CARE: Caring, anti-racist education and decolonial pedagogies in the neoliberal university and a colonial-born discipline

CARE: Cuidar, educação antirracista e pedagogias decoloniais na universidade neoliberal e numa disciplina de origem colonial

CARE: Préoccupation pour le bien-être des étudiants, éducation antiraciste et pédagogies décoloniales dans l'université néolibérale et une discipline d'origine coloniale

Bhargabi Das[a]*& Ana Ivasiuc[b]

[a] Shiv Nadar University, Delhi, India.

[b] University College Dublin, Dublin, Ireland.

Abstract

Through the account of a co-taught module in Ethnographic Reading and Writing undertaken by the authors in 2023, the article seeks to underline the tensions and possibilities of anti-racist and decolonial pedagogies centred on care as they develop precariously within the neoliberal academy and from within a discipline born in the colonial encounter: anthropology. We reflect holistically on our experience as co-teachers, from our own relationship to each other and to the students, as well as our relationship to the subject of ethnographic reading and writing that determined our curriculum design, reading and assignment choices, to our precarity and tense embeddedness in the department of anthropology of a neoliberal university in Western Europe, where we were both precariously employed as "knowledge migrants".

Keywords: bell hooks, care, decolonial pedagogies, Paulo Freire, precarity

Resumo

Através do relato de um módulo de Leitura e Escrita Etnográfica ensinado em parceria pelas autoras em 2023, o artigo procura sublinhar as tensões e possibilidades das pedagogias antirracistas e decoloniais centradas no cuidado, à medida que se desenvolvem precariamente dentro da academia neoliberal e de uma disciplina nascida no encontro colonial: a antropologia. Refletimos de forma holística sobre a nossa experiência como co-docentes, desde a nossa própria relação entre nós e com os/as alunos/as, bem como a nossa relação com o tema da leitura e escrita etnográfica que determinou a nossa conceção curricular e as escolhas de leituras e tarefas, até à nossa precariedade e inserção tensa no departamento de antropologia de uma universidade neoliberal da Europa Ocidental, onde ambas estávamos precariamente empregadas como "migrantes do conhecimento".

Palavras-chave: bell hooks, cuidado, pedagogias decoloniais, Paulo Freire, precariedade

---

* *Correspondence: bhargabidas123@gmail.com; ana.ivasiuc@ucd.ie*

Résumé

À travers le récit d'un module de lecture et d'écriture ethnographiques co-enseigné par les auteures en 2023, l'article cherche à souligner les tensions et les possibilités des pédagogies antiracistes et décoloniales centrées sur la préoccupation pour le bien-être des étudiant.e.s, telle qu'elle se développe de manière précaire au sein de l'académie néolibérale et à partir d'une discipline née de la rencontre coloniale: l'anthropologie. Nous réfléchissons de manière holistique à notre expérience en tant que co-enseignantes, depuis notre propre relation l'une à l'autre et avec les étudiant.e.s, ainsi que notre relation avec le sujet de la lecture et de l'écriture ethnographiques qui a déterminé la conception de notre programme d'études, les choix de lecture et d'évaluation, jusqu'à notre précarité et notre intégration tendue dans le département d'anthropologie d'une université néolibérale d'Europe occidentale, où nous étions toutes deux employées de manière précaire en tant que "migrantes du savoir".

Mots-clés: bell hooks, bien-être des étudiants, pédagogies décoloniales, Paulo Freire, précarité

Introduction

In the Spring semester of 2023, we co-taught the course "Ethnographic reading and writing", a compulsory module offered to second-year undergraduate students of the Anthropology department in an Irish university, with a total of 128 second-year students – a majority of whom were women – attending it once every week. Tutorials, led by Bhargabi, took place in four small groups once per group weekly.

From our side as teachers, we recount our process of curriculum design with decolonial pedagogies in mind and our approach to classroom liberation inspired by bell hooks (1994, 2010) and Paulo Freire (1968/2005), and drawing more broadly on recent discussions on decolonial and abolitionist critiques to higher education (Andreotti et al., 2015; Grosfoguel, 2012; Stein, 2021). We also analyse the reflections that the process raised for us as the course progressed, and the questions that we felt compelled to pose, even as many of them remained unanswered. Even though we foresaw the potential of the course and of our collaboration to give shape to a reflexive ethnography of the course itself and of decolonial pedagogic practice, our own precarity – with its corollaries of lack of time and mental health difficulties – impeded this project at the time of the course. We now want to pick up the thread and do justice to what we continue to see as a transformational pedagogic experience for both of us and for many of our students. But we also want to embed our experience in the tense and conflicted relationship that we both had with neoliberal academia and with our own discipline of anthropology and its many contradictions. We use retrospective collaborative ethnography (Sandberg, 2020; Tripathi et al., 2022) to explore our experience of the course in a holistic and reflexive way and to link it to the wider question of the conditions of possibility within the neoliberal university for transformative pedagogies grounded in non-hierarchical, anti-racist, anti-classist, decolonial, and liberating practices (Khoo et al., 2020; Mbembe, 2016). Our pedagogic practices draw from abolitionist (Love, 2019) to radical pedagogic practices (Dyke & Meyerhoff, 2013), which experimented with inclusive, decolonial and equal pedagogy/education not at the peripheries or outside the "mainstream" education system but right at the heart of it, building continued conversations on transforming colonial education systems and practices step-by-step. We place our pedagogic principles within a spectrum of experimentations which practised ideas of epistemic justice, collaboration, equity in education, and

decolonial practice through cross-border teaching projects (Khoo et al., 2020) or running free schools (EXCO) for all groups of people using tools of "work-full play" and community embedded study (Dyke & Meyerhoff, 2013).

From the side of our relationality with students and the classroom experiences that unravelled with each class and each series of tutorials, we examine the impact of our pedagogic practice on students, some of whom embodied racialised and marginalised identities. As data, we use their reactions in class, as perceived and discussed by ourselves, recounted in a number of episodes that served as learning moments both for students and for us, some of their messages to us and fragments from the written assignments for which permission was asked to share, and some of the anonymous comments from the evaluation of the course. Through these fragmented data, we underline the effects of pedagogic practices firmly grounded in anti-racist, anti-classist, decolonial, and liberating principles aimed at shaping communities of care in the context of higher education. We examine moments of unlearning the robotic, formalistic, superficial, and hierarchy-bounded student practices of obedience within the classroom and reflect on what made them possible within the course and on whether anything can make such moments possible at a larger scale within the neoliberal logic of today's university.

Our article is structured in two parts. The first section discusses the underlying principles that structure and inform our pedagogic practices and that gave shape to the module. The second part examines, through retrospective collaborative autoethnography, our own experience of cooperation as precarious knowledge migrants within the Western neoliberal academy (Aparna et al., 2025), underlining the tension between the elated emotions we experienced through teaching and shaping a meaningful, fulfilling, caring, and liberating relationship between ourselves and with our students, and the depressive and anxiogenic affectivities that we both felt in our department and our institution. In the concluding section, we reflect on how our transformative pedagogic practice was possible in the first place and how this experience allows for an opening to transform the neoliberal university in subversive ways. We also acknowledge the structural obstacles that the neoliberal academy – through practices of precarisation, elitist hiring practices, and processes of using-abusing-discarding of teachers (Bal et al., 2014; Courtois & O'Keefe, 2015; Fotta et al., 2020; Rajaram, 2021) whose pedagogies are experienced as transformative by students themselves – poses in the way of developing consistent practices of anti-racist and decolonial pedagogies.

