

After the Strike? Part 2: Solidarity In and Out

Jane Rendell

QUERY SHEET

This page lists questions we have about your paper. The numbers displayed at left are hyperlinked to the location of the query in your paper.

The title and author names are listed on this sheet as they will be published, both on your paper and on the Table of Contents. Please review and ensure the information is correct and advise us if any changes need to be made. In addition, please review your paper as a whole for typographical and essential corrections.

Your PDF proof has been enabled so that you can comment on the proof directly using Adobe Acrobat. For further information on marking corrections using Acrobat, please visit <http://journalauthors.tandf.co.uk/production/acrobat.asp>; <https://authorservices.taylorandfrancis.com/how-to-correct-proofs-with-adobe/>

The CrossRef database (www.crossref.org/) has been used to validate the references.

AUTHOR QUERIES

- Q1** Figure “1” was not cited in the text so a citation has been inserted. Please provide a correction if this is inaccurate.
- Q2** Figure “2” was not cited in the text so a citation has been inserted. Please provide a correction if this is inaccurate.
- Q3** Figure “3” was not cited in the text so a citation has been inserted. Please provide a correction if this is inaccurate.
- Q4** Figure “4” was not cited in the text so a citation has been inserted. Please provide a correction if this is inaccurate.
- Q5** Figure “5” was not cited in the text so a citation has been inserted. Please provide a correction if this is inaccurate.
- Q6** Figure “6” was not cited in the text so a citation has been inserted. Please provide a correction if this is inaccurate.
- Q7** Figures “7 and 8” were not cited in the text so a citation has been inserted. Please provide a correction if this is inaccurate.

- Q8** Figure “9” was not cited in the text so a citation has been inserted. Please provide a correction if this is inaccurate.
- Q9** Figures “10 and 11” were not cited in the text so a citation has been inserted. Please provide a correction if this is inaccurate.
- Q10** Figure “12” was not cited in the text so a citation has been inserted. Please provide a correction if this is inaccurate.
- Q11** Please provide missing year for the “Donna Haraway, Donna. Staying...” references list entry.
- Q12** Please provide missing page range for the “Neary 2017” references list entry.
- Q13** Please provide missing url for the “UCU 2020” references list entry.

PROOF ONLY

ARCHITECTURE AND CULTURE

Jane Rendell
The Bartlett School of
Architecture, UCL,
London, UK
j.rendell@ucl.ac.uk

Keywords: strike, site, work,
care, feminism, institutional
critique, life-
writing, *parrhesia*



Volume 0/Issue 0
March 2020
pp 1–26
DOI:10.1080/20507828.
2021.1836776

No potential conflict of
interest was reported
by the author.

© 2020 Informa UK Limited,
trading as Taylor & Francis
Group



After the Strike? Part 2: Solidarity In and Out Jane Rendell

ABSTRACT This is part two of the essay exploring the activities of strikers at the Bartlett School of Architecture, UCL over a 14 day-period in the early spring of 2018. These days were part of the 2018 University and College Union (UCU) Pension Strike, one of the largest strikes of university academics in recent times, which occurred over a four-week period, with strike days increasing from two days in the first week, to five by the final week. This was a strike to protect the pensions of university workers as a defined benefit scheme rather than a defined contribution one. This essay is structured as a two-stranded diary, weaving together textual materials taken from the Strike chronicle and website produced at the time, with critical reflections written in the present, concerning the current state of the neo-liberal university, discussing issues relating to pensions – namely institutional critique, ethics and equity, labor and work, precarity and care.

Wednesday 28 February

Crit-Out

9-12pm: 22 Gordon Street

BREAK//LINE will present their union banner and manifesto, and talk about developing a critique of the trespass of capital into practice and pedagogy.

We are keen to reach out to design staff and students. So anyone with a project relating to the themes of the strike — inequality, precarity, debt, intergenerational equity — please come along to a crit which will take place inside at the front of the foyer and on the street.

Current PhD students will talk from the street about themes of civic pedagogy, participatory and performative practice relating to their research located inside the building in the PhD show.

Take up a position wherever you feel comfortable.

March for Education: Back Pension & Pay Strikes

12pm: Assemble Malet St, London WC1E 7HY

uculondonregion.wordpress.com

Figure 1

Excerpt from www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org, designed and produced by David Roberts. Image reproduced with the permission of David Roberts.

The fifth day of the UCU strike of 2018 took place in a blizzard in central London. Under umbrellas in the snow, we participated in a crit-out, and discussed the need for solidarity outwards as well as inwards, with, for example those at the Yarl's Wood Immigration Removal Center. Connections were made with issues around the treatment of international

staff, and in particular students, for whom the marketised university relies on for fees, but who are often under surveillance and deported from the UK as part of the “hostile environment.”² A BBQ was set up for a brunch grill, but had to be moved by a few inches to occupy Camden’s slice of pavement rather than UCL property, and remove the potential fire risk for the institution. Having eaten, we took up the placards made out of remnants from the workshop, fashioned with suitably architectural slogans, and set off, with ice underfoot, to slide and stride through central London (Figure 1).

Day 6: Monday 5 March – *Strike Again*³

Figure 2.

Monday 5 March

Picket

7:30am: Quad, Gower Street

8:30-9:30am: RIBA, 66 Portland Place

Delegation to lobby the UCU/UUK talks facilitated by ACAS.

Global Prosperity and the University Teach-Out

10-12pm: Maple House, 149 Tottenham Court Road

Chris Harker and Matthew Davies from the Institute for Global Prosperity will lead a teach out discussion on global prosperity and the university outside Maple House.

Strike Meeting

12-1:30pm: Congress Centre, 28 Great Russell Street

Figure 2

Excerpt from www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org, designed and produced by David Roberts. Image reproduced with the permission of David Roberts.



Tuesday 6 March

Picket

7:30am: Quad, Gower Street

Ungovernable Space Teach-Out

10-11am: 22 Gordon Street

James O'Leary - Ungovernable Space: Threshold, Picket, Barricade, Peaceline.

