Athens. While the activist coalition had originally demanded that the university "tell the whole story" through the form of racialized counter-memory places, such as an on-campus memorial or proposed Center on Slavery, these activists quickly realized that a place for remembering was not enough to enact racial justice in this case. Instead, the coalition produced racialized counter-memory rhetorics—such as making direct connections between the oppressive economic systems in the past and present and emphasizing the passing time as justice long deferred—to persuade the university to make reparational adjustments to their financial aid and wage policies. Racialized counter-memory, therefore, provided the exigence to demand economic justice in the face of long-standing racial trauma on campus and in the college town. And their activism reconfigured of boundaries between campus and town, past and present, policy and apology as they called for a change and justice through employees' rights, reparational scholarships, and racial remembering. Overall, the student activists at the University of Georgia teach us to more critically question "what can memory *do*," when told from an anti-racist lens. As a result of this case, we have one clear example of the ways in which racialized counter-memory arguments can justify current forms of reparational justice through the anti-racist remembering of the past.

　　While each of these case studies offer different take aways—such as the importance of racializing university histories, the ability to combat university leaderships' attempts to distance white supremacy from campus cultures, and the need to produce justice beyond the starting point of memory and memory places—a common process emerges throughout each of the three cases. Despite the specific

contexts and argumentative forms and practices, in each case, students created, negotiated and circulated racialized counter-memory (1) to illustrate a racial problem on campus (2) to use the racialized narrative as an exigence for change, and (3) to honor the identities, histories, knowledges, and experiences of Black people. First, the racialized element of the theory helps color the picture of the problem on campus, given that in contemporary university settings, discourse around diversity and inclusion often blinds university administrators to the progress that still needs to be done. The counter-memory element provides a narrative of justice, progress, or equity deferred and thereby serves as the evidence for the justice demanded. And lastly, the underlying anti-racist ideology of racialized counter-memory produces the conditions by which racialized counter-memory rhetorics demands that we center, listen to, and honor Black voices as they demand justice in their communities. Overall, these three processes are activated in each of the case studies and offer an important insight into the function of racialized counter-memory in work through activism.

Another commonality between all three cases is that at the root of racialized counter-memory is the desire for racial justice through truth and for truth told through an anti-racist perspective. Racialized counter-memory counters the stories, timelines, goals, and strategies that uphold hegemonic lies about racial possibilities and freedoms. It is the tension between racialized counter-memory and the landscapes of whiteness (upheld through logics such as white conceit) that illuminates the presences and absences of racial truths and produces evidence for anti-racist justice and transformative action. Nowhere is this tension between anti-racist truth and sedimented practices of whiteness clearer than at the University of Georgia, where the

activist coalition's primary and enduring demand was for the university leadership to tell the truth about the bodies uncovered at Baldwin Hall, and the truth about the historic legacy of slavery that accompanied this unearthing. As the university failed at this primary ask, additional racialized counter-memory arguments, places, and demands were produced over the course of four years to pressure the administration to acknowledge, recognize, and make amends for the truth. In other words, the exigence of uncovered truth produced the conditions for racialized counter-memories that demanded that that very truth be acknowledged at an institutional level. And as we've seen with the national reckoning of the 1619 Project, the popular New York Times project curated by Nikole Hannah-Jones and aiming to "reframe the country's history by placing the consequences of slavery and the contributions of Black Americans at the very center of the United States' national narrative," anti-racist truth telling often calls for anti-racist action—a call we have also seen in these dissertation cases.[876]

Lastly, as all of the case studies exemplify, university campuses and cultures were transformed from the rhetorical practice of racialized counter-memory, especially in ways not initially laid out by student demands. This is an important note, especially given that many of the activist demands in each of the three cases failed to be fully realized by university leadership. Scholars of social movements often have to defend the effects (or lack thereof) of the protest, advocacy, or other form of agitation towards the group's desired goals. However, as many scholars have already argued, such a traditional take on rhetorical effects is limited.[877] The study of rhetorical effects in the long-standing pursuit of social transformation, demanded by protests

283

and protestors, is all but clear-cut. And as each of these cases in this dissertation demonstrate, even the most compelling racialized counter-memories—and their contexts and strategies—have failed to produce the full scale of change that student activists have demanded. Black student enrollment is still down. White supremacist flyers are still found on campus. Memorials remain incomplete. Reparations are unfulfilled. If we were to judge the utility of racialized counter-memory on this lack of desired outcomes, it would be easy to argue against its potential as a productive rhetorical practice for anti-racist social justice.

However, what racialized counter-memory has done at the University of Missouri, the University of Maryland, and the University of Georgia can be better understood through a more expansive understanding of rhetorical effects and a consideration of altered campus places and spaces. Racialized counter-memory has constituted Black identity and consciousness, countered institutional histories and timelines, mediated racialized arguments for justice, constructed exigencies for policy change at the material and economic level, and produced racial standpoints on campus that cannot be ignored. Racialized counter-memories also affected the spaces and places of each of these universities. At Missouri, not only did the protestors alter the function of campus places through the changing of university leadership, but also the effects of racialized counter-memory rhetorics transcended geographical space through digital networks by motivating likeminded protests across the nation. At Maryland, the practice of *racialized counter-memory place* transformed a campus that distanced itself from white supremacy by localizing racial violence to the university bus stop where Lt. Collins was killed. And racialized counter-memory blurred the

spatial boundaries of town-and-campus, and the temporal distinctions of past-and-present, by bringing together a coalition of student, faculty, staff and community activists at the University of Georgia to produce both a memory-place and to demand more than just such. Overall, racialized counter-memory produced more than just arguments for students to wield against the administration, the rhetorical construction of racialized counter-memories also transformed the activists (and their constituted identities) as well as the meaning and function of their campus surroundings.

In building a theory of racialized counter-memory, this dissertation sought to study the rhetorical concept in action through the protest campaigns at the University of Missouri, the University of Maryland, and the University of Georgia. What has become clear is that racialized counter-memory—in a myriad of forms—produced strong persuasive power for college student activists in their particular campus contexts. Despite the differences in each case, I posit that we can expect that racialized counter-memories, wielded on campus by anti-racist student actors, will often follow a similar or familiar process of racializing campus, countering institutional policies by framing racial exigencies, and amplifying Black, anti-racist perspectives. Racialized counter-memories will also demand truth-telling by institutional leaders and can transform campus places and spaces, albeit in manners we may not expect. Both in theory and in action, racialized counter-memory empowers us to reconsider the rhetorical and material work of race and memory when exerted as a force upon the conditions and systems of white supremacy. By functioning to combat white supremacy, racialized counter-memory serves as a useful theory and practice for rhetoricians and anti-racist student protestors, alike.

285

Expanding Inquiry for Racialized Counter-Memory in Student Protests

While offering a foundation for racialized counter-memory rhetorical inquiry, this dissertation study is limited in that it only considers the use of such rhetorics in three cases, and all at predominantly white universities and public state flagships. Clearly, the three student movements and universities studied in this project are not the only ones that exemplify 21st century student protests combatting of white supremacy via racialized counter memories. By expanding our inquiry to other campuses—diverse in their geography, student population, and institution type—we can better understand the utility of the theory when applied to studies of anti-racist student protests. In what follows, I briefly trace three additional examples of anti-racist student protests across the nation. At Arizona State University, Black students and students of color fought for their right to have safe space in the multicultural student center after a very public controversy in the fall of 2021. At Howard University in 2018, Black students occupied the administration building for over a week. The exigence of their demands stemmed from their connection with a similar student protest that occurred at the university in 1968. At Furman University in 2020, university leadership responded when Black students and alumni, in their fear and anger over the murder of George Floyd, publicly reflected on their raced experiences on campus as students. Not only do each of these cases offer us important insight into the significance of studying student protests in diverse institutions, in varying contexts, and through a lens of racialized counter-memory, but they also illustrate the relevance and prevalence of anti-racist student protests as an omnipresent and significance force to the 21st century higher education landscape.

<center>∗∗∗</center>

Racial controversy at Arizona State University (ASU) occurred in 2021 and revolved around the use of a multicultural student center as a racialized place on campus. Prior to the 2021-2022 school year, the main campus of the university at Tempe, Arizona, had lacked an instituted multicultural space for BIPOC students, but the university had recently advertised the creation of just a space.[878] The ASU website called the physical center the "Multicultural Communities of Excellence" space and explained that it was intended to "help to provide a sense of place and support for students of color."[879] However the functional use of the space was troubled when two conservative white male students entered the multicultural center on September 23, 2021 wearing anti-Biden shirts and donning "Police Lives Matter," laptop stickers.[880] A few Black student leaders who were meeting in the space confronted the two male students for making them feel uncomfortable because of the anti-Black ideologies present on their bodies and laptops.[881] The ensuing seven-minute-long confrontation was filmed, by both parties, on their phones. In the weeks to follow, a shortened clip of the video was posted to a conservative account on Twitter, garnered hundreds of thousands of views, and caught the attention of conservative pundits, including representative Marjorie Taylor Green (R-GA), who shared it on Twitter and caused a national backlash by conservative individuals (including hundreds of rape, death, and lynching threats sent to the three Black female students who can be seen and heard in the video).[882] In less than two months from the original incident, the video was viewed on Twitter over 5.7 million times.[883]

<center>287</center>

The three women of color in the video, Sarra Tekola, Mastaani Qureshi, and Miriam Araya, can be seen and heard defending the multicultural center as a space for BIPOC students to feel safe without the two men present. For instance, Tekola contextualized the space, explaining that the multicultural center had just opened after students of color "worked five years to have this space," and that they had "fought for this since 2016." Tekola explained that, "You have no idea the labor that was created to create this space."[884] They also explained that the men were not being asked to leave on the basis of their race or because they were white, but because they were espousing values that made the women of color uncomfortable. They challenged the white men's support of police lives matter, examining how the phrase was created in opposition to Black Lives Matter and how "police lives matter" has maintained affiliation with white nationalists. They ultimately claim that the ideology espoused through the sticker sanctioned the killing of Black people, like themselves.[885] Lastly, Tekola, Qureshi and Araya explained the anti-racist function of the space. For instance, they argued that the multicultural center existed as the only space for students of color on a campus that "centers whiteness," and that the men could, and should, study in any other location and still feel safe.[886] When the men argue that their presence technically increased the multicultural diversity of the space, Tekola argued, "It's important to recognize… what a multicultural space means. Because multiculturalism doesn't mean that 'oh we all come together and hold hands,' it means that you provide space and you protect the most marginalized."[887] In their defense of the multicultural space for BIPOC students, Tekola, Qureshi, and Araya contextualized the activist history of the space in a white campus, and they articulated

288

the physical center as a practice of anti-racism that should uphold and maintain the safety and security of BIPOC students.

Following the confrontation, Black students and other students of color who advocated for and used the multicultural center as a safe space faced severe conservative backlash by not only the general population (via death threats, etc.), but also the Arizona state government and Arizona State University leadership. For instance, in the weeks following the clash, two dozen Arizona state lawmakers officially condemned the Black students' actions and argued that the incident "begs the question of why Arizonans are being forced to spend tens, potentially hundreds, of millions of their hard-earned tax dollars on a building at a public university that some of our citizens are not allowed to use."[888] The lawmakers ultimately threatened to pull funding from the university. Concurrently, ASU decided to charge Tekola, Qureshi, and Araya with code of conduct violations that included "stalking or engaging in repeated or significant behavior toward another individual" and "interfering with or disrupting university or university-sponsored activities," while the two male students faced no disciplinary repercussions.[889] Following the hearings for Tekola, Qureshi, and Araya, the university dropped all conduct charges against the women, but they were each still asked to write a statement outlining how they can act more politely and civilly in the future. ASU also sent out a message to the university community that read:

> "ASU's multicultural spaces are open to all students and are a central
> component of a university-wide effort to advance our charter
> commitments to inclusion. As a public university, we are also

289

committed to the free and robust exchange of ideas and to intellectual

freedom and free expression, even on difficult topics."

Their statement echoes the standpoint made by the University of Maryland in its

defense for ideological diversity over the feelings of security and anti-racist

perspectives of students of color. Overall, the desired practice of the multicultural

center as a safe and BIPOC-centering place was threatened by not only the two male

students' actions, but also by the ways the state and university reacted in opposition

to the women of color who defended their use of the place.

Analyzing the ASU case from the lens of racialized counter-memory helps us

critique the ways in which the university supported systems of white supremacy in

their treatment of the viral video controversy; indeed, racialized counter-memory has

already been identified, through this project, as a useful discursive frame to counter

calls for ideological diversity, such as those that the ASU purported about the

multicultural space as intended to be open for every student. By studying the case

through racialized counter-memory, we can better understand the multicultural center

as a racialized counter-memory place following years of activism, in the context of a

white-serving campus, and the practiced use of the space by both the BIPOC students

and the two white students at the center of the case. The university's actions were

hostile to this anti-racist perspective and the university's hostility is highlighted

through its defense of ideological diversity, freedom of expression, and other

contemporary signposts of conservativism that indicates that the racialized counter-

memory place is not protected by the administration. In this way, the decision to

discipline the students and the public statement made by the university's leadership

cannot be defended on the basis of race-neutral choices. Instead, ASU's leadership's actions should be read as specifically raced actions that bolster white supremacist systems at the university. Lastly, this ASU example explicitly underscores the added complexity of advocating for and using racialized places at state flagships with conservative state legislatures; studying this case through racialized counter-memory would build on the theory by centering this detail and its effects on anti-racist social change at ASU. Public state universities, and the racial controversies that occur there, are extensions of the state. While many anti-racist student protestors aim their messages to university presidents or Board of Trustees, there exists this additional layer of complexity in state institutions. It is therefore useful to ponder over the use of racialized counter-memory rhetorics—and their overall effectiveness—in these types of contexts. Overall, the ASU case, if analyzed through a les of racialized counter-memory, would build on some of the lessons brought to light in the University of Maryland case by asking us to consider what happens when students, universities, and even state legislators clash over the meaning of safe spaces for BIPOC students—such as its practiced use as a racialized counter-memory place—in higher education settings.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

On the other side of the country, at the historically-Black Howard University in 2018, Black students occupied the administration building for a historic nine-days.[890] The occupation occurred after a financial embezzlement scandal at the university was reported, and even that event was just the breaking point after years in which student activists were disconcerted over the state of the university's student

resources.[891] The student group that organized the sit-in, HU Resist, was clear in its nine demands to Howard's Board of Trustees. The students asked the university to assure housing for students under 21, address its sexual assault policy, provide additional mental and emotional health services, offer more avenues for student voices, allocate resources for food insecurity, disarm campus police officers, and more.[892] These demands, the students hoped, would address their calls for Howard to "prioritize the interests of Black people and truly become a Black University."[893] The students also demanded the resignation of the university president, Wayne Frederick, although they conceded this demand during the nine-days of negotiation which occurred between students and board members.[894] Ultimately, the nine-day occupation was concluded when the Board of Trustees agreed to an updated document of demands.[895]

The nine-day occupation of the administration building was not the first occupation in Howard history, and the HU Resist campaign was explicitly motivated by past instances of student organizing at Howard University.[896] On March 19, 1968, Howard's campus was disturbed by a student protest campaign that also involved a student takeover of the administration building. This four-day sit-in of over 1000 students was catalyzed when the university called 39 student protestors (from a previous Charter Day protest on March 1, 1968) to face student conduct charges, although the campus had teemed with student complaints and protests that had built up antagonisms between students and administration for nearly three years.[897] The ensuing sit-in occupation resulted in the temporary closing of the university during the occupation.[898] In this historic protest, Howard leadership agreed to four major

concessions.[899] Exactly fifty years later, the events of the 1968 protest motivated the goals and tactics of HU Resist in 2018. Argued one HU Resist student organizer, Oliver Robinson, "In 1968, they called for a black university...50 years later, we are calling for that same black university...we're building a new Howard, we're doing this out of love for Howard.[900] In another reflection about the formation of HU Resist in relation to the 1968 protest, student leader Ahmari Anthony stated:

> "We frequently discussed what it would mean for black students to run
>
> a black university their way. Most often in our minds, that idea
>
> realized itself in the form of an Administration Building takeover,
>
> reminiscent of those staged by students in 1968… As an organization
>
> and as black people, we tended to look to our elders and ancestors for
>
> guidance. And since their demonstrations had yielded such
>
> monumental results in the past, it only made sense in our minds to
>
> follow in their footsteps in the symbolic year of the '68 takeover's
>
> 50th anniversary."[901]

And Maya McCollum, one of HU Resist's student spokespersons argued "Historically it has been proven that to get our administration to listen to students' concerns and actually try to solve their issues, students have to occupy the administration building and disrupt the runnings of the university."[902] The explicit connection between HU Resist and the student protests fifty years prior provided a specific exigence for contemporary activism from which students constituted their power.

The HU Resist students who reflected on the connection between past and present illustrates a strong racialized counter-memory argument like we have seen with activist groups at the University of Missouri and the University of Maryland. The students at Howard University made sense of their activism through the lens of the past, and they constituted their identity and demands as protestors based on the stories of these previous student activist movements. Their convictions were informed by the strategies, goals, and identities of the historic protest, which validated their existence in the 21st century and provided additional exigence for the demands for justice in the current moment. HU Resist's specific understanding of past activism and their drawing from the memories of the event parallels the sense-making that occurred at the University of Maryland and Black Terps Matter. In the oral history project, each of the three founders of BTM referenced the role of time, history, and memory in relation to student activism. Saba Tshibaka reflected:

"I believe that people, and this is probably just a general fact, but I believe that people care more about things [sic] when they're better educated about it… I can't expect people to do more, and want to know more, if they don't know where they're coming from, and they don't know what the people before them have done. So that is why I personally made that page on our website that says, 'know your history.' And it literally, I believe it says, 'our very recent history of black student activism at the University of Maryland,' because … you can see that there's a long line of students that have gone to UMD that have cared about the future students and the past students, and also the

294

faculty members, and just black life on the campus. And so it's not up

to any one of us to do these things, to fix these things. But I think it's

up to all of us to know our history."[903]

For the student leaders of BTM, knowing the past and amplifying public memories

about Black student activism were imperative to inspiring others to join their

collective action. Nadia Owusu, another founder, articulated the understanding that

history was crucial for the leaders to make informed decisions that build of past

momentum. Public memory, therefore, was a pragmatic strategy in activism:

"Understanding your history means everything. It teaches you

lessons, and also shows you how to go forward. So for example, you

know, even when we were looking at the protest, and starting things,

like the black student leaders' meetings, and all those things,

connecting with alumni was huge. That was learning history, just

from a primary source of knowing they did the same things, or they

did this 25 years ago, those were their demands, those were the things

that they were looking at. So if I didn't know that, I would have just

kind of thought, 'Okay, well, we're doing this, we could be possibly

the first of our kind; we're [sic] the first of our kind that was able to

have things implemented'… But we're definitely not the first student

group to ever be activists and really do something and make real

sustainable change on our campus."[904]

And Alysa Conway, the third founder of BTM, also acknowledged the roll of past

student activism on affecting their path as BTM organizers, going so far to

295

acknowledge that their work on campus was the past "remixed."[905] For the BTM founders, there was no start or end of BTM that didn't always already include the public memory available about the activism that came before them. Similarly, Howard University students were motivated and informed by the past, linking public memory about the 1968 protest with their own campaign and seeing their work as part of a legacy of making long-lasting change on campus.

Unfortunately Howard University leadership failed to understand just how strong the legacy of this racialized counter-memory argument would be until only three years following the HU Resist protests, in 2021, students again began to protest similar campus issues—primarily the lack of housing due to crumbling infrastructure. The 2021 protests caught national attention when, in October, Howard students began camping outside on campus to protest the conditions of the university residence halls, particularly mold that affected students' health.[906] These most recent protests are understood as an additional echo, a reverberation, of the protests in 2018, as reporters and Howard alumnae have framed the 2021 protests as developing from unfinished work and administrative backlash from the 2018 sit-in occupation.[907]

I argue that by studying the Howard University protests in 1968, 2018 and 2021, we can begin to better understand the motivations and strategies of college student protests as part of a legacy of remembering rather than one-off events motivated by particular time-bound contexts. Howard students have made clear, explicit connections between these protest events, separated at times by decades and others by only a few years, and in doing so illustrate the ability to constitute a student culture of activism that spans decades. This rhetorical move addresses the common

296

critique that student activism is ephemeral in that student leaders of protest

movements graduate, and their demands are conceded through the passing of time.

For instance, student protest scholar Philip Altbach has argued that student protests

are ineffective due to the nature of student turn over. "Student 'generations' are short,"

he explained, "and this makes sustained campus political movements difficult since

both leaders and followers change."[908] Instead, I posit that studying the Howard

University case more deeply through a lens of racialized counter-memory can

illustrate how students constitute activist identity through the decades, building power

through each remembered protest movement that came before. This building of a

protest culture and identity proves that the power of student protest comes not from a

specific campaign, but from the compounded remembrances of past movements on

campus in conjunction with the particular contexts of a given protest moment. In

other words, racialized counter-memories function as a tool to constitute such

remembrances that build the legacy of activism. The Howard University case takes on

a particularly interesting position as an HBCU, where Black (Student) Power

ideologies were constituted historically. Racialized counter-memory would be a

useful theory to apply to understanding the power of the long-standing protest identity

and a legacy of this particular Black ideology on Howard's campus.

