RHETORIC OF THE FEMINIST KILLJOY: AN ANALYSIS OF BAYLOR UNIVERSITY'S TITLE IX DISCOURSE

By

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Abstract

In October of 2016, Baylor University's first Title IX coordinator, Patty Crawford, publicly resigned. She alleged that Baylor had failed to provide her with necessary resources to investigate sexual assault on campus and that she was facing retaliation from university administrators for doing her job. In the following months, Crawford and Baylor each participated in national interviews as well as made statements to the press in their attempts to control the public narrative concerning her resignation. This thesis adopts Sara Ahmed's feminist killjoy as a rhetorical trope and conducts a feminist rhetorical analysis of the public discourse relating to, first, Crawford's complaint about her lack of resources, and second, Crawford's resignation and the rationale behind it. I argue that the figure of the killjoy emerges throughout the rhetoric of Baylor University, Crawford's lawyer, and Crawford herself, as each actor positions Crawford as somehow impeding the university's happiness. Crawford's and her lawyer's rhetoric situate her complaint and resignation as both driven by her need to speak out against inequality, a narrative which evokes the figure of the killjoy. The killjoy emerges in Baylor's discourse in other ways though, as they position Crawford's actions as motivated by her own emotional and professional dissatisfaction, therefore drawing on themes of the killjoy as sensationalist. This analysis not only highlights the potential for the killjoy as a rhetorical trope, but also reveals the complicated nature of Title IX work and discourses surrounding sexual violence.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Baylor University, Title IX, and Patty Crawford

Located in Waco, Texas, Baylor University is a private Baptist school that, up until 2015, was best known for its proximity to the 1993 FBI raid on the Branch Davidian compound and its newly successful football team under coach Art Briles and quarterback Robert Griffin III (Burton, 2018; Goldberg, 2011). In time, however, that same football team would lead to negative attention for Baylor. In 2012, Baylor indefinitely suspended defensive end Tevin Elliott, who "was arrested and indicted for two counts of sexual assault," but the case was treated as a relatively isolated incident and was considered resolved with minimal media coverage when Elliott was convicted of sexual assault at the beginning of 2014 (Grosbard, 2016, para. 2). In 2015, however, it was revealed that another football player, Sam Ukwuachu, had been indicted on sexual assault charges relating to a 2013 assault. To make matters worse, it was discovered that Ukwuachu had been allowed to transfer to and play at Baylor despite the coaches knowing the transfer from his previous university was due to abusing his then-girlfriend (Grosbard, 2016). While Baylor established a formal Title IX office and appointed a full-time coordinator in fall of 2014 following Elliott's conviction, this revelation and the backlash it inspired prompted a call for an internal investigation related to the Ukwuachu case specifically (Lavigne, 2016; Kalland, 2015).

The internal inquiry, performed by a Baylor Law professor, took only a week and concluded with a recommendation for an external investigation into sexual assault and violence at the university (Waco Tribune-Herald, 2017; Waco Tribune-Herald, 2015). So at the beginning of September 2015, in the face of a growing string of allegations and

lawsuits concerning sexual assault at the university, Baylor University commissioned the law firm Pepper Hamilton to conduct an independent investigation into the university's "institutional response to Title IX and related compliance issues," (Baylor, 2016a, para. 2). Pepper Hamilton's findings revealed "a fundamental failure by Baylor" in implementing the mandates of the 2013 Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act and the 1972 Education Amendments (Baylor, 2016a). The university subsequently pledged to enact a series of Pepper Hamilton's recommendations in areas including athletic policies, sexual assault training and reporting, counseling, and safety (Baylor, 2016a). However, fewer than six months following the school's rededication to combatting sexual assault on campus, Patty Crawford, Baylor's Title IX coordinator since the office's establishment in 2014, resigned and filed a complaint against the university with the Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights (Erickson, 2016a). Despite the university lambasting her claims that the school failed to provide her with the necessary "authority, resources or the independence to do the job appropriately," Crawford remained steadfast in expressing her beliefs that Baylor was still failing to both comply with Title IX laws and protect victims of sexual assault (Erickson, 2016a, para. 6). Since Crawford's resignation in 2016, the university has had three different Title IX coordinators, appointed a new president, and re-written their Title IX policies. However, Baylor has not escaped the spotlight (KWTX, 2018; Schmidt, 2019).

As of August 2019, Baylor is the subject of yet another lawsuit stemming from a Title IX investigation. This time the complainant is a former university professor who claims an anti-male bias within the Title IX office led to him being found wrongfully guilty of "rape, sexual exploitation, [and] intimate-partner violence" (Messer, 2019, para.

4). The retaliatory suit claims multiple administrators and directors within the professor's department cautioned him that the university environment meant he was at risk of being falsely accused of sexual misconduct. According to the anonymous professor, those concerns were proven to be well-founded when a student he had previously been in a relationship with filed a complaint against him with the Title IX office (Berman, 2019). The suit also alleges that current Title IX coordinator, Laura Johnson, and current deputy coordinator, Carolyn Hughes, "encouraged" the student to file the complaint regardless of the strength of evidence she may have, and argues that this proves the office was often biased as a result of the professor's gender (Berman, 2019, para. 18). With its focus on anti-male bias, this case has put Baylor's Title IX office back into the spotlight, bringing up the previous scandal and reform and heightening the media attention and public discourse surrounding it.

Patty Crawford's position within the Baylor Title IX scandal, and her eventual federal complaint and resignation, provides a valuable entry point for extending cultural studies theorist Sara Ahmed's work on the feminist killjoy into communication studies. The killjoy, or the one who refuses to be made happy or make others happy by orienting herself toward the 'right' things, is most predominately associated with Ahmed's 2017 book, *Living a Feminist Life.* Ahmed situates the killjoy within the idea of happiness as a social good. She argues,

> If we do not change direction to avoid causing unhappiness, we cause unhappiness. The killjoy comes up again here. You might receive this assignment just because you do not want what others want you to want. And it can seem that

> by not wanting what other people want (which is also what they want you to want), you are somehow rejecting and devaluing their wants. (2017a, p. 53)

Yet despite the centrality and importance of the killjoy figure to Ahmed's research, there are few rhetorical scholars that have taken it up in their own work. As such, this thesis explores this intersection between the feminist killjoy, institutional complaint, and resignation as represented in the public discourse surrounding Patty Crawford and her time at Baylor University. I argue that the figure of the killjoy emerges in a variety of ways throughout the rhetoric of Patty Crawford, her attorney, and the Baylor administration, specifically in the context of Crawford's complaints about the university and eventual resignation.

In this introduction, I seek to do several things in order to contextualize and justify this analysis. I first clarify why I am drawn to study Baylor University and Patty Crawford, explaining what this specific scenario has to offer by way of centering the feminist killjoy. I then move to review existing rhetorical literature concerning the killjoy and focus on how this research contributes to and expands upon that work. Following this, I briefly touch on method, the roots of feminist rhetorical analysis, and how this project fits within that tradition. Finally, I offer a preview of the chapters this thesis contains and arguments of each.

Justification for Studying Baylor

While there's certainly no shortage of universities with concerns regarding Title IX and assault and violence on campus, I chose to conduct this research in the context of Baylor University because even amidst a culture where complaints of sexual violence at universities often go ignored or uninvestigated, Baylor's situation is unfortunately unique

for a few reasons (Toppo, 2018). First, Baylor stands out because of the extent to which the university allegedly covered up, condoned, and even enabled sexual violence. One example of this is seen in a lawsuit alleging at least 52 acts of rape committed by 31 football players over four years, at least five of which were gang rapes (Lavigne, 2018). As if this central allegation is not appalling enough, the lawsuit goes on to claim that "the school implemented a 'show 'em a good time' policy that 'used sex to sell' the football program to recruits. That included escorting underage recruits to strip clubs and arranging women to have sex with prospective players," illustrating the extent to which the university and the football coaches were allegedly involved in creating a culture which normalized and even encouraged sexual violence (Mervosh, 2017, para. 10). Another example of this, from the same lawsuit, is the claim that "several Baylor employees, including coaches, failed to properly act" when they were told by a student about having been gang-raped by multiple members of the Baylor football team (Lavigne, 2018, para. 3). This alleged failure to take proper, and legally required, action in the face of sexual assault further exhibits the unique nature of the Baylor faculty and administration's alleged complicity in a campus culture which both engendered and covered up sexual assault and violence.

The second reason Baylor's situation is unique is because of the circumstances surrounding Crawford's resignation. There are two distinctive factors here: the fact that Crawford was the university's *first* Title IX coordinator and the fact that she left Baylor on what appeared to be good terms, which then turned exceptionally contentious. In an interview concerning why she resigned, Crawford explained, "I think Baylor set me up to fail from the beginning," (Martin, 2016, para. 4). She elaborated, "I continued to work

very hard, and the harder I worked, the more resistance I received from senior leadership," (Martin, 2016, para. 4). This is positioned in stark contrast to the university's initial public statement contending that Crawford resigned because she "was disappointed in her role in implementing the recommendations that resulted from the Pepper Hamilton investigation," (Kercheval, 2016, para. 4). Baylor also, following Crawford's interview, issued a document titled "Patty Crawford Timeline" with the following explanation at the beginning:

> Following is a timeline of Patty Crawford's tenure as Baylor University's first full-time Title IX Coordinator. The sampling of emails, texts and interviews illustrate a very different story than Crawford's claims to CBS News that she was "set up to fail." (Baylor, 2016b)

This document is only one of a number of ways the university attempted to disparage Crawford following her resignation, and this pivot from an ambivalent relationship between Crawford and Baylor to an antagonistic one makes this dynamic a particularly important one to study.

Also significant in my choice to study Baylor University, and Patty Crawford specifically, is the fact that I have a personal relationship to the school and its initial Title IX upheaval. As an undergraduate student at Baylor from the fall of 2014 through the spring of 2018, I experienced first-hand the changes in the dynamics both on and off campus as the assault allegations came to light, lawsuits were filed, and Crawford left. I also witnessed the internal changes undergone by the Title IX office as I was a student worker in the Office of Risk and Compliance at the time. In my final year at the university I also filed and followed through with a Title IX complaint, making my

relationship to Baylor Title IX a relatively nuanced one. While this research will not use any of my past memories of or experiences with the university as evidence, my presence on campus during the Title IX reform process and my subsequent interactions with the Title IX office mean that questions concerning Title IX at Baylor are of particular interest to me.

Even aside from its importance in sparking my initial interests in Title IX policy at Baylor University though, I consider this personal connection worthy of inclusion here for two reasons. First, I think acknowledging from the beginning that this research was prompted by personal experiences and connections is important for the sake of research ethics. While I do not believe my relationship to the university causes me to be biased in my research, I do want to make clear that there are two ways I am still being conscious of that potential for implicit bias. The first way is not using my own experiences as evidence, and the second is ensuring my research question and texts are positioned in a way that brackets out questions of policy, office, and university success and focuses only on public discourse and statements concerning Crawford. The second reason I am including a conversation of my personal connection to the university is because I believe doing so is important in the context of Charles E. Morris III's argument for critical self-portraiture. Forwarding the belief that rhetorical scholars ought to write themselves into their research more, a practice which necessitates acknowledging their own connections and histories, Morris argues that critical self-portraiture requires that "we acknowledge and articulate ourselves as inevitably implicated in the materiality of discourse, in context," (p. 34). By situating myself within my research and fore-fronting my own experiences as a primary factor in prompting my research in this subject, I hope to

position this research as a form of critical self-portraiture and draw on Morris' belief that "rhetorical engagement is invaluable for its capacity as a site of invention and revelation, for ferreting out motives as embodied in the readings and deployments by those who make something of it" (p. 9).

The rather extreme nature of Baylor's Title IX scandal, and the very public back and forth between Crawford and the Baylor administration following her resignation, make the argument for centering research around Baylor and Crawford relatively strong. The wealth of information and variety of sources covering the developments also supplement this, reflecting the diverse nature of public discourses surrounding the controversy. While there's been wide coverage of Baylor and Crawford within the media, I find the opposite is true in the case of the academic, and specifically rhetorical, work devoted to the feminist killjoy, which is where I now turn.

The Feminist Killjoy and Rhetorical Studies

Aside from Ahmed's work relating to the feminist killjoy, the figure has been relatively undertheorized, as indicated above. The rhetorical work which engages the killjoy can be best divided into two sections. The first of these reads the killjoy into media – both literature and digital media—and the second category applies the killjoy to rhetoric and affect studies.

Digital Media and Literature

The first set of research engaging the feminist killjoy, that which applies the figure to different forms of media, is comprised of three primary articles. First is Mons Bissenbakker's 2018 article, "How to bring your daughter up to be a feminist killjoy: Shame, accountability and the necessity of paranoid reading in Lene Kaaberbøl's *The*

Shamer Chronicles." In the article, Bissenbakker takes up an interpretation of shame as connected "to the possibility of self-transformation" (p. 104). He then applies this to the figure of 'the Shamer' in the series *The Shamer Chronicles*, with 'the Shamer' being "a person able to solve crimes by looking into the conscience of a suspect to see if he or she carries shame over certain guilty deeds." (p. 105). 'The Shamer' is a killjoy, Bissenbakker rationalizes, due to the fact that "meeting the Shamer's gaze forces one to examine one's own faults and complicities, making one immensely uncomfortable" and ensuring accountability (p. 110).

The second two articles within this type of research apply the killjoy to visual media. Rachel Kuo's 2019 chapter, "Animating Feminist Anger: Economies of Race and Gender in Reaction GIFs," and Shana MacDonald's article from the same year, titled, "Refusing to Smile for the Patriarchy: Jessica Jones as Feminist Killjoy," are the two works which fall into this category. Kuo (2019) positions GIFs, or animated images, as rhetorical devices and uses the figure of the killjoy to analyze the way in which raced and gendered bodies are both associated with anger and circulated through GIFs. MacDonald (2019) applies the killjoy to a more specific set of media, the television show *Jessica Jones*, which is based on a fallen Marvel superhero of the same name. The show follows Jones' life "after she'd tried the whole hero thing, failed, and thought she'd escaped from her tormentor" and at its root is "about an abusive relationship and its aftereffects" (Li, 2019, para. 5). MacDonald argues that Jones is a feminist killjoy for a number of reasons, though most particularly for her refusal both to smile and to "perform a stereotypical version of femininity" (p. 8).

