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# Cracking the Codes of Black Power Struggles: Hacking, Hacked, and Black Lives Matter

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## A DIALOGUE BETWEEN AHMAD GREENE-HAYES AND JOY JAMES

**A**hmad Greene-Hayes: "Black Lives Matter" is one of the most recent iterations of the Black Liberation Movement, with an unapologetic Black queer feminist politic led by women-identified, queer, trans\*, gender-nonconforming, working-class folks calling for an end to anti-Black state-sanctioned violence. Black Lives Matter (BLM), both the network and the movement, uses pro-Black technological and philosophical terminologies to hack anti-Black, Western, white supremacist binaries. Of central importance is deconstructing archaic conceptions of race, gender, and sexuality, and reimagining what "Black life" means in a world that does not love Black people. This political project calls into question "the politics of respectability," as coined by Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, and teases out the complexities of "anti-Black racism," as popularized by Afro-Pessimists such as Frank Wilderson.<sup>1</sup>

According to Alicia Garza, one of the three co-founders of BLM,

Black Lives Matter is a unique contribution that goes beyond extrajudicial killings of Black people by police and vigilantes. It goes beyond the narrow nationalism that can be prevalent within some Black

communities, which merely call on Black people to love Black, live Black and buy Black, keeping straight cis Black men in the front of the movement while our sisters, queer and trans\* and disabled folk take up roles in the background or not at all. Black Lives Matter affirms the lives of Black queer and trans\* folks, disabled folks, Black undocumented folks, folks with records, women and all Black lives along the gender spectrum. It centers those that have been marginalized within Black liberation movements. It is a tactic to (re)build the Black liberation movement.<sup>2</sup>

"(Re)building the Black liberation movement" suggests that former configurations of pro-Black struggle failed or have fallen to the side. Ancestors and elders who put their lives on the line for freedom did many things right, but they also did many things wrong. Past iterations failed terribly on gender and sexuality. And class, too. But we are still failing. Indeed, 50 years from now, the next generation will say that BLM failed. What we are witnessing are new technologies for hacking white supremacy, though those hacks do not fully take into account the perpetual condition of the slave (i.e. social death, captivity, brutality, rape, legal/literal lynching, and so on). This raises three questions. First, by saying "#BlackLivesMatter" are we appealing to ourselves or to the master class? Second, are we utilizing "technologies of resistance," to borrow Tamura Lomax's term, as protest and/or self-affirmation?<sup>3</sup> Third, can the white psyche even understand "Black Lives" and "Matter" in the same breath; those three words together are oxymoronic.

**Joy James:** BLM and other activist organizations are a catalyst for confrontations with institutional, interpersonal, and internalized violence. Yet, there is a difference between hacking white supremacy and heteropatriarchy and being hacked in ways that allow a liberation movement to be hijacked. Hacking—using technology to gain unauthorized, often illegal, access to information or data—is useful only if it produces information that is vital and proprietary. If Black people “own” Black struggles and Black grief, then, appropriation of Black politics or suffering is a form of hacking. That non-Blacks do this to Blacks, and affluent or statist/corporatist Blacks do this to working-class and poor Black people, men to women, women to children, cisgender to LGBTQ—is a roadmap of our vulnerabilities.

Alternatively, whites have proprietary claims to reactionary and progressive white supremacy. Even multiracial reform can denigrate Black agency when liberation movements are accessed and altered by a “donor class” in which—true to “advocacy democracy”<sup>4</sup> as benign policing—corporate and state benefactors maintain political control by minimizing their most predatory practices without sharing power with the most vulnerable.

Under surveillance by police and Homeland Security and under attack by allies who are progressive hackers, liberation movements are re-coded. Unfortunately, just knowing that hostile *and* friendly forces want to define the movement is not synonymous with an adequate self-defense plan.

Resistance movements nonetheless find protection in a political phenomenon: Love. The low-tech “wild card” that allows us to

make courageous choices, love does not demand the certainty of tangible successes. Without achieving justice for Eric Garner, Trayvon Martin, Sandra Bland, Breonna Taylor, and millions more killed, incarcerated, exploited and abused, trauma and failure are still wrapped in the love of a real or imagined free Black self and community.

Self-love, Black love, communal embrace cannot be completely repurposed against Black freedom because that code is constantly, spontaneously rewritten. The diversification of freedom leaders with LGBTQ intellectuals and activists is revolutionized by their ability to analyze global military, financial, environmental violence beyond conventional politics and institutions.