Ethnographic reading and writing: the principles

We grounded the praxis of the course in decolonial thinking and its embodied principles, from the syllabus design to co-teaching and to the students' learning process. The principles were applied with the intention to fill classroom practices, learning spaces, and experiences with love and care aimed to counter the violence of neoliberal academia, which both students and ourselves often felt. The principles were also intended as concrete ways to open up transformative spaces of learning where students could experience the university otherwise: in a stressless, free, and care-filled environment.

Our efforts illustrate and inscribe themselves in recent debates about decolonising anthropology, including its curriculum (Allen & Jobson, 2016; Harrison, 1997, 2012; McClaurin, 2001; Mogstad & Tse, 2018; Venkatesan, 2024). In the realm of teaching, such conceptualisations aspire to forge not only a different curriculum content-wise but also ways of teaching that are structured around different relationships within the classroom. In what follows, we describe the principles embedded in the course and focus on how and why they shaped a different teaching and learning experience for ourselves and the students. In so doing, we give substance to what we meant in practice by our principles of equality, liberatory decolonial pedagogies, and care, love, and vulnerability as the core of our classroom relationalities.

Principle 1: Non-hierarchical relationships

From the very first class, we established the classroom as a space of equality. Students were invited to collaboratively come up with "rules/non-negotiables" that were to be followed by all in the classroom, and the rules were integrated into the syllabus (Figure 1). The process was messy but equalising: students disrupted their "passive listener" mode and spread across the classroom space to negotiate and produce collaboratively a set of rules about which they would feel ownership. This exercise also disrupted the structuration of the classroom space: instead of teachers always standing in front, in charge, looking down on the students, and imparting rules top-down, students slowly filled the room, taking charge while the teacher moved to the back. Group work also helped establish relationships between students and stimulated conversations on aspects of learning that students deemed important.

FIGURE 1

**Rules commonly agreed upon and integrated into the syllabus**
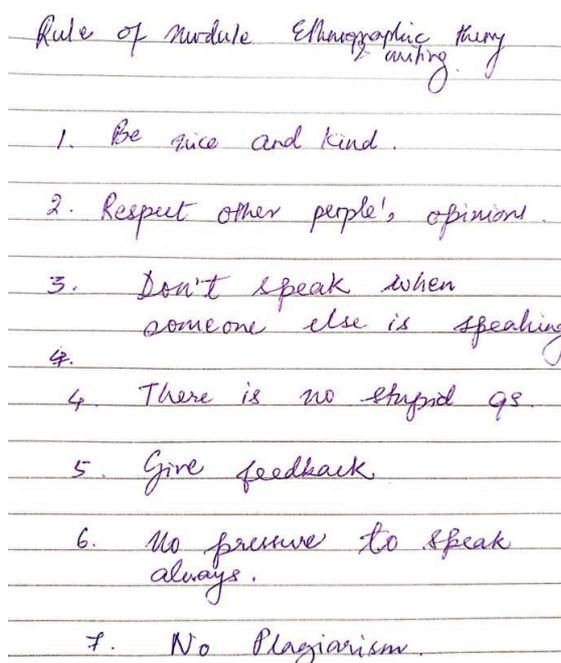
Rule of module Ethnographic theory + writing.

1. Be nice and kind.
2. Respect other people's opinions.
3. Don't speak when someone else is speaking
4. There is no stupid qs.
5. Give feedback.
6. No pressure to speak always.
7. No Plagiarism.

Source: Courtesy of Bhargabi's note-taking.

The students were also invited to contribute towards the preparation of the kind of assignments that they would be interested in developing. A range of potential assignments was proposed at the onset (Figure 2).

FIGURE 2

A wide range of assignments
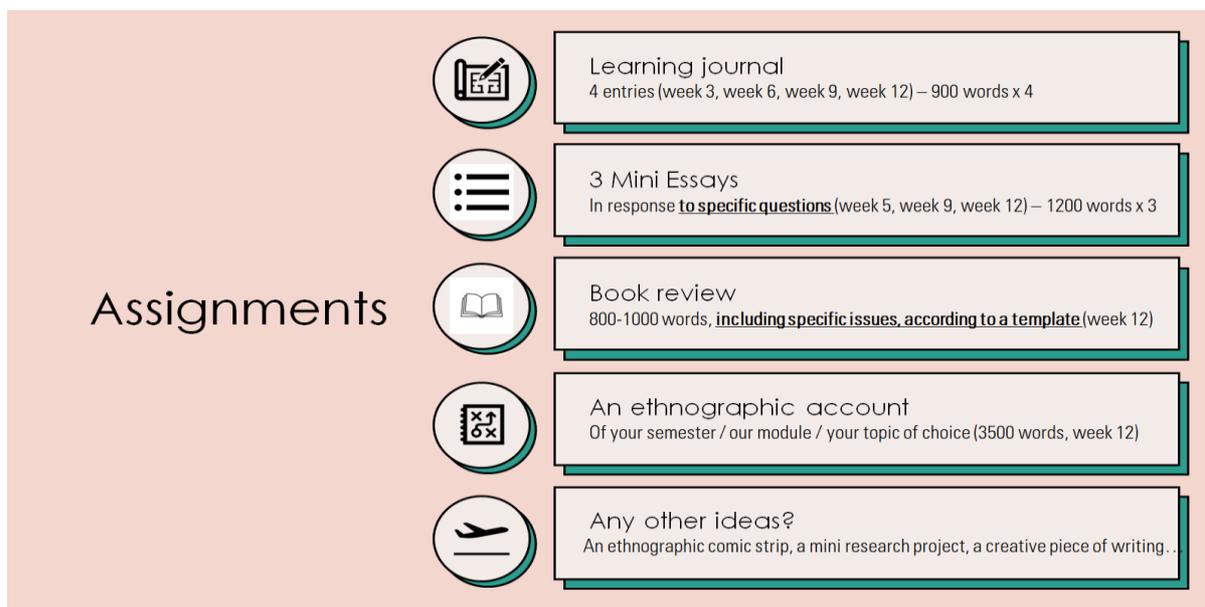
Some students selected the periodic learning diary, where they could write informally about what they learned in each class, what surprised them and why, and detail out how they connected the classroom discussions, readings, and other material with their own experience of reading and writing ethnographically. Other students chose to answer specific questions from the module content in a series of three mini-essays of 1200 words each. Book reviews of one of the twenty ethnographies on our digital "bookshelf" were the third option for assessment. Finally, students could venture into writing an ethnographic account of the course, the semester, or whatever aspect of their student life they wanted to write about. Additionally, each student had the freedom to develop an assignment in a format completely on their own: creative texts like ethnographic poetry, multimedia pieces, and vlogs were mentioned as potential material for assessment – and some students took on the challenge of producing beautiful and powerful texts with incredible sensibility. Such pedagogic practices made learning spaces and practices democratic: students learned the value of their own unique thinking and skills while also assuming responsibility for their choices (hooks, 1994, 2010). The assessment types were selected so as to offer students the possibility to use their strengths and interests and acknowledged that students may have and/or want to develop different abilities and skills. It provided the freedom necessary for the students to approach the assessment with interest and curiosity rather than anxiety and feelings of constraint and put the students at the same level as the teacher and tutor in a position of non-hierarchical co-creation. We were inspired, for example, by other colleagues' practices, such as an experimental cross-site teaching project where teachers at the Political Science Department, University of Düsseldorf taught students at the University of Pretoria and vice-versa using shared classes and video-conferencing tools to study peace-building, human mobility and mediation. One of the major contributions of this project was moving towards just knowledge reproduction and co-creation (Khoo et al., 2020).