Both Kuo's and MacDonald's pieces, as well as Bissenbakker's article, can be argued as applying the killjoy to the field of communication studies in various ways. However, there exists a substantial gap in the field in terms of both applying the killjoy to public discourse and rhetoric, i.e. news articles, press releases, and public statements, and contextualizing the killjoy to the public moment and the non-academic importance of such. This thesis aims to bridge this gap by arguing for the importance of research in the intersection of the feminist killjoy and public discourse.

Affect and Rhetorical Studies

The second subset of communication studies research explicitly engaging the feminist killjoy does so through the lens of affect theory, the most notable of which is Erin Rand's 2015 article, "Bad Feelings in Public: Rhetoric, Affect, and Emotion". Rand (2015) places Ahmed's *The Promise of Happiness* in conversation with Ann Cvetkovich's *Depression: A Public Feeling* and Barbara Tomlinson's *Feminism and Affect at the Scene of Argument: Beyond the Trope of the Angry Feminist*, and argues that the three collectively make an argument for "how patrolling the boundaries of affect can have authorizing functions in public discourse" (p. 174). She also contends that only discussing discourse of figures like the killjoy through the lens of affect is problematic in that it reinforces understandings of emotion "as falling outside or even constituting the very perimeter of rhetoric's reach" (p. 175).

Rand's argument is valuable to this research project, as it forwards the importance of bringing concepts traditionally thought of as affective into the realm of rhetoric, which is precisely what this research aims to do with the figure of the feminist killjoy. This research expands on this work, as it exemplifies one way that a traditionally affective

concept can be applied within rhetoric and used in rhetorical analysis. Rand's article also provides a justification for not including discussions of affect in this project, as it highlights the significance of reorienting the way we consider the use and applicability of concepts which originate in other disciplines.

A Note on Method: Feminist Rhetorical Analysis

In discussing what it means for this project to be part of a tradition of feminist rhetorical analysis, I want to highlight two specific articles I draw from which each trace the history of this tradition and establish goals for the future of feminist rhetoric. First is the 2010 article, "Rhetoric and feminism: the possibilities of women and beyond," by Cheryl Glenn, which criticizes the discipline's empirical silence surrounding women rhetoricians. Following this criticism, Glenn highlights five features of ideal feminist rhetorical analysis and "a field in which feminist rhetoricians are moving steadily beyond a *sole* focus on women's rhetorical contributions" (p. 47, emphasis in original). These five features are: (1) understandings of identity as a source of epistemological knowledge and gender as just one of many oppressions, (2) a redefining of what constitutes rhetorical delivery to include alternative methods and dimensions, (3) interventions into traditional research methods and epistemologies, (4) refocusing of rhetoric from persuasion to shared understandings and meanings, and (5) support for feminist mentorship and pedagogy within the discipline (Glenn, 2010).

This hope for the future of feminist rhetoric is echoed in the second article of this section, Michaela Meyer's 2007 article, "Women Speak(ing): Forty Years of Feminist Contributions to Rhetoric and an Agenda for Feminist Rhetorical Studies." Meyer isolates three benefits of feminist rhetorical analysis, including its ability to expose

systems of power, to reconceptualize "identity in terms of discursive categories," and to "challenge fixed, monolithic constructions of identity" (p. 7). She then outlines three strategies to "assist scholars with future theorizing in feminist rhetoric" (p. 9). The first strategy is "to recognize the contributions of power feminism and build these into discussions of feminist rhetoric in the 21st century," via creating spaces for women of color scholarship and highlighting alternative approaches to rhetoric (Meyer, 2007, p. 9). Meyer's second strategy is to name oneself and identify one's epistemology when conducting research, this is important in that it forefronts "writing that clearly articulates our own methodological and epistemological foundations as a function and byproduct of authorship" (p. 11). This strategy is one that strongly coincides with Glenn's notion of identities as a resource, as well as Morris' concept of critical self-portraiture. Third, is the strategy of alliance building, which necessitates engaging in intersectional discussions of various oppressions, such as race, gender, and class. Such discussions, Meyer (2007) argues, are "an opportunity to expand the scope of feminist discourse and extend our theory to actualized, embodied practices in our daily lives" (p. 12). The strategy also closely resembles one of Glenn's recommendations, specifically, that of pedagogy and feminist mentorship.

This research centers Meyer's (2007) call for feminist rhetorical analysis to "seek to discover how gendered concepts occur, how they are communicated in daily interactions, and how they transform the practices associated with the concept across cultures, spaces, and time" (p. 9). In analyzing the way that the trope of the feminist killjoy appears throughout the rhetoric of Baylor University and Patty Crawford, I attempt to expose how the killjoy, as a gendered concept, appears and is taken up and

repeated throughout institutional and public discourses. This analysis also emphasizes Meyer's argument about "the ability of feminist rhetorical analysis to expose power relations," as it highlights the way that different public actors utilize the figure of the killjoy in distinct ways (p. 6).

I consider this set of literature to be important in the context of this research for two reasons. First, it recognizes the history of feminist rhetorical development which makes this work possible. This is valuable because recognition and citation are "feminist memory…how we acknowledge our debt to those who came before; those who helped us find our way when the way was obscured because we deviated from the paths we were told to follow" (Ahmed, 2017a, p. 15). In highlighting Ahmed's theories and their significant contributions to the discipline, I hope to expand this notion of citation as memory by aiding in the inclusion of her scholarship to the feminist rhetorical tradition. Second, it is necessary because the values and strategies detailed by Glenn and Meyer set the stage for this project's rhetorical work. To adhere to these tenants of feminist rhetoric is to also make a commitment to the ethics that undergird them. Gesa Kirsch and Jacqueline Royster's "Feminist Rhetorical Practices: In Search of Excellence" describes this move as a commitment to,

> engage dialectically and dialogically, to actually use tension, conflicts, balances, and counterbalances more overtly as critical opportunities for inquiry in order to enable a conversation, even if only imaginatively, and simulate an interactive encounter with women who are not us, that is, the women whom we study. (2010, p. 265)

This research deeply interrogates points of tension and conflict between Crawford and Baylor in order to understand what they reveal about larger power structures and gender dynamics for those who engage in sexual harassment and diversity work. In highlighting the statements, releases, and interviews from Crawford herself and integrating them into conversation with Ahmed's own narratives of complaint and resignation, I aim to stimulate this sort of "interactive encounter" between Ahmed and Crawford, but also between them and those who study, value, or are affected by anti-sexual violence work in the university.

This work also represents a move toward Meyer's (2007) call to "creat[e] spaces for women of color scholarship" through highlighting Ahmed, her work, and her contributions to communication studies (p. 9). Ahmed is widely cited in the discipline's research relating to affect studies, something which is clearly important. But introducing her work as valuable in its own right, not just in its relationship to concepts largely attributed to white men, as is predominately the case with Brian Massumi and Michael Hardt's work on affect, is necessary to begin to fulfill Meyer's call of creating space for women of color and women of color scholarship that is all their own.

The Killjoy as "She"

Before proceeding to the analysis, I do want to note that I choose to use the pronouns she/her/hers to refer to the feminist killjoy, as that is the choice that Ahmed has made in her development of the figure. However, the use of these pronouns should not be interpreted as an exclusion of those who do not identify as a woman. Ahmed (2017a) is explicit and eloquent here as she speaks about what she means, and so I quote her at length:

> What do I mean by *women* here? I am referring to all those who travel under the sign *women.* No feminism worthy of its name would use the sexist idea "women born women" to create the edges of feminist community, to render trans women into "not women," or "not born women," or into men. No one is born a woman; it as an assignment (not just a sign, but also a task or an imperative…) that can shape us; make us; and break us. Many women who were assigned female at birth, let us remind ourselves, are deemed not women in the right way, or not women at all, perhaps because of how they do or do not express themselves (they are too good at sports, not feminine enough because of their bodily shape, comportment, or conduct, hot heterosexual, not mothers, and so on). (p. 14-15, emphasis in original)

Ahmed here resists the impulse to categorize or define who may or may not be identified as a woman, choosing instead to criticize the "imperative" we are given to perform as or as not women. She accurately argues that there "can be violence at stake in being recognizable as women; there can be violence at stake in not being recognizable as women" (2017a, p. 15). She emphasizes this refusal to define oneself by any standard other than self-interpretation throughout her writing, at one point highlighting a policy espoused by the movement Sisters Uncut in the United Kingdom, which says,

> Our meetings should be inclusive and supportive spaces for all women (trans, intersex and cis), all those who experience oppression as women (including non-binary and gender non-conforming people) and all those who identify as women for the purpose of political organizing. Self-definition is at the sole discretion of that sister. (2017a, p. 212)

As such, the use of the pronouns she/her/hers is not a move made for the sake of exclusion, but rather in the name of inclusion and self-definition.

Also significant in considering the framing of the killjoy as a woman in any capacity though is the fact that the negative tropes and perceptions associated with the figure are nearly always also associated with heteronormative norms and ideas of women. Those who are perceived as emotional, sensationalist, "responsible for the violence directed toward" them, oppositional, willful, and feminist are *overwhelmingly* those who are coded or read as women (Ahmed, 2017a, p. 26). The trope of the killjoy then, is often depicted or referenced as a women, and frequently as a woman of color, for "the figure of the angry black woman, the angry woman of color,…the angry indigenous woman" is "another kind of feminist killjoy" (Ahmed, 2017a, p. 177). As such, in order to reclaim the figure, we must acknowledge her origins. As Ahmed (2017a) notes, "the feminist killjoy begins her life as an antifeminist figure: we are retooling her for our own purpose" (p. 37).

Understanding the feminist killjoy as a woman and using she/her/hers pronouns to describe her then is an intentional and important move for two reasons. First, because in order to repurpose the figure toward radical and feminist ends, it is necessarily to understand the nature of her origin and her basis in norms which are highly gendered, sexist, racist, and heteronormative. Second, because for Ahmed, woman is not interpreted by exclusion but rather by self-identification and the ways that individuals are subjected to violence based on how they are or are not recognizable as normatively cis women.

What's to Come

In this thesis, I proceed by conducting a feminist rhetorical analysis of the public discussions surrounding Patty Crawford, specifically her complaints about her time at Baylor and her ultimate resignation. The analysis includes texts such as press releases by Baylor, interviews with Crawford, statements from her attorney, and news articles discussing her complaints and resignation. I understand the feminist killjoy here as a rhetorical trope, or "figurative pattern," which appears throughout the discourse surrounding Crawford (Keeling, 2016, p. 319). In conducting this rhetorical analysis, I specifically focus on the emergence of recurring themes which resemble those noted by Ahmed as representative of the feminist killjoy. These include themes such as alienation from institutions due to speaking out against injustice, articulations of resignation as protest, institutional attempts at discrediting, and being framed as impeding university success or happiness.

I found that the killjoy emerges most prominently in the discourse concerning two specific actions Crawford took at the end of her time at Baylor. The first of these is her public allegation, or complaint, that Baylor failed to support her or provide her with the necessary resources for her to be successful in her position, and the second, is her ultimate resignation from the position as Title IX coordinator. As such, the first chapter of this thesis centers Crawford's complaint of a lack of resources, using Ahmed's theory of complaint as a lens through which to read the public discourse surrounding Crawford's allegation and Baylor's response. The second chapter then uses Ahmed's theory of resignation as feminist snap to interpret the public discourse and releases surrounding Crawford's resignation, specifically focusing on the narratives which both sides offer to

explain it. Ahmed's feminist killjoy emerges throughout both sets of analysis, with each chapter speaking to the particular ways she appears and how those appearances contribute to the ways that rhetoricians might understand institutional processes of complaint and resignation.

Chapter 2:

Patty Crawford as Complaining: The Killjoy's Emergence within Public Discourse on Complaint

Introduction

The feminist killjoy, as described in chapter one, is one who is not merely unhappy with contemporary power relations, i.e. racism, sexism, capitalism, etc. but who also speaks up about those injustices and inequalities no matter where they occur. Because of this tendency to speak up, Ahmed (2014) argues, the killjoy is often "heard as making a complaint…heard as *being complaining.* [She is] heard as expressing annoyance about something. Grumbling; grumble; grump; grumpy" (para. 18, emphasis in original). This connection between the killjoy and complaint, and the notion of the killjoy *as* complaining, is strongly reflected in public discourse surrounding Patty Crawford's time with Baylor's Title IX office. Both Baylor's public statements, as well as her own, position Crawford as pointing out inequalities and identifying problems with the state of affairs at the university, though they differ on whether or not those problems actually existed.

In this chapter I explore this notion of complaint as it applies to Crawford and argue that representations of her as complaining, both by her and others, position her as a feminist killjoy. In order to develop this argument, I will first examine the theoretical relationship between the feminist killjoy and complaint more fully, as well as clarify what exactly Ahmed means by 'complaint'. Following that, I will focus on how these theories can be applied to the discourse surrounding Crawford's principal complaint, which alleges a lack of institutional resources and support. In order to do so, I look at the three

primary statements made concerning the complaint, which are first, Crawford's "CBS This Morning" interview; second, her lawyer's public statements; and finally, Baylor's public releases.