<div align="center">***</div>

As a small, predominantly white, southern liberal arts college, Furman

University's recent grappling with anti-racist protests and slavery research indicates

that all kinds of higher education institutions must face their racist past/present and

engage a more just future. In the fall semester of 2016, Furman University

<div align="center">297</div>

undergraduate student Marian Baker published an article revealing the history behind

a memorial plaque for James C. Furman in the student newspaper, *The Paladin*,

which initiated a university-wide research project to explore the use of enslaved labor

in the origins and growth of Furman University, established 1826.[909] In the summer

of 2017, eleven faculty and staff members and six students and recent alumni were

appointed to the Task Force on Slavery and Justice, and, from 2017 through 2018,

they spent the school year scouring the archives and meeting with consultants and

community groups in search of the full truth behind slavery at Furman. At the end of

the process, the sixty-four page report not only laid out the practice of slavery by

Furman founders, the use of slave-leasing on previous locations of campus, and gaps

in knowledge where history had been purposefully forgotten, but it also provided

seventeen clear and specific recommended changes to campus landscapes and

policies in pursuit of racial justice. The report was called "Seeking Abraham," named

after an enslaved man whose picture in front of the Cherrydale plantation house

motivated the researchers during the year-long project.

The "Seeking Abraham" report is an excellent example of racialized counter-

memory work both in terms of its goals and content. Introducing the report, Provost

George Shields argued that Furman "must acknowledge and seriously wrestle with

ways to address the disadvantages created by our past" and that "this project goes

further by delving deep into an overwhelmingly Southern, pro-slavery history and

then confronting apathy with a proportional energy and redress."[910] Likewise, the

authors of the "Seeking Abraham" report argued that "this report is 'symbolic,' in that

it is 'just words' and alone could never deliver full justice. But on the other hand, it is

'action,' in that it calls something new and meaningful into existence and comes as a synthesis of multiple, participatory voices seeking justice."[911] In other words, the purpose of the research was to remember in a way that centered truth, racial history, and justice—the key elements of racialized counter-memory. The report illustrates the collaborative re-telling of Furman history with a focus on slavery and it records the authors' archival finds, rhetorical analyses, and the narrative storytelling by Black alumni.[912] Overall, the report reflects a history of Furman that had not been marked on the campus places and spaces nor discussed at length within the larger university community. In publishing this previously untold story of Abraham and other enslaved people at Furman, the report demonstrates the power of racialized counter-memory work, especially when facilitated by the university itself. This reflective, rather than oppositional, standpoint of university leadership addressing and acknowledging the institution's own past of injustice offers an interesting vantage point for analyzing racialized counter-memory and social change that was not addressed in the earlier case studies.

In response to the racialized counter-memory work explicit in the "Seeking Abraham" report, Furman University leadership—including the President Elizabeth Davis and the Board of Trustees—agreed to many of the suggested changes, especially to the campus landscape. For instance in February 2020, James C. Furman Hall, named after the university's namesake and known slave-owner, was renamed to "Furman Hall."[913] Later that spring, the Lakeside Housing Complex was rededicated as "Clark Murphy Housing Complex," named after the beloved maintenance staff member Clark Murphy.[914] The Clark Murphy Housing Complex became the first

physical structure to be named after a Black person at Furman.[915] In April 2021, Furman University revealed the statue of Joseph Vaughn, the first Black student at Furman in 1965.[916] The life-sized statue depicts Vaughn, from a photograph of him walking with his schoolbooks, and it stands in front of the campus's library in the center of campus.[917] The Seeking Abraham Tour was instituted in fall 2020 from research completed by undergraduate students in their Communication classes, who sought to highlight the "hidden" history of racism and exclusion on campus.[918] However, other proposed changes to racialize landscapes on campus, such as the renaming of the Cherrydale Alumni House, were not taken up.[919] The university also took action on some of the financial suggestions given by the Seeking Abraham report, such as expanding the Joseph Vaughn Scholarship by $1 million to increase recruitment of Black students.[920] The university publicized these changes, always in reference to the report and as a form of symbolic action towards anti-racist ends.

Then, in 2020, while the university continued to enact the recommended changes by the report and task force, Black students and alumni responded to the murder of George Floyd in 2020 by reflecting on their racialized experiences on campus as students. They created an Instagram page, Black @ Furman, where they engaged racialized counter-memory storytelling and recounted racist actions by their peers while they had studied and lived at Furman.[921] The account received dozens of submissions by Black alumni, faculty, and current students over the course of six weeks, which the account managers posted throughout the summer of 2020. Some Instagram posts shared narratives where the anonymous Black student or alumni remembers a specific incident when students or faculty engaged in racial

discrimination and violence. This included instances such as white peers saying

"n*****" in their presence or to address them, the prevalence of Lost Cause

symbology found in dorms and across campus, and faculty who spoke or acted

discriminately in class or during advising.[922] Other Black students and alumni

reflected more broadly about their sense of inclusion and belonging. For instance, one

anonymous post reads:

> As a group, we would have to travel to other colleges to really feel
>
> 'normal' members of a community. We would often go to Clemson or
>
> Wofford so we could attend events and not be looked at as aliens. I
>
> never felt like a member of the Furman community. I hear others
>
> speak of their college experiences and I really regret attending
>
> Furman. The formal education was good, but the informal education
>
> was devastating to who I am as a person.[923]

The racialized counter-memories produced by the Instagram page shook the

university leadership and members of the Task Force on Slavery and Justice, who

were also called out on the June 29, 2020 petition created by the Black at Furman

group.[924] In the petition, the Black alumni argue that, "we find the university's

commitment to racial justice from the 'Seeking Abraham' report to be largely

historical and symbolic," and that "while renaming monuments is commendable,

Furman must address its failing culture of inclusivity with urgency."[925] The group

also argued that the university needed to be more active in addressing the racist

campus culture and they offered seven demands that they believed would help

Furman do so.[926] These demands included hiring an evaluator to audit campus

culture, improving Black student and faculty recruitment and retention, initiating

mandatory implicit bias training, and increasing transparency about inclusion and

justice initiatives.[927] Overall, the events over the summer and fall months of 2020

indicated what we have already learned from students in the University of Georgia

case—that memory work is not, in and of itself, sufficient to ensure transformative

racial justice.

Faced with another wave of racialized counter-memory rhetorics, this time

wielded by Black students and alumni, the university worked in concert with, rather

than in opposition to, the racialized counter-memories produced by the Instagram

account and petition. On July 10, 2020, President Elizabeth Davis and Chief Diversity

Officer Michael Jennings penned a response where they listed and meticulously

responded to each itemized demand. The letter begins "we recognize and

acknowledge the horrific and painful stories and calls for anti-racism in this petition,

the Black@Furman Instagram account, and the many other communications we have

received over the past few weeks from our Black students, faculty, staff and alumni.

We hear you and we agree with you. We need to do more and take action now."[928]

Then, each response to a demand item starts with the phrase "we recognize" and "we

agree."[929] Overall, the letter's rhetoric of acknowledgement endorses racialized

counter-memory narratives and it validates and upholds the Black alumni voice. This

move contrasts other institutional rhetorics that we have seen so far in this

dissertation. In addition to agreeing to work towards the petition's demands,

university leadership produced an Ad Hoc Committee on Black Life at Furman in

September 2020 to create an action plan, which they released on December 8,

2020.[930] The plan addressed each of the demands, including the acceptance of a climate/culture audit, and they implemented a "Diversity Communications Plan" which "should provide for systematic regular reports (and interim updates of major developments) on all University-announced initiatives and activities relating to such [DEI] commitments."[931] And during the summer of 2021, Furman also produced an additional channel for Black alumni engagement with the establishment of the Black Alumni Council.[932] The inaugural president argued that the council will not just work with university leadership to provide their input on campus initiatives, but they also hope to "connect more students with alumni from their first moments on campus to the time they become members of our Black Alumni Association."[933] Overall, university response to the Black at Furman racialized counter-memory rhetorics was not only empathetic in its initial lettered response, but also followed up on such discourse through swift action to produce changes in university structure and steps towards new policies.

While Arizona State University leadership doubles down on their support for ideological diversity following negative press and threats over suspended funding, and Howard University struggles to collaborate with a new wave of student activism in 2021 over unresolved issues from 2018 (and 1968), Furman University, in contrast, offers a clear example of the transformative potential of racialized counter-memory when acknowledged and acted upon by university leadership. Constant in their contemporary DEI work is Furman leadership's ability to both produce racialized counter-memories institutionally (via the "Seeking Abraham" report) and to listen and acknowledge racialized counter-memory perspectives when told by Black students

and alumni. The robustness of this acknowledgement by university leadership has led to sweeping changes across the landscape, adjustments in university governance structures, and steps towards a cultural change on campus. The nearly exclusively white leadership at Furman University are not perfect in their pursuit towards racial justice on campus, and they would be the first to tell you that they have made mistakes throughout the process. However, the effort put forth is clear—in publicly-facing documented fashion—since 2017.

The work of creating an anti-racist campus, however, persists as Furman University's campus does not remain unblemished to racial concerns in 2021. Michael Jennings, the university's CDO, resigned in August 2021, citing struggles with the decentralized organization of DEI resources at Furman.[934] The fall 2021 semester illustrated deep-rooted cultures of white supremacy prevalent within the student body. Anti-LGBTQI incidents occurred in October, and in November, white nationalist stickers were found on campus to support "Patriot Front," a hate group formed from the "Unite the Right" rally in Charlottesville VA in 2017.[935] On November 12 and 14, students found Black Lives Matter flags that were defaced to read "All Lives Matter."[936] In response to these racist acts, students and faculty came together on November 19 to not only voice their disappointment about the incidents, but to also criticize the university leadership's response for lacking transparency.[937] Emily Balogh, president of the Furman Pride Alliance, argued that the university needed to offer more timely information, and Miles Baker, president of the Furman chapter of the NAACP, urged the administration to "listen closely, as student participation in the protest indicates the ideas and values of students."[938] What the

incidents of fall 2021 demonstrated was that despite the needle of change moving towards justice at Furman, the persistence of white supremacy as a dominant ideology required the commitment by a group of anti-racist students to continually combat white supremacy and to call the administration to act in accordance with their values.

<div align="center">***</div>

As the Furman University example suggests, racial justice in higher education settings requires relentless reflection and action, especially by those in power such as university leadership, due to the enduring nature of white supremacy and white supremacist actors. The example, as well as the ones at ASU and Howard University, also illustrates that the need to understand racialized rhetorics on campus as both enduring and diversely situated. Various universities across the nation continue to struggle with the prevalent issue of anti-racism and white supremacy clashes on campus. It is judicious and imperative that we amplify and support student perspectives that counter white supremacy at their higher education institutions.

As rhetorical scholars of social change, race, and/or memory, we have a role to play. I have argued throughout this project that racialized counter-memory rhetorics offer a useful framework for enacting racial justice on campus. By studying additional forms of college protest through this lens, I believe we can amplify this discursive tool's transformative potential amongst anti-racist actors. Racialized counter-memories provide information, tools, and strategies that communities can wield to combat structures of white supremacy. As critics, a focus on racialized counter-memories would help our public culture produce and promote more actively anti-racist public memory projects. "More inclusive memories must be shared,"

<div align="center">305</div>

Maxson has urged, "memories that foreground the voices and experiences of communities of color who continue to lead the struggle against institutionalized oppression."[939] Not only do more anti-racist public memory projects need to be studied and promoted within communities of color, but we need to further understand how these memory projects have material influence on the physical world and lived experiences. My dissertation has just started to consider answering the questions "what does public memory *do*" to advance more material equity, especially in the ways it transforms the space and places of campus. Rhetorical critics of race and memory should additionally take on this practical dimension of racial justice scholarship by analyzing how the material conditions of the institution of racism and white supremacy may be disrupted by racialized counter-memories.

For anti-racist student activists reading this manuscript, my hope is that you can take some practical knowledge from these cases. Reveal the university's racist past. Trouble the distancing of time and progress. Reflect on the practice and meaning of race in seemingly neutral campus places. Make the memorial (with or without university support) or trouble the memorial. Combat ideological diversity where it harms you. Collaborate with Black community members. Use the university's racial past as an exigence for justice. Don't stop advocating for reparational justice. Racialized counter-memory is a powerful tool for not only telling the truth of the racial realities at your university, but to also reconstitute your campus towards more anti-racist ends. In telling anti-racist narratives and infusing racialized stories onto campus, especially predominantly white campuses with histories rooted in the

306

institution of slavery, you create new ways of remembering, and thereby existing and relating, in these spaces.

The most important practical advice I have to give you, student, is to enact your activist strategies in ways that address your unique institutional contexts. For example, at the University of Missouri, Concerned Student 1950 was tasked with racializing a campus that otherwise did not recognize its own race problem. The racialized counter-memories evoked at Missouris produced specific time-and place-based arguments to shake up the sedimented existence of white supremacy. At Maryland, students had to combat an institution whose free speech policies and reactive dialogue events promoted white supremacy through ideological diversity. Their practice of advocacy for a racialized-counter memory place confronted, specifically, these contexts and the university president whose communication about the tragedy found fault in white supremacy ideologies outside of campus rather than rooted on campus. And students at the University of Georgia leveraged the literal unearthing of racial oppression at the university to demand reparational justice. They partnered with the Black community to amplify the credibility of their anti-racist arguments and the effects of their advocacy. In each case, the form, narratives, and goals of counter memory effectively addressed the unique challenges and contextual details of the university setting. The ability to reflect on and act in response to university contexts will be a useful practice for you, too, in future utility of racialized counter-memory. By assessing the rhetorical situation, you may be able to more clearly see how to leverage past memories and forms of remembering in ways that

307

center race and racial justice that effectively moves your university towards anti-racist transformation.

Beyond mere practicality, I hope this study on racialized counter-memory brings you an emboldened sense of power, identity, and voice. Racialized counter-memory does not just have to serve your activist goals, externally, but I hope it also provides a form of internal sense-making. The work of anti-racist student activists on campus is demanding and unending, and any scholar who espouses anti-racist goals should be thankful for the agitative role that you, students, play to demand more justice in higher education. To be part of that project through scholarly inquiry is an honor beyond words. To all of you students who toil and who combat white supremacy, this project—and the lessons we have learned about racialized counter memory—is for you.

End Notes

[1] UMN Student Body President (@UMD_SBP) 2020. "There is no more discussion to be had, only action. There is no justification for the murder of George Floyd. Therefore we, without hesitation DEMAND that the UMPD ceases any partnerships with the MPD immediately. If you would like to sign on go to http://z.umn.edu/MSAreGF -J." Twitter, May 26, 2020, 10:42pm. https://twitter.com/UMN_SBP/status/1265473326404775937

[2] UMN Student Body President (@UMD_SBP) 2020. "There is no more discussion to be had, only action"…

[3] Gajanan, Mahita, "University of Minnesota Ending Contracts with Minneapolis Police Department After George Floyd's Death." *Time*, May 28, 2020, https://time.com/5843911/george-floyd-death-university-of-minnesota-police/.

[4] Mangan, Katherine, "Silence Breakers: Concerned Student 1950," Chronicle of Higher Education, July 23, 2020, https://www.chronicle.com/article/silence-breakers-concerned-student-1950/.

[5] Murphy, Kate, "Protesters March through UNC, Criticizing Silent Sam Deal and Money to Confederate Group," Raleigh News & Observer, December 5, 2019, https://www.newsobserver.com/news/local/education/article238069654.html.

[6] "Bowie State Student Killed at University of Maryland," NBC4 Washington, May 21, 2017, https://www.nbcwashington.com/news/local/bowie-state-student-killed-at-university-of-maryland_washington-dc/15669/.

[7] Rentz, Catherine, "Former Maryland Student Charged with Killing Bowie State Student Wants Murder, Hate Crime Charges Separated," baltimoresun.com.

Baltimore Sun, June 29, 2019, https://www.baltimoresun.com/news/crime/bs-md-urbanski-filing-20180725-story.html.

8 Zirin, Dave, "Why I Called the Murder of Richard Collins III a Lynching," The Nation, May 25, 2017, https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/called-murder-richard-collins-iii-lynching/.; Tensley, Brandon, "The Long History Behind the Slaying of Richard Collins III," Pacific Standard, June 1, 2017, https://psmag.com/news/on-richard-collins-iii.

9 Diamondback Staff, "UMD Bus Stop near Scene of Richard Collins' Stabbing Has Been Relocated," The Diamondback, August 27, 2020, https://dbknews.com/2017/09/08/umd-richard-collins-murder-montgomery-hall-bus-stop-relocated/.

10 Smith, Stephen, and Kate Ellis, "History Shows Slavery Helped Build Many U.S. Colleges and Universities," Shackled Legacy | APM Reports. APM Reports, June 25, 2020, https://www.apmreports.org/episode/2017/09/04/shackled-legacy.

11 Maples, Rebeka, *The Legacy of Desegregation: The Struggle for Equality in Higher Education* (New York City: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014).

12 Allen, Walter R., Channel McLewis, Chantal Jones, and Daniel Harris. "From Bakke to Fisher: African American Students in U.S. Higher Education over Forty Years," *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences* 4, no. 6 (2018): 41-72; Koldner, Meredith, "Flagship Universities Struggle with Diversity," Idaho Ed News, January 29, 2018, https://www.idahoednews.org/news/flagship-universities-struggle-diversity-enrollment/

[13] Ferguson, Roderick A., *We Demand: The University and Student Protests* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2017).

[14] Wong, Alia, "Student Activism Is Making a Comeback," The Atlantic. Atlantic Media Company, November 13, 2015, https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2015/05/the-renaissance-of-student-activism/393749/.

[15] Schultz, Jaime, *Moments of Impact: Injury, Racialized Memory, and Reconciliation in College Football* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska, 2019), 2.

[16] Brown, Keffrelyn D. "Race, Racial Cultural Memory and Multicultural Curriculum in an Obama 'Post-Racial' U.S. ." *Race, Gender & Class* 18, no. 3/4 (2011): 125.

[17] Vivian, Bradford, "Forgetting without Oblivion," in *Public Forgetting* (State College, PA: Penn State P, 2010), 50-51.

[18] Wilder, Craig Steven, *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities* (New York City: Bloomsbury Press, 2013), 1-2.

[19] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy…* 6;10.

[20] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy…* 137.

[21] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy…* 137.

[22] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy…* 137.

[23] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy…* 137.

[24] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy…* 143.

[25] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy…* 143.

[26] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy…* 145.

[27] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy…* 10.

[28] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy…* 17.

[29] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy…* 23.

[30] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy…* 29.

[31] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy…* 29.

[32] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy…* 114.

[33] Adams, Catherine, and Elizabeth H. Pleck. *Love of Freedom: Black Women in Colonial and Revolutionary New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 36.

[34] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy…* 140; 142.

[35] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy…* 142.

[36] Novak, Steven J,. *The Rights of Youth: American Colleges and Student Revolt, 1798-1815* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), 1.

[37] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy…* 143.

[38] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy…* 30.

[39] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy…* 49.

[40] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy…* 118.

[41] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy…* 119.

[42] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy…* 77.

[43] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy…* 68.

[44] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy…* 75.

[45] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy…* 77.

[46] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy…* 52-54.

[47] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy…* 77.

[48] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy...* 119-120.

[49] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy...* 127.

[50] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy...* 123.

[51] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy...* 182.

[52] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy...* 182.

[53] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy...* 234-235.

[54] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy...* 228.

[55] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy...* 228.

[56] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy...* 228.

[57] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy...* 232.

[58] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy...* 231.

[59] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy...* 242.

[60] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy...* 235-236.

[61] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy...* 236.

[62] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy...* 236-237.

[63] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy...* 238.

[64] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy...* 242.

[65] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy...* 244.

[66] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy...* 248.

[67] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy...* 265.

[68] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy...* 265.

[69] Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy...* 268.

[70] Kendi, Ibram X., *The Black Campus Movement: Black Students and the Racial Reconstitution of Higher Education, 1965-1972* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), 13.

[71] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*… 13-14.

[72] Kendi, The Black Campus Movement… 13.

[73] Kendi, The Black Campus Movement… 17.

[74] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*… 17.

[75] Association of Public & Land Grant Universities, "Council of 1890s Institutions," Last accessed April 16, 2021. https://www.aplu.org/members/councils/1890-universities/council-of-1890s-institutions.html#:~:text=APLU's%20Council%20of%201890s%20includes,the%20Morrill%20Act%20of%201890.&text=In%20addition%2C%20there%20are%20two,the%20Morrill%20Act%20of%201862.

[76] Stefkovich, Jacqueline A., and Terrence Leas, "A Legal History of Desegregation in Higher Education." *The Journal of Negro Education* 63, no. 3 (1994): 408.

[77] Pratt, Robert A. *We Shall Not Be Moved: The Desegregation of the University of Georgia* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2005)," 7.