Importantly, the module also dissolved the hierarchical relationship between teacher and tutor. As opposed to the established relationship of a tutor "seconding" and helping out the module teacher by conducting tutorials alone, the tutor here was a co-creator and co-teacher. Besides co-designing the curriculum, the tutor also conducted lectures, which not only brought a different voice into the curriculum and the classroom, but the fact that the voice was of a woman academic of colour was empowering to many marginalised students. In fact, we reflected on one particular event, where one of the students, a Muslim woman wearing a hijab, spoke for the first time in the two years of classes in which the lecturer had worked with her to express how empowering it had been for her to see Bhargabi, a woman of colour, as a teacher.

The equal standing of the lecturer and tutor became visible from the first class. The lecturer had chosen a quote from Oscar Wilde to reflect on the relationship between writing and critical thinking (Figure 3). Although naturally, writing was the core topic of the course, Bhargabi raised the point that writing may not be an easy task for everyone – particularly for neurodivergent students – but that did not mean that critical thinking was an impossibility and that better than "writing" perhaps we should focus on "expressing oneself". The lecturer stood corrected, valued the comment and the discussion that it opened up, and amended the quote directly on the slide. That moment was disruptive of traditional hierarchies between lecturer and tutor and demonstrated practically how learning is a multidirectional process, how neither the lecturer nor Oscar Wilde are the guardians of undisputable, superior knowledge, and how critical thinking works in practice. It also showed that dissenting voices are heard and respected and have the power to shape the ideas emerging from class.

FIGURE 3

The lecturer (and Oscar Wilde) stand corrected
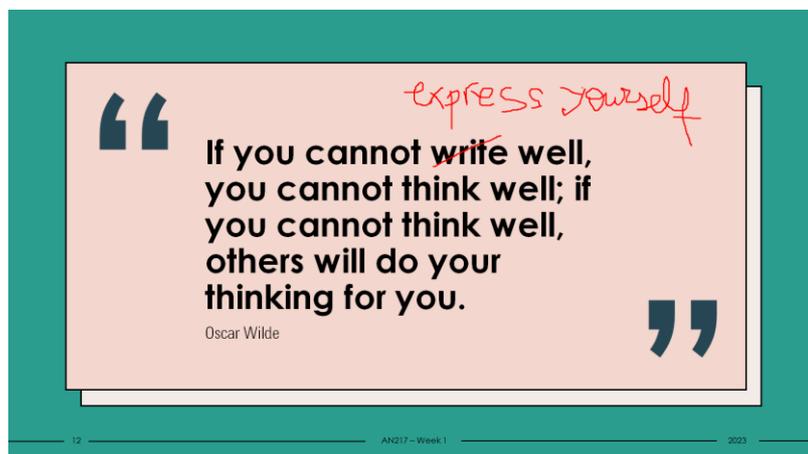
The larger intention of the principles embodied by the module was that we aimed to not just relay information and work *for* students but also work *with* them (Freire, 1968/2005; hooks, 1994), which meant treating them equally, treating each other equally and our own selves equally. Through the module, we extended an invitation to ourselves and to students to "do" teaching and learning otherwise: in a non-hierarchical, authentic, and vulnerable (Behar, 1996) way. The classroom became a space of possibilities and potentialities where both students and ourselves would participate in learning from and with each other.

Principle 2: Liberating pedagogies: the classroom as a space of freedom

Education has been conceptualised as a tool to raise consciousness, enabling our capacity to be free (Freire, 1968/2005; hooks, 1994). Hence, the pedagogic practices of the module were designed with a deep desire to enable students to question the oppressiveness of certain academic practices and make learning a joyous and inspiring experience. The principle at the core of our practice was simple: if we are to teach students that other – better – worlds are possible, then the classroom must become the microcosm where we put into practice the values of equity, equality, authenticity, vulnerability, and openness. In other words, as Shawn Ginwright (2008) put it, our pedagogy is aimed at teaching the world *as it could be*. One of the main critical principles upheld throughout the module was that learning will be a non-coercive and non-punitive journey. Teaching liberation from the neoliberal precepts of education must be based on models of alter-education that question hierarchical, controlling, and punitive teaching practices such as penalties for late submissions or inflexible deadlines. We brought up the discussion on the word "deadline", exploring its etymological roots in the prison system. In use since the 1860s, the "dead line" referred to a line drawn (or a ditch dug) within the prison yard to delimit the area where prisoners were allowed to move.[1] Beyond the "dead line", any prisoner was shot dead from atop the watch towers controlled by the prison guards. The "dead line" was not only a way to prevent escapes but also a tool to oppress the prisoners. In his prison diary, William Williston Heartsill notes:

> The guard lines are drawn in; making our playgrounds much smaller and cutting us off from our best well of water, this is done for no other purpose under the sun but to interfere with our only enjoyment and to grind us to the lowest depth of subjugation.[2]

The historical violence attached to these terminologies led to discussions inviting the critical assessment of some of the current academic practices and the punitive cultures that they uphold. We reflected on the significance of the fact that the word "deadline" is used so frequently and nonchalantly in our culture and conceptualised our need to break free from such rationalities as much as possible. We collectively decided to avoid the usage of the word "deadline" and replace it with "submission date". We opened up spaces of flexibility when it came to submissions in an attempt to ensure that assignments did not become "projects of terror" that affect students' mental health and wellbeing and, in the process, kill creativity. There were no punishments for "late" submissions, no reasons were demanded for extensions, and students were advised that they did not need to show medical certificates, as this information was deemed private and confidential, and we privileged trust in our students against controlling practices. We emphatically explained that our role was not that of policing the students but of inspiring them to do their work authentically and freely while nourishing their responsibility to bring the course to fruition. The aim was to counter neoliberal academia's emphasis on competition, productivity and efficiency (Bal et al., 2014; Courtois & O'Keefe, 2015) with ideas of cooperation, honesty, trust, and care (Askins & Blazek, 2017), making students recognise

---

[1] https://www.merriam-webster.com/wordplay/your-deadline-wont-kill-you
[2] William Williston Heartsill, Diary of William Williston Heartsill (entry Mar. 1863), quoted in https://www.merriam-webster.com/wordplay/your-deadline-wont-kill-you

that assignments are simply a tiny reflection of one's learning and not definitive of one's academic qualification, and definitely not of one's value as a human. Moreover, we reflected together with the students on how the neoliberal university is a machinery aimed at producing disciplined workers and subsuming them into the prerogatives of capitalist economic productivity and efficiency (Hyatt et al., 2015; Ivancheva, 2015; Morrissey, 2013) and emphasised that the course would be a space of liberation from these constraints and that we wished for their writing to be a tool in this process.

Assignments instead became sites of creativity. As evidenced in their evaluations, students appreciated the multiple options of assignment formats given to choose from, as well as the liberty to propose a project of their own. This was our attempt to recognise and respect diverse learning and writing styles and encourage students to explore their own ideas and creativity and use their best talents and skills. We emphasised the joyfulness of writing and invited students to *enjoy* the assignments.

