RESISTANCE IN AND OF THE UNIVERSITY: NEOLIBERALISM, EMPIRE, AND
STUDENT ACTIVIST MOVEMENTS

by

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Abstract

In a time of global neoliberal precarity that follows from perpetual war, uncontracted and heightened forced global migration to name a few contemporary violences, there has been a noticeable rise of protest both nationally and also localized to university campuses in the United States. Experiencing the historical weight of racism, classism, sexism, ableism, and nationalism on college campuses, students are claiming public and digital spaces as sites of resistance. These movements trace connections to the accomplishments of the civil and academic rights movements of the 1960s, by again and still asking for institutional responses to white supremacy and systems of oppression (Ferguson, 2012) while realizing they take different shapes due to the international, national, and local forces that call them into being. This paper provides some preliminary mapping of the student activist and institutional responses to student movements. Necessarily, my work also historicizes the how the university is shaped by national and global political and economic violence and structures—namely, neoliberalism and empire. Using feminist, queer, and critical race theory as my theoretical and methodological frameworks, I examine two case studies of student protest: The University of California, San Diego of 2009 and the University of Missouri in 2015. I ask questions about the production of student political subjectivity, as both process and product. Using what Guattari and Rolnik (2008) term capitalist subjectivity, I am particularly interested in analyzing how a particular, perhaps alternate kind of student (activist) political subject(ivity) emerges in/out of confrontation with the university's normative student subjectivity, but nonetheless constituted in relation to it. This thesis works within a historico-political moment (2009-2015), and hopes to both interrogate and understand the university, its strategic gains for social justice, and what we make of its role in the here and now.

Preface

This thesis is original and independent work of the author, K. Carey. Parts of Chapter 1 have

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PROLOGUE

21 September 2014
About 150 students congregated at the bottom of the university's sloping hill, with a tense combination of excitement, exhaustion, and anxiety emanating from their eyes and bodily movements. Cars were shuttling sleeping bags and blankets to a nearby house that was volunteered to hold the belongings of those who were preparing to stay overnight in the university's Admissions office. After driving one of the cars, I arrived back to the spot just a minute before one of the organizers, a 22 year-old African-American woman, began calling everybody into line. Rather quickly, the densely packed group of people made their way up to the newly renovated, red brick building. As soon as we entered, ten students moved quickly, taping off areas where people could sit, having researched the fire code regulations the night before. Members of the Association of Critical Collegians (ACC) made homes out of various corners of grey carpet—some sitting and finding spaces to read, others grabbing some of the already prepared red and black spray painted cardboard signs to head outside: diversity not diversion, community not conformity, reclaiming our education. I hear Chimebere's voice cracking as she continues to chant, her body already exhausted and yet the volume comes from some unknown place inside her small body. There are already tears. This is the first time anyone outside of our house is allowed to see them. Students were taking a stand on the kinds of oppression they faced within the campus community, and demanding attention.

Standing on the stone steps, we noticed an employee from Buildings and Grounds standing nearby the building (one of the only people of color employed on campus) directing those who worked in the Admissions office to head down to the student union. It was clear that the university had been aware of what the ACC had planned for that Monday morning, and had made plans to address the situation—that is, ensuring that business could take place in the form of an alternative space. From the first few moments of what would turn into a 100 hour-long sit-in demonstration, the administration of the university took measures to ensure that outside of the Admissions Office, the institution's daily functioning would continue as usual. Tours, information sessions, and other events related to the self-marketing of the university were simply dis-and re-located, and staff were trained accordingly. A movement started with two weeks of underground planning, initiated by four women of colour, both beginning and regulated within ten minutes of its commencement.

24 September 2014
There were seven of us at the table. Four women of colour, a representative from communications, the dean of the college, the university president. It was as if the president had been studying power poses—I noticed his swift movement from standing tall, fingertips poised in a steeple in front of his chest, to both of his palms flat on the varnish, straight-backed over the wood, to his constant pacing around the room. We were in the middle of what would be a five-day sit-in demonstration; it was Wednesday. I asked him about the email he ostensibly sent yesterday, while we were sitting in these exact positions. There were two, actually: one that asked the student movement to take down a post on Twitter that was supposedly "inaccurate," and another to the wider campus community. The person from communications responds, betraying the heavy drafting process of the email, the number of eyes that it crosses in its path, the submission into an automatic system where it then goes out to the university. A brief tangent before we get back into the messiness of negotiating the administration's response to our list of 21 action steps. And the power stances resume.

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The conversation stalled at the demand addressing either the elimination of Greek life or the addition of multicultural sororities and fraternities. I feel the rate of my anxiety increasing in tandem with the volume in the room: there is yelling back and forth, Kori fills the room with precise reasoning, knowing her audience, as to the effects that fraternities have in cultivating rape culture, mental health distress, as spaces that breed offensive racial and sexist slurs and actions. The president responds that this is not going to happen; that if students just listened to the administration about how to manage events and parties, none of these things would be an issue. Kori counters saying we will not leave until this is resolved; the president cuts her off, saying that this just isn't possible; Kori says that a lot of things aren't possible, but that doesn't mean… Slam. The president slams his palms on the end of the wooden table and yells, no. And for the first time in three days, the room is silent. We look at each other, unsure what to do, how to feel, what our next course of action is. The representative from communications suggests we break for the day. The four of us go downstairs, nearly collapsing into the wood railing that holds us as we walk. I can feel the exhaustion in the beads of sweat on the back of my neck, ears ringing as professors ask us whether we would consider an exit strategy, as first year students look at us eagerly, waiting for affirmation that their social media posts were beautiful, just as they are.

4 December 2014

I could feel the darkness of the clouds set in with the turning of the seasons, dead leaves crunching as I ran to check on the third person with a suicide scare that week. Despite the success of the weeks and months prior, with tangible gains and steps forward made by the university administration, the university was in crisis. It came after the lack of indictment for Eric Garner and Michael Brown—and another set of demonstrations that asked the campus community to listen. The United States was in a state of emergency, and students responded to student protesters with death threats. Students of colour are haunted by the footsteps of those following them around campus, followed home by anonymous voices in cars yelling racial slurs, throwing objects, email inboxes full of threats about women's bodies, about heads smashing into walls, about cuts to be made. The glares on our backs like daggers, menacingly and constantly following our gait. It was a change, I realize, from our previously invisible stature to one of dangerous hypervisibility.

I never walk alone—but always keeping track of those closest to me. "Have you heard from Natasha today"; "Hey, when's the last time you talked with Dayna;" "Where are you going? Alone? Will you text me when you get there? Let me go with you." Adding to a campus culture that already breeds precarious mental and physical states, the added threats did none of our fretting much good.

And soon enough I find myself up the stairs of the house, watching eight police officers storm into my bedroom. I hear Melissa's body hit the wall, and my head drowns out the screams of Edwin and Jordan, yelling at the officer three times her size. I look for her face, and my eyes land on shivering bodies. I see a stretcher, eight white bodies restraining one Black body. Eight white bodies with guns holding one Black body. And it doesn't seem so different from the national movement we were all fighting against, anymore. As I sprint down the stairs I keep a running tape of my friends names and whereabouts replaying in my head. I feel my legs moving fast as we are suddenly outside, yelling for each other, begging Frank to get in the car so we can go—so we can follow the paramedics. I hear the air exiting my lungs in the form of screams. I hear Christelle screaming as she is still holding the Bible close to her chest, pleading to get us to the hospital as fast as we can. I am in the car. And my eyes race frantically around me as the

car pulls out of my house's driveway, and I realize that all of the police cars are gone--that all of the people are gone. And I entertain the idea that the five women who are hyperventilating in this car now must look as though they have lost their minds. The darkness taunts me as I bow my head to pray for the first time. Our father, who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name... my atheist head has it memorized by the end of the car ride. I open my eyes as we enter the fluorescent lights of a medical center that I've never seen, but a space that is, too, haunted with the familiar sterile and clean spaces of the university machine.

Two days later, I leave campus with 20 other women of colour, on "personal/medical leave." We finish our assignments from a house a few hours away from the university.

I return in January. And it seems nothing has happened, at all.

I want to begin a discussion on US universities, student activism, and the whiteness of space by drawing upon an important ideation of how vectors of power run through us, how new kinds of precarity both demands and engenders new forms of sociality—of ways of knowing and being in the world. Since this series of moments three years ago, I've been consumed with questions of the university machine. How do we walk through its walls? How are our intellectual projects, mental precarities, day to day interactions shaped by its historicities and cultures? Can we ever define our own political subjectivity—as students, as teachers, as participants in its functioning? How do we push back against the many vectors of power that run through us? Should we? The narratives I began with remain irreconcilable, unfinished, mostly inexplicable—and both germane and also not—to my thesis research. My thesis is concerned with US universities, student activism, and neoliberalism and empire as traced through student movements in the past fifteen years. The previous narratives are my own, and while not taken from the two case studies centred in my formal paper, offer insight into how I arrived here. Scenes of protest, university administration, and states of unsafety on university campuses, while unique to bodies and circumstances, are also familiar to many. Their placement reminds us that this project is haunted. Following Alexis Pauline Gumbs (2010), while there is a birth in these pages, there is also baited breath, ghostly matters, and, too and always, death. I find this integral to my project on the political subject and subjectivation: feelings, such as my own, take up a kind of historical

residue in the intricacies of political situatedness, theoretical mapping, and scholarly context. Even if, as Audre Lorde (1987) reminds us, we were not meant to survive, that maybe this work is a place where we might. In a similar vein to how Robin Kelley (2002) provides a historical mapping of new visions that look to transform both our sources for political imagination and ourselves, I hope that my thesis remains an active archive in a historico-political moment—a moment I delimit to the early 2000s through to 2015 in the United States.

INTRODUCTION

In a time of global neoliberal precarity that follows from perpetual war, uncontracted labour and heightened forced global migration to name a few contemporary violences, there has been a noticeable rise of protest both nationally and also localized to university campuses in the United States. Experiencing the historical weight of racism, classism, sexism, ableism, and nationalism on college campuses, students are claiming public and digital spaces as sites of resistance. These movements trace connections to the accomplishments of the civil and academic rights movements of the 1960s, by again and still asking for institutional responses to white supremacy and systems of oppression (Ferguson, 2012) while realizing they take different shapes due to the international, national, and local forces that call them into being. Additionally, and with the recent rise of national social movements for racial equity, campus activism harnesses that energy in its movement against institutionalized racism within university politics. This thesis calls attention to student activism on campuses that are both historically and contemporaneously situated in cultures of whiteness and heteropatriarchy.

This thesis interrogates the space of the public university in the contemporary United States through the lens of student protest, while simultaneously taking on the project of understanding both the limits to university protest (student subjectivation and subjectivity, the corporate university, institutions) and also the demand to know it, and to know its effects and affects within neoliberal capitalism (Brown, 2015), the carceral state (Davis, 1983; Shakur, 2005), and in "somewhere in advance of nowhere" (Cortez, cited in Kelley, 2002, p. xii). I hope to take up this process in its complexity through two case studies, the 2010 student protests at the University of San Diego, California and the 2015 student protests at the University of Missouri. The former is characterized by student responses to anti-Blackness on campus, and then

continued response to the $513 million in budget cuts in the University of California system. At this time, this was one of the first notable instances of students of colour organizing and action, and I draw attention to this movement because the university was unsure how to respond. The second case unpacked in this thesis is set at the University of Missouri during the fall of 2015. This campus was but one of over 100 universities involved in demonstrations against institutionalized racism, and during the third year of the #BlackLivesMatter, or, the Movement for Black Lives, in the United States. The series of demonstrations and movements, detailed in this project, provide a complex and important terrain for analysis with regard to its political agenda and university/community response. I turn my attention to these two protests as not necessarily a marker of comparison, but rather to trace what was happening within their sequential historical context as well as to think critically about how their protests and the institutional reactions were also very much shaped by the political context of the United States in the early 21st century.