Theory: Killjoy and Complaint

In order to develop the relationship between the killjoy and complaint, it is necessary to first understand what exactly complaint entails. This is difficult, as Ahmed (2017b) explains that she does not attempt to define "what makes a complaint a complaint" specifically because "[d]efinitions can be used as political tools" and deployed as mechanisms to exclude and brush aside those people or problems institutions do not want to recognize (para. 11). It is also difficult to establish precisely what complaint means because even a concrete interpretation of complaint as "a formal statement…something you officially lodge" does not account for how the killjoy can be "heard as complaining before she makes a complaint" (Ahmed, 2017b, para. 4; para. 13). As such, I do not forward a discrete definition of complaint, but instead argue in favor of broadly interpreting complaint as a family of actions, intentions, and perceptions relating to work "trying to transform institutions," whether formally or informally (Ahmed, 2020, para. 6). While this may appear to be broad, I include actions, intentions, and perceptions all for specific reasons. The inclusion of actions is perhaps the most obvious and serves to cover both formal and informal mechanisms of complaining, such as letter writing, filing formal grievances, objecting to action/inaction either in public or in private, and requesting compliance with official policies. I include intentions in order to grapple with the fact that people who attempt or desire to point out institutional inequities can be dissuaded or prevented from following through on those plans to complain, for reasons

including but not limited to the ways that complaints can negatively impact career trajectories and mental health (Ahmed, 2017d). Finally, including perceptions incorporates the way that figures such as the killjoy are heard as complaining even absent attempts to transform institutions. Adopting a notion of complaint as encompassing a family of behaviors rather than as a singular type of formal action allows for a more comprehensive and accurate understanding of Ahmed's theory as well as enables a more thorough examination of each of the three primary ways that Ahmed's theories of complaint and the killjoy are related. In the next several paragraphs I elaborate on each of these connections, the first of which stems from hearing the killjoy *as* complaining, the second relates to the notion of complaint as a "killjoy genre," and the third draws on the figure of the diversity worker as an institutional killjoy (Ahmed, 2017c, para. 8).

The first association between the killjoy and complaint stems from the perception of the killjoy as always complaining. As referenced in the chapter introduction, the killjoy is often heard or interpreted as making a complaint, because that is supposedly just who she is and what she is like, according to dominant perceptions. This interpretation is often adopted by those surrounding her at the family table, who experience the killjoy as the one who is looking for problems or "who puts [them] off their food," as well as by those who work beside her in institutions (Ahmed, 2017a, p. 39). "Others within the institution…who are seated around the table, experience her as wearisome," Ahmed explains (2014), "[t]hey hear her as just 'going on,'" as just complaining (para. 14). Once someone has been framed as a killjoy, their actions, their statements, even their existence, are all inevitably interpreted as examples of them killing joy. This overwhelming tendency to perceive the killjoy *as* complaining "before she

even says anything" makes it difficult to understand either the killjoy or complaint outside of their relationship to one another, as to be labeled a killjoy is always to be labeled as complaining, "[w]hether or not [you] make feminist points, whether or not [you] speak" (Ahmed, 2014, para. 14; Ahmed, 2017a, p. 56). This relationship also goes the opposite direction though, which is the premise of the second connection between the two.

The second aspect of the relationship between the killjoy and complaint is the idea of complaint as a killjoy genre, which is simply a reversal of the relationship described above. Complaining as a term "has a negative quality" and, as such, "belongs with the killjoy in the same family of words; complaining, killjoy, whinging, moaning, buzzkill, party-pooper; stick-in-the-mud," an association which positions those who complain, or who are believed to be complaining, as killjoys. (Ahmed, 2017b, para. 4). This correlation between complaint and killjoys is even more explicitly drawn as Ahmed (2017c) states, "complaints are heard as negative, as whining or moaning about a state of affairs that you could just as easily accept" (para. 8). This mirrors dominant perceptions of the killjoy as sensationalist, as bringing up problems that either do not exist or that can and should go unnoticed, as "exaggerating for effect" (2017a, p. 37). This, Ahmed (2017c) argues, "is how complaint is a killjoy genre," because to complain, even if not perceived as a killjoy prior, invokes killjoy tropes or qualities, therefore calling her into existence whenever and wherever someone is interpreted as complaining (para. 8). This is an inversion of the relationship described above in which those who receive the assignment of a killjoy are then interpreted as complaining, as it instead depicts those who are perceived as complaining as *then* being deemed a killjoy. The coexistence of

these connections illustrates the co-constitutive relationship between complaint and the killjoy, as it is largely impossible for one to exist without the other. The final theoretical linkage adds an additional layer to the relationship, bringing up the figure of the diversity worker and contextualizing complaint to formal institutions.

Finally, the third connection between the killjoy and complaint relates to the designation of diversity workers as institutional killjoys. "[M]aking a complaint," Ahmed argues (2017d), "often involves becoming a diversity worker. You are brought up against the organisation, especially if a complaint is a chip at the old block," (para. 64). By "chip at the old block" here, she means an attempt to chip away at, or do "damage" to, the organization. Diversity workers, through continual attempts to change the organization's space, often destabilize or threaten the stability and safety of those institutions, along with the security of the people within them. This means that diversity workers might be perceived as "institutional killjoys, whatever they intend, however much they appear willing, however they speak or dress," simply because "to do diversity work is to receive that kind of assignment," (Ahmed, 2017a, p. 113). In interpreting complaint as including attempts to transform institutions, it becomes clear that the very job of diversity workers *is* to complain. This reinforces previously explained associations between the two in addition to adding an additional layer to the relationship because it exemplifies the way that those who occupy particular positions within the institution will inevitably be perceived as a killjoy and treated as complaining simply because of the requirements of their job.

By understanding that complaint encompasses a diverse family of behaviors as well as highlighting the ways that people and actions might be understood as complaining

without ever filing formal complaints, we can better recognize the interconnected nature of complaint and the killjoy. The relationship between the two is dictated by three overarching theoretical connections, i.e. the killjoy as complaining, complaint as a killjoy genre, and the diversity worker as an institutional killjoy. However, broadening the scope of what we consider to be complaint helps exemplify how nuanced that relationship actually is.

In the following section I argue that the public discourse surrounding Crawford's allegation of a lack of resources demonstrates this nuance. I understand these connections between the killjoy and complaint not only as theoretical linkages among the two, but also as themes associated with the rhetorical trope of the feminist killjoy. This analysis then, highlights the way these themes, and the figure of the killjoy, emerge in the discourse of Patty Crawford, her lawyer, and the Baylor administration. I argue that the rhetoric concerning Crawford's complaint provides a valuable example of the various ways the killjoy emerges from different sets of public discourse relating to complaint.

Lack of Resources

Crawford's primary complaint upon leaving Baylor University was that the administration hadn't provided her with necessary and sufficient resources or support to do her job and investigate allegations of sexual violence on campus. This charge, first levelled in her *CBS This Morning* interview the day after her resignation, was taken up and repeated by media outlets across the country, ranging from local Waco and Dallas newspapers, to sports giants like *ESPN* and *Deadspin*, to national outlets like the *Wall Street Journal.* It is because of both Crawford's own focus on this problem and the overwhelming publicity her allegations received that I choose to focus on this complaint

rather than any others she made. In examining how the trope of the killjoy emerges in discussions concerning this particular concern about Crawford's lack of adequate resources or support from the university, there are three particularly relevant three sets of public statements. These are, first, Crawford's interview with "CBS This Morning", second, her attorney's comments to the media, and third, Baylor's public releases. I focus on these three sets of statements both because they are each cited by the vast majority of articles discussing this specific complaint and because they provide a relatively comprehensive view of how different actors positioned Crawford in relation to this complaint. Each set of statements also reveals something different about how the killjoy emerges in these discussions and exemplifies different portions of Ahmed's arguments concerning the killjoy and complaint. In this section I perform a rhetorical analysis of each of these sets of statements and their implications, paying specific attention to the emergence of themes related to the killjoy trope. I begin with Crawford's "CBS This Morning" interview, then move to her attorney's comments, and conclude with Baylor's public releases.

"CBS This Morning" Interview

Two days after her resignation from Baylor, Crawford sat for an interview with "CBS This Morning" and discussed the circumstances surrounding her resignation. This interview revealed, for the first time, her belief that "she was purposefully held back by a group of senior leaders she felt were more interested in protecting the school's brand than protecting its students" (Martin, 2016, para. 3). Crawford was remarkably frank in the interview, stating candidly, "I think Baylor set me up to fail from the beginning in November of 2014 when I came" and arguing that she "never had the authority, the

resources, or the independence to do the job appropriately" (Martin, 2016, para. 4; Patterson, 2016, para. 7). The interview made waves, in part because Crawford didn't pull any punches and in part because of the serious nature of the allegations being leveled at Baylor both by Crawford and survivors of sexual assault at the university (Patterson, 2016).

Crawford's statements in this interview ought to be understood as falling within the interpretation of complaint forwarded above as they are examples of actions directed toward institutional transformation. Although not a formal complaint in the sense of filing an official grievance, Crawford's proclamation that she was refused adequate resources functions as a form of complaint in that it is a public objection directed toward institutional transformation. While Crawford does not explicitly say that she hopes coming forward will force Baylor to change policies or the level of support they provide to their Title IX office, her claims do relate to her own efforts to transform the university and the barriers they imposed to her doing such. This situates Crawford's contention that Baylor failed to give her sufficient support and resources firmly within the family of complaint.

In making a public allegation, or complaint, that Baylor failed to support her, Crawford's rhetoric positions her as a killjoy. Her willingness to call out institutional failure and to jeopardize the happiness and success of Baylor in doing so reflects the willfulness of the killjoy and the willingness of institutional killjoys to "get in the way of institutional happiness," (Ahmed, 2020, para. 7). The nature of her complaint also represents the killjoy trope, though in a distinct way, as it draws on an idea Ahmed refers to as "hiring as wiring" (2017d, para. 65). By this, Ahmed's gesturing to the way that

abuses of power within institutions can be maintained informally because of the networks which form amongst those at the table and the way that those people often relate to and protect one another. Crawford's complaint about a lack of resources and institutional support draws on this in two ways.

First, her complaint indicates a broader failure of the university to genuinely follow federal Title IX procedures as well as to attempt to stop others from following those procedures and filing formal complaints. While the Department of Education's guidelines for Title IX coordinators require that they have all necessary resources to fulfill their federally mandated responsibilities, Crawford's supposed difficulty in gaining university support for her work illustrates the way that compliance with policy can merely be a smokescreen for continuing abuses of institutional power (Patterson, 2016). Crawford's claim that Baylor's failure to allocate sufficient resources to Title IX ensured her own failure embodies Ahmed's argument that to maintain and protect power "you don't have to stop people from doing something, just make it harder for them to do something" (2017d, para. 67). Crawford's difficulty in doing her job is magnified by the fact previously unused or under-used channels of communication become increasingly challenging to locate and follow, while frequent "[l]ines of communication are well-worn paths through an organization" (Ahmed, 2017d, para. 66). This means that as Title IX resources and authority are restricted and it becomes difficult to maintain the energy and power necessary to follow-through on and process official complaints, the processes themselves fall into dis-use and become more difficult to follow. "If you cannot find the policy, you cannot follow the path laid out as procedure," Ahmed states (2019a), arguing

that “the less a path is used, the less a path is used, until you can hardly see the sign” for the path at all (p. 157).

Second, the complaints illustrate the ways that hiring can be deployed as a sufficient solution to problems while maintaining existing networks of power. Ahmed (2019a) explains that “[i]f you are employed by the institution to transform the institution, you might assume that the institution is willing to be transformed;” however, that oftentimes is not actually the case (p. 156). In this instance, one might assume that hiring a Title IX coordinator would mean that Baylor was committed to addressing sexual violence on campus and reforming Title IX. In reality, by claiming that the university was more concerned with “protecting the brand…instead of [their] students,” Crawford is implicitly forwarding the idea that her hiring was actually intended to assuage criticism of the university while protecting those in charge (Lavigne & Schlabach, 2016, para. 4). This exemplifies how “[d]iversity workers…can be used to create the appearance of doing something or used to create an impression” that progress is being made, despite the institution actually doing nothing of the sort (Ahmed, 2019a, p. 156).

Crawford’s actions can independently be understood as representing the killjoy trope, due to the way that the “CBS This Morning” interview might be read as indicating her willingness to disrupt institutional happiness. The complaint she levels during the interview though also illustrates Ahmed’s theory of complaint in two ways. It exemplifies, first, the way that complaint procedures and processes must be continually followed and upheld in order to maintain them, similarly to Ahmed’s argument that “the less a path is used, the less a path is used”, and second, an institutional inclination away from transformation and toward creating the *appearance* of such. The feminist killjoy

also emerges here in Crawford's complaint. She appears in Crawford publicly espousing her complaints with Baylor, refusing to be quiet about ongoing sexual harassment and institutional inequalities, and continuing to believe that there is the possibility for institutional improvement through complaint.

Attorney Comments

Following Crawford's "CBS This Morning" interview, her statements on Baylor and her resignation came largely through her attorney, Rogge Dunn (Farmer & Peterson, 2016). Dunn's comments were largely framed around the mediation session that occurred between Baylor and Crawford immediately prior to her resignation, as Baylor released details of what supposedly happened despite the fact that disclosing such information is illegal (Ericksen, 2016a). However, there are two other statements he made concerning the lack of resources allocated to Crawford which are significant in understanding the nature of complaint and emergence of killjoy in this instance.

The first of these statements stems from the idea that the university would not be having issues with sexual assault allegations if Crawford wasn't somehow creating them herself, and therefore increased support or resources are unnecessary. Dunn suggested that "the university's upper management gave her the conflicted message of telling her to do her job, but then indicated that, 'If you weren't here, we wouldn't have all these problems'" (Lavigne & Schlabach, 2016, para. 6). This statement is situated firmly within the family of complaint outlined above as speaks to Baylor's interpretation of Crawford as pushing for unnecessary changes within the institution, and therefore as complaining.

