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Article:

Law, IG orcid.org/0000-0002-3850-2669 (2017) Building the Anti-racist University, action and new agendas. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 20 (3). pp. 332-343. ISSN 1361-3324

<https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2016.1260232>

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Building the Antiracist University, action and new agendas¹

The CERS Record, twenty years of research and action

There is an urgent need to interrogate and challenge the historical and contemporary processes of racism, whiteness and Eurocentrism that operate in universities around the world, and particularly in the UK. CERS (Centre for Ethnicity and Racism Studies) has been developing a foundational critique of higher education institutions based on a programme of work entitled Building the Antiracist University. CERS was established in 1998, building on the success of RAPP (Race and Public Policy Unit), led by Ian Law and Malcolm Harrison and established in 1992. RAPP focused on issues of racism and ethnicity across a variety of social policy fields in the UK with a particular focus on housing, social security and community and psychiatric care. Bringing together researchers active in this field across many departments at Leeds there was a common set of concerns about racism in the university sector, and at our first meeting a primary collective objective was agreed to work towards building an antiracist agenda across these institutions. CERS was established as a horizontal, flat, fluid network which facilitated the promotion of research in this field and which did not become an administrative and bureaucratic straitjacket for those involved. Underlying the establishment of CERS was also a collective will to keep the spotlight on racism as a primary field of research, symbolised in the Centre's name, particularly as a dominant trend in allied research centres in the UK was to jettison the specification of racism as a primary object of critical inquiry in favour of other foci including ethnic relations, migration and identities. CERS positions itself firmly within the long sociological tradition placing race and racism at the centre of the making of Western modernity, from Du Bois, Cooper, Cesaire and Fanon to contemporary theorists including Hall, Hesse, Collins, Goldberg, Glissant and Winant.

This article provides an overview of this work and makes the case for the global transformation of HEIs towards this goal. The wider CERS goal of an Antiracist Future was recently set out in our Manifesto²,

A vision of the future is in sight - the total transformation and dismantling of racism - through the mobilisation of a series of global transformations in the way the world works. Yet, we are beset on all sides as racism 'surges around us'. Regimes across the world live in a perpetual state of denial. Racism is not here these states cry, from China to the Russian Federation, from Myanmar to Mexico and from Hungary to Lebanon, racism is over there, somewhere else, or just over. Despite the advances that have been made and the dangers of overstating historical optimism, for many, racism is incomprehensible. There is a chronic crisis in grasping how this social force works in the world today.

Many academics, university administrators and Vice Chancellors also fail to grasp the significance and power of racism in their own organisations and practices and lack the motivation and creativity necessary to respond to this challenge.

Despite the introduction of race relations legislation in 2000 which required UK HEIs to produce race equality documents and which embody a potentially far-reaching set of requirements, it may be argued that they fall woefully short of an agenda that could emerge

¹ An earlier version of this article was: CERS Submission to the Parliamentary Inquiry on Race and Higher Education, November 2013.

² See Preface to Sian, K., Law, I. and Sayyid, S. 2013. Racism, Governance and Public Policy, beyond human rights. London: Routledge.

from a more fundamental and serious consideration of a combination of anti-racist, multicultural and racial equality questions and issues. The privileging of race equality for institutional policy-making as a result of legal duties also carries with it a downplaying of alternative policy priorities. Promoting multiculturalism or anti-racism as a policy goal may involve very different institutional questions and strategies. Historically, universities have largely catered for white privileged males, and a white, elitist, masculinist and Eurocentric culture still pervades many of the older-established institutions today.

