Notes

Introduction: anti-racist scholar-activism and the neoliberal-imperial-institutionally-racist university

1 Following Sivanandan, we use ‘communities of resistance’ throughout this book to capture the agentic nature of ‘marginalised communities’; see Ambalavaner Sivanandan, Communities of Resistance: Writings of Black Struggles for Socialism (London: Verso, 2019).

2 Though commonly regarded more as a public intellectual than a scholar-activist, Karim Murji advances a compelling argument for seeing Hall as a ‘theorist-activist’ – a concept he perceives to ‘overlap with … [but] carries a different inflection from both’ public intellectual and scholar-activist; see Karim Murji, ‘Stuart Hall as a criminological theorist-activist’, Theoretical Criminology, 24:3 (2020), 447–460.

3 We are very deliberate in referencing extensively throughout. This book builds upon a wide range of works that have come before, and so our interventions are born out of this wider scholarship. As such, and taking a politics of citation seriously, we hope that a further contribution we make is to draw attention to many of the important works that we cite. We therefore encourage readers to follow up and engage with the citations that we draw upon. As Sara Ahmed argues, ‘Citation is how we acknowledge our debt to those who came before.’ See Sara Ahmed, Living a Feminist Life (London: Duke University Press, 2017), p. 17.

4 The dictum ‘pessimism of the intelligence, optimism of the will’ was first coined by Romain Rolland and later developed by Gramsci, to whom it is most commonly attributed, before it was then later picked up by Hall; see

We return to the concept of freedom dreams throughout the book because, as well as influencing the spirit with which we have written the book, we argue that freedom dreaming is also an important component of anti-racist scholar-activist praxes; see Robin D.G. Kelley, *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2002).


As a concept, political Blackness points to the existence of a shared experience ‘of colonial rule and subsequent state racism’ that unites people from ‘African, Caribbean and Asian migrant communities as Black peoples’; see John Narayan, ‘British black power: The anti-imperialism of political blackness


22 For a searing critique of these trends, see Benjamin Zephaniah, *The Race Industry*, available at: https://benjaminzephaniah.com/rhymin/talking-turkeys-2/ [accessed 4 June 2021].

23 Lentin, *Racism and Anti-Racism in Europe*.

24 Ibid.


26 For example, the Sewell Report has been criticised for its lack of ‘intellectual rigour, academic credibility and stakeholder engagement’, and its gross and disingenuous misrepresentation of evidence; see Runnymede Trust, *Sewell Reports: Runnymede Responds*, available at: www.runnymedetrust.org/sewell [accessed 4 June 2021].


31 Lentin, *Racism and Anti-Racism in Europe*, p. 129.

32 Fekete, ‘Reclaiming the fight against racism in the UK’; also see Narayan, ‘British black power’.

33 Initially introduced through a set of policies in 2012, the hostile environment describes a set of measures, policies, and a wider culture that seeks to make
life in the UK as hostile as possible for those without ‘leave to remain’. It has had a chilling – sometimes fatal – effect on the lives of migrants and people of colour in the UK; see Maya Goodfellow, *Hostile Environment: How Immigrants Became Scapegoats* (London: Verso, 2018).

Prevent is one of four policy strands of the UK government’s counter-terrorism strategy: CONTEST. It was launched in 2003 by the New Labour government with the supposed purpose of countering terrorist ideology by supporting people vulnerable to radicalisation. Its remit was extended in 2015 by the Conservative–Liberal Democrat Coalition government to place a statutory duty on certain institutions (including educational institutions) to report ‘at risk’ individuals. It has been widely condemned for its Islamophobic underpinnings and outcomes; see, for example, Fahid Qurashi, ‘The Prevent strategy and the UK “war on terror”: Embedding infrastructures of surveillance in Muslim communities’, *Palgrave Communications*, 4:17 (2018).


Stefano Harney and Fred Moten, *The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning and Black Study* (Brooklyn, NY: Minor Compositions, 2013).


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46 Our use of ‘ignorance’ here seeks to capture something more than the common usage of the term, and instead draws upon Charles Mills’s concept of *white ignorance* to refer to active forms of ignorance that are historically, structurally, and ideologically produced, and productive of white supremacy; see Charles Mills, ‘White ignorance’, in *Race and Epistemologies of Ignorance*, ed. by Shannon Sullivan and Nancy Tuana (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2007), 13–38.


Notes


56 hooks, Teaching to Transgress; hooks, Feminist Theory.