Blacklisting Teach-Out

11-12pm: UCL UCU, 52 Gower Street

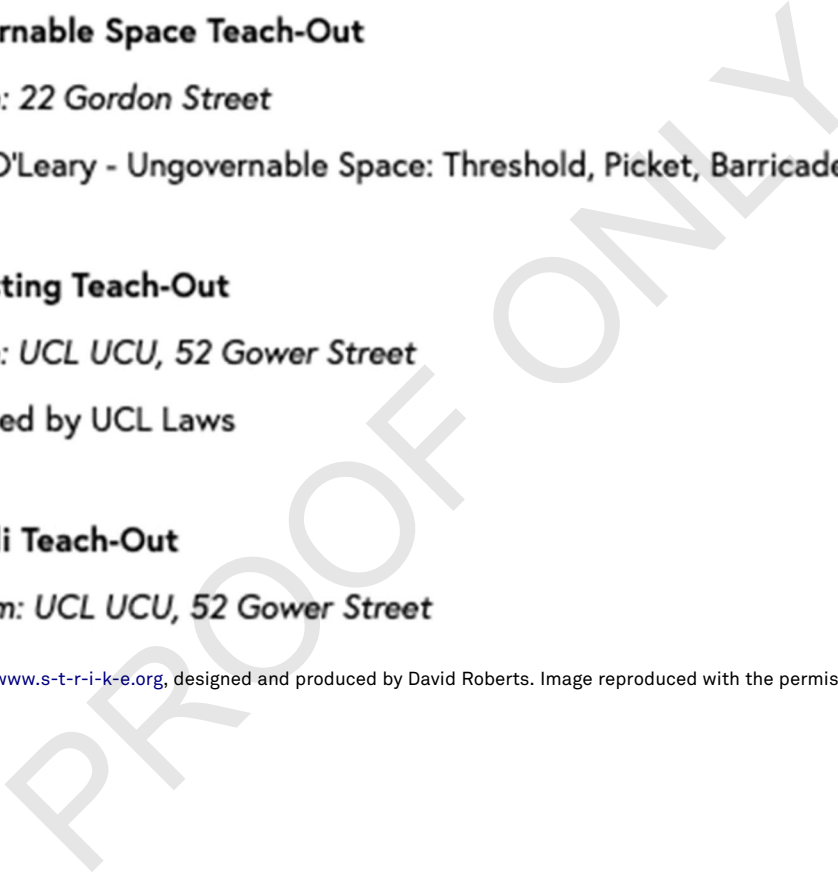
Organized by UCL Laws

Tariq Ali Teach-Out

1-1:50pm: UCL UCU, 52 Gower Street

Figure 3

Excerpt from www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org, designed and produced by David Roberts. Image reproduced with the permission of David Roberts.



143
144
145
146
147
148
149
150
151
152
153
154
155
156
157
158
159
160
161
162
163
164
165
166
167
168
169
170
171
172
173
174
175
176
177
178
179
180
181
182
183
184
185
186
187
188
189

COLOR
Online /
B&W in
Print

Day 8: Wed 7 March – *and Again*⁵

Wednesday 7 March

Picket

7:30am: Quad, Gower Street

Strike-Writing Teach-Out

10-11:30am: 22 Gordon Street

Thandi Loewenson - Towards a Strike Alphabet and María Catalina Venegas
- Pasquinade workshop.

Photocall

11:30am: Quad, Gower Street

All UCL unified.

Strike Meeting

12-1pm: UCL UCU, 52 Gower Street

Caring for the City Teach-Out

1-3pm: UCL UCU, 52 Gower Street

Convened by Just Space, this session will have presentations and discussion on participation in planning, housing, food security, environment, as part of a new radical London Plan. ucljustspace.wordpress.com / @justspace7

Figure 4

Excerpt from www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org, designed and produced by David Roberts. Image reproduced with the permission of David Roberts.

By the third day or the third week of the strike a new daily rhythm had emerged: an early morning picket, the late morning teach-outs on the picket-line, a lunchtime UCU UCL meeting at a hired venue somewhere

the neighborhood, followed by an afternoon teach-out and a scattering to cafes and pubs in the vicinity where events for the next day were planned and posts for various media platforms updated. And as evening pressed in, the thorny issue arose of whether or not to do email, and to consider which of the urgent tasks – PhD draft-reading, unfinished research papers, references, reviews, conference talks to write – could possibly be categorized as “not-work” and therefore attended to. In my case, I decided to cancel everything. The only “academic work” I carried out in that four-week period was to read PhD final drafts for students with immediate non-negotiable hand-in deadlines and to give a keynote address for a conference on critical practice, not in person as planned, but via skype, on the topic of the strike (Figure 4).



In that time, our research activities focused on deepening our knowledge of the specific issues at stake, including the economic perspective on pensions and the nature of the negotiations between our employers (Universities UK), USS and UCU. At the UCU UCL meeting at the TUC building we discovered from the secretary how it was the cost of the venues that was influencing where we could hold lunchtime meetings. The strike revealed the economic geography of the Bloomsbury area, how the cost of renting premises outside the university for even an hour was astronomic, and that the reason we kept reverting to the private sports club was because it was the cheapest.

On the third day of week three a teach-out specifically addressed the question of urban space and design. Colleagues from Just Space, presented their critiques of the London Plan, and we started thinking about the connection between the pension strike and the role of universities as property developers. The distinction between the phrases the neo-liberal university, the marketization and financialisation of higher education started to come into focus, in particular around the borrowing required for expansion.⁶ As an excellent article in the USS Briefs series made clear, the financial commitment to pensions was something that could stand in the way of a university securing a loan on which to base a new building project, depending on the kind of financial model they chose to use.⁷



1. The financialisation of higher education is bringing about a sea-change in how the public purpose of higher education — and the role of students, teaching and research within it — are conceived.
2. The dispute over pensions discloses the integral relationship between the adoption of particular models of university financing and the consolidation of unaccountable systems of centralized and hierarchical management.⁸

284
285
286
287
288
289
290
291
292
293
294
295
296
297
298
299
300
301
302
303
304
305
306
307
308
309
310
311
312
313
314
315
316
317
318
319
320
321
322
323
324
325
326
327
328
329
330

Thursday 8 March

Picket

7:30am: Quad, Gower Street

BodyPolitic Teach-Out

10-12pm: 22 Gordon Street

On International Women's Day, Clare Farrell and Miles Glyn of #BodyPolitic will join The Bartlett picket line to host a special Solidarity-Complexity workshop.

#BodyPolitic works to encourage and facilitate others to use their bodies as a space for creative response and positive resistance; through workshops, and the re-use and re-purposing of clothing and materials.

Join #BodyPolitic to turn your body into space for EXPRESSION/DEMONSTRATION. Bring your favourite or LEAST favourite jacket/garment and an umbrella – no further materials required.

International Women's Day Rally

11-1pm: 20 Bedford Way

Organised by UCL Women's Network and Students' Union UCL. Marketization of universities have lead to a legitimization of the gender gaps since it allows employers maximise profits, job insecurity, feminisation of poverty caused by having less pensions but more people dependent on us. These cuts to pensions will disproportionately affect women.

Strike Meeting

12-1pm: UCL UCU, 52 Gower Street

Figure 5

(a) Excerpt from www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org, designed and produced by David Roberts. Image reproduced with the permission of David Roberts. (b) Excerpt from www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org, designed and produced by David Roberts. Image reproduced with the permission of David Roberts.

331 **International Women's Day Feminist Teach-Out**

332 **1-3pm: UCL UCU, Gower Street**

333 **This feminist teach-out, convened by Bartlett staff and students, opens up space**
334 **to bring together UCL researchers, educational practitioners and activists who**
335 **are addressing precarity, inequality and protest in relation to gender and through**
336 **intersectional approaches.**

- 337 • **Florence Sutcliffe-Braithwaite: *Women on the picket line in the miners'***
338 ***strike of 1984-5***
- 339 • **Justine Canady, Women's Officer at UCLU: *Current campaigns and***
340 ***activities at UCL***
- 341 • **Bella Webb and Alizay Agha: *Our Bodies: Sexual Assault & Harassment on***
342 ***Campus***
- 343 • **Laura Marshall and Ben Campkin: *LGBTQ+ night-spaces & safer spaces for***
344 ***women in London, from 1986 to the present***
- 345 • **Sarabajaya Kumar: *Intersectionality: the birth of a new non-profit***
346 ***organisation and our agenda for action***
- 347 • **Maria McLintock: *Between the picket lines***
- 348 • **Miranda Critchley: *Yarl's Wood hunger strikers***

349 **Open Mic: if you would like to make a contribution to this event, through a**
350 **reading, talk, poem, etc. please let us know at the start as there may be space in**
351 **the programme.**

352 **Figure 5**
353 **Continued**

354
355
356
357
358
359
360
361
362
363
364
365
366
367
368
369
370
371
372
373
374
375
376
377

378 To celebrate International Women's Day, textile designer, Rachel
 379 Siobhan Tyler invited Body Politic, who brought along an incredible range of
 380 texts and textiles from which participants could dress themselves for
 381 International Women's Day. Their repertoire included huge yet gently
 382 fluttering silk flags, and smaller patches in a range of rich colors screen
 383 printed with their designed icons of symbols for readers and writers –
 384 books, pens and hearts, which prepared us well for the feminist teach-out
 385 chaired that afternoon by Ben Campkin and Laura Marshall (Figure 5.5)).

