

How is the anti/not/un-racist university a radical idea? Experiences from the Solidarity Initiative at Roskilde University

By Linda Lapiņa, Rashmi Singla, Julia Suárez-Krabbe,
Karmen Tornius and Laura Horn

*Linda Lapiņa, Associate Professor, Department of Communication and Arts, Roskilde University,
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3562-6949>*

*Rashmi Singla, Associate Professor, Department of People and Technology, Roskilde University,
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7981-1169>*

*Julia Suárez-Krabbe, Associate Professor, Department of Communication and Arts, Roskilde University,
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9372-1621>*

*Karmen Tornius, Researcher, Danish Institute for International Studies, and former PhD researcher,
Department of Social Science and Business, Roskilde University, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3136-1629>*

*Laura Horn, Associate Professor, Department of Social Science and Business, Roskilde University,
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5671-131X>, lhorn@ruc.dk (corresponding author)*

Abstract

In this essay, we share our experiences with a university campaign for solidarity with anti-racism struggles at Roskilde University (RUC, Denmark) and around the world. We situate the initiative in the broader context of Danish universities as racialized institutions. We recount previous initiatives of anti-racist and diversity-focused campaigns on campus and then unfold the events around the solidarity campaign of 2020 and the time thereafter. We end with an assessment of where we stand now, insisting on the need to continue to crack walls and push doors open.

Introduction

'As the staff and students of an international, progressive, and critical university, we call upon Roskilde University as an institution to strengthen its commitment to social justice and human rights', our letter, signed by over 100 staff and students, stated. Written in the summer of 2020, the call was drafted in the context of broader social struggles and demonstrations in support of the Black Lives Matter Movement in Denmark. What happened next? Did the call contribute to changes and cracks in the academic traditions that reproduce racialized practices?

In this essay, we reflect on and share our experiences with this campaign for solidarity with anti-racism struggles around the world. First, we situate the initiative in the broader context of Danish universities as racialized institutions. We recount previous initiatives of anti-racist and diversity-focused campaigns on campus and then unfold the events around the solidarity campaign of 2020 and the time thereafter. We end with an assessment of where we stand now, insisting on the need to continue to crack walls and push doors. Throughout the essay, we engage with the metaphor of doors. As Sara Ahmed (2021) writes in *Complaint!* doors show *how* institutions function and for *whom* they function - how some people are allowed to enter, while others become trespassers. Doors can be opened, shut, or slammed into someone's face. Sometimes doors only become apparent when they close. At other times, new doors can be built. Simultaneously, doors highlight the importance of walls as part of the structure of an (anti-)racist university.

The Danish University as a racialized Institution

As a socially constructed category linked to historically constituted power relations, race works as a central global organizing principle of social relations. Race is pivotal to all Euromodern institutions, and relations of class, labour, ethnicity,

gender, family, sexuality, spirituality, language, and knowledge are hierarchically organized through race (Quijano 2000). The Euromodern university has an ongoing history of producing knowledge to maximize, legitimize and reproduce "the state-sanctioned and/or extra-legal production and exploitation of group-differentiated vulnerabilities to premature death, in distinct yet densely interconnected political geographies" (Gilmore 2002, 261). Intimately connected to capitalism, racism is fundamentally anti-social and rests upon reducing collective life (Melamed 2015, 78), structuring specific groups of people in such a way that they cannot even be subjects, but rather become 'the other' – sometimes they become not-even-others (Fanon 1967; Gordon 2014; 2021). In knowledge production, this is apparent in the ways that the thinking of scholars from the Global South is largely non-existent in the Euromodern university. Because their knowledges are not regarded as valid or important to engage with, they rarely appear as professors or on the curricula of the university. Consequently, there is no relationship to them, and these knowledges and thinkers are actively produced as nonexistent - they are 'not-even-other traditions'. Thus, they are not thought of seriously as knowledge, and the people behind the ideas are not regarded as people who think and know (Suárez-Krabbe 2022).

