

The Election of Donald Trump to the Presidency and the Crisis of Liberalism in Librarianship: The Need to Reconsider the Social Function of the Library and its Role in Critical Information Literacy and Political Education in Response To the Rise of Alt-right Fascism in the United States

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ABSTRACT: The advances of extreme right-wing political forces in the United States exemplified most recently by the election of Donald Trump to the presidency, highlight the importance of initiating a critical and thorough examination of the function and effectiveness of institutions long believed to serve as fundamental pillars for public education and the advancement of democratic ideals, including libraries. Despite a carefully managed and revered public image as nearly-sacred spaces for freedom in intellectual development and unobstructed democratic participation and engagement, libraries have long maintained a posture of obedience and unquestioning subordination to the needs of elite social power structures, including those historically defined by racial supremacy and oppression. Under the present conditions, and despite public proclamations about libraries being on the “frontlines” of the liberal anti-Trump “resistance”, as witnessed during the 2017 American Library Association annual professional conference in Chicago, it is highly unlikely that mainstream libraries will be able or willing to spring into action and play an effective, credible role against the alarming rise of alt-right violence and proto-fascism in the United States. Such a role would have to be grounded in a progressive, alternative model for culturo-informational leadership and critical information and political literacy education in the United States. Developing this alternative in the short- to medium-term may prove a near impossibility as it

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would require radical changes in the way mainstream libraries are conceptualized, as well as in the ideological structure and delivery of library and information science education programs.

Keywords: critical information literacy, Donald Trump, fascism, liberalism, political education, US presidency



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Introduction

The spectacle of a New York real estate developer and television personality seizing the presidency of the United States against the confident expectations of the liberal corporate media elite has commanded well-justified national and international attention. With an endless string of information leaks, extreme and dangerous policy proposals, outrageous statements and Twitter controversies from the White House, media commentators often find themselves struggling to keep up with daily developments and unable or unwilling to venture beyond the expected superficiality of a highly condensed and fast-paced 24/7 news and information cycle.

The disorienting political chaos and unprecedented presidential drama also appear to have had the effect of distracting the opinion-making liberal intellectual and academic class from the need to initiate a critical and systematic examination of the socio- and cultural-informational factors that contributed to what would be more accurately described as the “Clinton/Trump phenomenon”. As the most social media-intensive electoral cycle to date, the 2016 presidential election exposed embarrassing failures in the assumptions of corporate liberal consensus. In its attempt to promote a badly flawed candidate while actively colluding to suppress a viable, non-approved and supposedly disruptive alternative, the liberal establishment was almost universally unable to grasp the extent of the political and cultural crisis and the discontent across the country nearly ten years after the 2008 financial crisis, the election of Barack Obama, and the birth of the Tea Party movement.

Adding to the near-complete failure of mainstream commentators, the rapid normalization and empowerment of overt racism, hateful and proto-fascist ideologies after the election have helped expose the limitations of the institutions traditionally entrusted with the social responsibility to educate and prepare sophisticated, information-literate citizens for meaningful participation and engagement with the institutions, practices and traditions of democratic government (cf. Snyder, 2017).

The National Crisis

As we begin to examine the most serious political, cultural and social crisis in the United States in modern history, and the first to play out on the age of the smart device and sprawling social media, libraries and their performance as centers for information and political literacy education cannot be excluded from a critical assessment. Historically, libraries have been highly successful in promoting themselves as having critical importance in a democratic society. In fact, with a unique and undoubtedly-privileged position in the national political and cultural consciousness, funding requests by libraries are almost always predicated on being absolutely essential for the advancement of the values and ideals that are said to underlie the American experience.

While few would openly question the value of libraries as gateways to knowledge and culture, or their importance for information and political literacy education, the shock waves of Trump's electoral victory and their expansion far beyond Washington, D.C., should prompt us to turn our attention to the assumptions underlying the structures that support corporate democracy and the effectiveness of the methods used for public education and cultural communication. In this process, we would be remiss not to scrutinize or critically question the effectiveness of libraries in their purported educational mission or their social function in a society where political and financial power is concentrated narrowly and where participation in the electoral process is said to be carefully managed by a sophisticated public relations industry to ensure consistent and predictable results (Chomsky, 2002, Herman & Chomsky, 1988).