**AGH:** It’s almost like the Black church. Many of our kin and ancestors were historically disallowed from obtaining leadership, education, financial mobility, and access in the public sector, so the church became the vehicle by which they could learn to read in Sunday school or become “powerful” and “important” through the pastorate and the deacons’ board. Black women and queer folks, of course, have had to struggle to gain power in the church because of heteropatriarchal theological hermeneutics. But as Anthea Butler notes, “There is the power of ordination, but there is a greater power in controlling the ordained.”<sup>5</sup> So although Black women were often not ordained (i.e. Jarena Lee), they were church mothers, prayer band leaders, bible study teachers and preachers; or they were the ones in pastor’s ear—his wife, for instance—about the bad sermon he preached; or even the ones keeping their purses closed in protest when pastor had

done something terribly wrong. My point here is that there's power in subversion and power in Black institutions, even if that power is limited under white supremacy.

But I do have to wonder if our interventions affirm Black life to/for Black people or to/for those who view Black life as commodity. Many hashtags have emerged out of the #BlackLivesMatter movement, such as #BlackGirlMagic and #BlackGirlsRock, which affirms Black women and girls' lives and activisms in a world that often erases and silences Black girlhood. There is also the #BlackJoyProject, which amplifies images of Black people living, moving, and breathing with joy despite the present realities of state violence. Then there is #BlackMenSmile, which showcases visual representations of Black men and boys smiling—often with teeth exposed—in the face of brutality. These, along with so many others, have all come forward in the midst of rampant murder of Black youth. Black activists are recoding and face-lifting social media, though sites such as Facebook are complicit in anti-Blackness (surveillance, censorship, etc.). As videos of anti-Black racial animus—such as Sandra Bland on that Texas highway or Philando Castile shot to death in St. Anthony, Minnesota—fill Facebook timelines and Twitter feeds, Black people affirm their Black lives. *Are we talking back to the powers that be, or talking to ourselves?*

**JJ:** Both. It's OK to talk to yourself. Although this is a supposed sign of emotional distress and disorientation, internal dialogues/monologues offer insights into our fears and desires, which are sometimes one and the same. ("Black power!" is love talk.) Internal

doubts and traumas function like political debates and movements—these are opportunities for re-parenting and self-parenting against hatred and violence.

As you've mentioned, Ahmad, we have to be vigilant that our love and agency are not trans\*formed into vehicles for acquisition whereby the most desirable Black people are those who fuel elections, careers, or consumption in which Black suffering is displayed but radical choices to take the power that would alleviate it remains out of reach. The Blacks who embarrass or piss you off as you try to integrate and "master" American society might be necessary if the impolitic is part of liberation. (Satirist Larry Wilmore's 2015 White House Correspondent Dinner roast of the news media and President Barack Obama is cringeworthy in terms of crossing boundaries in search of a critique and a community.) Freedom is worth the embarrassment.

**AGH:** Right, so emotions are key. I think this moment is a testament to not only the need for Black self-love, but Black emotional healing. Or, as Esther Armah calls it, "emotional justice."<sup>6</sup> Each generation inherits the emotional dump from the previous generation. Each iteration of the Black liberation movement inherits the emotional weight of times past. And as such, we consistently reshuffle, repackage, and recode emotional trauma, without cultivating the necessary tools for emotional justice. Such strides require talking to ourselves in all the ways that make us uncomfortable. It means acknowledging the scars of racial-sexual terrorism, molestation, class politics, mental illness, cancer, poverty, environmental

degradation, brown water running in our faucets, government cheese in our fridges, and alcoholism. It may even mean honestly sitting with the ways our churches, schools, and homes mirror plantations vis-à-vis our investments in cis-heteropatriarchy and capitalism. We are talking to ourselves and to white supremacists, but we are not tapping into the effects of anti-Black racism on our hearts and psyches: we must crack that code for ourselves.

Interestingly, though, we have taken our private conversations and made them very public. In 1989, Darlene Clark Hine observed, “Because of the interplay of racial animosity, class tensions, gender role differentiation, and regional economic variations, Black women, as a rule, developed and adhered to a cult of secrecy, a culture of dissemblance, to protect the sanctity of inner aspects of their lives.”<sup>7</sup> Though historians such as Danielle McGuire have since argued that some Black women did not adhere to dissemblance (i.e. Joan Little), it is clear that Black women often covered for Black male rapists and harm doers because they did not want to work against the progress of the Civil Rights Movement.<sup>8</sup> However, a Black liberation movement that does not see anti-rape activism as a significant rallying cry is doomed to fail anyway.