Danish universities are public institutions embedded in the nation-state project and dependent on state funding, which means that they depend on governmental goodwill. Like in Brazil, the US, Hungary, Poland, and the UK (among many other countries), Danish politicians, journalists, and academics have engaged in attacks on gender studies, migration studies, critical race studies and related fields accusing scholars of being too 'activist', 'political' or 'pseudo-scientists'. These attacks resulted in a parliamentary resolution against "excessive activism in certain research milieus" approved in June 2021 by the Danish parliament.¹ Such attacks need to be understood in light of an increasing number of people in Denmark, including people in universities, who acknowledge the interconnected problems of climate change,

capitalist extractivism, imperialism, racism, and patriarchy require radical change – and are actively working towards tackling these complex challenges (Finck-Carrales and Suárez-Krabbe 2022; Groglopo and Suárez-Krabbe 2023). In recent years, students and staff in several universities have been urging and working towards decolonizing the curriculum, research methods, and knowledges.

Racism is implemented through the law (Suárez-Krabbe and Lindberg 2019), and it is a central organizing principle in welfare work in Denmark (Padovan-Özdemir and Øland 2022). Racism also works through the appropriation of terms, such as diversity, gender equality, and equity, intending to neutralize struggles, allowing states or institutions to appear non-racist; as well as through mechanisms such as foot-dragging in change processes. For instance, in June 2022 the same Danish government that enacts, implements and denies state racism, agreed to fund the creation of an ‘action plan against racism and discrimination’. However, at the time of writing in June 2023, no further actions have been taken. The government, while paying lip service to its commitment, would not specify a concrete timeline for working on the action plan.²

Of Walls and Doors at a critical University

Ahmed (2012) refers to the “walls of white men” as a core feature of many university departments in the English-speaking world: walls adorned with portraits of professors, heads of departments, and other accomplished figures. These are material manifestations of universities as places built to accommodate and grant smooth advancement to some (white cis-male) bodies, at the expense of others. While there are no actual “walls of white men” at RUC, almost every meeting room and office provide walls that shelter and enclose predominantly white bodies and minds. An encounter between these bodies materializes into a wall of white faces on a computer screen in online

meetings. In RUC, like other Danish universities, these walls of whiteness constrain most diversity and inclusion initiatives that instead predominantly aim for an equal representation of women, based on a binary gender regime. In contrast, at night and in the early morning hours, the university corridors are populated by migrant workers, including brown and black people, that perform cleaning and maintenance tasks. Unlike universities in settler colonial contexts, RUC is not built upon stolen land, but in a racialized labour market and migration regime which continues to be maintained by the labour of migrants and people who do not pass as white.

This raises the question of what can seep through walls of meeting rooms and offices, walls that shelter whiteness - as in the case of the meetings held as part of the anti-racist struggles at RUC - and highlights how silences and absences are part and parcel of the architecture of the academic-industrial complex.

While thinking of walls, doors and perhaps windows is useful for understanding the structures of the university, they are also colonial technologies in and of themselves - a part of the master’s house, built by master’s tools (Lorde 1979/1984). Decolonial thinkers like Aimé Césaire, Frantz Fanon, Bayo Akomolafe, Gloria Anzaldúa, María Lugones, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o, Walter Dignolo and Catherine Walsh, as well as postcolonial thinkers like Gayatri Spivak, Homi Bhabha, Ashis Nandy, have explored cracks as spaces of possibility that disrupt the predominance of colonial logics in knowledge production, enabling us to know, move and create otherwise. They have shown how decolonial ruptures are always already present in colonial structures (la paperson 2017). The question is, are we (you, the reader, and we, the authors, as well as we, the community) willing to commit to, as Robbie Shilliam (2015) calls for, taking over control of the means of knowledge production so they become means of knowledge cultivation? This essay is part of situating ourselves for moving with(in) such potential cracks.

Allowing ourselves to think beyond cracks we could ask what might happen if the anti-racist

university was imagined as an ecosystem, a meadow, or a garden with many gardeners, embodying the idea of pluriversity (Boidin et al. 2012). What would happen if instead of concrete walls, doors, and cracks, we would enact spaces of knowledge and learning as permeable membranes and vulnerable, living and dying bodies- or perhaps assemblages, networks of nodes that are multi-scalar, at once locally specific and transnational, that hold multiple di-/convergent relational worlds? We revisit the im/possibilities of cracks and pluriversal ecosystems in relation to the Solidarity initiative in the final part of this essay.

