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ORIGINAL PAPER

Collecting evidence of counter-narrative: the unspoken labor of archiving justice & recovering the material wages owed

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Abstract

Contemporary information workers in the United States, especially community-based archivists, have been collectors, stewards, and preservationists of counter-narratives against justice-serving institutions that systematically disbelieve, and distrust historically marginalized groups. While many information professionals refer to these counternarrative projects as passion projects, and, or activism, I argue that by doing so, information professionals do a disservice to both themselves, and the populations they aim to serve. Instead, I apply theoretical frameworks of immaterial labor and emotional labor, to re-analyze scholarly literature of community-based archives, and other professional counternarrative work in order to reveal the labor involved in these justice-oriented projects. I do this re-interpretation of our work to construct an argument that by asserting ourselves as counternarrative professionals, we become experts, and therefore witnesses to injustice. This ability to support our patrons is particularly important given the gendered, and racialized trends of disbelief not only in the United States criminal justice systems, but also embedded in the nature of counternarrative, and countertestimony against colonial regimes, writ large.

Keywords Immaterial labor · Counternarratives · Activism · Justice · Record-keeping · Community-based archives

Introduction

Archival studies, as a discipline, has wrestled with whether or not to recognize the narratives created within the records we keep (Dunbar 2006), as well as problematic claims of neutrality (Ketelaar 2001; Gilliland 2011; Sutherland 2020). Activists,

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community-based archivists, activist-archivists, and activist-scholars have readily recognized the importance, and archival history, of creating *counter-narratives*[1] against systems of harm and power (Caswell 2014a, b; Williams & Drake 2017; Cifor et al. 2018; Sutherland 2020; Farrell et al. 2023). Archival fore-mother of counternarrative, Ida B. Wells, who culled newspaper reportings of lynching, and interrogated the fallacies of the dominant narratives that were used to justify the brutal, inhumane, and unapologetically racist lynchings. As is described in Wells-Barnett's collected work, as well as any account that counters the dominant narrative, particularly when the state is involved in said dominance there is labor behind the collecting, preserving, arranging, and description of proof against dominant narratives. In this paper, I propose that those of us who engage in the labor of counternarrative collection, preservation, arrangement, description, and, or preservation need to start describing our work as labor. While people should be granted the grace and freedom to self-describe their work as a passion project, or doing the right thing, I hope for a future in which information workers get to organize as a field, so that we can not only pay in gratitude, kind words, and citations, but material wages for those who are doing the tireless, and seemingly endless immaterial and emotional labor that intersects with so many people's freedoms. I argue that by describing counternarrative work as labor, we also position ourselves as professionals with the authority and expertise to do so. In turn we unapologetically confront the long history of being treated as inherently suspect, or biased when positioning ourselves against hegemonic forces (Gordon 2022 p. 137); of course, this is in direct opposition to the ways in which institutions and individuals with dominant positionality are considered neutral and objective, and therefore more trustworthy (Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva 2008).

Literature review

I review the relevant literature in two parts. First, I aim to familiarize my reader with the definitions and theories that I will be referencing to understand immaterial, and emotional labor. Then I will discuss archival studies literature on producing counternarratives, in order to illuminate what said labor that practice entails. Through a common understanding of immaterial and emotional labor, I re-examine some of the most impactful research in the space of producing counternarratives in order to elevate the often invisibilized immaterial and emotional labor. Ultimately this detailing of the invisibilized Library and Information Studies (LIS) labor serves my larger argument that LIS is an essential labor force for making counternarratives

[1] For this article, I refer to Dunbar's (2006) definition of counternarrative, "Solorzano and Yasso (2002) reference storytelling as an established qualitative method within the social sciences. This methodological tool has been most utilized with great breadth in the United States to focus on the issues of concern for disenfranchised and underrepresented communities of Native Americans, Chicana/o, Asian American, and African Americans to construct alternative realities to those constructed through social institutions of dominant culture" (p. 114). I choose to utilize this definition in order to pay homage to the first scholar to bring Critical Race Theory, and its revolutionary tenants to archival studies.

an accessible entity, and as information workers, we are professionals deserving of remuneration and recognition for the justice-oriented labor, while the state appropriates this material to sanitize its own violence (Ahmed 2004).