58 Alexander, ‘Stuart Hall and “race”’.


60 Robinson, Black Marxism.


66 Alexander, ‘Stuart Hall and “race”’; Murji, ‘Stuart Hall as a criminological theorist-activist’.


68 Ibid., p. 38.

69 Harney and Moten, The Undercommons.

70 la paperson, A Third University is Possible (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017).


Notes

75 Rosalind Hampton, Black Racialization and Resistance at an Elite University (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2020).
76 Osuna, ‘Class suicide’.
77 David Harvey, A Brief History of Neoliberalism (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 3.
86 Morrish, ‘The accident of accessibility’.
87 Sanders-McDonagh and Davis, ‘Resisting neoliberal policies’.
88 Feldman and Sandoval, ‘Metric power and the academic self’.
89 The funding councils of the devolved nations are: the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE), the Scottish Funding Council (SFC),
the Higher Education Funding Council of Wales (HEFCW), and the Department for the Economy (DfE) in Northern Ireland.

90 Feldman and Sandoval, ‘Metric power and the academic self’, p. 219.


92 Olssen, ‘Neoliberal competition in higher education today’.


94 Olssen, ‘Neoliberal competition in higher education today’, p. 135.


97 ‘Gaming’ refers to the ways in which institutions artificially optimise their chances in the context of the high-stakes Research Excellence Framework. An example of this is the process by which universities designate (or do not designate) staff as ‘research active’ and therefore enterable into the REF.


100 Olssen, ‘Neoliberal competition in higher education today’, p. 140.

101 O’Regan and Gray, ‘The bureaucratic distortion of academic work’.


103 Ibid., p. 97.


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109 Ibid., p. 63.
114 Nijjar, ‘Echoes of empire’.
117 Andrew Pilkington, ‘The rise and fall in the salience of race equality in higher education,’ in Dismantling Race in Higher Education: Racism, Whiteness and Decolonising the Academy, ed. by Jason Arday and Heidi Safia Mirza (London: Palgrave, 2018), 27–45.
119 The ‘awarding gap’ refers to the 13% difference between the likelihood of white students and students from Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic backgrounds getting a First or a 2:1 degree classification. The gap widens further (24%) when we focus on the differences in awarding between white and Black students only; see Universities UK and National Union of Students, Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic Student Attainment at UK Universities: #Closingthegap (London: UUK and NUS, 2019).
UKRI is an organisation that brings together the seven disciplinary research councils in the UK, as well as Research England (which supports knowledge exchange in HE) and Innovate UK (the UK’s innovation agency).


Mirza, ‘Racism in higher education,’ p. 4.


The Australian Research Council is responsible for administering its research evaluation framework: *Excellence in Research in Australia* (ERA). *FOKUS* is used by the Swedish Research Council as a model for ‘quality based research allocation’. There are similar examples in places like Canada, and there are parallels too with the tenure system in the United States. More broadly, metric culture dominates much of the Western HE.


Sivanandan, *Communities of Resistance*.

Harney and Moten, *The Undercommons*.


Notes


Back, Academic Diary.

Chapter 1 – Problematising the ‘scholar-activist’ label: uneasy identifications


4 Tilley and Taylor, ‘Complicating notions of “scholar-activist” in a global context’.

5 Sivanandan, Communities of Resistance.


8 Reynolds, Block, and Bradley, ‘Food justice scholar-activism’.


11 We introduce the concept of a matrix of domination in the book’s Introduction. The matrix of domination captures how systems of oppression – such as race, class, gender, sexuality, disability, nationality, and others – interlock to form an overarching system of domination; see Collins, Black Feminist Thought.
Whilst this framing might be troubled by the professionalisation of many contemporary activisms, we assume that Barry is deploying a narrower and more idealistic definition of who and what constitutes an activist. It is worth noting, though, that there is often a classed aspect to who is able to do ‘shit for free’.


