



3. Academic Activism in Higher Education: A Dialectic of Resistance and Surrender in a Time of Neoliberalism

GARY SPOLANDER
ROBERT GORDON UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

MARIA LÚCIA T. GARCIA, TÂNIA MARA ZANOTTI GUERRA
FRIZZERA DELBONI, RAFAEL V. TEIXEIRA
UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO ESPÍRITO SANTO

MOUZAYIAN KHALIL-BABATUNDE
UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK

ARINOLA ADEFILA
STAFFORDSHIRE UNIVERSITY

Abstract: The historical, cultural, political, and economic contexts of academic activism have been marked by the structural crises of capitalism, which, along with the emergence of neoliberalism, have sought to change the Academy and disciplines. The disciplinary impacts of neoliberal policies outside and within the academy have all influenced students, academics, and management in differing ways. Furthermore, academic activism in higher education requires a debate on the function of education, the role of the university along with disciplines, and exploration of the importance of ideology in relation to human emancipation or alienation. So too this debate should consider whether academia and activism occupy separate worlds in a discursive strategy

to disqualify the legitimacy, cogency, or efficacy of academic activism. The economic and managerial consolidation of the neoliberal university has intensified the challenges of activism and resistance within academic disciplines as well as for individuals. This paper aims to explore the legacy of neoliberal change within academia, identifying the opportunities and need for activism within the Academy. Using an argumentative literature review supported by the critical reflection of the authors' experiences within the academy in Brazil and the UK, we explore the contemporary challenge and the need to utilise the contradictions of the current system to work collaboratively and to be engaged as public intellectuals.

Keywords: academic collegiality, academic agency, neoliberalism, living knowledge

Introduction

As a group of international researchers committed to social justice, we responded to the call for a paper on academic activism, as our work on decolonisation and inequality frequently involved seeking to engage in the process of social change. Our community of practice debates and discussion often involved exploring activism as a form of agency, particularly as we felt that agency was an analytical thread that weaved its way through the variety of manifestations of activism. In this paper, we wish to continue the critical discussion and engage collegially with colleagues regarding the nature of activism within academia, before considering the forces shaping this engagement in the Academy, exploring activism through what we have identified as three critical, intersectional layers or prisms namely geopolitical, epistemological, and socioeconomic disadvantage. In doing this, we have used Academia to reflect the institution, whilst academia reflects the body of intellectuals.

Defining Activism

While we have used the term “academic activism” in our writing, our review of the academic literature highlights that this term is not well-defined or even utilised in peer-reviewed papers on the same topic. We noted that papers exploring activism often include consideration of seeking to shape change within society, address inequality through recognising socio-economic, political, and structural forces, along with an ambition to engage with activism,

outside of core academic employment requirements.^{1 2 3} Other literature appears to make greater use of the term “intellectual”, such as Stewart Hall who viewed this “as a practice which always thinks about its intervention in a world in which it would make some difference, in which it would have some effect”.⁴ We acknowledge that working within the Academy makes the pursuit of this form of intellectual work possible.

The integration of activism and academia is nuanced and interlinked with the role of academics, academic disciplines, the role of the Academy, and its respective contexts, including that of changes to funding and governance. Consequently, we were reminded that Marx and Engels⁵ viewed the importance of philosophy within academia, as being linked to the extent to which it could change the material conditions of the world. Debora de Castro Leal, Strohmayer and Krüger argue that “engaged, activist-learning research must have a specific understanding of knowledge, of what counts as knowledge and how it is produced”⁶ Epistemologically, the political and socio-cultural links to activism are grounded in scholarship within the Academy.⁷

A university’s role in society is complex, providing teaching and research all of which interact to produce multiple useful benefits for society transcending economic, social, and cultural realms.⁸ University encourages students to engage with different cultures and identities, along with diverse norms

¹ Musolino, Connie, Fran Baum, Toby Freeman, Ronald Labonté, Chiara Bodini, and David Sanders, “Global Health Activists’ Lessons on Building Social Movements for Health for All,” *International Journal for Equity in Health, Int J Equity Health* 19, no. 116 (2020). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12939-020-01232-1>

² Rhodes, Carl, Christopher Wright, and Alison Pullen, “Changing the World? The Politics of Activism and Impact in the Neoliberal University,” *Organization* 25, no. 1 (2018): 139–47.

³ MacKinnon, Shauna. T., “Social Work Intellectuals in the Twenty-First Century: Critical Social Theory, Critical Social Work and Public Engagement,” *Social Work Education*, 28, no. 5 (2009): 512–27.

⁴ Hall, Stuart, “Cultural Studies and Its Theoretical Legacies,” in *Cultural Studies*, ed. Grossberg, L. et al., 277–86 (London: Routledge, 1992), 286.

⁵ Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels, *The German Ideology, Including Theses on Feuerbach* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1998).

⁶ Leal, Debora de Castro, Angelika Strohmayer, and Max Krüger, “On Activism and Academia: Reflecting Together and Sharing Experiences Among Critical Friends,” in *Proceedings of the 2021 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems* (New York: Association for Computing Machinery, 2021), 1–18.

⁷ Torres, Carlos Alberto ed., *The Wiley Handbook of Paulo Freire* (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2019).

⁸ Boulton, Geoffrey, and Colin Lucas, “What are Universities for?,” *Chinese Science Bulletin* 56, no. 23 (2011): 2506–17.

and values⁹ enabling an ongoing process of continued review of self-identity, values, and culture.^{10 11} Latin American public universities, in particular, have been viewed (see for instance, Torres¹²) as having a key role in the shaping of critical neoliberal and postcolonial debates. Brazilian public universities, in particular, view their role as promoting social development; fostering extension projects and programmes; providing training and qualification courses; supporting social and environmental projects; articulating for and with the community; considering popular knowledge practices and guarantees of democratic values or equal rights; and finally respect for the person along with environmental and social sustainability.¹³ At first glance, neoliberal academic processes, for instance, research impact assessments, appear to support the notion of engaging and then measuring the impact of research beyond academia. However, critical discussion of Research Excellence Framework also highlights that this kind of impact assessments shape, or alternatively develop, new knowledge and the material conditions of society. However, the extent to which this aspiration is achievable in its widest sense, are subject to debate, as we will explore later in the paper.

In the United Kingdom, there are institutionalised constraints on academics in the neoliberal university, so there is a need to explore change in less obvious/subtle/subversive or visible ways.^{14 15 16} There is also the

⁹ King, Patricia M., Rosemary J. Perez, and Woo-jeong Shim, "How College Students Experience Intercultural Learning: Key Features and Approaches," *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education* 6, no. 2 (2013): 69.

¹⁰ Fries-Britt, Sharon, Chrystal A. George Mwangi, and Alicia M. Peralta. "Learning Race in a US Context: An Emergent Framework on the Perceptions of Race Among Foreign-born Students of Color." *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education* 7, no. 1 (2014): 1.

¹¹ Bacon, Edwin, *Neo-collegiality: Restoring Academic Engagement in the Managerial University*, (London: Leadership Foundation for Higher Education, 2014). <https://eprints.bbk.ac.uk/id/eprint/11493/>.

¹² Torres, 2019.

¹³ Mészáros, István, *Para além do capital: rumo a uma teoria da transição* (São Paulo: Boitempo Editorial, 2015).

¹⁴ Flood, Michael, Brian Martin, and Tanja Dreher, "Combining Academia and Activism: Common Obstacles and Useful Tools," *Australian Universities Review* 55, no. 1 (2013): 17–26.