386 It was no surprise that we started to talk about feminist practices,
 387 and the role of Sarah Ahmed's concepts of the "feminist killjoy" and the
 388 "feminist snap" came up, out of her brilliant book *Living a Feminist Life*, as
 389 well as Rosalind Gill's passionate call to arms in her 2010 essay, "Breaking
 390 the Silence."¹⁰ I had been exploring in my own work, the practice of
 391 *parrhesia* as described by Foucault,¹¹ where toward his later lectures
 392 Foucault turns to examine the function of *parrhesia* in terms of the crisis of
 393 democratic institutions, and moves on to discuss how *parrhesia* occurs as
 394 an activity in human relations, with respect to oneself and the care of the
 395 self, and in relation to others, specifically through three kinds of relation:
 396 individual personal, community and public life. Foucault talks of how, in
 397 the shift from a political to a Socratic or ethical form of *parrhesia*, the
 398 relation between *logos*, truth and courage alters to include *bios*, and to
 399 focus on the balance between *bios* and *logos* with respect to truth:

401 Here, giving an account of your life, your *bios*, is also not to give a
 402 narrative of the historical events that have taken place in your life,
 403 but rather to demonstrate whether you are able to show that there
 404 is a relation between the rational discourse, the *logos*, you are able
 405 to use, and the way that you live. Socrates is inquiring into the way
 406 that *logos* gives form to a person's style of life; for he is interested in
 407 discovering whether there is a harmonic relation between the two.¹²

409 Writing after the strike, Gail Davies has pointed to the ways in
 410 which university staff "have inhabited the tensions of the knowledge
 411 economy for a while."¹³ Davies draws on the work of Jenny Andersson,
 412 who, following Riccardo Petrella, explores how this is a "tension between
 413 solidarity and competition — between an emphasis on the public good of
 414 learning and education, and the need to turn knowledge into a
 415 marketable good."¹⁴ As Andersson writes, Petrella suggests that the
 416 concept of solidarity was the very underpinning or founding principle of
 417 the welfare states and contracts:

419 The "golden era" welfare states institutionalized solidarity, in their
 420 public services and social transfers that encouraged the recognition
 421 of the relationship between my needs and the needs of others

423 This balancing of self-interest and the interests of the other is
 424 inherent to Foucault's work on care of the self and *parrhesia* as a truth-

425
426
427
428
429
430
431
432
433
434
435
436
437
438
439
440
441
442
443
444
445
446
447
448
449
450
451
452
453
454
455
456
457
458
459
460
461
462
463
464
465
466
467
468
469
470
471

telling enacted in the service of democracy, and art critic Gerald Raunig has linked this balancing of social and self-critique, to the complexities of internal and external positioning in the practice of institutional critique:

What is needed here and now is *parrhesia* as a double strategy: as an attempt of involvement and engagement in a process of hazardous refutation, and as self-questioning. What is needed, therefore, are practices that conduct radical social criticism, yet which do not fancy themselves in an imagined distance to institutions; at the same time practices that are self-critical and yet do not cling to their own involvement, their complicity, their imprisoned existence in the art field, their fixation on institutions, and the institution, their own-being institution. “Instituent practices” that conjoin the advantages of both “generations” of institutional critique, thus exercising both forms of *parrhesia*, will impel a linking of social criticism, institutional critique and self-criticism.¹⁵

PROOF ONLY

Day 10: Mon 12 March – Collapse¹⁶

Monday 12 March

Picket

9-12pm: 22 Gordon Street

Museums & UCL Teach-Out

10am: 22 Gordon Square

Join us to discuss the crucial roles played by museums at UCL! Speakers include:

Dr. Chiara Ambrosio (Science & Technology Studies), Dr. Georgina Brewis (Education, Practice & Society), Dr. Emily Dawson (Science & Technology Studies), Dr. Emma Richardson (History of Art), Dr. Marquard Smith (Culture, Communication & Media) and Dr. Alice Stevenson (Institute of Archaeology).

Still the Enemy Within Teach-Out

1-3pm: UCL UCU, 52 Gower Street

Teach-out on the Miners' Strike with Lesbians and Gays Support the Miners:

Nicola Field, Mike Jackson and Mike Simons, UCU Convening.

The City as a Network of Learning Teach-Out

3-4pm: 14 Taviton Street

Teach-out by Stephen Marshall and Daniel Fitzpatrick on *The City as a Network of Learning: Reviving A Pattern Language for the Smart App age?* In his classic book *A Pattern Language*, Christopher Alexander and coauthors imagined the city as a 'Network of Learning', weaving education into the physical and social fabric of urban life. Here we revisit and reimagine these ideas in the age of the Smart App, asking how (where, and by whom) such a network of learning could be created today. Organised by Bartlett School of Planning.

Figure 6

Excerpt from www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org, designed and produced by David Roberts. Image reproduced with the permission of David Roberts.

That Monday I had an early morning dentist appointment, and after consulting the curriculum for the day, realised that the public university on the streets of Bloomsbury was fully in flow. I realized my complete exhaustion, and that being on strike was at least double my usual workload. And so I stayed at home and read Henry A. Giroux's *On Critical Pedagogy* (Figure 6).¹⁷



Day 11: Tue 13 March – a Different Kind of Impact¹⁸

Tuesday 13 March

Picket

9-12pm: 22 Gordon Street

(Art) Histories of Protest Teach-Out

11-12pm: 20 Gordon Square

- Mignon Nixon, *Let the Pants Fall Where They May*
- Marta Zboralska, *We Are Not Sleeping*
- Bob Mills, *Why University Strikes are Positively Medieval*
- Johannes von Müller, *The Art of Throwing a Stone*
- Maria Mileeva, *Art and Hooliganism in Putin's Russia*
- Stephanie Schwartz, *The Time of Protest*; Tamar Garb, *Rhodes Must Fall*.

From 9:30-11am please come and add your image of protest to the gallery we will erect across from Gordon Square. This can be a work of art that is itself a protest, a portrayal of strike or protest, or visual culture associated with a historical protest movement. String and tape for installing images will be provided. Organised by UCL History of Art.

Figure 7

Excerpt from www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org, designed and produced by David Roberts. Image reproduced with the permission of David Roberts.



THE STRIKE CHRONICLE

"REVISE AND RESUBMIT"

Day 11 Dispatch

Bartlett staff & students on strike for education as a public good, accessible & affordable for all!

Tuesday 13 March: *A Lesson in Democracy* The mood on Tuesday's picket line was initially tense, with worries that that UCU would accept the offer put to them. But as images of strong solidarity from the demo up the road at UCU HQ appeared on phones, and **#no capitulation**, from UCU UCL's Saladin Meckled-Garcia, trended on twitter, the mood brightened. Emeritus Professor, Adrian Forty was at 22GS, showing support for the strike, and admired the vitality of our architecture picket. He argued that since the defined benefit pension scheme offers such good support in retirement, and if people like him are able to enjoy the benefit from one, why shouldn't the same deal be on offer to future generations of university academics? We couldn't agree more! **(Art) Histories of Protest** was a wonderful lesson in the form of the teach-out itself and **a great example of the public intellectual in action**. With the door to their department firmly shut, one after another, influential (feminist) art historians of all generations, spoke from the steps about the history of protest from a visual perspective, with a gallery of protest images pinned to the railings. Drawings pinned to boxes acted as props, reminiscent of lectures from the 19th century, **but the content here included the tactics of Pussy Riot, the removal of the Rhodes statue**, and reflections on the temporality of acts of engagement in the picket itself.