Notes

21 Osuna, ‘Class suicide’.
27 Ibid.
29 There are a wider set of issues surrounding the co-optation of decolonization, particularly due to the erasure of its historical invocation to refer to indigenous struggles over land, sovereignty, and livelihoods; see Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, ‘Decolonization is not a metaphor’, *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 1:1 (2012), 1–40.
31 Ibid.
32 Ibid.
34 As we explore more in *Chapter 4*, for some academics the scholar-activist identity is far from desirable. Indeed, some ‘traditional’ academics view those engaged in scholar-activism as not being objective enough, being too political and/or too emotional, leading to a hostile experience of academia.
38 Dar, Dy, and Rodriguez, *Is Decolonizing the New Black?*
39 Bakan, ‘Marxism, feminism, and epistemological dissonance’.
Notes

44 Taylor, “Being useful” after the ivory tower, p. 307.
46 Whilst many of us engaged in scholar-activism experience a relative lack of surveillance and criminalisation compared to non-academic activists, it is essential that we continue to be attentive to the heterogeneity in our experiences. Mediated by the matrix of domination, as well as the nature and approach of our scholar-activism, there are examples of participants in this project and beyond who, through things like counter-terrorism policy, are the subject of significant surveillance and who face the threat of criminalisation.
47 Taylor, “Being useful” after the ivory tower.
48 Bobel, “I’m not an activist”, p. 154.
49 Ibid.

Chapter 2 – Working in service: accountability, usefulness, and accessibility

2 Sivanandan, *Communities of Resistance*.
4 Sivanandan, *Communities of Resistance*.
5 Ibid., unpag [emphasis added].
Sivanandan’s position outside of the university is worth noting here because it underlines how academics can and should learn lessons from those operating outside of academia. This point is particularly salient because many of our respondents noted that Sivanandan influenced their own praxis. It is also worth noting this point because the context of the university may raise particular questions for what it means to work in service – that is to say, we do not want to take for granted the applicability of Sivanandan’s words to other contexts. With this in mind, we draw upon the insights of our participants later in the chapter (and elsewhere in the book) to consider how the notion of working in service can apply to those employed by universities.


8 Sivanandan, *Communities of Resistance*.


11 Osuna, ‘Class suicide’.


13 Horton, ‘For diffident geographies and modest activisms’.

14 Olssen, ‘Neoliberal competition in higher education today’.


16 Osuna, ‘Class suicide’.

17 Fekete, ‘A brief history of the Institute of Race Relations’.


19 Osuna, ‘Class suicide’, p. 38.

20 Ibid., p. 24.


23 Ibid.


25 Laura Pulido, ‘Frequently (un)asked questions about being a scholar activist’, in *Engaging Contradictions: Theory, Politics, and Methods of Activist Scholarship*,


27 Kelley, Freedom Dreams.

28 We argue elsewhere that, given that the expansion of policing and prisons in recent years has not improved community safety, we should defund the police and invest instead in community infrastructure and education, health and social care; see Remi Joseph-Salisbury, Laura Connelly, and Peninah Wangari-Jones, “The UK is not innocent”: Black Lives Matter, policing and abolition in the UK, Equality, Diversity and Inclusion, 40:1 (2021), 21–28.

29 Pulido, ‘Frequently (un)asked questions’, p. 357.

30 Feldman and Sandoval, ‘Metric power and the academic self’.

31 Morrish, Pressure Vessels; Loveday, ‘The neurotic academic’.

32 Horton, ‘For diffident geographies and modest activisms’.

33 Pulido, ‘Frequently (un)asked questions’, p. 251.

34 Collins, On Intellectual Activism, p. 43 [emphasis in original].

35 Gramsci, Prison Notebooks, p. 10.


37 Choudry, ‘Reflections on academia, activism’, p. 35.


40 Smith, Decolonizing Methodologies.

41 Choudry, ‘Reflections on academia, activism’, p. 42.

42 Osuna, ‘Class suicide’, p. 36.


44 Osuna, ‘Class suicide’.

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45 Choudry, ‘Reflections on academia, activism’, p. 36.
46 Olssen, ‘Neoliberal competition in higher education today’.
51 Narayan, ‘British black power’.
52 Collins, *On Intellectual Activism*.
53 Grey, ‘Activist academics’.


Choudry, ‘Reflections on academia, activism’, p. 29.

Ibid.

Alexander, ‘Stuart Hall and “race”’.

Castle and McDonald, ‘Intellectual activism and public engagement’.

Derickson and Routledge, ‘Resourcing scholar-activism’; Choudry, ‘Reflections on academia, activism’; Clarke, Chadwick, and Williams, ‘Critical social research’.


Ibid.

Bhattacharyya, ‘How can we live with ourselves?’, pp. 1425–1426.


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84 Dyson, ‘Thinking out loud’, unpag.