The intention and scope of my project is the formation of the student-activist as political subject. I will examine the ways that institutional histories interface with interpersonal histories, and what this means for the production of the student. Following Foucault (1989), we must understand how it is that human beings are made into subjects, and as subjects that signify the state, being subject to another's control and obtaining an identity position. If we are, as he intimates, to understand the development of the modern state—and here I might suggest the development of the modern educational institution—we must look to the "antagonism of strategies" against power relations (p. 329). Put differently, the resistance betrays the power of the institutions. Therefore, I spend time thinking through the structuring of moral economy of the political subjectivity: the creation of the good citizen, and conversely, the bad activist. More so, I am interested in the management of the student-activist. If, as Moten and Harney (2004,

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2013) further suggest, "governance is the management of self-management," I aim to provide some preliminary mapping of the student activist, as traced from 2010 and 2015, and what their movements look like both against and within the institutional response to that activism. Recognizing the gap of United States' student protest movements from the 1960s until the early 2000s during the Clinton Era, this thesis will historicize the emergence of the university as directly affected by national and global political and economic violence and structures—namely, neoliberalism and empire.

As scholars of critical educational studies have suggested, institutions of higher education in the United States operate in an environment imbued with values legitimated by our economic system (Readings, 1996; Tuchman, 2009; Washburn, 2005). Following political theorists, such as Tayyab Mahmud (2012) and Wendy Brown (2015), I understand neoliberalism to name an economic and historical moment that engenders social and political conditions of being. In this sense, the neoliberal present, named as such, suggests not only configurations of the nation-state, but also the ways in which economic terms come to inform individuals' own thinking, feeling, relations, and interactions with one another. In the context of the university, neoliberalism and privatization work through both its structures and community.[1] The drive for corporate profit and the rise of a particular and neoliberal individualism in relationship to subjectivity—as I will offer, that which emphasizes interiority—contextualize how these values influence and become embedded within university culture. Specifically, terms such as accountability, logic, and efficiency are rehearsed within spaces of higher education, moulding the university as a

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[1] Mahmud (2012), writing about the relationship of debt and discipline in the neoliberal moment, uses a Foucauldian analysis to state pointedly that "neoliberalism has transformed the state rather than driving it back—'the outcome [is] not implosion but reconstitution.' Consequently, rather than directly determine subjectivities, governmentality forms a 'habit of subjectification' within fields of operation demarcated by law" (p. 470, citing Peck & Tickell, 2002, p. 388-9; Rose, 1999, p. 178, respectively).

corporate machine. The historical relevance of the university, its inception as a space of cultural imperialism and legacies of academic repression, policing of (racialized/queer/marginalized) bodies, and militarization of education provide some context to the university as both a corporate and imperial space.

Using feminist, queer, and critical race theory as my theoretical and methodological frameworks, I ask questions about how student activism interfaces with the university space, how both the movements in our case studies and their interaction with each university might resist, confirm, refract and/or retain these tropes, and further, how a particular kind of student political subject(ivity) emerges in/out of confrontation with the university. Realizing the heavy escalation of student activism in the past two years, this project seeks to be in conversation with and fill in the space of university student movements' contemporary resurgence.

Methods & Frames

Didion (1984) poses as rhetorical, but also perhaps invites as a real question, "what is going on in these pictures in my mind?" (n.p.). The proposed research project emanates from my own experiences as a student activist, and my attempts to string together, tear apart, dis-member and re-member their unfolding. Like Didion, I believe the stories we are able to tell enable us to live more meaningfully, reflectively, and lead more just lives. Following important work by feminists of color (e.g. Anzaldúa, 1999, Behar, 1997, Lorde, 1987 among many others), theorizing my own experiences, has both helped make sense of myself and also engendered new questions. In some ways, my background as a student activist grants a certain kind of legitimacy and legibility to the work I want to bring to the table. However, and simultaneously, I struggle with my own representation woman of colour who often presents as white. I have a different kind of representational relationship than many of the more visibly racialized bodies that were

and are part of the movements spoken to in this thesis. Though my body is regulated in other ways—as queer, as a woman—power emplaces itself differently on my skin. I articulate these thoughts not because I have an answer as to how I negotiate these tensions in practice, but rather, because grappling with their complexity might provide another lever that I might use in doing this work. The systems of oppression that keep my relationship to this project complicated are precisely that which this project seeks to address. My experience as a student activist is what drives my passion for this project—the organizing that is happening on college campuses in the United States is more than of note, and certainly not to be dismissed. Its urgency, in a time of incredible violence, demands attention.

The genesis of this project, evidenced by the narratives that open up this work, has much to do with my experience organizing at my undergraduate university but additionally is invested in recent and trending commentary on student activism by many. Gaining traction, it seems, are perspectives on student activism from everyone except those involved in the movements themselves—it seems, at least, that no one has wanted to ask "them." While productive critique is a powerful way to disrupt ideological certainty and other sedimentations, I question the intention of critique without providing space for understanding and respecting these movements with relationship to the university terrain on which they are enacted. With demands for students to be more resilient, questions are hardly asked about from what they are expected to be resilient from. Those that say that building name changes are unproductive, while perhaps constructive in certain kinds of ways, refuse to name the very conditions that create this as students' most strategic and legible option as a tactic of university change. These examples point to a critical juncture in current analyses of student-led protest movements on university campuses. With this project, I hope to more holistically approach this complex terrain. It is for similar reasons that I have chose to weave what are traditionally segregated sections (e.g. literature review, data

analysis) into and throughout the three sections following. The integration of voices, both historical and present, offers an opportunity to situate the case studies within the development of critical literature within higher education.

The use of case studies rather than a large survey approach is a common qualitative method that allows the exploration of an in depth understanding of a phenomenon. Rather than a broader overview of universities, as a route that could be taken in the project, the case study allows for microscopic analysis.[2] Following in the epistemic vein of Strega's (2005) concept of research as resistance, this project aims to open up dialogue for the ways in which research can act and enact hope through aiming to articulate the nuances of experience that can often be overshadowed within the breadth of surveying. The two case studies: first, a series of student protests at the University of California, San Diego in 2010, heightened by racialized incidents on campus and budget cuts. The second, a student's hunger strike and mass group protest at the University of Missouri, in response to anti-Blackness and racism amidst other unjust budget cuts on campus.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) as method is necessarily weaved throughout the body of this thesis. Critical Discourse Analysis was first coined by Norman Fairclough (1980), and encompasses a multi-layered approach and intersection in order to understand how to read our world. He notes that while the primary form of critique that becomes associated with CDA is ideological, it is important to understand CDA as a tool for three forms of critique: "ideological, rhetorical, and strategic" (Fairclough, p. 12). Ideological critique seeks to understand the ways

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[2] Yin's (2009) definition of the case study suggests "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in its real life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p. 13). The latter part of this definition is particularly important to the subject of universities and student activism as we understand certain kinds of student protest as produced due to the conditions of the university space. The case study offers a more holistic approach that remains useful in that they are also bounded by time and activity (Stake, 1995).

in which social relations act as a site of transfer for power, rhetorical critique speaks to the persuasive mechanisms used in individual texts in order to articulate certain ideas of grandeur, and strategic critique looks towards the strategies used by "groups of social agents" for the aims of ideas produced within the previous two forms. Through rhetorically analyzing the material produced by the University of California and the University of Missouri, in addition to the ideological and strategic critique engendered through the very act of naming the university as a space imbued with power, I find CDA central to my work. The particular kinds of discourse that I speak to specifically, come from the living archive(s) which students produced and are producing on the Internet. That is, while the university might not have an institutionally recognized memory of the events, students have meticulously logged their writings as well as those produced by the university in order to ensure living memory. Thus, CDA comes into careful play in my analysis—as students both assert their own subjective truths and present the truths that their administrations put into written circulation.

In a larger and more long-term project, other methods that I might use include ethnographic methods. However, given the limited time and scope of this project, discourse analysis offers an important way to understand the ensemble of ideas and their representations in the world. Following Foucault (1979), discourse both reflect and shape the way we experience the world around us—that is, an analysis of discourse is an analysis of what people say and do. Its reverberations, alongside and intertwined with that of institutional analysis, shape this project.

This project is composed of three sections, each of which might speak, in some way, to the unreconciled opening narratives that remain in the opening of this work. I want to embrace the unresolved grey area, to hold it as an indicator of the continuing and necessary narrative that this project must keep writing. While this project is divided into three sections, the narratives' insertion serves as an indicator of the dissatisfaction of this open-ended story.
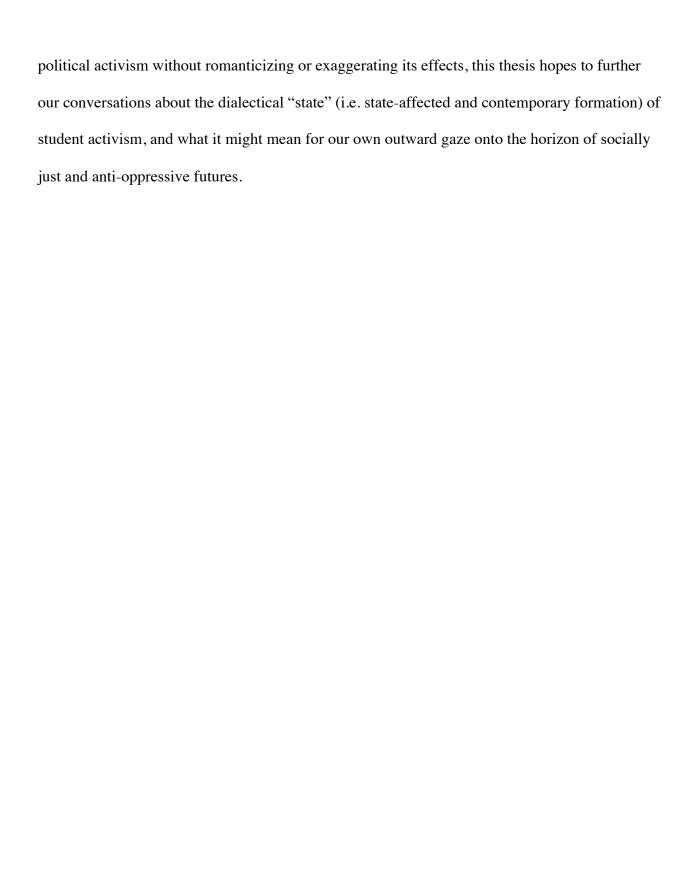
The first section, entitled *the corporate and imperial university,* will contextualize the U.S. university through its historical formations and evolutions. As seen through global and national political contexts, we can trace the university as both a corporate and imperial space, affecting how we understand the geography of higher education. Further, there is a plethora of theoretical scholarship on institutions and their functions, interpellations, and political lives in which I am deeply invested. The aforementioned literature plays a pivotal role in laying the foundational work for this project. I will explore how institutions structure our relationships between the material world and an embodied world, and in particular, how political, cultural, and affective forces construct not only our physical surroundings, but also the conditions moderating how subjects come to be recognized as thinking and feeling beings. Neoliberalism and empire play two integral roles in those subjectivations.

The second section of this project, *points in time and space: San Diego & Missouri,* will use the literature as the groundwork by which one might understand two university spaces, student movements, and institutional reactions. The University of California, San Diego protests of 2010 and the University of Missouri demonstrations of 2015 offer examples across temporality through which we might understand the changing institutional climate of the public university. Realizing the kinds of limitations emplaced on this project in terms of both time and necessary scope, I limit my analysis to case studies in order to provide a snapshot of university terrain. While these studies are about particular places with material effects and affects on people and institutions, this project also seeks to open conversation about university life, cultures, and spaces. The specificity of the institution both matters and it does not in that they could also represent a number of other spaces of similar kind. Looking at patterns, similarities, and emulations of institutional response and student activism across time and geographical space offers a worthy opening in thinking about these ideas in higher education.