Although there has been considerable research into race equality issues in schools in the UK, there has been less analysis of 'race equality' and racism in higher education institutions. This is perhaps indicative of the complacency that has pervaded the higher education sector. There is nevertheless a series of emerging concerns. These relate to ethnic inequalities in student access, racial discrimination by admissions tutors, the racist experiences of Black and Asian students on entering higher education institutions, disillusionment with the lack of diversity in the teaching and learning environment, racist discrimination in marking and assessment, racism in work placements and race discrimination in graduate access to employment. In addition, racism and racial discrimination suffered by staff in universities are increasingly being exposed in individual cases and organisational audits. Evidence from academics and support staff in the old universities revealed that racialised tensions are common in universities, with Black and minority ethnic staff often experiencing racial harassment, feeling unfairly treated in job applications, and believing institutional racism exists in the academic workplace. The development of subject areas and disciplines has also been critiqued as reproducing and reinforcing a Eurocentric world-view which peripheralises and fails to value that which is seen to lie 'outside' the West. Relevant questions to ask in this respect are: are the literatures, music, arts, histories and religions etc. of 'non-Western'/'not-white' peoples peripheralised and tokenised in the curriculum? Are the literatures, music, arts, histories and religions etc. of 'non-Western'/not-white peoples positioned as inferior, primitive? And are cultures etc. other than the dominant culture of the HEI valued, displayed, celebrated, promoted? Staff and departments should be mindful to consider the inclusion and integration of voices, perspectives, works and ideas that come from beyond a 'white', 'Eurocentric' core.

There are a number of issues to be mindful of in terms of considering the learning environment and the needs of students. The process of learning needs to be inclusive and should consider the needs of all learners in terms of ethnicity, gender, disability, religion and so on. Lecturers, tutors etc. should be aware that their own expectations of students may be based on stereotypes and assumptions about what particular Black and minority ethnic groups 'are like' or the kinds of expected aptitude for particular activities, subjects, approaches etc. As such, care should be taken to avoid making assumptions and having expectations about students based on these stereotypes. International students are particularly vulnerable here as assumptions of academic inferiority often circulate with reference to students from non-Western countries.

It is time for higher education institutions in the UK to re- conceptualise their role and responsibilities in a contemporary multi-cultural society. Experience has shown that race equality will not be achieved easily and it is unlikely to be attained through the implementation of an all-encompassing 'equal opportunities' programme. This has led to the marginalisation of race equality initiatives after the initial 'kick-start' that the legislation gave has faded. There is a need to create an anti-racist culture within higher education institutions in general, and, most urgently, in the older established institutions in order to challenge entrenched systems of white privilege. Progress will only occur if anti-racism becomes part of the professionalism of staff, the code of conduct for students and is embedded in working relationships with the external community. Success is dependent on the support and goodwill of staff at all levels. Many staff and students in universities have ambivalent or hostile attitudes to anti-racist and race equality strategies, as they believe that the system is 'already

fair' and that any new measures will favour minority ethnic groups over white people. Institutional cultures are, however, rapidly changing and the value of the changing legal context has undoubtedly been a significant factor in promoting progress in this field.

The CERS stream of work on racism and the university sector has included the following:

1993: qualitative and quantitative study of ethnic monitoring of University admissions at Leeds was carried out identifying racial inequalities in the success rates of undergraduate admissions and widely differing, subjective perceptions in admissions practice³,

1996: wider review of racial inequalities in university admissions published identifying racial discrimination and the insularity of the HEI sector from antiracist developments, myths of academic liberalism and associated denial of racism on campus, hostility to prescription and arrogance and complacency in the face of racial and ethnic inequalities⁴,

2002: HEFCE Innovations Fund project the Institutional Racism Toolkit launches a web-based resource for UK HEIs⁵. The introduction of the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 for the first time placed a statutory duty on HEIs in the UK to eliminate racial discrimination and promote racial equality. In many institutions there was a knowledge vacuum and little guidance on how to move forward. This research project was designed to fill this gap. The research, carried out between 2000 and 2002, was co-authored by Ian Law (University of Leeds (Univ. Of Leeds 1991-), Deborah Phillips (Univ. of Leeds, 1988-2008), now University of Oxford) and Laura Turney (Univ. of Leeds, 2000-2002), now Scottish Government), and supported by the HEFCE Innovations Fund.