Keeping in mind the diversity of the classroom, along with the discipline's colonial origins, we ensured that inclusivity be one of the fundamental principles woven into the module, but not just in tokenistic ways that fail to disturb power relationships. For example, we ensured that diverse materials, such as audiobooks, were included for dyslexic and neurodivergent students. Out of the twenty ethnographies that we included in the "Class bookshelf", seventeen were written by women, authors of colour, or scholars from the Global South, in a bid to decentre the figure of the White man from the canon of anthropology. In the second class, we started by recognising that the stories we tell ourselves about our discipline matter, and instead of starting the course with Malinowski as the founding "father" of ethnography – something that students would get plenty of chance to study in other modules – we decided to discuss how and why another figure in anthropology was given much less credit: that of a potential "mother" of ethnography – student of Franz Boas and thus contemporary with Malinowski, and moreover author of a writing style that could have even been considered "experimental" in the anthropology of the 1990s. The introduction to the writing of ethnography happened not through the classic *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (Malinowski, 1922), but through *Barracoon: The Story of the Last "Black Cargo"* by Zora Neale Hurston (2018), a "*Maestrapiece*" of ethnography, as Alice Walker (2018) calls it. An American anthropologist and a Black woman, Hurston wrote the *Barracoon* almost around the same time as Bronislaw Malinowski's classic, but the book only got published in 2018 after extensive unearthing work done by Alice Walker and careful editorial work by Deborah G. Plant. That Zora Neale Hurston became more known for her novels than her ethnographic work, and that other female students of Boas, like Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead, took a prominent place in the history of anthropology, betrays the racial dynamics at play in academia – the very same we wanted to critique and dismantle. We also aimed at freeing the story of ethnography from its own – White, male, upper-class (aspiring) – canon and going to the grassroots, listening to Kossula tell the story of the last Black Cargo in America as collected with care and love by Zora. Contrary to the omniscient auctorial voice that presses upon the Trobriand Islanders an anthropological narrative in which they have no say, the *Barracoon* respects the storytelling sensibilities and speech idiosyncrasies of Kossula, who, in between tears and revived pain, tells the harrowing story of his abduction on the last ship carrying African slaves from Dahomey to America.

The introductory ethnography set the intentions of the module in place for the students – that, by design, it will question colonial, exclusive, extractive, and discriminatory practices attached to ethnography from the perspectives of its reading, writing and publishing. It is an attempt to right the wrongs of colonial epistemic injustices (Khoo et al., 2020; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013) by including voices and writings of marginalised anthropologists, introducing in the process worlds, characters, writing styles and voices that otherwise always remained invisibilised. This did not mean that we excluded classic moments in the history of anthropological writing, replacing the canon (Mogstad & Tse, 2018), but we approached them differently while acknowledging the epistemological baggage of our discipline. For instance, when talking about the *Writing Culture* moment in anthropology (Clifford & Marcus, 1986) – when anthropologists published reflections on the politics and poetics of ethnographic writing, advocating to open up the practice of writing to experimentation and to develop reflexivity with regard to the political inherent in writing – we focused on the criticism to the volume brought forward by the collection *Women Writing Culture* (Behar & Gordon, 1996), which decentred some of the claims made by the authors of the chapters in *Writing Culture* and criticised their blindness to women's contributions to anthropological writing. The absence of women as authors in *Writing Culture* (except for Mary Louise Pratt – more of a literary critic rather than an anthropologist) and the dismissal of their contributions to experimental writing was starkly contrasted, again, with Zora Neale Hurston's (2018) work that we approached at the beginning of the course, and with the experimental and reflexive depth of some of the chapters in *Women Writing Culture*. We demonstrated what it means to study anthropology by not only focusing on the White male "forefathers" but broadening the picture to include voices traditionally ignored in the discipline, which grants debates on ethnographic writing and its history their due complexity. This approach allowed us not only to include silenced, minority scholars – from a liberal standpoint of mere acknowledgement of diversity – but to centre their contributions from a radical angle that at the same time teaches and deconstructs the canon (Mogstad & Tse, 2018; Thomas & Clarke, 2023).

We also included a discussion of the politics of citation. We discussed not only how to cite works according to different styles and why that is important, but we also illustrated how citation practices reproduce relations of domination by privileging White male academics while silencing other voices. We discussed the statement of the Cite Black Women collective (Smith et al., 2021) that seeks to redress the epistemic erasure of Black women academics and embedded this discussion in broader questions of whose knowledge counts and whose does not. In doing so, we sought to combat what Paula Chakravartty and colleagues (2018) call "citational Whiteness", joining a recent move by non-White scholars claiming their rightful place in global networks of knowledge production.

Principle 3: Care, vulnerability, and love

The choice of ethnographies inherently encouraged wide participation and critical discussions surrounding race, gender, and class as hierarchising principles and how reading and writing as acts can be redemptive and healing. The module encouraged students to explore, understand and develop their own

relationship with writing. Tutorial exercises helped explore this relationship deeper and brought the focus from "knowledge that is out there" to a knowing that is within, situating conversations surrounding self and what writing does to this self – exposed in its complexities and vulnerabilities.

This also meant that the module was dedicated to creating a safe space for students to publicly share their ongoing struggles and pleasures with writing. One of the very first acts of storytelling in class was when Ana discussed her own relationship with writing, as the daughter of a famous writer in her country of origin, of whom it has always been expected that she writes. Although she loves writing, she rebelled against this prescription imposed by others, and it is in anthropology that she found her own way of writing, far removed from her father's and from the risk of her writing being compared to his. For her, anthropological writing meant liberation, although, at times, the pressure to write was paralysing within this context, too. Discussing these intimate biographical details and reflections created a space where vulnerability was not only accepted and cherished but could constitute a premise from which ethnographic writing could surge and flourish. Such a display of vulnerabilities turned the classroom into a space of free, authentic, and intimate expression that students were able to explore in their full cognitive and emotional complexities.

Many read out their pieces publicly, particularly in tutorials. In fact, sharing – sharing *of* and sharing *with* – proved critical in making our classroom space liberatory. To that end, it was vital that we, as teachers, shared, too, instead of acting as distanced and neutral epistemic stewards. It was important that we made ourselves vulnerable because it showed our students that they could take risks too, that they could be vulnerable and that their thoughts and ideas would be respected (hooks, 2010). Confessions, i.e., bringing in personal incidents/stories, was an important aspect of pedagogy. In one of the lectures on vulnerability in ethnography, the entire lecture was a confession where Bhargabi shared stories of guilt while doing research during COVID and staying with family. We also shared our own relationship and struggles with writing – of how one of us, because of academic precarity and the financial and mental health struggles that came with it, still sat with an unpublished thesis, while the other coiled with episodes of self-doubt when it came to finally submitting her thesis. These affective relationships forged in the classroom space proved to be effective pedagogies (Dyke & Meyerhoff, 2013), as students felt we placed ourselves at the same level as themselves: instead of all-knowing experts teaching from a position of authority, we shared similar struggles as equals.

This display of vulnerability from our end showed that students could be vulnerable, too. And they were. The classroom became a space where students shared stories of lonely homes, of nervousness and excitement of finding out about their sexuality, or of falling in love with strangers in new countries. As opposed to a restrictive and repressive classroom, this classroom that respected and gave space for emotions to be shared and stored was a liberatory and joyful one. In fact, to make learning pleasurable (hooks, 1994), humour was a vital part of our classes. It was important that jokes and laughter found a place in the classroom. Teachers often fear laughter in the classroom because it can be seen as a nuisance, disturbance or a tool through which their authority is diminished. But for us, laughter indicated greater engagement on the classroom floor; students cracking a joke, saying something funny or laughing at our jokes only helped deepen the relationship of trust with students and felt empowering.