We must also not gloss over the fact that in a country of almost incalculable information and educational resources and where the statistics show that a significant percentage of adults use public libraries (Horrigan, 2016a, 2016b, Zickuhr, et al., 2013), less than thirty percent of all eligible voters elected a candidate with one of the most problematic ideological and behavioral records in U.S. history. We must also remember that a clear majority of those who voted chose a candidate widely perceived as a fundamentally corrupt and dishonest pawn of Wall Street, and one whose party actively engaged in collusion to rig the primary process and suppress the vote for what was perceived as a threatening, non-approved alternative (Borchers, 2016, Chozik, 2016, Foran, 2016, Kristof, 2016, Saad, 2016).

Librarianship and Its Subordination to Power Structures

Against this backdrop, a detailed examination of the library and its early historical trajectory as an institution is largely unnecessary to understand its function as a servant of the needs of the dominant structures of socio-cultural and racial power. Libraries were originally part of the rigid apparatus of socio-political and ideological control created and managed by the church. Later on, as public libraries spread across the country, they became devoted guardians of the privileged knowledge of white supremacy and its masters as well as enforcers of persistent racist practices. While the civil rights movement during the 1950s and 1960s ultimately forced the library professional community to reject the worst and most brutal forms of segregation, libraries continue to reflect the structures of social dominance, inequalities and racist practices that exist elsewhere in society (cf. Honma, 2005, Peterson, 1996, Wheeler & Johnson-Houston, 2004).

Given the long history of racial oppression in the United States, a critical examination of the modern library cannot overlook its enduring role as a dedicated servant of the structures of race-based social dominance. We also have to scrutinize the ways in which its chosen role links pervasive ideologies of racial power, and more specifically, white supremacy and white privilege, to professional structures, policies and practices.

Evidence from several areas illustrates the existence of these links and their enduring strength. The most striking is found in what amounts to the organized, deliberate and systematic exclusion of minorities from the professional ranks in libraries. Mainstream professional literature rarely addresses this as a fundamental problem with the conceptualization of the library as an off-limits repository and guardian of privileged human knowledge. Instead, the white supremacy manifested in librarianship in modern times is sanitized, filtered through the apologetic rhetoric of liberalism and framed as an issue of paternalistic “multiculturalism”, “diversity” and purposely diffused in a larger discussion of corporate goals for minority recruitment or retention (cf. Hudson, 2017).

However, for anyone interested in examining the extent of the exclusion, the available statistics tell a compelling story. Not only do they speak about the exclusion of minorities, but also about the effectiveness of normalized racism in institutions operating under the protective and distorting shroud of public relations rhetoric about the value of education and the democratic ideals of liberalism. This point is important because it helps in the reframing of the recent advances of alt-right hate ideologies, not as unforeseen or random anomalies but as predictable symptoms of a larger design for the advancement and sustainment of a society based on a race-based structure of domination and oppression. It also helps in the understanding and contextualizing of the socio-historical trajectory that culminated with Trump’s electoral victory in 2016. A rejection of this argument would have to account for the fact that Blacks or African Americans constitute only about 8.5% of professional librarians in the United States. A dismal 4.8% are Hispanic or Latino (AFL-CIO, 2016).

The brutal statistics on the organized exclusion of minorities from librarianship can be complemented by evidence from another area, namely, the texts in professional publications. This too shows how successful the library industry and its public relations consultants have been in getting the public to accept the illusion of libraries as “community anchors” and “protectorates of the tenets of a democratic government”, offering “unlimited possibilities” (American Library Association, 2015).

The annual reports produced by the American Library Association and made available in print and electronic formats in *American Libraries*, its official journal, suggest the existence of a well-established pattern. Keyword searches using terms related to African Americans, Latinos or minorities produce *zero* relevant results from the text of the most recent annual reports (2014-2017). In fact, the most recent passing references to what is described as the profession continuing to “move toward [the] elusive goal” of greater minority representation in librarianship are found in the annual report for 2013.

The 2013 *American Libraries* report includes what can only be described as compelling evidence on the normalization of institutionalized racism in librarianship. In discussing the status of minorities and their representation in the profession, the report describes a one

percentage point gain in ten years, from 11% to 12%, as evidence of progress toward the goal of having professional librarians reflect the general population (p. 50). The importance given to the achievement of this goal is clearly evident in the layout of the report since it is placed immediately after a discussion of green initiatives and the renovation and expansion of a library, which included transforming “an adjacent empty lot into a community garden” (p. 49).