The project conducted a review of organisational dimensions of institutional racism and race equality in the HE Sector using the University of Leeds as its case study. Email surveys of 2,000 staff and 2,500 students and 30 interviews with heads of schools and administrative units were carried out together with analysis of ethnic origin datasets on admissions and employment together with documentary analysis of policy and practice. One senior academic commented 'the University hierarchy is very white, male, suited and middle-aged, in both composition and culture' and further that 'racism is not overt but subtle in its manifestations – assumptions made and language used in documentation and professional dialogue'. Interview and survey data from the Leeds study certainly indicates that large numbers of key staff are opposed to understanding an HEI as an institution in which race discrimination is embedded across policy, practice and organisational culture. Findings confirmed the prevalence of racist discourses and incidents in HEI settings with approximately 25% of staff and students identifying these practices. Major spheres, where no attention had been given to these issues included, for example, teaching and learning, and contracting and purchasing, demonstrating the need for fundamental organisational change. The toolkit combines research evidence and new instruments for organisational analysis. The research included the development of a new theoretical framework synthesising racism, whiteness and Eurocentrism which was used to interrogate HEI policy and practice. The toolkit applies these concepts to the main organisational areas of HEI activity including leadership and management, teaching and learning, employment, research, contracting and external relations. The toolkit also provides a set of methodological and management tools for investigating, understanding and intervening in institutional racism in higher education institutions. This resource was launched online in 2002 at a major national conference in Leeds which for the first time addressed racism in the

³ Robinson, P., Harrison, M., Law, I., Gardiner, J., 1993. Ethnic Monitoring of University Admissions: some Leeds findings. Social Policy and Sociology Research Working Paper 7, University of Leeds.

⁴ Law, I. 1996. Racism, ethnicity and social policy. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester/Wheatsheaf.

⁵ Turney, L., Law, I and Phillips, D. 2002. Institutional Racism in Higher Education, Building the anti-racist university: a toolkit. online at: <http://www.sociology.leeds.ac.uk/assets/files/research/cers/the-anti-racism-toolkit.pdf>

HEI sector bringing together 140 practitioners, academics, researchers, community and trade union representatives and policy makers. It was praised as ‘a most valuable and innovatory resource for the higher education sector’ (Joyce Hill, former Director, Equality Challenge Unit). The aim of this event was to turn the lack of focus on this issue into a policy problem, and to propose solutions which went significantly beyond the meeting of legal minimum requirements, and also to begin the process of long-term dialogue with HEI’s to achieve institutional change. It has also made a significant impact on this field of study, following a programme of dissemination and user engagement, with wide recent citation⁶.

The specific interventions identified here include the development of a toolkit of resources to enhance professional practice and the stimulating of new debate about institutional racism and the output of appropriate strategies by a large number of Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) who have used the toolkit as a foundation. It also shows accumulating impact on other sectors of public policy through stimulating debate about the renewal of antiracist strategies via the Council of Europe and the European Commission.

Furthermore, interest from practitioners in the public and voluntary sectors in the UK and utilisation of our output in developing organisational strategies indicates impact beyond the discipline. Overall, this work has been described as ‘ground-breaking’ by Mirza (Open University, 2004). This work has also achieved recognition through invitations to contribute to policy development of racial equality and anti-racist strategies through the production of innovative guides and web based resources e.g. for the UK TQEF (Teaching Quality Enhancement Fund) team.

The value of the toolkit in the development of racial equality strategies in higher education outside the UK has been confirmed by a variety of institutions, for example in South Africa by Velile Notshulwana, Executive Dean, Nelson Mandela University, S.A. and in the USA, the Director of the American Sociological Association's MOST (Minority Opportunities through School Transformation) programme confirmed the value of the HEI toolkit in promoting debate and developing interventions to reduce racial inequalities in access to higher education.

2004: Institutional Racism in Higher Education edited book published reporting leading edge research on racism in HEIs⁷ including a comparison of the similarities in policy failure by a police service and an HEI in the Midlands, an assessment of Gypsy and Traveller access to HEIs and proposals for a transformative curriculum.