¹⁵ Sotiris, Panagiotis, "University Movements as Laboratories of Counter-Hegemony," *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies (JCEPS)* 12, no. 1 (2014).

¹⁶ Rose, Barbara, "Moving from Chasm to Convergence: Benefits and Barriers to Academic Activism for Social Justice and Equity," *Brock Education: A Journal of Educational Research and Practice* 27, no. 1 (2017): 67–78.

notion of everyday resistance through subversion in the existing system. One of these ways is through using “research impact” as an opportunity for subverting the system, designing plans for social change, and working with non-academic actors beyond the research life cycle. Activism in the “everyday” of academic life takes on many forms in the modern context too. By cutting opportunities for protest-type activism and shrinking social and political spaces of deference, it might initially appear that agency of academics to protest or carry out activism is limited or has diminished. Nevertheless, the lens we use to see agency, in this paper, is multi-layered. These tools of activism can change from coercion to co-optation, rejection to mimicry, defeatism to axiorational negotiations of choice, and decisions about how we operate.

Drawing from Hobson and Seabrooke’s eIPE framework,¹⁷ agency is demonstrated in what researchers do when on fieldwork and how they implement research impact in their spheres of influence and pedagogic activism: through critical theory, methodology, and reflexivity. Roggero¹⁸ characterised this as the production of living knowledge; academics co-produce living knowledge through social knowing with students and in collaboration with peers and stakeholders. Winn, Hall, and Erskine¹⁹ argue that living knowledge should be commodified in socially useful ways. Changes in the structures of universities have problematised the agency of academics, specifically the false dichotomy between public and private advocacy.^{20 21} The shift to reflexive positionality, even the new uptake of decolonisation of curriculum by universities in the north can be co-opted by academics for genuine reflections,

¹⁷ Hobson, John M., and Leonard Seabrooke, “Conclusion: Everyday IPE Puzzle Research, Teaching and Policy Agendas,” in *Everyday Politics of the World Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 196–213. <https://outraspalavras.net/descolonizacoes/pegadas-como-construir-universidadepopular/>

¹⁸ Roggero, Gigi, *The Production of Living Knowledge: The Crisis of the University and the Transformation of Labor in Europe and North America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011).

¹⁹ Winn, Joss, Richard Hall, and Camilla Erskine, eds., *Mass Intellectuality and Democratic Leadership in Higher Education* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017).

²⁰ Neary, Mike, and Joss Winn, “Beyond Public and Private: A Framework for Co-operative Higher Education,” *Open Library of Humanities* 3, no. 2 (2017): 1–36. <https://doi.org/10.16995/olh.195>.

²¹ Peters, C., “Knowing What’s Wrong Is Not Enough: Creating Strategy and Vision.” In *Rhyming Hope and History: Activists, Academics and Social Movement Scholarship*, ed. David Croteau, William Hoynes and Charlotte Ryan, chapter 3 (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 41–56.

initiating knowledge sharing that leads to justice, for example, climate activism, artefacts from Africa, hidden genocides by colonialists, continuities of slave economic benefits in contemporary society, political and economic inequalities, critical race relations, and other intersectional injustices^{22 23 24}.

Hobson and Seabrooke²⁵ support our lens for recognising agency and change, proposing that agency should be analysed by everyday actors interacting with elites and structures more frequently, with change conceived more critically along with the use of defiance, mimetic challenge, and axiorationality. Thus, change can be incremental rather than sudden and disruptive. They define everyday actions as “acts by those who are subordinate within a broader power relationship but, whether through negotiation, resistance or non-resistance, either incrementally or suddenly, shape, constitute and transform the political and economic environment around and beyond them”.²⁶

The nature and role of universities have shifted over time,^{27 28} shaped by state and economic policy drivers such as capitalism, and more specifically neoliberalism. Within this contemporary context of neoliberalism and the discourse of activism, authors such as Chouhy²⁹ while exploring the role of social movements, have highlighted how supporters of neoliberal policy, seldom self-identify themselves, making the motives of those driving policy change difficult to identify. This complicates the challenge of considering the nature and intent of proposed and implemented reform, along with their underlying opaque motives. As a result, critics such as Hetland and Goodwin³⁰ note that

²² Macrine, Sheila, Peter McLaren, and Dave Hill, *Revolutionizing Pedagogy: Education for Social Justice within and Beyond Global Neo-liberalism*, (New York: Springer, 2009).

²³ Dawson, Marcelle C., “Rehumanising the University for an Alternative Future: Decolonisation, Alternative Epistemologies and Cognitive Justice,” *Identities* 27, no. 1 (2020): 71–90.

²⁴ Davids, Nuraan, and Yusef Waghid, *Academic Activism in Higher Education: A Living Philosophy for Social Justice*. Vol. 5, (Berlin: Springer Nature, 2021).

²⁵ Hobson and Seabrooke.

²⁶ Hobson and Seabrooke, 2007, 15–16.

²⁷ Ramley, Judith A., “The Changing Role of Higher Education: Learning to Deal with Wicked Problems,” *Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement* 18, no. 3 (2014): 7–22.

²⁸ Chauí, Marilena, “A universidade operacional,” *Avaliação: Revista da Avaliação da Educação Superior* 4, no. 3 (1999): 3–8, <http://periodicos.uniso.br/ojs/index.php/avaliacao/article/view/1063>.

²⁹ Chouhy, Gabriel, “Rethinking Neoliberalism, Rethinking Social Movements,” *Social Movement Studies* 19, no. 4 (2020): 426–46.

³⁰ Hetland, Gabriel, and Jeff Goodwin, “The Strange Disappearance of Capitalism from Social Movement Studies,” in *Marxism and Social Movements*, ed. C. Barker, L. Cox, J. Krinsky, & A. G. Nilsen (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 83–102.

in academic papers related to social movements, discourse regarding capitalism or political economy has all but disappeared. Consequently, this raises questions about how and when neoliberalism or political economy are discussed and explored within the Academy, along with the need for a wider critical exploration of internationalisation and restrictions on academic agency. Collective academic work too has been hampered and de-prioritised through revised academic re-production processes. One example of this would be the socio-economic impact of academic life regulation and how this has impacted the space and opportunity for activism within the Academy.

The influence of market forces within universities has increased over the past three decades resulting in critics such as Giroux,^{31 32} highlighting the impact of corporatisation of higher education and its affirmation of capitalism as a predominant economic structure. Changes in the Academy must therefore be viewed in the context of wider societal transformation as being a result of neoliberalism (see, for instance, Yilmaz, Feiner and McKenzie³³), along with its reshaping by market forces.³⁴ Nonetheless, neoliberalism within the Academy has promoted greater use of business practices, with funding changes resulting in greater importance being placed on research grants to widen revenue receipts³⁵, along with the promotion of student customers in an academic market. So too, Academic benchmarking through activities such as the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) in the UK (see Henkel,^{36 37} Winter³⁸ (now known as the Research Excellence Framework (REF)) provide useful information and market-related contexts for academic and research customers to facilitate the

³¹ Giroux, Henry, "The Corporate War Against Higher Education," *Workplace: A Journal for Academic Labor* 9, (2002).

³² Giroux, Henry A., *Neoliberalism's War on Higher Education* (Chicago: Haymarket, 2014).

³³ Yilmaz, Devrim, Susan Feiner, and Rex McKenzie, "Introduction". Special Issue on the Political Economy of the University Inc. *World Social and Economic Review of Contemporary Policy* 8 (April) (2017): 2–5.