85 Kelley, *Freedom Dreams*.


88 Bhattacharyya et al., *Empire’s Endgame*, p. 15.


Chapter 3 – Reparative theft: stealing from the university

1 Sivanandan, Communities of Resistance.
4 Harney and Moten, The Undercommons.
Notes

11 Ibid., p. 33.
16 Harney and Moten, *The Undercommons*, p. 31.
18 Ibid.; whilst this short definition suffices for our purposes in this chapter, INOSAAR’s report, and their wider activities, provide a useful starting point for those interested in the rich history and present of the movement for African reparations.
19 Despite welcoming ‘reparation’ initiatives, critics have quite rightly problematised the parameters of the ‘reparations’ that Glasgow are offering. Heuchan, for example, notes that the development of a research centre is ‘unlikely to do any tangible, material good in the lives of people who are still harmed by the legacy of the transatlantic slave trade’; Claure Heuchan, ‘If Glasgow University is serious about slavery reparations, it would pay those still affected’, *HuffPost*, 23 August 2019, available at: www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/university-glasgow-reparations-slave-trade_uk_5d5fdea1e4bodfcb48c3065 [accessed 6 June 2021].
20 la paperson, *A Third University*.
23 Harney and Moten, *The Undercommons*; la paperson, *A Third University*; Osuna, ‘Class suicide’.
24 Baldwin, ‘Reparations in higher education’.
25 Harney and Moten, *The Undercommons*. 

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As Walter Rodney pronounced, the ‘guerrilla intellectual’ must rid themselves of the ‘Babylonian captivity of bourgeois society’; see Adeleke, ‘Guerilla intellectualism’, p. 41.

Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

Bhattacharyya, ‘How can we live with ourselves?’, p. 1471.


As discussed in earlier chapters, through its Impact Agenda, the UK Research Excellence Framework’s exercise attempts to measure the impact of research outside of academia. The REF defines Impact as ‘an effect on, change or benefit to the economy, society, culture, public policy or services, health, the environment or quality of life, beyond academia’; see UKRI, *REF Impact*. We discussed the limits and problems with the REF Impact agenda in the Introduction.

Laura Connelly and Teela Sanders, ‘Disrupting the boundaries of the academe: Co-creating knowledge and sex work “academic-activism”’, in *The Emerald Handbook of Feminism, Criminology and Social Change*, ed. by Sandra Walklate, Kate Fitz-Gibbon, JaneMaree Maher, and Jude McCulloch (Leeds: Emerald, 2020), 203–218. Similar issues can arise with other marginalised groups too, such as those whose migration status renders them vulnerable to the nationalist whims of the State.

See note 33 in the Introduction for a brief description of the hostile environment.

Grey, ‘Activist academics’.

Of course, many of those we spoke to engaged in activism in addition to their academic work, regardless of whether the two were tied.


la paperson, *A Third University*.


Osuna, ‘Class suicide’.

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44 Choudry, ‘Reflections on academia, activism’, p. 34.
45 Baldwin, ‘Reparations in higher education’.
46 Resistance Lab is an ongoing collaboration between tech experts and scholars, activists, and grassroots community groups working to confront state violence in Greater Manchester (see resistancelab.network).
47 Northern Police Monitoring Project (NPMP) is an independent grassroots organisation working to build community resistance in Greater Manchester to police harassment, violence, and racism. Whilst providing support to over-policed communities in the immediate term, NPMP is committed to abolitionism (see npolicemonitor.co.uk).
48 Whilst this may be true, it is also important to note the ways in which university spaces are saturated in racialised and classed meanings and, though in different ways, are therefore themselves not neutral.
49 Clennon, ‘Scholar-activism as a nexus’, p. 53.
50 Ibid.
52 These tensions and contradictions are evident in Pulido's writing. She reflects, with regret, on not ‘utilizing [her] legitimacy as a university professor’ to leverage power for communities of resistance, due to her desire to reject the ‘model of the academic “expert”'; see Pulido, 'Frequently (un)asked questions', p. 356.
53 Chomsky, ‘The responsibility of intellectuals’.
54 See Osuna, ‘Class suicide’.
56 Collins, Black Feminist Thought.
57 Clarke, Chadwick, and Williams, ‘Critical social research’.
61 Harney and Moten, The Undercommons.
62 Eschle and Maiguashca, ‘Bridging the academic/activist divide’.
63 Harney and Moten, The Undercommons.
Chapter 4 – Backlash: opposition to anti-racist scholar-activism within the academy

4 In this chapter, we do not focus on the backlash that occurs outside of the academy. It is, however, worth noting that some academics who might be understood as anti-racist scholar-activists have been subjected to mainstream and social media backlash, including Kehinde Andrews and Adam Elliott-Cooper (both frequent targets of the Daily Mail), and Priyamvada Gopal. As we will discuss, George Yancy is a particularly pertinent example in the United States.
6 Collins, Black Feminist Thought.
9 Nirmal Puwar, Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place (Oxford: Berg, 2004).
10 In Empire’s Endgame, Bhattacharyya and colleagues unpack the limits of such representational politics, not least for the presupposition of the value of calls for increased representation (or diversity) in institutions, in this case the university; see Bhattacharyya et al., Empire’s Endgame.
Evidence shows that while there, students is 13.4 percentage points [accessed 7 June 2021].