With its opportunistic adaptation to new forms of information and communication technologies, one would hope for ALA’s postings in social media to provide counterevidence to the record of structural racism and perhaps demonstrate sincere efforts towards greater minority representation at a time of increasing awareness about white privilege and its harmful consequences. However, ALA social media statements over the years suggest a persistent unwillingness to fully embrace a progressive agenda as well as a complete inability to “speak the language of the oppressed”, thus making the profession an unwelcoming environment for minorities.

For example, the word “racism” has been included in Twitter postings originating from @ALALibrary, the official ALA Twitter feed, only twice since February 2009. The same number of postings is found in the Twitter stream for @ALANews. Quite predictably, the use of “diversity”, the standard and preferred choice in the liberal lexicon, is far more common with 44 occurrences in the same period. As for the tag #WhiteSupremacy or the phrase “White supremacy”, ALA has never used them in a posting since first joining Twitter in February 2009. The phrase “White privilege” also remains unused to date.

The Crisis in Liberal Librarianship

The absence of clearly-communicated commitment to central issues in the struggle for social justice while claiming a position of critical cultural importance for a healthy democracy could also be interpreted as an indication of a deepening crisis in the library profession. At a time of increasing political polarization, librarianship finds itself grappling desperately with the ideological contradictions of white liberalism while confronting rapidly diminishing cultural relevance, a shrinking membership and an uncertain future. There is also evidence to suggest that the 2016 electoral process and the election of Donald Trump may have worsened the internal crisis in librarianship, at least in the workings of its administrative hierarchy, further exposing glaring ideological inconsistencies.

After the election of November 8, the American Library Association struggled to adopt a credible, or at least defensible, position in response to the unexpected election of Donald Trump and the preparation of an administrative team bent on advancing a cruel agenda against the disadvantaged. The internal disputes and spontaneous outrage that followed the ALA’s unsolicited posture of suspiciously-quick and alarming accommodation with the new power structure in Washington prompted the professional leadership to “recalibrate” its

response with the inclusion of the standard, combative phrases alluding to the struggle against racism, etc. (Albanese, 2017, American Library Association, 2017a, 2017b, Kenney, 2017).

The internal conflicts and ideological inconsistencies were once again evident during the annual professional conference in Chicago in late June 2017, barely five months after the inauguration of Donald Trump. In what must have been designed to appease what is supposed to be the progressive wing of the profession, the organizers gave the former Secretary of State and presidential candidate Hillary Clinton a central role by having her deliver the keynote address.

While Clinton's appearance at the conference was attributed to a corporate sponsorship by Simon & Schuster, the subordination of a professional conference to a corporate giant and its wholehearted endorsement of a representative of Wall Street highlight the profession's priorities in response to the realignment of the country's electoral map and intellectual consciousness.

Clinton's ALA speech and her call for librarians "to be on the front lines of one of the most important fights we have faced in the history of our country, the fight to defend truth and reason, evidence and facts" may seem comforting (Clinton, 2017). However, we should lower our expectations. In only the past few years and before the election of Donald Trump, the ALA has struggled internally for consistency. We saw this with WikiLeaks, the Edward Snowden leaks (American Library Association, 2011, 2012, 2014a), and the expansion of attempts to subvert the Freedom of Information Act by the Obama administration (American Library Association, 2014b, Bridis, 2015, Harger, 2014, Peterson, 2014, Silverplate, 2011, Zetter, 2013).

The case of Edward Snowden is particularly striking in what it says about the ambivalences of liberalism. After Snowden exposed the data collection practices of the National Security Agency (NSA) in *The Guardian* and *The Washington Post*, an action *The New Yorker* believed made him a national hero, the ALA Council defeated the adoption of a resolution supporting his actions (American Library Association, 2014a, Carpenter, 2015).

There is additional evidence to suggest the need to limit our expectations on the role libraries will play in the "resistance" against Donald Trump. For example, the relatively recent controversy surrounding the use of the phrase "Illegal aliens" as a subject heading in reference to undocumented immigrants points to a persistent inability of the profession to provide effective leadership on matters related to information systems and public education. The controversy should also give us pause on the interest of the profession in combatting racism and white supremacy.

In summer 2014, Latino activists from the Coalition for Immigration Reform, Equality, and DREAMers (Co-FIRED) of Dartmouth College in coordination with its library

administrators petitioned the Library of Congress for the phrase “Illegal aliens” to be dropped from the list of authorized subject heading terms in the *Library of Congress Subject Headings* (LCSH). Their petition was long overdue and motivated by their view that the phrase is “dehumanizing, inaccurate, offensive, and inflammatory” (Seaman, 2014).