⁶ For example the Toolkit is included in:

- a. St. Andrew’s University Racial Equality and the Curriculum Staff Guide (2013) (<http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/staff/policy/tlac/equalitydiversity/racialequality/>)
- b. Birkbeck, University of London, Criminology and Criminal Justice Staff Guide (2012),
- c. Plymouth University’s 7 Steps to Adopting Culturally Inclusive Teaching Practices (2010), Newcastle University’s School of Medical Sciences Education Development Resources (2013) (<http://www.medev.ac.uk/resources/506/project/>)
- d. Institute for Education, University of London Respecting Difference, good practice guide for PGCE Tutors in issues of race, faith and culture (2008) (<http://www.ioe.ac.uk/RespectingDifference.pdf>)
- e. University of Huddersfield’s Race Equality Resources. 2013. (<http://www.hud.ac.uk/equality/race/>)

⁷ Law, I. Phillips, D. and Turney, L. eds. (2004. Institutional Racism in Higher Education. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Press. http://trentham-books.co.uk/acatalog/Trentham_Books_Institutional_Racism_in_HigherEducation_277.html

2007: study on South Asian women in Higher Education funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation published⁸. This study compared the aspirations and experiences of Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin women. It explored how they balance their education with plans for marriage, and their experiences of racism and Islamophobia at university and elsewhere. It analyses the barriers to higher education arising from institutional, financial and community factors and the ethnic segregation that appears to be emerging among the traditional old universities and the new universities.

2008: invited contribution made by CERS to the Council of Europe Intercultural Dialogue on Campus initiative⁹, this included assessment of the causes of intercultural conflict on campus and their effects, and also assessment of the value of the antiracist toolkit to European debates in this field. The Council of Europe recognized the value of the Building the Antiracist University toolkit as evidenced by an international invitation to develop the significance of these research messages for the Council of Europe in 2008, in the context of the European Year of Intercultural Education, and present these at a conference in Strasbourg. This resulted in a subsequent keynote presentation and a Council of Europe publication which highlighted the causes of intercultural conflict and how new strategies to address these could be implemented on campuses across Europe. This research has stimulated new debate in this field and influenced Council of Europe policy and practice approaches to intercultural dialogue on campus and indicates the increasing international recognition of this work.

2009: WUN (World Universities Network) White Spaces was established with a key focus on interrogating whiteness in academia. This network includes academics, postgraduate students and practitioners from across 23 different countries: Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, South Africa, USA, New Zealand, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, France, Greece, Finland, Italy, Spain, Lithuania, Netherlands, Norway, Denmark, Israel, Mexico, Portugal, UK and 17 disciplines across the humanities, health, psychology and social and even some natural sciences.

2012: Colloquium on Global Research on the Black Male Educational Pipeline: International Perspectives to Inform Local Solutions held at the University of Leeds, a collaboration between Shirley Tate, CERS and James L. Moore III, Associate Vice Provost, Ohio State University and Jerlando F. L. Jackson, Director of Wisconsin's Equity and Inclusion Laboratory, University of Wisconsin. This showcased interventions to improve Black male performance on campus. The colloquium aimed to share knowledge gleaned from research on Black / of colour boys and young men at different stages of the educational pipeline, to share approaches to community engagement, access, retention at UG level and progress to PGT/PGR; to work with students on issues of racism on campus; to enable students to build a portfolio of skills and develop a brand for entry to graduate level education and beyond into the labour market; and to empower students through engagement with and mentoring from senior academics both from the UK and the USA. This is intended to be the first of such international colloquia initiated by UW-Madison.

Examples of innovatory programmes from the UW-Madison are based on working with students in school alongside peer mentoring and academic mentoring while at university:

⁸ Bagguley, P. and Hussain, Y. 2007. The Role of Higher Education in providing opportunities for South Asian. York: JRF. <http://www.jrf.org.uk/publications/role-higher-education-providing-opportunities-south-asian-women> , Bagguley, P. and Hussain, Y. 2007. Moving on up, South Asian women and higher education. Stoke on Trent: Trentham.