³⁴ Harvey, David, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

³⁵ Saunders, Daniel B., "Neoliberal Ideology and Public Higher Education in the United States," *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies* 8, no. 1 (2010): 41–77.

³⁶ Henkel, Mary, "Academic Identity and Autonomy in a Changing Policy Environment," *Higher Education* 49, no. 1 (2005): 155–76.

³⁷ Henkel, Mary, "Introduction: Change and Continuity in Academic and Professional Identities," in *Academic and Professional Identities in Higher Education* (London: Routledge, 2009), 21–30.

³⁸ Winter, Richard, "Academic Manager or Managed Academic? Academic Identity Schisms in Higher Education," *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management* 31, no. 2 (2009): 121–31.

market. Market logic and its resulting discipline provide an overwhelming driver, marginalising other expressions of social or political well-being.

Forces Shaping Activism

The promotion of the knowledge economy³⁹ ⁴⁰ has seen universities being considered a key driver within the global neoliberal learning society⁴¹. Globalisation has encouraged, even enabled, the growth of international campuses, internationalisation of the curriculum and facilitated global measures of academic success, that is, university rankings. Importantly the underlying theoretical assumption of neoliberalism is of the self-interested individual, a belief in the market, along with its ability to distribute resources appropriately, including those services which would normally fall within education.⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ Consequently, the implementation of neoliberal agendas seeks to underpin the commercialisation of academia but also increases its contradiction with the Academy's traditional intellectual social obligations, commitments and its wider remit to provide institutional educational.⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ Consequently, authors such as Ball⁴⁸ are critical of this altered educational culture with its focus on measurable outputs along with the consequent changes to the nature and

³⁹ Barnett, Ronald, "The Coming of the Ecological University," *Oxford Review of Education* 37, no. 4 (2011): 439–55.

⁴⁰ Gibbons, Andrew. "Neoliberalism, Education Policy and the Life of the Academic: A Poetics of Pedagogical Resistance." *Policy Futures in Education* 16, no. 7 (2018): 918–30.

⁴¹ Biesta, Gert J.J., *Beautiful Risk of Education* (London: Routledge, 2015).

⁴² Denord, François, "1. French Neoliberalism and Its Divisions: From the Colloque Walter Lippmann to the Fifth Republic," in *The Road from Mont Pèlerin* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 45–67.

⁴³ Tribe, Keith, "2. Liberalism and Neoliberalism in Britain, 1930–1980," in *The Road from Mont Pèlerin* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 68–97.

⁴⁴ Hall, R., and J. Winn, eds., *Mass Intellectuality and Democratic Leadership in Higher Education* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).

⁴⁵ Sojot, Amy N., "Pedagogical Possibilities of Becoming and the Transitional Space," *Policy Futures in Education* 16, no. 7 (2018): 893–905.

⁴⁶ Nørgård, Rikke Toft, and Søren Smedegaard Ernst Bengtson, "Academic Citizenship Beyond the Campus: A Call for the Placeful University," *Higher Education Research & Development* 35, no. 1 (2016): 4–16.

⁴⁷ Nørgård, Rikke Toft, and Søren SE Bengtson, "The Activist University and University Activism – An Editorial," *Policy Futures in Education* 19, no. 5 (2021): 507–12. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14782103211026584>.

⁴⁸ Ball, Stephen. J., "Neoliberal Education? Confronting the Slouching Beast," *Policy Futures in Education* 14, no. 8 (2016): 1046–59.

purpose of education. This impact is seen as being at the level of structural and relational, as well as ethical and discursive.⁴⁹ Quality assurance mechanisms in academic standards, which would include governance by numbers and academic output, all enable flexible academic management,⁵⁰ but these impact how individual academics view and manage their careers.⁵¹ Authors such as O'Neill and Jolley⁵² caution that this academic environment may encourage academics to avoid accusations that they are pursuing their own professional vested interest, by reinforcing their individual focus and working to meet university performance requirements rather than engaging as intellectuals within the academy.

University sector structural change has reshaped the university's role within the knowledge economy. Consequently, academic board roles have evolved from being overseers of research and teaching,⁵³ along with symbols of management and academic collegiality,⁵⁴ to contested spaces resulting from pressures to balance entrepreneurial activity and scholarship. Rhodes, Wright and Pullen,⁵⁵ using Rancière's⁵⁶ division between "policing" (preserving foremost social relations and power distribution) and "politics" (stopping of police order in the name of equality), have proposed that processes such as research impact benchmarking have closely aligned to the former, thus maintaining the existing neoliberal order. Research impact benchmarking and assessment, therefore, limiting academic freedom rather than encouraging it,⁵⁷ and while acknowledging the production of knowledge, evidenced through the metrics employed, the question remains for whom this knowledge is being created and how it will change society?

⁴⁹ Ball, 2016, 1046–49.

⁵⁰ Ball, 2016, 1054.

⁵¹ Sojot, 2018.

⁵² O'Neill, A., and S. Jolley, "The Technology Curriculum: Commercialising Education for Mindless Consumption," in *Reshaping Culture, Knowledge and Learning: Policy and Content in the New Zealand Curriculum Framework*, ed. Anne-Marie O'Neill, John Clark and Roger Openshaw, (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 2004), 177–201.

⁵³ Rowlands, Julie, "Accountability, Quality Assurance and Performativity: The Changing Role of the Academic Board," *Quality in Higher Education* 18, no. 1 (2012): 97–110.

⁵⁴ Marginson, Simon, and Mark Considine, *The Enterprise University: Power, Governance and Reinvention in Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

⁵⁵ Rhodes, Carl, Christopher Wright, and Alison Pullen, "Changing the World? The Politics of Activism and Impact in the Neoliberal University," *Organization* 25, no. 1 (2018): 139–47.

⁵⁶ Rancière, Jacques, *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).

⁵⁷ Rhodes et al., 2018.

Increased competition between academics, along with reduced opportunities for collaboration and collegiality⁵⁸ promote alienation. Marx and Engels⁵⁹ highlighted that alienation was a central aspect of capitalism and resulted in employees being separated from almost all aspects of their work, management, colleagues, and themselves. Within academia, intellectuals increasingly feel alienated from traditional Academy values such as collegiate self-governance, research metrics, and teaching due to the focus on student-customers. Consequently, this alienation contributes to the invisibility of scholar-activism.⁶⁰ Others, (see for instance, Nørgård and Bengsten⁶¹), highlight the growing demand for wider academic contributions to society, beyond which has traditionally been offered by universities. These demands alongside concerns of academic precarity, well-being and social justice,⁶² marketisation impact due to professionalisation, and reductions to student freedom, and criticality.⁶³ Critics (see for instance, Nørgård and Bengsten,⁶⁴ Dakka and Morini⁶⁵) optimistically view this environment as stimulating embryonic bottom-up efforts to share understanding and experience of academic activism across institutions and globally. This analysis accords with⁶⁶ views of these challenges as being a structural problem that requires collective responses to resolve.

The challenge to intellectual activism by community actors, who are organic collaborators, is another important driver shaping the academic

⁵⁸ Chang, Mary K., "Reevaluating Collegiality: Relationality, Learning Communities, and Possibilities," *Policy Futures in Education* 16, no. 7 (2018): 851–65.

⁵⁹ Marx, Karl, and F. Engels, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* (Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books, 1988).

⁶⁰ Richter, Jennifer, Flóra Faragó, Beth Blue Swadener, Denisse Roca-Servat, and Kimberly A. Eversman, "Tempered Radicalism and Intersectionality: ScholarActivism in the Neoliberal University," *Journal of Social Issues* 76, no. 4 (2020): 1014–35.