Immaterial labor & theory

In "Immaterial Labor and Its Machinization" Fortunati (2007) aims to define immaterial labor within the context of its feminist proponents, and trouble the connotation of immaterial labor, given the increased presence of information and communication technologies (ICTs). Fortunati (2007) begins this intellectual tracing with Marx's *Theory of Surplus Value*, in which Marx delineated two sub-categories of Immaterial labor: 1) that which ultimately results in material goods, and 2) "the product is not separable from the act of production itself, as is the case of artist performers, orators, actors, teachers, doctors, priests, and so on" (p. 139).[2] Next in the intellectual tracing of immaterial labor are Gabriel Tarde and Werner Sombart. Tarde's major contributions to the area include: naming social interaction as a form of immaterial labor, and the ways in which socio-psychological forces influence the ways in which humans engage with labor and organizing; one of the most famous concepts of this, includes Tarde's discussion on imitation as a factor that prevents subordinated classes, particularly the working class, from being more unified, organized, and therefore powerful (Fortunati 2007, p. 142). Sombart, a contemporary of Tarde, asserted that capitalism, as a system, relied on "the drive towards the infinite, trust in progress, the formulation of a specific modern notion of duty, originally sustained by religion, and the emerging love for one's own work (Sombart, 1902/27: 520–21)" (Fortunati 2007, p. 143). While Fortunati reviews additional scholars concerned with the intellectual history of immaterial labor, in pursuit of their own research question, I jump to Foucault's (1976) *History of Sexuality* in which the conceptions of "control of the social body[3] elaborated on Foucault's establishment of 'biopower'. In the eighteenth century, biopower developed in two directions: beginning with the conception of 'anatomo-politics' which aimed at introducing practices of discipline and education among individuals, and later on in the direction of biopolitics, which aimed at controlling populations, as machines to produce wealth, goods or other individuals" (Fortunati 2007, p. 144). Mbembe (2019) further develops the concept of biopower further, building on Foucault's (1997) assertion of "make to live and let die" (p. 241), to say that under capitalism, racialized people are forced to live [in order to give labor] and then made to die through a myriad of necropowers. Deleuze and Guttari enter the conversation by asserting that "innovations, values, social relationships, affects, and thinking processes" are all forms of immaterial labor (Fortunati 2007, p. 145). Bourdieu coined the different forms of cultural capital, both "the objectified state (cultural goods) and the institutional state (academic qualifications)," as forms and conceptions of immaterial labor (Fortunati

[2] Immaterial labor falls within the latter.

[3] Of course, we also see this in Foucault's *Discipline and Punish*.

2007, p. 145). Hardt and Negri, argue that any kind of labor that does not possess material goods, could be classified as immaterial labor, under the understanding of "service, cultural product, knowledge or communication" as immaterial labor (Fortunati 2007, p. 146).[4]

Under the larger umbrella of immaterial labor, is the subcategory of emotional labor. One of the most highly cited literature reviews of emotional labor scholarship is Wharton's (2009) "The Sociology of Emotional Labor." Given that this article covers such a large range of ideas, I combined the author's groupings, and the excerpts I found most useful within these groupings into a diagram which can be seen in Appendix B. Wharton (2009) defines emotional labor as, "the process by which workers are expected to manage their feelings in accordance with organizationally defined rules and guidelines" (Wharton 2009, p. 147).[5] From this definition, designed to encapsulate literature relevant to emotional labor, Wharton (2009) groups scholarship into two broad categories: research concerned with interactive work, and research investigating individuals' expressed emotions and emotional management.

Beginning this review with a mutual understanding of interactive work, Wharton (2009) defines *interactive work*, as "professionals' interactions with clients and coworkers, as well as interactions in caring and family work (p. 150); it should be noted the author's employ of the term professionals, does not warrant classed connotations of work. Within this category, Wharton (2009) found three major themes within the literature: curiosities about the dynamics of service work, scoping research around professionals' and experts' service work, and the interactions between care work and emotional labor. When comparing the first two themes (dynamics of service work, and scoping research around professionals' and experts' service work), there is a classed connotation of service work that arises from the literature. This is particularly evident when comparing the discussions of power and control between the two themes. In the dynamics of social work theme, workers are referred to as "*emotional proletariats*" in order "to describe these service jobs in which workers exercise little formal power are often subject to employers' attempts to monitor and control their interactions, and are required to display friendliness and deference to customers" (Wharton 2009, p. 151–152).