Puwar, Space Invaders, p. 8.

Ibid.

Faludi in Aoki, ‘Politics of backlash’.

Bonnett, Anti-Racism; Nayak, “White English ethnicities”. It is worth noting here that anti-anti-racist backlash comes in a range of forms, with a range of motivations, and from a range of actors across the political spectrum – that is, it is not the preserve of the political Right.


Yancy, Backlash.


Ahmed, Feminist Life.


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28 This is an issue in activism more widely. For example, Adam Elliott-Cooper notes that ‘Women lead almost every campaign against a black death in police custody in post-2011 England’; see Elliott-Cooper, “Our life is a struggle”, p. 539.


31 Collins, ‘Learning from the outsider within’.

32 Reynolds, Block, and Bradley, ‘Food justice scholar-activism’.

33 Collins, On Intellectual Activism, p. 147.

34 Work that, to some extent, is not counter-hegemonic acts to solidify the status quo. As Howard Zinn puts it, you can’t be neutral on a moving train; see Howard Zinn, You Can’t be Neutral on a Moving Train: A Personal History of Our Times (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2018).


39 Flood, Martin, and Dreher, ‘Combining academia and activism’, p. 20.

40 La paperson, A Third University.

41 Clarke, Chadwick, and Williams, ‘Critical social research’.

42 Sudbury and Okazawa-Rey, ‘Activist scholarship and the neoliberal university’.

43 Puwar, Space Invaders, p. 8.

44 Joseph-Salisbury, ‘Institutionalised whiteness’.

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46 Quaye, Shaw, and Hill, ‘Blending scholar and activist’, p. 393.

47 As a woman of colour, Ereene embodies the excess that Bill Ashcroft describes: ‘Too much, too long, too many, too subversive, too voluble, too insistent, too loud, too strident, too much-too-much, too complex, too hybrid, too convoluted, too disrespectful, too antagonistic, too insistent, too insistent, too repetitive, too paranoid, too … excessive’ (ellipsis in original); see Bill Ashcroft, ‘Excess: Post-colonialism and the verandahs of meaning’, in De-Scribing Empire: Post-Colonialism and Textuality, ed. by Chris Tiffin and Alan Lawson (London: Routledge, 1994), 33–44, p. 33.


53 Joseph-Salisbury, ‘Does anybody really care?’

54 Harney and Moten, The Undercommons.

55 Hampton, Black Racialization and Resistance.


57 Joseph-Salisbury et al., ‘Race and ethnicity in British sociology’.

Notes

The experiences of black and minority ethnic staff in further and higher education-Feb-16/pdf/BME_survey_report_Feb161.pdf [accessed 7 June 2021].


60 Pulido, ‘Frequently (un)asked questions’.

Chapter 5 – Struggle where you are: resistance within and against the university

1 la paperson, A Third University.

2 The UCU is a British trade union for further and higher education; it is the foremost of its kind, with over 130,000 members. UCU has taken industrial action at several points over the last few years – often against pay and pensions, but also in response to precarity, and issues of race and gender inequality.

3 Discussed briefly in Chapter 4, Rhodes Must Fall was a campaign initiated in South Africa, which was taken up at the University of Oxford in the UK. Although the campaign is understood to have focused primarily on demands for the removal of the statue of Cecil Rhodes, it also made wider interventions calling for institutional change; see Joseph-Salisbury, ‘Institutionalised whiteness’.

4 Why is my Curriculum White? was a UK-based campaign emerging in 2014 at University College London, and lasting for several years across several campuses. The campaign drew attention to the whiteness of university curricula, amongst other issues; see UCL, Why is My Curriculum White? (2014), available at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dscx4h2l-Pk [accessed 7 June 2021].