The implications of Dunn's comment are twofold; first, it implies that Baylor believed Crawford was finding problems that did not *actually* exist, and second, that even

if the problems did exist Baylor believed they would not have to deal with them if Crawford wasn't there. This harkens back directly to Ahmed's original descriptions of the killjoy as sensationalist. She explains,

> It might then be assumed that the problem would go away if you would just stop talking about it or if you went away. The charge of sensationalism falls rather quickly onto feminist shoulders: when she talks about sexism and racism, her story is heard as sensationalist, as if she is exaggerating for effect. The feminist killjoy begins as a sensationalist figure. It is as if the point of making her point is to cause trouble, to get in the way of the happiness of others, because of her own unhappiness. (2017a, p. 37)

Not only is the killjoy sensationalist in her exaggeration of problems, but also in that she's seen intentionally creating problems in order to make others unhappy. These explanations directly parallel the meanings behind Baylor's supposed sentiment that if Crawford weren't there, the problems she's addressing wouldn't be either.

This comment from Dunn also brings us back to idea of the killjoy *as* complaining, as "*being* complaining" (Ahmed, 2014, para. 35, emphasis in original). "[W]hat the figure of the feminist killjoy taught us," is that you are heard as complaining, as "making that point (pointing out sexism, pointing out racism) because that is your tendency. That is what *you are like,*" (Ahmed, 2014, para. 35, emphasis in original). To believe there would be no problems without Crawford is to believe that Crawford *is* complaining, that, regardless of what she says, she is a killjoy because her role as the Title IX coordinator means that Baylor expects her "to speak in a certain way" (Ahmed, 2017a, p. 99). Dunn's comment concerning Baylor's attitude toward Crawford is

significant in that it is representative of the myriad of ways that the killjoy is heard as sensationalist and complaining and how that framing works to posit institutional transformation as unnecessary.

The second statement of Dunn's which is relevant for this analysis centers around what is not just a *lack* of resources, but an active *withdrawal* of them. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, "Dunn said, Baylor officials tried to prevent Ms. Crawford from reporting violations, limited her department's funding and delayed cooperating with her investigations" (Reagan, 2016, para. 7). Dunn argued that this withdrawal of support and resources was an intentional move on Baylor's part intended to artificially decrease the number of reports filed and restore "its image of a wholesome Baptist environment" (Lavigne & Schlabach, 2016, para. 7). Similar to Dunn's previous comment, this one also falls within the interpretation of complaint forwarded above, as it highlights Baylor's disinclination toward institutional change and the perception of Crawford as pushing for it and, as such, complaining.

This notion of restricted resources is indicative of Ahmed's argument that "punishment for complaint can entail the withdrawal of support" (2019a, p. 186). Because the position of Title IX coordinator inherently requires filing or reporting students' Title IX complaints, Crawford simply doing her job meant she was always charged as complaining. "Power manifests as the withdrawal of support for those who show how power manifests," Ahmed explains (2019a, p. 186). Crawford's role in increasing "reporting of sexual assaults and sexual violence by 700 percent" during her time at Baylor illustrates how crucial she was in revealing the true(r) extent sexual violence at the university as well as exposing how Baylor was often covering it up,

therefore making her a threat to institutional success and power (Lavigne & Schlabach, 2016, para. 5). The lack of Title IX resources, which Crawford alleges was the case from her initial hiring, was intensified in the wake of the Pepper Hamilton report, as a reported decrease in sexual violence would be an important indicator that the university was successfully implementing the firm's recommendations.

Dunn's comments offer several important insights into how the trope of the killjoy appears repeatedly in the discourse surrounding Crawford's complaint over a lack of resources and support. First, they highlight the framing of Crawford as both creating problems to complain about and exaggerating small concerns (and reports of sexual violence) in a way that clearly mirrors the framing of the killjoy as a sensationalist figure. Second, Dunn's comments exemplify the notion of the killjoy *as* complaining by depicting Crawford as complaining simply because of the nature of her job. Finally, they reveal the way that institutional support may be withdrawn in reaction to the killjoy's pointing out of, or complaining about, power inequities.

Baylor Releases

The final set of statements which are relevant to the complaint about Crawford's lack of resources are those that were issued by Baylor following her "CBS This Morning" and "60 Minutes Sports" interviews (Grigsby, 2016). These releases take the form of two documents published on Baylor's website, one titled, "FACT CHECKING REPORT FOR *60 MINUTES,"* (FCR) and the other, "Patty Crawford Timeline" (Timeline) (Baylor, 2016b; Baylor, 2016c). The FCR, focuses on rebutting the statements made by Crawford in her interview with "60 Minutes Sports", and takes the form of question and answer, with "60 Minutes" posing questions based on the statements of Crawford and

others, such as “some of [Baylor’s] most prominent donors, some of [Baylor’s] most prominent alumni” (Baylor, 2016b, para. 2). This document reflects “Baylor’s responses to excerpts of questions posed in on-camera interviews by “60 Minutes”*,”* making it an incomplete reflection of the full interview but important in understanding the public narrative Baylor is attempting to construct (Baylor, 2016b, para. 1). The Timeline, traces Crawford’s history at Baylor and attempts to negate the arguments she made in her *CBS* interview, including the complaints concerning her lack of resources and support. The Timeline contains a “sampling of emails, texts and interviews” which they argue, “illustrate a very different story than Crawford's claims to CBS News that she was ‘set up to fail,’” (2016c, para. 1). While Baylor contests the accuracy of Crawford’s complaints about lack of resources in both of these documents, I am not focusing explicitly on the refutations themselves but rather am looking to the way Crawford is positioned within those refutations in order to keep the focus on the ways that the killjoy emerges in the statements.

Reading these releases side by side reveals four key findings concerning the ways that Baylor discusses Crawford. These relate to the ways Baylor constructs Crawford as, first, lacking management skills; second, not understanding procedure; third, mentally and emotionally fragile; and finally, failing to tell the truth, all in response to the allegations and complaints leveled in her “CBS This Morning” and “60 Minutes” interviews. Collectively, they present a depiction of Crawford as complaining which fits within the interpretation of complaint I’ve adopted in this chapter as they relate to Crawford’s attempts to instigate changes within the university and Baylor’s perception of such.

Baylor frames Crawford here in a number of ways that implicate her management of the Title IX department, emotional and mental health, and integrity as a person. The Timeline highlights three different resignations of people on Crawford's Title IX staff, in each case stating that the resignation was due to frustrations or "difficulties working for Crawford" (2016c, para. 7 & 26). It also flags an email conversation between Crawford and Baylor's HR Director which occurred prior to the third resignation, where Crawford states "she is being 'eaten alive' by dissension on her Title IX team" (Baylor, 2016c, para. 21). The use of Crawford's own email here works with Baylor's articulation of the resignations to construct Crawford as professionally and managerially inadequate, even by her own admission. This argument is also supplemented by the FCR's explicit condemnation of her professional skills, as it argues that "Crawford lacked the administrative skills to manage the Title IX office. Three Title IX investigators each quit within a year of being hired after reporting problems with her management style" (2016b, para. 5). Baylor also attempts to deflect any institutional blame for departmental mismanagement, stating in the FCR that "the Baylor HR Department worked with Crawford on a 'development plan' to better manage the influx of University resources and Title IX personnel," but that this plan failed due to Crawford's "own shortcomings" (2016b, para. 5). This consistent focus on departmental resignations and Crawford's management style is representative of a broader strategy of attempting to position Crawford as an unprofessional office manager.

The construction of Crawford as unprofessional and incapable is further illustrated in the way that the FCR discusses Crawford's knowledge of institutional procedure. In responding to Crawford's concern about being pushed out by another staff

member, Baylor explains that "[the staff member] had *no* responsibility related to the Title IX Office – something that was repeatedly explained to Patty Crawford" (2016b, para. 17, emphasis in original). Including the fact that this had been "repeatedly explained" to Crawford frames her as unprofessional in the sense that she did not understand the distinction or procedures Baylor had *so kindly* explained and reiterated to her. Baylor's condescending tone here, as well as in their description of how they attempted to help Crawford improve her management skills, implies that Crawford was unsuited for a management role and either lacked sufficient institutional knowledge or failed to listen to explanations when they were given to her.

Crawford's mental and emotional state is the third aspect of her professionalism which Baylor indicts in these releases. The Timeline repeatedly highlights her emotional distress, with one of the first events on the Timeline being Crawford apologizing for a "lack of privacy and professionalism when talking to [a graduate class]" and explaining that "she was 'emotionally and mentally spent' during the lecture" (2016c, para. 8). The following event on the Timeline reiterates her emotional fragility, describing "an email to her immediate supervisor" where "Crawford writes; 'I am struggling with maintaining my momentum in this position…I do need some forgiveness and sensitivity'" (2016c, para. 9). This supposed concern about Crawford's mental and emotional health and its impact on her ability to do her job is also evident in the FCR. Here, Baylor claims that due to Crawford's "level of emotional distress, [she] was directed to take four extra days off with pay during Labor Day week in 2015…an act of support intended to improve her emotional wellbeing" (2016b, para. 7). The use of the word "directed" here is significant in that is implies her emotional distress was considerable and warranted administrative

attention. How Baylor contextualized this is also important, as they explain that Crawford was directed to take time off "right after the board learn[ed] of a case of domestic violence by a Baylor football player" (2016b, para. 7). This again implies that Crawford's emotional health was impeding her ability to do her job effectively and professionally.

Baylor finally constructs Crawford as unprofessional in the most malicious sense, as they portray her as intentionally lying about the resources and support she received. The Timeline does this rather implicitly, selecting various texts, statements, and emails, often from Crawford herself, and portraying them in a way which continually but subtly indicates Crawford was lying in her complaint. In including events such as, "Chief Financial Officer Reagan Ramsower…approves a special 20% bonus for Crawford and her staff along with $50,000 in discretionary spending for the Title IX office," and "Dr. Ramsower approves Crawford's request to take her Title IX staff to a weekend retreat at Lake Austin. Cost: $12,000," Baylor is creating a narrative where Crawford and the Title IX Office are actually receiving sufficient, even potentially unnecessary, resources (2016c, para. 15; para. 17). The implication that Crawford is lying in her complaint is similarly forwarded as Baylor recounts, oftentimes in excess, Crawford's own declarations of gratitude for Ramsower and the Baylor administration. Referencing a question and answer interview Crawford had with the *Waco Tribune-Herald* in October of 2016, the Timeline quotes without comment, "Q: 'Did you ask for help from administrators and others?' A: 'Absolutely. And I keep asking for help, and I get listened to,'" (2016c, para. 19). The continued quoting of Crawford making similar statements

creates a sense of cognitive dissonance in the reader, implying that since Crawford publicly stated she had and was grateful for resources, her complaint must be wrong.

The FCR, however, is much more explicit in portraying Crawford as lying. Baylor hits the ground running, with their first sentence stating, "Baylor is unaware of a single person who has verified Patty Crawford's false and misleading claims," (2016b, para. 3). They go on to argue that Crawford made up her complaints, claiming "Patty Crawford's motives for misstating the facts are patently evident to her colleagues at Baylor. Although they worked tirelessly during her tenure at the university to help her succeed, Crawford lacked the administrative skills" necessary to run the office successfully (2016c, para. 5). Baylor's accusations that Crawford made false statements continue throughout the FCR and their responses to questions concerning her complaints repeatedly begin with phrases like, "[t]his is absolutely false," "[t]his is yet another fabrication," and "Patty Crawford is conveniently conflating two separate incidents" (2016b, para. 11; para. 13; para. 15). This does not just position Crawford's *complaint* as inaccurate, but constructs *Crawford* as explicitly and knowingly complaining and spreading false information in order to save face after being overwhelmed by her own administrative incompetence.

Each of these indictments of Crawford's credibility, capabilities, and professionalism is indicative of an institutional strategy Ahmed calls discrediting. She argues,

> The institutional response to complaint is to treat the complaint not necessarily as malicious (although many complaint policies do in fact include warnings about malicious complaints) but as being motivated in some problematic way… Simply

> put: the efforts to stop a complaint include attempts to discredit the complainer. (2017e, para. 14)

While in this case Baylor is not attempting to stop Crawford from making a complaint, given that she's already made them on national television, the consistent attacks on her professionalism and capabilities illustrate that they were to some extent trying to stop the complaint from gaining traction by discrediting her. The first way that they do this is through claiming Crawford was a poor manager and explaining her complaints about resources as motivated by her own desire to save face. Ahmed (2019b) explains that "to discredit is to answer the question **why complain** on her behalf…perhaps she is envious or disappointed," and Baylor, in the FCR does exactly that (para. 22, emphasis in original). In claiming that she is complaining because she is embarrassed that she failed or disappointed in what she accomplished as a manager, they are discrediting both Crawford and her complaint. This is bolstered by Ahmed's explanation that complaint is often perceived as self-referential, or "judged as self-expression and thus as self-promotion" (2017c, para. 19). Baylor, by grouping their discussion of Crawford's management failures with the fact that she was "seeking employment elsewhere" at the time of the complaint, explicitly highlights her as self-promoting and attempting to redeem her reputation so as to find another job (Baylor, 2016b, para. 5).

A second way Baylor attempts to discredit Crawford is by positioning her as malicious. Through their explicit statements about Crawford making "absolutely false" claims or "conveniently conflating" incidents to her own benefit, as well as arguing that she had something to gain from lying about her lack of resources, Baylor constructs an image of Crawford as ill-intentioned (2016b, para. 11; para. 15). This exemplifies

Ahmed's theory that discrediting treats those complaining as though they have "some other agenda such as a desire to target others or to damage the university or to elevate themselves" (2017e, para. 14). In contending that Crawford "sought to blame Baylor for her own shortcomings," Baylor has used her lack of professional credibility to frame her as self-interested and malicious (2016b, para. 5). The figure of the killjoy emerges here in how Crawford is seemingly actively seeking to ruin Baylor's success, well-being, and institutional happiness. The complainer is seen as a killjoy, "as being mean, against pleasure, but also as being punitive," an image Baylor invokes in their portrayals of Crawford as unprofessional and lying (Ahmed, 2019b, para. 22).