⁹ Law, I. 2009. Defining the sources of intercultural conflict and their effects, in Bergan, Sjur and Restoueix, Jean-Phillipe. eds. Intercultural Dialogue on Campus, Council of Europe Higher Education Series No. 11, Strasbourg: Council of Europe.
http://book.coe.int/EN/popupprint.php?PAGEID=36&produit_aliasid=2415

a) The Pre-College Enrichment Opportunity Program for Learning Excellence (PEOPLE) programme:

Began in 1999 and is based in the Office of the Vice Provost for Diversity and Climate. It is a central plank in the UW-Madison's approach to enabling access. It is a year-round learning experience over 6 years until high school graduation that engages under-represented youth in both middle and high school who are considering college education in subjects right across the University departments ranging from, for example, Performance Studies to STEM. In the in-school intervention this programme is a combination of curriculum enhancements in the summer which build academic skills such as Maths, English, study skills and writing skills development as well as workshops in the biological and physical sciences, engineering, biomedical research, health sciences and law; and for older students an internship/ research experience for learning and applying methods of scientific inquiry, analysis and research in the humanities and social sciences; as well as experience and exposure to various professional fields through placements within and outside of the university. One hundred percent of students in the programme graduate from high school and 95% enrol in higher education. PEOPLE students admitted to the U W-Madison normally also complete the summer bridge-to-college programme. PEOPLE scholars who graduate from UW-Madison are prepared to fill management and technical positions in the public and private sectors, pursue graduate studies leading to careers in academia or other professions and assume leadership positions with civic and community institutions.

b) The Posse Programme

The Posse Programme exists in several universities across the USA and aims to develop peer mentoring relationships among students either on campus or across campuses within the USA. Peer mentoring runs from the beginning of UG level up to and beyond PGR level.

2013: Racism, Governance and Public Policy, beyond human rights (Sian, Law, and Sayyid 2013¹⁰). The wider application of this work to European public policy has informed the development of an EU FP7 project 'The Semantics of Tolerance and (Anti-) Racism in Europe: institutions and civil society in a comparative perspective'. This project extends the reach of the Building the Antiracist University toolkit approach across public policy. The research, co-authored by Ian Law, Salman Sayyid (Univ. of Leeds, 2005-) and Katy Sian (Univ. of Leeds 2010-2012, now University of Manchester), includes analysis of the discursive construction of Muslims in three contexts: the workplace, schooling and the media. Informed by a fundamental critique of both the 'post-racial' and the limitations of human rights strategies it identifies the ongoing significance of contemporary racism in governance strategies and develops a new radical agenda for addressing these processes.

2013: Building the Antiracist University international conference held at the University of Leeds which brought together multiple international partners, including representatives from HEIs in Brazil, Canada, USA, Europe and South Africa to continue the process of long-term dialogue, agenda setting and the development of policy solutions. A set of papers from this conference constitute this current collection.

2014: Since the implementation of a statutory obligation on implementing racial equality public sector organisations was introduced and associated sector wide activity to promote action in this area was carried out by the Equality Challenge Unit, trade unions and ourselves over 300 institutions in the UK established racial equality strategies and have improved experiences particularly for black and minority ethnic students (National Students Survey 2002-2012, HEFCE 2012). Stimulating institutional change towards the construction of the Antiracist University was the aim of the Centre for Ethnicity and Racism Studies (CERS) toolkit. This approach was concerned to develop a maximal, transformative approach to institutional change, rather than a minimal meeting of legal obligations. This work did inform

¹⁰ K.Sian, I. Law and S. Sayyid. 2013. Racism, Governance and Social Policy, beyond human rights. London: Routledge

the development of the University's Racial Equality Scheme, and many others across the sector within and outside the UK. But, progress in this field has slowed and focus on this goal has dissipated both at Leeds and across the sector.

At our own institution, the University of Leeds' Equality Objectives 2012-2016 highlight (in this field) persisting racial and ethnic inequalities in the representation of Black and minority ethnic staff at leadership and management levels, and also in differential success rates of student admissions and degree attainment. The University's Single Equality Scheme 2009-2012 sets out the steps taken to achieve minimal legal compliance with the statutory duty on race equality. Some areas of progress include a significant increase in the representation of black and minority ethnic students across the institution, staff training, consultation, data collection, Black History month annual programme of activities and in purchasing. In our view these policy statements are inadequate and do not reflect the necessary institutional effort required to establish the University as a global leader in this field. We propose a review and refocusing of strategy and action in this sphere, an injection of appropriate resources to support innovative action, and the development of a new strategy that is not framed by legal obligations but by intellectual, moral and institutional goals.