⁶¹ Nørgård, and Bengtsen, 2021.

⁶² Barnett, Ronald, and Søren S.E. Bengtsen, "Into or Out of the Light? Four Shades of Pedagogical Darkness," in *The Promise of the University*, 147–58. Singapore: Springer, 2021.

⁶³ Macfarlane, Bruce, *Freedom to Learn: The Threat to Student Academic Freedom and Why It Needs to be Reclaimed* (London: Routledge, 2016).

⁶⁴ Nørgård, and Bengtsen, 2021.

⁶⁵ Dakka, Fadda, and Luca Morini, "Towards a New Academic Activism. Short in Terventions. Collection of Short Papers," Published online on the *Philosophy and Theory of Higher Education Society* 2020. <https://pathes.org/resources/academicactivism/>.

⁶⁶ Pereira, Maria do Mar, "Struggling within and Beyond the Performative University: Articulating Activism and WORK in an 'academia Without walls'," in *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 54 (Oxford: Pergamon, 2016), 100–10.

manifestation of activism in a neoliberal setting.^{67 68 69} Sometimes academic activism could be viewed as counterproductive, complicating the often-simple push for change by “wider” activists or when the role of “experts” has been denigrated. It is important to note academics may gain self-validation from intellectual activism, and so consequently can be viewed as elitist,^{70 71} particularly when communities perceive any aversion to challenging power due to self-interest. Consequently, academic intervention is not always embraced, unless grounded in community struggles, which go beyond intellectual purposes.

Academics contribute to theoretical and conceptual frameworks, which may help raise awareness of serious challenges at local and international levels, although this may alienate grass-root activists who may undertake their roles without the privileges and resources of the academy. Academics are then forced to engage in two-faced cuttlefish shape-shifting tactics, which seek to engage with “friends” in the activist struggle as well as on the other hand engage with “foes” in business and policymaking who are perceived to on the opposite side of the divide. Consequently, some obstacles may at times be opaque and the importance of critical examination and debate of these frameworks is to expose those that are rendered invisible through ideology.

⁶⁷ Choudry, Aziz, “Reflections on Academia, Activism, and the Politics of Knowledge and Learning,” *The International Journal of Human Rights* 24, no. 1 (2020): 28–45, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2019.1630382>.

⁶⁸ Suzuki, Daiyu, and Edwin Mayorga, “Scholar-Activism: A Twice Told Tale,” *Multicultural Perspectives* 16, no. 1 (2014): 16–20.

⁶⁹ Jacoby, Russell, *The End of Utopia: Culture and Politics in an Age of Apathy* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 158.

⁷⁰ West, Cornel, *The Ethical Dimensions of Marxist Thought* (New Delhi: Aakar Books, 2008).

⁷¹ West, Cornel, “Theory, Pragmatism and Politics,” in *Keeping Faith* (London: Routledge, 2012), 99–113.

Figure 1. Obstacles to Activism. Adapted from Flood, Martin and Dreher⁷²



Spaces for Activism – Narrowing or Just Different?

It is incontrovertible that structure shapes both the notion and enactment of activism, as do the meaning of words used in activist discourse and the way in which academia is governed. As a team, we have grappled with debates about whether there is a single conceptualisation of activism or whether there are multiple notions. We consider that it is important as public intellectuals for academic activism to extend beyond the description of what we see, to critically analyse meaning and epistemology and inspire others to critically explore their worlds too. Consequently, the space to engage with activism includes research,⁷³ teaching and mentorship,⁷⁴ policy development,⁷⁵ and social

⁷² Flood, Martin, and Dreher, 2013, 17–26.

⁷³ Fine, Michelle, Maria E. Torre, David Frost, and Allison Cabana, “Radical by Necessity, Not by Choice: From Microaggressions to Social Activism,” *Microaggression Theory: Influence and Implications*: 212 (2018).

⁷⁴ Singh, Taveeshi, and Tayler J. Mathews, “Facilitating Queer of Color Feminist Co-Mentorship: Reflections on an Online Archive of Scholar-Activism,” *Gender, Place & Culture* 26, no. 12 (2019): 1701–20.

⁷⁵ Case, Kim A., Heather Kanenberg, Stephen “Arch” Erich, and Josephine Pittsworth, “Transgender Inclusion in University Nondiscrimination Statements: Challenging Gender-Conforming Privilege Through Student Activism,” *Journal of Social Issues* 68, no. 1 (2012): 145–61.

activism.⁷⁶ Critics such as⁷⁷ highlight academia's struggle to make institutions more inclusive^{78 79} and that despite progress in this regard, they remain an environment of ongoing potential oppression.⁸⁰ So too, limits to educational activism were evident during the COVID-19 pandemic, as efforts were made by the Academy to recover lost tuition fees, creating increased risk for students and academics⁸¹ as universities sought to stabilise their balance sheets.

Currently these converging forces appear, at one level, to have reduced the opportunity for protest-type activism, while the shrinking social and political spaces of Academy deference suggest that academic agency has been limited or diminished. However, what is unclear is the extent to which we simply need to adjust our lenses used to view agency, and whether activism, at least in part, continues but is now less visible in what was the traditional sense. So too have activism tools changed in some disciplines from coercion to co-optation, rejection to mimicry, defeatism to axiorational negotiations of choice and decisions about how the academic operates. We question whether activism exists on a continuum and is therefore differentially shaped dependent on context, discussion, and debate. While it is clear neoliberalism and the market have powerfully shaped academia, it is important to recognise that this also opens other spaces for intellectuals along with its contradictions. One such area worthy of consideration is whether intellectuals shaping the co-production and dissemination of knowledge can choose to shape their teaching from being overly descriptive and so supporting existing power relations, or whether their teaching can be enhanced to promote critical thought and debate?

⁷⁶ VanderPlaats, Madine, "Locating the Feminist Scholar: Relational Empowerment and Social Activism," *Qualitative Health Research* 9, no. 6 (1999): 773–85.

⁷⁷ Chatterton, Paul, Duncan Fuller, and Paul Routledge, "Relating Action to Activism: Theoretical and Methodological Reflections," in *Participatory Action Research Approaches and Methods* (London: Routledge, 2007), 242–48.

⁷⁸ Suzuki and Mayorga, 2014.

⁷⁹ Cohen, Cathy J., and Sarah J. Jackson, "Ask a Feminist: A Conversation with Cathy J. Cohen on Black Lives Matter, Feminism, and Contemporary Activism," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 41, no. 4 (2016): 775–92.

⁸⁰ Niemann, Y. F., G.G. Muhs, and C.G. González, eds., *Presumed Incompetent II: Race, Class, Power, and Resistance of Women in Academia* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2020). <https://doi.org/10.7330/9781607329664>.

⁸¹ Yamey, Gavin, and Rochelle P. Walensky, "Covid-19: Re-opening Universities Is High Risk the Key Is to Curb Community Transmission Then Provide Frequent Testing," *British Medical Journal* 370, (2020).

The Role of Higher Education Institutions

West⁸² considered activism as including the roles of the oppositional professional intellectual; the professional intellectual; critical communities of practice; or the critical organic catalyst. In contrast,⁸³ acknowledged that activism in academia produced knowledge to enable an engagement with progressive change; provided a means to undertake research, engage in progressive teaching and learning; and continually challenging power relations. The role of higher education is therefore important due to its role in developing and disseminating new knowledge, thought, and judgement,⁸⁴ although there is disagreement on its engagement with activism, along with the boundaries of any activism.⁸⁵ Within Brazilian public universities, the University Council often includes members of social movements to support with decision-making and so shape the strategy of the Academy, for instance, the inclusion of small family farmers to exchange knowledge and ideas.