The pedagogic practices were fully in line with abolitionist classroom practices (Love, 2019): while acknowledging and opposing discriminatory, violent and unjust educational practices, we also aimed to address and remedy them and focused on bringing in cultures of care, love, and joy. We chose equality against hierarchy, freedom against the enactment of rigid constraints, and care against control.

CARE between elation and hopelessness

Our attempts at practising decolonial and abolitionist pedagogies and immersing ourselves in them felt liberatory for us, too. Engagement with the module and the students not only gave us agency and empowerment but also enthusiasm and meaning while we precariously worked within a neoliberal institution. Our conversations around the module were moments of elation. During one such moment, we decided to write an ethnography of the module and document our process, our thoughts, and our emotions. In February 2023, Ana wrote in what was planned to be a joint exercise of ethnographic writing about the module:

> It was ten days ago, give or take, that Bhargabi and I got very excited about the module, again. I often felt elated about the module – ever since it was assigned to me last year – and our conversations (Bhargabi & I) always became delicious moments of shared exultation at what seemed endless possibilities. We could decolonise anthropology! Yes! We could use the printable stories from [the university] library as teaching material! Yes! We could use Bhargabi's final steps of the thesis as a learning moment about revising. Yes!

> It dawned on us that the module itself, and particularly the learning process that involves every single one of us, could be the subject of an ethnographic approach. That we could document how the module happens as a process – a learning process, a process of non-hierarchical collaboration and co-creation, a process of weaving together ethnographic reading and writing to show the beauty of it all to the second-year students. And that our own ethnography of the module could serve as an example to the students.

> We haven't started from the beginning, but we can perhaps catch up with the last four weeks of class prep, lectures, tutorials, discussions between us, and interactions with the students. But today I wanted to write about my appreciation of the writing assignment from the first class.

> After telling the deeply personal story of my own relationship with reading and writing in the introductory class, I asked students to write about their relationship with both reading and writing. The assignment was optional and would not be graded. It would also – as always – not be subjected to deadline pressures (a word which we agreed, actually, to replace with "submission date"). The students should feel free to write as much, or as little, as they want to. The questions were:
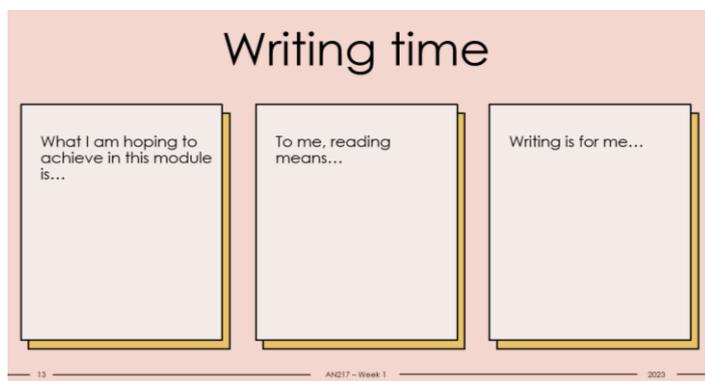
> As of today, a little more than half of the students have submitted a page or two on this. From the 63 texts received so far, I managed to write a personal comment on 16. Two of them are submitted as "drafts" – students used to submitting assignments for grades, anxious that what they wrote might earn them a bad grade? Perhaps.

> Anxiety about assignments is one of the first things that I noticed when I started teaching at [this university], and one of the reasons why I adopted some strategies to recenter students' attention to the learning process in itself, away from the formal fulfilment of requirements. "How many words?", "What is the deadline?", "Can I get an extension?" seem to preoccupy the students more than the content of the classes, or the learning process. Slowly, other questions started emerging on creative types of assignments – making a video, a website, a photo journal... This is good. This signals the unlearning of all the formal crap that studying at the university has become. This makes place for exploring, experimenting, excelling in other ways than the prescribed – and boring – ones.
>
> I turned today to reading the students' submissions for the initial piece of writing because I could not grapple with my own writing. I am incredibly anxious about the two texts that I need to submit next week, and while the topics are lovely and I do want to write them, I find myself almost paralysed when it comes to actually sitting down and writing. This confession, I hope, will ease the burden of those anxious about writing. I am not always this anxious. But this time, it's bad. Real bad. So I went on Moodle and opened the first submission without a feedback comment. The last sentence of that text read: "I feel that writing wants to be my friend, but I am afraid of it." (notes, 25 February 2023)

Ana felt goosebumps at the vulnerability that this student expressed and that she shared at that particular moment. It put her and the students on equal footing and expressed the complexity of approaching writing both as a friend and as an anxiogenic task. It allowed Ana to reflect on what exactly paralysed her and undid the writer's block that had plagued her until then, showing how mutual support and care could work in a community when emotions found a way into the writing. As feedback, Ana wrote: "Thank you! I LOVED the last sentence of your text – it is so powerful and touching it gave me goosebumps! It shows that writing is already your friend. Maybe you can make fear your friend too?"

Care materialised in pastoral practices that embodied abolitionist principles. We remember the time when a student was hardly able to keep her eyes open in one of the tutorials. Later in the class, Bhargabi walked up to her and told her that if she was sleepy, she needed not to attend the tutorial, or if she was worried about attendance, she could use this tutorial time and space to rest. She was assured that this course, classes and the teacher were not as important as she thought – definitely not more important than her own health. As soon as that was conveyed, tears rolled down the student's eyes, and she started weeping. As Bhargabi comforted her, the student confessed how exhausting her bachelor's experience had been, with non-flexible "deadlines", non-accommodative teachers and punishments for late submissions (although to its merit, the department was quite famous in the university for the leniency regarding submission dates). Her mental and physical health had seen new lows, and she was always exhausted. Listening to her, other students echoed similar thoughts. We felt gutted when we heard this and repeated that while we had no control over other modules, for this module, if they required more time, they could email us, and we would be happy to give students the required time for their submissions. Hearing this, students clapped and let out sighs of relief. As the tutorial ended, the student came up to Bhargabi and, taking her hands in hers, thanked her. Our pastoral care consisted of a practice of accompaniment (García Peña, 2022): a sensibility, a disposition, and a practice that centres community. In her book examining survival in academia as a woman of colour, *Community as Rebellion*, Lorgia García Peña identifies two metaphors of accompaniment that defined this concept in her pedagogic practice: the image of accompanying a community on a pathway and that of musical accompaniment in a moment of co-creation.

While it broke our hearts to hear about students' experiences of learning in the university, seeing their relieved and finally collected faces gave us hope that our tiniest efforts of weaving care into the neoliberal academia can matter a lot to many. Care and love are required to enhance the capacity of our lives. People cannot participate as relational beings without the experience of being nurtured (Cantillon & Lynch, 2017; hooks, 2000). Receiving love and care have been identified as basic human needs (Nussbaum, 1995), and feminist scholars have played a key role in advocating for love and care as political public goods, not simply restricted to the private sphere and that which are critical for social justice (Ferguson, 1989; Fraser, 1997). In a neoliberal academia which invisibilises and marginalises narratives of care and love, it is important to "unhide" (Katz, 2001) them (Askins & Blazek, 2017). More than that, it is crucial to bring the debate towards the relationship between an ethics of care that is distributed unevenly in academia, falling disproportionately on women, precarious scholars, and migrant and non-White scholars, and practices that produce and reproduce precarisation (Rajaram, 2021).