Finally, Baylor attempts to discredit Crawford through highlighting her supposed emotional instability. They capitalize on the association of complaining with "[w]ailing, moaning; weeping," and portray Crawford as *already* all of those things as they continually point out her emotionality through both public releases (Ahmed, 2017c, para. 6). In doing so, they discredit Crawford by implying that an answer to the question of why she complained is because she is emotionally distraught and therefore unable to perform her duties. The killjoy appears in this discourse in the notion of Crawford as distraught or distressed. "The feminist killjoy is a leaky container," Ahmed argues (2017a), "[s]he is right there; there she is, all teary, what a mess" (p. 171). She appears emotional not only in how she appears though, but also in what she says, for "when [the killjoy] speaks, she appears wound up" (Ahmed, 2017a, p. 37). Baylor, in their repeated discussions of the emotional support Crawford needed from the HR Director, Board of Directors, and other university admin, draws on this image and creates a version of Crawford who is too tearful, distraught, and emotional to fulfill her role.

Conclusion

Patty Crawford's allegations that Baylor had impeded her success as Title IX coordinator, even from the beginning, and failed to grant her adequate resources and departmental support reveal significant findings relating to Ahmed's theories of complaint and the feminist killjoy. This analysis illustrates a number of different ways that the feminist killjoy emerges in discourses concerning Crawford's complaint about resources. The first of these is the way that she is willing to jeopardize or sacrifice the happiness and success of the university in order to make the complaint. Second, the way that she refuses to allow policies and work against sexual violence to be abandoned despite efforts by Baylor to tout her hiring as a solution in and of itself. Third, we find the killjoy in representations of Crawford as sensationalist, exaggerating, or being overdramatic. Fourth, in the way that she is interpreted as simply being a complaining person, or as being in a position which requires complaining. Fifth, in Baylor's withdrawal of departmental support as a form of silencing as Crawford proves effective at increasing the reporting of sexual violence. Finally, the killjoy emerges in the repeated and varied attempts by Baylor to discredit Crawford in order to disprove her complaints.

This analysis also illustrates the interconnected relationship between complaint and the feminist killjoy. By interpreting complaint as not just a formal filing of grievances, but as a specific genre of either formal or informal actions, intentions, and perceptions relating to attempts to transform institutions, it allows us to consider more than just Crawford's statements to the media as complaining. We are rather able to understand Baylor's narration of her time with them and their perception of her position as Title IX coordinator as part of the family as well.

The expansion and application of Ahmed's theory of complaint conducted within this chapter is valuable for two reasons. First, it demonstrates how one might adapt theories which originated outside of communication studies and apply them to within the discipline. This is especially valuable in the context of Ahmed's work with complaint as we move through the #MeToo era and must develop tools for analyzing allegations of sexual violence or harassment both in and out of the workplace. Second, it provides a frame for understanding perceptions and interpretations of Title IX workers, and diversity workers more broadly. In thinking of complaint as a way toward transforming institutions, this disrupts hegemonic notions of complaint and those who complain (i.e. diversity workers) as negative. It also is significant when considering that the turnover rate for Title IX coordinators is extraordinary, with many universities having had upwards of three coordinators within the last eight years alone (Brown, 2019). This research is valuable here because it offers a mode of understanding the way that coordinators' valid and legitimate concerns get overlooked, deemed insignificant, or filtered out by employers, potentially leading to heightened turnover rates.

Chapter 3:

Patty Crawford as Snapping: The Emergence of the Killjoy within the Rhetoric of Resignation

Introduction

Crawford's resignation from Baylor, announced by the university in a midnight press release, appeared to be an abrupt conclusion to her nearly two-year tenure with the university (Baby, 2016). Her time at Baylor had been seemingly pleasant and accompanied by considerable progress in implementing the Pepper Hamilton recommendations. Baylor even contended they'd already "completed or made significant progress on more than three-fourths of the recommendations" just a little over a month prior to Crawford's resignation (2016d, para. 2). However, the narratives that emerged following the resignation, from both Crawford's party and the Baylor administration, portrayed her time there as anything but pleasant.

In this chapter I draw on Ahmed's theorization of resignation as a form of feminist snap in order to understand the ways that the killjoy trope presents in the discourse surrounding Crawford's resignation from Baylor's Title IX office. I ultimately argue that Crawford's own explanation of her resignation and Baylor's response to it both invoke traits of the feminist killjoy, though they do so in often competing ways, due to the conflicting nature of their narratives. In making this argument, I break the chapter into three parts, starting by detailing Ahmed's theory of resignation and how it relates to the broader figure of the feminist killjoy. Following that, I focus on the ways that the killjoy emerges in statements from Crawford and her lawyers, arguing that they draw on themes of the killjoy as resigning in protest. Lastly, I analyze the statements and press releases

from Baylor University, contending that the figure of the killjoy emerges in their attempt to construct a counternarrative of Crawford's resignation which highlights their successful implementation of the Pepper Hamilton recommendations.

Theory: Killjoy and Resignation

Ahmed (2017a) explains that feminist snap is "a point, a breaking point, when it is too much and what did not seem possible becomes necessary," (p. 198). "You can snap," she argues, "because you are exhausted by having not snapped thus far and by what you have had to put up with" (2017a, p. 198). This idea of "what you have had to put up with" so far gestures to the importance of personal history in building up to a snap. The snap, or breaking point, then, is not an isolated incident but a moment with context and history, as it has been brought about through the continually increasing pressure from institutions or people and the frustration with what they are asking of you. Snapping can come in a variety of different forms, such as in cutting off destructive bonds with family, in simply speaking "sharply or irritably," in refusing to sustain "sexism and racism in citational practices," or in resigning from a position or life one is accustomed to (Ahmed, 2017a, p. 190; p. 195). It is this final theme of resignation as snapping that I focus on in this chapter to argue that Crawford's own resignation from Baylor can be understood in some ways as feminist snap, thereby drawing forth the figure of the killjoy. Before turning to the analysis for this argument though, I attempt to parse out the connections between snapping and the feminist killjoy more fully. In doing this I focus on three specific theoretical linkages between the two which are, first, the understanding of the killjoy as a snap; second, the interpretation of those who snap as unhappy; and finally, the idea of resignation as an example of snapping bonds.

The perception of the feminist killjoy as embodying snap, or as snappy, is the first connection between the two concepts, and Ahmed emphasizes this throughout her writings on feminist snap. “The killjoy gives us another handle [on snap] at the very moment she seems to lose it,” Ahmed (2017a) argues, as “[t]he feminist killjoy might herself be a snappy figure; feminists might be perceived as full of snap” (p. 189-190). To those the killjoy is disagreeing with, she is heard as “[s]peaking sharply, speaking with irritation,” and the snap can be located “in the sound of her voice. Sharp, brittle, loud” (Ahmed, 2017a, p. 189; p. 190). When she becomes irritated, when she protests, when she is “wound up”, the killjoy is interpreted as snapping and losing it; and because she is *always* perceived as wound up, she is thus caught in a constant state of snap (Ahmed, 2017a, p. 37). Ahmed (2017a) explains that “the killjoy herself would be considered as a snap” due to the way that she severs the bond one might otherwise have “to the family, or to some idea of civil life” (p. 196). This association also works in reverse, for much like the way that the perception of a snap follows the emergence of the killjoy, the killjoy also emerges following a snap. In this reversal, “the feminist killjoy is conjured up before she can make her appearance. And then, of course she appears” (Ahmed, 2017a, p. 205). The understanding of the killjoy as embodying snap creates an association between the two which ensures they emerge alongside one another, regardless of which was perceived first.

A second connection between the killjoy and snap stems from the belief that those who snap are unhappy or willing to cause unhappiness in others. In relation to the first of these beliefs, that snap is an example of unhappiness on the part of the person snapping, Ahmed (2017a) contends that “[a] snap can be judged as a way of depriving yourself of a

connection, and thus a form of violence you direct against yourself" (p. 195). This impulse toward violence or "self-harm" is often attributed to the killjoy, as her investments in protesting and pointing out injustice are "judged as not working, as diminishing her own life as well as the lives of others" (Ahmed, 2017a, p. 195). Here Ahmed also expands on the argument that a snap is judged as jeopardizing others' happiness and success. This is because in snapping, or sharply transitioning away from a life others have demanded of you, "you are heard as harming not only yourself (the things you gave up, the happiest days you will not have by virtue of the life you live) but others who gave up things to follow that path," with those others being anyone who contributed to the life you gave up or anyone who has chosen that life for themselves (Ahmed, 2017a, p. 197). The feminist killjoy is judged as attempting to orient her audience towards this unhappy feminist life, and this "rhetoric often positions feminism as self-harm: as if to say that women harm themselves by experiencing certain relationships as being harmful" and then wrongfully sever or snap the bonds of those relationships as a result (Ahmed, 2017a, p. 197). Assumptions that those who snap are unhappy are therefore overwhelmingly related to the figure of killjoy, either through the belief that the killjoy is responsible for making those people unhappy or the interpretation of the one who snapped *as* a killjoy.

The final aspect of the relationship between the killjoy and snap which is relevant for this chapter relates explicitly to resignation and the way that it can function as an example of feminist snap. In discussing her own resignation from an academic institution as a form of protest against the institution's inaction on issues of sexual violence, Ahmed (2017a) states, "I did not just feel like I was leaving a job, or an institution, but also a life,

an academic life; a life I had loved; a life I was used to. And that act of leaving was a form of feminist snap: there was a moment when I couldn't take it anymore" (p. 199). She explains that by resigning, you can be saying "I will not work for an organization that is not addressing the problem of sexual harassment…By snapping you are saying: I will not reproduce a world I cannot bear, a world I do not think should be borne" (2017a, p. 199). That refusal to reproduce a violent relationship and choice to instead protest inequity calls into view the figure of the killjoy. This is not to say all resignations are inherently a form of snap, but that deliberately "[r]esigning in feminist protest – and making public that you are resigning in feminist protest" is (Ahmed, 2017a, p. 199). This sort of resignation is unique in that it follows a history of individual attempts to address sexual violence which were met with institutional silence and inaction, as well as in that the resignation and reasons behind it are not kept private. "To resign is a tipping point," Ahmed argues, "a gesture that becomes necessary because of what the previous actions did not accomplish" and because of the fact that those actions were "not noticed by those who [were] not involved in the effort" (2017a, p. 199). It is in this resignation in public protest and willingness to damage institutions, institutional success, and institutional happiness that we find the "killjoy in crises" (Ahmed, 2017a, p. 196). She is the one who is willing to point out injustice, "willing to speak out about sexism and racism," and willing to resign in feminist protest upon reaching this tipping point (Ahmed, 2017a, p. 38).

Through drawing on her own relationships to the snapping of both family and institutional bonds, Ahmed constructs a theory of feminist snap which fits within and contributes to a broader framework of the feminist killjoy. I argue that, in the context of

this chapter, the interpretation of the killjoy as embodying snap, assumption that those who snap are unhappy, and understanding of resignation in feminist protest as an example of snap, are particularly significant aspects of the theoretical relationship between snap and the killjoy. This theoretical relationship also exemplifies the specific themes which relate to the trope of the feminist killjoy. The repeated emergence of these themes throughout the discourse of various actors supports my argument for understanding the feminist killjoy as a rhetorical trope which is invoked in both Crawford's and Baylor's public discourse.

In the following two sections, I adopt this theory of resignation as a lens through which to analyze the public concerning Crawford's resignation from Baylor. In doing so, I conduct a feminist rhetorical analysis of both party's statements, keeping attuned to the specific themes which relate to the notion of the killjoy as a rhetorical trope. I first focus on the statements from Crawford and her lawyer and argue that there are three ways their rhetoric illustrates the emergence of the killjoy trope. Following that, I turn to Baylor's releases, arguing that these statements also reflect three key themes of the feminist killjoy.

Statements from Crawford's Party

With Crawford and Dunn, her attorney, taking interviews and making statements as soon as the two days immediately following her resignation, it is clear they had a narrative about the resignation they wanted to tell. This turned out to be one which explained the resignation as a form of protest against the university and a choice which was only made after months of Crawford expressing concerns and the university retaliating against her for doing so. In this section I analyze these narratives and the

public discourse that surrounds them, arguing that the figure of the killjoy emerges in how Crawford's party explains her resignation in ways that mimic Ahmed's explanations of resignation as feminist snap. I package the statements from Crawford and Dunn in the same section this time, rather than splitting them as I did in chapter two, because the analysis for this chapter reveals that both of their statements reflect similar themes relating to the killjoy.

In considering the various interviews and statements Crawford and Dunn made about her resignation, there are three themes which arise alongside the figure of the killjoy. The first of these concerns the buildup of tension and disagreements between Crawford and the Baylor Board of Regents in the months preceding her resignation. Second, is the idea that, in resigning, Crawford was choosing to not be complicit in Baylor's disregard of sexual violence. The final theme relates to Crawford's choice to go public with her resignation and the justification given as to why. In the following three parts of this section I address each of these themes as well as how the feminist killjoy emerges within each of them.