The third and final section is entitled, *subjectivity, regulation and cleaning,* and makes a theoretical and literature based argument about institutional responses to student activism, namely through the pathologizing of certain (racialized, gendered, classed) bodies in the creation of what I term the moral economy of institutions. Drawing from Foucault's (1979) concept of the economy of discourses of truth, I will argue the ways in which the university creates mechanisms whereby certain students are made "good citizens" and others, "bad activists." It is examining this dichotomy that provides insight into what I have previously mentioned as the "cleaning" of institutions—that is, the ways in which universities sanitize and absorb student dissent into their very structures.[3] The institutional and campus community responses offer an important lens for understanding both the state of the public university and its limitations, especially with consideration and ware of the future into which we enter. Given historical evidence that shows how the university became affected and afflicted by state policy, the political state at the time offers a bit of context for the resurgence of student activism at the start of the new millennium. Especially given the more commonplace rhetoric that dismisses youth and student activism today (consider Malcolm Gladwell's popular piece, *Small Change: Why the revolution will not be tweeted*, or Lukianoff & Haidt's commonly cited *The Coddling of the American Mind)*, I find there are important and more critical conversations to be had regarding today's college campuses.[4] In calling attention to the political economy of youth social and

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[3] In the same way that critical geographers have theorized projects of urban gentrification in terms of cleaning, containment, and control as a "cleansing of the built environment and streets from the physical and human detritus…to make the city over into a pleasant site of and for bourgeois consumption" (Wacquant, 2008, p. 199), elsewhere I analyze the cleanliness of the university space—the cleaning and sanitizing movements of activism and dissent (Carey, 2016).
[4] Most of the scholarly work on student activism in the United States has taken a retrospective look at the varied and widespread mobilizations of the 1960s, and many lack the conversational bridge between those movements and that which we see today (e.g. Coomes, 2016, Franklin, 2014). While some, such as Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor's (2016) important book offers an insightful analysis of the historical grounding and emergence of #BlackLivesMatter, particularly

political activism without romanticizing or exaggerating its effects, this thesis hopes to further

our conversations about the dialectical "state" (i.e. state-affected and contemporary formation) of

student activism, and what it might mean for our own outward gaze onto the horizon of socially

just and anti-oppressive futures.

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in conversation with how historical foundations of social organizing offer might help discern our
contemporary moment of protest. It is my aim to do this with activism localized to universities.

CHAPTER ONE: Institutions of Higher Education

> *They say we have too much debt. We need better credit, more credit, less spending. They offer us credit repair, credit counselling, micro-credit, personal financial planning. They promise to match credit and debt again, debt and credit. But our debts stay bad. We keep buying another song, another round. It is not credit we seek nor even debt but bad debt which is to say real debt, the debt that cannot be repaid, the debt at a distance, the debt without creditor, the Black debt, the queer debt, the criminal debt. Excessive debt, incalculable debt, debt for no reason, debt broken from credit, debit as its own principle…*
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> *The student is not home, out of time, out of place, without credit, in bad debt. The student is a bad debtor threatened with credit. The student runs from credit. Credit pursues the student, offering to match credit for debt, until enough debts and enough credits have piled up.* --Stefano Harney and Fred Moten, "Debt and Study"

In zeal to examine the (im)possibilities of doing social justice within the increasingly corporatized and imperial space of the university, many scholars have noted the proliferation of "experiential learning" or "service learning" study abroad programs to the global South (e.g., Abdi & Shultz, 2015). Often nested within buzzwords such as globalized citizenship, globalization, and internationalization, these programs tend to be framed within narratives and moral economies that articulate their aims and content as being inherently good (Zemach-Bersin, 2007). In the U.S. context, this usually has to do a sense of self-mastery, cultural exchange, and an unsettling experience, all the while boosting the global reputation of the university itself as a global, liberally minded, institution (e.g., Zemach-Bersin, 2007). In a competition over full-fee paying students, universities have capitalized on a colonial fetish (i.e., global) of looking *outward* for new markets and new economies of scale for undergraduate education. The global is the space of exotic intrigue; a space of conflict; and a space of new possibilities for educational enhancement (e.g., Breen, 2012). Through experience and service (i.e., doing/action), students are interpellated into good subjects: going out into a world that has problems that they, they are told, can assist in helping to fix. There is moral credit to be gained out there in the world of

debt-ridden "third-world" countries, not to mention the possibility for economic and cultural credit, too.

Simultaneously, and perhaps dialectically, over the past five years institutions of higher education in the United States have been spaces of other kinds of experiential educations and service learnings with the rise of student activism on campus. Experiencing the historical weight of racism, classism, sexism, ableism, and nationalism on college campuses, students are claiming public and digital spaces as sites of resistance. Much like their contemporaries in the streets of Santiago, Chile or Cape Town, South Africa, American college students are turning their gazes *inward*—to the university itself—as not only a contributor to global coloniality, sexual violence, and global militarism, but perhaps as the most egregious perpetrator (Gay, 2015). While thousands of students have been and are demanding that their universities take a stance on the systemic oppression they face in their communities and that they actively disinvest from institutions such as private prisons to the state of Israel, critics of student movements have named them "angry," "over-sensitive," "coddled," and too "*inexperienced*" to make claims of state violence, racism, and hostile learning environments. These students have been positioned within a moral economy of ungratefulness for all the things their universities have provided for them. In other words, and in attempt to silence student voices, universities and critics have endeavoured to remind the public that they are indebted to the university; that without the university, their future would be all but impossible: they would have very bad credit.

Existing within (and often reflecting) the violences of modernity, institutions of higher education have disentangled these assemblages to create moral economies of the good and bad subject. It is the tension and co-constitutive nature of these two disparate productions of the student-subject—the good, outwardly global, student and the bad, internally critical, activist— that informs my approach to research on contemporary student activism. This production lives

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within the contemporary university space, in its both increasingly corporatized (e.g. Washburn, 2005) and imperial (e.g. Chaterjee & Maira, 2014) formations, (re)producing the violence of consumer culture, knowledge as venture capital, academic containment, and institutional control. This thesis will explore both the political subjectivity of the student activist and also the political subject of student activism as traced through two movements, both organized in response to neoliberal and imperial symptoms of the university space: the University of California protests of 2010, and the University of Missouri protests of 2015. Towards the latter part of this project, I will return to the concept of the construction of moral economies in relationship to the student activist and bad/erasable student subject. For now, I want to call attention to the historical tracings of the university as they foreground my own thinking in how the university and its culture is continually shaped by global and national political, economic, and cultural forces.

The corporate and imperial university

While scholars such as Bok (2013) and Geiger (2015) have taken to task the historical mapping of higher education in the United States from 1604-onward, my point of analysis is the transformation of the "modern" university, a model based on the confluence between liberal arts and democracy, to the "post historical" university (Readings, 1996). The former emerged during the rise of the Welfare state and Keynesian economics, generating the rise of governmental participation in ensuring the public good, and centralization (Judt, 2010). In recognizing the Deweyan concept of the school as a microcosm of society, the university was also focused on the formation of community, intellectual pursuit for the sake of the common good, and the collective over the individual (Washburn, 2005). During the 1970s, we begin to see the decline of the Welfare state, and can draw parallel declines through the decentralization of the university. With the rise of privatization, a diminishing of the social contract between citizens, and the cult of

privatization that we now recognize as big businesses and corporations, (Judt, 2010), institutions of higher education underwent radical transformation. Around the 1980s, the university separated into what Washburn (2005) terms Humanists and Scientists, with separately operating professional schools. The university also de-emphasized undergraduate teaching as its professional rewards structure and shifted towards individual research and publication (p. 46-7).

Giroux's (2002) definition of "corporate culture" is important for its contextualization in higher education. It refers to:

> an ensemble of ideological and institutional forces that functions politically and pedagogically both to govern organizational life through senior managerial control and to fashion compliant workers, depoliticized consumers, and passive citizens…in which citizenship is portrayed as an utterly privatized affair whose aim is to produce competitive self-interested individuals vying for their own material and ideological gain (p. 429).

Echoing Giroux's ideological assessments, we might also observe the ways in which the current condition of higher education in an increasingly globalized and interconnected world has taken on a particular relationship with states and markets. Slaughter & Leslie (1997) name this emergence 'academic capitalism', and analyze its two main components. The first element they interrogate as structural, related to neoliberal policy that has recently re-structured higher education through funding streams, influential linkages in organizations, and regulations that have tied the academy to the state and market. The second is behavioural/cultural, and addresses the market-like actions and ideologies that affect the individual actors and overall culture of higher education. Recognizing the former is both relevant and necessary to my project: since culture is inherently and perpetually informed by structure, I illustrate the cultural aspects of how universities engage in excellence and self-evaluation, positioning of students as consumers and trustees as managers, and the ways in which these processes get mapped onto and shape university life.

Additionally, Chaterjee and Maira (2014) trace the roots of the university as an imperial space to the historical legacy of academic containment and repression in higher education. Noting three moments of ideological policing—World War I and the McCarthy era of the 1940s-1950s, the COINTELPRO era from the late 1950s to early 1970s, and the post-9/11 era—the authors use historical data to explain the university's contemporary imperializing effects. The logic of academic containment and academic freedom emerged co-dependently, beginning in the United States during World War I. Chaterjee and Maira argue that especially as the professoriate began to build strength at the end of the nineteenth century, there were only a few scholars who dissented or challenged the status quo. As Schrecker (1986) evidences, the conception of "academic freedom" materialized as a way to pacify this minority. However, with the "relative insecurity" that was felt by many in the profession, "the exclusion of ideas as well as behaviour that the majority did not like [created] an increasingly internalized notion that advocacy for social change was a professional risk for academics" (Chaterjee & Maira, 2014, p. 23)[5]. The

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[5] The notion of academic freedom, according to the AAUP's Seligman Report of 1915, was embedded in the "overall status, security, and prestige of the academic profession" (Schrecker, 1986, p. 18). Furthermore, Readings (1996) conception of the posthistorical university notes the ways in which the university's purpose shifts from national intersects to national interests in globalization. The surveillance of the university thus is integral for economic globalization, as well as the development of human resources and human and material capital. Thus, academic freedom is deeply bound with academic containment—and here I would argue this might is not only expressed in the policing, surveillance, and disciplining of what kind of scholarship is/can be produced, but also, in that very process gest defined through and by the state. Moten's (2017) analysis on academic freedom (in relation to the Modern Language Association's decision to not join the movement for Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions of the Israeli state) implores us: "Perhaps we should be moving and thinking against state-sanctioned, terror-defined academic freedom, intellectual normativity's oxymoronic mode of being, which is only instantiated by way of exclusion and honored always and only in its non-observance, which (neo-)liberal defenders of it administer constantly through any number of vicious and brutal forms of evaluative regulation. Consider the profound structures of unfreedom within which students everywhere, and of every age, must operate. Academic freedom is the condition under which the intellectual submits herself to the normative model of the settler… It is left to us not only *not* to assert a right to this irreducible violence of thought and *poesis* but also, and rather, to assert that its existence

imperial containment of what *is able* to be produced in the university both constructs and articulates its own limitations, directly tied to its historicity.

Neoliberalism and empire offer two processes through which to understand how institutions structure our relationship to both a physical and embodied world. They offer insight into not only how our economic and political structures filter through university spaces, allowing institutions to exhibit a kind of muscle memory with which they have enacted historical violence, but also enable a complex process of subjectivation. Neoliberalism and empire inform the ways in which individuals' come/are called into being as thinking and feeling subjects. In the context of the university, it is both a self-informed position and one of reception: "the institute 'institutes' the body that is instituting" according to Ahmed (2013), who further notes that this process is done "without that body coming into view." Informed by neoliberalism and empire, Ahmed's analysis of institutions and institutional habits both foregrounds and opens a conversation regarding the whiteness of institutions.

Arising out of feminist and critical race scholarship, explorations of institutions and conceptual understandings of the institutional bodies and subjects are crucial to unpacking their (re)affirmations over time. Sara Ahmed (2013) cites philosopher Merleau-Ponty's (2010) model of the habitual body in explaining that time is "the very model of an institution," in that it is simultaneously a beginning and an end (p. 7), or what Ahmed suggests is "a realization and destruction…if an institution is to open something, then an institution is also that which has begun; it is both the order already given to things, and something that disturbs an order of things; a re-ordering is a new ordering" (p. 1). This guides my understanding of the organization of institutions, and particularly institutions of higher education. Not only does an institution create,

is before rights, before the state that constructs and guarantees rights by way of a range of modalities of exclusion that can only be ours to refuse" (2017, n.p., emphasis original).

or institutionalize; but also when it does, the process gets disrupted in relation only to what has already begun or been assembled. Supporting thinkers in sociology, political science, and economics regard the emergence of 'the new institutionalism' as concerned with understanding institutions as processes rather than fundamental and static structures. Rather than assuming their existence, scholars such as Nee (1988) and Ahmed (2013) among others have attempted to give an account to how institutions take form, especially as reflective and reflexive of their surrounding political, economic, and social climates. Considering the university as a neoliberal, corporate, and imperial university space, we can begin to unpack the kinds of institutional bodies produced in the here and now.