Fast-forward to our contemporary moment, and Black women activists have almost completely done away with dissemblance—both online and at public protests. Take for example, Feminista Jones’ #YouOkSis, which detailed rape and street harassment, Beverly Gooden’s #WhyIStayed, which discussed intimate partner and domestic violence, along with Wagatwe Wanjuki’s

#SurvivorPrivilege, which shed light on campus rape and sexual assault. All of these online conversations and movements utilized Twitter, Instagram, Facebook and other social media sites to publicize Black women’s experience with varying degrees of intraracial violence. When coupled with Black Women’s Blueprint’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Black women are, as bell hooks has long contended, “talking back” to white supremacists and Black men alike.

Without doubt, we are living in an increasingly fast-changing social media age, where you can post anything you would like, and the world or your followers will see it instantaneously. There was a Spelman student, for example, who tweeted about a Morehouse man raping her and the world listened.<sup>9</sup> Morehouse and Spelman have “investigated” but have not brought forth justice for the survivor.<sup>10</sup> That says something. We are talking back to ourselves, but we are not really listening. We are shouting “Black Lives Matter,” but we do not believe survivors and we do not act to protect or stand with Black trans\* women.

**JJ:** It could be that we fear the complexity of collective identity that has to exist if “black community” is to exist.

**AGH:** You’re on to something, Joy. We must also think about how pro-Black struggle so often becomes multiracial, and anti-Blackness becomes guised as coalition. White people and non-Black people of color get drafted in for a number of different purposes (some say “more bodies” or money) but can never quite “get it.” For example, I remember there being a group of white “allies” in

Arizona who formed their own Black Lives Matter chapter but had no Black people.

**JJ:** How do you get to do that?

**AGH:** Right. They had no Black people, but they formed a Black Lives Matter chapter and in their minds, they were doing the good work of ally-ship; but there were still no Black people. Black struggle without Black people. Black Lives Matter without the centering of Black lives.

**JJ:** Solidarity might lead such groups to rename as “Whites in Solidarity with Black Lives.” If your ally can wear your political identity but not assume racial-sexual risk, then that’s a consumption, the taking of pleasure in a predatory market.

**AGH:** Differences are also built around language and communication—Black vernacular or modes of physical expression. Look at all of these videos that have surfaced. For example the one of Alton Sterling, who is standing outside of the store with CDs. He communicates with his hands, and the officers are frightened. But I know what those hands are saying. Hands that beat drums and tambourines, hands that weave baskets and braid hair. Our hands, like our bodies, communicate a particular kind of ancestral rhythm. The police, like slave catchers, automatically take our gestures as aggressive but it’s just the way that people like us talk and they don’t get that language. The white mind can’t decipher it from aggression.

**JJ:** People can more safely talk with animated hands or bodies if they are not Black. Police

repression and homicide is in part a political campaign.

At the July 2016, Democratic National Convention (DNC), in Philly, I sat in the rafter, cheap seats when the Mothers of the Movement appeared on stage before Bill Clinton spoke. Witnessing them was painful. Their loss was keen; proximity to family sorrow was inescapable. The mothers were Clinton surrogates in a campaign not deeply invested in anti-racism until it Sanders primaried it. Finally, the site of their stories was the Wells Fargo Convention Center—a sports arena whose namesake preyed upon families headed by women of color and dispossessed them of their primary assets homes pursued by the bank’s predatory lending.

The hacked emails of the Clinton Campaign (members of the Trump campaign are under investigation for possible coordinating those hacks with Vladimir Putin) revealed DNC memos instructing staffers to chant “Black Lives Matter” at gatherings but to not engage in policy discussions with advocates. The BLM slogan became the party slogan which became a performance and a silencing mechanism.