The Latin American University has therefore been pressured by social movements, which have demanded a much more comprehensive role beyond, which extended beyond the understanding of accumulated knowledge, training of professionals, and their research locus.⁸⁶ The University has been called to look at real society and its demands. According to Traspadini,⁸⁷ the true social function of universities requires the Academy to respond to the needs of its time, based on diverse societal demands, among them, those of the social movements of the countryside and the city. To be a popular university (or the University for the people) is essential for there to be a connection between intellectuals, from both formal education and genuine knowledge of traditional communities. Similarly, in Nigeria during the 1970s/1980s universities had a role in providing wider social outreach and engagement;⁸⁸

⁸² West, 2008.

⁸³ Flood, Martin and Dreher, 2013.

⁸⁴ Neary, Mike, "Beyond Teaching in Public: The University as a Form of Social Knowing," *Towards Teaching in Public: Reshaping the Modern University* (2012):148–64.

⁸⁵ Davids and Waghid, 2021.

⁸⁶ Pereira, Elisabete, "The Importance of Córdoba's Reform to the Latin American Academic Context: One Hundred Years of Contribution," *Revista internacional de educação superior* 5 (2019): 1–11.

⁸⁷ Traspadini, R. P., "Como construir uma Universidade Popular", *Outras Palavras. Decolonizações*, december 1, 2021. "How to Build a Popular University".

⁸⁸ Akinwunmi-Othman, Mohammed Nurudeen, "Political Activism in Nigeria: Historical Perspectives and Current Challenges," in *Globalization and Africa's Transition to Constitutional Rule* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 5–76.

having been curtailed by military regimes, new forms of creative activism through art and media have become prevalent.⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ Thus, social movements not only play a role in the formal curriculum but also supported the division of tasks, study, and political engagement in and outside the Academy and engaged with workers from different sectors of the economy.⁹¹

However, within the neoliberal Academy, critics such as Weiner⁹² highlight the challenge of identity politics and sociologically differentiating between what might be considered individual problems and social issues. He argued that intellectual teachers are required to conform to market-based standards which require safe spaces and consumer “comfort”, while appeasing identity-based interests within the learning context, making the task of “speaking truth to power” more difficult.⁹³ For Chomsky,⁹⁴ western democracy once facilitated the academic-activism binary in which academics sought to make a difference. Consequently, activism was invariably “The political responsibility of intellectuals.”⁹⁵

The Experience of Academic Activism

We have identified three themes that may help our understanding of activism within the academy. Firstly, what we have termed geopolitical in which we recognise an all-encompassing layer related to the role of the academy within its geographical location, that is, Brazilian university’s wider role. Secondly, the epistemological which includes the theoretical orientation of the university or discipline which would include the use of teaching as activism. Lastly, intersectionality of disadvantage would include discussions regarding gender, social class, and ethnicity; and more broadly address questions about which who is able to attend university. This is particularly important, for instance,

⁸⁹ Akpang, Clement Emeka, “The Changing Paradigms of Art Activism in Nigeria and the Problematic Context of Contemporary Art,” *International Journal of Social Science and Humanities Research* 4, no. 4 (2016): 409–15. ISSN 2348-3164 (online).

⁹⁰ Omotoso, Sharon Adetutu, “Acada-Activism and Feminist Political Communication in Nigeria,” in *Women’s Political Communication in Africa* (Cham: Springer, 2020), 155–72.

⁹¹ Transpadini, 2021.

⁹² Weiner, Eric J., “Sequestered Spaces, Public Places: The Responsibility of Intellectuals Who Teach Within the ‘Safe Zones’ of the Neoliberal University,” *Taboo: The Journal of Culture and Education* 19, no. 2 (2020): 11.

⁹³ Weiner, 2020.

⁹⁴ Chomsky, Noam, *American Power and the New Mandarins: Political and Historical Essay*. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969).

⁹⁵ Chomsky, Noam, *The Responsibility of Intellectuals* (New York: The New Press, 2017).

in countries like Brazil where there are no fees for state university attendance, but still challenge those from the working class to afford attendance due to the wider lack of adequate financial support. Importantly to note that while gender is discussed, its links to social class are sometimes given less consideration.

In considering the possibilities of activism within a neoliberal university, Hobson and Seabroke's⁹⁶ eIPE framework, highlights researchers' opportunities to utilise agency in both fieldwork along with how they implement research impact in their respective disciplines. So too, pedagogic activism provides opportunities through the use and teaching of critical theory and methodology, the promotion of shifts to reflexive positionality, along with the new uptake of decolonisation of curriculum by universities in the north, provide opportunities for co-opted engagement by academics for genuine reflections. These positions enable the initiation of wider knowledge sharing within and between institutions, academic, and students which support the movement towards social and historical justice, for example, the return of plundered artefacts from Africa. Important too has been the struggle within a South African context of the links between decolonisation and efforts made to negate the impact of market and neoliberal ideology on universities.

Case Study of Academic Activism Integrated into Praxis at UFES, Brazil

Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo (UFES) is a public university in Brazil with strong academic activism experience related to some community outreach programs/projects. The Brazilian public university is based on three interrelated themes: teaching, research, and extension (community projects). The university is acknowledged as an important site of production, accumulation, and dissemination of knowledge in many Latin American contexts.^{97 98} Traspadini argues that:

The role of social movements in bringing their praxis and socializing knowledge to the University, amidst the construction of a formal curriculum, presents varied meanings, [...] In addition to assuming a formal curriculum, they play an organic role in the division of tasks, study, political construction inside and outside the university, and care for other workers from different areas.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Hobson and Seabroke, 2007.

⁹⁷ Traspadini, 2021.

⁹⁸ Pereira, 2019.

⁹⁹ Traspadini, 2021, 7.

University Extension services are interdisciplinary, educational, cultural, scientific, and political processes, through which interaction is promoted that transforms not only the university but also the social spaces with which it interacts. Extension services also imply academic practice, developed in conjunction with Teaching and Research, with a view to promoting and guaranteeing democratic values, equity, and the development of society in its human, ethical, economic, cultural, and social dimensions.

Extension services cannot be separated from academic practices of teaching and research. The University Extension is one of the social functions of the university, which aims to promote social development, foster extension projects and programs, training, and qualification courses for the public, as well as develop and support social and environmental projects, articulated for and with the community, considering popular knowledge and practices and the guarantee of democratic values of equal rights, respect for individuals, environmental and social sustainability.

Table 1: Data on the extension/community outreach programs and projects of Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo (UFES) – 2020

Thematic areas	Total of community outreach		Total audience	
	Programs	Projects	Programs	Projects
Communication	1	16	3,500	34,677
Culture	6	43	2,325	22,723
Human rights and justice	9	16	16,092	5,935
Education	19	143	77,527	116,874
Environment	8	23	874,650	136,767
Health	29	193	21,433	1,132,268
Technology and production	10	38	902,410	603,440
Work	5	15	147	1,467
Total	87	487	1,898,084	2,054,151

Source: Pró-Reitoria de Extensão 2020.

Health, Education, technology, and human rights represent 77 % of all programs and involve around 1,858,517 people. It is one of the most popular forms of academic activism. We present three academic activism programmes associated with community outreach programs (coordinated by professors, staff, and graduate students from UFES).