Neoliberal academia cleverly paints learning spaces as "practical", "rational", and devoid of emotions while continually injecting them with particular "affective economies" (Ahmed, 2004) that prompt emotions of anxiety, stress, and exhaustion. Our resistance to this violence of neoliberal academia is to accept the university as a place of emotions and to carve out spaces where these emotions can play out in supportive ways. Such "affective recognition" (Honneth, 2003) is critical for "affective justice and equality" (Cantillon & Lynch, 2017) as we render visible ideas of caring for and "caring with" (Askins & Blazek, 2017) the marginalized in academia, and ourselves in the process.

Our visibilisation of care in academia allowed the students to be more honest and vulnerable with us and each other, as reflected in the vignette described above. In fact, as pedagogues, making ourselves vulnerable contributes to the narrative of care and empowerment of the marginalized. During a lecture on vulnerability in ethnography where Bhargabi opened up about her family and her own feelings of guilt that she struggled with during fieldwork in India, a visibly Muslim student who otherwise did not engage much in previous classes brought in her experiences and stories from her homeland. That lecture also saw a lot of students asking questions about the lecturer's background and her culture and opening up about their experience of guilt, too. The Muslim student's stories and her opening up were also indicative of how inclusivity and representativeness can empower the marginalized, going beyond acts of mere performative "DEI" politics. A migrant woman teacher of colour taking charge and vulnerably sharing stories from her world, stories that are otherwise not rendered visible in White European neoliberal academia, found resonances in other migrant women students of colour, showing that their voices and stories are equally important in the classroom.

In fact, later in their feedback, students shared how the lecture impacted them. One of the students shared how even if they do not share the same culture as the lecturer, they found it relatable and the lecture had made them "consider looking into further study in Anthropology" (Student feedback, 2023). Other students expressed how the introduction and discussion of works of creative ethnographies and non-White ethnographers made them realise that those are "equally important and academically serious" (Student feedback, 2023) and in the process helped many to reconsider their "approach to the discipline and to

writing in general" (Student feedback, 2023). Students also reflected on how the module was successful in creating spaces for pause, slowing down – and reflection. And, as Paulo Freire (1968/2005) notes, reflection in learning processes can play a critical role in transforming individuals and societies. In fact, without moments of reflection, there can be no effective learning.

Such student feedback, along with classroom moments that are recounted above, revealed themselves as sites of pure joy and elation for us. Those moments reaffirmed our belief that weaving care into classrooms, curriculums, and pedagogies was vital for learning – it was to bring joy, engagement and decolonial hope into learning spaces (hooks, 1994).

However, such moments of elation and hope co-existed with moments of hopelessness and violence. We were both precarious workers on temporary contracts within the university. While one of us was a mid-career scholar in the ninth year of academic precarity, the other was a final year PhD candidate, just months away from submission of her thesis. While we were exhausted and precarious, the greatest anxiety was the non-extension of our contracts. Thus, besides the job at hand, we also spent a lot of time and energy seeking alternative employment opportunities. This also impacted our mental health. As precarious migrant academics, we had scarce emotional or financial resources as support nets during that time (Askins & Blazek, 2017; Ivancheva et al., 2019).

One of us had also experienced harassment within the department during the time and was in the process of filing a complaint. Being a migrant academic of colour, the experience of harassment proved very traumatic as there were very few systems to provide care – friends or family. The officer who was approached about the complaint process stated that it took at least eight to nine months (if not more) for the committee to come to a decision. Ahmed (cited in Dey, 2022, p. 23) understands this as "institutional ghosting", where the University drags the process without taking accountability or providing care, with the result that the complainant and her story are slowly made to disappear. Thus, the violence of the incident was carried forward by the processes of the neoliberal university, which left the complainant hopeless and exhausted. As a last-minute plea for help, the complainant had also approached the head of the department to inform them about the incident and told them that the department should be cautious about the predator. Less than two weeks later, a collective email was circulated in the department to invite colleagues to this person's birthday party. This left the complainant gutted, making her feel that her trust was completely abused and that her being wronged mattered little to all others in the department.

The other of us had moved to Ireland with her family following reassurances – expressed in private and in front of witnesses – that the temporary position she occupied through a specific purpose contract (to replace a colleague on a management duty) was likely going to be made permanent, as the person replaced stated repeatedly they did not intend to come back to the department. This proved untrue. During her slightly less than three years of employment at the university, she felt marginalised, ignored, and exploited in several ways. For instance, it had taken her one year to have her profile up on the department's page. When a conference was organised by a colleague on a topic on which she had an award-winning paper, she only found out about the conference when she was asked, after the conference had taken place, to

upload photographs of the event on the department's social media profile, which she had been asked to create and run. She was also asked to grade rather than teach a course on a topic on which she had extensive expertise, and her teaching was limited to one module in the second semester so as to free up her time for grading a different course on an entirely new topic – a task which she felt compelled to accept due to her precarity and the prospects of being employed permanently in the department. Towards the end of her contract, she felt used, abused, and discarded without as much as a thank you note.

Both of our experiences in the department prompted us to reflect on our condition of expendability as precariously employed knowledge migrants. Occupying a position of expendability impacted not only our mental health: one of us suffered from stomach aches as soon as she approached the campus of the university and was compelled to increase the dosage of her antidepressant intake, which had consequences on her physical health, too. Our relationship provided moments of healing and profound support for both of us, and through our pedagogic and *care-ful* practice, we felt that we shaped together a space for the university we would want rather than the existing neoliberal academy. Another great source of healing was the students: when they heard that the lecturer's contract was not going to be renewed, they spoke to her, expressing their incomprehension, appreciation for her teaching, and readiness to write a petition and undertake action in support of her. This dissolved the stomach cramps and made it easier to come to class every week over the last months of the contract. More than anything, it is perhaps the fact that we still receive from students, two years after we taught the course, messages of gratitude and acknowledgement of the role that the class played, in particular for those who decided to write a thesis in anthropology, that nourishes us and encourages us to continue the practice of abolitionist pedagogies in our respective new institutions.[3] These messages remind us that love (Freire, 1968/2005; hooks, 2000) – love for the students, love for teaching and learning should triumph over moments of depression and hopelessness. This article was born out of our experiences of care and love that bell hooks writes about when she refers to learning in community as a practice of love. Those memories of love acted as the shoulders on which we leaned when the violence of the neoliberal academy rendered us expendable.

Conclusion: From fleeting pedagogies to consistent CARE practices

Precisely because of our expendability to the university, our course was a fleeting moment that only one cohort of students in anthropology at our former institution experienced. Before the end of her contract,

---

[3] In fact, we received a new message from a former student precisely as this article underwent the final proofs. The message reads: "I was in your anthropology class in 2022, when I was a second year. I am a final year student now, and I recently saw you under a tweet by complete chance - it made everything flood back to me, and I wanted to reach out. I loved attending your lectures, even as I trudged to the station in miserable Ireland weather at 6 pm. You and Bhargabi made everything bearable. I was sad I couldn't attend more of your lectures, as I left Ireland for my study abroad and you weren't there when I came back. It was only then I realized that [the university] had put you in a situation of job precarity, and how much that affects a person. I was both completely baffled that they would do such thing to a lecturer who thoroughly dismantled colonial anthropology practices, taught us the writings of Zora Neale Hurston, underlined the importance of citing Black and marginalized authors. I learned so much and experienced so much in just that one semester. (...) I hope that whatever work you are doing now, you are being treated well and are being appreciated as a person. (...) [Y]our presence in both my academic journey and online time-space reminds me why I chose this major and why I won't regret it. Please be well."

the lecturer was repeatedly asked by the departments' admins to leave all the teaching materials for this course so the next professor could use them. We discussed and reflected on this request, and we saw it as yet another exploitative practice that we could not give into. Considering that the person in charge of teaching the class in the future once mentioned dismissively in a private conversation, "decolonising anthropology, whatever that even means", we simply knew that they would be unable – if not already unwilling – to use the materials we designed, and even less to repeat the liberatory pedagogy that accompanied the syllabus and to teach (with) CARE. We then decided to resist the appropriation of our labour (Rajaram, 2021) and remove all the material from the university's repository. The next year, the course went back to the hegemonic canon and focused on some of the usual suspects – Frazer, Malinowski, Lévi-Strauss, and Margaret Mead.