ALL WELCOME

We are striking all 5 days this week and with colleagues across UCL are organizing teach-outs to provide spaces for positive learning.

DAY 12: WEDNESDAY 14 MARCH

10-11am, outside 22 Gordon Street

Housing Teach-Out with **Anna Minton**, author of *Ground Control* (Penguin, 2009) and *Big Capital* (2017) and **Harvi Chera** (UCL Cut the Rent Campaigner).

10-11am Rubber Stamping Teach-Out with

Figure 8

Excerpt from *The Strike Chronicle*, edited by Barbara Penner, and excerpted from www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org designed and produced by David Roberts. Image reproduced with the permission of Barbara Penner and David Roberts.

Overall one of the most beautiful and inspiring things about the strike was the way, that even in the sub-zero temperatures, it had been possible to turn the university inside out, and when talks, seminars, and discussions occurred on the street, they were shared across disciplines, departments, and with passersby, offering education for the public good, and for free (Figures 7 and 8).¹⁹

Wednesday 14 March

Picket

9-12pm: 22 Gordon Street

Housing Teach-Out

10am: 22 Gordon Street

Teach-out on housing with Anna Minton, author of *Ground Control* (Penguin, 2009) and *Big Capital* (2017) and Harvi Chera (UCL Cut the Rent Campaigner).

Rubber Stamping Teach-Out

10-11am: 22 Gordon Street

Rubber-stamping workshop with illustrator Judit Ferencz.

University/Interrupted Teach-Out

11-12pm: 22 Gordon Street

University/Interrupted: a creative workshop on the affective impact of striking led by Claire Tunnacliffe (Bartlett School of Architecture) and Jade French (QMUL).

March for Education Demonstration

12pm: Assemble at Malet Street

London Region UCU demonstration to Parliament ending with a rally in Westminster Central Hall from 2pm, confirmed speakers to include: Joanna De Groot, UCU President; Catherine West MP; Sean Wallis, UCU NEC and HE Convention.


Education is under a massive attack. Tuition fees for university have gone through the roof and colleges are in frantic competition with each other to recruit students. Now the employers want to wreck the pensions of Higher Education staff. Workers ranging from senior academics to postgraduate teaching assistants have begun a programme of an initial 14 days of strike action, closing 65 universities across the UK. We have seen massive pickets on our campuses, and the overwhelming support of students.

16 colleges of Further Education are also in dispute in defence of their pay and conditions. Further Education has lost 15,000 jobs, and one million adult education places, and lecturers have seen their wages cut by 21% since 2009.

Figure 9

Excerpt from www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org, designed and produced by David Roberts. Image reproduced with the permission of David Roberts.

660 This was a day of two halves, both of which addressed the
661 wellbeing of the student and staff body in a condition of crisis. In the
662 morning writer Anna Minton came to talk about the London Housing
663 Crisis and its link the UCU strike, while a group of students leading rent
664 strikes, including Harvi Chera, came to talk about their actions in
665 response to the conditions of their university accommodation, and
666 exorbitant rents they had to pay.²¹ One key aspect of the expansion of UK
667 universities post the introduction of student fees, has been the use of
668 particular kinds of debt package which allow universities to borrow
669 money but to keep this debt off the balance sheet, many of these are tied
670 into the development of student accommodation. As Clive Barnett wrote
671 in USS Briefs (Figure 9):

672  A third aspect of debt-financed expansion is the turn to “lease
673 based structures” by universities to access capital with long
674 maturities “indirectly” (the borrowed money is therefore kept off
675 balance sheets). For example, University Partnerships Programme
676 (UPP) provides universities with “special purpose vehicles” to
677 raise the capital to build and run student accommodation,
678 ownership of which only passes on to universities when the
679 original debt is paid back.²²

680
681
682 And yet at the outset of the strike, in an earlier USS brief, John
683 Holmwood and Gurminder K. Bhambra argued that DB scheme was an
684 asset to borrow against:

685
686 The USS pension scheme is a “last man standing” scheme, which
687 means that all institutions are collectively responsible for each
688 other. Should any institution fail (a likelihood that has increased
689 as a consequence of the market reforms to higher education
690 mentioned above) then the assets of other institutions are
691 potentially available for meeting any deficit. This collective
692 backing also enables individual institutions to leverage finance
693 for new buildings etc. Part of the argument for dismantling the
694 DB scheme is – in a competitive market – to stop those
695 institutions without substantial assets themselves being able to
696 leverage the collective assets of the pension scheme to build
697 new buildings that then enable them to compete more effectively
698 with these other institutions. The other reason for dismantling DB
699 is that should any institution wish to come out of the collective
700 pension scheme to become a fully private institution (after the
701 fashion of US private colleges) it is cheaper to buy out
702 obligations under a DC (Defined Contribution) scheme than a
703 DB one.²³

704
705
706

707
708
709
710
711
712
713
714
715
716
717
718
719
720
721
722
723
724
725
726
727
728
729
730
731
732
733
734
735
736
737
738
739
740
741
742
743
744
745
746
747
748
749
750
751
752
753

In the afternoon, two PhD students convened a workshop called “strike/interrupted” which addressed directly the question of mental health, the rise of student suicides and other psychological issues that have become a major problem in the current university system, often exacerbated due to the combined pressure of paying off loans and the need to perform well when so much money is at stake. This was a slow and reflective workshop, quite hesitant in tone ... it was exactly what we all needed, to pause, still striking, to really talk about the emotional impact this long drawn out crisis was having, not only of the strike but the marketization of education overall. There was a lot of anger to process, and doubts began to surface about how the split between “us and them” would get addressed when we on the outside were back on the inside. On the one hand, could we forgive those who had not joined us in this exhausting effort to protect the pensions for the sake of the sector at large; on the other, would they forgive us, for as they saw it, abandoning our students? As the strike approached its final days, these were the questions on our minds.

PROOF ONLY

Day 13: Thursday 15 March – Spinoza on Strike²⁴

Figures 10 and 11.

Thursday 15 March

Picket

9-12pm: 22 Gordon Street

The Counter-Economics of the Strike Teach-Out

9:30am: 22 Gordon Street

Peg Rawes - Some thoughts on the counter economics of the strike.

The Dream University Teach-Out

10:30-11:30am: 22 Gordon Street

Teach out with Pearl Ahrens and Angus O'Brien. This workshop dreams up an ideal university. We'll consider four areas: space, administration, education and research, how we want them to work, and how they interact. The neoliberal university model is failing; let's plan the alternative.

What is Modern Slavery Teach-Out

TBC

Virginia Mantouvalou with Kate Roberts, Head of the Human Trafficking Foundation - What is Modern Slavery?

Bernard Coard Teach-Out

1-3pm: Congress Centre, 28 Great Russell Street

Teach-out with Bernard Coard (Grenadian politician, teacher and critic of institutional racism; helped draft the communist Worker's Liberation League manifesto in Jamaica) hosted by UCL Dept of the Americas, Josh Hollands convening.

Universities as sites of power and resistance: a view from the Global South Teach-Out

3-4:30pm: 14 Taviton Street

This event focuses on universities as political actors in contested societies. Our attempt is to highlight the ways in which universities function as sites of state power and violence as well as sites of resistance. Chair: Dr. Barbara Lipietz, Bartlett Development Planning Unit.