1. **Related to ethno-racial justice:** Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros NEAB – (Center for Afro-Brazilian Studies) and Núcleo de Estudos e Pesquisas

Africanidades e Brasilidades (NAFRICAB) – Africanities and Brasilities Studies and Research Center. Both projects are involved with activism related to the community and refer to the issues of the black population, people of African descent, the development of policies for ethno-racial diversity, promotion of racial equality, and the enhancement of populations of African and Afro-Brazilian origin.

NEAB/UFES develops interdisciplinary activities, training courses for basic and higher education teachers, as well as academic and political meetings aiming to fight against racism and contribute to the effective application of Law 10.639/03, which determines the teaching in Brazilian education of Afro-Brazilian and African History and Culture in all levels. It currently consists of professors, researchers from the various Teaching Centers at UFES and from other universities in Brazil, students and external collaborators, masters with traditional knowledge, as well as representatives of forums, organized civil society, black entities, and black movements of Espírito Santo. NAFRICAB's academic activism is also related to the action of thinking, discussing, and presenting ways for the implementation of Law 10.639/03 – integrating Black-Brazilian History and Culture into the formal curriculum.

2. Rural Education Undergraduate course – PROCAMPO is based on the National Curriculum Guidelines for Degree Courses recognised by the Brazilian Ministry of Education. The project is designed to train teachers with an ethical-professional attitude based on social responsibility with a view to enhance inclusivity, justice, and solidarity in society.

Training, research, and extension services emphasise and deepen understanding of rural education. This piece of work is closely linked to the emancipation of rural workers, humanisation of social relations, cooperatives, environment preservation, and culture with attendant complexities. The course provides an avenue to support social movements' struggle for rural education as a right, in opposition to education linked to simple market logic.

As argued by the pedagogic project,

The course is justified by the absence of specific training spaces for multidisciplinary teaching in line with the needs of curricular organization by areas of knowledge in rural schools, as well as by the need to build alternatives for organizing school and pedagogical work that allow for expansion of basic education in and of the field.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo (UFES). Centro de Educação. Projeto Político Pedagógico do Curso de Licenciatura Plena em Educação do Campo Pedagogical Political (Project of the Full License Course in Countryside Education). (Vitória: UFES, n. d.), 4–5. https://ce.ufes.br/sites/ce.ufes.br/files/field/anexo/PPC_LEC_0.pdf.

A regular undergraduate course forms the bedrock of the provision, focussing on the needs of the rural population. It is linked to practical projects developed or co-created by the workers and buttressed by academic activists who work inside universities, allowing this agenda to penetrate structured forms and content in the traditional Brazilian university institution.

3. The Open University to Senior Citizens program¹⁰¹ as an example of academic activism

The Open University for Senior Citizens Program is an ongoing program of university extension that established a regular relationship with the community of Vitória city (Espírito Santo/Brazil) focused on older people (60 years old and above). It is delivered by the Social Work Department at Espírito Santo Federal University (UFES/Brazil). A total of 150 older people are involved annually in the Open University for Senior Citizens, which promotes the autonomy and well-being of the older people using participatory and interactive educational approaches. The programme helps to promote life-long learning and decrease discrimination and violence. This program has contributed not only to enhancing the quality of life of participants but also to evidence-informed public policy relating to ageing, based on lived experiences. It also significantly contributes to the training of undergraduate and graduate students. The Open University Program for Senior Adult, UFES, is a consolidated program with wide visibility and impact in the local community. By taking responsibility for this program, the Department of Social Work plays a role in supporting the rapidly growing older population.

New Forms of Activism

Activism change is often associated with overt acts of resistance; however, this conception of change limits recognition of what activism can look like in the neoliberal university. Thus, we can observe agency in researchers' fieldwork and research impact implementation in their disciplines; pedagogic activism through critical theory and methodology shifts to reflexive positionality. The new uptake of decolonisation of curriculum by universities in the north, can be co-opted by academics for genuine reflections, initiating knowledge sharing that leads to justice, for example, by calling out issues on artefacts from Africa, hidden genocides by colonialists, continuities of slave economic benefits in contemporary society, critical race relations, and the corporatisation of knowledge amongst a wide range of areas that require. Decolonisation itself is a movement with origins in South Africa seeking academic redress, critiquing

¹⁰¹ Maria das Graças wrote this abstract in 2014.

knowledge colonisation, and supporting academic equality, whose reach and scope is now much broader¹⁰². Important too are the links between decolonisation and efforts made to negate impacts of the market and neoliberal ideology on universities. Within the UK anecdotal discussions with academic colleagues often bemoan the need for big moments in which activism, but this often minimises the significant work undertaken, often over years, to create opportunities for academic footholds and the scaffolding to support incremental or big-bang change. This highlights the importance of the “activismus”, a German word promoting active political engagement.¹⁰³ Our experience was that within Nigeria, there were similarities with the experience of Brazilian colleagues in the past, but the military then had a key role in shattering collective activism within higher education, highlighting the importance of context.

Conclusion

We recognise that as academics we occupy both a privileged and intellectual role, which requires personal and institutional agency. More conservative macro neoliberal policies are changing society, students, and the Academy, with restricted budgets, inadequate space, and time to publish and a lack of recognition within the Academy about the broader contributions that are made to society. Thus, while individual academics gain respect due to their publications and research, the institutional context does not value other activist roles they might undertake. This demonstrates a contradiction of the institutional demand for funding, but this wider activism does not attract significant or possibly any funding or even being seen as a distraction from research or teaching. Public intellectuals must therefore use the contradictions and space that are created, leveraging the need to publish, raise funding, and utilise opportunities of these achievements to ensure wider engagement with social praxis. This raises the importance of individual agency, recognising that resistance will not always be overt and that we should recognise the importance of covert resistance due to the restrictions and shaping of the university and Academy.

¹⁰² Adefila, Arinola, Rafael Vieira Teixeira, Luca Morini, Maria Lúcia Teixeira Garcia, Tania Mara Zanotti Guerra Frizzera Delboni, Gary Spolander, and Mouzayian Khalil-Babatunde, “Higher education decolonisation: #Whose voices and their geographical locations?,” *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 20, no. 3 (2022): 262–276, <http://doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2021.1887724>.

¹⁰³ Weiner, Saira, and Gaby Weiner, “‘You’re trouble you are, just like your mother!’ An Intergenerational Narrative on Activism in Higher Education,” *Pedagogy, Culture & Society* 27, no. 2 (2019): 271–85.

Consequently, spaces for resistance have may not have narrowed but are different, academics need to engage with existing space, exploit contradictions and use collaboration as a means to continue to adapt and alter the lenses through which we might try to identify activism. This is the role of our paper and that of the editorial team in engaging critically with this topic. So too we should remember that as intellectuals we are unable to control the outcomes of our activism, by which we mean how society and institutions react and enact a specific social process of change. However, as the old African proverb states,¹⁰⁴ if we believe we are too small to make a difference we have never spent a night in a closed room with a mosquito.