Thus, what Ahmed (2013) names as the institutional body suggests that this problematic is not only about how bodies inhabit institutional spaces, but also involved with 'the mechanisms whereby certain bodies come to be assumed as the right bodies by an institution' (Ahmed, 2013: 4). Enacting what Bourdieu (1977) terms the 'habitus', certain bodies act and inhabit the movements that the institution itself deems productive. That is, it becomes relatively easy for certain bodies to survive and thrive within the institutional space, and further discipline themselves into performing well in that space. Theories of critical whiteness studies suggest that whiteness operates as neutral within most institutionalized spaces, giving name to what kinds of bodies are able to claim space, or are deemed an institutional body. For instance, Dyer (1997) suggests that whiteness defines itself by having no content—a negation that is crucial to its own security of occupying that position. Wielding this power, then, is manifested in how white bodies not only fulfill expectations of and abide by cultural codes of the institution, but also refuse to see why it is that other bodies, or identities, are out of place, or not included. Habits of whiteness, and the ways in which they get (re)articulated through the lenses of neoliberalism and empire, are the very forces which students both historically and presently mobilize against.

University spaces & student activism

In his important book, *Unmaking the Public University*, Christopher Newfield (2008) methodically outlines the ways in which the rise of neoliberalism with Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher directly contributed to the shape of public universities, and more specifically, the ways in which they responded to campus protest. While political response to student activism took a tone of gravity in the early 1960s, Reagan himself and his administration articulated that the university had turned into "a haven of protesters and sex deviants," and therefore served as a political threat to the good and rising nation shaped by free market capitalism (p. 52). Reagan's political movement was indeed responsible for defining the "deserving American as white, middle-class Christian conservative without taint of conscious contact with the social state" (p. 53). This is especially important for our own analysis for shaping both how and why our historical account of student activism is seemingly absent from the late 1960s until the early 2000s. While, as Roderick Ferguson suggests, student movements from the sixties pointed to "an academic moment that helped rearticulate the nature of state and capital," creating the academy as "a training ground for state and capital's engagement with minority difference as a site of representation and meaning" (p. 11), the Reagan administration of the early eighties directly targeted liberal and multicultural humanism. In other words, state formations of neoliberalism not only created economic policy and cultural codes, but also was characterized by "attacks on downwardly redistributive social movements," in its working toward a pro-business climate both within and without the university.

Following political theorists such as Tayyab Mahmud (2012) and Wendy Brown (2015), I understand neoliberalism to name an economic and historical moment that genders social and political conditions of being. In this sense, the neoliberal present named as such suggests not only configurations of the nation-state, but also the ways in which economic terms come to

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inform individuals' own thinking, feeling, relations, and interactions with one another. Neoliberalism is characterized by the drive for corporate profit and the rise of individualism, and also by terms such as accountability, logic, and efficiency. As an economic/political project and also a process of subjectivation, neoliberalism names a material relationship, a force that constructs our physical surroundings and the intangible conditions moderating how subjects come to be recognized as thinking and feeling beings. Following Ferguson (2012), minority difference functions in neoliberalism as a kind of "fetishization."[6] Thus Foucault's (1982) theories of regulatory power and the subject proves useful here, as we can understand not only the regulation and control of the subject, but also the creation of the productive subject, the neoliberal subject, the subject that is able to pass through systems of power in order to both survive and thrive within power that is both individualizing and totalizing at the same time. As for its effects on universities, Reagan's era made palpable the idea of political correctness bashing, giving birth to the culture wars, therefore destabilizing any claims to oppression and discrimination on college campuses.

The kinds of public policies articulated above are exemplified during the Clinton administration at the end of the 20th century. Because of the culture wars, concepts of race and civil equality had been underhandedly slandered, reducing acumen sensibilities towards important historically reparative steps such as affirmative action. The Clinton Administration's evisceration of the welfare state with policy such as the signing of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act, allocating $10 million to prison construction, the death penalty and reduced funding for prisoner education, as well as increased racial profiling and police

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[6] Ferguson (2012) conceives of the role of minority difference within neoliberalism as a relationship of fetishization—that is, the "hegemonic affirmation of minority difference" through the dismantling of affirmative action, increased incarceration of people of colour, and other kinds of regulatory and institutional forces that articulate control over certain populations (p. 205).

surveillance. Further, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act

pressured states to reduce welfare rolls, causing state governments to strategize ways to deter

people from applying for welfare. The result was a complicated and degrading application

processes to weed out the "criminal element," which assumed all those applying for welfare as

potential criminals (Judt, 2010, Nadasen, 2016). Thus, this punitive approach to eliminate

poverty invoked fear of racialized street crime and the breakdown of the family, in addition to

threatening the drain of public funding. Resulting from the inculcated neoliberal state of the

1980s, driven by independence and concepts of self-reliance, the crises of affirmative action and

creation of the "New Economy" inspired advocates for racial justice to organize around a new

term that would be recognizable to sentiments of the American dream and white middle-class:

diversity.

In a convincing win in the Supreme Court in 2003, diversity and decisions around the use

of affirmative action returned to political discourse. That is, in the Supreme Court's re-

authorization of affirmative action efforts was created as a market standard in businesses and

other sectors of social and political life, including universities. Da Silva (2016) illuminates the

ways in which affirmative actions originary proposal as a route for reparations was then folded

into what she terms a "social inclusion agenda" (p. 195). Diversity, in this sense, had nothing to

do with racial equality or "cultural agency" as Newfield (2008) describes, but rather, it was an

input into military and economic security: another mode by which bodies were made legible to

institutions. The case marked affirmative action's purpose as not to necessarily address

historical wrongs, but rather to benefit the state by making individuals and institutions more

prepared to operate in a global economy. Materially, and within higher education, despite the

incorporation of the discursive formulation of diversity, we see shifts in both the decreasing of

full-time professors who are people of colour and women, while the sectors of higher education

most like service work sees increased integration. In other words, diversity becomes

implemented and managed through stratification rather than social and political structure re-

haul—what political Marxists such as David Harvey (2003) and Jamie Peck (2010) might term

flexible labour, increasingly racialized and thus, disposable. In conversation with notions of

progress, while diversity becomes recognized into spaces of higher education, there are very

little tangible effects of justice felt by communities of colour.[7] The student movements that are

analyzed in this thesis are representative of continued feelings of dispossession and displacement

within institutions of higher education, expressed by students who were prepared by fields of

study to think critically about their own experiences as college students in this post-affirmative

action/diversity moment. It is the political forces and spaces of leverage that have opened for

their momentum and ability to hold onto something material that enables their traction and

ability to hold space.

The liberal university

The historical foundations regarding the politics of recognition and "diversity" comes to bear on

our contemporary understandings of its both discursive and material effects within higher

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[7] Denise Ferreira da Silva (2016) writes exactly on this in her article, "The Racial Limits of
Social Justice: The Ruse of Equality of Opportunity and the Global Affirmative Action Mandate."
In arguing that because communities of colour are "governed by necessity—that is, by violence,"
she articulates two logics of racial subjugation as exclusion and obliteration. When policies are
formed to address the former but not the latter, there are limits to justice in that it works With
relationship to the shifting of the terrain of the university, to only mobilize a "thesis of
discrimination" rather than a more nuanced analysis of the state's collusion in colonial violence
and white supremacy, "raciality works from within the liberal text checking the ethical claims
and the juridical strategies available to those demanding remedies to address the effects of racial
subjugation" (p. 190). According to Da Silva, the state-centred/institutionally structured
approach to governing (as opposed to an historical redress) "reproduces the *occlusion* of colonial
expropriation and *oblivion* to injuries to racial subaltern collectives"—though a material shift in
some ways, still pronounces and emulates an adherence to the state that governs by/through
violence (p. 190, emphasis original).

education. With recourse to Ahmed's articulation of the whiteness of institutions, and thinking

alongside other feminist and critical race scholars who speak to cultures of whiteness in

institutions of higher education[8], the politics of inclusion and exclusion on university campuses

has been critiqued as superficial and insufficient to solve many of the problems we face in higher

education. Diversity, both historically and presently, becomes incorporated into institutions,

while "diversity management" (Ahmed, 2012, p. 13) becomes a mode of regulatory power

(Foucault, 1979) by which the institution might regulate conflict and dissent.[9]

Following from Marx, living in new kinds of (neoliberal) precarity demands new forms

of sociality. That is, new political and economic climates engender new kinds and ways of

protest. We might note this in the kinds of activism visible in the 1960s: similar forms of sit-ins

and protests, however, issues that both related to a moral component and foreign policy. In the

decades following, the drastically changing economic and political climate in the United States

and the rise of sciences and professional fields also contributed to a hostile political climate that

foreclosed possibilities of student protest.[10] As much critical work on student activism leaves

hanging past the 1990s, it is my hope that this project will, in some sense, also serve as a

historical archive to help continue the mapping of the place of student activism within the

changing university and national climates. This thesis hopes to provide some sort of connective

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[8] For this argument, see for instance Alexander, 2005, Applebaum, 2010, Torres, 2003 among others.

[9] Chandra Mohanty (2003) pronounces this well as she argues that diversity is a discursive tool that "bypasses power as well as history to suggest a harmonious empty pluralism," in congruence with M. Jacqui Alexander (2005) who notes their manipulation as rhetorical tools to "manufacture cohesion" (p. 164). Further, Bonnie Urciuoli's (2016) work on diversity and its ability to "add value" as an "imagined neoliberal object" is an important resource in thinking through racial identities as categorized within university spaces.

[10] As one example, and with recourse to Newfield's (2008) work on the dismissal of campus protest during the 1980s, Altbach and Cohen (1990) provide an astute analysis and historiography of political, economic, and social conditions that contributed to an absence of student activism.

tissue to the moving gears of the political landscape of the university, its student movements, and the United States' economic, political, and cultural contexts.

In the next chapter's examination of two university case studies, I will consider how the specific demonstrations at the University of California San Diego and the University of Missouri both came into being despite and because of contemporary epistemic and political violences. Questions of efficacy, while useful and will be looked at in some senses, are also not my primary mode of analysis. For a protest to be "effective" one need look at multiple realms: effective for students looking for a mode of survival, effective for material changes in the institution, effective for public understanding about personal experiences, and so forth. This thesis is more concerned with the ways in which institutional and interpersonal memory come together to shape the dynamic ecology of the university space. I argue that we must direct our attention and dubious wanting into understanding its radical potential and limitations; hope and despair; lightness and darkness. Is it possible, as the above epigraphs from Harney and Moten suggest, to get beyond a moral economy of good credit/bad debt in the university setting in order to enter a different purview of higher education in a moment marked by nothing short of interminable threat?

CHAPTER TWO: Points in Time and Space: San Diego & Missouri

Together with scholars who understand neoliberalism as a time of perpetual suppression—or, to use Lauren Berlant's (2007) language, starvation—this section asks questions about students' feeling unsatisfied in a time of neoliberalism, and how they look for ways to live within bad debt. Student activism, like studying abroad or community service, might indeed be used as a sense of nourishment, although regulated in such a way that denies its nutritional value, moral credit, fulfillment. To do so, I will attempt to unpack these complications as contextualized within the recent resurgence in student activism in the United States—namely an examination of two student movements: student response to neoliberal reforms at the University of California, San Diego in 2010, and *Concerned Student 1950*, an underground student organization formed against anti-Blackness in 2015, at the University of Missouri.

The University of California, San Diego

"Real Pain, Real Action"

Real Pain, Real Action. Real Pain, Real Action. The call and repeat echoes through the sea of young student faces, stained with tears, voices cracking with each refrain. A young woman stands in the centre, her fist raised with the megaphone, voice louder as her body fights through exhaustion. Another student hears his cue as her chanting begins to peter out, not missing a beat to jump into to lead the chorus. The video shows a well-oiled machine, responsive to one another, sharing in a public moment that it seems has been simmering, slow and steady. Slow and steady.