- Prof. Vanessa Watson School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics at the University of Cape Town
- Dr. Catalina Ortiz, Bartlett Development Planning Unit - *Public Universities as enclaves of critical dialogue in the Colombian peace making process*
- Prof. Haim Yacobi, Bartlett Development Planning Unit - *Israel/Palestine: Universities, Militarism and Colonialism in the Occupied Territories.*

Figure 10

Excerpt from www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org, designed and produced by David Roberts. Image reproduced with the permission of David Roberts.

801
802
803
804
805
806
807
808
809
810
811
812
813
814
815
816
817
818
819
820
821
822
823
824
825
826
827
828
829
830
831
832
833
834
835
836
837
838
839
840
841
842
843
844
845
846
847



THE STRIKE CHRONICLE

"AGAINST THE SLOW CANCELLATION OF OUR FUTURE"

Day 13 Dispatch

JOIN US

We are striking all 5 days this week and with colleagues across UCL are organizing teach-outs to provide spaces for positive learning.

DAY 14

Strike Chronicle Write-Out

10-12pm: outside 22 Gordon Street

Strike Chronicle collective write-out

Strength in Numbers Photocall

11:30: Main Quad Entrance

Mass picket to mark end of strike

Governance, Ethics, Divestment Teach-Out

1-3pm: UCL UCU, 52 Gower St

Speakers include Saladin Meckled-Garcia (UCL

Political Science), Jane Holder (UCL Laws), Jane

Rendell (Bartlett School of Architecture), Diana

Salazar (Development Planning Unit), Julia

Schaff (UCL Fossil Free).

Collective Organisation in Architecture Teach-Out

3-4pm: 14 Tavilton Street

Concrete Action on the History of Collective

Organisation in Architectural Practice, including

a live interview with Jonathan Charley from

Glasgow Letters and Space (GLAS). Organised

by UCL Anthropology.

NEXT WEEK

inaugural meeting of the BSA UCU UCL

Tuesday 20 March, 1-2pm, 5.04 22 Gordon St

Bartlett staff & students on strike for education as a public good, accessible & affordable for all

Thursday 15 March: *Spinoza on Strike* Unlucky for some, the 13th day of our strike started with rain ... but by 9.30 the sky cleared, and our picket began with still new striking members joining, support offered from staff members not on strike, and an extremely perceptive talk from our very own Bartlett feminist philosopher Prof Peg Rawes. Peg's 'think out' on the economics on the strike took us back to Spinoza and his concept of ratio, which Peg argued brings together rationality and emotion, so rebalancing much feminist practice which focuses solely on affect and rejects rationality as that inherited from the kind of enlightenment thinking that divides mind and body. Peg suggested that Spinoza's ethics offered a good ethical framework for considering the different modalities of this strike together - **combining a feminist practice of the picket, which acknowledges emotional impact and favours conversation over confrontation, and the extraordinary and reasoned contributions from economists and statisticians.** Their analyses of risk and valuation have provided a deep structural understanding on which our arguments, for example, to reject the offer of 11th March, have been based. We moved onto a great workshop lead by UCL students on re-imagining the university, where the staff and students assembled were briefed - not to discuss the problems with the current model (which was taxing for some!), but to imagine new ones along the lines of space, education & research, and administration. **This was a great place to wonder about the university as cooperative, one that might be located across this city, the world even, with no fees, and no exams or assessment!! Why not do this now, at UCL East, some asked.** Full of utopic impulse, we headed to Congress House. All present admitted their complete exhaustion - we gauged striking to be at least twice as hard as our usual jobs - which as academics is saying something (do we hear a 100-hour week?). But all present reiterated a commitment to win this strike, and to demand nothing less than the *status quo*. This means pushing the strike into term 3, and into the far more volatile area of the exam period. For those with any energy left, there was a more intimate teach-out planned for MA Situated Practices students, at Bank Job, a participatory site-specific installation by artist Hilary Powell and filmmaker Dan Edlestyn in the old HSBC on Hoe St, Walthamstowe. <https://bankjob.pictures>. This brilliant project includes printing new money peopled with the heads of local figures involved in supporting their community in the years of imposed austerity, as well as talks on alternative currencies. And we had a great conversation about economics, education and Marxism. After three hours of sharing perspectives from China, Taiwan, Chile, Canada, the US, Denmark and good old Peckham it seemed like the new university was more than imagined.

Figure 11

Excerpt from *The Strike Chronicle*, edited by Barbara Penner, and excerpted from www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org designed and produced by David Roberts. Image reproduced with the permission of Barbara Penner and David Roberts.

848
849
850
851
852
853
854
855
856
857
858
859
860
861
862
863
864
865
866
867
868
869
870
871
872
873
874
875
876
877
878
879
880
881
882
883
884
885
886
887
888
889
890
891
892
893
894

Friday 16 March

Picket

9-12pm: 22 Gordon Street

Project X Crit-Out

9-1pm: 22 Gordon Street

BSc Architecture and Interdisciplinary Studies, Project X.

Strike Chronicle Write-Out

10-12pm: 22 Gordon Street

Strike Chronicle collective write-out: What have we done?

Governance, Ethics, Divestment Teach-Out

1-3pm: UCL UCU, 52 Gower St

Speakers include Saladin Meckled-Garcia (UCL Political Science), Jane Holder (UCL Laws), Jane Rendell (Bartlett School of Architecture), Diana Salazar (Development Planning Unit), Julia Schaff (UCL Fossil Free).

Collective Organisation in Architecture Teach-Out

3-4pm: 14 Taviton Street

Concrete Action on the History of Collective Organisation in Architectural Practice, including a live interview with Jonathan Charley from Glasgow Letters and Space (GLAS). Organised by UCL Anthropology.

Figure 12

Excerpt from www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org, designed and produced by David Roberts. Image reproduced with the permission of David Roberts.

895
896
897
898
899
900
901
902
903
904
905
906
907
908
909
910
911
912
913
914
915
916
917
918
919
920
921
922
923
924
925
926
927
928
929
930
931
932
933
934
935
936
937
938
939
940
941

For the final day of the strike, the sun came out, and many colleagues from the design studios, specifically the BSc Architecture and Interdisciplinary Studies came out to support us and hold their end of term crit. This second crit-out was less intense than the first, partly due to the softening effect of the sun rather than the snow blizzard, and also with the end of the strike in sight, we felt cheered by the fact that by acting together in solidarity we had achieved something – though at this stage it was not clear quite exactly what!! The playing out of the effect of the pensions dispute was still to come, but across the UK higher education system we found we held in common the same disappointments and disillusionments with the development of a financial model of academia that was being pressed upon us, and shared many of the same hopes, not necessarily for the return of the university in its earlier form, but a form of education that would be more just and fair, organized by academics and students for the public good,²⁶ nothing short of utopia in fact! (Figure 12)²⁷



The final teach-out of the strike, was focused on ethics and divestment. And we finally got to address the issue of what happens to a university when its public funding is withdrawn, and how it searches for investment in the private sector – thus raising the possibilities of conflicts of interest, something I had been heavily engaged in when I stood down from my Vice Dean position in refusing to endorse a financial gift from a fossil fuel company to set up an Institute of Sustainability.²⁸ In that process of resisting the university on this, I became aware of the multiple positions held, from they don't influence us to we influence them, to money has no value, you can take "bad money" and do "good" with it, to state funding is as value laden as private funding.