**AGH:** Right, the DNC fell into disarray when it was found out that former DNC chair Debbie Wasserman Schultz was supporting Clinton by having her staff undermine the Sanders campaign. As Esther Armah has argued, Black women’s emotional labor essentially “saved the day” when Donna Brazile and Marcia Fudge replaced Wasserman Schultz’s functions as the chair of the DNC.<sup>11</sup> Hillary Clinton brought up Shirley Chisholm; Cory Booker recited poetry by Maya Angelou;

and Michelle Obama gave a speech claiming that the United States is the greatest nation on earth. Think about the imagery of having Black women, Black mothers, Black maternal figures on stage—even the ones who have passed on, our ancestors. There was a sense of plantation nostalgia (i.e. “mammy”)—one that was very much wrapped up in this whole political project. And we have to wonder why Black people continue to find comfort in these “controlling images,” as Patricia Hill Collins describes them, even when white elites force-feed them to us—in film, in politics, and in the academy. Essentially, Black folks seek paternal love from the white supremacist police state with Black women maternals as nurturers. We drink the Kool-Aid when we really need water and a green detox.

**JJ:** Now, we can be electrified or electrocuted as we try to hack the Democratic Party. Obama chose Wasserman Schultz to head the DNC. Then when Congressman Keith Ellison, an African American Muslim activist and Sanders surrogate, ran for DNC chair in February 2017, Obama and Clinton reportedly encouraged Tom Perez, Obama’s labor secretary and once considered as a running mate for Hillary Clinton, to run against Ellison. Perez defeated Ellison in the second round of voting, and offered him the honorary title of “Deputy Chair,” a newly created position. It doesn’t have to be identical to how Clinton offered Wasserman Schultz after she was forced to resign as DNC chair, “honorary chair” of Clinton’s 50-state campaign. It just has to be familiar; and if familiar, then it is a pattern; and if it is a pattern, you should be able to read this by now.

When a user-friendly Black-led or Black-affinity administration hacks liberation movements, it uses kid gloves to push back radical desires for freedom. Because the iron fist of the intruder is absent, one does not feel corrected or under siege. But before disappearing into the veil, anyone could likely express the anguished frustration uttered by Michelle Obama uttered, before becoming the maternal leader of the nation: “Why do they hate us so?” That question’s relevance extends beyond racist kleptocrats and their fan base.

Pundits predicted that the raucous DNC Convention, where the grassroots booed anybody during live coverage—President Clinton, military officers, billionaires, and Bernie Sanders after he endorsed Clinton, would settle down because *no one* would boo the FLOTUS. They were right. She quieted rabble dissenters and inspired the viewing audience. When the First Lady asserted, “We are the greatest nation on earth,” she stood on patriotism and aspiration. Data was less kind: for 2016, the US ranked last among 11 industrialized nations for affordable, quality health care; the Institute of Economics and Peace ranked the US 103rd out of 163 nations of peaceful nations given US mass incarceration, murder, and military weapons; the global Happiness report noted that the US dropped from 3rd place in 2007 to 19th in 2016 due to declining social support and rising corruption.

Emotional needs are sometimes stronger than facts. The FLOTUS’s statement that every day she was mindful that she woke up in a house built by slaves (also true for some university and college students) chastened nationalist memory but left its pride intact.

Poverty, violence, botched foreign interventions, drug addictions, rape and racism, lawless police, are real but not emblematic in that speech because the national desire for dominance and exceptionalism needed to be affirmed by the campaign. Commentators noted that both Obama speeches “out-Reaganed” Reagan about the shining city on the hill.

**AGH:** Yes, Michelle invoked slavery’s visual resonance as political theater, and we were collectively wowed and wooed because she was talking about ancestors. But Toni Morrison warned us about how we talk to and treat our ancestors. She once said, “When you kill the ancestor, you kill yourself.”<sup>12</sup> I wonder if we are killing our ancestors, and by extension ourselves, when we flaunt our ancestors’ names and principles, whitewash them, and collude their legacies with empire.

Michelle, Cory Booker, Barack, Clarence Thomas, and Condoleezza Rice: they all have done it. But we only get mad when white people quote Dr. King.

**JJ:** Americans were comforted by the truth and the embrace of the FLOTUS’s statements. Black and non-Black Americans felt triumphal in a nation politically shaped by racist rhetoric, policies, and gerrymandering. The chant “We shall overcome” became “We overcame.” November 8 suggests otherwise.

**AGH:** I’ve been struck by how Black elites who identify as liberal progressive, a number of academics, contended that Hillary Clinton would have done more for Black people than Obama. I am thinking about Michael Eric Dyson’s article, “Yes She Can.”

That despite eight years of an Obama presidency, eight years of knowing that by putting all of our focus on identity politics we would falter. I’m also thinking about Hillary Clinton and what she represents. I have argued that she performs white male acts of violence historically tied to political office in the United States. A lot of folks have made the case that because she would have ideally been the first woman president that it was her womanhood that would have distinguished her from Obama’s Blackness.