References

- Akinwunmi-Othman, Mohammed Nurudeen. "Political Activism in Nigeria: Historical Perspectives and Current Challenges." In *Globalization and Africa's Transition to Constitutional Rule*, 55–76. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.
- Akpang, Clement Emeka. 2016. "The Changing Paradigms of Art Activism in Nigeria and the Problematic Context of Contemporary Art." *International Journal of Social Science and Humanities Research* 4, no. 4, 409–15. ISSN 2348-3164 (online)
- Adefila, Arinola, Rafael Vieira Teixeira, Luca Morini, Maria Lúcia Teixeira Garcia, Tania Mara Zanotti Guerra Frizzera Delboni, Gary Spolander, and Mouzayian Khalil-Babatunde. "Higher education decolonisation: #Whose voices and their geographical locations?". *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 20, no. 3 (2022): 262–276, <http://doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2021.1887724>
- Bacon, Edwin. *Neo-collegiality: Restoring Academic Engagement in the Managerial University*. London: Leadership Foundation for Higher Education, 2014. <https://eprints.bbk.ac.uk/id/eprint/11493/>.
- Ball, Stephen. J. "Neoliberal Education? Confronting the Slouching Beast." *Policy Futures in Education* 14, no. 8 (2016): 1046–59.
- Barnett, Ronald, and Søren S.E. Bengtson. "Into or Out of the Light? Four Shades of Pedagogical Darkness." In *The Promise of the University*, 147–58. Singapore: Springer, 2021.
- Barnett, Ronald. "The Coming of the Ecological University." *Oxford Review of Education* 37, no. 4 (2011): 439–55.
- Biesta, Gert J.J. *Beautiful Risk of Education*. London: Routledge, 2015.
- Boulton, Geoffrey, and Colin Lucas. "What are Universities for?" *Chinese Science Bulletin* 56, no. 23 (2011): 2506–17.
- Case, Kim A., Heather Kanenberg, Stephen "Arch" Erich, and Josephine Tittsworth. "Transgender Inclusion in University Nondiscrimination Statements: Challenging

¹⁰⁴ Bacon, 2014.

- Gender-Conforming Privilege Through Student Activism.” *Journal of Social Issues* 68, no. 1 (2012): 145–61.
- Chang, Mary K. “Reevaluating Collegiality: Relationality, Learning Communities, and Possibilities.” *Policy Futures in Education* 16, no. 7 (2018): 851–65.
- Chatterton, Paul, Duncan Fuller, and Paul Routledge. “Relating Action to Activism: Theoretical and Methodological Reflections.” In *Participatory Action Research Approaches and Methods*, 242–48. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Chauí, Marilena. 1999. “A universidade operacional.” *Avaliação: Revista da Avaliação da Educação Superior* 4, no. 3 (1999): 3–8, <http://periodicos.uniso.br/ojs/index.php/avaliacao/article/view/1063>.
- Chomsky, Noam. *American Power and the New Mandarins: Political and Historical Essays*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1969.
- Chomsky, Noam. *The Responsibility of Intellectuals*. New York: The New Press, 2017.
- Choudry, Aziz. “Reflections on Academia, Activism, and the Politics of Knowledge and Learning.” *The International Journal of Human Rights* 24, no. 1 (2020): 28–45, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2019.1630382>.
- Chouhy, Gabriel. “Rethinking Neoliberalism, Rethinking Social Movements.” *Social Movement Studies* 19, no. 4 (2020): 426–46.
- Cohen, Cathy J., and Sarah J. Jackson. “Ask a Feminist: A Conversation with Cathy J. Cohen on Black Lives Matter, Feminism, and Contemporary Activism.” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 41, no. 4 (2016): 775–92.
- Dakka, Fadda, and Luca Morini. “Towards a New Academic Activism. Short in Terventions. *Collection of Short Papers*.” Published online on the *Philosophy and Theory of Higher Education Society* 2020. <https://pathes.org/resources/academicactivism/>.
- Davids, Nuraan, and Yusef Waghid. *Academic Activism in Higher Education: A Living Philosophy for Social Justice*. Vol. 5. Berlin: Springer Nature, 2021.
- Dawson, Marcelle C. “Rehumanising the University for an Alternative Future: Decolonisation, Alternative Epistemologies and Cognitive Justice.” *Identities* 27, no. 1 (2020): 71–90.
- Denord, François. “1. French Neoliberalism and Its Divisions: From the Colloque Walter Lippmann to the Fifth Republic.” In *The Road from Mont Pelerin*, 45–67. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015.
- Fine, Michelle, Maria E. Torre, David Frost, and Allison Cabana. “Radical by Necessity, Not by Choice: From Microaggressions to Social Activism.” *Microaggression Theory: Influence and Implications*: 212 (2018).
- Flood, Michael, Brian Martin, and Tanja Dreher. “Combining Academia and Activism: Common Obstacles and Useful Tools.” *Australian Universities Review* 55, no. 1 (2013): 17–26.
- Fries-Britt, Sharon, Chrystal A. George Mwangi, and Alicia M. Peralta. “Learning Race in a US Context: An Emergent Framework on the Perceptions of Race Among Foreign-born Students of Color.” *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education* 7, no. 1 (2014): 1.

- Gibbons, Andrew. "Neoliberalism, Education Policy and the Life of the Academic: A Poetics of Pedagogical Resistance." *Policy Futures in Education* 16, no. 7 (2018): 918–30.
- Giroux, Henry A. *Neoliberalism's War on Higher Education*. Chicago: Haymarket, 2014.
- Giroux, Henry. "The Corporate War Against Higher Education." *Workplace: A Journal for Academic Labor* 9, (2002).
- Hall, R., and J. Winn, eds. *Mass Intellectuality and Democratic Leadership in Higher Education*. London: Bloomsbury, 2017.
- Hall, Stuart. "Cultural Studies and Its Theoretical Legacies." In *Cultural Studies*, edited by Grossberg, L. et al., 277–86. Page 286. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Harvey, David. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Henkel, Mary. "Introduction: Change and Continuity in Academic and Professional Identities." In *Academic and Professional Identities in Higher Education*, 21–30. London: Routledge, 2009.
- Henkel, Mary. "Academic Identity and Autonomy in a Changing Policy Environment." *Higher Education* 49, no. 1 (2005): 155–76.
- Hetland, Gabriel, and Jeff Goodwin. "The Strange Disappearance of Capitalism from Social Movement Studies." In *Marxism and Social Movements*, edited by C. Barker, L. Cox, J. Krinsky, & A. G. Nilsen, 83–102. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Hobson, John M., and Leonard Seabrooke. "Conclusion: Everyday IPE Puzzle Research, Teaching and Policy Agendas." In *Everyday Politics of the World Economy*, 196–213. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. <https://outraspalavras.net/descolonizacoes/pegadas-como-construir-universidadepopular/>.
- Jacoby, Russell. *The End of Utopia: Culture and Politics in an Age of Apathy*. New York: Basic Books, 1999. 158.
- King, Patricia M., Rosemary J. Perez, and Woo-jeong Shim. "How College Students Experience Intercultural Learning: Key Features and Approaches." *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education* 6, no. 2 (2013): 69.
- Leal, Debora de Castro, Angelika Strohmayer, and Max Krüger. "On Activism and Academia: Reflecting Together and Sharing Experiences Among Critical Friends." In *Proceedings of the 2021 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*, pp. 1–18. New York: Association for Computing Machinery, 2021.
- Macfarlane, Bruce. *Freedom to Learn: The Threat to Student Academic Freedom and Why It Needs to be Reclaimed*. London: Routledge, 2016.
- MacKinnon, Shauna. T. "Social Work Intellectuals in the Twenty-First Century: Critical Social Theory, Critical Social Work and Public Engagement." *Social Work Education*, 28, no. 5 (2009): 512–27.
- Macrine, Sheila, Peter McLaren, and Dave Hill. *Revolutionizing Pedagogy: Education for Social Justice within and Beyond Global Neo-liberalism*. New York: Springer, 2009.
- Marginson, Simon, and Mark Considine. *The Enterprise University: Power, Governance and Reinvention in Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels. *The German Ideology, Including Theses on Feuerbach*. New York: Prometheus Books, 1998.