[78] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*… 19.

[79] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*… 19.

[80] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*… 19.

[81] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*… 20.

[82] "*Numerus Clausus*," World Heritage Encyclopedia, last accessed April 16, 2020. http://self.gutenberg.org/articles/Numerus_clausus

[83] Loss, Christopher. *Between Citizens and the State: The Politics of American Higher Education in the 20th Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 113-114.

[84] Loss, *Between Citizens and the State,* 116.

[85] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 24.

[86] *University of California Regents v. Bakke*, 438 U.S. 265, 98 S. Ct. 2733, 57 L. Ed. 2d 750 (1978).

[87] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*.

[88] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*.

[89] Pratt, *We Shall Not Be Moved.*

[90] Pratt, *We Shall Not Be Moved*, x.

[91] Pratt, *We Shall Not Be Moved*, 63-64.

[92] Pratt, *We Shall Not Be Moved*, x.

[93] Pratt, *We Shall Not Be Moved*, x.

[94] Pratt, *We Shall Not Be Moved*, 33-34.

[95] Squire, Dian, Bianca C. Williams, and Frank Tuitt. "Plantation Politics and Neoliberal Racism in Higher Education: A Framework for Reconstructing Anti-Racist Institutions." *Teacher College Record* 120 (2018): 2-3.

[96] Williams, Bianca, and Frank A. Tuitt. "'Carving Out a Humanity': Campus Rebellions and the Legacy of Plantation Politics on College Campuses." In *Plantation Politics and Campus Rebellions: Power, Diversity, and the Emancipatory Struggle in Higher Education,* edited by Bianca Williams, Dian D. Squire, and Frank A. Tuitt (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2021), 3.

[97] Durant, Thomas J., Jr. "The Slave Plantation Revisited: A Sociological Perspective." In *Plantation Society and Race Relations: The Origins of Inequality,* editors Thomas J. Durant Jr. & J. David Knottnerus (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishing, 1999), 5.

[98] Durant, "The Slave Plantation Revisited…" 5.

[99] Squire et. al, "Plantation Politics and Neoliberal Racism…", 9.

[100] Squire et. al, "Plantation Politics and Neoliberal Racism…", 1; 3.

[101] Squire et. al, "Plantation Politics and Neoliberal Racism…",, 10.

[102] Kelly, Bridget T., Joy Gaston Gayles, and Cobretti D. Williams. "Recruitment without Retention: A Critical Case of Black Faculty Unrest." *The Journal of Negro Education* 86, no. 3 (2017): 305–17. https://doi.org/10.7709/jnegroeducation.86.3.0305.

[103] Dancy II, T. Elon, Kirsten T. Edwards, and James Earl Davis. "Historically White Universities and Plantation Politics: Anti-Blackness and Higher Education in the Black Lives Matter Era." *Urban Education* 53, no. 2 (2018): 184; Branch, Taylor. "The Shame of College Sports," The Atlantic, October 2011. https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2011/10/the-shame-of-college-sports/308643/

[104] Burke, Lilah. "Black Workers and the University," Inside Higher Education, October 27, 2020. https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2020/10/27/black-workers-universities-often-are-left-out-conversations-about-race-and-higher

[105] Squire et. al, "Plantation Politics and Neoliberal Racism…", 12.

[106] Squire et. al, "Plantation Politics and Neoliberal Racism…", 7-9.

[107] Squire et. al, "Plantation Politics and Neoliberal Racism…", …" 12.

[108] Squire et. al, "Plantation Politics and Neoliberal Racism…", 10.

[109] Dancy et. al, "Historically White Universities and Plantation Politics…" 188.

[110] Dumas, Michael J. "Against the Dark: Antiblackness in Education Policy and Discourse." *Theory into Practice* 55, no. 1 (2016): 12.

[111] Dumas, "Against the Dark: Antiblackness in Education…" 13.

[112] Dumas, "Against the Dark: Antiblackness in Education…" 14.

[113] Dumas, "Against the Dark: Antiblackness in Education…" 17.

[114] Williams, Bianca, Dian D. Squire, and Frank A. Tuitt, *Plantation Politics and Campus Rebellions: Power, Diversity and the Emancipatory Struggle in Higher Education* (Albany: SUNY PRESS, 2021); Dancy II, T. Elon, Kirsten T. Edwards, and James Earl Davis. "Historically White Universities and Plantation Politics: Anti-Blackness and Higher Education in the Black Lives Matter Era." *Urban Education* 53, no. 2 (2018).

[115] Williams and Tuitt. "'Carving Out a Humanity': Campus Rebellions…" 4.

[116] Williams and Tuitt. "'Carving Out a Humanity': Campus Rebellions…" 3.

[117] Winslow, Luke, Alec Baker, and Charles Goehring. "The Neoliberal Conquest of the Supreme Court." *Communication and the Public* 3, no. 3 (September 2018): 205–17. https://doi.org/10.1177/2057047318794962.

[118] Brown, Wendy. *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism's Stealth Revolution*. (New York: Zone Books, 2015).

[119] Hughes, Glyn. "Racial Justice, Hegemony, and Bias Incidents in U.S. Higher Education." *Multicultural Perspectives* 15, no. 3 (2013): 5.

[120] Hughes, "Racial Justice, Hegemony, and Bias Incidents…" 5.

[121] Aleman, Ana M. Martinez, and Katya. Salkever. "Multiculturalism and the Mission of Liberal Education." *The Journal of General Education* 50, no. 2: (2001): 119.

[122] Osei-Kofi, Nana, Lisette E. Torres, and Joyce Lui. "Practices of Whiteness: Racialization in College Admission Viewbooks." *Race, Ethnicity and Education* 16, no. 3 (2013): 392.

[123] Osei-Kofi et. al, "Practices of Whiteness: Racialization in College…" 392.

[124] Squire et. al, "Plantation Politics and Neoliberal Racism…", 12.

[125] Ahmed, Sara. "Declarations of Whiteness: The Non-Performativity of Anti-Racism." *Borderlands e-Journal* 3, no. 2 (2004): http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol3no2_2004/ahmed_declarations.htm

[126] Ahmed, Sara. On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).

[127] Osei-Kofi et. al, "Practices of Whiteness: Racialization in College…" 401.

[128] Hamer, Jennifer F., and Clarence Lang. "Race, Structural Violence, and the Neoliberal University: The Challenges of Inhabitation." *Critical Sociology* 41, no. 6 (2015): 898.

[129] Hamer and Lang, ""Race, Structural Violence, and the Neoliberal University…" 899.

[130] Williams and Tuitt. "'Carving Out a Humanity': Campus Rebellions…" 15.

[131] Dancy et. al, ""Historically White Universities and Plantation Politics…" 178

[132] Dancy et. al, ""Historically White Universities and Plantation Politics…" 183.

[133] Dancy et. al, ""Historically White Universities and Plantation Politics…" 183.

[134] Squire et. al, "Plantation Politics and Neoliberal Racism…", 13.

[135] Dancy et. al, ""Historically White Universities and Plantation Politics…" 183.

[136] Hamer and Lang, ""Race, Structural Violence, and the Neoliberal University…"
908.

[137] Feagin, Joe. *The White Racial Frame: Centuries of Racial Framing and Counter-Framing* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 10, 101.

[138] Osei-Kofi et. al, "Practices of Whiteness: Racialization in College…" 401.

[139] Osei-Kofi et. al, "Practices of Whiteness: Racialization in College…" 401.

[140] Osei-Kofi et. al, "Practices of Whiteness: Racialization in College…" 401.

[141] Dancy et. al, ""Historically White Universities and Plantation Politics…" 189.

[142] Hughes, "Racial Justice, Hegemony, and Bias Incidents…" 6.

[143] Hughes, "Racial Justice, Hegemony, and Bias Incidents…" 6.

[144] Hughes, "Racial Justice, Hegemony, and Bias Incidents…" 7.

[145] Dancy et. al, ""Historically White Universities and Plantation Politics…" 189.

[146] Hughes, "Racial Justice, Hegemony, and Bias Incidents…" 11.

[147] Hughes, "Racial Justice, Hegemony, and Bias Incidents…" 7.

[148] Hughes, "Racial Justice, Hegemony, and Bias Incidents…" 8.

[149] Dancy et. al, ""Historically White Universities and Plantation Politics…" 189.

[150] Hughes, "Racial Justice, Hegemony, and Bias Incidents…" 11.

[151] Dancy et. al, ""Historically White Universities and Plantation Politics…" 177.

[152] Williams and Tuitt. "'Carving Out a Humanity': Campus Rebellions…" 2.

[153] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 148.

[154] Alford, James, "Black Students Matter: A History of Activism and Protest at HBCUs from 1920 to 1940," in *Campus Uprising: How Student Activists and Collegiate Leaders Resist Racism and Create Hope.* Eds. Ty-Ron M.O. Douglas, Kmt G. Shockley, an Ivory Toldson (New York: Teachers College Press, 2020), 25.

[155] Alford, "Black Students Matter," 15.

[156] Alford, "Black Students Matter," 15.

[157] Alford, "Black Students Matter," 16.

[158] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 47.

[159] Alford, "Black Students Matter," 22.

[160] Alford, "Black Students Matter," 22.

[161] Alford, "Black Students Matter," 23.

[162] Alford, "Black Students Matter," 23.

[163] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 90.

[164] Alford, "Black Students Matter," 25.

[165] Bradley, Stefan. "Black Activism on Campus," The New York Times, February 1, 2016. https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/02/07/education/edlife/Black-HIstory-Activism-on-Campus-Timeline.html#/#time393_11368

[166] Fisher, Holly. "Oakwood College Students' Quest for Social Justice Before and During the Civil Rights Era." *The Journal of African American History* 88, no. 2 (2003): 114.

[167] Alford, "Black Students Matter," 19.

[168] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 3.

[169] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 112.

[170] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 72.

[171] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 92.

[172] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 3.

[173] Newton, Huey, P, *War Against the Panthers,* 1966. Retrieved from:

https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/workers/black-panthers/1966/10/15.htm

[174] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 100.

[175] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 100.

[176] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 96-99.

[177] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 98-99.

[178] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 54.

[179] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 54.

[180] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 62.

[181] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 63

[182] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 64.

[183] Turner, Jeffrey A. *Sitting in and Speaking Out: Student Movements in the American South 1960-1970* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2010), 72.

[184] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 64.

[185] Turner, *Sitting in and Speaking Out,* 78.

[186] Turner, *Sitting in and Speaking Out,* 78.

[187] Stefkovich and Leas, "A Legal History of Desegregation…" 407.

[188] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 59.

[189] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 60.

[190] Pratt, *We Shall Not Be Moved*, 71.

[191] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 69.

[192] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 70

[193] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 71.

[194] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 71.

[195] Carson, Clayborne. *In Struggle : SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 136.

[196] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 78.

[197] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 78.

[198] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 3.

[199] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 67.

[200] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement* 67.

[201] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement* 84.

[202] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 84-85.

[203] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement,* 95.

[204] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement,* 97.

[205] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement,* 97.

[206] Foster, Julian and Durward Long. "Howard: The Evolution of a Black Student Revolt," in *Protest! : Student Activism in America*. (New York: Morrow, 1969).

[207] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 2.

[208] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement,* 89-90.

[209] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement,* 89.

[210] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 128

[211] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, 129.

[212] Franklin, V. P. "Introduction: African American Student Activism in the 20th Century," *The Journal of African American History,* 88, No. 2 (2003): 107.

[213] Franklin, "Introduction, African American Student Activism…" 107.

[214] Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement,* 4.

[215] Williams and Tuitt. "'Carving Out a Humanity': Campus Rebellions…" 2.

[216] Wong, Alia, "Student Activism Is Making a Comeback," The Atlantic. Atlantic Media Company, November 13, 2015, https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2015/05/the-renaissance-of-student-activism/393749/.

[217] Williams and Tuitt. "'Carving Out a Humanity': Campus Rebellions…"12.

[218] Williams and Tuitt. "'Carving Out a Humanity': Campus Rebellions…" 12.

[219] abolitionjournal. "Abolitionist University studies: An Invitation," Abolition Journal, August 28, 2019. https://abolitionjournal.org/abolitionist-university-studies-an-invitation/

[220] Hotchkins, Bryan K, and T. Elon Dancy, "A House is Not a Home: Black Students' Responses to Racism in University Residential Halls.*" Journal of College and University Student Housing*, 43 (2017): 45.

[221] Mattias, Cherly E., "'I Ain't Your Doc Student': The Overwhelming Presence of Whiteness and Pain at the Academic Neoplantation," in *Racial Battle Fatigue in Higher Education: Exposing the Myth of Post-Racial America*, edited by Kenneth J. Fasching-Varner, Katrice A. Albert, Roland W. Mitchell, and Chaunda Allen (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2014), 59.

[222] Solorzano, Daniel G., and Tara J. Yosso, "Critical Race Methodology: Counter-Storytelling as an Analytical Framework for Education Research," *Qualitative Inquiry* 8, no. 1 (2002): 32.

[223] Mattias, "'I Ain't Your Doc Student'…" 60.

[224] "I, Too, Am Harvard, Tumblr. Last Accessed November 28, 2021.

https://itooamharvard.tumblr.com/

[225] Houdek, Matthew and Kendall Phillips, "Public Memory," in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication* (Oxford University Press, 2017), 3, https://oxfordre.com/communication/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228613-e-181?print=pdf.

[226] Frink, Brenda D. "San Francisco's Pioneer Mother Monument: Maternalism, Racial Order, and the Politics of Memorialization, 1907–1915," *American Quarterly* 64, no. 1 (2012): 85–113, https://doi.org/10.1353/aq.2012.0001., Eagan, Eileen, "Immortalizing Women: Finding Meaning in Public Sculpture," in *Her Past Around Us: Interpreting Sites for Women's History* (Krieger Pub Co, 2003); Woodley, Jenny. "'Ma Is in the Park': Memory, Identity, and the Bethune Memorial." *Journal of American Studies* 52, no. 2 (2018): 474–502, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021875817000536., Bold, Christina, Ric Knowles, and Belinda Leach. "Feminist Memorializing and Cultural Countermemory: The Case of Marianne's Park." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28, no. 1 (2002): 125–48, https://doi.org/10.1086/340905.

[227] Vail, Mark T. "Reconstructing the Lost Cause in the Memphis City Parks Renaming Controversy." *Western Journal of Communication* 76, no. 4 (2012): 422 ,

https://doi.org/10.1080/10570314.2011.651257. See also: Casey, E. S.,

Remembering: A Phenomenological Study (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University

Press, 2000); Kammen, M. G. *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of*

Tradition in American Culture (New York, NY: Knopf Publishing, 1991).

[228] Houdek and Phillips, "Public Memory," 4-17.

[229] Nora, Pierre, "General Introduction," in *Rethinking France: Les lieux de mémoire,*

Vol. I: The State (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 8.

[230] Goodnight, Thomas G. and Kathryn M Olson. "Shared Power, Foreign Policy,

and Haiti, 1994: Public Memories of War and Race." *Public Affairs* 35, no. (2006):

609.

[231] Browne, Stephen H. "Reading, Rhetoric, and the Texture of Public Memory."

Quarterly Journal of Speech 81, no. 2 (1995): 248.

[232] Bold et. al, "Feminist Memorializing and Cultural Countermemory," 137-140.

[233] Abrams, Lynne, "Memory as Both Source and Subject of Study: The

Transformations of Oral History," in *Writing the History of Memory*, eds. Stefan

Berger and Bill Niven (Bloomsbury Press, 2012), 90.

[234] Houdek and Phillips, "Public Memory," 1.

[235] Houdek and Phillips, "Public Memory," 2.

[236] Houdek and Phillips, "Public Memory," 2.

[237] Nora, "General Introduction," 12.

[238] Zelizer, Barbara. "Reading the Past Against the Grain: The Shape of Memory

Studies." *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 12, no. 2 (1995): 216.

[239] Lynch, John A. and Mary E. Stuckey. "'This Was His Georgia': Polio, Poverty and Public Memory at FDR's Little White House." *Howard Journal of Communications* 28, no. 4 (2017): 392, https://doi.org/10.1080/10646175.2017.1315689.

[240] Dunn, Thomas. "Remembering "A Great Fag:" Visualizing Public Memory and the Construction of Queer Space." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 97, no. 4 (2011): 439.

[241] Houdek and Phillips, "Public Memory," 1.

[242] Atwater, Deborah F. and Sandra L. Herndon. "Cultural Space and Race: The National Civil Rights Museum and MuseumAfrica." *Howard Journal of Communications* 14, no. 1 (January 2003): 17, https://doi.org/10.1080/10646170304273.

[243] Vail, "Reconstructing the Lost Cause," 421.

[244] Coker, Calvin R. "Harriet Tubman, Women on 20s, and Intersectionality: Public Memory and the Redesign of U.S. Currency." *Southern Communication Journal* 82, no. 4 (2017): 240, https://doi.org/10.1080/1041794X.2017.1332091.

[245] Houdek and Phillips, "Public Memory," 1.

[246] Blair, Carole, Greg Dickinson, and Brian L. Ott, *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2010), 1.

[247] Lynch and Stuckey, "This was His Georgia," 393.

[248] King, Stephen A. and Roger Davis Gatchet. "Marking the Past: Civil Rights Tourism and the Mississippi Freedom Trail." *Southern Communication Journal* 83, no. 2 (2018): 105, https://doi.org/10.1080/1041794X.2017.1404124.

[249] Maxson, J. David. "'Second Line to Bury White Supremacy:' Take 'Em Down Nola, Monument Removal, and Residual Memory." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 106, no. 1 (2020): 53.

[250] Hoerl, Kristen. "Selective Amnesia and Racial Transcendence in News Coverage of President Obama's Inauguration." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 98 (2012): 178-202; Zanderberg, Eyal, Oren Meyers, and Motti Neiger. "Past Continuous: Newsworthiness and the Shaping of Collective Memory.: *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 29, no. 1 (2012): 65–79.

[251] Houdek and Phillips, "Public Memory," 3.

[252] King and Gatchet. "Marking the Past," 105.

[253] Kammen, Mystic Chords of Memory, 3.

[254] Bradford Vivian, "'The Timeless Bow': Memory and Repetition," in *Framing Public Memory,* ed. Kendall Phillips (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2004), 190.

[255] Gronbeck, Bruce, "The Rhetorics of the Past: History, Argument, and Collective Memory," in *Doing Rhetorical History: Concepts and Cases, Studies in Rhetoric and Communication*, ed. Kathleen J. Turner (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998), 57.

[256] Gronbeck, "The Rhetorics of the Past," 57.

[257] Florini, Sarah. "Recontextualizing the Racial Present: Intertextuality and the Politics of Online Remembering." *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 31, no. 4 (2014): 316, https://doi.org/10.1080/15295036.2013.878028.

[258] Messner, Beth A. and Mark T. Vail. "A 'City at War': Commemorating Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr." *Communication Studies* 60, no. 1 (2009): 22, https://doi.org/10.1080/10510970802623567.

[259] Halbwachs, Maurice, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 43.

[260] Goodnight and Olson, "Shared Power, Foreign Policy," 609.

[261] Hauser, G. A., Vernacular Voices: The Rhetoric of Publics and Public Spheres (Colombia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999), 113-119.

[262] Houdek and Phillips, "Public Memory," 3.

[263] Mandziuk, Roseann. "Commemorating Sojourner Truth- Negotiating the Politics of Race and Gender in The Spaces of Public Memory." *Western Journal of Communication* 67, no. 3 (2003): 272.

[264] Lynch and Stuckey, "This was His Georgia," 392.

[265] Phillips, Kendall R., *Framing Public Memory* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004), 2.

[266] Houdek and Phillips, "Public Memory," 3.

[267] Palczewski, Catherine Helen, John Fritch, and Richard Ice, *Rhetoric in Civic Life* (State College, Strata Publishing, Inc., 2012), 27; Hearn, Johnathan, *Theorizing Power* (London, Red Globe Press, 2012), 4-7.

[268] Thompson, John, *The Media and Modernity: A Theory of the Media* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 17.

[269] Mandziuk, "Commemoration Sojourner Truth," 274.

[270] Zelizer, "Reading the Past Against the Grain," 227.

[271] Foucault, Michel, *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison* (New York: Random House, 1977).

[272] Savage, Kirk, "The Politics of Memory: Black Emancipation and the Civil War Movement," in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. J. E. Gillis (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 135.

[273] McGee, Michael Calvin. "The "Ideograph": A Link Between Rhetoric and Ideology." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 66, no. 1 (1980). 1-16.

[274] Brock, Bernard L., Mark E. Huglen, James F. Klumpp, and Sharon Howell, *Making Sense of Political Ideology: The Power of Language in Democracy* (Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005), 39.

[275] Houdek, Matthew. "Racial Sedimentation and the Common Sense of Racialized Violence: The Case of Black Church Burnings." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 104, no. 3 (2018): 279–306, https://doi.org/10.1080/00335630.2018.1486035.

[276] Bodnar, John, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

[277] Mandziuk, "Commemoration Sojourner Truth," 272-273.