In the lecture hall, students of colour rise to give their accounts of campus climate: "the email said that people should 'act and dress ghetto—that people usually have gold teeth, start fights and drama, and wear cheap clothes'", and others voice their fears that this was going to be seen as an isolated incident. A young man stands up, surrounded by a community of peers patting him on the shoulders as his lungs breathe anger, to sadness, ending on an innocent question: look at what we're bringing students into. How can you tell them this is place would be good for them? The Vice Chancellor stutters, looks at the floor, and breathes a sigh. Her comrades are ready, too, as the Dean of Students stands up to respond…

In February of 2010, the hanging of a noose on University of California, San Diego's (UCSD) campus, the latest in a series of racist events, ignited student protest. In the months prior, a fraternity hosted a themed party, "Compton Cookout" in attempt to mock Black history month, a KKK hood was found on the steps of the library, and one of the university's comedy groups defended the party using racial slurs while airing on a student funded television show. Student response to these separate though obviously related events was both formal and informal— driving some to occupy the Chancellor's office, leading to a six-hour sit-in. The demonstration asked the university to address the visible manifestations of racism at UCSD. No less than two weeks later, the Black Student Union was driven to organize once again, in response to $513 million in budget cuts in the University of California system. It is the conversation of these two movements: first against institutionalized racism in overt forms, and then against the privatization of universities and more insidious forms of racism, that draws my attention to UCSD. Furthermore, in doing the preliminary research to find out what happened during these movements, important to note is that all of the links related to the University for this list of demands are now deactivated—the only spaces where one might find them in their completion are on social media sites such as YouTube and Tumblr, and one archived article in *NewUniversity*, the University of California at Irvine's student-run newspaper. The institutional memory of these protests is close to nothing, and had it not been for students' diligent archiving, might have been erased all together.

Prior to the events of racial terror, and as expressed by a graduate student at the time, Aaron Gurlly, "the campus has been pretty silent about racism and nobody, until now, says nothing" (quoted in Archibald, 2010). Despite concurrent media coverage that claimed otherwise, the Black Student Union (BSU) had an organized list of 32 demands to "better fund diversity efforts on campus," entitled *State of Emergency!*. Beginning with the morning after a

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violent student fee-funded television show made to taunt the celebration of Black History Month, hundreds of students walked through the main academic areas of campus, yelling "Real Action, Real Pain," and urging a response from school Chancellor at the time, Marye Fox. In the videos documenting the beginning of the protests, the students express to the Chancellor about the television show, the noose, the KKK hood. In addition, and during the first reading of the BSU's demands for the university, some found a piece of paper with the words "Compton Lynching" lying on the floor of the student television network's studio. In these videos, we hear the campus administrators responding with claims to free speech, the Vice Chancellor stating, "At the same time that the university embraces this display, the university has an obligation to respect all points of view" (Marshall, 2010a, February 24). While this remark is met with anger and frustration from students in the audience, fearing for their safety as they walk around UCSD's campus, much of this conversation is diverted when the Chancellor keeps pressing the need for an upcoming Teach-In and university campaign, complete with buttons, entitled "Racism: not in our community."

The campaign started by UCSD's administration came in the form of buttons with graphic designs and a small teach-in that was only accessible to a small part of campus. The former, as scholars such as Ferguson (2012) articulate, not only begins to brand the movement into part of the university structure, but also individualizes the violence to a couple of perpetrators. Similar to the ways in which structural violence often gets blamed by a few individual interactions (e.g. Fanon, 1965, 1967), the university attempted to employ a cultural solution for what is an institutional, and structural problem. The corporate space of the university draws attention to how their response both advocates responsibility for breeding a culture of racism and oppression, but also creates something marketable that they can run through the institution. The Teach-In, also sponsored by the university, was completely planned

by the administration with no conversation with the students that started the protests. For this reason, the self-construction and therefore limitations of the space, the BSU staged a walk out of the Teach-In, resulting in the need for the administration's own reassessment. The reclaiming of space was central to their movement, calling out: "Whose University? Our University" (Liautubes, 2010).

In the coming days, students and administrators would come together to discuss the 32 points that the students put forward. While most of the UCSD administration is white, it is important to note who was put in lead of the talks. Not the chancellor, but rather the Vice-Chancellor for Resources Management and Planning, Gary Matthews. While Matthews was a member of the UCSD senior administration, he was chosen because he was the only Black senior administrator. This choice not only discerns a symbolic representation of "dealing with" the students, but also calls attention to a transpired fear of engagement with the differences in lived reality between Black students and students of colour and the rest of the campus community. Ahmed (2012) speaks to the ways in which representation is a strategic move. I want to extend her analysis in that not only is it one of self-representation maintenance, but also self-protecting in that university administrators might then be absolved of personal work and reflection.

The demands put forward by Black Student Union ranged in content from university hiring and retention of faculty of colour, the creation of a Black resource centre, releasing the remains of the Kumeeay tribe, to providing more counselling and financial resources to students of colour on campus. Using language of a hostile learning environment for Black students, stating:

> "The Black Student Union calls you to support us in this struggle to heal the underrepresented student community and to create a healthier campus climate at UC San Diego. Students are exhausted and tired of bailing this institution out by developing our

student initiated outreach, retention, and yield efforts and maintaining and sustaining them with our own student fees" (Black Student Union, 2010).

As explicated in this statement, one of the key messages of the BSU is the fact that they are tired of the institution not providing the proper financial and educational supports for Black students to thrive at UCSD. While they advocate for "diversity" and for the admissions of more Black students—at the time making up 1.3% of the student population—their clear inability to support those student while they are on campus takes a toll on students both individually and collectively. In one of the videos posted where the Chancellor is talking through the demands with the BSU, one of the most heated moments comes when Chancellor Fox read the action point regarding increasing the number of African-American students on campus. She states, "there is nothing that the university would like more than to do exactly that, increase the number of African-Americans. We can only do that if you believe we need to go forward together." This loaded statement provoked a number of students to yell out that they had been helping, in surprise, outrage, and exasperation. A male student was moved to tears as he states, "we haven't been helping? I've been meeting every single Wednesday meeting with every single Black student on this campus. We haven't been helping? That's bullshit. I'm a student. This shouldn't be my job. I'm not getting paid for that. We haven't been helping? Come on." (Marshall, 2010b, February 25).

The voicing of exhaustion—an affect I would argue is under-theorized in the language of universities—is important here as we think about life within the increasingly neoliberal and imperial university. Deleuze & Uhlmann (1995) and Moten (2013) both speak to ideas of to exhaust and to be exhausted. That is, it is to both exhaust all possibilities of a current state, but further "trumpets a movement from the subject of politics to the subject of life" (Moten, 2013, p. 775). Exhaustion as a theorization allows for another form of sociality—to be so exhausted with

and by the present such that one needs to look for something different. In this students voicing

of exhaustion, not only is there previous unspoken expectation that this student be there for the

other Black students on campus, which he does willingly, but the fact that the administration

implies that they are unaware of this fact is particularly of note. This is one of the many ways in

which we see communities of colour providing invisible infrastructure for the university,

undervalued and underappreciated yet completely relied on by the institution.[11] This kind of

containment and self-regulation we might understand as an effect of power—of, too, institutional

habits. The support that students of colour are expected and necessitated to provide for one

another relates directly to the climate of the university that demands it so. Furthermore, the

exhaustion as emplaced within the neoliberal and corporate university draws us to the student's

comment that this "is not [his] job." With recourse to the university as an increasingly corporate

and neoliberal space, there are a few ways one might understand this comment, to no fault to the

student. The student frames talking and caring for his peers as a job only because the university

has positioned it as such—he is told time and again that he is there to be a student. To be a

student in the neoliberal university does not *necessarily* involve community care work but rather

individual study. The feelings of indignation therefore come from the routinized practice of

recognizing time as money; of care work as ancillary to one's work at the university, which, by

definition of the university itself, is the consumption of knowledge.

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[11] I hope to expand on this in a future project with relationship to the feminization of Cultural Studies (e.g. Readings, 1996), women as invisible infrastructure (e.g. Brown, 2015), and the emotional labour often emplaced upon female academics within the university (e.g. Green, 2015). I want to argue that while it is within spaces of Cultural Studies, Women's Studies, Ethnic Studies, etc, that are expected to talk about systems of oppression, pain, and feeling, it is this that then seemingly allows bureaucratic structures to undermine their legitimacy of "rigorous." Too and further in conversation with Tayyab Mahmud's (2012) work on how underneath neoliberalism, welfare is replaced by self-care. However, these spaces are invisible infrastructure in that *without them*, without some forum of legitimation and academic process, the university might be hope to protest much more regularly, students would embody much more precarious mental and physical states, and feelings would remain unprocessed, underfelt, unexperienced.

While this narrative is countered in subtle ways throughout the protest, namely with faculty members reminding students that is in these moments where much of their lifelong learning takes place, the exhaustion that the student expresses speaks to a very real condition of pain and frustration as a Black student on UCSD's campus. Prior to these events, student of color wellbeing was not part of the larger conversation of the university. It was, ultimately, the physical threat by other students in order for the institution to take seriously the kinds of mental and spiritual violent conditions in which students of color were/are living. Throughout the video series, the university chancellor uses phrases that continue to individualize the problem of racism: "you will feel safe on this campus"; "we don't want you to feel isolated"; "you've got to tell us when these incidents happen" (Marshall, 2010b, February 24). The students are not silent, however, constantly contesting the administration's words and asking astute questions about institutionalized racism. One student comments on the students responsible for the noose and television show, "If you expel them, then they just teach their kids to do the same things they did. You have to educate them. You have to." (Marshall, 2010, February 25). In an interview, Dr. Daniel Widener, professor of Modern American History at UCSD, also voiced the integral relationship between education and relevant historical articulations:

> "I think the most important thing for viewers and listeners to understand is that the students are battling not only a campus climate of intense hostility… but a tremendous amount of history. California voters have passed a series of racist initiatives, really over the last forty years, opposing fair housing, dismantling affirmative action, criminalizing youth, attempting to criminalize undocumented immigrant populations. So there's really a social basis for an intense racism that aims to maintain Black people as a surplus population to be jailed and Latino people as a disposable population to be kept as a semi-permanent socioeconomic underclass. So, education is a critical part of that. And on a campus where our numbers are almost a statistical anomaly, we face just a tremendous amount of both neglect and active hostility."

Recalling our analysis of the way that universities are shaped by social and political policy, Widener's analysis draws attention to the normalized hostile environment for students of colour.

The BSU and students involved were, indeed, pushing against the resegregation of higher education—taken up further with the neoliberal budget cuts, examined in the following section.

"Everything that's happening is just a symptom of a disease."

Following the two weeks of racial terror and turmoil on campus, UCSD hosted a state-wide day of action of educational justice and educational equality that took place across the country. According to Fnaan Keflezighi, co-chair of the BSU, the day had been planned months in advance. The timing coincided well with both the university's deliberations and response to the BSU's previously demanded points, and also parallels the situation with the racial campus climate. The day of action is in response to a massive movement against public higher education through forms of "layoffs, fee hikes, cuts, and the re-segregation of public education" (USCD Ed. Justice, 2010). Institutions such as UCSD, others in the University of California system, and public institutions nationally made statements saying "there is no alternative" to the budget cuts, which would take away directly from education and social services. The organizing posters, made by a student at the New School in New York City evidence not only a national dialogue of the day for educational justice, but also point out a nuanced understanding of the dangers of privatization.[12] As argued previously, the university as both a corporate and neoliberal space has real effects and affects on individual persons, academic departments, and university cultures. Their nexus is represented by the leadership and organizing of the Black Student Union, as they called attention to not only overt manifestations of oppression on campus, but also further its

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[12] The posters use language that directly calls out the "market conditioning" of education and "policed life" of those in the university, which lies in direct conversation with scholars such as (Chatterjee & Maira, 2014; Harney & Moten, 2013; Tuchman, 2009) in their analysis of the neoliberal and the imperial sediments on university campuses.

more insidious forms shrouded in language of public policy, "there is no alternative" (USCD Ed Justice 2010).[13]

In pushing back against this rehearsed narrative, the leaders of the educational justice movement and, in tandem, UCSD's BSU, organize around a principle of liberation that does not commit one to the same neoliberal and imperial frames in which they are situated. During the March 4th rally, Dr. Ivan Evans (a Black Professor of Sociology, at UCSD) addressed how there are (at least) three periods/phases of racism. The first he names as laws and explicit legislation, the second as the hostile campus climate, and the third as the privatization of the university and the increasing of tuition. He states, "in a very quiet and a very legal way, they will eliminate you on this campus," and speaks directly to the students in stating that the struggle is the same struggle, that this is a quiet and insidious manifestation of the continuing kinds of climate students and faculty are facing. In conversation with scholars such as Giroux (2002) and Ahmed (2012), this remains recycling yet of dynamic importance in the neoliberal and imperial space of the university.