In sociology and social policy we have developed an intensive field of research and teaching activity in the field of racism and ethnicity studies. There is a pathway to pursue this field of knowledge across our programmes of study at every level, from Foundation (Year 0) through three years of undergraduate programmes, onto our MA in Global Racism Studies and beyond to doctoral and postdoctoral levels. We have also built up a cohesive team of research active staff in this field comprising Shirley Tate, Ian Law, Paul Bagguley, Salman Sayyid, Yasmin Hussain and Shona Hunter, a network of researchers across the University and wider international networks through projects including two EU FP7 projects, EDUMIGROM and TOLERACE and White Spaces. Pursuing this stream of work discussed here, in the sector and institutions in which we work, is a core priority for CERS.

There is a new focus at CERS: global racism studies, with new books, a dedicated book series and other outputs, a new MA, a new Mapping Global Racisms Research Archive of working papers. Here theoretical innovation here involves making a theoretical break, incorporating the new conception of polyracism, which involves moving beyond the partial, limited account of global racialization stemming from the critical race tradition in arguing for the application and extension of this critique across the planet, historically and geographically. Why restrict our deconstruction of racial logics to the operation of Western capitalist modernity? This arbitrary decision has serious consequences in putting many polities and contexts out of critical sight and deeming them as unworthy of interrogation, for example, pre-modern and post-colonial regimes in North Africa and many Communist contexts. The recent exposure of brutality, violence and murder driven by the North Korean state's regulation of racial purity in relation to children of mixed North Korean and Chinese heritage where a prison camp mother was ordered to drown her own baby illustrates this problem (Guardian 18 February 2014). The exposure of the North Korean regime's claim to be the 'cleanest', 'purest' race, influenced by Japanese fascism, has only recently received scholarly attention (Myers 2011¹¹). Inattention to the proliferation of non-Western racial modernities is also evident in the lack of interrogation of the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic. Contemporary racisms in Morocco, Algeria, Libya and the Lebanon, together with examination of antigypsyism in Turkey and the Middle East are some of the national contexts which illustrate the importance of a non- Western focus of study in this field.

This new theory of polyracism proposes a conceptualization of the historical development of multiple origins of racism in different regions and forms, as opposed to the monoracism

¹¹ Myers, B. R. 2011. *The Cleanest Race, How North Koreans See Themselves and Why it Matters*. Brooklyn, NJ: Melville House.

arguments positing a linear diffusion of Western racisms from the classical world onwards and outwards. This argument also involves examining racial interconnectivities, crossings and connections, for example, in the development of pre-modern racial discourse in the Mediterranean region, which is deployed here to unsettle, counter and disrupt the parochial insularity of Eurocentric accounts of the historical development of racism. So, rather than racism being the product solely of Western modernity, polyracism theory argues that it is also pre-modern (proto-racism), non-Western, non-capitalist (Communist) and the product of other varieties of modernity. This is not to argue that racism is always and inevitably everywhere. It is the product of, and operates under specific conditions in specific places, cultures and polities. The concept of racial conditions is used to elaborate where and in what ways contemporary racisms operates.