Cracks in the critical University?

In many ways, Roskilde University might be among those spaces where one would expect the dimensions sketched out above to be mitigated by historical awareness, collective understanding, and critical commitments. Established in 1972, Roskilde Universitets Center (RUC) was set up as an educational experiment with an explicitly critical pedagogical approach in the form of problem-oriented, project-based group work (Bitsch Olsen & Pedersen 2018). A university for critical engagement with social reality. After 50 years, RUC has preserved a commitment to interdisciplinarity in teaching and research and a reformulation of the original pedagogical approach (Andersen & Heilesen 2015). As Warren argues (2019, 5), at RUC “education does not just involve learning about the world but changing one’s action in the world”. RUC positions itself as a university ‘in reality’, offering policymakers and businesses the brilliant minds of innovative, forward-thinking, and solution-oriented graduates. Perhaps RUC can be thought of as a critical case for reflecting on the possibilities of anti-racist struggles in a university context - if walls persist, if doors cannot be built here, what does this mean for less sheltered, less ‘critical’ institutions?

The past decade has seen several struggles by students and staff to create cracks in the walls of whiteness at RUC. For instance, in February

2013, a group of ethnic minority students established a new association, stating that:

The purpose of the association is to represent and promote the interests of the multicultural students socially, academically, and culturally at Roskilde Universitetscenter and University College, Sjælland. Unfortunately, we have experienced that many students with an ethnic background other than Danish have problems adapting to the culture of the Danish students (Multicultural Students 2013, our highlights).

While the association was well attended, it did not last long. Continuity in student-led initiatives is a recurrent issue at universities, given limited organizational capacities and experience. Investing time and energy into social struggles in institutions (e.g. at the course, programme, or university level) requires resources that not all students can muster, in particular under additional pressures such as ethnic and racialized conditions. This points to the crucial role of permanent staff members to keep doors open, contribute to continuity and make others aware of possible cracks so that new people coming to campus might find them.

The Call for Solidarity with Anti-Racist Struggles

While our initiative stands on the shoulders of previous decolonial, anti-racism, and anti-discrimination efforts at RUC, it was aligned with the global response to the Black Lives Matters movement in the summer of 2020. There was an unprecedented political opening for conversations about race-based discrimination as lived experiences which allowed the earlier discussions held at RUC to move from the fringes towards the mainstream. Additionally, the global wave of demonstrations, protests, debates, workshops, social media campaigns, keynotes, and letters of support after the killing of George Floyd in the United States indicated that racism is not a space- or place-specific

problem. While the movement put pressure on structural racism in the US, the Danish protests of reportedly nearly 15.000 people also addressed manifestations of racism at 'home'. Doors were opening across organizations, and invitations for dialogue were extended.

In this context, a small group of femme and queer PhD students at RUC turned towards their more seasoned colleagues with the question: what can we do at Roskilde University to address legacies and continuities of racialization in academia? Two authors of this essay were part of this initial discussion and decided to co-author a petition asking the University to acknowledge racial discrimination as an issue prevalent in Denmark, and therefore, in Danish Universities. The petition called on the University administration to set up a working group to tackle such discrimination - both structurally and interpersonally. At this point, all authors of this essay are involved. Our aim was to be concrete, we agreed; we needed to wedge this issue in through the door of existing diversity and equality discourses. Late in June 2020, we approached colleagues from an interdisciplinary range of perspectives for comments and inputs via google docs. We received many suggestions in the drafting process as well as wishes of goodwill and support. It felt like a new door was under construction.

In this early stage of the Covid-19 crisis, engagement with the RUC student body was challenging. We contacted the Student Council who endorsed the draft and shared the initiative with students online. Eventually, our 'Call for Solidarity with Anti-racism Struggles Around the World' was sent out for signatures.³ The email referred to the widespread protests in Denmark and globally, as well as the conversations sparked by #blackintheivory online. The statement situated race-based discrimination as a globally and locally embedded problem that had been raised by RUC students and academic staff in the past albeit without much impact. The initiative called for strengthening the commitment to social justice and human rights at RUC by considering concrete action points. At the heart of the initiative was a

request for a meeting which could lay the ground for an institutional approach to addressing racism at RUC.