Emphatically, Fnaan Keflezighi relays that the university administration has agreed to their demands; that they won in terms of getting the university to change. Her tone is cautionary, however, as she notes the ways in which the university told them that departments such as Ethnic Studies do not work towards "diversity" more than other programs do. She says, "they are taking pictures of us signing documents because this is historic, and yet, there is so much more" (JusticeUCSD, 2010a). What I find deeply important in the analysis of this movement is how it was students who brought together this fight of anti-privatization and systemic racism on

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[13] Wendy Brown (2015) argues that "neoliberal rationality…its reality principle, and its worldview—"there is no alternative"—consecrates, deepens, and naturalizes without acknowledging this despair" (p. 221). In then unpacking how neoliberal reason self-legitimizes and presents its market reasoning as the only option, she argues, it forecloses any kind of future speculation/utopic discussion on beyond our normative powers of knowledge, reason, and will.

campus. Their connections of imperial residue and neoliberal turning of the institution articulates an important exemplary moment where students are not "just complaining" about "unsafe" spaces, but rather making astute historically and politically based claims of how we might collectively address hostile environments cultivated in higher education. In describing the situation, one student in the BSU points out, "Everything that's happening is just a symptom of a disease. A really large disease. So whoever is watching this news, you are responsible too," (Marshall, 2010, February 25) an analysis particularly important to understanding how the above (interpersonally archived memory) rubs up against institutionally archived memory, later in this thesis. What is clear for the students at UCSD, in their loving exhaustion, was that the conditions of their protest was a vocalizing of "an unlivability" (Moten, 2013, p. 746), and further a way of entering and residing in that space of power.

The University of Missouri

"It is not working, and we have been telling you."

"1839 was built on my B(L)ACK," about forty tee shirts are aligned in a row, their backs visible as the students stood silently in a blockade around their encampment. Each of their right fists is raised, they looking out onto passers by that seem disinterested, if not also glancing at one another in annoyance. On their horizon, tents and sleeping arrangements lie stagnant in central campus, their place of rest when not on spectacle, gazed upon by ungenerous and affect-less bodies. They've been protesting for days now, the only documents of their feeling coming in their self-published twitter account—most other sources that have covered their story portray them as outrageous, whining, and yet.

The students link arms, some look down at the brief shuffle in their feet as they come together. The microphone is passed back and forth, hands linked onto neighbours hips, eyes closed, mouths open. And the camera catches the eye of one of the students, his face looking up while those to his left and write solemnly gaze downwards. Eyes through foggy glasses, fingers gripped tightly, he is tired. "And we are not tolerating it any longer; we are resisting, continually," a voice of a young woman rings through the grounds. "It is not working, and we have been telling you."

To move from into a more recent iteration, protests and demonstrations of fall 2015 gained an inordinate amount of national and media attention. That year over 100 university campuses in the United States were home to student movements, all of which pointed to campus climate and university culture as their object of change. Reporting individual manifestations of institutionalized oppression, university administration neglect of the issue of sexual violence, and asking universities to divest from the prison industrial complex and the state of Israel, students were vocal and demanded something different. The University of Missouri (Mizzou), located in Columbia, Missouri and home to over 30,000 students, was/is one site of protests. The University is just a two-hour drive from Ferguson, Missouri, where Michael Brown was murdered one year previously. The student group named *Concerned Student 1950*, so-named as 1950 was the year in which Black students were first admitted to the university, brought to administration attention institutional problems related to race, workplace benefits, and lack of leadership within the school. The history of what the university deems a "diversity initiative" entitled *One Mizzou*, began after two events in 2010 and 2011. In the earlier, two white students spread cotton balls outside the university' Black Culture Center, and the following year a student wrote racially charged graffiti in a student residence hall. The university's response, *One Mizzou*, was led by the Chancellor however was discontinued in 2015 due to the fact that it had "lost its meaning" (Wynn, 2015).

Thus, when in September of 2015 when student government President, Payton Head, was harassed and had racial slurs yelled at him as he walked down the street, the university refused to take responsibility. Head's reporting on social media resulted in a galvanizing of other Black students and students of colour on campus, coming together to form the first set of student protests that occurred in late September, "Racism Lives Here." Students responded to Head on twitter after the University chancellor, Richard Bowen Loftin refused to act:

"#LoftinCantExplain the trauma it takes for @HeadthePrez to tell his story and not have support from his own University" (Student, 2015). Students took the opportunity to galvanize, coming together to form a more tangible movement in late October, *Concerned Student 1950*. After yet another routinized incident where the Legion of Black Collegians were called the n-word by a white student, the group provided both digital and physical spaces where students of color could come together to talk about steps of action. Jonathan Butler, a Black graduate student at the University, watched these events closely and in concert with a number of other moves made by the university, including the elimination of health care for graduate students. At the end of October, he started a hunger strike that Butler vowed would not end until the President stepped down. Meanwhile, *Concerned Student 1950* pressed onward, holding mock tours on campus that would inform the public of the institution's history of racism. Finally, action was not taken by the President until early November, when the Black football players on Mizzou's team would not practice or play until the President resigned. This move would cost the university over $1 million, and caused the President's resignation just one day after the announcement. Campus culture was further affected by this series of events, as Black students were then subject to death threats and feelings of insecurity walking around on campus.

    Concerned Student 1950 submitted a list of demands that pertained to the firing of the President, that the university met the demands of the Legion of Black Collegians protests from 1969, diversity and inclusion curriculums, an increase of hiring and retention of Black faculty and staff, and an increase of funding for social justice centers on campus—all of which were very similar to student demands from UCSD. The demands set by students were pushed further through *Concerned Student 1950*'s encampment, where protestors were living on the main academic quad. It was here where one of the biggest controversies was introduced into public discourse: the rhetoric of safe spaces. As expressed by the protestors, they wanted to keep their

living areas free of reporters in order to protect themselves from specific kinds of vitriol that come with the coverage of student protest. What resulted, however, was national attention that students were demanding safe spaces and violating free speech—a discourse that has now taken hold as main criticism of student movements. The false dichotomy of safe space versus free speech took hold as the only intention of student protestors, despite their attempts to articulate otherwise.

I point to the University of Missouri as case study, amidst the over 100+ college campuses in the United States that were home to student movements, precisely because of outside commentary and generalizability of student protest as student complaint. Despite the fact that students were voicing very real experiences of physical, spiritual, and mental threat and toll, the protests at Mizzou were used to denounce the aims of almost all of the other movements elsewhere of similar kind. The rhetorical urgency of safe space was then misused by critics of student movements, and then transformed into a dismissal of what conservatives have called "militant political correctness" (Meadors, 2015). What is latent within conservative attempts to ostensibly protect free speech on college campuses, however, is often more concerned with a complete disavowal of hostile learning environments, student threat, and racism that is embedded within institutions of higher education. Lukianoff & Haidt (2015), for example, claims that students are "catastrophizing" situations of identity-invalidation, and points to a need for resilience rather than claims of "oversensitivity."[14]

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[14] Lukianoff & Haidt (2015), a pair of psychologists who concern themselves with the state of student activism, wrote an article entitled *The Coddling of the American Mind*, its name granting historical recourse to Allen Bloom's infamous *The Closing of the American Mind*, a conservative tribute to what Bloom considers the decimation of the U.S. American college campus. Lukianoff & Haidt's article offers a similar scathing critique, claiming that students are losing an ability to be resilient. Of course, from what students must be resilient from, Lukianoff & Haidt fail to address in their diatribe.

In direct conversation with these kinds of critiques, Gene Demby (2015) conveys that "there's a very thin line between telling students that they have to learn to navigate a racist world and telling them that racism is a thing they should have to tolerate," the latter a refrain seeped into the university conversation. Demby goes on to account to a similar history as Dr. Daniel Widener of UCSD, articulating that the steady increase of protests, and namely, the resurgence that took hold during 2015, is a production of "profound demographic shifts" at institutions of higher education in the United States. With an increasing enrolment of both Black and Latino students, numbers which have more than tripled since the 1990s, as well as the creation of both difference as political branding (Clough, n.d.) and what I might call tolerance as branding, it remains in the university's best interests to "make space" for Black and brown students. However and as we know, making space in the name of diversity also necessitates that other kinds of considerations and adjustments must be made: the demands that students such as those at Missouri are calling and have called for.

The University of Missouri protests are also timed at the heels of the Supreme Court's hearing of *Fisher v. The University of Texas*, a case that was first heard in 2012 under the Fifth Circuit, and again in 2015. In summation, the Court heard from Abigail Fisher and Rachel Michalewicz, both white and both denied admission to the University of Texas in 2008, who alleged that they were discriminated against them on the basis of race. Affirmative action in public institutions of higher education was up for national negotiation. After the Fifth Circuit Court favoured University of Texas, Austin, the Supreme Court agreed to hear the case under the guise of its original hearing lacking strict scrutiny. While the 2015 decision did uphold the use of affirmative action in public universities, the rhetoric used during the discussion of the Court made claims about the vitality of Black students at rigorous universities, Justice Scalia pushing this further to state that Black college students need attend remedial schools. The vitriolic

invocation of correlating race and intelligence draws from US histories of eugenics, enslavement, and systemic racism. To hear them used as reasoning within the most encompassing legal structure in the United States is not only systematically demoralizing, but also further representative of engrained opinion regarding minoritized students in US universities. Thus, the presence of students of colour necessitates their own speaking back to the hostile conditions in which there are emplaced and in which they need to create thriving conditions.[15]

Drawing attention back to the neoliberalization of the university, some scholars have noted the ways in which student organizing and campus climate is also shaped by this dynamic ecology of the university space. For but one example, as Frederik deBoer wrote in the fall of 2015, "When your environment so deeply resembles a Fortune 500 company, it makes sense to take every complaint straight to H.R…I recognize their behaviour as a rational response within a bureaucracy. It's hard to blame people within a system — particularly people so young — who take advantage of structures they've been told exist to help them."

Exhaustion and hostility

While students at UCSD were voicing the exhaustion of what it meant to do racial and social justice work in the university, students at Mizzou most poignantly articulated the kinds of hostility they were met with when doing similar work at their own university. Exhaustion and hostility, as traced, theorized, and represented by the students, I analyze as enacted in three dimensions: student political subjectivity, the branding of the university, and inclusion and diversity. I use these scopes that mark the liberal model of higher education as ways to analyze

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[15] Writers such as Lukinoff & Haidt (2015) who take up critique of *how* students go about demanding these conditions fail to address the way in which the neoliberal ecology of the university refuses the possibility that students organize in any other way.

how and why the university proves itself to be exhausting for and hostile against students of colour.

When conservative pundits critique student activist movements as oversensitive or name a decline in engagement, they fail to understand the changing and dynamic ecology of the university space. Rather, and in addition to generalizations applied liberally to student necessitations of safety, the increasing corporate culture has actually created the conditions whereby certain student demands are deemed successful and others, not so. As one might note in both the University of Missouri and the University of California, San Diego, the movements themselves have been shaped by the terrain in which they find themselves—within a peculiar kind of bureaucracy. As I will speak to more analytically in the following chapter, the emphasis of individualism within times of neoliberalism is not necessarily new, but indeed unique. The emphasis on self-construction in the forms of expression and interiority, as Guattari & Rolnik (2008), Foucault (1990), and others speak to, creates a kind of subjectivity (re)produces itself, but also allows for a certain kind of containment and regulation. With cognizance that the demands themselves asking for things like diversity training, the firing of presidents, monument name changes, and other aspects of the university that seem not as institutionalized or institutionalizing, we must be conscious of student movements production within historical context and temporal reality.