[278] Alderman, Derek H. "A Street Fit for a King: Naming Places and Commemoration in the American South." *Professional Geographer* 52, no. 4 (200): 674.

[279] Maxson, "'Second Line to Bury White Supremacy,'" 53.

[280] Mandziuk, "Commemorating Sojourner Truth," 289.

[281] Vail, "Reconstructing the Lost Cause," 422.

[282] Krammen, Michael, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York City: Vintage Books, 1991), 13.

[283] Brooks, Maegan Parker. "Countering White Conceit Through the Commemoration of *Keyes*." *Howard Journal of Communications* 28, no. 2 (2017): 192, https://doi.org/10.1080/10646175.2017.1283263.

[284] Mandziuk, "Commemorating Sojourner Truth," 289.

[285] Florini, "Recontextualizing the Racial Present," 315.

[286] Vail, "Reconstructing the Lost Cause," 422.

[287] Lynch and Stuckey, "This was His Georgia," 392-393.

[288] King & Gatchet, "Marking the Past," 115.

[289] Messner and Vail, "A 'City at War,'" 29.

[290] Coker, "Harriet Tubman, Women on 20s," 246.

[291] Hoerl, "Selective Amnesia and Racial," 196.

[292] Triece, Mary E. "Constructing the Antiracial City: City Planning and Antiracialism in the 21st Century." *Western Journal of Communication* 82, no. 5 (2018): 620, https://doi.org/10.1080/10570314.2017.1390148.

[293] Hoerl, "Selective Amnesia and Racial," 182.

[294] Browne, "Reading, Rhetoric, and the Texture," 242.

[295] Florini, "Recontextualizing the Racial Present," 317.

[296] Houdek, "Racial Sedimentation and the Common Sense," 288.

[297] Brooks, "Countering White Conceit Through," 188.

[298] Reed, Maureen, "How Sacagawea Became a Pioneer Mother: Statues, Ethnicity, and Controversy in Portland and Santa Fe," in *Public Memory, Race, and Ethnicity* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars, 2010), 33–49.

[299] Modlin, E. Arnold, Derek H. Alderman, and Glenn W. Gentry. "Tour Guides as Creators of Empathy: The Role of Affective Inequality in Marginalizing the Enslaved at Plantation House Museums." *Tourist Studies* 11, no. 1 (2011): 3–19, https://doi.org/10.1177/1468797611412007.

[300] Vivian, "Forgetting without Oblivion," 50-51.

[301] Vivian, "Forgetting without Oblivion,", 51.

[302] Dunn, Thomas, R. "Remembering Matthew Shepard: Violence, Identity, and Queer Counterpublic Memories." *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 13, no. 4 (2010): 611-652.

[303] Florini, "Recontextualizing the Racial Present," 316.

[304] Houdek, "Racial Sedimentation and the Common Sense," 280.

[305] Maxson, "'Second Line to Bury White Supremacy,'" 49.

[306] Matinez, Elizabeth, "What is White Supremacy," Challenging White Supremacy (CWS) Workshop, 1998.

http://www.cwsworkshop.org/pdfs/WIWS/Defn_White_Supremacy.PDF

[307] Ansley, Frances Lee, "White Supremacy (And What We Should Do about It)," in *Critical White Studies: Looking Behind the Mirror*, eds. R. Delgado and J. Stefancic (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1997), 592.

[308] Kendi, Ibram X., *How to Be an Antiracist* (New York City, Vintage, 2020), 13-23.

[309] Anderson, Wendy K. Z. "(De)coding Whiteness: Rhetorical Refinement of Coded Rhetoric by White Nationalist Women Appropriated by U.S. Politicians." *Rhetoric Review* 36, no 4 (2017): 264-270

[310] Houdek, "Racial Sedimentation and the Common Sense," 290; Lynch and Stuckey, "This was His Georgia," 396.

[311] Brooks, "Countering White Conceit Through," 15.

[312] Banks, Chloe. "Disciplining Black Activism: Post-Racial Rhetoric, Public Memory and Decorum in News Media Framing of the Black Lives Matter Movement." *Continuum* 32, no. 6 (2018): 711, https://doi.org/10.1080/10304312.2018.1525920.

[313] Banks, "Disciplining Black Activism," 711.

[314] Seshadri-Crooks, Kalpana, "The Comedy of Domination: Psychoanalysis and the Conceit of Whiteness," in *The Psychoanalysis of Race,* ed. C. Lane (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1998), 358.

[315] Lynch and Stuckey, "This was His Georgia," 401.

[316] Lynch and Stuckey, "'This was His Georgia,'" 391.

[317] Houdek, "Racial Sedimentation and the Common Sense," 280; Triece, "Constructing the Antiracial City," 614.

[318] Messner and Vail, "A 'City at War,'" 18.

[319] Mandziuk, "Commemorating Sojourner Truth," 283.

[320] Lynch and Stuckey, "'This was His Georgia,'" 403.

[321] Houdek, "Racial Sedimentation and the Common Sense," 280.

[322] Meta G. Carstarphen, Kathleen E. Welch, Wendy K. Z. Anderson, Davis W. Houck, Mark L. McPhail, David A. Frank, Rachel C. Jackson, James Alexander McVey, Christopher J. Gilbert, Patricia G. Davis & Lisa M. Corrigan, "Rhetoric,

Race, and Resentment: Whiteness and the New Days of Rage," *Rhetoric Review* 36, no 4 (2017): 255-347, 10.1080/07350198.2017.1355191

[323] Houdek, "Racial Sedimentation and the Common Sense," 280.

[324] Mandziuk, "Commemorating Sojourner Truth," 282-283.

[325] Banks, "Disciplining Black Activism," 713.

[326] Mandziuk, "Commemorating Sojourner Truth," 283.

[327] Mandziuk, "Commemorating Sojourner Truth," 283.

[328] Cloud, Dana L. "Hegemony or Concordance?: The Rhetoric of Tokenism in 'Oprah' Winfrey's Rags-to-Riches Biography." *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 13 (1996): 116

[329] Woodley, "'Ma is in the Park,'" 9.

[330] Banks, "Disciplining Black Activism," 711.

[331] Banks, "Disciplining Black Activism," 711.

[332] King and Gatchet, "Marking the Past," 111

[333] Houdek, "Racial Sedimentation and the Common Sense," 292.

[334] Houdek, "Racial Sedimentation and the Common Sense," 285.

[335] Tell, Dave. "Remembering Emmett Till: Reflections on Geography, Race, and Memory." *Advances in the History of Rhetoric* 20, no. 2 (2017): 121–38, https://doi.org/10.1080/15362426.2017.1325414.

[336] Florini, "Recontextualizing the Racial Present," 323.

[337] Houdek, "Racial Sedimentation and the Common Sense," 293.

[338] Madison, Kelly J. "Legitimation Crisis and Containment: The 'Anti-Racist-White-Hero' Film." *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 16, no. 4 (1999): 399-416, DOI: 10.1080/15295039909367108

[339] King and Gatchet, "Marking the Past," 111.

[340] Florini, "Recontextualizing the Racial Present," 314.

[341] King and Gatchet, "Marking the Past," 104.

[342] King and Gatchet, "Marking the Past," 106.

[343] King and Gatchet, "Marking the Past," 114.

[344] King and Gatchet, "Marking the Past," 114.

[345] Houdek, "Racial Sedimentation and the Common Sense," 286-293.

[346] Florini, "Recontextualizing the Racial Present," 317.

[347] Atwater and Herndon, "Cultural Space and Race," 20.

[348] Triece, "Constructing the Antiracial City," 615.

[349] Triece, "Constructing the Antiracial City, 625.

[350] King and Gatchet, "Marking the Past," 104.

[351] Coker, "Harriet Tubman, Women on 20s," 244.

[352] Coker, "Harriet Tubman, Women on 20s," 246-247.

[353] Triece, "Constructing the Antiracial City, 617.

[354] Melamed, Jodi. "The Spirit of Neoliberalism: From Racial Liberalism to Neoliberal Multiculturalism." *Social Text* 24, no. 4 (2006): 19. doi: 10.1215/01642472-2006-009

[355] Triece, "Constructing the Antiracial City, 623.

[356] Messner and Vail, "A 'City at War,'" 28.

[357] Houdek, "Racial Sedimentation and the Common Sense," 290.

[358] Houdek, "Racial Sedimentation and the Common Sense," 290.

[359] Brooks, "Countering White Conceit Through," 191.

[360] Maxson, "'Second Line to Bury White Supremacy,'" 54.

[361] Maxson, "'Second Line to Bury White Supremacy,'" 53.

[362] Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo, *Racism, Racism without Racists: Colorblind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in America,* 4th ed. (Lanham, MD: Lowman and Littlefield, 2014, 2017), 10.

[363] Brooks, "Countering White Conceit Through," 192.

[364] Houdek, "Racial Sedimentation and the Common Sense," 284.

[365] Florini, "Recontextualizing the Racial Present," 314.

[366] Florini, "Recontextualizing the Racial Present," 319

[367] Houdek, "Racial Sedimentation and the Common Sense," 294.

[368] Maxson, "'Second Line to Bury White Supremacy,'" 50; 52.

[369] Messner and Vail, "A 'City at War,'" 27.

[370] Maxson, "'Second Line to Bury White Supremacy,'" 64.

[371] Tell, "Remembering Emmett Till," 123.

[372] Atwater and Herndon, "Cultural Space and Race," 16.

[373] Weisman, L. K., *Discrimination by Design: A Feminist Critique of the Manmade Environment* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 2.

[374] de Certeau, Michel, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 117.

[375] Woods, *Debating Women: Gender, Education, and Spaces,* 215.

[376] de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life,* 117

[377] Donofrio, TheresaAnn. "Ground Zero and Place-Making Authority: The Conservative Metaphors in 9/11 Families' 'Take Back the Memorial' Rhetoric." Western Journal of Communication 74, no. 2 (2010) 151–152.

[378] Chavez, Karma. "Spatializing Gender Performativity: Ecstasy and Possibilities for Livable Life in the Tragic Case of Victoria Arellano." *Women's Studies in Communication* 33, no. 1 (2010): 4-5.

[379] McAlister, Joan. "Ten Propositions for Communication Scholars Studying Space and Place." *Women's Studies in Communication* 39, no 2 (2016): 119.

[380] Ewalt, Joshua P. "The Agency of the Spatial," *Women's Studies in Communication* 39, no. 2 (2016): 137.

[381] Blair, Dickinson, and Ott, *Places of Public Memory,* p 23.

[382] Vail, "Reconstructing the Lost Cause," 421.

[383] Fitzmaurice, Megan Irene. "Commemorative Privilege in National Statuary Hall: Spatial Constructions of Racial Citizenship." *Southern Communication Journal* 81, no. 4 (2016): 257.

[384] King and Gatchet, "Marking the Past," 115-116.

[385] Mandziuk, "Commemorating Sojourner Truth," 274.

[386] Atwater and Herndon, "Cultural Space and Race," 21.

[387] Young, James. E., *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 677.

[388] Maxson, "'Second Line to Bury White Supremacy,'" 49.

[389] Brooks, "Countering White Conceit Through,"196.

[390] Gronbeck, "The Rhetorics of the Past," 49.

[391] Lynch and Stuckey, "'This was His Georgia,'" 403.

[392] Tell, "Remembering Emmett Till," 133.

[393] Tell, "Remembering Emmett Till," 123

[394] Tell, "Remembering Emmett Till," 123, 133.

[395] Triece, "Constructing the Antiracial City," 625-626.

[396]Bold, Christine, Ric Knowles, and Belinda Leach. "Feminist Memorializing and Cultural Countermemory: The Case of Marianne's Park." *Signs* 28, no. 2 (2002): 125-148; Dunn, Thomas. "Remembering "A Great Fag:" Visualizing Public Memory and the Construction of Queer Space." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 97, no. 4 (2011): 435-460; Mandziuk, Roseann. "Commemorating Sojourner Truth- Negotiating the Politics of Race and Gender in The Spaces of Public Memory." *Western Journal of Communication* 67, no. 3 (2003): 271-291; Stevens, Quentin, Karen A Frank, and Ruth Fazakerley. "Counter-Monuments: The Anti-Monumental and the Dialogic." Journal of Architecture 17, no. 6 (2012): 951-972.; Woodley, Jenny. "'Ma is in the Park': Memory, Identity, and the Bethune Memorial." *Journal of American Studies* 52, no. 2 (2018): 474–502.

[397] McKittrick, Katherine. *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 11.

[398] Fitzmaurice, "Commemorative Privilege in National Statuary Hall…" 254.

[399]Fitzmaurice, "Commemorative Privilege in National Statuary Hall…" 254.

[400] Triece, "Constructing the Antiracial City," 513.s

[401] Farzad-Phillips, Alyson. "Huddles or Hurdles? Spatial Barriers to Collective Gathering in the Aftermath of the Women's March." *Women Studies in Communication* 43, no. 3 (2020): 247-270, DOI: 10.1080/07491409.2020.1747127

[402] Triece, "Constructing the Antiracial City," 615.

[403] Triece, "Constructing the Antiracial City," 615.

[404] Triece, "Constructing the Antiracial City," 622.

[405] Maxson, "'Second Line to Bury White Supremacy,'" 53.

[406] Maxson, "'Second Line to Bury White Supremacy,'" 53.

[407] Triece, "Constructing the Antiracial City," 614.

[408] Vail, "Reconstructing the Lost Cause," 431.

[409] Maxson, "'Second Line to Bury White Supremacy,'" 63, 58.

[410] McKittrick, Katherine, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 7.

[411] Towns, Armond. "Geographies of Pain: #SayHerName and the Fear of Black Women's Mobility." *Women's Studies in Communication* 39, no. 2 (2016): 124.

[412] Triece, "Constructing the Antiracial City," 626.

[413] Herron, Cassia and Aja Holston-Barber, "Justice for Breonna Taylor means transforming the society and the systems that killed her," Courier Journal, October 2, 2020, https://www.courier-journal.com/story/opinion/2020/10/02/justice-breonna-taylor-means-changing-systems-killed-her/3586343001/; Kaba, Mariame and Andrea J. Ritchie, "We Want More Justice For Breonna Taylor Than The System That Killed Her Can Deliver," Essence Magazine, July 16, 2020, https://www.essence.com/feature/breonna-taylor-justice-abolition/ ; Brown, Melissa

338

and Rashawn Ray, "Breonna Taylor, Police Brutality, and the Importance of #SayHerName," The Brookings Institute, September 25, 2020, https://www.brookings.edu/blog/how-we-rise/2020/09/25/breonna-taylor-police-brutality-and-the-importance-of-sayhername/ ; Dubb, Steve, "Case of Breonna Taylor Shines Light on Structural Racism in US Justice System," Non-Profit Quarterly, September 28, 2020, https://nonprofitquarterly.org/case-of-breonna-taylor-shines-light-on-structural-racism-in-us-justice-system/ ; Hassett-Walker, Connie. "George Floyd's death reflects the racist roots of American policing," The Conversation, June 10, 2020, https://theconversation.com/george-floyds-death-reflects-the-racist-roots-of-american-policing-139805; Illing, Sean, "Why the policing problem isn't about 'a few bad apples,'" Vox, June 6, 2020, https://www.vox.com/identities/2020/6/2/21276799/george-floyd-protest-criminal-justice-paul-butler; Speri, Alice, Alleen Brown, and Mara Hvistendahl, "The George Floyd Killing in Minneapolis Exposes the Failures of Police Reform," The Intercept, May 29, 2020, https://theintercept.com/2020/05/29/george-floyd-minneapolis-police-reform/ Olorunnipa, Toluse and Griff Witte, "'Born with Two Strikes:' How systemic racism shaped George Floyd's life and hobbled his ambition," The Washington Post, October 8, 2020, https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/national/george-floyd-america/systemic-racism/

[414] Gupta, Alisha Haridasani and Christine Hauser, "New Breonna Taylor Law Will Ban No-Knock Warrants in Louisville, KY," The New York Times, June 12, 2020, "https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/12/us/breonna-taylor-law-passed.html;

"Minneapolis City Council Members Say They Plan to Vote to Disband City's Police

Department," CBS News, June 9, 2020,

https://www.cbsnews.com/news/minneapolis-city-council-intent-disband-police-department/

[415] Houdek, "Racial Sedimentation and the Common Sense," 299; Maxson, "'Second Line to Bury White Supremacy,'"64; Brooks, "Countering White Conceit Through," 196.

[416] Chakravartty Paula, Rachel Kuo, Victoria Grubbs, and Charlton McIlwain, "#CommunicationSoWhite." *Journal of Communication* 68 (2018): 262

[417] Chakravartty et. al, "#CommunicationSoWhite," 256.

[418] Chakravartty et. al, "#CommunicationSoWhite," 261.

[419] Houdek, Matthew. "The Imperative of Race for Rhetorical Studies: Toward Divesting from Disciplinary and Institutionalized Whiteness." *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 15, no. 4 (2018): 295.

[420] Flores, Lisa. "Toward an Insistent and Transformative Racial Rhetorical Criticism." *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 15, no. 4 (2018): 351-355.

[421] Applegarth, Risa. "Children Speaking: Agency and Public Memory in the Children's Peace Statue Project." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (2017): 1-25.

[422] "Flagship Institutions and Tuition by State," Oglethorpe University.

https://oglethorpe.edu/flagship50/flagship-institutions-and-tuition-by-state/

[423] Office of the Vice Provost for Enrollment Management and Strategic Development, "University of Missouri Student Body Profile Fall 2018," Enrollment Services, University of Missouri, September 20, 2018.

https://enrollment.missouri.edu/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/Fall-2018.pdf ; "UMD

Enrollments by Gender and Race/Ethnicity," Institutional Research, Planning, and Assessment, University of Maryland, Last Accessed November 23, 2020. https://www.irpa.umd.edu/CampusCounts/Enrollments/enroll_by_raceandgender.pdf; "University of Georgia," Data USA, Last Accessed November 23, 2020. https://datausa.io/profile/university/university-of-georgia#admissions

[424] Edmondson, Aimee and Earnest L. Perry. "'To the Detriment of the Institution:' *The Missouri Student's* Fight to Desegregate the University of Missouri." *American Journalism* 27, no. 4 (2010): 105-131, DOI: 10.1080/08821127.2010.10678170; "Trailblazers: Integration at the University of Maryland," UMD Archives, February 27, 2014, https://umdarchives.wordpress.com/2014/02/27/trailblazers-integration-at-the-university-of-maryland-part-2/; "Desegregation at UGA: A Guide to Resources in UGA Special Collections," University Libraries at the University of Georgia, https://guides.libs.uga.edu/uga_integration#:~:text=On%20January%206%2C%201961%2C%20history,a%20path%20toward%20a%20more; "Significant Dates in the History of the University of Missouri," University Archives at the University of Missouri, https://muarchives.missouri.edu/sigdates.html#:~:text=1862%20%2D%20The%20Civil%20War%20forced,admitted%20for%20the%20first%20time; "Celebrating 100 Years of Women's Education at UMD," UMD Archives, September 14, 2016, https://umdarchives.wordpress.com/2016/09/14/celebrating-100-years-of-womens-education-at-umd/ ; "Opening A Door: 100 Years of Women at UGA," UGA Today,

September 17, 2018, https://news.uga.edu/opening-a-door-100-years-of-women-at-uga/.

[425] Kovacs, Kasia. "UPDATE: MU Student Embarks on Hunger Strike, Demands Wolfe's Removal From Office," Columbia Missourian, November 2, 2015. https://www.columbiamissourian.com/news/higher_education/update-mu-student-embarks-on-hunger-strike-demands-wolfes-removal-from-office/article_35ab864a-8186-11e5-902b-6f136a45260b.html

[426] Lee, Spike. *2 Fists Up*, Lil' Joints (ESPN Film, 2016), http://theundefeated.com/videos/spike-lees-lil-joints-2-fistsup/.

[427] Lee, *2 Fists Up…*

[428] Baugh, Peter. "Mizzou's 2015 Boycott Led to Change and Blacklash and a Lasting Legacy," The Athletic, December 15, 2020. https://theathletic.com/2247970/2020/12/15/missouri-2015-boycott-legacy/

[429] Naskidashvili, Nana, "Students March Through MU Student Center in Protest of Racial Injustice," Columbia Missourian. October 1, 2015, https://www.columbiamissourian.com/news/higher_education/students-march-through-mu-student-center-in-protest-of-racial/article_4b8e3458-688b-11e5-8412-9b38a4d41eb8.html *;* Reese, Ashley, "In Homecoming Parade, Racial Justice Advocates Take Different Paths," Colombian Missourian, October 10, 2015, https://www.columbiamissourian.com/news/in-homecoming-parade-racial-justice-advocates-take-different-paths/article_24c824da-6f77-11e5-958e-fb15c6375503.html ; Sawey, Elizabeth, "Protesters Use Recruiting Day to Voice Concerns About Racism at MU," Columbia Missourian, November 7, 2015,

https://www.columbiamissourian.com/news/local/protesters-use-recruiting-day-to-voice-concerns-about-racism-at/article_a8477d70-8579-11e5-ae8c-6f3361124450.html; Tracy, Marc and Ashley Southall, "Black Football Players Lend Heft to Protests at Missouri," The New York Times, November 8, 2015, https://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/09/us/missouri-football-players-boycott-in-protest-of-university-president.html.