At the time, in 2013, I was acting on principle, and had no expectation that this event, would lead me into ethics as part of my academic research, and no sense of "critical university studies" as discipline. But it helped me understand first-hand those tensions between logos and bios, between what you say and what you do, and how working between activism and academia is a balancing act – when your activism focuses on an issue outside the university you work for it is less contentious, easier to handle, but when it comes back to bite the hand that feeds, and questions the operations of the university itself, it can start a fire.

The strike did not result in a simple retention of the DB scheme, nor yet have we lost it, the struggle continues through a complex set of twists and turns.²⁹ But while the actions of the UCU management turned out to be a disappointment, the solidarity gained from striking with colleagues, showed me what it means to enact a critique, that is also a hope for change, when you are one of many, not alone. The amazing collection of essays – USS Briefs – written during and after the strike shows what academics are capable of as researchers, but also as a community of activists. The short, clear essays, on the pension strike and

942 connected issues concerning the contemporary academia, are producing
 943 a different university. Writing for USS Briefs a few months ago, Gail
 944 Davies, commenting on the testimonies sent to her by academics
 945 concerning how they felt both during and after the strike, sums it up
 946 beautifully:

948 I am interested in what happens to what universities are, what
 949 universities do, and the kinds of knowledge that universities
 950 produce and reproduce when it is no longer felt possible to meet
 951 the conditions for being with others, in ways that may put the
 952 collective practices of knowledge production at risk.³⁰

954 *

955 When writing about my experience of the UCU strike of 2018 in
 956 “After the Strike” I had no expectation that, just less than a year later,
 957 when returning to the text in response to reviewers and editors”
 958 feedback, I would be revising my words after a further two strikes. In the
 959 year between July 2019 and July 2020, while the writing above the asterisk
 960 made its way through the slow process of academic double-blind peer
 961 review, this writer was on strike for a total of 22 days – eight in
 962 November–December 2019 and 12 (out of an intended 14) in
 963 February–March 2020. These two strikes were organized not only to
 964 continue to defend pensions, but, under the banner of the *Four Fights*, to
 965 directly address key issues impacting academic workers as a result of the
 966 marketization of the university sector, including pay, workload, equality
 967 and casualization.³¹

968 The focus on casualization in these strikes of 2019 and 2020 was
 969 vital in raising the massive problem of precarity in the academic work
 970 force, and because of this focus many more Post-Graduate Teaching
 971 Assistants joined the picket line, and student support was overwhelming.
 972 The solidarity shown by my own students from the MA Situated Practice
 973 and MA Architectural History programmes at the Bartlett School of
 974 Architecture was incredible. At one point in December 2019, while the
 975 first-year students joined staff in teach-outs on the outside of the
 976 building on the picket-line, the graduating cohort masked their final
 977 exhibition, staged on the inside of the building, but visible through the
 978 full-length windows to the street, in black cloth in support of the strike.

979 As reported in two evidence-based pieces of research published
 980 by UCU, in UK higher education 37,000 teaching staff, and around 70% of
 981 the 49,000 researchers in the sector, are on fixed-term contracts, and the
 982 majority of the former are hourly paid. In addition, a further 71,000
 983 teachers, employed as “atypical academics” and as “casual workers,”
 984 have fewer employment rights. They are on the lowest contract levels, not
 985 counted in the main staff record, and yet conduct 25–30% of the
 986 teaching in many universities. Around 50% of them are employed by the
 987 richest “Russell Group” of universities.³² On the first day of the 2020
 988

strike, I spoke aloud these powerful words, taken from the second report, *Second Class Academic Citizens*, which had just been published, on Martin Luther King day – 20 January:

Casualisation renders academic workers invisible and vulnerable, denies them agency, and prevents them from forming a coherent narrative of future work that can render life meaningful. In short, it treats academics primarily as things not people. It is dehumanising, and UCU believes it should be ended.³³

But the visibility of the *Four Fights* strike did not quite reach to the end of that second phase. On the evening of 12 March 2020, reading an “Open Letter to the Trade Union Movement” from *Labor Transformed* encouraged me to close our picket at the Bartlett School of Architecture, UCL, as an act of social solidarity with the National Health Service, and to help to “flatten the peak” of the COVID-19 infection. I posted the message to the outside of our building:

Staying at home and self-isolating is an act of social solidarity, one that ensures that the burden of ill bodies falling onto the shoulders of our brothers and sisters in the NHS is somehow manageable.³⁴

At the start of the outbreak of the coronavirus pandemic, some citizen-academics called not only for governments to take action to protect citizens, but also for universities to close down their site-based activities.³⁵ While the strike had created an interruption to the business-as-usual model of financialized education, pausing the picket signaled the vital need to slow the transmission rate of the virus which was spreading at a rapid rate. As a former scientific advisor has recently made clear, the UK Government’s delay in taking decisive action and installing a “lockdown” has resulted in the unnecessary loss of at least 25,000 lives.³⁶ The COVID-19 pandemic, like a strike, created an interruption. In the space of several months, from the weak and often ineffectual responses generated by populist right wing governments and the stringent measures enforced by more authoritarian ones, as well as the decisions many chose for themselves, from self-imposed isolation, quarantine, and shielding, to physical distancing, the usual patterns of behavior under capitalism – everyday practices of producing and consuming – changed. As a result, annual carbon emissions globally are estimated to have dropped by around 4–7.5%.³⁷

The virus is just one symptom of the ongoing ecological crisis, itself the result of centuries of extractivism perpetrated by colonial capitalism. The Extinction Rebellion protests of 2019 organized to highlight the Climate Emergency have now been joined by Black Lives Matter activists and their allies who demand immediate responses to the

1036 injustices of systemic and historic racism. These emergencies – the UCU
 1037 Strike, the COVID-19 pandemic, The Climate Emergency, and Black Lives
 1038 Matter – have different relations to the ecological crisis and the
 1039 extractive form of neo-liberal capitalism that produced it. Although each
 1040 one has its own temporal mode of intensity and duration, they intersect,
 1041 and interact and amplify each other. It is clear that these ongoing
 1042 emergencies are not going to end any time soon.

1043 So there is no “After the Strike.” There will be no end to interruption,
 1044 no final moment of success, and no return to how things were “before.” The
 1045 future is uncertain, and since we must not return to the past, we have to
 1046 stay in this present, recognizing the ecological emergency as a permanent
 1047 and urgent crisis, doing as Haraway advises – “staying with the trouble.”³⁸
 1048 To do so, we have to remain in that striking state: to stay alert to problems,
 1049 to be oppositional and critical, to withdraw and refuse, but also to hope and
 1050 act. We need to resist our desire for a time after the strike, and instead
 1051 strike in a way where we can rest as well as struggle, and find a way of
 1052 imagining and engendering alternative possibilities together.

1054 **Jane Rendell** (BSc, DipArch, MSc, PhD) is Professor of Critical Spatial
 1055 Practice at the Bartlett School of Architecture, UCL, where she co-
 1056 initiated the MA Situated Practice and supervises MA and PhD projects.
 1057 Jane has introduced concepts of ‘critical spatial practice’ and ‘site-
 1058 writing’ through her authored books: *The Architecture of Psychoanalysis*
 1059 (2017), *Silver* (2016), *Site-Writing* (2010), *Art and Architecture* (2006), and
 1060 *The Pursuit of Pleasure* (2002). Her co-edited collections include
 1061 *Reactivating the Social Condenser* (2017), *Critical Architecture* (2007),
 1062 *Spatial Imagination* (2005), *The Unknown City* (2001), *Intersections* (2000),
 1063 *Gender, Space, Architecture* (1999) and *Strangely Familiar* (1995). Working
 1064 with Dr David Roberts, Bartlett Ethics Fellow, she leads the Bartlett’s
 1065 Ethics Commission; and, with Research Associate, Dr Yael Padan, she
 1066 leads work on ‘The Ethics of Research Practice’ for KNOW (The ESRC
 1067 funded project, *Knowledge in Action for Urban Equality*: PI Prof Caren
 1068 Levy). In 2018, she received the RIBA Research Award for History and
 1069 Theory, for *May Mo(u)rning* her research on housing and psychoanalysis,
 1070 and a UCL Provost’s Education Award for her work on ethics.