When this finding is compared to the professionals and expert service work theme, where emotional labor is described as, "professionals engaged in interactive work are what Orzechowicz (2008 p. 143) calls '*privileged emotion managers.*' They receive extensive training in techniques of emotions management and have more resources available on the job to support their efforts" (Wharton 2009, p. 152). These two definitions highlight the power that exists based on the perceived educational status derived from their position title. The final theme in the category of interactive work is care work and emotional labor. Wharton (2009) defines this

[4] This contribution by Hardt and Negri is particularly relevant to information work, and more narrowly, my discussion in this paper.

[5] The author derives this definition from Arlie Hochschild's canonical text, *The Managed Heart: The Commercialization of Human Feeling.*

theme as, "Caregiving has been understood as an expectation or norm with which female and male workers are differentially expected to comply, as well as an informal aspect of workers' interpersonal relationships at work" (p. 154). The author also notes that, "caretaking … is understood not only as a job requirement, but as an informal coping mechanism (Wharton 2009, p. 154); this seems to imply that this kind of labor attracts particular groups of people that might be predisposed to prioritizing the wellness and service of others as a form of self-worth. Wharton (2009) does provide the reader with the caveat that while many jobs within caregiving spaces have unequal power balances, that not all emotional labor in caregiving is implicitly exploitative, and that there were even some examples of reciprocal emotional management (p. 154). As previously mentioned, all of this is visually displayed, in Fig. 2 of Appendix B.

Transitioning to Wharton's second largest category of emotional labor, Wharton (2009) defines *individual level research on expressed emotions and emotion management* as, "shift[ing] the focus from occupation-based analyses to emotions themselves. Almost exclusively quantitative, these studies are not concerned with interaction or interactive work per se, but rather focus on the role of emotion management in both arenas. The line of research includes studies of expressed emotions in the workplace and worker's private experience of emotions and their effects to manage them" (p. 155). Within this category, Wharton (2009) found two overarching themes within the research: emotional labor as expressed emotions, and emotional dissonance and the consequences of emotional labor. Wharton (2009) scopes *emotional labor as expressed emotion* with the following definition, "this research has been conducted primarily by managerial-focused organizational researchers, who argue that workers' expressed emotions should be the focus in emotional research" (p. 155). This, of course, is in contrast to the definition of *emotional dissonance and the consequences of emotional labor*, "this is one of the largest bodies of emotional research and one of the most explicitly concerned with operationalizing this concept… Emotion management, or workers' efforts to regulate their feelings, has been a particular focus of measurement efforts, however" (p. 157). Under the broader theme of emotional labor as expressed emotions there were three major themes within the research questions (RQs): "what determines the emotions that workers express on the job?," "the antecedents and consequences of emotional expression," and concerns about "*emotional contagions*…, the idea that 'exposure to an individual producing a positive or negative emotion can produce a corresponding change in the emotional state of the observer" (p. 156–157). Under the theme of emotional dissonance and the consequences of emotional labor, there seems to be a tendency to ask participants to quantify "the degree to which workers must manage their emotions on the job," using multiple metrics to understand this phenomenon (Wharton 2009, p. 158–159). The most frequently cited metric was Maslach et al. 2001 study which utilized emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and reduced sense of personal accomplishment as three variables to measure emotional management at work (Wharton 2009, p. 159).

Regehr et al. (2023) conducted a study of in-depth interviews of archivists who worked with grief-stricken and traumatic records on their experiences working

with these collections. The authors use *post-traumatic stress*,[6] *secondary traumatic stress*,[7] and *vicarious traumatization*[8] as grounding mental health definitions to understand the experiences of their participants. In an attempt to understand participants within the aforementioned classifications of trauma experiences, participants labored within two classifications of trauma-based daily functions: archivists who worked with traumatized groups, and archivists who witnessed and worked with collections that contained traumatizing materials (Regehr et al. 2023, p. 328). Within these overarching categories, there are minutiae in which archivists: interact with people donating traumatic records, and interact with people seeking traumatic, or grief-stricken information. Within the reported impacts on archivists, the authors split the impacts into two categories: immediate responses (such as surprise, or overwhelm of emotions), and longer-term impacts (symptoms of depression, and post-traumatic stress, impaired problem solving, and substance abuse) (Regehr et al. 2023, p. 334). In an attempt to understand what exactly prompted the traumatic responses reported by archivists, there were five major factors: the nature of the record, prolonged intimate exposure, personal connection, nature of the field, and organizational context. Regehr et al. (2023) emphasize that while many emergency-service workers are prepared within their professional training for this kind of exposure to trauma, many archivists, and information workers, are not similarly prepared. Further, there were ethical conflicts between institutional responsibilities, and responsibilities to those contained in records, and, or, those donating memorializing ephemera, compounds many of the traumatic, and grief-oriented experiences that archivists reported. Regehr et al. (2023) recommended developing pre professional training for archivists in order to better prepare and protect archivists for/from the affective impact of working with these materials.