In turn, the successful resignation of the University of Missouri's president is further indicative of just how much is at risk when the image or branding of the university is called into question. As Tuchman (2009) articulates well, here it is both a question of money and power, not only the potential loss in revenue but also standing and longevity of attraction. When a public institution such as Mizzou gains over $1 million of revenue through its football team alone, the institution realized that there was no other option than to concede to the players

demands. Proving was the dissonance between the President's statement of firm unwillingness to step down and the announcement of his resignation the following day: in the interim, he quickly came to realize that in the eyes of the university, it is not up to him. Rather, and in congruence with Carey (2016) and Tuchman (2009), it is the board of trustees and overseers of the university that determine its leadership: its leadership, of course, meaning the gatekeeper and brand name of its revenue. To follow the success of the Mizzou protests, and not unlike other campuses in less explicit ways, is to follow the money trail—always-already in the interest of the university's reign on money, power, and branding.

This is precisely an iteration of what Derrick Bell (1980) called interest-convergence theory—a theory he first applied to the Civil Rights gain of *Brown v. Board of Education*. He argued that the social and legal interests of minority groups are only legitimated when these interests converge with the interests of dominant culture. For Bell, the *Brown* decision was not a representation of some moral transformation of the fabric of American social life. Rather, it was a decision launched strategically at the beginnings of the Cold War, and a necessary international justification of the superiority of democracy over communism. Importantly nuancing this argument, Da Silva's (2016) article on affirmative action and racial capital makes an historical intervention, firmly tying the convergence to the direct interests of the state. This framework of analysis allows us to think about the state's function and performance in the context of global capital. The vote of justice, therefore, is indeed an economic negotiation and intentional decision. Similarly, we might understand the resignation of Mizzou's President as not a radical change, but a strategic negotiation. The gaining of rights, as in *Brown v. Board*, need not change power relations, but instead might legitimate social conditions of inequity. In the case of Mizzou, students recognized the symbolic move of the President's resignation, hence calling for more change within the structural aspects of the university culture.

Finally, important in this conversation is the university and its evolution as an imperial space. Though we have not had the same time lapse as with the University of California, San Diego protests in order to understand the university's institutional memory of the movement, students still report similar refrains of business as usual. In passing, some students name the protests as the origin of racial tensions that exist on campus, rather than a manifestation of institutional histories of discrimination and hate that pervade the campus climate. Many faculty members are reluctant to speak about the demonstrations at all. With the same kind of "business as usual" mentality that is reinforced by the administration, the campus has turned the protests into a kind of discursive formation—it represents an event that made some people upset and is now "gotten over" as a community. However, another point of consideration relies on institutional histories of "inclusion" rather than transformation. As Robin Kelley points to, there lies a "tension between reform and revolution, between desiring to belong and rejecting the university as a cog in the neoliberal order. I want to think about what it means for Black students to seek love from an institution incapable of loving them—of loving anyone, perhaps" (Kelley, 2016). Diversity and inclusion become a checkmark by the university in order to maintain business as usual, and I suppose this begs the haunting question: is there another option? Will the university ever love Black students and students of color?

In one of the video clips from the University of California, San Diego speak outs, Dr. K. Wayne Yang, a professor of Ethnic Studies asks the crowd to look around at one another and say the phrase, "there is no reason I cannot love you" (JusticeUCSD, 2010b). It seems that students are merely asking for similar words (and actions that prove such) from their institutions.

CHAPTER THREE: Subjectivity, Regulation, and Cleaning

"To UCSD, they're fine. We gave them a resource center so that's good. In actuality, that's not good because this wasn't even something that you wanted to do. You guys (speaking to UC San Diego) were forced to do this, because UC San Diego was about to be like the Titanic and sink under the ocean." [16]

"I don't think that would happen again," Schwandt said in an interview with the Tribune. "I think there's lessons learned from that. I doubt there'd be approval to allow overnight camping again on campus."[17]

The political subject(ivity) of the student

More than a year from the protests at the University of Missouri and six from those at the

University of San Diego, California, searching for data on the movements themselves comes in

the form of student uploaded YouTube videos and some media accounts. On the schools'

websites, there is little (if any) to be found. What I would like to introduce in this section is the

simultaneous erasure and tokenizing of student movements from institutional memory. Drawing

on the paradigm of cleaning, as articulated in McClintock (1994), I show how the university's

actions are still very much enwrapped in its imperial histories.[18] As I point to earlier in this thesis,

I think similarly with and along side critical geography scholars have theorized urban

gentrification in terms of cleaning, containment and control, and have elsewhere spoken to how

universities similarly *clean themselves* (Carey, 2016). Put differently, in order to maintain itself

within its own, historically developed model of "business as usual" the university cleans and

sanitizes (read: erases and/or turns productive) the modes of student resistance that take place

within its hold, time, and space. As evidenced by both the specific preventative policy put into

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[16] UCSD one-year later, 2011.

[17] Burdziak, 2016.

[18]McClintock (1994) writes to the historical origins of soap, naming "the Victorian obsession with cotton and cleanliness was not simply a mechanical reflex of economic surplus… [but a] fascination with clean, white bodies and clean, white clothing stemmed not only from the rampant profiteering of the imperial economy but also from the realms of ritual and fetish" (p. 1).

place by Missouri and near erasure at UCSD, it is this moment that remains interesting to me in the neoliberal and imperial university.

Moreover, it is always-already certain bodies that are historically and presently "cleaned out" of institutional arrangements. With recourse to my above analysis of institutional subjects, while some bodies are made to belong, others are marked and made to feel as though they do not belong. Performativities of whiteness begets ontological complicity, whereas other bodies are deemed what Puwar (2004) might name "trespassers… politically, historically, conceptually circumscribed as being out of place" (p. 9). The imagination of insider versus outsider becomes a material reality through the interactions of administrative process, and what McClintock (2009) terms "administration(s) of forgetting"; that is, certain bodies and subjectivities are deemed legitimate and recognized as valid, whereas others are deemed out of place.[19] The production of students' political subjectivity is constituted in relation to what Guattari and Rolnik (2008) term capitalist subjectivity— "manufactured, modeled, received, and consumed." In "Subjectivity and History," they argue that the production of capitalist subjectivity is a mode of capitalist profit, capable of reducing individuals to "a value that responds to the…market. They are like solitary, anguished robots, increasingly absorbing the drugs that power offers them" (p. 54). The production of subjectivity is not just that (product), but further indicates *processes* of subjectivation—how people come into thinking and feeling beings. While my argument focuses on how two industrial systems of neoliberalism and empire have produced subjectivities in the university, much of my work, of course, remains tightening our analyses on how a particular, perhaps alternate kind of student (activist) political subject(ivity) emerges in/out of confrontation with the university's normative student subjectivity, but nonetheless constituted in relation to it.

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[19] Recall the earlier discussion of institutional habits; Ahmed (2000) and Douglas (1966) speak to how certain (racialized/gendered/classed) bodies are deemed "matter out of place."

Subjection and subjectivation, Foucault (1995) suggests, offers meaning to the ways in which the individual "establishes his relation to the rule and recognizes himself as obliged to put it into practice"—both the embodiment of institutional habits, and also the cultivation of the basis of self located within those vectors of power.

The argument of this thesis has focused on the two industrial systems of neoliberalism and empire, demonstrating the ways in which they have moved through subjects—how they have created capitalist and political subjectivities on college campuses. Much of my work remains tightening our analyses on how a particular kind of student (activist) political subject(ivity) emerges in/out of confrontation with the university's produced subjectivity.[20] To produce the conditions for collective life *outside* of capitalist production, in addition for the embodiment for life of oneself—of singularity—is what Guattari & Rolnik propagate as "a willingness to love, in a willingness simply to live or survive, in the multiplicity of these willingnesses" (p. 63), similar refrains that students express in their movements.

Student protestors, especially those of the past ten years, have indeed articulated their political subjectivities as otherwise—a rejection of the normative capitalist subjectivity produced within the walls of the university. Students of colour have both been made pronounced and also pronounced themselves within marginality and minority, an active choice and claim to subject and society that concerns the whole of society—the life of the collective. For instance, Wiegman (2012) introduces "identity knowledges" that form the basis of the interdisciplines,[21] and notes

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[20] According to Guattari and Rolnik (2008), revolution comes forth in an ability to understand that there is an alternate and "collective production of subjectivity which is expressed, with great difficulty, as a rejection of a certain type of social order" (p. 40). In other words, in order to refuse capitalist subjectivity, we must articulate ourselves as such, and allow the "process of singularization to assert itself" (p. 76).

[21] What Ferguson (2012) has written about in terms of the emerging critical legibility of Cultural Studies, Black Studies, Women's Studies, and other formations that rely upon the politics of identity as basis for study.

that such legibility has also given way to "new practices of governmentality, social protest, and institutional attachments [that] rewrote the discourse of the university's responsibilities, constituencies, and function" (p. 6). Further, according to Mitchell, in this context, the "object of knowledge" becomes not necessarily the lives of those studied in the interdisciplines (e.g. women, Black folks, queer people) but rather an "institutionally anchored representation of them" – a "thing" of consumption that holds stock for actors invested in their success (p. 200).[22] While Mitchell here uses the example of white women students seeking to affirm their anti-racist political orientation, I might argue that the university also has investments in maintaining these disciplines afloat: to offer what Clough (n.d.) calls difference as political branding. The branding comes in the form of maintaining the discipline, if not also retaining its legibility as un-threatening, solely identity (versus structurally) based, and further, tolerance as political branding.

In what Mitchell (2011) terms the "integrative logic of administrative capitalism" (p. 161), new practices of governmentality have dictated the sorting and regulation of interdisciplinary formations, often policing their very influence within the university sphere. In other words, it is ensured that even though revolutionary work might happen within the discipline itself (radical thesis projects, communities of care, armed love and critical hope in the face of violence) its institutional legibility still must remain inside Guattari and Rolnik's (2008) capitalist subjectivity—institutionally reproducing the university's psychic agencies, remaining the resting place for its desires of tolerance. Student activist movements, in their origination outside of disciplinary formation and politics of the institution, offer a different site of analysis. What we might interpret within student movements is a pronunciation of an outward expression

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[22] Nick Mitchell's (2011) dissertation and in-progress manuscript offers theoretical framing for these subjects as "object-of-knowledge-for the interests of others" (p. 200) which allows an analysis of how the interdisciplines, originally fought for through the work of student and faculty activism demanding a place in the university, have invoked new kinds of management within institutions of higher education.

of interiority—alternate subjectivity—prior to university regulation and quelling of dissent.

Within neoliberal capitalism, we might interpret this emphasis of the self and structural violence against the self as a route of legibility: a way for the university to understand, hear, and respond to student voices. Unlike how the formation of the interdisciplines has required the rendering of social reality as disciplinary object (see Gordon, 1997, Mitchell, 2011), student activism doesn't require the institution to create them *into* object—indeed, their previously unregulated political subjectivity (articulated interiority as construction of self) gives way to different kinds of regulation and practices of management. Foucault (1975) terms these practices and their evolutions as formations of *surveiller et punir*, to watch over and punish. From a different conceptual basis, Guattari and Rolnik offer: "So there are processes of social marginalization as society becomes more totalitarian, and that is in order to define a certain kind of dominant subjectivity to which everyone must conform" (p. 173). And it is here that brings us to the particular ways in which the university cleans itself of student statements of political subjectivity that might crumble its production of capitalist subjectivity: erasure from institutional memory, and further the individuation and pathologization of the students, themselves.

Strategy, regulation, and dis-ease

Tony Judt (2010) speaks to the particularity of our contemporary economic, cultural, and material moment of neoliberalism, focused on the efficiency of categorization and need for legibility—a mode of disciplinary knowledge. In order to maintain academic and institutional containment, university administrations comprise the problem within the individuation of the student rather than implicating the setting and structure of the university: it is the subjectivity[23]

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[23] I emphasize the subjectivity of the student rather than the subject itself in that subjectivity has the capacity to be formed and molded by the university as its own production.

that becomes demonized and in need of cleansing. In accounts from both the university and outside voices of criticism, students from both the movements in Missouri and UCSD were deemed depressed, crazy, and individually responsible for their own "discomfort" within the institution.