430 Fortunato, John A., Ralph A. Gigliotti, and Brent D. Ruben. "Racial Incidents at the University of Missouri: The Value of Leadership Communication and Stakeholder Relationships." *International Journal of Business Communication* 54, no 2. (2017): 199–209. doi:10.1177/2329488416687056.

431 Martin, Jason M., and Stephanie K. Van Stee. "Racism Lives Here: The University of Missouri's Response to a Campus Crisis." *Atlantic Journal of Communication* 28, no. 4 (2020): 224–40. doi:10.1080/15456870.2020.1680554.

432 Alfonzo, Paige, and Christina R. Foust. "Campus Activism in the Digital Age: An Ecological Chronology of #Concernedstudent1950." *Journal of Contemporary Rhetoric* 9 no. 3 (2019): 87–111.

433 Alfonzo and Foust, "Campus Activism in the Digital Age," 88.

434 Seltzer, Rick. "Missouri 3 Years Later: Lessons Learned, Protests Still Resonate," Inside Higher Education, September 12, 2018. https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2018/09/12/administrators-students-and-activists-take-stock-three-years-after-2015-missouri

435 Willaims, Bianca and Frank A. Truitt, "'Carving Out a Humanity:' Campus Rebellions and the Legacy of Plantation Politics on College Campuses," in *Plantation

Politics and Campus Rebellions: Power, Diversity and the Emancipatory Struggle in Higher Education. Eds. Bianca Williams, Dian D. Squire, and Frank A. Tuitt (Albany: SUNY PRESS, 2021), 11.

[436] Watson, Jamal. "Descendent of University of Missouri Founder Creates Slavery Atonement Fund," Diverse Issue sin Higher Education, February 20, 2008.

https://diverseeducation.com/article/10697/

[437] Mering, John V., "The Political Transition of James S. Rollins," in Missouri Historical Review Vol. LIII, No. 3 (April, 1959): 217-219; Stephens, Frank F., A History of the University of Missouri (1962). University of Missouri Press, 15-17.

[438] McKinney, Roger, "Talk Explores Slavery's Role in Establishment of MU," Columbia Tribune, February 22, 2020.

https://www.columbiatribune.com/news/20200222/talk-explores-slaverys-role-in-establishment-of-mu

[439] McKinney, "Talk Explores Slavery's Role…"

[440] McKinney, "Talk Explores Slavery's Role…"

[441] McKinney, "Talk Explores Slavery's Role…"

[442] Records Title: UM-System; Board of Curators; Treasurer's Office; Administrative Records,

Section: "Series One – Early Years Crisis Years," University Archives, University of Missouri, last accessed March 8, 2021 https://muarchives.missouri.edu/uw-rg1-s3.html#1

[443] "Multicultural Mizzou: A Brief Timeline of Social Change and Notable Firsts at the University of Missouri," University of Missouri Chancellor Diversity Initiative

(https://diversity.missouri.edu/timeline/: March 4, 2016) archived at *Wayback*

Machine (https://web.archive.org/) > https://diversity.missouri.edu/timeline/ > citing

a capture dated 4 March 2016.

[444] Palmer, Kathryn, "Legacy of Missing Lloyd Gaines, 1938 Supreme Court

Plaintiff, Still Haunts Higher Education," KBIA 91.3 FM Radio, Columbia, Missouri,

December 12, 2018. https://www.kbia.org/post/legacy-missing-lloyd-gaines-1938-

supreme-court-plaintiff-still-haunts-higher-education#stream/0

[445] "Celebrating Lucile Bluford," Show Me Mizzou, June 28, 2017.

https://showme.missouri.edu/2017/celebrating-lucile-bluford/

[446] "Multicultural Mizzou: A Brief Timeline…"

[447] Lee, *2 Fists Up*…

[448] "Multicultural Mizzou: A Brief Timeline…"

[449] Confederate Rock- General Information on the Building. MU Brick and Mortar

Collection, University Archives University of Missouri,

https://muarchives.missouri.edu/historic/buildings/ConfederateRock/general.html

[450] "Multicultural Mizzou: A Brief Timeline…"

[451] "Multicultural Mizzou: A Brief Timeline…"

[452] "Multicultural Mizzou: A Brief Timeline…"

[453] Confederate Rock- General Information…

[454] "Multicultural Mizzou: A Brief Timeline…"

[455] "Multicultural Mizzou: A Brief Timeline…"

[456] "Multicultural Mizzou: A Brief Timeline…"

[457] "History," Gaines/Oldham Black Cultural Center, last accessed March 12, 2021,

https://gobcc.missouri.edu/about/history/

[458] "Multicultural Mizzou: A Brief Timeline…"

[459] Sunne, Samantha, "Students sentenced for cotton ball incident," The Maneater,

April 29, 2010. https://gobcc.missouri.edu/about/history/

[460] Lee, *2 Fists Up…*

[461] St. Amand, Amanda, "Student gets probation for racist graffiti at MU," St. Louis

Post-Dispatch, June 5, 2012. https://www.stltoday.com/news/local/crime-and-

courts/student-gets-probation-for-racist-graffiti-at-mu/article_33b8b072-af18-11e1-

90d8-0019bb30f31a.html

[462] Lee, *2 Fists Up…*

[463] Lee, *2 Fists Up…*

[464] Lee, *2 Fists Up…*

[465] Lee, *2 Fists Up…*

[466] Lewis, A.F. "'Still I Rise:' From the Basement to Beyond; How Marginalized

Members of the College Campus Community Mark Space," The Activist History

Review, November 8, 2019. https://activisthistory.com/2019/11/08/still-i-rise-from-

the-basement-to-beyond-how-marginalized-members-of-the-college-campus-

community-mark-space/

[467] Lewis, "'Still I Rise:' From the Basement to Beyond…"

[468] "History," Gaines/Oldham Black Culture Center, last accessed March 8, 2021.

https://gobcc.missouri.edu/about/history/

[469] Lewis, "'Still I Rise:' From the Basement to Beyond…" pp. 5.

[470] Lee, *2 Fists Up…*

[471] Houdek, Matthew. "Racial Sedimentation and the Common Sense of Racialized Violence: The Case of Black Church Burnings." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 104, no. 3 (2018): 279–306, https://doi.org/10.1080/00335630.2018.1486035.

[472] "Our Commitment to Diversity at MU," MizzouDiversity University of Missouri; archived at Wayback Machine (https://web.archive/org) https://web.archive.org/web/20150315002806/http://diversity.missouri.edu/about/commitment.php ; citing a capture dated March 15, 2015.

[473] "Our Progress 2010-2012," MizzouDiversity University of Missouri; archived at *Wayback Machine* (https://web.archive/org) https://web.archive.org/web/20150315031832/http://diversity.missouri.edu/about/progress/2012/index.php ; citing a capture dated March 15, 2015.

[474] Osei-Kofi, Nana, Lisette E. Torres, and Joyce Lui. "Practices of Whiteness: Racialization in College Admission Viewbooks." *Race, Ethnicity and Education* 16, no. 3 (2013): 392.

[475] "Why Diversity? How an Inclusive Campus Benefits Me," MizzouDiversity University of Missouri; archived at *Wayback Machine* (https://web.archive/org) https://web.archive.org/web/20150315000230/http://diversity.missouri.edu/about/index.php ; citing a capture dated March 15, 2015

[476] Hamer, Jennifer F., and Clarence Lang. "Race, Structural Violence, and the Neoliberal University: The Challenges of Inhabitation." *Critical Sociology* 41, no. 6 (2015): 898.

[477] Dalton, Deron, "The University of Missouri's Tough History with Race: A Timeline," Daily Dot, February 29, 2020. https://www.dailydot.com/debug/mizzou-racial-history-concerned-student-1950-timeline/

[478] Head, Payton. "People's Power Assemblies NYC Facebook Page," Facebook, September 12, 2015. https://www.facebook.com/PeoplesPowerAssemblies/posts/sept-12-fb-statement-by-payton-head-pres-msapayton-head-pres-univ-missouri-stude/932921543409524/

[479] Deutsch, Lindsay. "Mizzou President Resigns: How Did We Get Here?" USA Today, November 9, 2015. https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation-now/2015/11/09/timeline-university-of-missouri-racism-protests-resignation/75467354/

[480] Johnson, Kaley. "About 100 Students Protest Racial Discrimination at MU," Columbia Missourian, September 24, 2015. https://www.columbiamissourian.com/news/higher_education/about-students-protest-racial-discrimination-at-mu/article_5febc0b6-62fd-11e5-9818-a749b3dbdae1.html

[481] Johnson, "About 100 Students Protest"…

[482] Johnson, "About 100 Students Protest"…

[483] N*askidashvili, "Students March Through MU…"*

[484] Lee, *2 Fists Up…*

[485] Butler, Jonathan. "GUEST COMMENTARY: Diveristy Training Is A Good Step for MU, But It's Not Enough," Columbia Missourian, October 16, 2015.

https://www.columbiamissourian.com/opinion/guest_commentaries/guest-commentary-diversity-training-is-a-good-step-for-mu/article_db33d3f2-7357-11e5-9161-fbda476107fa.html

[486] Vandelinder, Emma. "Racial Climate at MU: A Timeline of Incidents in Fall 2015." Columbia Missourian, November 6, 2015. https://www.columbiamissourian.com/news/higher_education/racial-climate-at-mu-a-timeline-of-incidents-in-fall-2015/article_0c96f986-84c6-11e5-a38f-2bd0aab0bf74.html

[487] Lee, *2 Fists Up…*

[488] Concerned Student 1-9-5-0. "List of Demands to the University of Missouri," October 20, 2015. https://bloximages.newyork1.vip.townnews.com/columbiamissourian.com/content/tncms/assets/v3/editorial/a/80/a80bc06e-784a-11e5-a620-2b2cb43219fe/56281e6a2b4e5.pdf.pdf

[489] Concerned Student 1-9-5-0. "List of Demands to the University of Missouri"…

[490] Concerned Student 1-9-5-0. "List of Demands to the University of Missouri"…

[491] Concerned Student 1-9-5-0. "List of Demands to the University of Missouri"…

[492] Kovacs, "UPDATE: MU Student Embarks on Hunger Strike…."

[493] Lee, *2 Fists Up…*

[494] Kovacs, Kasia. "Student Activists Camp Out to Protest Wolfe And Support Hunger Strike," Columbia Missourian, November 2, 2015. https://www.columbiamissourian.com/news/higher_education/student-activists-camp-

out-to-protest-wolfe-and-support-hunger/article_b204b8b4-81dc-11e5-a4a0-cb305bb09bed.html

[495] Kovacs, "Student Activists Camp Out…"

[496] Bogage, Jacob. "Activists Put Football Night Protest On Hold, Plan Event for Monday," Columbia Missourian, November 5, 2015.

https://www.columbiamissourian.com/news/higher_education/activists-put-football-night-protest-on-hold-plan-event-for/article_8597e93e-844a-11e5-8b7f-8fa963c1da7f.html

[497] Sawey, Elizabeth and Kelsie Schrader. "Protesters Use Recruiting Day to Voice Concerns About Racism At MU," Columbia Missourian, November 7, 2015.

https://www.columbiamissourian.com/news/local/protesters-use-recruiting-day-to-voice-concerns-about-racism-at-mu/article_a8477d70-8579-11e5-ae8c-6f3361124450.html

[498] Sawey and Schrader, "Protesters Use Recruiting Day" …

[499] Sawey and Schrader, "Protesters Use Recruiting Day" …

[500] HeMadeAKing. Twitter / @1Sherrils_2MIZZ: "We're black. Black is powerful. Our struggle…" November 7, 2015 9:08 p.m.

https://twitter.com/1Sherrils_2MIZZ/status/663176221249769472?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E663176221249769472%7Ctwgr%5E%7Ctwcon%5Es1_&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.columbiamissourian.com%2Fsports%2Fmizzou_football%2Fupdate-black-missouri-football-players-plan-to-join-wolfe-protest-through-boycott%2Farticle_3af86734-85c4-11e5-95a7-b7f5cd4cfb9e.html

[501] Missourian Staff, "UPDATE: Black Missouri Football Plays Plan to Join Wolfe Protest Through Boycott," Columbia Missourian, November 7, 2015. https://www.columbiamissourian.com/sports/mizzou_football/update-black-missouri-football-players-plan-to-join-wolfe-protest/article_3af86734-85c4-11e5-95a7-b7f5cd4cfb9e.html

[502] Lee, 2 Fists Up… ; Pinkel, Coach Gary. Twitter / @GaryPinkel: "The Mizzou Family stands as one. We are united…" November 8, 2015 12:39 p.m. https://twitter.com/GaryPinkel/status/663410502370856960

[503] Green, Adrienne. "The Financial Calculations Why Tim Wolfe Had to Resign," The Atlantic, November 9, 2015. https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2015/11/mizzou-tim-wolfe-resignation/414987/; Johnson, Nick. "Tim Wolfe Resignation: When Money Talks in Higher Education," The Gazette, November 9, 2015. https://www.thegazette.com/guest-columnists/tim-wolfe-resignation-when-money-talks-in-higher-education/; Nathan, Alec. "Tim Wolfe Resigns as Missouri President After Boycott by Football Team," The Bleacher Report, Accessed November 2, 2021. https://bleacherreport.com/articles/2587163-black-missouri-football-players-boycotting-until-school-president-resigns.

[504] Sports Illustrated Staff. "One Year After Protest Rocked Missouri, The Effects on the Football Team and University Remain Tangible," Sports Illustrated, November 8, 2016. https://www.si.com/college/2016/11/08/how-missouri-football-has-changed-1-year-after-boycott

351

505 Moyer, Justin Wm., Michael E. Miller and Peter Holley, "Mass Media Professor Under Fire for Confronting Video Journalists at Mizzou," The Washington Pos, November 10, 2015. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2015/11/10/video-shows-u-of-missouri-protesters-and-journalism-professor-barring-media-coverage/

506 Oluo, Ijeoma. Twitter / @IjeomaOluo: "truth to power. I'm so unbelievably proud of these kids." November 9, 2015 11:47 a.m. https://twitter.com/IjeomaOluo/status/663759778544377856

507 Tretter, Anthony. Twitter / @MSAPresident: "NEVER underestimate the power of students. Our voices WILL be heard." November 9, 2015 11:23 a.m. https://twitter.com/MSAPresident/status/663753776688463872

508 Glum, Julia. "After Missouri's Tim Wolfe Resigns, Twitter Reacts: Students and Protestors Rejoice; Critics Respond on Social Media," International Business Times, November 9, 2015. https://www.ibtimes.com/after-missouris-tim-wolfe-resigns-twitter-reacts-students-protesters-rejoice-critics-2175727

509 Larimer, Sarah. "University of Missouri Police Arrest Suspect in Social Media Death Threats, " The Washington Post, November 11, 2015. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/grade-point/wp/2015/11/11/university-of-missouri-police-arrest-suspect-in-social-media-death-threats/

510 Forbes, Sam. "One Year Later, MU Has Met Over Half of Concerned Student 1950's Demands," The Maneater, November 4, 2016. https://www.themaneater.com/stories/campus/one-year-later-mu-has-met-over-half-concerned-stud

[511] Concerned Student 1-9-5-0. "List of Demands to the University of Missouri" …

[512] Concerned Student 1-9-5-0. "List of Demands to the University of Missouri" …

[513] Concerned Student 1-9-5-0. "List of Demands to the University of Missouri" …

[514] Houdek, "Racial Sedimentation and the Common Sense…" 284.

[515] Concerned Student 1-9-5-0. "List of Demands to the University of Missouri" …

[516] Concerned Student 1-9-5-0. "List of Demands to the University of Missouri" …

[517] Concerned Student 1-9-5-0. "List of Demands to the University of Missouri" …

[518] Concerned Student 1-9-5-0. "List of Demands to the University of Missouri" …

[519] Concerned Student 1-9-5-0. "List of Demands to the University of Missouri" …

[520] Concerned Student 1-9-5-0. "List of Demands to the University of Missouri" …

[521] Concerned Student 1-9-5-0. "List of Demands to the University of Missouri" …

[522] Dyer, Thomas. "Institutional Research and Institutional History." *Research in Higher Education* 8, no. 3 (1978): 283-284

[523] Stevens, Quentin, Karen A Frank, and Ruth Fazakerley. "Counter-Monuments: The Anti-Monumental and the Dialogic." *Journal of Architecture* 17 no. 6 (2012): 951-972.

[524] Worley, Meg. "The Rhetoric of Disruption," Disrupting the Digital Humanities, June 6, 2016. https://www.disruptingdh.com/the-rhetoric-of-disruption/

[525] Biesecker, Barbara, "Michel Foucault and the Question of Rhetoric," *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 25, no. 4 (1992): 357.

[526] Herndl, Carl. "The Legacy of Critique and the Promise of Practice," *Journal of Business and Technical Communication* 18, no. 1 (2004): 3–8.; Scott, J. Blake, *Risky Rhetoric: AIDS and the Cultural Practices of HIV Testing* (Carbondale, IL: Southern

Illinois University Press, 2003); Milbourne, Chelsea Redeker. "Disruption, Spectacle,

and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Technical Communication," *Technical

Communication Quarterly* 25, no, 2 (2016): 121–136.

[527] Milbourne, "Disruption, Spectacle, and Gender…" 123.

[528] Endres, Danielle and Samantha Senda-Cook. "Location Matters: The Rhetoric of

Place in Protest," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 97, no. 3 (2011): 265.

[529] Spike Lee Interview

[530] #1839BuiltOnMyBlack, *1839 Built on Our Black Homecoming Parade

Demonstration,* YouTube video, 10:16, October 13, 2015,

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u6zwnmlzZSQ&feature=emb_logo&ab_channel

=ConcernedStudent

[531] Lee, *2 Fists Up…*

[532] Lee, *2 Fists Up…*

[533] Lee, *2 Fists Up…*

[534] Lee, *2 Fists Up..*

[535] de Vaujany François-Xavier, Sara Winterstorm Varlander, Emmanuelle Vaast.

"Materiality in Institutions : Spaces, Embodiment and Technology in Management

and Organization." in *At the Intersection of Materiality, Organizational Legitimacy

and Institutional Logics: A Study of Campus Tours* (Cham : Springer International

Publishing : Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 183–218.

[536] Harris, Adam. "The Fine Line Tour Guides Walk—Backwards," The Atlantic,

August 29, 2019. https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2019/08/college-

tour-guides-walking-backwards/596839/

[537] McClure, Kevin. "Examining the 'Amenities Arms Race' in Higher Education: Shifting from Rhetoric to Research," *College Student Affairs Journal* 37, no. 2 (2019): 129-143.

[538] Osei-Kofi, Nana, Lisette E. Torres & Joyce Lui. "Practices of Whiteness: Racialization in College Admissions Viewbooks," *Race Ethnicity and Education* 16, no. 3, (2013): 386-405.

[539] I base this information a tour that I took at the University of Missouri only a few years prior to the Concerned Student 1950 protests. In September 2012, as a fifth-year undergraduate student, I took an official campus tour when visiting the campus for its inaugural SEC football game against the University of Georgia. In this tour, we stopped at student dorms, the student center, the recreation center, the school of journalism, and more.

[540] Kull, Katie, *Concerned Student 1950 Plaza 900 Protest*, YouTube Video, 2:08, November 7, 2015.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=aAnmUH_in5k&feature=youtube_gdata_player&ab_channel=KatieKull

[541] Kull, *Concerned Student 1950 Plaza 900 Protest…*

[542] Kull, *Concerned Student 1950 Plaza 900 Protest…*

[543] McKerrow, Raymie E. "Critical Rhetoric: Theory and Praxis," *Communication Monographs* 56, no. 2 (1989): 107.

[544] Lynch, John A. and Mary E. Stuckey. "'This Was His Georgia': Polio, Poverty and Public Memory at FDR's Little White House." *Howard Journal of Communications* 28, no. 4 (2017): 396

[545] Lynch and Stuckey, "This was His Georgia," 402.

[546] Brooks, Maegan Parker. "Countering White Conceit Through the Commemoration of *Keyes*." *Howard Journal of Communications* 28, no. 2 (2017): 190.

[547] Gould, Deborah. *Moving Politics: Emotion and Act Up's Fight Against AIDS* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 19.

[548] Papacharissi , Zizi. *Affective Publics: Sentiment, Technology, and Politics*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 13.

[549] Houdek and Phillips, "Public Memory," 10.

[550] Ott, Brian L., Eric Aoki, and Greg Dickinson. "Spaces of Remembering and Forgetting: The Reverent Eye/I at the Plains Indian Museum." *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 3, no. 1 (2006): 29.s

[551] Donofrio, Theresa. A. "'Ground Zero and Place-Making Authority: The Conservative Metaphors in 9/11 Families' 'Take Back the Memorial' Rhetoric." *Western Journal of Communication* 74, *no.* 2 (2010): 150–169; Owen, Susan A. and Peter Ehrenhaus. "The Moore's Ford Lynching Reenactment: Affective Memory and Race Trauma." *Text and Performance Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (2014): 72–90.; Ott, Brian L., Eric Aoki, and Greg Dickinson. "Ways of (Not) Seeing Guns: Presence and Absence at the Cody Firearms Museum," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 8, no. 3 (2011), 215-239.