Labor of producing a counternarrative

Following the previous discussion on emotional, grief-stricken, and traumatic labor done in the archive, this section hopes to illuminate what labor is entailed in countering the violence of the state. In order to understand this dynamic, I first review Dunbar's (2006) article that introduces the concept of the counternarrative to archival studies. Then I review Collier & Sutherland's (2022) article on testimony, and witnessing as another form of counternarrative within archival studies. I then apply

[6] Regehr et al. (2023) define post-traumatic stress from the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual* (DSM) of the American Psychiatric Association. The authors summarize the definition as "originally focused on those individuals directly affected by trauma, such as victims of violence" (Regehr et al. 2023, p. 327).

[7] Reghr et al. (2023) directly quote from a scholar working within the realm of compassion fatigue, who defined secondary traumatic stress as, "'the natural consequent behaviors and emotions resulting from knowing about a traumatizing event experienced by a significant other 0 the stress resulting from helping or wanting to help a traumatized person' (Figley, 1995)" (p. 327).

[8] Regehr et al. (2023) directly quote from a scholar working within the realm secondary traumatization in mental health workers, who defined vicarious trauma as, "'indirect exposure to trauma through first-hand account or narrative of a traumatic event,' by a 'practitioner who bears witness to the survivors' account of trauma' (Zimering et al., 2003) (p. 328).

these understandings of counternarratives described in Richardson's (2020) accounts of citizen journalism as an example of work that the US justice system should have paid for given the use of these materials in re-framing justice systems to temporarily appear less anti-Black.

What is a counternarrative?

Dunbar's (2006) article, "Introducing Critical Race Theory to Archival Discourse: Getting the Conversation Started," is foundational to the scholarly conversation of producing counternarratives within archives and archival studies. Dunbar (2006) theoretically positions the paper within the framework of *Critical Race Theory*, also understood as the legal studies movement to appreciate the ways in which different institutions converge in legal settings to create harsher legal outcomes for racialized individuals (Delgado & Stefancic 2017).[9] In reading the third tenet of Critical Race Theory, "the 'social construction' thesis, holds that race and races are products of social thought and relations. Not objective, inherent, or fixed, or fixed they correspond to no biological or genetic reality; rather races are categories that society invents, manipulates, or retires when convenient" (Delgado & Stefancic 2017, p. 8–9), the reader can understand that narrative is a core component in structuring social power, values, and therefore whose emotional labor is baked into their everyday narratives and existences shaped by narrative.

In order to eventually establish the argument that a counterstorytelling is necessary to exist within a dominant culture that demonizes one's existence, Dunbar reviews how archives help shape these dominant narratives. Delgado & Stefancic (2017) describe this phenomenon as the way in which "society constructs the social world through a series of tacit agreements mediated by images, pictures, tales, tweets, blog postings, social media, and other scripts. Much of what we believe is ridiculous, self-serving, or cruel but is not perceived to be so at the time" (p. 49). Through Dunbar's (2006), exploration of narratives, and counternarratives in archival studies, he establishes a "Back to the Future" Model of Identity development in Narratives. Dunbar (2006) uses this Model of identity to argue that records have helped cultivate dominant narratives of marginalized people. Ultimately, Dunbar (2006) comes to the conclusion that counterstories are necessary to mitigate the negative impacts of the narratives created by historically dominant populations, often for the purpose of Differential Racialization, "Critical writers in law, as well as in social science, have drawn attention to the ways the dominant society racializes different minority groups at different times, in response to shifting needs such as the labor market." (Delgado & Stefancic 2017, p. 9).

Similar to Dunbar (2006), Sutherland's (2019) work on The Carceral Archive could also be understood by counter-narrativists, although Sutherland focuses on state violence more narrowly, she similarly encourages the reader to counter said state violence through counternarrative. Sutherland (2019) underscores differential

[9] See Appendix A for a table on the core tenets of Critical Race Theory.

racialization, from Critical Race Theory, to demonstrate that archival records are not neutral but carefully created, and collected to fit particular institutional objectives. Sutherland (2019) then furthers this idea by utilizing Ruha Benjamin's (2016) provocations, from Science and Technology studies, to first define the carceral imagination as a narrative justifying the regular, and casual cruelty, injustice, and bigotry of the United States Justice system that is told so regularly, that it can be witnessed in everyday conversation, and cultural ephemera across the vast U.S. geography and America's lifespan.