Polyracism theory builds on work elaborated in *Red Racisms* (Law 2012¹²), with particular reference to racial regimes in Russia, Cuba, China and four states in Central and Eastern Europe, and recently elaborated here in relation to selected dimensions and aspects of the Mediterranean region and its histories (Law 2014¹³). Communist regimes are rooted in ‘solid’ modernity with grand narratives and a rational belief in progress through highly controlled use of technology, bureaucracy and military power and they too have their racialised hierarchies and racialised internal enemies and targets of hate, and are ordered and regulated by identifiable racial logics in state governance. The complacency, arrogance and hypocrisy of these regimes declaring themselves immune to racism has for too long been hidden from scrutiny. Polyracism theory has also been elaborated in the Caribbean context (Tate and Law 2015¹⁴) The Caribbean is characterised by some of the most complex interactions between previously divergent populations from the extensive Mesoamerican migrations in pre-Columbian times onwards (Moreno-Estrada et al., 2013¹⁵). The dilemmas and directions of historical and contemporary debates over what work whiteness, blackness and mixedness do in the Caribbean context is a central theme here. Through this Caribbean triad the power of racialisation and its long reach is held up to critical scrutiny. The Caribbean is a complex context and this book cannot do justice to all parts, peoples and places, although it does aim to establish and interrogate some key overarching regional relational racial dynamics and processes together with attention particularly to the insular, rather than mainland Caribbean and a set of selected case study contexts including Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic and Haiti. Racial Caribbeanisation is the process of ethno-racial domination of this region rooted in European colonialism encompassing the conquest and genocide of the Amerindian peoples, the enslavement and exploitation of Africans, use of indentured labour and the embedding of racial and ethnic hierarchies in post-colonial, post-independence contexts. The interrogation of this process is the central focus of this book. This book has sought to delineate some of the racial trajectories of Caribbean states which include increasing concentrations of white wealth and financial power in small island locations, multiracialised national projects of inclusion, intensifying colonialisms, aspirational whiteness, the pursuit of racial Americanisation and vehement anti-blackness. This proliferation of racial forms and conditions indicates the contemporary power and intensity of the waves of polyracial neoliberalism which perpetually wash across the Caribbean seascape.

¹² Law, I. 2012. *Red Racisms, racism in Communist and post-Communist contexts*. London: Palgrave.

¹³ Law, I. with Jacobs, A., Kaj, N., Pagano, S. and Sojka-Koirala, B. 2014. *Mediterranean Racisms, connections and complexities in the Mediterranean region*. London: Palgrave

¹⁴ Tate, S. and Law I. 2015. *Caribbean Racisms, connections and complexities in the Caribbean region*. London: Palgrave.

¹⁵ Moreno-Estrada A., Gravel S., Zakharia F., McCauley J.L., Byrnes J.K., et al. 2013. ‘Reconstructing the Population Genetic History of the Caribbean’. *PLoS Genetics*. 9(11).

Morner, Magnus. 1967. *Race Mixture in the history of Latin America*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co.

Polyracism theory is a key building block in the on going programme of research based at CERS concerned with the theorization and specification of global racialization (Law et al. 2009–18) under the broad heading of Mapping Global Racisms. This project is also informed by research-led teaching and the output produced by undergraduate and postgraduate social scientists at the University of Leeds, who have contributed to the Mapping Global Racisms Research Archive (available at cers.leeds.ac.uk). This consists of case study work examining many racial states outside the UK. We have as yet a very limited, partial, uneven account of world racisms and there remains much to document, criticize and challenge in building systematic theory, evidence and multiple anti-racist futures.

Neoliberalism effectively masks racism through its value-laden moral project, camouflaging practices that are anchored in an apparent meritocracy, making possible a utopic vision of society that is non-racialized. The operation of the free reign of markets provides a political and economic terrain, which facilitates the double movement of resignified, rebranded cultures and identities new segregations, divisions and exclusions. Placing processes of race and racialization as a ‘foundational pillar’ (Goldberg, 2008¹⁶) of modernizing globalization enables them to be identified as constituting a new and renewing pattern of modern state and regional arrangement for managing populations. The increasing shift to neoliberal states, where their role becomes one of securing conditions for the maximization of privatized interests and corporate profits, has provided a new terrain for configurations of race. The renewed critical debate about the role that neoliberalism plays in contemporary forms of racialization provides an important dimension in developing analysis of policy and governmentality (Gopalkrishnan, 2007; Goldberg, 2008; Hall, 2011; Bhattacharya, 2013¹⁷). Neoliberalism has provided a hegemonic framework within which people have been bound into political projects which carry through a range of strategies and techniques of governance and managerialism. These involve securitization, military occupation, penalizing the poor and creating ‘infearntainment’ as fear is mobilized by states – a key emotional political strategy. The transformation to forms of neoliberal governmentality has had profound consequences for universities and racialised groups. Here the work that such discourse does is to bury racialized forms of hierarchical social relations, reinterpreting these, for example, as individualized ‘inadequately mobilized social capital’ which exposes these populations to new forms of exploitation and containment, and market-driven differentials in assessments of human value and human need. Any challenge to these arrangements must therefore engage with the political projects of polyracial neoliberalism, remaking states and institutions anew in pursuit of deracialization, just as this new form of governmentality seeks to transform prior types of state and institutional configuration.