[552] Ott, Aoki, and Dickinson, "Ways of (Not) Seeing Guns…" 233.

[553] Ott, Aoki, and Dickinson, "Ways of (Not) Seeing Guns…" 217.

554 Maxson, J. David. "'Second Line to Bury White Supremacy:' Take 'Em Down Nola, Monument Removal, and Residual Memory." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 106, no. 1 (2020): 51.

555 Maxson, s"'Second Line to Bury White Supremacy…", 51.

556 Sawey and Schrader, "Protesters Use Recruiting Day…"

557 Editorial Staff. "Editorial: Five Years Later, We are Still Concerned." The Maneater, June 25, 2020. https://www.themaneater.com/stories/opinion/editorial-five-years-later-we-are-still-concerned

558 Forbes, "One Year Later…"

559 Forbes, "One Year Later…"

560 Forbes, "One Year Later…"

561 Forbes, "One Year Later…"

562 Willaims and Truitt, "'Carving Out a Humanity:' Campus Rebellions…" 19-20.

563 Hamer, Jennifer F. and Clarence Lang. "Race, Structural Violence, and the Neoliberal University; The Challenges to Inhabitation," *Critical Sociology* 41, no. 6 (2015): 907.

564 Seltzer, "Missouri 3 Years Later…" pp. 52.

565 Seltzer, "Missouri 3 Years Later…"

566 Seltzer, "Missouri 3 Years Later…" pp. 64.

567 Seltzer, "Missouri 3 Years Later…"

568 Editorial Staff. "More Misery in Missouri," The Wall Street Journal, June 15, 2018. https://www.wsj.com/articles/more-misery-in-missouri-1529103599

[569] McWhorter, John. "Schools Must Resist Destructive Anti-Racist Demands," The

Atlantic. January 29, 2021.

https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2021/01/when-antiracist-manifestos-

become-antiracist-wrecking-balls/617841/

[570] French, David. "Mizzou After the Meltdown," National Review, October 25,

2018. https://www.nationalreview.com/magazine/2018/11/12/university-of-missouri-

meltdown-aftermath/

[571] Seltzer, "Missouri 3 Years Later…"

[572] Seltzer, "Missouri 3 Years Later…"

[573] Alfonzo and Foust, "Campus Activism in the Digital Age," 88.

[574] Lee, *2 Fists Up…*

[575] Alfonzo and Foust, "Campus Activism in the Digital Age," 90.

[576] Lee, *2 Fists Up…*

[577] Alfonzo and Foust, "Campus Activism in the Digital Age," 89.

[578] Zappavigna, Michele. "Ambient Affiliation: A Linguistic Perspective on

Twitter." New Media & Society 13, no. 5 (August 2011): 791

https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444810385097.

[579] Sommerfeldt, Erich J. "Online Power Resource Management: Activist Resource

Mobilization, Communication Strategy, and Organizational Structure," *Journal of

Public Relations Research,* 25 no. 4 (2013): 347–367.

[580] Alfonzo and Foust, "Campus Activism in the Digital Age," 90

[581] Alfonzo and Foust, "Campus Activism in the Digital Age," 91

[582] Alfonzo and Foust, "Campus Activism in the Digital Age," 94

583 Alfonzo and Foust, "Campus Activism in the Digital Age," 93

584 Alfonzo and Foust, "Campus Activism in the Digital Age," 101

585 Alfonzo and Foust, "Campus Activism in the Digital Age"…

586 Yan, Grace, Ann Pegoraro, and Nicholas M. Wantanabe. "Student-Athletes'
Organization of Activism at the University of Missouri: Resource Mobilization on
Twitter," *Journal of Sport Management* 32, (2018): 25.

587 Yan,,Pegoraro, and Wantanabe, "Student-Athletes' Organization of Activism," 29.

588 Yan,,Pegoraro, and Wantanabe, "Student-Athletes' Organization of Activism," 29.

589 Yan,,Pegoraro, and Wantanabe, "Student-Athletes' Organization of Activism," 29.

590 Alfonzo and Foust, "Campus Activism in the Digital Age," 90

591 Gutierrez, Lisa. "University of Missouri Protests Gave Birth to Dozens More
Across the U.S., Powered by Social Media," The Kansas City Star, November 24,
2015. https://www.kansascity.com/article46268740.html

592 Lee, *2 Fists Up…*

593 Editorial Staff. "Editorial: Five Years Later…"

594 Editorial Staff. "Editorial: Five Years Later…"

595 Forbes, "One Year Later…"

596 Seltzer, "Missouri 3 Years Later…"

597 Editorial Staff. "Editorial: Five Years Later…"

598 "Bowie State Univ. Student Killed on UMD College Park Campus," NBC
Washington News, May 21, 2017. https://www.nbcwashington.com/news/local/one-person-seriously-injured-after-assault-at-university-of-maryland-one-person-arrested/15651/

599 "Indicator 22: Hate Crime Incidents at Postsecondary Institutions," National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), July 2020, https://nces.ed.gov/programs/crimeindicators/ind_22.asp.

600 Brennan, Leah, "One Person Manages Most of UMD's Hate Bias Response, But Another Staffer is on the Way," The Diamondback, November, 24, 2019, https://dbknews.com/2019/11/24/one-person-manages-most-of-umds-hate-bias-response-but-another-staffer-is-on-the-way/; Roberts, Angela, "UMD Director of Bias Incident Support Services to Leave Position Friday," The Diamondback, July 27, 2020, https://dbknews.com/2020/07/27/umd-director-neijma-celestine-donnor-leaving/.

601 Condon, Christine, "UMD Released its First Report on Hate Bias Incidents, But it Includes Little New Data," The Diamondback, April 22, 2020, https://dbknews.com/2020/04/22/umd-hate-bias-incident-report-odi-data/

602 Blee, Kathleen M. "Racial Violence in the United States." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28, no. 4 (2005): 606-607, DOI: 10.1080/01419870500092423

603 Greene, Daniel. "It Runs Deep and We Can't Talk it Out: ON Campus Racism and the Murder of Richard Collins III," The Medium, May 22, 2017. https://medium.com/@dan.greene10/it-runs-deep-and-we-cant-talk-it-out-on-campus-racism-and-the-murder-of-richard-collins-iii-86f8fe0dde4c

604 Antezana, Olivia. 2017. "Full offense, President Loh, but what was done when…" Facebook, May 23, 2017.

605 Zirin, Dave. "A Lynching on the University of Maryland Campus," The Nation, May 22, 2017. https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/lynching-university-maryland-campus/

606 Farzad-Phillips, Alyson, *Saba Tshibaka, April 22, 2021,* transcript of an oral history project by Alyson Farzad-Phillips, Oral History of the Student Leaders for Black Terps Matter Project, University of Maryland.

607 "History of the University of Maryland," University of Maryland, 2006. arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=8e3879e8702c476a88708a09b9b948bd

608 Hughes, Casey, and Sara Ludewig, "1856 Project Update: Telling Adam Plummer's Story," Terrapin Tales (from the University of Maryland Archives), February 25, 2021.

https://umdarchives.wordpress.com/2021/02/25/1856-project-update-telling-adam-plummers-story/

609 Truss-Williams, Anaya, "Most of UMD's Founds were Slaveholders. The 1856 Project Aims to Confront that History," The Diamondback, October 19, 2020.

https://dbknews.com/2020/10/19/umd-1856-project-university-maryland-slavery-segregation-racism/

610 Johnson, Jenna. "Students Trace University of Maryland's Slavery Ties," The Washington Post, October 10, 2009. https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/10/09/AR2009100904061.html

611 Johnson, "Students Trace University of Maryland…"

612 Johnson, "Students Trace University of Maryland…"

613 Johnson, "Students Trace University of Maryland…"

[614] Johnson, "Students Trace University of Maryland…"

[615] "Libraries Faculty Lead the 1856 Project," University of Maryland University Libraries. Last Updated February 21, 2021.

https://www.lib.umd.edu/news/2020/09/1856-project

[616] "Libraries Faculty Lead the 1856 Project…"

[617] Codrington, Audré, and Jasmine Coles, "UMCP Continues to Battle Hate Crimes," Black Explosion, December 8, 1999. https://digital.lib.umd.edu/student-newspapers/id/82e6203f-a6d3-407c-a706-d52e7cb0119f?query=%22death%20threat%22%20%22African%20American%20studies%22

[618] Associated Press, "Noose Hanging in Tree Prompts Hate Crime Probe at University of Maryland, Fox News, September 10, 2007.

https://www.foxnews.com/story/noose-hanging-in-tree-prompts-hate-crime-probe-at-university-of-maryland; Silverman, Ellie, " 'Beyond the Realm of Belief:' Noose Found in UMD Fraternity House," The Washington Post, May 4, 2017.

https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/grade-point/wp/2017/05/04/beyond-the-realm-of-belief-noose-found-at-u-md-fraternity/

[619] Black Faculty and Staff Association, "Workers Rights Report," University of Maryland, May 27, 2011.

https://bfsaumd.files.wordpress.com/2011/08/wwr52711.pdf

[620] "Courtyard Partygoers: 'The Trauma that was Inflicted on the Victims Cannot be Undone," The Diamondback, July 14, 2016.

https://dbknews.com/2016/07/14/courtyards-partygoers-letter-to-umd/

621 Silverman, Ellie, "UMD Police Finds Pepper Spray Use at Mostly Black Graduation Party was Justified, But Suspends Officer," The Diamondback, July 14, 2016. https://dbknews.com/2016/07/14/umd-pepper-spray-students-investigation-results/

622 Diamondback Staff, "Special Project: 64 Demands for New Programs, Resources and Initiatives," The Diamondback, Last Accessed October 5, 2021. https://protectumdemands.dbknews.com/

623 Campisi, Jessie. "UMD President Wallace Loh Responds to ProtectUMD Demands in Campus Letter," The Diamondback, January 26, 2017. https://dbknews.com/2017/01/26/university-of-maryland-loh-protectumd-letter/

624 Trask, Robert Lawrence. *Say what You Mean!: A Troubleshooter's Guide to English Style and Usage*. David R. Godine Publisher (2005) ISBN 9781567922639 page 228

625 Campisi, "UMD President Wallace Loh Responds…"

626 Moyer, Justin Wm. "'We Have a Right to Exist:' White Supremacist Fliers Reported at the University of Maryland," The Washington Post, December 14, 2016. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/grade-point/wp/2016/12/14/we-have-a-right-to-exist-white-supremacist-fliers-reported-at-the-university-of-maryland/

627 Diamondback Staff, "White Nationalist Leader Credits Two UMD Students for Putting up Fliers on Campus," The Diamondback, December 16, 2016. https://dbknews.com/2016/12/16/white-nationalist-posters-umd-students/

628 Diamondback Staff, "White Nationalist Leader Credits…"

629 Diamondback Staff, "White Nationalist Leader Credits…"

[630] Diamondback Staff, "White Nationalist Posters Found in At Least 4 UMD Locations Monday," The Diamondback, March 13, 2017. https://dbknews.com/2017/03/13/umd-white-nationalist-posters-racism/

[631] Berkowitz, Evan, "Terps for Trump Chalking Outside Stamp Advocating Building a Wall and Deporting DREAMers," The Diamondback, April 18, 2017. https://dbknews.com/2017/04/18/trump-chalking-umd-stamp/

[632] Berkowitz, "Terps for Trump Chalking Outside Stamp Advocating…"

[633] Wallace D. Loh. Twitter / @PresidentLoh: Students took to the sidewalk to exchange idea…" April 18, 2017 7:40 p.m. https://twitter.com/presidentloh/status/854479795069100033

[634] Soul Brotha Sweet / Twitter @sweetboispeaks. "students took to the sidewalk today because you…" April 18, 2017 8:46 p.m. https://twitter.com/sweetboispeaks/status/854496359134748672

[635] Lilia / Twitter @lilibugg_x. "UNACCEPTABLE to justify the xenophobia that was… April 19, 2018 12:54 a.m. https://twitter.com/lilibugg_x/status/854558818818306048

[636] Wells, Carrie. "Noose Found in University of Maryland College Park Frat House, "The Baltimore Sun, May 4, 2017. https://www.baltimoresun.com/education/bs-md-umd-noose-20170503-story.html

[637] Hemmer, Nicole. "Eternally Frustrated by 'Liberal' Universities, Conservatives Now Want to Tear Them Down," Vox, March 8, 2017. https://www.vox.com/the-big-idea/2017/3/7/14841292/liberal-universities-conservative-faculty-sizzler-pc

[638] Hemmer, "Eternally Frustrated by 'Liberal' Universities…"

[639] Knibbs, Kate. "Lexicon Watch: 'Ideological Diversity,'" The Ringer, March 16, 2017. https://www.theringer.com/2017/3/16/16040282/lexicon-ideological-diversity-buzzword-mark-zuckerberg-inclusivity-dbc9aff10613

[640] Kristof, Nicholas. "A Confession of Liberal Intolerance," The New York Times, May 7, 2016. https://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/08/opinion/sunday/a-confession-of-liberal-intolerance.html

[641] Loh, Wallace. "A New Academic Year Beckons," The Office of the President, The University of Maryland, September 2, 2016.

[642] "Bowie State Univ. Student Killed…"

[643] Zirin, "A Lynching on the University of Maryland Campus…"

[644] Diamondback Staff, "UMD Student Charged in Connection with Stabbing Near Montgomery Hall," The Diamondback, May 20, 2017. https://dbknews.com/2017/05/20/university-police-investigate-homicide-regents-drive/

[645] Diamondback Staff, "UMD Student Charged in Connection…"

[646] Diamondback Staff, "UMD Student Charged in Connection…"

[647] "Bowie State Univ. Student Killed…"

[648] Diamondback Staff, "UMD Student Charged in Connection…"

[649] "Bowie State Univ. Student Killed…"; Bell,

[650] Brad. "Bowie State Student Killing Was 'About Place, Not Race,' Hate Crime Trial Defense Says," ABC 7 News, December. 11, 2019. https://wjla.com/news/local/bowie-state-university-of-maryland-sean-urbanski-richard-collins-hate-crime-trial

365

[651] Wells, Carrie. "Police, FBI Investigating University of Maryland Killing as Possible Hate Crime," The Baltimore Sun, May 21, 2017.https://www.baltimoresun.com/news/crime/bs-md-umd-stabbing-arrest-20170521-story.html

[652] Cwieka, Andi, "UMD Community. Shares Experiences of Racism and Hate on Campus with #FearTheTurtle," The Diamondback, May 22, 2107, "https://dbknews.com/2017/05/22/umd-homicide-bowie-state-richard-collins-sean-urbanski-racism-feartheturtle/

[653] Cwieka, "UMD Community Shares…"

[654] Cwieka, "UMD Community Shares…"

[655] "Statements," The Office of the President, University of Maryland; archived at *Wayback Machine* (https://web.archive/org/) https://web.archive.org/web/20170808214145/https://www.president.umd.edu/communications/statements ; citing a capture dated August 8, 2017.

[656] Loh, Wallace, "Reflection and Action," The Office of the President, University of Maryland, May 25, 2017; archived at *Wayback Machine* (https://web.archive/org/) https://web.archive.org/web/20170620183306/https://www.president.umd.edu/communications/statements/reflection-and-action; citing a capture dated June 20, 2017.

[657] Loh, "Reflection and Action."

[658] Loh, Wallace. "Announcement: Chief Diversity Officer," The Office of the President, University of Maryland, July 6, 2017; archived at *Wayback Machine* (https://web.archive/org/)

https://web.archive.org/web/20170809035107/https://president.umd.edu/announceme
nt-chief-diversity-officer *; citing a capture dated July 6, 2017.*

[659] Loh, "Reflection and Action."

[660] Loh, Wallace, "AY 2017-18 Welcome: Progress in Fraught Times," The Office of
the President, University of Maryland, August 28, 2017.

[661] Loh, "Reflection and Action."

[662] Loh, "AY 2017-18 Welcome…"

[663] Loh, "AY 2017-18 Welcome…"

[664] Houdek, "Racial Sedimentation and the Common Sense," 293.

[665] Madison, Kelly J. "Legitimation Crisis and Containment: The 'Anti-Racist-White-
Hero' Film." *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 16, no. 4 (1999): 399-
416, DOI: 10.1080/15295039909367108

[666] King, Stephen A. and Roger Davis Gatchet. "Marking the Past: Civil Rights
Tourism and the Mississippi Freedom Trail." *Southern Communication Journal* 83,
no. 2 (2018): 111.

[667] Atelsek, "A UMD Student's Petition for a Richard Collins…"

[668] Ben-Porath, Sigal R., *Free Speech on Campus* (Philadelphia: University of
Pennsylvania Press, 2017), 11.

[669] Ben-Porath, *Free Speech on Campus*, 11.

[670] Green, Aleah. "When Does Diversity of Opinion Go Too Far?" The Black
Explosion, September 19, 2017.

https://www.blackexplosionnews.com/blog/2017/9/19/when-does-diversity-of-
opinion-go-too-far?rq=Collins

[671] Green, "When Does Diversity of Opinion Go Too Far…"

[672] Schwartz, "UMD Students are Filming a Documentary…"

[673] Schwartz, "UMD Students are Filming a Documentary…"

[674] Greene, Daniel. "It Runs Deep and We Can't Talk It Out…"

[675] Greene, Daniel. "It Runs Deep and We Can't Talk It Out…"

[676] Zirin, Dave. "A Lynching on the University of Maryland…"

[677] Roberts, Angela, "UMD Students Criticize Loh's speech on the Two-Year Anniversary of Richard Collins' Death," The Diamondback, May 21, 2019, https://dbknews.com/2019/05/21/umd-richard-collins-wallace-loh-anniversary-speech-diversity-hate-bias/

[678] u/areyouahollygram. "Progress on Memorial for Lt. Collins…"

[679] Okpattah, Senam. "Lieutenant Richard Collins III, Gone But Not Forgotten," Change.Org, Last Accessed October 5, 2021. https://www.change.org/p/president-wallace-loh-lieutenant-richard-collins-iii-gone-but-not-forgotten

[680] Farzad-Phillips, Alyson, *Nadia Owusu, June 15, 2021,* transcript of an oral history project by Alyson Farzad-Phillips, Oral History of the Student Leaders for Black Terps Matter Project, University of Maryland.

[681] Diamondback Staff, "UMD Bus Stop Near Scene of Richard Collins' stabbing has been Relocated," The Diamondback, September 8, 2017. https://dbknews.com/2017/09/08/umd-richard-collins-murder-montgomery-hall-bus-stop-relocated/

[682] Loh, Wallace. "We All Must Fight Racism, Extremist, and Hate," The Office of the President, University of Maryland, May 30, 2017.

[683] Tasneem Nashrulla. Twitter / @TasneemN: "This is the UMD bus stop where Sean Urbanksi…" May 23, 2017 12:55 p.m. https://twitter.com/tasneemn/status/867061391085187073

[684] Michael Quander. Twitter / @MikeQReports: "A growing memorial of flowers and candles sit…" May 23, 2017 1:12 p.m. https://twitter.com/mikeqreports/status/867065771205242886

[685] Diamondback Staff. "UMD Bus Stop near scene of Richard Collins' Stabbing has been Relocated," The Diamondback, September 8, 2017. https://dbknews.com/2017/09/08/umd-richard-collins-murder-montgomery-hall-bus-stop-relocated/

[686] Lieutenant Richard Collins III Memorial Collection, unprocessed, University of Maryland University Archives, College Park, Maryland.

[687] Diamondback Admin, "UMD Will Have a Memorial to Richard Collins on Campus," The Diamondback. https://dbknews.com/0999/12/31/arc-yogj4yup4batfexoi22smpz6oq/

[688] Letter on green paper, 2017. Unprocessed, Box 1, Folder 2. Lieutenant Richard Collins III Memorial Collection, University of Maryland University Archives, College Park, Maryland; Reflection journal for visitors of memorial. 2017. Unprocessed, Box 1, Folder 1. Lieutenant Richard Collins III Memorial Collection, University of Maryland University Archives, College Park, Maryland.

[689] Reflection journal for visitors of memorial. 2017….

[690] Reflection journal for visitors of memorial. 2017….

[691] Reflection journal for visitors of memorial. 2017….

[692] Aklilu, Simet, "Is President Loh REALLY Ready to Combat Racism," The Black Explosion, September 20, 2017.

https://www.blackexplosionnews.com/blog/2017/9/19/is-president-loh-really-ready-to-combat-racism

[693] Diamondback Staff, "UMD Bus Stop Near Scene of Richard Collins' stabbing has been Relocated," The Diamondback, September 8, 2017.

https://dbknews.com/2017/09/08/umd-richard-collins-murder-montgomery-hall-bus-stop-relocated/

[694] Farzad-Phillips, *Nadia Owusu, June 15, 2021….*

[695] Triece, Mary E. "Constructing the Antiracial City: City Planning and Antiracialism in the 21st Century." *Western Journal of Communication* 82, no. 5 (2018): 615, https://doi.org/10.1080/10570314.2017.1390148.