This once again fixates on white womanhood over Black manhood, which has a long-standing history connected to lynching, and of course, mass incarceration, which the Clintons had a huge role in advancing.

I’m struck by how folks were falling for the old tricks again.

There is a class of folks who are for the most part very comfortable because of capital. They were comfortable under Obama’s presidency, comfortable under Bush, comfortable under Clinton and now they are “uncomfortable” under Trump and rightfully so. *But why weren’t people uncomfortable before?* I believe that their actual political interests have nothing to do with poor Black people, queer Black people, trans\* Black people —“the least of these,” if you will. We have to talk about racial capitalism, as Cedric Robinson long encouraged, and also Black capitalism, as told by Manning Marable. Capitalism and neoliberalism are sabotaging us, our movements, and our collective liberation political data.

**JJ:** “Sabotage” suggests that capitalism and neoliberalism are inside Black liberation movements; if that is the case, by definition

exploitation is a fixed feature ... that's not a freedom movement. Black, white, people of color flourished under Obama, but largely among the affluent. More jobs were created but they were part-time, lower paid. Police and military abuses were exposed by activists and whistleblowers (prosecuted by the state); banking and finance and military elites despite crises and malfeasance were largely protected.

**AGH:** There is an unspoken consensus, it seems, among many movement folks. If we pay attention to who was meeting with Clinton and Sanders and Obama and think about how folks believe that those positions have a huge impact on what happens on the policy level, we know who and what we are dealing with. Or you have those who are satisfied with representation as faux liberation. *If we see our faces, that's enough.* Of course, I'm not convinced by either of those things.

**JJ:** Black power is neither inherently radical nor revolutionary. It encompasses opportunism, consumerism, and political manipulation. Nixon argued for Black power as "black capitalism" more than white conservatives bought into that. BLM released their funding records; yet other formations are more opaque about donors and potential outside influence.

"Black power" for political and economic elites does not trickle down to the Black mass's unrest, vision, and discipline; mass creativity and protest flows up to elites. Like politicians, progressives can patronize, isolate or mock advocates for radical and revolutionary struggle. Sanders was satirized

by media and elites for calling for an economic revolution during his formidable primary challenge to Clinton. Yet, when she was defeated and liberals needed to counter Trump, Sanders was given greater respect by sectors that had ridiculed his calls for radical economic equality.

**AGH:** We claim a revolutionary politics but it's not embodied.

Imani Perry wrote a powerful piece in the Boston Review thinking about misogyny in reference to Hillary Clinton, Honduras and Berta Caceres. She wrote,

The sexism experienced by global elites such as Clinton pales in comparison to what women such as Caceres and her compatriots face. When elite women act as agents of the domination of others, we must look past the misogynistic jabs directed at them to perceive how they are guilty of far graver crimes of patriarchal violence, directed against less powerful and marginalized women.<sup>13</sup>

What Perry gets at is the blatant hypocrisy and irony of neo-liberal feminism. It's not liberatory for all: it liberates white women. It liberates the elites, specifically white elites and all who partner with them.

**JJ:** It liberates when it financially compensates. Financial and political power to white and elite women of color bridges domestic and foreign policy.

We are still building bridges with other Black people globally to concretize this. Facing the betrayals of the ANC, the status of Black Palestinians and Arabs, conditions

of LGBTQ communities in Kenya, and other African nations, the needs of Haitians expelled from the Dominican Republic, the paramilitary killings of Blacks in Brazil's favelas, the famine in Yemen, Somalia, South Sudan, Northern Nigeria—this is a global freedom agenda.

**AGH:** It's a manifestation of anti-Black sentiment if the rush for Black Lives Matter activists to stand in solidarity with Palestine, crosses over Black Haitians, Dominicans, Brazilians, and Black people across the African continent. It is easy for us to get on planes and then to take our photos and be political tourists and voyeuristic in some sense of other Black people without actually standing in solidarity. That's why I also find running to the United Nations troubling. Is it just to make ourselves feel comfortable or applaud ourselves for an attempt at global solidarity, even when institutions like the UN engender global anti-Black racism?

I think you alluded to this earlier. We're thirsty for... not only images of ourselves; but we are thirsty for images of folks who look like us, to talk back to us from that stage. We hunger. American exceptionalism is central to the narrative that they are putting forward, but our movements put the politics aside for representation.