Build-Up of Tensions

Despite the perception that Crawford "abruptly resigned," Crawford and Dunn's statements reveal the immense building up of concerns which actually led up to her resignation (Lavigne & Schlabach, 2016, para. 2). As early as April of that year, Crawford had been voicing concerns, via emails, texts, and memos, "about hiring decisions, being excluded from meetings and a fragmented implementation of required changes that affected the authority of the Title IX office and Baylor's compliance with the law" (Axon, 2016, para. 3). In the face of those concerns, Crawford explained that she

"continued to work hard" but that "the harder [she] worked, the more resistance [she] received from senior leadership," and the tensions continued to escalate (CBS News, 2016, para. 14). That same July, Crawford again expressed concerns both "orally and in writing" (Lavigne & Schlabach, 2016, para. 24). Specifically, she sent an 18-page memo to Reagan Ramsower, Baylor's CFO and senior vice president, arguing that she believed the university's approach to implementing the recommendations was actually "creating barriers for effectiveness" (Axon, 2016, para. 13). However, documenting her concerns only made her circumstances harder, she argued, saying that after she "made it clear and ready that [she] had concerns and that the university was violating Title IX…[her] environment got worse" (CBS News, 2016, para. 14). According to Crawford, these tensions peaked in "[t]he last six weeks [she] was at Baylor," as in those weeks it became "explicit that Reagan Ramsower was telling [her] directly that he did not want [the implementation] to happen effectively and the better [she] did, the worse it got for him, and the worse it got for Baylor and the brand" (Axon, 2016, para. 5). At the end of September Crawford filed formal grievances with the U.S. Department of Education's Civil Rights Office and Baylor's human resources department, and then on October 4th she finally resigned from her position at the university (Lavine & Schlabach, 2016). The narrative of her resignation then, according to Crawford and Dunn, is not one of an abrupt departure, but of a months-long building of concerns, tension, and retaliation.

This notion of buildup, the idea of Crawford's resignation as a moment with history and context, as a moment made necessary by the increasing pressure she felt she was under, is characteristic of Ahmed's understanding of snap as "giv[ing] way abruptly under pressure or tension" (2017a, p. 188). Ahmed (2017a) explains that while "[w]e

might assume, on the basis of what we hear, that the snap is a starting point…a snap would only be the beginning insofar as we did not notice the pressure…If pressure is an action, snap is a reaction. Pressure is hard to notice unless you are under that pressure" (p. 188-189). This understanding of pressure as building into a moment of snap mirrors the history and context given by Crawford's party for her resignation. If one didn't know about the previous months of Crawford expressing concerns and Baylor retaliating against her, then her departure might "sound like a sudden break" (Ahmed, 2016a, para. 34). However, when we come "adopt the point of view of those who are under pressure," in this case, Crawford, the nature of the history and accumulation of that pressure become evident (Ahmed, 2017a, p. 189).

The feminist killjoy emerges here in how we understand the narrative of Crawford's resignation, whether as a moment of abruptness or of accumulation. Ahmed (2017a) argues that "[w]hen a snap is registered as the origin of violence," when there is no account of its pressure or history, "the one who snaps is deemed violent…violence is assumed to originate with her" (p. 189). The one who snaps, who is violent, is then the killjoy, the one who sounds and who is sharp. In Crawford and Dunn's choice to detail the history of her concerns and how she expressed them, they attempt to resist a perception of Crawford as sharp and unreasonable "for no reason" (Ahmed, 2017a, p. 189) On the other side, when we consider the history of a snap and "show how her snap is not the starting point," the killjoy still emerges as the one who protests injustice (Ahmed, 2017a, p. 189). Ahmed narrativizes her own resignation, stating,

> If a snap is a moment with a history, that history is the accumulated effect of what you have come up against. And just think: you have to do more, the more you do

> not get through. You have had hundreds of meetings, with students, with academics, with administrators. You have written blogs about the problem of sexual harassment and the silence that surrounds it. And still there is silence. To resign is a tipping point, a gesture that becomes necessary because of what the previous actions did not accomplish. (2017a, p. 199)

What those previous actions did not accomplish, what Crawford expressing her concerns, from April, to July, to September, did not accomplish, was ensuring effective implementation of the recommendations and ending Baylor's alleged retaliation against her. This failure was what Crawford contextualizes as making her resignation necessary, an explanation which functions as the basis for the second theme of Crawford and her attorney's statements.

Resigning in Protest

This second theme relates to the way Crawford's party contextualized her decision to resign and their argument that, in resigning, she was refusing to be complicit in Baylor's inaction. In her interview with "CBS This Morning", Crawford explains that after the filed reports with the Office of Civil Rights and Baylor's HR department she had a decision to make. "Was I going to remain part of the problem or be part of the problem or was I going to resign?" she said (CBS News, 2016, para. 16). Dunn goes a step further in his explanation, calling Crawford's decision "unprecedented" (Lavigne & Schlabach, 2016, para. 25). In an interview with *ESPN*'s "Outside the Lines" he argued, "I don't know of any other time I can think of where a Title IX coordinator has filed a Title IX complaint against the institution, resigned in protest, [has] been retaliated against and spoken out" (Lavigne & Schlabach, 2016, para. 26). These two statements create an

understanding of Crawford's resignation as first, a move that was necessary in order to not be complicit in what she perceived as Baylor's faulty implementation of the recommendations, and second, an active protest against the way the implementation was occurring and the treatment she was experiencing. This two-fold interpretation of the resignation also mirrors two of Ahmed's arguments about both the theory of resignation as feminist snap and the feminist killjoy.

Crawford's explanation that, in resigning, she was not going to be "part of the problem" any longer is the first aspect of this which reflects one of Ahmed's arguments (CBS News, 2016, para. 16). Ahmed (2016b) explains that sometimes in snapping "you are saying: I will not reproduce a world I cannot bear, a world I do not think should be borne" (para. 36). She even contextualizes this to institutional inaction concerning sexual violence, stating that "[n]ot addressing the problem of sexual harassment is reproducing the problem of sexual harassment," and in the move to no longer be part of that institution you are refusing to continue to be part of the problem (2017a, p. 199). Crawford's comment above exemplifies this belief, as she seems to have come to the opinion that neither her concerns about the recommendations nor the overall problem of sexual assault at the university were being taken seriously and so the only remaining option for her was to resign, as she would "not reproduce what [they] do not address" (Ahmed, 2017f, para. 32).

It is not just the refusal to be complicit that is significant here, but also the fact that Dunn explicitly characterizes Crawford as "resign[ing] in protest" of Baylor's actions (Lavigne & Schlabach, 2016, para. 26). This heavily reflects Ahmed's understanding of resignation of feminist snap, as she argues "[r]esignation can sound

passive, even fatalistic: resigning oneself to one's fate. But resignation can be an act of feminist protest. By snapping you are saying: I will not work for an organisation that is not addressing the problem of sexual harassment" (2017a, p. 199). In Crawford not only refusing to reproduce the problem of sexual violence, but actively choosing to terminate her involvement with Baylor as a result of the problem, to end a particular career path or life, we find the figure of the feminist killjoy. A moment of snap, of resignation, Ahmed (2017a) explains, is a moment when you abandon "the life you are living" (p. 198). This is significant because "[y]ou can become a killjoy just by saying: life does not have to be like this, or to be this" (Ahmed, 2017a, p. 196). Crawford and Dunn's statements seem to embrace this notion that there are other ways for Crawford to live as well as other ways for Baylor to exist which are both made possible by Crawford resigning in protest.

Crawford Going Public

The final theme which arises in the statements made by Crawford's party is the importance of public knowledge about what was going on at Baylor and why Crawford resigned. In a statement made the day following her resignation, Dunn explained that, in resigning and coming forward Crawford "wants to make sure her story is told so the public knows what is really going on at Baylor and women there can receive the protection they deserve" (AP, 2016, para. 7). He elaborated that she was "profoundly troubled by what she views as Baylor's efforts to impede her ability to fully perform her Title IX responsibilities," a concern which also speaks to the way the university allegedly prioritized its image and "brand" over genuine efforts to reduce sexual violence on and around the campus (AP, 2016, para. 7; CBS News, 2016, para. 13). The importance of taking her concerns public was also reiterated by Crawford, who, according to *USA*

Today, "had to come forward because she's spent her career encouraging others to report discrimination" (Axon, 2016, para. 23). The significance of taking concerns to the public is similarly reflected in Ahmed's explanations of resigning in feminist protest.

Part of the unique nature of resigning in feminist protest, Ahmed argues, is that the decision and its rationale are discussed openly rather than kept quiet. It is not just the act of resigning in itself, but "making public that you are resigning in feminist protest" that garners attention and directs the public toward the problem (Ahmed, 2017a, p. 199). She further explains that "[t]o get information out sometimes you need to get out. There is no point in being silent about resigning if you are resigning to protest silence" (2019c, para. 20). Although Crawford was protesting a litany of problems, including Baylor's retaliation against her and the refusal to hear her complaints, I would argue that she is also protesting the university's silence in the face of her expressing concerns as well as their silence over the continuation of issues of sexual violence on campus. Ahmed's arguments therefore make clear the need for Crawford to bring her concerns and reasons for resignation to the public, as in order to truly protest Baylor she could not just disappear or allow them to control the narrative as to why she left. Even in resignation, silence can "becom[e] a form of institutional loyalty" and a mode of protecting those who you are leaving and the institution that has housed you (Ahmed, 2019a, p. 215). Speaking out and sharing her reasons for resigning then, is an example of Crawford rejecting institutional loyalty. Ahmed (2019c) argues that, "[t]o speak out is to become a leaky pipe," or leaky container, because you are lifting the lid on institutional secrets (para. 20). The killjoy emerges here, yet again, in this understanding of the one who speaks out and rejects the expectation of "institutional loyalty as silence" (Ahmed, 2017d, para. 80).

"The feminist killjoy is a leaky container," Ahmed (2017a) states, and in this narrative of Crawford going public with her resignation, Crawford emerges as the killjoy, as the leaky container (p. 171).

As Crawford and Dunn attempt to provide a context and explanation for Crawford's resignation, the figure of the killjoy emerges in three distinct ways. First, the killjoy appears in the articulation of the tension, concerns, and retaliation building up in the months preceding Crawford's resignation. Second, we find her in the discussion of Crawford's refusal to be part of the problem and Dunn's contextualization of the resignation as a protest as this mirrors understandings of resignation as a form of feminist protest. Finally, she emerges in the choice of Crawford and Dunn to go public with the reasons for Crawford's resignation, which disrupts expectations of maintaining silence and institutional loyalty. Collectively, these statements construct a narrative of Crawford as resigning both in order to protest Baylor's limited and disingenuous work on sexual violence and in order to no longer be part of the problem herself. In the following section I explore how Baylor works to counter this narrative of Crawford resigning in protest by providing alternative explanations of her resignation and even attempting to ensure her silence, arguing that the killjoy continues to emerge throughout this rhetoric as well.

Statements from Baylor University

While Crawford's party paints a picture of her as unfairly targeted and retaliated against and a picture of Baylor as entirely uninterested in ensuring an effective implementation of the recommendations, Baylor's discourse constructs a very different narrative. In their articulation, Crawford's resignation and her following statements were abrupt and surprising, but not particularly significant to the larger goals of implementing

the recommendations and combatting sexual violence on campus. In considering how their statements relate to the killjoy broadly, there are three facets of their public discourse related to Crawford's resignation where the trope of the feminist killjoy is evident. These are, first, their attempt to spin a counternarrative of Crawford as disappointed in her own performance, second, the immediate effort to redirect attention from the resignation to the recommendation implementation, and third, their move to publicly shame her for not signing the proposed confidentiality agreement. The following analysis focuses on each of these in order to understand exactly how the killjoy emerges from each sort of statement.

Counternarrative of Disappointment

In the face of Crawford's claims that she was resigning in protest, Baylor constructed a counternarrative of the resignation which depicted Crawford as disappointed in her performance and the Baylor administration as surprised by her resignation. Baylor's press release announcing Crawford's resignation, posted at 11:49pm on the day she resigned, stated, "[o]ur understanding is that Patty was disappointed in her role in implementing the recommendations that resulted from the Pepper Hamilton investigation" (Ericksen, 2016a, para. 3). This notion that she was dissatisfied with her part in the implementation was further illustrated in a statement from Reagan Ramsower where he explained that, while Crawford was frustrated that she was not being included in meetings relating to implementation, there was not any overlap between Crawford's work and the implementation meetings, "in terms of working with students, investigating, adjudicating and providing interim measures for complainants and respondents" (Ericksen, 2016b, para. 36). In giving this explanation, Ramsower both

supports Baylor's account that Crawford was disappointed, as well as characterizes this disappointment as misplaced or unreasonable on Crawford's part. Also playing into this narrative is Baylor's release of the fact that Crawford applied "for the University of Virginia Title IX Coordinator position" in July of that year (Ericksen, 2016b, para. 41). In a portion of an email between Crawford and a UVA administrator that was released, Crawford writes that, "[t]his opportunity at UVA is a priority, and I am committed to doing all I can to be available for interviews per the search committee's time-frame goals" (Ericksen, 2016b, para. 42). This release supplements Baylor's counternarrative that Crawford was dissatisfied with her role at Baylor, as it illustrates that she was going so far as to apply for positions at other universities.

However, even as they characterize the resignation as stemming from a sense of disappointment, Baylor still maintained that they were taken aback by Crawford's statements about the environment and supposed lack of support. In a release published two days after her resignation, Baylor states they were "surprised by the action taken by Patty Crawford given her public comments in August about the strong support she felt from across the University" (Baylor, 2016e, para. 2). Here they are referencing Crawford's August interview with the *Waco Tribune-Herald* where she was asked if she had requested help and support from the Baylor administration and responded, "Absolutely. And I keep asking for help, and I get listened to" (Baylor, 2016c, para. 19). Collectively, these statements from the Baylor administration and Ramsower construct a counternarrative of Crawford's resignation as one which was surprising to them, indicating any worries she'd expressed hadn't been of considerable concern, and which

was explained by her disappointment in her lack of a role in implementing some of the recommendations.

Baylor's attempt to build a counternarrative which holds Crawford responsible for her resignation echoes Ahmed's argument that organizations, when confronted with potential reputational crises, try to "paper over the cracks" or the potential damage (2019c, para. 21). Reflecting on her own resignation, Ahmed (2019c) states, "When I shared my reasons for resigning I became the cause of damage [to the institution] …Organisations will try and contain that damage" (para. 20-21). One way they might try to contain the damage is by "send[ing] paper out to create a trail, paper that can be used as evidence" in support of the institution (Ahmed, 2019c, para. 21). The counternarrative Baylor tells and the selection of emails and quotes from Crawford which they use to support it function as one example of this sort of organizational paper trail. Baylor creates a story in reverse, informing the audience about Crawford's apparent disappointment and her search for a new position, but telling the tale through the lens of her ultimate resignation and allowing that to dictate perceptions of Crawford's previous actions and statements.