A Seven Point Agenda for Change

Leadership and restoring antiracism as a foundational intellectual project

Historical recognition of the role of universities as key sites for the production of racialised knowledge across a range of intellectual fields is an essential starting point, as Biller (2009¹⁸)

¹⁶ David Theo Goldberg. 2008. *The Threat of Race, reflections on racial neoliberalism*. Oxford: Blackwell.

¹⁷ Gopalkrishnan, N. 2007. ‘Neo-liberalism and infearntainment: what does a state do?’. In Babacan, H. and Gopalkrishnan, N. (eds.) *Racisms in the New World Order: realities of culture, colour and identity*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars.

Hall, Stuart. 2011. ‘The neo-liberal revolution’, *Cultural Studies*, 25 (6), 705-728.

Bhattacharya, Gargi. 2013. *Racial neoliberal Britain*. In Kappor, N., Kalra, V. and Rhodes, J. (eds.) *The State of Race*. Basingstoke: Palgrave

¹⁸ Biller, Peter (2009) ‘Proto-racial thought in medieval science’ in Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac and Joseph Ziegler (eds.) *The Origins of Racism in the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

confirms the marking out of the peoples of the world between the polarities of blackness and whiteness was ‘drummed into the minds of university graduates of the Middle Ages’ and beyond, for example into the laboratory practices of genomics research (Tutton 2007¹⁹). We urge promotion of fundamental de-racialisation and de-colonisation of the academy. This cannot be achieved by self-regulation by the sector or by the setting of minimum legal requirements, it requires strong political, institutional and intellectual leadership. Political intersectionality has been key to the formation and success of abolition, anti-colonialism, anti-apartheid, civil rights and many other antiracist movements and will be key in this wider project also.

Widen the debate

The debate over race and higher education in the UK is too narrow being focused on the important issues of undergraduate access and academic employment. Until this debate is widened to address the core business of research and teaching impact will remain marginal.

Promote the Building the Antiracist University good practice model

We have provided a good practice model for organisational change built on key principles of challenging racism, whiteness and Eurocentrism across all areas of university activity, which takes the debate way beyond the meeting of minimum legal requirements and we vigorously advocate its implementation, keeping a strong single strand focus on antiracism and racial justice.

Arrest the marginalization of these debates

Institutional attention to issues of racial justice is being lost in the university sector, and elsewhere with the move to wider equality, human rights and widening participation agendas. A new debate engaging with issues of affirmative action, racial justice/equality targets and the transformation of racialised institutions is needed.

Cross-sectoral learning

The university sector has been one of the last to address issues of racism and ethnicity, due to the reasons stated above. We need to recognize how we arrived at the present. Therefore, it is important for this sector to learn from other sectors in terms of how to implement fundamental change and to avoid the mistakes made elsewhere.

Cross national learning

In the context of our international networks and knowledge transfer detailed above, there are many lessons to be learned from elsewhere. For example, new developments in affirmative action in Brazil, in educational interventions to improve Black male performance on US campus’s and interventions in challenging whiteness in South African HEIs can provide useful lessons for the UK. We advocate the creation of an international network concerned with Building the Antiracist University.

New resourced initiatives are desperately needed

Changing the mainstream will be slow, we advocate resourcing of new appointments, programmes of study, research networks and learning and teaching initiatives concerned with addressing the issues raised in this submission. New initiatives are urgently required to lead the way forward.

¹⁹ Tutton, R. (2007) ‘Opening the white box: exploring the study of whiteness in contemporary genetics research’, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30, 4, pp. 557–569.