Attempts were made to engage with various university-wide communication channels, such as RUC paper or the newsletter, but to no avail. Summer set in and the Black Lives Matter dynamic quieted down. Regardless, 114 people, spanning the entire hierarchy of the institution, from students to full professors from different departments signed the call. Encouraged by this we set up follow-up meetings in August where people proposed ways of moving forward with the initiative. Bridges and doors were forming on our collective horizon. We agreed to submit the Call to RUC's leadership and administration. In an email to the Rectorate and the Deans in August 2020, we asked for a meeting to discuss the way forward. We had pushed the door wide open. Would they walk through? Instead, we became aware of a letter of disagreement from some of our colleagues. The letter warned against 'control mentality' and 'cancel culture/deplatforming' and used examples from Evergreen State University (US) to provide examples of such radicalization.⁴ The letter argued that racism at RUC is rare, that there are appropriate measures already in place, and that the Call for Solidarity was promoting undemocratic university politics. This letter had been emailed to the Academic Council, the central platform for deliberation at RUC. We asked ourselves if we had run against a RUC version of the wall of white men. Moreover, the 'corridor talk' within and outside RUC revealed similar concerns and doubts about racism as a problem in Denmark. Among the drafters of Call for Solidarity were researchers who have shown and analyzed how race and racialization operate in Denmark.⁵ In the context surrounding the Black Lives Matter movement's upsurge, it was difficult to see how our moderate petition could be perceived as a radical act. If years of research are dismissed as 'pseudoscience' then what kind of evidence is expected? We were eventually informed that the Academic Council at RUC had agreed that the issues we had raised were important, but didn't

warrant setting up a specific working group. Instead, the points were to be added on to the mandate of the 'Diversity and Equality Committee'.

Institutional Frames and Doors: The Diversity and Equality Committee, and meeting with the Rectorate

A new 'Gender Equality and Diversity Committee' had been set up in 2020 partially as a response to the #metoo movement that had emerged in Danish academia; and to EU regulations mandating the existence of such a committee as a precondition for receiving EU research funding.⁶ 'RUC must ensure real equality and diversity in terms of interaction and collaboration and in terms of attracting and retaining staff and students', the committee's report set the overall framework for the work on gender equality and diversity.⁷ The doors to be built through this framing, however, essentially reduced 'diversity' to gender, highlighting institutional measures to reduce gender pay gaps, deal with gender harassment, and boost the number of female professors. In a congratulatory article in the university paper, the focus of the new committee as outlined by the chair, pro-rector of the university, was entirely focused on gender equality; 'diversity' other than gender apparently did not feature in the equality concerns at the university.⁸ This felt like a door slammed shut, turning a blind eye to the complex intersections of categories such as race and gender.

There had been concerns raised about the composition of the Gender Equality and Diversity committee with regard to the expertise and positioning, but also previous management decisions, and even personal conduct of appointed members. A group of people also responded to the Rectorate, outlining concerns about the makeup and the operation of the Committee for dealing with RUC students' and staff's racialized experiences. The door remained shut - our questions were never answered. This experience left us with new walls: in addition to 'walls of white men', we saw

how a 'wall of white women' was erected to divert from meaningful discussions about race and racism at RUC. We realized that regardless of widespread condemnation of racism, few are willing to engage in a conversation about the real-life consequences of racial thinking. Whereas COVID-19 had made physical walls feel thicker than ever, it was the invisible discursive walls of silence that rendered this initiative radical - showing how structural and systemic discriminations are upheld by the reproduction of 'absence'.

While we weren't exactly holding our collective breath for the gender and diversity committee, in April 2021, the open questions of the Call came up again at an event organized by the Centre for Gender, Diversity and Power (CKMM) that highlighted the racial dynamics, institutional and personal, experienced by faculty members of colour (Skadegård-Thorsen 2020; Singla & Busch-Jensen 2007). Two staff members sent a report of this concrete event to the RUC vice-chancellor and chair of the Equality and Diversity committee, also to remind them of the initiative (Singla & Just 2021).