This narrative also illustrates Baylor's attempt to contain damage in that it obviates the importance of Crawford's previous memos and reports detailing her concerns, which were detailed in the previous section. In portraying themselves as surprised by her resignation, they demonstrate Ahmed's argument that sometimes "a snap, however loud, can be inaudible to others. Another snap might be required to make a snap audible to others. The second snap is heard as the first snap" (2017f, para. 32). In this instance, either Crawford's "scathing, 18-page July 12 memo to Ramsower" or her

September report Baylor HR might be read as her first snap, a moment of Crawford "realizing that [her] relationship with the institution was broken," but which they chose not to hear or not to acknowledge (Ericksen, 2016, para. 27; Ahmed, 2017f, para. 32). This reflects the way that "a snap, especially when we are working within institutions, is not just one action, a snap has to be sustained: a snap has to be a series of snaps," as well resigning in feminist protest is one sort of snap, it is often preceded by others which occur as tension and pressure build up (Ahmed, 2017f, para. 31). Baylor minimizes the importance of Crawford's previous concerns to the point that they are able to disavow them completely, as only treating them as though they did not hear or understand them makes it possible to explain her resignation as abrupt.

Constructing Crawford as disappointed also evokes the figure of the feminist killjoy due to the way that it portrays Crawford as personally unhappy. In explaining her disappointment as being related to the failure to include her in decisions about the recommendations and their implementation, Baylor has tied Crawford's attachment to issues of sexual violence to her apparent unhappiness. As Ahmed (2017a) describes, "feminism becomes understood as how she harms herself," as what stops Crawford from being satisfied with her position and prevents her from staying with a life that ultimately "would lead her in a happier direction," than the one she's chosen in resigning (p. 195). Given Baylor's explanation, Crawford is assumed to be disappointed because she was not being included in anti-sexual violence work or because she has not performed the way she'd like to in her position, an assumption which almost frames her investment in Title IX work as *too* great and the cause of her eventual disappointment and resignation.

Redirection to Recommendations

The second theme that is evident in looking at Baylor's statements following Crawford's resignation is their desire to refocus attention from the resignation to the university's implementation of the recommendations. On the same day that Crawford resigned, Baylor announced that they "had filled Crawford's post by promoting senior deputy coordinator Kristan Tucker" (Lavigne & Schlabach, 2016, para. 8). In making this announcement, then-interim president David Garland proclaimed, "Kristan has been an integral part of our efforts to build a strong and responsive Title IX Office, and she serves, alongside her staff members, on implementation teams focused on the recommendations from Pepper Hamilton," couching Tucker's appointment within a larger comment on the university's Title IX and recommendation progress (Lavigne & Schlabach, 2016, para. 9). Garland then pivoted even more toward the subject of the implementation, arguing that Baylor had,

> made rapid progress on these recommendations, which have improved the University's processes and systems to ensure we respond effectively and compassionately when students report incidents of sexual violence and seek our help. We are resolutely committed to continuing our support for Kristan and her team in serving and caring for our students. (Baylor, 2016f, para. 3)

The statement concerning Tucker's appointment closely mirrors Baylor's release following Crawford's resignation, where they claim they, "are proud of the substantial resources invested in building a strong Title IX office and of the collaborative work the University has been doing and will continue to do in the implementation of the Pepper Hamilton recommendations" (Baylor, 2016e, para. 3). That release also states that,

> It has taken the entire Baylor community, fully engaged in our ongoing efforts, to ensure the University has in place the processes, policies, personnel, and training to prevent acts of sexual violence and respond appropriately with compassion to those who suffer from such acts. (2016e, para. 4)

This again uses language nearly identical to that in the statement about Tucker, discussing the importance of the university's commitment or continued improvement and their "compassion" in responding to victim-survivors. These releases and their similarity reflect Baylor's broad attempt to reorient the discussion from that of Crawford's resignation to the university's progress in Title IX support and recommendation implementation.

This redirection of attention is another mode of damage limitation, or another example of Baylor's attempt at "limiting or containing the effects" of Crawford's public resignation (Ahmed, 2019d, para. 9). Institutional "repair or recovery can be understood as a covering over the damage caused," Ahmed (2019d) explains, "creating the right impression as the impression that things are all right" (para. 9). By attempting to reverse the perception of the university as failing to effectively implement the recommendations, a claim Crawford made in resigning, Baylor was conducting a strategy of damage limitation. Just as "public relations works as a form of damage limitation, repairing an injury to the organization's reputation," Baylor's releases about Crawford and Tucker worked as a form of public relations, using the opportunity to put a "[h]appy shiny" face on the university's work against sexual violence (Ahmed, 2019a, p. 214). The feminist killjoy emerges here, as she is the one who causes the damage that the institution is trying to limit, the "leaky container" (Ahmed, 2017a, p. 171). Therefore, while the releases and

statements here don't explicitly reference Crawford, the fact that Baylor feels called to perform damage limitation strategies implicitly invokes the notion of Crawford as a killjoy due to her role in calling the implementation of the recommendations into question.

These positive, shiny statements about the university's progress are what Ahmed calls "non-performative," in that they are "statements of commitment: we do not tolerate sexual harassment, or we are a diverse and inclusive organisation, as if saying it is so, makes it so" (2019d, para. 16). In other words, non-performative statements of commitment are those which make a public pledge or declaration but are not accompanied by institutional action to support that commitment. These commitments are also often "undertaken *after* cases of sexual harassment are made public," and therefore "can be understood as damage limitation" (Ahmed, 2019d, para. 16, emphasis in original). Baylor highlighting the recommendations might be understood as an example of such a statement, as they publicly pledge their literal commitment to "continuing [their] support for Kristan and her team in serving and caring for [their] students," while the extent to which they actually support the students and implement the recommendations is contested by Crawford and Dunn (Baylor, 2016f, para. 3). Ahmed (2012) argues that genuine "[c]ommitment is an interface between policy and action: if a commitment is made on paper, it does not necessarily commit unless you act on it and catch up with the paper" (p. 140). This means that Baylor's statements committing to the recommendations, though made repetitively and publicly, did not necessarily correlate with actions which supported the Title IX office and recommendations with the same voracity. Those that work "in the gaps between what institutions say and what they do,"

often occupy the role of the killjoy, as they point out that the university's statements and policies do not align with their actions (Ahmed, 2012, p. 140). "[Y]ou point it out," Ahmed (2012) explains, "becoming a feminist killjoy, making a sore point, being a sore point, assumed to be sore because of your point" (p. 140). This exemplifies another way the killjoy emerges within the discourse surrounding Baylor's statements, as Crawford is the one who is pointing out what she's identified as a gap between Baylor's statements and actions.

Attempts to Ensure Silence

Finally, Baylor's public releases about Crawford's resignation reveal an attempt to ensure her silence via a confidentiality agreement and then to publicly shame or question her upon her refusal to sign it. On the day of Crawford's resignation, she'd been engaged in a mediation session with Baylor concerning her report to the university's HR department about retaliation (Hays & Lauber, 2016). During the mediation, Crawford apparently agreed to a settlement offer but then backed out and "quit after refusing an additional amount of money to sign a confidentiality agreement" (Hays & Lauber, 2016, para. 1). While, according to Dunn, the details of the mediation were supposed to remain confidential as per Texas law, both anonymous sources involved in the mediation and Baylor University revealed specific information about the negotiations (CBS News, 2016). Sources revealed that, "Baylor wanted to pay Crawford $1.5 million to stay at her position, with an additional $50,000 for signing a confidentiality agreement," but "Crawford reportedly upped her asking price to $2 million" and then resigned without signing the agreement when Baylor refused to grant her the additional half a million (Durkee, 2016, para. 4). Baylor also, in their statement concerning the resignation,

claimed that Crawford had made "demands in advance of mediation for one million dollars and book and movie rights" (Baylor, 2016e, para. 2). They then called this fact "troubling," and stated, "we can't explain her motivation," when asked about the mediation (Ericksen, 2016a, para. 12). The release of this information seems indicative of an attempt by Baylor to buy Crawford's silence and then subsequently question her character when she refused to sign the confidentiality agreement.

This desire to ensure silence and public questioning of Crawford's motives when she refused echoes Ahmed's argument that silence is "a form of institutional loyalty" (2019a, p. 215). "Damage limitation is often about the work of maintaining silence in public about the role of institutions in reproducing the problem," Ahmed (2019d) states, contextualizing why Crawford's silence, and lack thereof, was so important to Baylor (para. 25). In packaging the confidentiality agreement with the $1.5 million settlement Crawford was offered to remain as Title IX coordination, Baylor seemingly hoped that Crawford's self-interest and the massive amount of money they were offering would trump any concerns she had about staying quiet about her problems with the university. This exemplifies Ahmed's claim that "silence can be about promotion. Some might be willing to participate in silence-as-damage-control because they have interests in doing so," although, despite Baylor's hope, this was not the case with Crawford (2019d, para. 33). The attempt to get Crawford to sign the confidentiality agreement is also independently significant. Ahmed (2020) argues that, "[w]hen organizations can't stop a complaint from being made, there is an effort to stop a complaint from getting out. Non-disclosure agreements are the tail end up a much longer process" of containment (para. 60). Attempts to use non-disclosure agreements to prevent public knowledge of

complaints, as Ahmed discusses them, are mirrored in the way that Baylor attempts to prevent Crawford from taking her HR report public with a confidentiality agreement.

As Ahmed (2016b) accurately argues though, "[c]onfidentiality agreements do not mean and should not mean we cannot talk about sexual harassment. They mean we must talk about sexual harassment" (para. 28). They mean that the problem one is pointing out has potential to jeopardize the reputation of the institution or those within it and so "[w]e might need to become unprofessional feminists and let it out" (Ahmed, 2019a, p. 215). Crawford, in refusing to sign the agreement, is illustrating this point that we ought to resist confidentiality agreements and insist on talking about sexual harassment, while Baylor, in questioning Crawford's motives going into the mediation, uses this as an opportunity to position her as unprofessional and self-interested. The feminist killjoy emerges in this lack of silence, as Ahmed (2016b) explains that even when "you do speak out, you are seen as the problem…accused of disloyalty – of damaging reputation," which are key themes of the killjoy and the way she is perceived (para. 29). Even in the face of those accusations and perceptions though, the killjoy, much like Crawford, must still let it out, she "must still speak: the silence is what is damaging" (Ahmed, 2016b, para. 31).

In Baylor's attempts to provide a counternarrative for Crawford's resignation and shift focus from the resignation itself to the university's implementation of the recommendations, the feminist killjoy emerges in a number of ways. She first appears in the framing of Crawford as disappointed and unhappy due to her attachments to her job and desire to be part of recommendation implementation, a construction which relies on the perception of the killjoy as one made unhappy by her feminist investments. Second,

she emerges in the way Crawford is implicitly located as the cause of damage to Baylor's reputation because she questioned the level of commitment they'd actually made to implementing the recommendations, pointing out a potential differential between their policies and actions. Lastly, we find her in Crawford's refusal to be silenced despite Baylor's attempt to have her sign a confidentiality agreement and their subsequent questioning of her character when she declined. These statements and press releases from Baylor work to provide an explanation of Crawford's resignation which attributes it to her own disappointment and self-interest while simultaneously releasing them from any responsibility and reorienting the audience toward the progress made in the areas of Title IX and the Pepper Hamilton recommendations.

Conclusion

The public narrative cultivated by Crawford and Dunn positioned Crawford's resignation as a final act of protest, while the counternarrative constructed by Baylor held Crawford culpable for her resignation through articulating her as unhappy and self-interested. Both though, exemplify the variety of ways the killjoy trope is evident throughout rhetoric relating to Crawford's resignation. In this chapter, I have argued that there are six unique ways that the killjoy appears in the public discourse and statements surrounding Crawford's resignation. First is in the notion of the killjoy as the one who is consistently under pressure from those around her, and for whom that pressure is constantly building up, which is demonstrated in the escalation between Crawford and Baylor in the months leading up to Crawford's resignation. Second, is the role of the killjoy in protesting injustice wherever it appears. In Crawford speaking out about Baylor's supposed short-comings and retaliation, she becomes the leaky pipe or the one

who is causing damage to the university. Next, the killjoy emerges in Crawford's refusal to remain at Baylor and continue to be part of the problem, as the killjoy is marked by her refusal to reproduce a world that she does not believe should exist. Fourth, we find the killjoy in Dunn's representations of Crawford's resignation as explicitly a form of protest. Fifth, the killjoy is evoked in constructions of Crawford as personally unhappy and disappointed because of her feminist attachments and the nature of her work against sexual violence. Lastly, the final way the killjoy emerges is in Crawford rejecting the confidentiality agreement and therefore also rejecting the impulse for silence as a form of institutional preservation.

These findings also illustrate the three-fold nature of the intersection between the feminist killjoy and the act of snapping. The first two of these intersections operate in tandem, for just as the killjoy is perceived as embodying snap or as in a constant state of snap, snapping is similarly read as a killjoy action. This relationship is illustrated in the way that Crawford is depicted as disappointed due to her limited role in implementing the recommendations and therefore snapping and resigning, which represents the notion of Crawford as a killjoy and therefore inherently unhappy and ready to snap. It is also depicted in how her resignation and subsequent statements were immediately read by Baylor as a result of her unhappy nature. The final aspect of the theoretical intersection between the killjoy and snapping relates to the act of resigning in protest as an example of feminist snap, which is exemplified in the way that Crawford's party characterizes her resignation as a form of protest and then takes that protest public.