How, then, can we practice decolonial and abolitionist pedagogies when gains such as the way we conceived and taught this course became undone by our precarious employment and our expendability? How can change be exerted from the margins of academia? How can we make liberatory pedagogies a consistent practice in our current moment, against the grain of the role that the neoliberal university fulfils: that of producing disciplined, obedient workers while silencing and marginalising critical voices?

Because of its colonial heritage and foundations, anthropology – and in particular ethnographic reading and writing – demands decolonial pedagogies able to account for the colonial violences at the heart of the discipline. One valuable lesson that we learned is that the decolonisation of the discipline is an ongoing struggle resembling more a Sisyphean, cyclical task than the accumulation of progressive gains: despite the longevity of this conversation in anthropology, practices of coloniality within the academy (Quijano, 2000) such as White (and often male) privilege, elitist hiring practices, the appropriation of the labour of precarious academics, and paternalistic and often despising attitudes towards students abound. Neoliberal logics of control, production of student (un)deservingness, or the exclusion of precarious and struggling students pervade the classroom, rendering it a space that structures social relationships to produce individuals useful to the capitalist system. As we know well from practising ethnography, there is a vast difference between what the university *says* it does (developing critical thinking among students, contributing to more just worlds), and what it ends up doing in practice: uncritically reproducing unequal, unjust, oppressive social relations.

Reflecting back on the experience of our course, our transformative pedagogic practices were possible because we saw ourselves and students as collaborators on an equal footing. This gave the students a sense of ownership of the module and made them feel responsible for contributing to the learning process in their own way and capacities. The commitment to such transformative pedagogic practices was also possible because the module was led by two precarious female academics who were failed by the university's "duty of care": one unprotected against the abuse of a senior colleague, the other used, abused, and discarded, just like her predecessor (Drążkiewicz, 2021). We saw the value and the absolute need to develop practices of care in learning spaces, with students and among ourselves. Our own experiences of marginalisation (due to the intersections of gender, racialisation, or migration status) strengthened our commitment to practise pedagogies that would become a tool for liberation, equality and decolonial thinking.

Our strong commitment to feminist scholarship (Madhok, 2020; Rich, 1986), along with continued conversations and support from communities of whom we both were members, also helped us to not only conceive this module with a creative, transformative vision but also kept us going despite the abuse of the neoliberal academia. But more importantly, our friendship, which is premised on the ideals of feminism and decoloniality, has been the site of growth, care, creativity, and transformative ideation. The creative and transformative power of female friendships, the way they validate the self and extend solidarity, have been well documented by scholars such as Rose and Roades (1987), Brown and Yalom (2015), Phadke and Kanagasabai (2023), and many others. Our friendship has nourished us enough to resist the violence of neoliberal academia as we continued to collaboratively immerse ourselves in the ideation and sustenance of a module based on decolonial pedagogy.

To make such practices consistent, they must be embedded in the way departments work, in our graduate and mentorship programmes, and in curricula. They must be modelled in our classroom and in our departments, which must uphold their duty of care, in particular towards precarious scholars, those from underserved communities, and students. We point towards recent initiatives such as ACTRACT: the Ascona Vision and Charter towards Transformative Anthropology, an initiative of the Interface Commission within the Swiss Anthropology Association.[4] The charter emphasises care as one of the core values that must structure our relationships, be they organised around research, teaching, or within our departments. It aims at rallying anthropologists around the necessity of redefining concepts that have been appropriated or hollowed out by neoliberal academia: inclusion, diversity, and equality, to name just a few. It also aims at sending a strong message to younger generations of scholars: that our communities are overdue for a transformative change that truly embodies the values that should be at the core of our professional practice as a means to resist the violence of neoliberal academia. If the Ascona charter starts with care as a core value, it ends with hope as duty: the hope in more just and truly decolonised worlds like the microcosm we created in our classroom.

References

Ahmed, Sara (2004). *The cultural politics of emotion*. Routledge.

Allen, Jafari S., & Jobson, Ryan C. (2016). The decolonizing generation: (Race) and theory in anthropology since the eighties. *Current Anthropology*, *57*(2), 129–148. https://doi.org/10.1086/685502

Andreotti, Virginia O., Stein, Sharon, Ahenakew, Cash, & Hunt, Dallas (2015). Mapping interpretations of decolonization in the context of higher education. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, *4*(1), 21–40. https://jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/des/article/view/22168

Aparna, Kolar, Krivonos, Daria, & Pascucci, Elisa (2025). Introduction: Souths and Easts as a method: Europeanisation as violence. In Kolar Aparna, Daria Krivonos, & Elisa Pascucci (Eds.), *Europeanisation as violence: Racialized modernities across the global South and East* (pp. 1–29). Manchester University Press,

[4] https://www.seg-interface.org/ascona-charter

Askins, Kye, & Blazek, Matej (2017). Feeling our way: Academia, emotions and a politics of care. *Social & Cultural Geography*, *18*(8), 1086–1105. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2016.1240224

Bal, Ellen, Grassiani, Erella, & Kirk, Kate (2014). Neoliberal individualism in Dutch universities: Teaching and learning anthropology in an insecure environment. *Learning and Teaching: The International Journal of Higher Education in the Social Sciences*, *7*(3), 46–72. https://doi.org/10.3167/latiss.2014.070303

Behar, Ruth (1996). *The vulnerable observer: Anthropology that breaks your heart*. Beacon Press.

Behar, Ruth, & Gordon, Deborah (1996). *Women writing culture*. University of California Press.

Brown, Theresa D., & Yalom, Marilyn (2015). *The social sex: A history of female friendship*. HarperCollins.

Cantillon, Sara, & Lynch, Kathleen (2017). Affective equality: Love matters. *Hypatia*, *32*(1), 169–186. https://doi.org/10.1111/hypa.12305

Chakravartty, Paula, Kuo, Rachel, Grubbs, Victoria, & McIlwain, Charlton (2018). #CommunicationSoWhite. *Journal of Communication*, *68*(2), 254–266. https://doi.org/10.1093/joc/jqy003

Clifford, James, & Marcus, George E. (Eds.). (1986). *Writing culture: The poetics and politics of ethnography*. University of California Press.

Courtois, Aline, & O'Keefe, Theresa (2015). Precarity in the ivory cage: Neoliberalism and casualisation of work in the Irish higher education sector. *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies*, *13*(1), 43–66.

Dey, Adrija (2022). "We are louder when we are heard together": Sara Ahmed on *Complaint! Wasafiri*, *37*(1), 22–30. https://doi.org/10.1080/02690055.2022.1999655

Drążkiewicz, Ela (2021, February 5). *Blinded by the light: International precariat in academia*. FocaalBlog. http://www.focaalblog.com/2021/02/05/ela-drazkiewicz-blinded-by-the-light-international-precariat-in-academia/

Dyke, Erin, & Meyerhoff, Eli (2013). An experiment in "radical" pedagogy and study: On the subtle infiltrations of "normal" education. *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, *29*(2), 267–280. https://journal.jctonline.org/index.php/jct/article/view/491

Ferguson, Ann (1989). *Blood at the root: Motherhood, sexuality and male domination*. Pandora; Unwin & Hyman.