[696] Maxson, J. David. "'Second Line to Bury White Supremacy:' Take 'Em Down Nola, Monument Removal, and Residual Memory." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 106, no. 1 (2020): 53.

[697] McDaniels, Andrea. "A Look Back at the Renaming of UM's Byrd Stadium in this Era of Racial Awakening," The Baltimore Sun, July 2, 2020.

https://www.baltimoresun.com/opinion/op-ed/bs-ed-op-0703-offensive-building-names-20200702-dvuc5xh4ijhylc5cehkdb27vri-story.html; Schapitl, Lexie. "The Name Byrd Stadium is No More, But Other UMD Buildings have Discriminatory Namesakes, Too," The Diamonback, December 13, 2015.

https://dbknews.com/2015/12/13/the-name-byrd-stadium-is-no-more-but-other-umd-buildings-have-discriminatory-namesakes-too-2/.

[698] Atwater, Deborah F. and Sandra L. Herndon. "Cultural Space and Race: The National Civil Rights Museum and MuseumAfrica." *Howard Journal of Communications* 14, no. 1 (January 2003): 16.

[699] Diamondback Staff, "UMD Bus Stop Near Scene…"; Diamondback Admin, "UMD Will Have a Memorial; Atelsek, Jillian, "A UMD Student's Petition for a Richard Collins Memorial has More than 1,200 Signatures," The Diamondback, April 11, 2018, https://dbknews.com/2018/04/11/richard-collins-umd-memorial-petition/

[700] Roberts, "UMD Students Criticize Loh's speech…"

[701] u/slashbit, "Can We Get a New Bus Stop by Annapolis Hall." Reddit, Last Accessed October 5, 2021.

https://www.reddit.com/r/UMD/comments/9p99bu/can_we_get_a_new_bus_stop_by_annapolis_hall/?sort=new

[702] u/areyouahollygram. "Progress on Memorial for Lt. Collins," Reddit, Last Accessed Oct. 5, 2021.

https://www.reddit.com/r/UMD/comments/bpimb0/progress_on_memorial_for_lt_collins/

[703] Farzad-Phillips, *Nadia Owusu, June 15, 2021…*

[704] Taylor, Carly. "After the Killing of Richard Collins, UMD SGA Begins Planning Diversity Monument," The Diamondback, September 29, 2017.

https://dbknews.com/2017/09/29/umd-sga-monument-richard-collins-diversity-work-group/

[705] Taylor, "After the Killing of Richard Collins, UMD SGA…"

706 Roberts, Angela. "UMD Socialists Mobilize for a Monument to Lt. Richard

Collins III," Stories Beneath the Shell, September 17, 2017.

https://umdsbs.wordpress.com/2017/09/17/umd-socialists-mobilize-for-a-monument-to-lt-richard-collins-iii/

707 Roberts, "UMD Socialists Mobilize for a Monument…"

708 Roberts, "UMD Socialists Mobilize for a Monument…"

709 Roberts, "UMD Socialists Mobilize for a Monument…"

710 Diamondback Staff, "Presidential Candidate Taylor Green Accuses UMD SGA of

Racism," The Diamondback, April 12, 2019. https://dbknews.com/2019/04/12/umd-sga-election-president-taylor-green-jonathan-allen-racism-unite-umd/

711 Atelsek, "A UMD Student's Petition for a Richard Collins…"

712 Kostka, Andy. "'Every Day it's a Struggle': One Year Later, Jordan McNair's

Death is Still Raw," The Diamondback, June 13, 2019.

https://dbknews.com/2019/06/13/jordan-mcnair-johnny-jordan-one-year-anniversary-death-heatstroke/.

713 Farzad-Phillips, Alyson, *Nadia Owusu, June 15, 2021…*

714 Bentahar, Lyna, "Black Terps Matter Protest Demands UMD Action Against

Institutional Racism," The Diamondback, June 26, 2020,

https://dbknews.com/2020/06/26/black-terps-matter-protest-demands-umd-action-against-institutional-racism/.

715 Blackterpsmatter (@blackterpsmatter). "THE MOMENT EVERYONE HAS

BEEN WAITING FOR… OUR FIRST SET OF DEMANDS!..." *Instagram,* June 25,

2020. https://www.instagram.com/p/CB3gbPFpa6r/?utm_medium=copy_link.

716 Farzad-Phillips, *Saba Tshibaka, April 22, 2021,* 20:10.

717 Bentahar, "Black Terps Matter Protest Demands…"

718 Bentahar, "Black Terps Matter Protest Demands…"

719 Blackterpsmatter (@blackterpsmatter). "Black Terps Matter took all active counterparts...." *Instagram,* July 17, 2020.

https://www.instagram.com/p/CCwUQv9pzU5/?utm_medium=copy_link

720 Blackterpsmatter (@blackterpsmatter). "Black Terps Matter took all active counterparts...."

721 Farzad-Phillips, *Saba Tshibaka, April 22, 2021…*

722 Pines, Darryll J. "Partnering to End Anti-Black Racism: Letter from President Darryll J. Pines," Office of the President, University of Maryland, November 24, 2020. https://president.umd.edu/articles/partnering-end-anti-black-racism

723 Pines, "Partnering to End Anti-Black Racism…"

724 Pines, "Partnering to End Anti-Black Racism…"

725 Farrell, Liam, "Site Selected for Campus Memorial to Collins," Maryland Today, April 26, 2021. https://today.umd.edu/articles/site-selected-campus-memorial-collins-d4b12f21-0b08-4b05-8298-8cf5bdd9541d

726 Vail, Mark T. "Reconstructing the Lost Cause in the Memphis City Parks Renaming Controversy." *Western Journal of Communication* 76, no. 4 (2012): 431 , https://doi.org/10.1080/10570314.2011.651257.

727 Tell, Dave. "Remembering Emmett Till: Reflections on Geography, Race, and Memory." *Advances in the History of Rhetoric* 20, no. 2 (2017): 133, https://doi.org/10.1080/15362426.2017.1325414.

728 Tell, "Remembering Emmett Till," 123s

729 Tell, "Remembering Emmett Till," 123, 133.

730 Dvorak, Petula. "The Real Time Impact of Hate is Easy to See at U-Md," The Washington Post, February 11, 2019. https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/the-real-time-impact-of-hate-is-easy-to-see-at-u-md/2019/02/11/ea9058cc-2e32-11e9-8ad3-9a5b113ecd3c_story.html

731 Briscoe, Briana. "UMD Receives and F for Black Undergraduate Representation," The Black Explosion, October 10, 2018.

https://www.blackexplosionnews.com/blog/2018/10/10/umd-receives-an-f-for-black-undergrad-representation?rq=Collins

732 Lampkin, Amina, "Black Student Enrollment is 'Lagging' at Maryland, Loh Disagrees," The Black Explosion, February 23, 2018.

https://www.blackexplosionnews.com/blog/2018/2/21/black-student-enrollment-is-lagging-at-maryland-loh-disagrees?rq=Collins

733 Mittelhammer, Megan, "Everything You Need to Know about the Baldwin Hall Controversy," The Red & Black, August 15, 2019,

https://www.redandblack.com/news/everything-you-need-to-know-about-the-baldwin-hall-controversy/article_fff28aa0-bf0a-11e9-9256-4f177f5f318c.html.

734 Mittelhammer, "Everything You Need to Know about…"

735 The Coalition for Recognition and Redress, "An Open Letter to University of Georgia President Jere Morehead: Calling for Recognition and Redress for UGA's Legacy of Slavery," Last edited April 15, 2019.

http://www.enlightenedmediaproductions.com/static/docs/SIGNED%20as%20of%204-15-19%20Letter%20-%20Recognition%20and%20Redress%20at%20UGA.pdf

[736] "About," UGA and Slavery, Department of History at the University of Georgia. Last accessed October 26, 2021. https://slavery.ehistory.org/about.

[737] Donovan, Spencer. " Community Members, Activists, UGA Students, and Faculty March for 'Recognition and Redress' of Slavery at UGA," The Red & Black, April 29, 2019. https://www.redandblack.com/uganews/community-members-activists-uga-students-and-faculty-march-for-recognition-and-redress-of-slavery-at/article_c46ee972-6ac5-11e9-91a6-3bdbb90d5972.html

[738] Clay White, Henry. *Abraham Baldwin: One of the Founders of the Republic, and Father of the University of Georgia, the First of American State Universities* (McGregor Company, 1926), 76.

[739] Lipscomb, Andrew, A. *Substance of a Discourse Delivered before the Legislature of Georgia, on the Occasion of the Fast-Day Appointed by His Excellency, Joseph E. Brown* (Milledgeville, GA: Boughton, Nisbet, and Barnes, 1860), 19.

[740] Posey, Kyra. "5 UGA Buildings and Colleges Named After Controversial Figures," The Red & Black, June 13, 2020.

https://www.redandblack.com/athensnews/5-uga-buildings-and-colleges-named-after-controversial-figures/article_f4d44bc4-ad19-11ea-a8a7-6b0c771b0a53.html

[741] Ristuccia, Isabella. "'Below Baldwin' Strives to Give a Platform for Voices of the Community," The Red & Black, March 30, 2019.

https://www.redandblack.com/culture/below-baldwin-strives-to-give-a-platform-for-voices-of-the-community/article_d65afca0-50e6-11e9-a4a-6baa162f0a97.html

742 "Slaveholders at UGA," UGA and Slavery, Department of History at the

University of Georgia. Last accessed October 26, 2021.

https://slavery.ehistondlry.org/slaveholders

743 University of Georgia Board of Trustees Minutes, Vol 2: page 187, August 5,

1828, https://digihum.libs.uga.edu/items/show/131; University of Georgia Board of

Trustees Minutes, Vol 4: page 94, July 4,

1862, https://digihum.libs.uga.edu/items/show/146.

744 University of Georgia Board of Trustees Minutes, Vol 2: pages 160-161, Aug. 3,

1826, https://digihum.libs.uga.edu/items/show/68; University of Georgia Board of

Trustees Minutes, Vol 2: page 186, November 1,

1857, https://digihum.libs.uga.edu/exhibits/show/slavery/item/73; University of

Georgia Board of Trustees Minutes, Vol 3: page 342, August 1,

1855, https://digihum.libs.uga.edu/items/show/116; University of Georgia Board of

Trustees Minutes, Vol 3: page 349, November 7,

1855, https://digihum.libs.uga.edu/items/show/86.

745 University of Georgia Board of Trustees Minutes, Vol 2: pages 160-161, Aug. 3,

1826, https://digihum.libs.uga.edu/items/show/68; University of Georgia Board of

Trustees Minutes, Vol 2: page 186, November 1,

1857, https://digihum.libs.uga.edu/exhibits/show/slavery/item/73; University of Georgia

Board of Trustees Minutes, Vol 3: page 342, August 1,

1855, https://digihum.libs.uga.edu/items/show/116; University of Georgia Board of

Trustees Minutes, Vol 3: page 349, November 7,

1855, https://digihum.libs.uga.edu/items/show/86.

[746] Maier, Allison and Jessica Brown. "Phi Kappa Hall," Clio: Your Guide to History. April 9, 2019. Accessed November 11, 2021. https://20191018t122245-dot-clio-1532190191611.appspot.com/entry/59319; According to a former UGA Tour Guide (2012-2014), although information about Civil War occupation was not an official part of the prospective student tour notes, many tour guides would insert this information at the Demosthenian Hall stop, as they found it pertinent to part of UGA's history: Ekwueme, Eric. Interview with Alyson Farzad-Phillips. Personal Interview. Greenville, November 11, 2021.

[747] Knight, Victoria. "Why Does the Historical Marker by the Arch Use the Term 'War for Southern Independence,'" WUOG 90.5 FM Athens Georgia, February 5, 2018. http://wuog.org/index.php/2018/02/05/why-does-the-historical-marker-by-the-arch-use-the-term-war-for-southern-independence/

[748] Pratt, Robert A. *We Shall Not Be Moved: The Desegregation of the University of Georgia* (University of Georgia Press, Athens, GA, 2005), 7.

[749] Pratt, *We Shall Not Be Moved.*

[750] Pratt, *We Shall Not Be Moved…* 64.

[751] Trillin, Calvin. *An Education in Georgia: Charlayne Hunter, Hamilton Holmes, and the Integration of the University of Georgia*. (Athens: Brown Thrasher Books. 1991).

[752] Pratt, *We Shall Not Be Moved.*

[753] Trilin, *An Education in Georgia*, 4.

[754] Pratt, *We Shall Not Be Moved.*

[755] Hunter-Gault, Charlayne. *In My Place*. 1st Ed. (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1993), 167.

[756] "Making Space: Fighting for Inclusion, Building Community at UGA – Legal Challenges*," UGA Special Collections Library Online Exhibitions*, accessed October 28, 2021,

https://digilab.libs.uga.edu/scl/exhibits/show/makingspace/desegregation/legalchallenges

[757] "Flyer, "Students for Public Education" ca. 1960.," *UGA Special Collections Library Online Exhibitions*, accessed October 28,

2021, https://digilab.libs.uga.edu/scl/items/show/1117.; The Red & Black,

"Newspaper, The Red & Black, 1961 January 10," *UGA Special Collections Library Online Exhibitions*, accessed October 28,

2021, https://digilab.libs.uga.edu/scl/items/show/1119; The Red & Black,

"Newspaper, The Red & Black, 1961 January 11," *UGA Special Collections Library Online Exhibitions*, accessed October 28,

2021https://gahistoricnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/lccn/gua1179162/1961-01-11/ed-1/seq-1/

[758] "Making Space: Fighting for Inclusion, Building Community at UGA – Campus Life*," UGA Special Collections Library Online Exhibitions*, accessed October 28, 2021,

https://digilab.libs.uga.edu/scl/exhibits/show/makingspace/desegregation/campuslife

[759] Pratt, *We Shall Not Be Moved.*

[760] Nash, Amanda and Chris Dobbs. "Charlayne Hunter Gault," *New Georgia Encyclopedia.* (2017; 2004). http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/charlayne-hunter-gault-b-1942

[761] Barbara McCaskill. "Hamilton Holmes and Charlayne Hunter at UGA" *The University of Georgia: Freedom on Film, Civil Rights in Georgia.* 2007. Website URL: http://www.civilrights.uga.edu/cities/athens/hamp1.htm

[762] Brown, Steven A. "Finding Aid for University of Georgia Integration," *Hargett Rare Book and Manuscript Library.* 2001-2003.

http://www.libs.uga.edu/hargrett/archives/integration/integration1.html

[763] This information can be found in both of the websites cited in footnote 22 and 23.

[764] Hunter-Gault, *In My Place*, 196.

[765] Hannon, "A Look Back…"

[766] Hannon, Shannon. "A Look Back," *Georgia Magazine*. 80(2). March 2001.

http://desegregation.uga.edu/history/gm_commemorates/

[767] Hannon, "A Look Back…"

[768] Nash and Dobbs, "Charlayne Hunter Gault,"

[769] Pratt, *We Shall Not Be Moved.*

[770] Mollett, Talia. "Academic Building Renamed," The Red & Black. 16 Nov 2000.

Website URL: https://www.redandblack.com/news/academic-building-renamed/article_00d5310c-a905-5865-80a7-83a74f06713c.html

[771] Inwood, Joshua and Deborah Martin. "Whitewash: White Privilege and Racialized Landscapes at the University of Georgia," *Social & Cultural Geography.* 9, no 4. (2008): 388.

[772] Inwood and Martin. "Whitewash: White Privilege and Racialized Landscapes…" 388.

[773] Enlighted Media Productions. "[CC] Below Baldwin: How an Expansion Project Unearthed a University's Legacy of Slavery." YouTube Video, 1:09:28. October 9, 2020

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mwQcTfGqANQ&t=342s&ab_channel=EnlightenedMediaProductions

[774] "The Baldwin Hall Controversy," UGA and Slavery, Department of History at the University of Georgia. Last accessed October 26, 2021.

https://slavery.ehistory.org/baldwin-hall

[775] "The Baldwin Hall Controversy," UGA and Slavery…; Denney, Ken. "Graveyard (From Page 1)," The Red & Black, February 22, 1978.

https://gahistoricnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/lccn/gua1179162/1978-02-22/ed-1/seq-2/

[776] Enlighted Media Productions. "[CC] Below Baldwin: How an Expansion Project…"

[777] Mittelhammer, "Everything You Need to Know about…"

[778] Conway, Lindsey. "Up to 27 Gravesites Found During Renovation of Baldwin Hall," The Red & Black, December 13, 2015

https://www.redandblack.com/uganews/up-to-gravesites-found-during-renovation-of-baldwin-hall/article_e805fe16-a2aa-11e5-97a5-777f0c8e1827.html

[779] Conway, "Up to 27 Gravesites Found During Renovation…"

[780] Bill, David. "Remains Found on Baldwin Hall Construction Site; Work Temporarily Suspended," UGA Today, December 11, 2015. https://news.uga.edu/remains-found-baldwin-hall-site/

[781] "The Baldwin Hall Controversy," UGA and Slavery…; Enlighted Media Productions. "[CC] Below Baldwin: How an Expansion Project…"

[782] Enlighted Media Productions. "[CC] Below Baldwin: How an Expansion Project…" (10:28-11:35).

[783] "UGA to Reinter Remains of Individuals Discovered in Baldwin Hall Construction," March 8, 2017 [March 1, 2017]. https://news.uga.edu/uga-reinter-remains-discovered-baldwin-hall-construction/

[784] "UGA to Reinter Remains of Individuals Discovered…"

[785] Enlighted Media Productions. "[CC] Below Baldwin: How an Expansion Project…"

[786] "The Baldwin Hall Controversy," UGA and Slavery…

[787] Shearer, Lee. "UGA Going Ahead with Reinterment Plans for Remains Uncovered inn Construction Project," The Athens Banner-Herald, March 7, 2017. https://www.onlineathens.com/local-news/2017-03-07/uga-going-ahead-reinterment-plans-remains-uncovered-construction-project

[788] Al Hester, *Gospel Pilgrim Cemetery: An African American Historic Site* (Athens, GA: Green Berry Press, 2004), 33.