With mounting pressure, including an American Library Association January 12, 2016, resolution supporting the change (American Library Association, 2016), the Library of Congress eventually agreed to drop the offensive term, with an announcement on March 22, 2016. The date is striking given that the Library of Congress describes the phrase as “one of the oldest headings in the *Library of Congress Subject Headings*, or LCSH” (Library of Congress, 2016). LCSH is perhaps the most widely used and influential system for subject analysis in libraries and has been in existence for more than one hundred years. The heading was eventually reinstated in response to an initiative from right-wing forces in the United States Congress. The FY2017 House Legislative Branch Appropriations Act (H.R. 5325) instructed the Library of Congress to continue to use the phrase (Peet, 2016).

Today, the phrase *Illegal aliens* continues to appear in the Library of Congress subject authority file (Library of Congress, 1985). More importantly, the phrase continues to be used in thousands of bibliographic records in library catalogs across the country, with no public condemnation, objections, or organized acts of resistance from the American Library Association or any other prominent library professional organization.

The Prospects for an Alternative

Even if public proclamations about being on the front lines of the anti-Trump “resistance” reflect a sincere concern for the future of the United States, librarians may still find themselves ill-equipped to stand in direct opposition to a proto-fascist ideology, at least from a collective standpoint. The profession’s inclination to serve the structures of power and to seek accommodations is deeply rooted and well established. In fact, in the absence of any unforeseen event leading to an uproar and widespread condemnation, the American Library Association will likely continue to prioritize its own survival while continuing to believe that a one percentage point increase in minority representation in its ranks over the course of a decade constitutes progress and the advancement of social justice.

Although there are some progressive currents of thought among the rank and file of the library profession (as we see captured in the tag #CritLib in social media), especially among those working in areas hard hit by conditions of social injustice, drug addiction, homelessness and hopelessness, the increasing marginalization of the traditional practice of librarianship will likely limit the influence or ability of progressive librarians to formulate a timely and credible response to “fake news”, “alternative facts”, or the manifestations of racism in Breitbart and Fox News or the conspiracy theories of InfoWars. Countering the deepening cultural and political crisis and the rising wave of hate and fascism in the United States will

take a lot more than drawing attention to the widely-celebrated CRAAP test, even in a revised form (Alvarez, 2017, Crum, 2017, Kenney, 2017).

We should also temper our expectations with respect to the emergence of a well-organized movement of resistance among those currently entering the library profession (cf. Albanese, 2017). Library and information science education was not designed to promote or encourage rebelliousness, critical or alternative perspectives. Quite the contrary. In fact, the prevailing model of education in library and information science is grounded on the assumptions of liberalism, which, by definition, require a sanitized version of white supremacy. We can see the effects of this in the way the exclusion of minorities in library education parallels the exclusion of minorities from the ranks of the profession. With less than eight percent of the full time faculty in library and information schools in North America representing disadvantaged minorities (3.1% Hispanic, 4.3% African American) (ALISE, 2016), the values of white supremacy are integrated into the structure and functioning of library schools. In fact, the exclusion of minorities from faculty ranks has worsened. In 2010, for example, the combined Hispanic and African American representation cited in the report of the Association for Library and Information Science Education was over eight percent (ALISE, 2010).

Conclusion

At the time of this writing, the tragic events of Charlottesville following the white supremacist “Unite the Right” rally in mid-August entered public consciousness. The aftermath also offered new and compelling evidence of the frightening ideological inclinations of Donald Trump and his administration. In comments that sparked worldwide outrage and swift condemnation, he sought to downplay the responsibility of neo-Nazi, white supremacy groups in the violence that resulted in at least one death and multiple injuries.

Not surprisingly, in the days that followed the controversy there were renewed calls for the accelerated removal of the historical symbols that glorify hate, slavery and white supremacy. Thus far, the outrage has focused on monuments and there have been no reports of public interest in examining the function of other cultural symbols or institutions, for example, libraries. This is understandable as monuments and their historical association with ideologies of oppression can be more easily identified and challenged. However, the oversight does not eliminate the necessity of developing a critical cultural and political movement in the future, one that focuses on the need to reinvent libraries and the practice of information management for the public good, freeing them from the persistent and entrenched legacy of racism and white supremacy. Only through a genuine process for the democratization of our educational, intellectual and informational spaces will we be able to directly and effectively challenge and counter the normalization and celebration of hate and racism.

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