- Marx, Karl, and F. Engels. *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*. Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books, 1988.
- Mészáros, István. *Para além do capital: rumo a uma teoria da transição*. São Paulo: Boitempo Editorial, 2015.
- Musolino, Connie, Fran Baum, Toby Freeman, Ronald Labonté, Chiara Bodini, and David Sanders. “Global Health Activists’ Lessons on Building Social Movements for Health for All”. *International Journal for Equity in Health, Int J Equity Health* 19, no. 116 (2020). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12939-020-01232-1>.
- Neary, Mike. “Beyond Teaching in Public: The University as a Form of Social Knowing.” *Towards Teaching in Public: Reshaping the Modern University* (2012):148–64.
- Neary, Mike, and Joss Winn. “Beyond Public and Private: A Framework for Co-operative Higher Education.” *Open Library of Humanities* 3, no. 2 (2017): 1–36. <https://doi.org/10.16995/olh.195>.
- Niemann, Y. F., G.G. Muhs, and C.G. González, eds. *Presumed Incompetent II: Race, Class, Power, and Resistance of Women in Academia*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.7330/9781607329664>.
- Nørgård, Rikke Toft, and Søren SE Bengtsen. “The Activist University and University Activism – An Editorial.” *Policy Futures in Education* 19, no. 5 (2021): 507–12. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14782103211026584>.
- Nørgård, Rikke Toft, and Søren Smedegaard Ernst Bengtsen. “Academic Citizenship Beyond the Campus: A Call for the Peaceful University.” *Higher Education Research & Development* 35, no. 1 (2016): 4–16.
- Omotoso, Sharon Adetutu. “Acada-Activism and Feminist Political Communication in Nigeria.” In *Women’s Political Communication in Africa*, 155–72. Cham: Springer, 2020.
- O’Neill, A., and S. Jolley. “The Technology Curriculum: Commercialising Education for Mindless Consumption.” In *Reshaping Culture, Knowledge and Learning: Policy and Content in the New Zealand Curriculum Framework*, edited by Anne-Marie O’Neill, John Clark and Roger Openshaw, 177–201. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 2004.
- Pereira, Elisabete. “The Importance of Córdoba’s Reform to the Latin American Academic Context: One Hundred Years of Contribution.” *Revista internacional de educação superior* 5 (2019): 1–11.
- Pereira, Maria do Mar. “Struggling within and Beyond the Performative University: Articulating Activism and WORK in an ‘academia Without walls’.” In *Women’s Studies International Forum*, vol. 54: 100–10. Oxford: Pergamon, 2016.
- Peters, C. “Knowing What’s Wrong Is Not Enough: Creating Strategy and Vision.” In *Rhyming Hope and History: Activists, Academics and Social Movement Scholarship*, edited by David Croteau, William Hoynes and Charlotte Ryan, chapter 3, 41–56. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

- Ramley, Judith A. "The Changing Role of Higher Education: Learning to Deal with Wicked Problems." *Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement* 18, no. 3 (2014): 7–22.
- Rancière, Jacques. *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.
- Rhodes, Carl, Christopher Wright, and Alison Pullen. "Changing the World? The Politics of Activism and Impact in the Neoliberal University." *Organization* 25, no. 1 (2018): 139–47.
- Richter, Jennifer, Flóra Faragó, Beth Blue Swadener, Denisse Roca-Servat, and Kimberly A. Eversman. "Tempered Radicalism and Intersectionality: ScholarActivism in the Neoliberal University." *Journal of Social Issues* 76, no. 4 (2020): 1014–35.
- Roggero, Gigi. *The Production of Living Knowledge: The Crisis of the University and the Transformation of Labor in Europe and North America*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011.
- Rose, Barbara. "Moving from Chasm to Convergence: Benefits and Barriers to Academic Activism for Social Justice and Equity." *Brock Education: A Journal of Educational Research and Practice* 27, no. 1 (2017): 67–78.
- Rowlands, Julie. "Accountability, Quality Assurance and Performativity: The Changing Role of the Academic Board." *Quality in Higher Education* 18, no. 1 (2012): 97–110.
- Saunders, Daniel B. "Neoliberal Ideology and Public Higher Education in the United States." *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies* 8, no. 1 (2010): 41–77.
- Singh, Taveeshi, and Tayler J. Mathews. "Facilitating Queer of Color Feminist Co-Mentorship: Reflections on an Online Archive of Scholar-Activism." *Gender, Place & Culture* 26, no. 12 (2019): 1701–20.
- Sojot, Amy N. "Pedagogical Possibilities of Becoming and the Transitional Space." *Policy Futures in Education* 16, no. 7 (2018): 893–905.
- Sotiris, Panagiotis. "University Movements as Laboratories of Counter-Hegemony." *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies (JCEPS)* 12, no. 1 (2014).
- Suzuki, Daiyu, and Edwin Mayorga. "Scholar-Activism: A Twice Told Tale." *Multicultural Perspectives* 16, no. 1 (2014): 16–20.
- Torres, Carlos Alberto, ed. *The Wiley Handbook of Paulo Freire*. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2019.
- Traspadini, R. P. "Como construir uma Universidade Popular". *Outras Palavras*. Decolonizações, December 1, 2021. "How to Build a Popular University".
- Tribe, Keith. "2. Liberalism and Neoliberalism in Britain, 1930–1980." In *The Road from Mont Pèlerin*, 68–97. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015.
- Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo (UFES). Centro de Educação. Projeto Político Pedagógico do Curso de Licenciatura Plena em Educação do Campo Pedagogical Political (Project of the Full License Course in Countryside Education). Vitória: UFES, n. d. https://ce.ufes.br/sites/ce.ufes.br/files/field/anexo/PPC_LEC_0.pdf.

- VanderPlaat, Madine. "Locating the Feminist Scholar: Relational Empowerment and Social Activism." *Qualitative Health Research* 9, no. 6 (1999): 773–85.
- Weiner, Eric J. "Sequestered Spaces, Public Places: The Responsibility of Intellectuals Who Teach Within the 'Safe Zones' of the Neoliberal University." *Taboo: The Journal of Culture and Education* 19, no. 2 (2020): 11.
- Weiner, Saira, and Gaby Weiner. "You're trouble you are, just like your mother!" An Intergenerational Narrative on Activism in Higher Education." *Pedagogy, Culture & Society* 27, no. 2 (2019): 271–85.
- West, Cornel. "Theory, Pragmatism and Politics." In *Keeping Faith*, 99–113. London: Routledge, 2012.
- West, Cornel. *The Ethical Dimensions of Marxist Thought*. New Delhi: Aakar Books, 2008.
- Winn, Joss, Richard Hall, and Camilla Erskine, eds. *Mass Intellectuality and Democratic Leadership in Higher Education*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017.
- Winter, Richard. "Academic Manager or Managed Academic? Academic Identity Schisms in Higher Education." *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management* 31, no. 2 (2009): 121–31.
- Yamey, Gavin, and Rochelle P. Walensky. "Covid-19: Re-opening Universities Is High Risk the Key Is to Curb Community Transmission Then Provide Frequent Testing." *British Medical Journal* 370 (2020).
- Yilmaz, Devrim, Susan Feiner, and Rex McKenzie. "Introduction". Special Issue on the Political Economy of the University Inc. *World Social and Economic Review of Contemporary Policy* 8 (April) (2017): 2–5.