The research and findings represented in this chapter are significant not only in what they reveal about the narratives of Crawford's resignation, but also in what they

contribute to rhetorical readings of resignations, silence, snaps, and strategies of damage limitation. First, this offers a new and more nuanced mode of understanding the high rates of resignations of Title IX coordinators. According to the Association of Title IX Administrators, as of 2018, "[t]wo-thirds of Title IX coordinators say they've been in their jobs for less than three years… [o]ne-fifth have held their positions for less than a year" (Brown, 2019, para. 8). Analyzing the way that Crawford's resignation, though articulated by the university as due to disappointment, was actually preceded by months of concerns, reports, and even institutional retaliation, offers a new framework for interpreting these turnover rates as potentially an indicator of institutional retaliation or inaction rather than as simply a result of individual coordinators burning out. Second, this adds to the way that rhetoricians might understand the significance of silence as a rhetorical act. While scholars such as Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Cheryl Glenn argue that silence, either about important feminist work or as a mode of feminist resistance, is significant for a variety of reasons, this research expands interpretations of silence to include it as often coerced and a mechanism of institutional protection (1989; 2004). Next, it offers potential for supplementing the way Ahmed theorizes snapping, such as expanding it from a way of characterizing breaking bonds with an institution or family to potentially understanding the ways that attachments to particular actions or modes of citizenship might be severed. Finally, it offers a way to understand damage limitation in the context of rhetoric, which might be applied to research relating to public relations and apologia.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

Sara Ahmed (2017a) argues, "[b]ecoming a killjoy can feel, sometimes, like making your life harder than it needs to be," because your life would be easier and potentially happier if you stopped noticing inequality, stopping protesting it, stopped drawing attention to it (p. 235). This seems to be true at both a personal level, in how you relate to others, your relationship with your family, and the life you choose, as well as at an institutional level, in the work that you do, damage you cause, and the progress you might impede. This project emphasizes how these themes and tropes of the killjoy emerge in both personal and institutional rhetorics concerning those who perform institutional anti-sexual violence work. In this conclusion, I aim to illustrate the significance of such an argument in several ways. First, I outline the collective findings of this research, drawing broader conclusions related to the emergence of the killjoy in diversity work and the discourses relating to such. Then I highlight the notable absence of feminist collectives and feminist histories from the rhetoric surrounding Crawford, arguing that this represents a substantial deviation from Ahmed's theorizations of the killjoy. Finally, I conclude with a discussion how myself and others in the discipline might build from this research in the future.

Analysis of Findings

The narratives constructed and circulated by Crawford and Baylor reveal that the killjoy is often present as they attempt to publicly navigate Crawford's resignation and complaint about Baylor. This research demonstrates how different actors, in their attempts to control public narratives relating to sexual violence, consistently draw on the tropes of the feminist killjoy although often in contradictory ways. While both chapters

highlight a variety of ways the killjoy emerges, and the significance of those in considering broader theories of resignation and complaint, a collective analysis and layering of these discourses reveals three core findings relating to the way the killjoy appears in public discourse relating to diversity workers.

First, the broader project helps us to map the institutional responses to diversity workers who take their complaints, resignations, or other forms of concerns public. Baylor's narratives are indicative of a university strategy which aimed to both silence and discredit Crawford through a variety of mechanisms. The attempt to pay her to sign a confidentiality agreement is perhaps the most obvious way they attempt to silence her, reflecting the notion of silence as promotion and the way institutions may offer promotions, recommendations, or other forms of compensation in exchange for one's silence. Their supposed withdrawal of resources as Crawford increased her reports of campus sexual violence functions as a separate form of silencing. It indicates Baylor's hope that, without resources, Crawford would be unable to pursue cases, make reports, or speak to the problem of sexual assault on campus, therefore operating as a mode of silencing her professionally. This speaks to the way that institutional retaliation to the killjoy does not have to be a verbal exchange or even a demotion in title or job description, but rather can occur as a slow diminishing of the monetary and emotional resources provided. Baylor's attempts to discredit Crawford are also seen throughout both chapters, whether the discrediting happens through framing her as explicitly malicious and deceptive or just as self-interested. Discrediting then works as a mechanism for institutions to manage and respond to those they were unable to silence, as discrediting implicates the person's character and frames the public narrative around them.

This research also reveals the significance of violating institutional norms of professionalism to the feminist killjoy. Crawford does this through jeopardizing institutional happiness, both in her public complaint and public resignation, and through her refusal to be silenced. Norms of professionalism often dictate that those who are good employees, not those who are good at their *job* but whose *persons* are well-suited for employment, do not speak poorly of their employers, whether current or previous. This standard is one Crawford clearly does not abide by, seemingly prioritizing public knowledge about her situation over her own professional future. Similarly, in balking at the confidentiality agreement and taking public interviews, despite knowing that Baylor did not want her to do it, she rejects institutional norms of professional employment. This is significant in considering how industries and institutions respond to those who publicly speak out or are perceived as unprofessional and the difficulty those killjoys might find in obtaining future employment.

Finally, adopting a wider lens of analysis exposes the extent to which the killjoy is coded as emotional. Throughout Baylor's narratives and releases, Crawford is consistently portrayed as sensitive in ways that are meant to reflect that what she's claiming is inaccurate. She is constructed as disappointed in her lack of inclusion in the recommendations, unhappy due to her attachment to her job, overdramatic in her depictions of her supposed lack of support, and even as unstable and overly emotional as a manager. These collectively indicate an attempt by Baylor to highlight Crawford's allegedly high negative emotionality and tendency to exaggerate. This is also supplemented by the depiction of her resignation as abrupt, a representation which holds her accountable for any damage to herself, her reputation, or the university, as she is

articulated as the origin of the snap, or institutional violence. This highlights Ahmed's argument about the sensational nature of the killjoy and contextualizes how this trope might be deployed by institutions in public discussions concerning sexual violence or harassment.

This project emphasizes the litany of ways that tropes of the feminist killjoy emerge in public discourse surrounding Title IX and sexual violence concerns as well as diversity work more broadly. Crawford's need to speak out about the injustice she perceived at Baylor and Baylor's subsequent responses demonstrate how the killjoy can emerge in the discourse on *both* sides, with one party (Baylor's) relying on the antifeminist and negative associations of the figure and the other party (Crawford's) embracing the retooled vision of the killjoy espoused by Ahmed. There is one notable distinction though in how the killjoy emerges in Ahmed's writings versus in public discourse concerning Crawford, and this variation is also significant.

The Importance of Collective Histories

Despite all of my previous analysis describing the emergence of the killjoy in discourse relating to Crawford's complaint and resignation, the project would be incomplete without an acknowledgement of how the killjoy is also significantly absent in one respect. Not only would the project be incomplete however, I would also be doing a disservice to Ahmed's work, which centers the importance of feminist collectives and feminist histories.

Throughout her research on both complaint and resignation, Ahmed (2019a) is clear that we must "do this work collectively," positioning ourselves among, alongside, and in support of others in search of similar goals (p. 196). The notion of feminist snap is

one with a feminist history and we must work to "make snap part of how we tell the story of political movements," and must recognize the importance of those movements and histories (Ahmed, 2019a, p. 228). Ahmed makes similar arguments concerning complaint, speaking to the significance of working to "form complaint collectives," of gathering momentum for a movement, explaining that in gathering complaints for the collective, "[w]e gather, becoming that momentum" (2020, para. 65). It is this importance of feminist histories and feminist futures that is strikingly absent from the discourse concerning Crawford. Neither Baylor nor Dunn nor Crawford herself publicly recognize or draw connections from the significance of Crawford's actions to a larger collective. Rather, they treat this situation as though it is unique to Crawford, individualizing her experience and allegations in ways that preclude any analysis of the institutional structures that facilitated the alleged retaliation or papered over the campus problem of sexual harassment in the first place. The killjoy is significant in that she speaks out against all forms of injustice, not only those which affect her, a fact which also problematizes Crawford's choice to only speak out about gendered violence, despite the university's scapegoating of the predominantly black football team in the scandal (Vertuno, 2018). It also implicates her silence following her resignation, as Ahmed (2016a) clarifies that being "a feminist at work means holding in suspense the question of where to do our work," indicating that even a resignation in feminist protest must be followed up by further feminist actions (para. 3).

This absence is significant in considering broader narratives relating to sexual violence and diversity work, as it reveals the nature of strategic silence. While Crawford refused to be silent in the case of her complaint and resignation, it is still possible to

understand her actions writ large as a form of silence as promotion. Ahmed (2019d) calls this, "*liberal white feminism*…when the career advancement of individual white women is dependent on the extent to which she demonstrates that she is willing not to confront the institution" (para. 33, emphasis in original). I would argue that Crawford's whiteness uniquely allows her to occupy this space of strategic silence as it affords her the flexibility and stability required to speak out against institutions, meet minimal backlash, and then disappear. As we consider the nature of sexual violence and diversity work it is important to keep this interpretation of liberal white feminism at the forefront, as this frames the circumstances of who occupies the institutional space in the first place and who can afford to speak up with minimal professional repercussions.

The failure to acknowledge feminist histories is then a significant way that the killjoy does not emerge from the public discourse surrounding Crawford's public complaint and resignation. The move by Crawford and Dunn to individualize her experiences serves to position Crawford as exceptional in the choices she made while also exempting her from any expectation of future action. This shields her from any potential criticism regarding her choice to leave Title IX and diversity work behind in their entirety. Baylor's rhetoric, on the other hand, while similarly individualizing Crawford's actions, enables them to construct a narrative that situates themselves as well-meaning and devoted to sexual violence work while Crawford is positioned as entirely at fault.

Future Research

Contrary to the nature of Crawford and Baylor's rhetoric though, Crawford's situation does not stand alone, as Title IX coordinators nationally face similar scenarios

of burnout, retaliation, and resignation (Brown, 2019). The collective nature of these difficulties reveals significant potential for expanding this research in the future. In this section, I highlight three avenues for future research, attempting to parse out various implications of this research within the discipline.

The first of these areas of future research relates to the overwhelming silence of Title IX coordinators about their experiences. *The Chronicle of Higher Education* cites reports of coordinators "lacking resources and institutional support, even as rape reports soared…feeling overwhelmed and emotionally drained" and frequently considering quitting (Brown, 2019, paras. 11-12). Despite these concerns though, coordinators often choose to stay quiet about their experiences, "fearing retaliation, legal action, or the prospect of torpedoing future career opportunities" should they speak up (Brown, 2019, para. 9). This silence surrounding the working conditions and resignations of Title IX coordinators provides one potential avenue for related research. Glenn (2010) argues for the importance of silence to the feminist rhetorical project, explaining that we ought to consider "silence as a rhetoric, as a constellation of symbolic strategies that — like spoken language — serves many functions" (p. 45). Future research might pursue Glenn's point that "when willfully employed, the delivery of silence can be powerful, can help maintain control," and examine what Title IX coordinators' mass silence might reveal about their precarious positions in universities or institutional responses to sexual harassment more broadly (p. 46). Conversely, it might also examine what about Crawford's rhetoric reveals about the circumstances which permitted her to *break* that silence, questioning to what extent her whiteness, career trajectory, or any number of other factors, influenced her choice and ability to leave Baylor.

A second avenue for future research might focus on different Title IX coordinators and the rhetorical choices they each made in going public with their complaints or resignations. One coordinator who took her resignation public much like Crawford is Andrea Goldblum. Goldblum is the former Title IX coordinator at the University of Cincinnati and is currently suing the school, "claiming she was fired in retaliation for investigating a student who is registered as a sex offender" (Brownfield, 2019, para. 1). According to the lawsuit, there was student outcry after a student "who was convicted of gross sexual imposition" was profiled in an article published by the College of Arts and Sciences about students who overcame adverse situations in order to graduate (Brownfield, 2019, para. 5). Goldblum "claims that as Title IX coordinator, she heard from many of those students and felt obligated to respond by posting a letter in the school newspaper listing resources and offering help," however, was instructed by her boss not to send the letter (Brownfield, 2019, para. 6). Goldblum then supposedly made changes to the letter, informed her boss she intended to send the revised version, and sent it to the newspaper after her boss did not respond. The university then gave her the choice of either being fired for insubordination or resign. However, she claims in the lawsuit that she "was retaliated against for engaging in speech that is protected under U.S. law" and "fired for investigating a matter that would be embarrassing to UC" (Brownfield, 2019, para. 13).

Goldblum's resignation mirrors some aspects of Crawford's while also offering new lines of questioning and research. Research here might highlight the rhetorical move by the university to give Goldblum the "choice" of either resigning or being fired, and the way that this changes the circumstances she faces after her resignation and alters the

stakes of going public. It also might highlight the differences in public discourse surrounding Goldblum and Crawford and the various rhetorical choices made by each of them. Another way of contrasting the rhetoric of different coordinators might juxtapose the choices made by Crawford at Baylor, an overwhelming privileged, white, affluent, private, religious school, with those made by a coordinator working at a publicly funded state school with fewer economic resources and a far more diverse student population. Such questions speak to Meyer's (2007) call to use rhetorical analysis as a means interrogate power relations as they highlight the different and varied conditions that diversity workers face based on their individual identities and the identity of institutions they work within (p. 6).

Finally, I would argue that the rhetorical trope of the feminist killjoy also offers a promising avenue for future research in the discipline. Ahmed often centers film and literary representations of women in her analysis of the killjoy, illustrating one way that the trope might be applied in the context of popular culture and media. The trope could also be deployed in analysis of political rhetoric, as we continue to consider the presidential campaigns of Hillary Clinton, Elizabeth Warren, Kamala Harris, and Tulsi Gabbard. The frame of the killjoy facilitates a nuanced and intersectional analysis which may offer insights into the often-gendered public discourse which surrounded each of the campaigns as well as the candidates' appeals to democracy, liberalism, and American exceptionalism. This research would also involve expanding the themes associated with the killjoy beyond those of complaint and resignation, exploring other traits associated with those who impede or damage institutional and familial happiness.

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