In autumn 2021 the drafters of the Call for Solidarity finally received an invitation to a meeting with the rectorate. When this meeting took place, on 2 February 2022, three of the co-authors of this essay participated, representing different departments and racial/ethnic positions. They met with the rector and vice-chancellor of the university, after having sent a written agenda in advance, with contours of a door sketched out, and an invitation to walk through it. Among the suggestions discussed were workplace welfare, attention to racial aspects in hiring practices, cases of harassment, and a working group to facilitate an ongoing engagement/review of RUC's activities. Existing initiatives, such as the onboarding for international employees, were mentioned, along with programs and courses at RUC that centered racial dimensions. The meeting was positive in the sense that we were able to address racism as such, including the discomforts such conversations often spark in the people involved. It was an honest conversation from both sides, and the rectorate's response was

broadly sympathetic but cautious. They seemed willing to address racism in that setting, and we insisted that such an effort required expertise in the field precisely due to racism being 'invisible' to the eyes of many white people.

The Gender and Diversity Plan has been launched, and a policy for 'Inclusion and Diversity' has been published in the summer of 2022. RUC's 50th anniversary was celebrated in September 2022 with the participation of a 'visibly ethnic minority member' as one of the performers as well as a receiver of the outstanding alumni prize. At the time of writing this essay, after invitation and persuasion from board members of the Centre for Gender, Diversity and Power (CKMM), RUC's vice-chancellor, as chair of the Gender Equality and Diversity committee, has finally agreed to participate in a discussion seminar on "the policies and tools in the area of diversity" in April 2023. Do we see a crack, a window opening, or just a symbolic token of much-acclaimed diversity?

Stay with the Cracks - that's how the Light gets in

As Hall (2020) argues, the university as an institution and a social terrain is unable to escape the capitalist realism in which it is entangled, with its practices, structures, standards, and visions. The university as an institution has never been a pure progressive beacon of hope, far from it. Bacevic (2018) reminds us that 'neoliberal attacks' on 'the university' are not necessarily external events. Racialized, gendered injustices are ingrained in the university hierarchies and the power relations of knowledge production (Bhambra et al. 2018) - this also holds for RUC. What we have seen over the last years, is that there is a deeply troubling normalization of this system. Yes, there might be student initiatives, and calls for a renewal of Higher Education; however, at the same time, we also see widespread resignation, disinterest, or even hostility in the face of structural constraints and competitive pressures (Wright et al. 2020). Danish students' 'human capital' is developed through

training in soft and marketable skills from primary school onwards. Interdisciplinarity and project work, which is the cornerstones of the RUC model, have become commodities; just like internationalization. At the same time, student support has been tightened through repeated reforms, and the number of international students from the EU is increasingly capped in a move of thinly veiled welfare parochialism. Danish governments, some of them nominally social democratic, have successively moved towards a right-wing (anti-)migration position, paired with anti-elite discourses that often focus on academics.

Some of us (the authors of this essay) do not believe in university reform, but in abolition; others engage in different committee work albeit knowing that committees more often than not are set to avoid commitment (Ahmed, 2021). However, if we with Ruth Wilson Gilmore understand freedom as a place (2022, 93), our initiative can evolve into an actual place-making practice. Commenting on Audre Lorde's 'master's tools', she writes:

First, Lorde's focus on tools requires us to concentrate on fundamental orderings in political economy. If the master loses control of the means of production, he is no longer the master. Thus, relations of production are transformed in the process. Second, her focus on the master's house guides our attention to institutions and luxury. The house must be dismantled so that we can recycle the materials into institutions of our own design, usable by all to provide new, liberating work (2022, 79).

The demands in the Call for Solidarity (training, curricular diversity and inclusion of texts written by ethnic and racial minorities, safe spaces, dialogues, collaboration, and a committee), while seen as 'radical' by some, are indeed limited and limiting because they do not aim at taking over the control of the means of production. Our experiences and positionality also illustrate that racism creates ambivalent spaces of simultaneous racialization (racializing and being racialized) and