Fotta, Martin, Ivancheva, Mariya, & Perneş, Raluca (2020). *The anthropological career in Europe: A complete report on the EASA membership survey*. European Association of Social Anthropologists. https://easaonline.org/publications/precarityrep

Fraser, Nancy (1997). After the family wage: A post-industrial thought experiment. In Nancy Fraser (Ed.), *Justice interruptus: Critical reflections on the "postsocialist" condition* (pp. 41–68). Routledge.

Freire, Paulo (2005). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Continuum. (Original work published in 1968).

García Peña, Lorgia (2022). *Community as rebellion: A syllabus for surviving academia as a woman of color*. Haymarket Books.

Ginwright, Shawn (2008). Collective radical imagination: Youth participatory action research and the art of emancipatory knowledge. In Julio Cammarota & Michelle Fine (Eds.), *Revolutionizing education* (pp. 13–22). Routledge.

Grosfoguel, Ramón (2012). The dilemmas of ethnic studies in the United States: Between liberal multiculturalism, identity politics, disciplinary colonization, and decolonial epistemologies. *Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge*, *10*(1), 81–89. https://scholarworks.umb.edu/humanarchitecture/vol10/iss1/9/

Harrison, Faye (Ed.). (1997). *Decolonizing anthropology: Moving further toward an anthropology for liberation*. American Anthropological Association.

Harrison, Faye (2012). Dismantling Anthropology's Domestic and International Peripheries. *World Anthropologies Network E-Journal*, *6*, 87–109. https://experts.illinois.edu/en/publications/dismantling-anthropologys-domestic-and-international-peripheries

Honneth, Axel (2003). Redistribution as recognition: A response to Nancy Fraser. In Nancy Fraser & Axel Honneth (Eds.), *Redistribution or recognition? A political-philosophical exchange* (pp. 110–160). Verso.

hooks, bell (1994). *Teaching to transgress: Education as the practice of freedom*. Routledge.

hooks, bell (2000). *All about love*. William Morrow.

hooks, bell (2010). *Teaching critical thinking: Practical wisdom*. Routledge.

Hurston, Zora N. (2018). *Barracoon: The story of the last "Black cargo"*. Amistad.

Hyatt, Susan B., Shear, Boone W., & Wright, Susan (2015). *Learning under neoliberalism: Ethnographies of governance in higher education.* Berghahn Books.

Ivancheva, Mariya (2015). The age of precarity and the new challenges to the academic profession. *Studia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai-Studia Europaea*, *60*(1), 39–47.

Ivancheva Mariya, Lynch, Kathleen, & Keating, Kathryn (2019). Precarity, gender and care in the neoliberal academy. *Gender Work Organ*, *26*(4), 448–462. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12350

Katz, Cindi (2001). Hiding the target: Social reproduction in the privatized urban environment. In C. Minca (Ed.), *Postmodern geography: Theory and praxis* (pp. 93–110). Wiley.

Khoo, Su-ming, Mucha, Witold, Pesch, Christina, & Wielenga, Cori (2020). Epistemic (in)justice and decolonisation in higher education: Experiences of a cross-site teaching project. *Acta Academica*, *52*(1), 54–75. https://doi.org/10.18820/24150479/aa52i1/SP4

Love, Bettina L. (2019). *We want to do more than survive: Abolitionist teaching and the pursuit of educational freedom*. Beacon Press.

Madhok, Sumi (2020). A critical reflexive politics of location, "feminist debt" and thinking from the Global South. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, *27*(4), 394–412. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506820952492

Malinowski, Bronislaw (1922). *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of native enterprise and adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea.* George Routledge and Sons.

Mbembe, Achille (2016). Decolonizing the university: New directions. *Arts & Humanities in Higher Education*, *15*(1), 29–45. https://doi.org/10.1177/1474022215618513

McClaurin, Irma (2001). *Black feminist anthropology: Theory, politics, praxis, and poetics*. Rutgers University Press.

Mogstad, Heidi, & Tse, Lee-Shan (2018). Decolonizing anthropology: Reflections from Cambridge. *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology*, *36*(2), 53–72. https://doi.org/10.3167/cja.2018.360206

Morrissey, John (2013). Governing the academic subject: Foucault, governmentality and the performing university. *Oxford Review of Education*, *39*(6), 797–810. https://doi.org/10.1080/03054985.2013.860891

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Sabelo J. (2013). Perhaps decoloniality is the answer? Critical reflections on development from a decolonial epistemic perspective: Editorial. *Africanus*, *43*(2), 1–11. https://hdl.handle.net/10520/EJC142701

Nussbaum, Martha (1995). Emotions and women's capabilities. In Martha Nussbaum & Jonathan Glover (Eds.), *Women, culture and development: A study of human capabilities* (pp. 360–395). Oxford University Press.

Phadke, Shilpa, & Kanagasabai, Nithila (2023). *Yaari: An anthology on friendship by women and queer folx*. Yoda Press.

Quijano, Aníbal (2000). Coloniality of power, eurocentrism and Latin America. *Nepantla: Views from South*, *1*(3), 533–580. https://muse.jhu.edu/article/23906

Rajaram, Prem K. (2021, February 9). *The moral economy of precarity*. FocaalBlog. http://www.focaalblog.com/2021/02/09/prem-kumar-rajaram-the-moral-economy-of-precarity/

Rich, Adrienne (1986). Notes toward a politics of location. In Adrienne Rich, *Blood, bread and poetry: Selected prose 1979-1985* (pp. 211–231). W. W. Norton.

Rose, Suzanna, & Roades, Laurie (1987). Feminism and women's friendships. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *11*(2), 243–254. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1987.tb00787.x

Sandberg, Marie (2020). Retrospective ethnographies: Twisting moments of researching commemorative practices among volunteers after the refugee arrivals to Europe 2015. In Tuuli Lähdesmäki, Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto, Viktorija L.A. Čeginskas, & Aino-Kaisa Koistinen (Eds.), *Challenges and solutions in ethnographic research: Ethnography with a twist* (pp. 117–130). Routledge.

Smith, Christen A., Williams, Erica L., Wadud, Imani A., & Pirtle, Whitney N. L. (2021). Cite Black women: A critical praxis (a statement). *Feminist Anthropology*, *2*, 10–17. https://doi.org/10.1002/fea2.12040

Stein, Sharon (2021). What can decolonial and abolitionist critiques teach the field of higher education? *Review of Higher Education*, *44*(3), 387–414.

Thomas, Deborah A., & Clarke, Kamari M. (2023, January 24). *Can anthropology be decolonized?* Sapiens. https://www.sapiens.org/culture/can-anthropology-be-decolonized/

Tripathi, Animesh, Polus, Reni, Zhang, Yunzhen, Nautiyal Rajesh, & Shaheer, Ismail (2022). "Remember that time?": Introducing retrospective collaborative autoethnography. *Tourism Recreation Research*, *49*(5), 1154–1159. https://doi.org/10.1080/02508281.2022.2109864

Venkatesan, Soumhya (2024). *Decolonising anthropology: An introduction*. Polity.

Walker, Alice (2018). Foreword: Those who love us never leave us alone with our grief. Reading Barracoon: The Story of the Last "Black Cargo". In Zora Neale Hurston, *Barracoon: The Story of the Last "Black Cargo"* (pp. 10–11). Amistad.