1072 Notes

- 1073
- 1074 1. [https://www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org/chronicles/
2018/2/28/strike-chronicles-issue-four](https://www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org/chronicles/2018/2/28/strike-chronicles-issue-four) Campaign, “The “Hostile Environment” in
British Universities,” (20 June 2018)
 - 1075 2. See for example, Unis Resist Border
1076 Controls, “The Hostile Environment:
1077 Racism, and the Value of Migrants in UK
1078 Universities,” #USSbriefs38 (August 8,
1079 2018). See [https://ussbriefs.files.wordpress.
com/2018/08/ussbriefs38_08082018_0801.
pdf](https://ussbriefs.files.wordpress.com/2018/08/ussbriefs38_08082018_0801.pdf). See also The International and Broke
 - 1080 3. [https://www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org/chronicles/
2018/3/5/strike-chronicles-issue-five](https://www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org/chronicles/2018/3/5/strike-chronicles-issue-five) #USSbriefs24. See [https://ussbriefs.files.
wordpress.com/2018/06/ussbriefs24_
200618_1200.pdf](https://ussbriefs.files.wordpress.com/2018/06/ussbriefs24_200618_1200.pdf)
 - 1081 4. [https://www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org/chronicles/
2018/3/6/strike-chronicles-issue-six](https://www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org/chronicles/2018/3/6/strike-chronicles-issue-six)
- 1082

1087

1088

1089

1090

1091

1092

1093

1094

1095

1096

1097

1098

1099

1100

1101

1102

1103

1104

1105

1106

1107

1108

1109

1110

1111

1112

1113

1114

1115

1116

1117

1118

1119

1120

1121

1122

1123

1124

1125

1126

1127

1128

1129

5. <https://www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org/chronicles/2018/3/7/strike-chronicles-issue-seven>
6. <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/features/borrowers-will-universities-debts-pay>
7. Clive Barnett, "The Financialisation of Higher Education and the USS Dispute," #USSbriefs16, (10 April 2018). See https://ussbriefs.files.wordpress.com/2018/04/ussbriefs16_100418_1600.pdf.
8. Barnett, "The Financialisation of Higher Education and the USS Dispute."
9. <https://www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org/chronicles/2018/3/8/strike-chronicles-issue-eight>
10. See Sara Ahmed, *Living a Feminist Life* (Duke University Press, 2017), and Rosalind Gill, "Breaking the Silence: The Hidden Injuries of the Neoliberal University," in *Secrecy and Silence in the Research Process: Feminist Reflections*, ed. Rosalind Gill and Róisín Ryan-Flood (London: Routledge, 2010), 228–244.
11. Jane Rendell, "Critical Spatial Practice as *Parrhesia*," special issue of *MaHKUscript*, *Journal of Fine Art Research* (2016). <http://www.mahkuscript.com/articles/10.5334/mjfar.13/>. See Michel Foucault's lectures on *Parrhesia* (1983) edited by Joseph Pearson as *Fearless Speech* (Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 2001).
12. Michel Foucault, *Fearless Speech*, ed. Joseph Pearson (Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 2001), 97.
13. Gail Davies, "Goodwill hunting after the USS Strike," #USSbriefs66, (10 January 2019). See <https://medium.com/ussbriefs/goodwill-hunting-after-the-uss-strike-3b2e302d0dc7>
14. Jenny Andersson, "Solidarity or Competition? Creating the European Knowledge Society," in *European Solidarities: Tensions and Contentions of a Concept*, ed. Lars Magnusson and Bo Strath (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2007), 295.
15. Gerald Raunig, "Instituent Practices: Fleeing, Instituting, Transforming," in *Art and Contemporary Critical Practice: Reinventing Institutional Critique*, ed. Gerald Raunig and Gene Ray, trans. Aileen Derieg (London: MayFlyBooks, 2009), 3–13, 10–11.
16. <https://www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org/chronicles/2018/3/12/strike-chronicles-issue-nine>
17. Henry A. Giroux's *On Critical Pedagogy*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2011).
18. <https://www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org/chronicles/2018/3/13/strike-chronicles-issue-ten>
19. My original copy, edited by Barbara Penner for the *Strike Chronicle*, issue 11. See <https://www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org/chronicles/2018/3/14/strike-chronicles-issue-eleven>
20. <https://www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org/chronicles/2018/3/14/strike-chronicles-issue-eleven>
21. Anna Minton's *Big Capital: Who is London for?* (London: Penguin, 2017).
22. Barnett, "The Financialisation of Higher Education and the USS Dispute."
23. John Holmwood and Gurminder K Bhabra, "The Pensions Dispute and the Marketisation of Higher Education," #USSbriefs3, (3 April 2018). See https://ussbriefs.files.wordpress.com/2018/04/ussbriefs3_030418_10001.pdf
24. <https://www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org/chronicles/2018/3/15/strike-chronicles-issue-twelve>. See also my original copy for the *Strike Chronicle*, issue 13. See <https://www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org/chronicles/2018/3/16/strike-chronicles-issue-thirteen>
25. <https://www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org/chronicles/2018/3/16/strike-chronicles-issue-thirteen>
26. There are many versions of possible new kinds of university, such as a co-operative, as recommended to me by David Cross, see for example, Mike Neary and Joss Winn's, "The Abolition of the University: Beyond Public and Private: A Framework for Co-operative Higher Education," *Open Library of Humanities* 3, no. 2 (2017) 2, see <https://olh.openlibhums.org/articles/10.16995/olh.195/> or The Silent University, recommended to me by Thandi Loewenson, see <http://thesilentuniversity.org>
27. See for example, Grace Kraus's blog, <http://blogs.cardiff.ac.uk/rsrc/2018/03/12/sadness-and-solidarity-the-strike-as-utopia/>, also recommended to me by Thandi Loewenson.
28. Jane Rendell, "Giving an Account of Oneself, Architecturally," Special Issue of the *Journal of Visual Culture* (2016).
29. See USS Briefs for a range of articles on the current situation, one of the most helpful summaries is Nick Hardy, "USS pensions dispute: The state of play," #USSbriefs65, (19 December 2018).