This vastness across time and space is echoed in the definition of the *Carceral Archive,* which is not necessarily a single physical place, but instead a weaponization of the carceral imaginary in archival settings. Sutherland's (2020) research has continued to use narrative theory, although not named as such, to find thematic narratives that exist within the carceral archive ephemera. This reproduction of carceral themes and narratives within archival records, as well as counternarrative work, could both be considered a form of immaterial labor which produces an object to be read, or witnessed. While those who produce carceral narratives for the state are recognized as professionals who are compensated for their labor, those who undo the harms of the carceral narrative labor, are often referred to as volunteers, or activists who are too "emotionally invested" to be regarded as a professional, expert, or someone deserving of compensation. This positivist understanding of counternarrative work is not only harmful to the recipient of the information who has less access to information, due to the activist's need to pay bills, but it also harms the counternarrative worker through potential burnout, and the same aforementioned need to pay for life-affirming needs.

In a similar vein of countering oppressive carceral narratives, Collier and Sutherland (2022) make the argument that a core part of counternarrative or counterstorytelling in the archive, and archival studies requires Witnessing, Testimony, and Transformation. Collier and Sutherland (2022) claim that Black archivists and Black Archival Studies scholars are uniquely positioned to understand witnessing, testimony, and transformation within an archival practice that historically, as well as contemporarily, dehumanizes, objectifies, and exploits the Black human experience. Collier and Sutherland (2022) are also concerned about the way Black people encounter representation of kin in the archive; these claims and concerns ultimately work together to empower each other in the article. In the article, Collier and Sutherland (2022) define *testimony* as, "a formal written or spoken statement, can also be thought of as ritual both of healing and as ritual condemnation of injustice. Testimonial statements -testimonial words- carry the weight of injustices" (p. 10). The justice system requires people to bravely testify against systems and people that harm them, but offer no compensation from taking time off work, or taking that risk, in a context that routinely dismisses, and disbelieves victims.

In Collier and Sutherland's (2022) discussion regarding testimony, it is raised that not everyone was, or, is, afforded the opportunity to engage in testimonial labor; this is especially true in judicial or legislative settings. Specifically, Collier and Sutherland (2022), reference the Testimonial Black codes- namely the rule that a Black person could not testify against a white person-diminished any substantive legal protection that may have existed for Black people prior to the passage of the

14th amendment" (p. 10). This should prompt the reader of this article to consider both the alternative ways that subordinated people are forced to create their own testimonial cultures, and ephemera. This should also prompt researchers, in particular, to consider the *critical fabulation*[10] of those who hope to research subordinated populations, outside of a deficit model, are forced to engage in, unless these alternative testimonial cultures and ephemera are preserved. Collier and Sutherland (2022) differentiate testimony as a "self-narration" practice, while *witnessing* is described as the ability to affirm the validity of someone else's testimony. The article ends by asking the reader to continue the ways in which anti-Blackness in both the archive and archival studies continues to negate the presence of testimony, and witness, and thereby counternarrative in our field.

How producing counternarratives qualifies as a form of immaterial labor

Responding to the same archival trends of anti-Black disbelief, and the need to create their own testimonial archive Richardson's book, *Bearing Witness While Black* discusses the citizen journalists who created their own archival traditions with their cell phones, social media, and thoughtful hash-tag classification schemas. While Richardson situates this moment of citizen-recording, and archiving within the longer lineage of Black witnessing, and storytelling against the state; naturally, this timeline begins with the capture, and enslavement of black people, and the ways in which slaves countered the dominant narratives that were used to justify dehumanizing cruelty that was part and parcel within the colonial tradition (Benjamin 2016; Sutherland 2019). What is particularly powerful in Richardson's (2020) empirical interviews with citizen journalists in the Black Lives Matter (BLM) Movement is the illumination of why these professionals engaged in dangerous, and often unpaid labor: managing the rage they experienced in the face of injustice, love for queer affirming space, love for themselves, love for their "perceived enemy," the fear that they could have been treated with the same injustice/inhumanity, paying respect to work of previous civil rights workers, redeeming the perception of the BLM movement, and religious influence (p. 99–112). Richardson (2020) writes that citizen journalists reported symptoms of post-traumatic stress, secondary traumatic stress, vicarious trauma, and burnout more generally. This finding underscores that providing witnessing and testimony records is not a masochistic hobby, but information-oriented immaterial labor that deserves compensation from the many justice-oriented institutions that re-import their institutional sense of importance, based on the unpaid labor of these citizen journalists.