6 Ibid., unpag.

7 Rodney, Walter Rodney Speaks, p. 113.


9 Davis, Freedom is a Constant Struggle.


11 Davis, Freedom is a Constant Struggle, p. 1.

12 Ibid., p. 2.


14 Cabral, Unity and Struggle; Fanon, The Wretched; Rodney, Walter Rodney Speaks; Robinson, Black Marxism; Osuna, ‘Class suicide’.
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18 Hampton, *Black Radicalization and Resistance*.


24 Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.


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30 Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed.
33 Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed.
34 Rodney, Walter Rodney Speaks.
35 Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 35.
37 Collins, Black Feminist Thought.
38 Cann and DeMeulenaere, The Activist Academic, p. 96.
41 Feldman and Sandoval, ‘Metric power and the academic self’.
42 Sanders-McDonagh and Davis, ‘Resisting neoliberal policies’.
44 In the UK, key ‘student-centred’ (or consumer-centred) performance metrics include the National Student Survey and the Teaching Excellence Framework. For a critique of metrics, see Stephen J. Ball and Antonio Olmedo, ‘Care of the self, resistance and subjectivity under neoliberal governmentalities’, Critical Studies in Education, 54:1 (2013), 85–96; Sanders-McDonagh and Davis, ‘Resisting neoliberal policies’.


Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed.

Kelley, Freedom Dreams.

Heather W. Hackman, ‘Five essential components for social justice education’, Excellence and Equity in Education, 38:2 (2005), 103–109, p. 103; also see hooks, Teaching Community.


Castle and McDonald, ‘Intellectual activism and public engagement’, p. 130.

Rodney, Walter Rodney Speaks, p. 113.


Harney and Moten, The Undercommons.


Ball and Olmedo, ‘Care of the self, resistance and subjectivity’; Sanders-McDonagh and Davis, ‘Resisting neoliberal policies’.


The ‘flipped classroom’ describes an approach to teaching that purportedly attempts to decentralise the ‘teacher’ and requires students to complete reading and preparations before entering the classroom in order to increase student engagement and participation. There is evidence to suggest, however, that the flipped classroom is driven by neoliberalisation and profit interests, and ‘offers no additional benefits to student learning over a nonflipped, active-learning approach’; see Jamie Jensen, Tyler Kummer, and Patricia Godoy, ‘Improvements from a flipped classroom may simply be the fruits of active learning’, CBE—Life Sciences Education, 14:1 (2015), ar5–ar12; Matthew Evans,
Notes


66 See note 34 of the Introduction for a description of Prevent.

67 Joseph-Salisbury et al., ‘Race and ethnicity in British sociology’.


69 Joseph-Salisbury et al., ‘Race and ethnicity in British sociology’.

70 Alexander and Shankley, ‘Ethnic inequalities in the state education system’.

71 Mirrlees and Alvi, EdTech Inc.

72 Ibid., p. 5.


74 Collins, On Intellectual Activism, p. 129.


76 Joseph-Salisbury et al., ‘Race and ethnicity in British sociology’.


78 hampton, Black Radicalization and Resistance, p. 139.

79 Ibid., p. 142.

80 Webb, ‘Bolt-holes’.

81 Ahmed, On Being Included.

An example here would be the role that Suhraiya Jivraj and Dave Thomas, as well as Sheree Palmer, played in supporting Decolonise UKC at the University of Kent, UK; see Decolonise UKC, available at: https://decoloniseukc.org/ [accessed 7 June 2021] and Decolonise University of Kent Collective, Towards Decolonising the University: A Kaleidoscope for Empowered Action, ed. by Dave Thomas and Suhraiya Jivraj (Oxford: Counter Press, 2020).


Collins, On Intellectual Activism, p. 38.


Collins, On Intellectual Activism, p. 38.


Heidi Safia Mirza, ‘Racism in higher education’, p. 11.

Harney and Moten, The Undercommons; Webb, ‘Bolt-holes’.

Virasami, How to Change it; hampton, Black Radicalization and Resistance.

Kelley, Freedom Dreams; Bettina L. Love, We Want to Do More Than Survive: Abolitionist Teaching and the Pursuit of Educational Freedom (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2020); Virasami, How to Change it.


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100 Harney and Moten, The Undercommons.


103 Giroux, Theory and Resistance in Education, p. xxv.

104 Castle and McDonald, ‘Intellectual activism and public engagement’.


109 Kelley, Freedom Dreams.
Chapter 6 – Uncomfortable truths, reflexivity, and a constructive complicity

13. See note 119 in the Introduction for an explanation of what is meant by the ‘awarding gap’.

Mohanty, ‘US empire and the project of women’s studies’.