- 1130 30. Davies, "Goodwill hunting After
1131 the USS Strike."
1132 31. [https://www.ucu.org.uk/media/10715/
1133 Our-four-fights/pdf/ucu_four-fights-
1134 explainer.pdf](https://www.ucu.org.uk/media/10715/Our-four-fights/pdf/ucu_four-fights-explainer.pdf). For an excellent
1135 discussion of the distinction between
1136 financialization, commodification and
1137 marketization see for example, Ewald
1138 Engelen, Rodriguez Hernandez, and
1139 Reijer Hendrikse, "How Finance
1140 Penetrates its Other: A Cautionary Tale
1141 on the Financialisation of a Dutch
1142 University," *Antipode* 46, no. 4,
1143 (2014): 1072–1091.
1144 32. See UCU, *Counting the Costs of
1145 Casualisation in Higher Education: Key
1146 Findings of a Survey Conducted by the
1147 University and College Union* (June 2019).
1148 [https://www.ucu.org.uk/media/10336/
1149 Counting-the-costs-of-casualisation-in-
1150 higher-education-Jun-19/pdf/ucu_
1151 casualisation_in_HE_survey_report_
1152 Jun19.pdf](https://www.ucu.org.uk/media/10336/Counting-the-costs-of-casualisation-in-higher-education-Jun-19/pdf/ucu_casualisation_in_HE_survey_report_Jun19.pdf) (accessed July 16, 2020) and
1153 UCU, *Second Class Academic Citizens: The
1154 Dehumanising Effects of Casualisation in
1155 Higher Education* (January 2020). This
1156 report is based on research conducted by
1157 Nick Megoran and Olivia Mason of
1158 Newcastle University, endorsed by UCU,
1159 with a foreword by Chi Onwurah, MP for
1160 Newcastle Central, and launched on
1161 Martin Luther King Day 20 January 2020.
1162 [https://www.ucu.org.uk/media/10681/
1163 second_class_academic_citizens/pdf/
1164 secondclassacademiccitizens](https://www.ucu.org.uk/media/10681/second_class_academic_citizens/pdf/secondclassacademiccitizens) (accessed
1165 16 July 2020).
1166 33. UCU, *Second Class Academic Citizens*.
1167 34. "An Open Letter to the Trade Union
1168 Movement from Labour Transformed,"
1169 see [http://links.org.au/britain-
1170 coronavirus-social-crisis-open-letter-
1171 trade-union-movement-labour-
1172 transformed](http://links.org.au/britain-coronavirus-social-crisis-open-letter-trade-union-movement-labour-transformed) (accessed June 25, 2020).
1173 35. See Warren Pearce, Reputation Over
1174 Responsibility: UK HE and the Covid-19
1175 Crisis," #USSbriefs92, (12 March 2020).
1176 [https://medium.com/ussbriefs/
reputation-over-responsibility-uk-he-
and-the-covid-19-crisis-dc0b5745e429](https://medium.com/ussbriefs/reputation-over-responsibility-uk-he-and-the-covid-19-crisis-dc0b5745e429)
36. See [https://www.independent.co.uk/
news/uk/politics/uk-lockdown-
coronavirus-death-toll-neil-ferguson-
a9559051.html](https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/uk-lockdown-coronavirus-death-toll-neil-ferguson-a9559051.html) (accessed June
25, 2020).
37. [https://www.cnet.com/news/covid-19-
lockdowns-caused-an-extreme-
reduction-in-carbon-emissions/
\(accessed July 10, 2020\).](https://www.cnet.com/news/covid-19-lockdowns-caused-an-extreme-reduction-in-carbon-emissions/)
38. Donna Haraway, *Staying with the
Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene*
7 and 35.

References

- 1160 – Ahmed, Sara. 2017. *Living a Feminist Life*.
1161 Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
1162 – Andersson, Jenny. 2007. "Solidarity or
1163 Competition? Creating the European
1164 Knowledge Society." In *European
1165 Solidarities: Tensions and Contentions of a
1166 Concept*, edited by Lars Magnusson and
1167 Bo Strath. Brussels: Peter Lang.
1168 – Barnett, Clive. 2018. "The Financialisation
1169 of Higher Education and the USS Dispute."
1170 #USSbriefs16, 10 April 2018. [https://uss-
1171 briefs.files.wordpress.com/2018/04/uss-
1172 briefs16_100418_1600.pdf](https://uss-briefs.files.wordpress.com/2018/04/uss-briefs16_100418_1600.pdf).
1173 – Davies, Gail. 2019. "Goodwill Hunting After
1174 the USS Strike." #USSbriefs66, 10 January
1175 2019. [https://medium.com/ussbriefs/good-
1176 will-hunting-after-the-uss-strike-
3b2e302d0dc7](https://medium.com/ussbriefs/goodwill-hunting-after-the-uss-strike-3b2e302d0dc7)
– Haraway, Donna. *Staying with the Trouble:
Making Kin in the Chthulucene*. Durham,
NC: Duke University Press.
– Engelen, Ewald, Rodriguez Hernandez, and
Reijer Hendrikse. 2014. "How Finance
Penetrates its Other: A Cautionary Tale on
the Financialisation of a Dutch University,"
Antipode, 46, no. 4: 1072–1091. doi:10.
1111/anti.12086
– Foucault, Michel. 2001. *Fearless Speech*,
edited by Joseph Pearson. Los Angeles:
Semiotext(e).
– Gill, Rosalind. 2010. "Breaking the Silence:
the Hidden Injuries of the Neoliberal
University." In *Secrecy and Silence in the
Research Process: Feminist reflections*,
edited by Rosalind Gill and Róisín Ryan-
Flood. London: Routledge.

- Giroux, Henry A. 2011. *On Critical Pedagogy*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Holmwood, John, and Gurminder K. Bhambra. 2018. "The Pensions Dispute and the Marketisation of Higher Education." #USSbriefs3, 3 April 2018. https://ussbriefs.files.wordpress.com/2018/04/ussbriefs3_030418_10001.pdf
- Minton, Anna. 2017. *Big Capital: Who is London for?* London: Penguin.
- Neary, Mike, and Joss. 2017. "The Abolition of the University: Beyond Public and Private: A Framework for Co-operative Higher Education." *Open Library of Humanities*, 3, no. 2. <https://olh.openlib-hums.org/articles/10.16995/olh.195/>
- Pearce, Warren. 2009. "Reputation over Responsibility: UK HE and the Covid-19 Crisis." #USSbriefs92, 12 March 2020. <https://medium.com/ussbriefs/reputation-over-responsibility-uk-he-and-the-covid-19-crisis-dc0b5745e429>
- Raunig, Gerald. 2009. "Instituent Practices: Fleeing, Instituting, Transforming." In *Art and Contemporary Critical Practice: Reinventing Institutional Critique*, edited by Gerald Raunig and Gene Ray, translated by Aileen Derieg. London: MayFlyBooks.
- Rendell, Jane. 2016. "Giving an Account of Oneself, Architecturally." *Architecture, Journal of Visual Culture* 15, no. 3: 334–348. doi:10.1177/1470412916665143
- Rendell, Jane. 2016. "Critical Spatial Practice as Parrhesia," *MaHKUscript*. *Journal of Fine Art Research* 1, no. 2: 16. <http://www.mahkuscript.com/articles/10.5334/mjfar.13/>
- The International and Broke Campaign. 2018. "The "Hostile Environment" in British universities." #USSbriefs24, 20 June 2018. https://ussbriefs.files.wordpress.com/2018/06/ussbriefs24_200618_1200.pdf
- UCU. 2019. "Counting the Costs of Casualisation in Higher Education: Key Findings of a Survey Conducted by the University and College Union." June 2019. https://www.ucu.org.uk/media/10336/Counting-the-costs-of-casualisation-in-higher-education-Jun-19/pdf/ucu_casualisation_in_HE_survey_report_Jun19.pdf
- UCU. 2020. "Second Class Academic Citizens: The Dehumanising Effects of Casualisation in Higher Education." January 2020.
- Unis Resist Border Controls. 2018. "The Hostile Environment: Racism, and the Value of Migrants in UK Universities." #USSbriefs38, 8 August 2018. https://ussbriefs.files.wordpress.com/2018/08/ussbriefs38_08082018_0801.pdf