[10] Hartman (2008) gestures towards a definition of *Critical Fabulation* as, "Is it possible to exceed or negotiate the constitutive limits of the archive? By advancing a series of speculative arguments and exploiting the capacities of the subjunctive (a grammatical mood that expresses doubts, wishes, and possibilities), in fashioning a narrative, which is based upon archival research, and by that I mean a critical reading of the archive that mimes the figurative dimensions of history, I intended both to tell an impossible story and to amplify the impossibility of its telling" (p. 11).

Discussion

The community archives movement (Caswell et al. 2016; Flinn & Shepherd 2009; Godoy 2021; Sheffield 2017), and the scholarly attention paid to the dominant/counter-narrative dynamic within archival work (Dunbar 2006; Sutherland 2019; Collier and Sutherland 2022; Richardson 2020), has often been grouped together under the umbrella of human-rights archives (Caswell 2014a), or social justice more broadly (Cifor 2016). This grouping is compounded by the weaving in of emotional labor (Regehr et al. 2023); given the often gendered expectations of emotional labor (Wharton 2009), it stands that the labor itself also has the potential to also become gendered. In this political moment, in which unapologetic white supremacists are attacking the ways in which non-normative groups have engaged in the ability to both know their oppressor and know themselves, no doubt, an evolution from what DuBois originally coined as *double consciousness*,[11] counternarrative archiving becomes a way to identify where our separate coalitions may have common interests in organizing against the state.

While the anti-lynching movement has a long history of counternarrative archiving (Wells-Barnett 2015; Williams & Drake 2017; Richardson 2020), I often find myself curious as to how coalitions like the MeToo movement (Burke 2021), which archived sexual assault victims narratives without prejudice, and the mapping police violence project can come together to highlight the entangled narratives of disbelief that make our evidence against the culturally dominant narratives, and the institutions that uphold said narratives: illegible, unreliable, inaccessible, or otherwise a victim of epistemic injustice.

How does epistemic injustice intersect with labor injustices of unpaid wages for work that upholds the purported value of a justice-oriented system.While some may understand this to be a series of reform projects, I want to be clear: I am one of many sexual assault survivors that was not considered special enough property to be protected by a judicial system that only protects people who are deemed 'worthy' property. I am not an anomaly as many people, including many sexual assault survivors, regularly fill the streets calling for an abolition of a judicial, legislative, and policing system that regularly enacts epistemic injustice to maintain its power-laden hegemonic interests. I position my understanding of current judicial, policing, and legislative systems under an abolitionist framework. These systems of

[11] Du Bois (1903) describes Double Consciousness as, "After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Monglian, the N*gro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world,—a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness,—an American, a N*gro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings, two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder" (p. 2).

control and punishment were built to silence victims whose narrative challenged the power structures of the ruling class. Subordinated groups were able to fight for their rights, not by containing themselves in shells of respectability, and waiting for those in power to do "the right thing." Instead, our activist history is one of organized, and strategic disruption. In a political moment where many of us are scared of what Trump's white supremacist ruling class will do next, I hope the rest of us can come together to form coalition, protection, and strategic disruption with each other.

While this collection of evidence continues to be unpaid immaterial labor, I hope for a future that considers paying victims for the labor of collecting and presenting the evidence that allows justice-systems to occasionally work. While some critics might argue that compensating experts for their labor might motivate bad actors to enact false evidence in exchange for the monetary compensation offered, I argue that the justice-oriented systems are supposed to evaluate the evidence, not prevent people from coming forward. Further, if we are to take a genuinely intersectional approach, I would encourage readers to interrogate the colonial thought systems of disbelief that uphold those wealthy enough to not need to perform aforementioned "bad acts" to feed their children, morally superior.

Conclusion/future work

In order to construct this argument, I reviewed the intersection of both labor theory, and archival studies. Ultimately I argued that the immaterial labor that is demanded of producing counter-narrative against dominant and normative institutions is tied to the colonial epistemology that those who fight the systems of power are less than human, and therefore, do not deserve to be regarded as experts, or compensated for their immaterial labor. This epistemology simultaneously casts these counter-narrative laborers as untrustworthy and the only ones suited for the job.[12] Given the unwillingness for judicial and legislative intervention requiring capital-rich institutions to pay us for our justice-oriented labor, I argue that we can not wait for these systems to "do the right thing." Instead, I suggest that separate coalitions of counter-narrative record-keepers come together to mark trends of disbelief and demand change from the judicial and legislative bodies that purport to serve us.