De Jong, ‘Constructive complicity enacted?’, p. 391.

Beginning in the 1970s, the reflexive turn has transcended disciplinary boundaries to become one of few topics in which a consensus exists; see Douglas Macbeth, ‘On reflexivity in qualitative research: Two readings, and a third’, *Qualitative Inquiry*, 7:1 (2001), 35–68.


De Jong, ‘Constructive complicity enacted?’

Osuna, ‘Class suicide’.

Abu-Jamal, ‘Intellectuals and the gallows’.

As we have noted in earlier chapters, capacity to engage in such work is always mediated by a range of factors, including our positionality in relation to structures of inequality (racism, heteropatriarchy, disablism, classism etc.). Our employment status and our standing within our place of work will also have an impact.

Abu-Jamal, ‘Intellectuals and the gallows’.

Mirza, ‘Racism in higher education’; Sian, *Navigating Institutional Racism*.


Harney and Moten, *The Undercommons*.


Harney and Moten, *The Undercommons*.

Kelley, *Freedom Dreams*; Lipsitz, ‘What is this black in the Black Radical tradition?’, p. 109; also see Virasami, *How to Change it*.

Such spaces are often based on a radical vision of community, cooperation, and education for liberation. Drawing inspiration from the 1968 Anti-university and the Tent City University of the Occupy Movement, Free University Brighton offers a good example of this kind of work (see freeuniversitybrighton.org). Whilst other examples abound, The Free Black University is a particularly ambitious project (see freeblackuni.com). See Jakobsen for more information on the Anti-university and Walker for more information on Tent City: Jakob
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Some examples include the excellent Surviving Society podcasts – hosted by Chantelle Lewis and Tissot Regis, and produced by George Ofori-Addo – which aim to open up sociological knowledge (see soundcloud.com/user-622675754); the Global Social Theory website – a free online resource, organised by Gurminder K. Bhambra, that seeks to move beyond parochial social theory to more global perspectives (see globalsocialtheory.org/); and Connected Sociologies, also directed by Gurminder K. Bhambra, which provides free resources for those interested in decolonising education (see connectedsociologies.org).

Though there are many other informal groups, the work of Abolitionist Futures offers a great example here: https://abolitionistfutures.com/reading-groups [accessed 11 June 2021].


Kelley, Freedom Dreams; Coté, Day, and de Peuter, ‘Utopian pedagogy’.


Mouffe, For a Left Populism, p. 6.

In Chapter 1, Dez made this point more explicitly when he warned about intellectual vanguardism. There are clear echoes, in Dez’s accounts, of the Black Radical tradition that Osuna traces through Frantz Fanon, Walter Rodney, Amilcar Cabral, and Cedric Robinson. Each of these thinkers emphasises the importance of ‘petit bourgeois intellectuals’ betraying their class interests, in order to work in service to communities of resistance, but are deliberate and explicit in noting that struggle must be led by those at the
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colface (the colonised, or formerly colonised, proletariat); see Osuna, ‘Class suicide’.


Back, Academic Diary.


Clennon, ‘Scholar activism as a nexus’.

Harney and Moten, The Undercommons.

The university is made up of contradictions and competing forces. As such, whilst working under the radar can be necessary and productive, as we have shown elsewhere in this book, there are also (limited and precarious) pockets of opportunity to work in ways that are more visible. In some cases, such work may even be celebrated.


Lopes and Dewan, ‘Precarious pedagogies?’; UCU, Precarious work in Higher Education.


Kelley, Freedom Dreams.

This raises questions about how we support students in mobilising for free education, and whether such work – as well as building community education alternatives – is a way that we can mitigate our complicity.


De Jong, ‘Constructive complicity enacted?’

Several of our participants noted that such recognition was often superficial and did not reflect meaningful engagement with the more radical or oppositional aspects of the research, or that such recognition was given at the
same time that the institution pursued interests that were directly antithetical to the work that had been recognised for its impact.

63 Bhattacharyya, ‘How can we live with ourselves?’, p. 1424.
65 See note 47 in Chapter 3 for a short description of the Northern Police Monitoring Project.
66 Spivak, Critique of Postcolonial Reason.
67 Mohanty, ‘US empire and the project of women’s studies’.
69 Abu-Jamal, ‘Intellectuals and the gallows’.
70 Kelley, Freedom Dreams.