Much of the rhetoric of remedy that the university chancellors provide in both of these case studies is reliant upon making students "feel comfortable" rather than addressing more institutional and structural histories of dispossession. This framework takes up the difference between what Ahmed (2010, 2012), Cvetkovich (2012), and Orr (2006) name disease versus dis-ease: *disease* represents the kinds of medical knowledges that position illness as a biological, ontological, and thus, individuate diagnosis, while *dis-ease* calls out the way historical, political, cultural, and social forces have called into being certain kinds of affective conditions. Offering services such as counselling, while perhaps productive for the individual, neglects to understand the magnitude of what students are looking to address. Its regulation is a new kind of soap in order to clean the university of traces of dissent. Through the regulation of bodies given their ability to thrive within its cultural codes of power, the lives and bodies of the university community are legible based upon the ways in which they are productive to the institution. Power becomes productive in that not only does the institution enact power and regulation to discipline its community, but also it creates the desire within its population to also be part of that community—to be disciplined by. Therefore, when deviant identities or resistant imaginaries arise, they are often read as threatening to the institution's health—as if the university were a petri dish, the "matter of place" and morally regulated "bad" bacteria as harmful to its existence, and the university's response is to ensure its sterilization.

Historically, and as noted above, certain bodies have indeed always been deemed the target of soap—cleansing mechanisms—in need of cleansing and removal. To relate this

mechanism of cleaning to the university as a corporate and imperial space, there are pertinent

historical linkages to the cleaning and invention of soap as related to empire, imperial gazes of

certain African/Black/Brown/Queer bodies as unclean and in need of purification: "the sanitary

crusade of the 19th century is central to the violent project of empire" (Edwards, 2014, n.p.).

Recalling the ways in which imperialism becomes translated, contained, and perpetuated by our

contemporary moment of neoliberalism, the concept of progress is heavily related to that of

cleanliness. To pathologize student political subjects and subjectivity draws heavy recourse to

the university as both a corporate (preserving image) and imperial (individuation and

medicalization) space. As Kelley (2016) asks us to consider, "can we acknowledge students'

pain in a culture that reduces oppression to misunderstanding and psychology?"

Within the legibility of student political subjectivity lies an important tension, as a

strategy in the face of a calculated university. That is, I am not convinced that students are not

unaware that if they individuate their experiences of racism, in times of neoliberal individualism

and costumer satisfaction, the university will respond. While the enunciation of individuating

one's interior—to speak to feelings, and microaggressions, for example—is not necessarily

lacking any measure of radicality, speaking the individual at the cost of what, is an important

question. To reference Robin Kelley's recent theorizing on student activism, while the emphasis

on interiority seems to elevate levels of sympathy rather than visions of social justice, and while

it may be seen that "where words such as *trauma, PTSD, micro-aggression,* and *triggers* have

virtually replaced *oppression, repression,* and *subjugation"* (Kelley, 2016, emphasis original), I

argue that student political subjectivity is pronounced *only ever in relation* to the subjectivity

produced by the university itself—their legibility and thus success of their movement depends on

a base understanding of how the university had been handling questions of difference and

tolerance *prior to* their pronunciation. Put differently, if students know the university's

discourses of diversity trainings, individual responsibility, depoliticized discussions of social conflict, then their pronunciation must, too, be in strategic conversation with the university's language. Their seeming "not radical enough" platforms might also emanate from fear that they (or their demands) may be illegible (and, rejected) within the neoliberal and imperial academy if not framed by way of feeling, pain, and tolerance.

Histories of social movements within universities, too, dictate the normative limits of legibility for the demands of student activists, for which we might look to Roderick Ferguson (2012) and Nick Mitchell (2011) for a skilful analyses of how the interdisciplines (e.g., Black studies, Ethnic studies, Women's studies) were institutionalized because of student protest. Mitchell argues that there are multiple ways to tell these histories, and that the interdisciplines often tell romanticized versions of revolutionary turnover rather than legible acceptance, which, while politically important may also foreclose a certain amount of reflexivity. So, while students are indeed equipped with critical tools, acute analyses of the neoliberal university, incisive critiques of the logics of capital, they and we are also entangled in and by the desires of the institution. In other words, they may know they can't dismantle the master's house with the master's tools, and yet their investments in attempting to do so remain high, as the ecological space in which students find themselves inherently give shape to their sociality—how they move and be, resist within and protest against.

As students from both UCSD and Missouri have commented, how do universities expect them to encourage more students of colour to campus when their current conditions of existence are unbearable? Student activists look to remake their political and social realities in ways that will not only ensure the longevity of student of colour survival, but will also take up Fred Moten and Stefano Harney's (2004) dictum that "in the face of these conditions one can only sneak into the university and steal what one can" (p. 101). If asking for change of campus culture allows for

students of colour to further their academic and critical work, if inclusion offers space for chipping away at institutional bias and tolerance gives way for a crack in the hostility that impedes their ability to succeed in that environment, might we consider this as taking something back from the university? Of course, we remain in a tense double bind where this taking back can be so easily co-opted—the strategic gain that would not have been made if the university did not recognize its value, is so easily cleaned away. How should we theorize this double bind of legibility, of necessarily supporting students of colour while realizing subjective and institutional limitations? And further, how are students theorizing this, themselves? While our social justice work clearly lies beyond inclusion, and does this in more secluded radical basements—spaces that might, too, sneak and steal what one can—I think that student activists are doing both, strategizing for limited university change and also nourishing their radicalism. And this might be all the more reason to examine generously and deeply how these gains actually get made, and what their intended and unintended effects and affects are.

Thus, the question that demands deconstruction of, "are they radical enough?" is not my main interest, for we are neither fully transparent nor self-determined beings that could know the answer. Nor, as Gayatri Spivak might argue, should this be our goal. We are, and must be, more than our subjectivities. In this frame it is not that we must choose between supporting student activism or offering critical analyses of their work. Rather, if we are made as subjects by these institutions, we make strategic choices about how to present our critiques *because* of the double-bind of legibility *and also* because we are entangled in and by the desires of the institution (as nested within capital and the state, neoliberalism and imperialism). My work, therefore, looks to find new ways of offering political context and negotiation such that we might honour the complexity of ours and student activists' humanity, being in, made by, and surviving in institutions marked by violence. Social movements are produced out of survival—being and

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moving and demanding institutional responsibility for the historical weight of oppression, recognizing the responsibility of making new space within the academy for students of color, for the generations to come. A student from San Diego reflects that "protesting is not just gonna do everything," but it might do something.

This tension—of a self-awareness of political subjectivity in the face of capitalist subjectivity of the university—is strategic in gaining certain kinds of victories: the firing of chancellors, implementation of diversity trainings, discourses on university websites. However, their aforementioned regulation remains attached to a regulation of moral economy—an ability to attach goodness to some students and badness to others, the latter of student activists. The articulation of political subjectivity that lies in direct contradiction with the brand the university wishes to sell is unsurprisingly regulated as harmful to the health of the university—to remember the analogy of the petri dish, the "bad" bacteria that would cause the institutions dis/ease. Foucault (1965) suggests that it is moral, or the circulation of moral economies, that becomes means of administrative enforcement: "institutions of morality are established in which an astonishing synthesis of moral obligation and civil law is effected…permitted to be administered like trade or economy" (p. 60). I call attention to this creation as not necessarily full thought, but rather an indication for future (and my own hopeful) analyses of moral economies of the good and bad student subjectivity as represented by dichotomies of the volunteer v. activist; global citizen v. local dissident; regulatory body v. erasable body, and also how the university might work to *transform* subjectivity from the former to the latter, in hopes of containment.

CONCLUSION: "This is never going to be behind us"

"I've never in my life seen something that beautiful. It annoys the hell out of me that it had to happen because of this event. And we can't ever do this again unless something like that happens which is a problem within itself."[24]

And I suppose it is here where I might address what seems un-nameable. I write this thesis in the winter of 2016, one month after the election of an overtly white supremacist, neo-fascist President to the White House of the United States. Intentionally, this thesis marks an enclosed period of time—2010-2015—articulating what student movements and institutional responses looked like during this timeframe. Through understanding the university as a corporate and imperial space, and the mechanisms by which it is corporatizing and imperializing, this project offers an analysis of how we might see those effects and affects through the management of student subjectivities and movements. Thematically, this thesis covers four main territories. First, how the spaces of two universities cleansed their institutional histories and geographic spaces of student protest. The function of sanitizing, what McClintock (2009) has gestured towards in the "administration of forgetting" speaks to neoliberal discourses of cleaning and revitalization. Second, the thesis speaks to how both activist movements and how certain (racialized/gendered/classed) bodies are rendered legible by the corporate and imperial university. Third, this thesis addresses the construction of the political subject(ivity) of the student co-constituted by neoliberal individuality, pronouncing their interiority in manners that give way towards the university's management of those subjects. Finally, I speak to the place of feeling and legitimized human experience in providing material grounding to the above, offering insight into the intimacies and intricacies of social movements. I work through these themes, in part, to think through what their implications might be in a future always-already, and materially more so right now, marked by interminable threat.

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[24] UCSD one-year later, 2011.

What I do know is that over the past six years, 100 college campuses have been

necessitated into protest led by students of colour, all asking for relief from hostile learning

environments. Met with rhetoric that makes mockery of safe spaces, argues for more

pronounced student resilience, and/or reduces student concern to tones of mere complaint,

students have yet and still made their voices known. What I also know is that in the past month,

since the announcement of Donald Trump as President-Elect to the United States, there has been

a dramatic increase in the amount of hate crimes targeting the very same minoritized and

marginalized with whom this thesis is concerned. Further, these hate crimes have been

concentrated on college campuses. To my own degree, this thesis then might very well serve as

part of the archive on race relations in US universities: that students have been articulating

statements of toxic campus culture, institutionalized racism, and systematic oppression since

before the election of Trump, and we can bet that they will be still making themselves known

after he enters office. What I wonder, moving forward, is if ears and hearts might start to listen

differently as we move into an era of elected and sanctioned, visible and rearing white

supremacy?

Dr. Chike McLoyd's (2014) work on the theorizing of Black youth on racism, social

justice and education looked for ways to form movements of social transformation offered by

young people as a space of hope. Dr. Chike McLoyd (2014) traces the use of *agape* love in his

ethnographic study of a high school, noting how his participants use Jean Bertrand Aristide

(1993) and Dr. King Jr's (1957) theorizing of *agape* as to "go on with wise restraint and calm

reasonableness but you must keep moving…and respect the dignity and worth of all human

personality." McLoyd's young students call for a love movement in "how we imagine

conquering and deconstructing racism"—to love through and within critique. In loving memory,

I hope that we might strive for *agape* love. Striving for *agape* love might look like to love

something holistically, to work hard at it—it is to offer generous critique, to listen, to believe it can be better. Though I find tension in doing critical work about the university while using its resources, its tools, its opportunities, I also find this to be an important practice of what it means to practice *agape love*. It is the university itself that equipped me with the tools to study social justice. This thesis' drive to critique and craving to interrogate the university's historicity, modes of management, and political subjects emanates from how I form all of my relationships: whether they be with human beings or institutions, I am convinced that we deserve the freedom to love and critique holistically, openly, and with fervour. We exhaust ourselves in trying to understand people in the context of their lives, to understand institutions in the context of their histories, to love holistically. Exhaustion, as felt by the students in this thesis, comes from a deep-held believe that we can only rely on that freedom. For Dr. McLoyd, Chike, and as we move forward, I am convinced that we must.

As we enter into a new political arena, (lovingly) armed with the lessons of students, the (critical) hopes of their tomorrows, and a commitment to thinking towards and of an "otherwise," I can only hope that this thesis both has provided a bit of archiving and is also evidentiary of the work happening, and happening simultaneously, across time and space. The connective tissue of this work is demanded as we beat on, knowing that students of colour will undoubtedly keep creating intimate spaces of community in the face of adversity, do the work to fight for themselves and others, and chip away at the political lives of neoliberalism and empire. They have and always will express emotional and political burnout, they exhaust themselves in doing this work—exhaust themselves in loving holistically. The question remains, for scholars in the academy, how and where do we pick up on their call to action?

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