**JJ:** Our social issues are emotional issues.

When we crack the codes of what we desire, we better prevent the hacking of liberation movements, including by academic writing that does not competently address violence and rebellion.

**AGH:** Right. Micah Johnson, the Dallas shooter. Korryn Gaines, too. They sanitized her revolutionary politics. Then there's the lack of serious engagement with political prisoners. We use their rhetoric but we don't seem to care about their physical bodies.

It's like Black radical trauma porn.

Which makes me think about a talk you gave at the University of Illinois, in which you argued that, "There has been winter here for an incredibly long time and we have not experienced democracy in what we call the United States in the absence of captivity." What expectations should we collectively have as Black people, Black scholars even, for Black radical politics in light of the illusory nature of democracy?

**JJ:** Remember the imprisoned and disappeared, especially political prisoners such as Mumia Abu-Jamal, Assata Shakur, Leonard Peltier, Jalil Muntaqim, Ed Poindexter, Mondo we Langa, MOVE. We are being buried alive. Gil Scott Heron's 1974 *Winter in America* was prescient:

Just like the cities staggered on the coastline  
Living in a nation that just can't stand much more

Like the forest buried beneath the highway  
...

Winter in America ...

And ain't nobody fighting

'Cause nobody knows what to save.<sup>14</sup>

**AGH:** Some know what to save. Reverend William Barber spoke at the DNC in Philadelphia and argues that he is actually a

conservative Christian. He is trying to conserve the principles of Christianity, true Christianity.

**JJ:** He was amazing. The only time I cried watching the DNC was when he spoke about those who have hardened their hearts. He wasn't toeing a party line or an ideological line; he seemed to indict and demand more from both parties (and independents). Barber suggests "revolutionary conservatism" (not as ideology or party affiliation). Barber gestured toward a code of ethics and spirituality, liberation and love.

Our job might actually be simply to tell the truth to the best of our abilities without gaming it for perceived victories, protections or opportunistic goals. Maybe truth telling is a fire wall against external and internal hacking, an insurance policy for a future facing governance as "rule by iron fist."

**AGH:** Let the church say "Asé and Amen."

## Notes

1. See Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880–1920*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); Frank B. Wilderson III, *Red, White & Black: Cinema and the Structure of U.S. Antagonisms* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).

2. Alicia Garza, "A Herstory of the #BlackLivesMatter Movement," *The Feminist Wire*, October 7, 2014. <http://www.thefeministwire.com/2014/10/Blacklivesmatter-2/>.

3. Tamura Lomax, "'Technology of Living' Toward a Black Feminist Religious

Thought," *The Black Scholar* 46, no. 2 (2016): 19–32.

4. For an analysis of "advocacy democracy" see Marina Sokolova, "Advocacy Democracy Modes," *E. Belarus News*, <http://www.e-belarus.org/article/advocacydemocracy.html>. The article influenced "7 Lessons in 1 Abolitionist Notebook" for the *Abolitionist Journal*.

5. Anthea D. Butler, *Women in the Church of God in Christ: Making a Sanctified World* (Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 2007), 6.

6. "Esther Armah: Emotional Justice," YouTube.com, July 19, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bohGAbAXxYg>.

7. Darlene Clark Hine, "Rape and the Inner Lives of Black Women in the Middle West," *Signs* 14, no. 4 (1989): 915.

8. See Danielle L. McGuire, *At the Dark End of the Street: Black Women, Rape, and Resistance: A New History of the Civil Rights Movement from Rosa Parks to the Rise of Black Power* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010).

9. See "Raped at Spelman," Twitter.com, URL: <https://twitter.com/RapedAtSpelman>.

10. See "Morehouse joins Spelman in investigating rape allegation," ajc.com, <http://www.ajc.com/news/news/spelman-investigating-rape-allegation-involving-mo/nrGgr/>.

11. Esther Armah, "Black Women's Emotional Labor Saved the Democratic National Convention," Ebony.com, August 12, 2016, <http://www.ebony.com/news-views/black-women-dnc>.

12. Toni Morrison, "Rootedness: The Ancestor as Foundation," in *Black Women Writers (1950–1980): A Critical Evaluation*, ed. Mari Evans (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1984), 344.

13. Imani Perry, "The Logic of Misogyny," *The Boston Review*, July 11, 2016, <https://bostonreview.net/forum/logic-misogyny/imani-perry-imani-perry-responds-kate-manne>.

14. Gil Scott Heron, "Winter in America" (1974), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m2zKdlcOV5s>.

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