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1 Back, Academic Diary, p. 21.
4 Whilst remembering, as we argued in the book’s Introduction, there is more to anti-racism than the inverse of racism.
5 Alana Lentin, ‘Racism in public or public racism: Doing anti-racism in “post-racial” times’, Ethnic and Racial Studies, 39:1 (2016), 33–48; Goldberg, Are We All Postracial Yet?
9 Collins, Black Feminist Thought.
11 Mohanty, ‘US empire and the project of women’s studies’.
12 Sivanandan, Communities of Resistance.
13 Bakan, ‘Marxism, feminism, and epistemological dissonance’; Bobel, “I’m not an activist”.

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Clennon, ‘Scholar activism as a nexus’.
Johnson, ‘An academic witness’; Smith, Decolonizing Methodologies.
Reynolds, Block, and Bradley, ‘Food justice scholar-activism’.
Virasami, How to Change it; Aziz Choudry, Learning Activism: The Intellectual Life of Contemporary Social Movements (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2015).
Ture, Stokely Speaks, p. 185.
Ahmed, On Being Included; Bhambra, Nişancıoğlu, and Gebrial, ‘Decolonising the university in 2020’; Dar, Dy, and Rodriguez, Is Decolonizing the New Black?
Choudry, ‘Reflections on academia, activism’.
Davis, Freedom is a Constant Struggle.
De Sousa Santos, Epistemologies of the South.
Although the similarities and overlaps are significant, these different configurations may reflect different power balances and emphases between activism and scholarship, as well as reflecting the space from which one operates.
Ambalavaner Sivanandan, ‘All that melts into air is solid: The hokum of New Times’, Race & Class, 31:3 (1990), 1–30; Sivanandan, ‘Catching history on the wing’; Sivanandan, Communities of Resistance.
Osuna, ‘Class suicide’.
Collins, On Intellectual Activism.
See, for example, Choudry, ‘Reflections on academia, activism’; Clarke, Chadwick, and Williams, ‘Critical social research’; Huerta, ‘Viva the scholar-activist’.
We use ‘study’ here in Harney and Moten’s sense; see Harney and Moten, The Undercommons.
As Campt puts it, “practicing refusal” names the urgency of rethinking the time, space, and fundamental vocabulary of what constitutes politics, activism, and theory, as well as what it means to refuse the terms given to us to name these struggles. It may involve, therefore, refusing the institution; see Tina Marie Campt, ‘Black visuality and the practice of refusal’, Women & Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory, 29:1 (2019), 79–87, p. 80.
Kelley, Freedom Dreams.
Clarke, Chadwick, and Williams, ‘Critical social research’, p. 261.

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Notes


36 Harney and Moten, *The Undercommons*.

37 Ibid.

38 Rodney, *Walter Rodney Speaks*.


40 la paperson, *A Third University*.

41 Mullen and Newman, ‘Slavery, abolition and the University of Glasgow’; Walters, ‘Slavery and the American university’.

42 Sian, *Navigating Institutional Racism*.

43 Noting the ‘long and varied history’ of the struggle for reparations, as well as the need for a ‘multidirectional and multidimensional definition of reparations’, INOSAAR offer a useful definition: ‘Reparations are not simply a long-overdue “pay cheque” but a call for holistic repairs that seek to heal those within the black and Afrikan communities, guarantee the equal participation of all members of the human race (for example, through self-determination), eradicate the effects of Afrikan enslavement and the subsequent histories of colonialism and racial oppression, and find ways to rebuild respectful and egalitarian relations between all communities through the recognition of responsibility for the wrong committed and the harm inflicted’; see INOSAAR, *Global Report*, p. 14.

44 Harney and Moten, *The Undercommons*.

45 INOSAAR, *Global Report*.


50 As discussed in Chapter 5, we offer the concept of the classroom-to-activism pipeline to refer to the ways in which we can set up our classrooms, and our pedagogical praxis, to encourage and enable students to engage in activism beyond the classroom – that is, the task of ensuring our teaching is nurturing future and emerging anti-racist scholar-activists.

51 Feldman and Sandoval, ‘Metric power and the academic self’.

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53 Choudry, ‘Reflections on academia, activism’; Hampton, *Black Racialization and Resistance*.

54 Virasami, *How to Change it*.

55 Cann and DeMeulenaere, *The Activist Academic*, p. 35.

56 Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.


61 Campt, ‘Black visuality’.

62 Kelley, *Freedom Dreams*. 