While I never ran the mile to abide by hegemonic understandings of a useful body, I instead use my body to type counternarratives, honoring the strife of my great-grandparents, my students, myself, my community, and countless other efforts to be legible as a human being. This is my/our counternarrative. One in which we can exist outside of capitalist/fascist understandings of bodies that are only worthy of respect and dignity within strict racialized and gendered rubrics. I hope this is a start to honor those I love/d, and those who love/d me.

[12] Hill (2020), Olsen (2020), and Jackson (2020) have written about this extensively.

Appendix A: Tenets of critical race theory

Tenet	Definition
1. Racism is ordinary, not aberrational	"First, racism is ordinary, not aberrational- 'normal science,' the usual way society does business, the common, everyday experience of most people of color in this country. Second, most would agree that our system of white-over-color ascendancy serves important purposes, both psychic and material, for the dominant group. The first feature, ordinariness, means that racism is difficult to address or cure because it is not acknowledged" (Delgado & Stefancic 2017, p. 8)
2. Interest Convergence	"The second feature, sometimes called 'interest convergence' or material determinism, adds a further dimension. Because racism advances the interests of both white elites (materially) and working-class whites (psychically), large segments of society have little incentive to eradicate it" (Delgado & Stefancic 2017, p. 8)
3. Social Construction	"A third theme of critical race theory, the 'social construction' thesis, holds that race and races are products of social thought and relations. Not objective, inherent, or fixed, or fixed they correspond to no biological or genetic reality; rather races are categories that society invents, manipulates, or retires when convenient." (Delgado & Stefancic 2017, p. 8–9)
4. Differential Racialization	"Critical writers in law, as well as in social science, have drawn attention to the ways the dominant society racializes different minority groups at different times, in response to shifting needs such as the labor market." (Delgado & Stefancic 2017, p. 9)
5. Intersectionality and/or Anti Essentialism	"No person has a single easily stated, unitary identity." (Delgado & Stefancic 2017, p. 10)
6. The Uniqueness and Importance of Marginalized Voices	"… the voice-of-color thesis holds that because of their different histories and experiences with oppression, Black, American Indian, Asian, and Latino writers and thinkers may be able to communicate to their white counterparts matters that the whites are unlikely to know. Minority status, in other words, brings with it a presumed competence to speak about race and racism." (Delgado & Stefancic 2017, p. 11)

Appendix B: Emotional labor diagrams

See Figs. 1, 2 and 3.

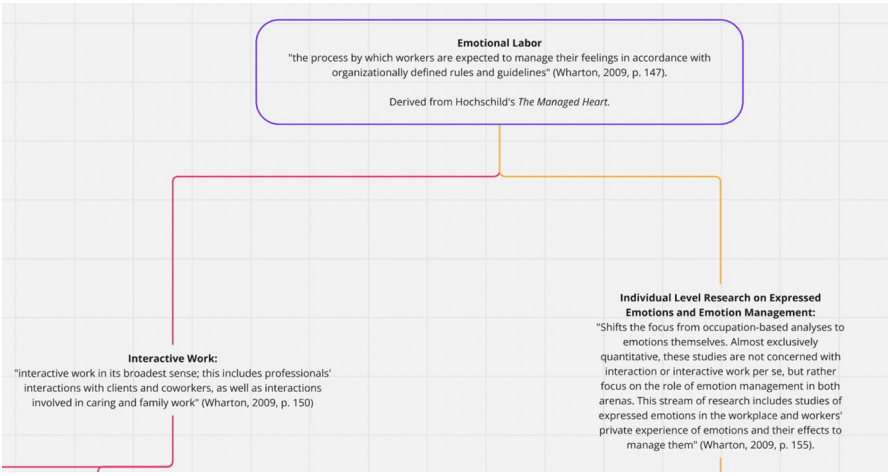


Fig. 1 Definition of Emotional Labor, and its two original offshoots: interactive work, and individual level research on expressed emotions and emotion management