[789] "UGA to Reinter Remains of Individuals Discovered…"

[790] Enlighted Media Productions. "[CC] Below Baldwin: How an Expansion Project…"

[791] Enlighted Media Productions. "[CC] Below Baldwin: How an Expansion Project…"

[792] Enlighted Media Productions. "[CC] Below Baldwin: How an Expansion Project…"

[793] Aued, Blake. "UGA Has Already Reburied the Remains Found at Baldwin Hall," The Flagpole, March 15, 2017. https://flagpole.com/news/city-dope/2017/03/15/uga-has-already-reburied-the-remains-found-at-baldwin-hall/

[794] Peat, Savannah. "Baldwin Hall Remains Memorialized at Oconee Hill Cemetery," The Red & Black, March 21, 2017. https://www.redandblack.com/uganews/baldwin-hall-remains-memorialized-at-oconee-hill-cemetery/article_d5c70bfe-0e39-11e7-a5a4-5b36f08e51b1.html

[795] Enlighted Media Productions. "[CC] Below Baldwin: How an Expansion Project…"

[796] Aued, "UGA Has Already Reburied the Remains…"

[797] Webb, Ashlyn. "Local Figures and Scholars Discuss History of Slavery at UGA," The Red & Black, March 29, 2017. https://www.redandblack.com/uganews/local-figures-and-scholars-discuss-history-of-slavery-at-uga/article_7ef89db0-1433-11e7-839e-678e1ce22983.html

[798] Peat, Savannah. " A List of Grievances: Community Leaders Discuss Issues with Treatment of Baldwin Hall Remains," The Red & Black, April 7, 2017. https://www.redandblack.com/athensnews/a-list-of-grievances-community-leaders-discuss-issues-with-treatment-of-baldwin-hall-remains/article_985fd96c-1a5f-11e7-9082-73406f37b7e7.html

[799] Webb, "Local Figures and Scholars Discuss History…"

[800] Babb, Valerie, Chana Lee, Diane Batts Morrow, Scott Nesbit, and Daniel Rood. "Proposal from the Working Group for the Study of Georgia Slavery and its Legacies at the University of Georgia." 2017. https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B47jcFSpkKh7enlkWHp4eTdZaWp2WERPclFFSUt hc3FETGdr/view?usp=sharing

[801] Babb et. al, "Proposal from the Working Group for the Study…"

[802] Adams, Olivia. "Former SGA President Vetoes UGA Monument for Slaves on Last Day in Office," The Red & Black, April 19, 2018. https://www.redandblack.com/uganews/former-sga-president-vetoes-uga-monument-for-slaves-on-last-day-in-office/article_10d63680-4371-11e8-8d4b-bb5226403abb.html

[803] Adams, "Former SGA President Vetoes UGA Monument…"

[804] Adams, "Former SGA President Vetoes UGA Monument…"

[805] Douglas, Jessica, Jada Steele, Imane Bassit, Charlene Marsh, Bobbi Miller, and Dara Ogunsakin. "Resolution 30-17. A Resolution to Memorialize Enslaved Peoples at the University of Georgia," University of Georgia Student Government Association. 2018. https://sga.uga.edu/uploads/docs/Resolution_30-17.pdf

[806] Enlighted Media Productions. "[CC] Below Baldwin: How an Expansion Project…"

[807] Enlighted Media Productions. "[CC] Below Baldwin: How an Expansion Project…"

[808] Adams, "Former SGA President Vetoes UGA Monument…"

809 Adams, "Former SGA President Vetoes UGA Monument…"

810 Enlighted Media Productions. "[CC] Below Baldwin: How an Expansion Project…"

811 Gratas, Sofi. " Buried History: UGA Announces Plans to Construct A Dedicated Memorial for Former Slaves," The Red & Black, June 6, 2018. https://www.redandblack.com/uganews/buried-history-uga-announces-plans-to-construct-a-dedicated-memorial-for-former-slaves/article_02eebcf0-69ea-11e8-b776-e7d423a4ab42.html

812 "UGA Finalizes Baldwin Hall Memorial," UGA Today. April 21, 2018. https://news.uga.edu/uga-finalizes-baldwin-hall-memorial/

813 Gratas, " Buried History: UGA Announces Plans to Construct…"

814 Bar, "Baldwin Hall Memorial Dedication Overshadowed…"

815 Bar, "Baldwin Hall Memorial Dedication Overshadowed…"

816 "UGA Finalizes Baldwin Hall Memorial…"

817 "UGA Finalizes Baldwin Hall Memorial…"

818 Bar, "Baldwin Hall Memorial Dedication Overshadowed…"

819 Enlighted Media Productions. "[CC] Below Baldwin: How an Expansion Project…"

820 Bar, "Baldwin Hall Memorial Dedication Overshadowed…"

821 Adams, Olivia." UGA Releases Design for Baldwin Hall Memorial," The Red & Black, August 30, 2018. https://www.redandblack.com/uganews/uga-releases-design-for-baldwin-hall-memorial/article_719ecb98-abf0-11e8-88b3-73537b24fe61.html

822 Bar, "Baldwin Hall Memorial Dedication Overshadowed…"

[823] "The Baldwin Hall Controversy," UGA and Slavery…

[824] "Major Employers," Athens, Georgia Economic Development. Last accessed October 28, 2021. http://www.whyathensga.com/site-selection/major-employers/

[825] "Poverty Data," OneAthens, accessed October 28, 2021, https://oneathens.org/poverty-data#education

[826] "Poverty Data," OneAthens…

[827] "Poverty Data," OneAthens…

[828] "Poverty Data," OneAthens…

[829] The Coalition for Recognition and Redress, "An Open Letter to University of Georgia …

[830] Enlighted Media Productions. "[CC] Below Baldwin: How an Expansion Project…" (57:36)

[831] "An Open Letter to University of Georgia President…"

[832] "An Open Letter to University of Georgia President…"

[833] "An Open Letter to University of Georgia President…"

[834] "An Open Letter to University of Georgia President…"

[835] "An Open Letter to University of Georgia President…"

[836] Enlighted Media Productions. "[CC] Below Baldwin: How an Expansion Project…"

[837] Enlighted Media Productions. "[CC] Below Baldwin: How an Expansion Project…"

[838] "An Open Letter to University of Georgia President…"

[839] "An Open Letter to University of Georgia President…"

[840] Morehead, Jere. "Letter to the Editor: UGA's President Morehead Defends University Actions Involving Baldwin Hall Slave Remains," The Red & Black, April 11, 2019. https://www.redandblack.com/opinion/letter-to-the-editor-uga-s-president-morehead-defends-university/article_b7071748-5c81-11e9-8680-5bcc316bd8ca.html

[841] Houdek, "Racial Sedimentation and the Common Sense," 290.

[842] Ibid.

[843] "Statement, Governor Ernest Vandiver regarding potential closure of the University of Georgia following the order to desegregate, 1961 January 7," *UGA Special Collections Library Online Exhibitions*, accessed October 28, 2021, https://digilab.libs.uga.edu/scl/items/show/1118

[844] University of Georgia, "Letter, from J.A. Williams, dean of students, to Hamilton Holmes, suspending Holmes from the University of Georgia, 1961 January 12," *UGA Special Collections Library Online Exhibitions*, accessed October 28, 2021, https://digilab.libs.uga.edu/scl/items/show/1124 .

[845] Tucker, Henry Holcombe. "Letter to Negro Baptists of Georgia Holding a Centennial Celebration in Savannah, June 6-18, 1888 in Emanual King Love," *History of the First African Baptist Church* (Savannah, GA: The Morning News Print., 1888), 312.

[846] Hiraldo, Payne. "The Role of Critical Race Theory in Higher Education," *The Vermont Connection,* 31, no.1 (2010). https://scholarworks.uvm.edu/tvc/vol31/iss1/7; George, Janel. "A Lesson on Critical Race Theory," The American Bar Association, January 11, 2021.

https://www.americanbar.org/groups/crsj/publications/human_rights_magazine_home/civil-rights-reimagining-policing/a-lesson-on-critical-race-theory/

[847] George, "A Lesson on Critical Race Theory…"

[848] DeCuir, Jessica T., and Adrienne D. Dixson. "'So When It Comes Out, They Aren't That Surprised That It Is There': Using Critical Race Theory as a Tool of Analysis of Race and Racism in Education." *Educational Researcher* 33, no. 5 (June 2004): 26–31. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X033005026.

[849] Athens NAACP, EJC, AADM, UCWGA, A4E. "LETTER TO THE EDITOR: Community Activist Groups Respond to Morehead's Defense of University Approach Regarding Baldwin Hall," The Red & Black, April 12, 2019. https://www.redandblack.com/opinion/letter-to-the-editor-community-activist-groups-respond-to-morehead-s-defense-of-university-approach/article_5d635e62-5d45-11e9-b23d-93acb1cc7b4d.html

[850] Enlighted Media Productions. "[CC] Below Baldwin: How an Expansion Project…"; Stirgus, Eric. "Activists Want UGA to Offer Reparations, Fund Center to Study Slaver," The Atlanta Journal-Constitution, April l25, 2019. https://www.ajc.com/news/local-education/activists-want-uga-offer-reparations-fund-center-study-slavery/s1p6MOnIQhnmuSS5THTWMN/

[851] Enlighted Media Productions. "[CC] Below Baldwin: How an Expansion Project…" (1:00:37)

[852] Enlighted Media Productions. "[CC] Below Baldwin: How an Expansion Project…" 1:04:02 – 1:04:17

[853] Enlighted Media Productions. "[CC] Below Baldwin: How an Expansion Project…" 1:04:59 – 1:05:22.

[854] Donovan, Spencer. "Activists Demand Response to Request for Meeting with Morehead at Third Protest in a Week," The Red and Black, May 7, 2019. https://www.redandblack.com/uganews/activists-demand-response-to-request-for-meeting-with-morehead-at-third-protest-in-a-week/article_5e6e11d4-7060-11e9-a517-57128731b86d.html

[855] Donovan, "Activists Demand Response to Request…"

[856] Enlighted Media Productions. "[CC] Below Baldwin: How an Expansion Project…"

[857] Donovan, " Community Members, Activists, UGA Students…"

[858] Donovan, Spencer. "UGA Releases Statement After Activists were Refused Entry to Administration Building," The Red & Black, May 5, 2019. https://www.redandblack.com/uganews/uga-releases-statement-after-activists-were-refused-entry-to-administration-building/article_06e38156-6ec1-11e9-b0c1-8ffbbad21553.html

[859] Bold, Christine, Ric Knowles, and Belinda Leach. "Feminist Memorializing and Cultural Countermemory: The Case of Marianne's Park." *Signs*, 28, no. 2 (2002): 128.

[860] "UGA Funds Faculty Research to Study Role of Slavery in Institutions' Early Development," UGA Today, August 7, 2019. https://news.uga.edu/uga-funds-research-role-slavery/

[861] "UGA Funds Faculty Research to Study Role of Slavery…"

388

[862] Office of the President, "Strengthening our Community" University of Georgia

2021 Annual Report, October 14, 2021.

https://president.uga.edu/ar/2021/strengthening-our-community.php

[863] Office of the President, "Strengthening our Community…"

[864] Osakwe, Danielle. "SGA Black History Vigil at Baldwin Hall Remembers Former

Slaves Through Spoken Word, Song," The Red & Black, February 22, 2019.

https://www.redandblack.com/uganews/sga-black-history-vigil-at-baldwin-hall-

remembers-former-slaves-through-spoken-word-song/article_24a09912-3655-11e9-

ae42-8fec81ef6519.html

[865] Warnke, Lucinda. "AADM Holds Celebration, Vigil Honoring Lives of Enslaved

People," The Red & Black, May 5, 2021.

https://www.redandblack.com/athensnews/aadm-holds-celebration-vigil-honoring-

lives-of-athens-enslaved-people/article_e65e9ef0-ad4a-11eb-875b-

dbbe921d16d4.html

[866] Drukman, Jake. "Student Group Demands Acknowledgement of Racial Issues,

Higher Campus Worker Pay," The Red & Black, February 3, 2021.

https://www.redandblack.com/athensnews/uga-student-group-demands-

acknowledgement-of-racial-issues-higher-campus-worker-pay/article_d11f0e24-

6666-11eb-9615-830f1d37b4c3.html

[867] Downey, Marueen. "Opinion: University of Georgia Stonewalls Justice and

Reckoning," The Atlanta Journal Constitution, April 21, 2021.

https://www.ajc.com/education/get-schooled-blog/opinion-university-of-georgia-

stonewalls-racial-justice-and-reckoning/OEK7UUC2KRAWBHV2VGRDQB5QTE/

[868] Downey, Marueen. "Opinion: University of Georgia Stonewalls…"

[869] Miranda, Gabriela. "One Athens Resident Holds Private Vigil at Baldwin Hall, " The Red & Black, May 5, 2019. https://www.redandblack.com/uganews/one-athens-resident-holds-private-vigil-at-baldwin-hall/article_13144764-6edd-11e9-8acc-1f6619e8b56c.html

[870] Inabinet, Brandon. "1CherrydaleTranscript," Seeking Abraham Walk Images. Box. Last Accessed November 23, 2021. https://furman.app.box.com/notes/823025582497?s=ebms94m8q0pflgx8578qfmgzc57antbf

[871] Inabinet, "1CherrydaleTranscript"…

[872] Bainbridge, Judith. "Furman's Cherrydale Alumni House Big Move," The State, June 27, 2017. https://www.thestate.com/news/state/south-carolina/article158546089.html

[873] Task Force on Slavery and Justice. "Seeking Abraham: A Report of Furman University's Task Force on Slavery and Justice," 2nd Edition, Furman University, 2019. https://www.furman.edu/seeking-abraham-project/wp-content/uploads/sites/20/2021/01/Seeking-Abraham-Second-Edition.pdf

[874] Task Force on Slavery and Justice. "Seeking Abraham…"

[875] Inabinet, "1CherrydaleTranscript"

[876] Silverstein, Jake. "Why We Published The 1619 Project," Thee New York Times Magazine, December 20, 2019. https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/12/20/magazine/1619-intro.html

[877] Alfonzo, Paige, and Christina R. Foust. "Campus Activism in the Digital Age: An Ecological Chronology of #Concernedstudent1950*." Journal of Contemporary Rhetoric* 9 no. 3 (2019): 87–111.

[878] Fischer, Morgan, Anna Campbell, and Kirsten Dorman. "Viral Confrontation in Multicultural Center Exposes Disconnect Between ASU Students, Officials," The State Press, October 20, 2021. https://www.statepress.com/article/2021/10/asu-tempe-multicultural-space-confrontation-video

[879] "Multicultural Communities of Excellence," Arizona State University. Last accessed November 23, 2021. https://eoss.asu.edu/multicultural-communities

[880] Fischer et. al, "Viral Confrontation in Multicultural Center…"

[881] Hola. "White Students 'Kicked Out' of Multicultural Space at Arizona State University," YouTube. September 24, 2021. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1BzraMlg9Ek&t=4s&ab_channel=HOLA

[882] Blasius, Melissa. "ASU Investigating After Viral Video Over Multicultural Space," ABC15 Arizona, October 1, 2021. https://www.abc15.com/news/region-southeast-valley/tempe/asu-investigating-after-viral-video-clash-over-multicultural-space

[883] Libs of Tik Tok (@libsoftiktok). 2021. "This insanity is happening on college campuses." Twitter, September 23, 2021, 8:46 p.m. https://twitter.com/libsoftiktok/status/1441202362073239553

[884] Hola. "White Students 'Kicked Out' of Multicultural Space…"

[885] Hola. "White Students 'Kicked Out' of Multicultural Space…"

[886] Hola. "White Students 'Kicked Out' of Multicultural Space…"

[887] Hola. "White Students 'Kicked Out' of Multicultural Space…"

[888] Zeisloft, Ben. "AZ Lawmakers Threaten to Pull ASU Funding Following Viral Video," Campus Reform, October 13, 2021.

https://www.campusreform.org/article?id=18300

[889] Fischer et. al, "Viral Confrontation in Multicultural Center…"

[890] Romo, Vanessa. "9-Day Student Protest at Howard University Ends with a Deal," National Public Radio, April 6, 2018. https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2018/04/06/600401378/9-day-student-protest-at-howard-university-ends-with-a-deal

[891] Cirruzzo, Chelsea. "Howard University Sit-in Comes to an End on 9th Day as Settlement is Reached," WUSA9 News, April 6, 2018.

https://www.wusa9.com/article/news/local/dc/howard-university-sit-in-comes-to-an-end-on-9th-day-as-settlement-reached/65-535999922

[892] HU Resist (@HUResist). "In the words of Frederick Douglass, 'power concedes nothing without a demand.' These are our demands. #StudentPowerHU," Twitter, March 25, 2018. 10:53 p.m.

https://twitter.com/HUResist/status/978102656785895424

[893] https://thehilltoponline.com/2018/03/31/50-years-later-the-demonstration-that-changed-howard-and-the-legacy-it-left/

[894] Romo, "9-Day Student Protest at Howard…"

[895] Romo, "9-Day Student Protest at Howard…"

[896] Anthony, Ahmari. "As an Organizer Within HU Resist, Here's How We Recreated Activism on the Campus of Howard University," Blavity News. April 18, 2018.

392

https://blavity.com/as-an-organizer-within-hu-resist-heres-how-we-recreated-activism-on-the-campus-of-howard-university?category1=college-edition&category2=community-submitted

[897] Foster, Julian and Durward Long. "Howard: The Evolution of a Black Student Revolt," in *Protest! : Student Activism in America*. (New York: Morrow, 1969).

[898] Foster and Long. "Howard: The Evolution of a Black Student…"

[899] Foster and Long. "Howard: The Evolution of a Black Student…"

[900] Cirruzzo, "Howard University Sit-in Comes…"

[901] Anthony, "As an Organizer Within HU Resist…"

[902] Vera, Amir. "Howard University Meets 1 of 9 Student Demands," CNN. April 1, 2018. https://www.cnn.com/2018/04/07/us/howard-university-past-protests/index.html

[903] Farzad-Phillips, Alyson, *Saba Tshibaka, June 14, 2021,* transcript of an oral history project by Alyson Farzad-Phillips, Oral History of the Student Leaders for Black Terps Matter Project, University of Maryland.

[904] Farzad-Phillips, Alyson, *Nadia Owusu, June 15, 2021,* transcript of an oral history project by Alyson Farzad-Phillips, Oral History of the Student Leaders for Black Terps Matter Project, University of Maryland.

[905] Farzad-Phillips, Alyson, *Alysa Conway, June 15, 2021,* transcript of an oral history project by Alyson Farzad-Phillips, Oral History of the Student Leaders for Black Terps Matter Project, University of Maryland.

[906] Collins, Sam P. K. "HU Alumnae Support and Provide Context for Blackburn Takeover," The Washington Informer, October 20, 2021.

https://www.washingtoninformer.com/hu-alumnae-support-and-provide-context-for-blackburn-takeover/

[907] Collins, Sam P. K. "HU Alumnae Support and Provide Context…"

[908] Altbach, Philip G. "Perspectives on Student Political Activism." *Comparative Education* 25, no. 1 (1989): 99. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3099006

[909] Baker, Marian. "Slavery, Memory and Reconciliation: What is the Furman Legacy?" The Paladin, October 26, 2016. https://furmanpaladin.wordpress.com/2016/10/26/slavery-memory-and-reconciliation/

[910] Task Force on Slavery and Justice. "Seeking Abraham…"

[911] Task Force on Slavery and Justice. "Seeking Abraham…"

[912] Task Force on Slavery and Justice. "Seeking Abraham…"

[913] Colmeares, Clinton. "Postponed: University to Rededicate Furman Hall, Unveil New Plaque," Furman News, February 12, 2020. https://news.furman.edu/2020/02/12/university-to-rededicate-furman-hall-unveil-new-plaque/

[914] Colmeares, "Postponed: University to Rededicate Furman…"

[915] Task Force on Slavery and Justice. "Seeking Abraham…"

[916] Colemares, Clinton. "Joseph Vaughn Statue Unveiling Schedule for April 16," Furman News, March 2, 2021. https://news.furman.edu/2021/03/02/joseph-vaughn-statue-unveiling-scheduled-april-16/

[917] Task Force on Slavery and Justice. "Seeking Abraham…"

[918] Inabinet, Brandon. "Seeking Abraham at Furman University: Hidden Histories," PocketSights, Last Accessed November 24, 2021.

https://pocketsights.com/tours/tour/Greenville-Seeking-Abraham-at-Furman-University-1787

[919] Task Force on Slavery and Justice. "Seeking Abraham…"; Moore, Vince. "Board of Trustees Approves Recommendations to Rename Hall, Honor First African-American Student," Furman News, May 22, 2019.

[920] Moore, Vince. "Furman Expands Joseph Vaughn Scholarship to Support More African-American Students," Furman News, October 29, 2018.

https://news.furman.edu/2018/10/29/furman-expands-joseph-vaughn-scholarship-to-support-more-african-american-students/

[921] BlackAtFurmanUni (Black @ Furman), Instagram. Last Accessed November 24, 2018, https://instagram.com/blackatfurmanuni

[922] BlackAtFurmanUni (Black @ Furman), Instagram…

[923] BlackAtFurmanUni (Black @ Furman), "As a group, we would have to travel to other colleges…" Instagram. July 27, 2020,

https://www.instagram.com/p/CDKOw0jlUly/

[924] The Collective of Black and African American Alumni of Furman University, "A Call to Action: End Racism at Furman University Today," June 29, 2020, Last Accessed November 24, 2021 https://form.jotform.com/201796787980172

[925] The Collective of Black and African American Alumni of Furman University, "A Call to Action: End Racism…"

[926] The Collective of Black and African American Alumni of Furman University, "A Call to Action: End Racism…"

[927] The Collective of Black and African American Alumni of Furman University, "A Call to Action: End Racism…"

[928] Davis, Elizabeth and Michael Jennings. "Response to the Black Alumni Petition," Furman University, July 10, 202, Last Accessed November 24, 2021.

https://www.furman.edu/diversity-equity-inclusion/chief-diversity-officer/ad-hoc-committee-on-black-life-at-furman/response-to-the-black-alumni-petition/

[929] Davis and Jennings, "Response to the Black Alumni Petition…"

[930] Ad Hoc Committee on Black Life at Furman, "Report to President Elizabeth Davis," Furman University, December 8, 2020. https://www.furman.edu/diversity-equity-inclusion/chief-diversity-officer/ad-hoc-committee-on-black-life-at-furman/

[931] Ad Hoc Committee on Black Life at Furman, "Report to President Elizabeth Davis"…

[932] News Administrator, "Furman Announces Black Alumni Council," Furman News, August 5, 2021. https://news.furman.edu/2021/08/05/furman-announces-black-alumni-council/

[933] News Administrator, "Furman Announces Black Alumni Council"…

[934] Hutton, Christopher. "Faculty Meeting 08-19-2021 – Zoom Closed Captioning Transcript," Furman University Faculty Council, August 19, 2021.

https://furman.app.box.com/file/848616162032?s=i4i4sxf080czp5o2v5p023hdx016l9r4

[935] Aarts, Helena. "Racial Reckoning Revisits Campus with Bias Incidents," The Paladin, November 19, 2021. https://thepaladin.news/articles/racial-reckoning-revisits-campus-with-bias-incidents

[936] Aarts, "Racial Reckoning Revisits Campus…"

[937] Murtaugh, Reilly. "Protest on Campus: Student Response to Racial Bias

Incidents," The Paladin, November 22, 2021. https://thepaladin.news/articles/protest-

on-campus-student-response-to-racial-bias-incidents

[938] Murtaugh, "Protest on Campus: Student Response…"

[939] Maxson, J. David. "'Second Line to Bury White Supremacy:' Take 'Em Down

Nola, Monument Removal, and Residual Memory." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 106,

no. 1 (2020): 64.