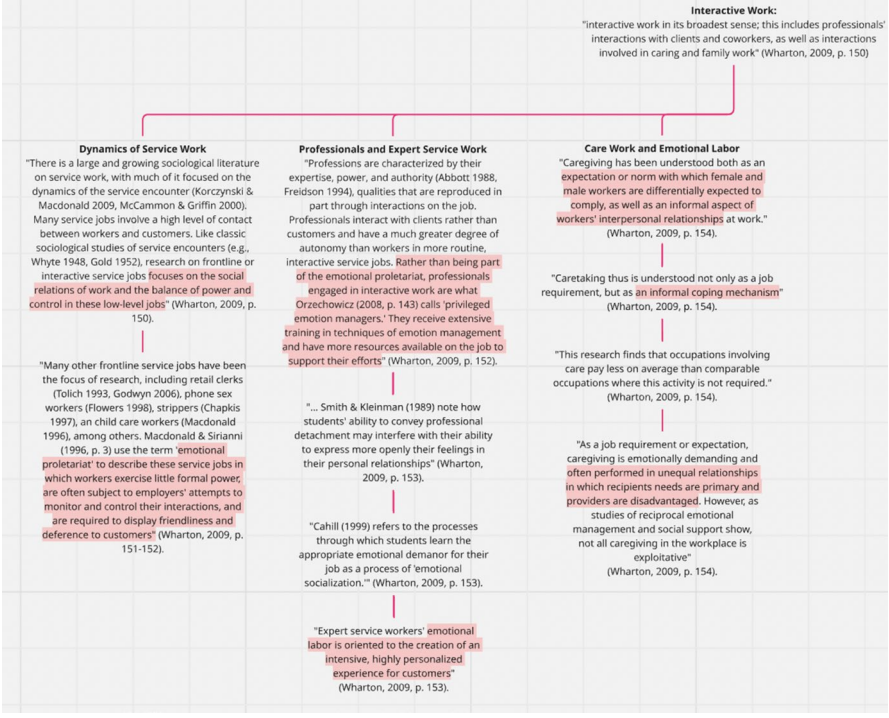


Fig. 2 Interactive Work



Fig. 3 Individual Level Research on Expressed Emotions and Emotion Management

Author contributions From the time that I was in the third grade, I remember feeling curvier than my childhood counterparts. This was in the late 90s and the early 2000s, when "heroine chick" was the idealized feminine form. I remember most adults commenting on my form in relation to what a good possession I would be to a man someday; while their comments were not malicious in intention, they were impactful. I never wanted to run, or move in such a way that would draw more, or any, attention to me. One day this resulted in the first of many phone calls home from my gym teacher(s), reporting to my single, and stressed out mother that I was not participating in gym class. When I got home, I was sure to hear about my great-grandfather who walked across Russia to escape the Nazis, and my mom asking why couldn't I run the mile if my ancestors could walk the expanse of Nazi Russia, and other foreign lands to escape their imminent demise. Similar refuge stories reside within my dad's family, who escaped Sicily; however, his side of the family spoke less about the details, and kept less documentation. Scholars have theorized a great deal how each of these two groups aimed to climb the ladder of whiteness through their selective engagement with memory work and their respective histories of racialization, and othering. While every Jewish relative would frequently remind me of our histories fighting for survival, and even send us to Hebrew school in order to learn our histories and cultures, the Sicilian side of my family were eager to forget the prejudices our ancestors faced, just one generation before my grandparents. Through my academic work, I hope to honor these daily exchanges centered on remembrance, and counter the forced dis-remembering encouraged in this current U.S. political regime. I am intimately aware of the

dangers, and privileges that it requires to create certain counternarratives whether it be about our bodies, identity, ethnicity, existence in the world, relationships to other people, or any other number of situations in which we feel we must, or would like to, assert our truth. Not dissimilar to the ways in which lifting weights, and practicing Muay Thai[13] allowed me to transform the narrative of my body from a site of acquisition for men, to a sense of reclamation in the most tangible sense. I believe that counterstories allow us to reclaim our humanity from traditions that are hyper-dominant, and endlessly anxious, about their acquisition of our bodies, and identities in order to amplify their sense of self-importance. I write this paper in gratitude for the opportunity to exist outside of normativity, and meaningfully engage in knowledge work.

Declarations

Conflict of interest I want to state that there were no conflicts of interest that arose while conducting this literature review.

Ethical approval This paper received no funding, and complied with all ethical standards required of literature reviews. Since it was a literature review, there was no need for ethical approval from the university, or informed consent.

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[13] A special dedication to Coach Mohammed and Coach Hunter for helping me reclaim my body in this capacity.

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