resistance (Schmitt et al. 2017, 242). Still, following Gilmore we argue for the need for collective, shared ways of putting cracks into this system, opening doors for things to be different. Our initiative, and this essay, is one way of showing that need. With Angela Davis, we insist that “it is not enough to be non-racist, we must be anti-racist” (cited e.g. in Kendi 2019). Anti-racist struggles are necessarily collective, and insisting on institutional responsibility underwrites the community spirit that is often invoked at RUC. Drawing on bell hooks (2005, 40), “a feeling of community creates a sense that there is shared commitment and common good that binds us”. Community and commitment are pivotal conditions for radical changes, through which the cracks can become meadows or gardens. However, in this process, we are also aware of the risks of building new walls, as well as of the importance of how we engage (with) each other. It was not the Call for Solidarity as a text that

built community, but the process of working on it, of sitting in the same rooms, of seeing each other, of working together across differences. It provided ways to feel that we shared the struggle, rather than simply continuing working behind closed doors (Ahmed 2021). The doors we built might have consisted of moderate, institutional frames; nonetheless, they were not picked up in the manner we hoped. The broader context of uncertainty and dark clouds gathering over the Danish Higher Education sector might make it less likely that people will engage with the doors we built, even if we continue to hold them open. Still, we hope that this essay might inspire students and colleagues to reach out to us. After all, pointing out the walls is the first step towards identifying cracks, leaks, and ruptures in order for further progressive work to continue to create community and commitment to anti-racist struggles.

References

- Ahmed, S. 2012. *On Being Included. Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Ahmed, S. 2021. *Complaint!* Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Bacevic, J. 2018. University under attack? Politics, contestation and agency beyond the neoliberal university. In: R. Barnett and M. Peters. eds. *The Idea of the University: Contemporary Perspectives*. New York: Peter Lang, 21-36.
- Bhambra, G., Gebrial, D. and Nisancioglu, K. eds. 2018. *Decolonising the University*. London: Pluto Press.
- Bitsch Olsen, P. and Pedersen, K. 2018. *Problemorienteret projektarbejde. En værktøjsbog*. Samfundslitteratur, 5th edition.
- Boidin, C., Cohen, J., and Grosfoguel, R. 2012. Introduction: From University to Pluriversity: A Decolonial Approach to the Present Crisis of Western Universities. *Human Architecture*. 10(1), 1.
- Carney, S. 2022. *Global Humanities Bachelor Program Overview*. Unpublished working paper. Roskilde University
- Fanon, F. 1967. *Black Skins White Masks*. Translated by Charles Lam Markman. London: Grove Press.
- Fink-Carrales, J.C.F., and Suárez-Krabbe, J. 2022. Introduction. Horizons of possibility and scientific research: Whose problems, whose solutions? In: Finck-Carrales, J.C.F. and Suárez-Krabbe, J. eds. *Transdisciplinary Thinking from the Global South: Whose problems, whose solutions?* Routledge, 1-14.
- Gilmore, R.W. 2002. Race and Globalization. In: Johnston, R.J. et al. eds. 2002. *Geographies of Global Change: Remapping the World*. New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 261-274.
- Gilmore, R.W. 2022. *Abolition Geography. Essays Towards Liberation*. London: Verso.
- Gordon, L. 2014. Black Existence in Philosophy of Culture. *Diogenes*. 59(3-4), 96–105.

- Gordon, L. 2021. *Freedom, Justice, and Decolonization*. New York: Routledge.
- Groglopo, A., and Suárez-Krabbe, J. 2023. Coloniality and Decolonization in the Nordic Region - an introduction. In: Groglopo, A., and Suárez-Krabbe, J. eds. *Coloniality and Decolonization in the Nordic Region*. Routledge, 1-21.
- Hall, R. 2020. *The Hopeless University: Intellectual Work at the end of The End of History*. London/Ephemera: MayFly Books.
- la paperson. 2017. *A Third University Is Possible*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Kendi, I. 2019. *How to be an Antiracist*. New York: One World.
- Lorde, A. 1984. The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. Comments at the "The personal and the political panel," Second Sex Conference, New York, September 29, 1979. In: *Sister Outsider*. Sister Visions Press, 110–113.
- Martin, S. and Dandekar, D. eds. 2022. *Global South Scholars in the Western Academy: Harnessing Unique Experiences, Knowledges, and Positionality in the Third Space*. London: Routledge.
- Melamed, J. 2015. Racial Capitalism. *Critical Ethnic Studies*. 1(1), 76–85.
- Multicultural Students at RUC and UCSJ. 2013 Email communication 18. February 2013, file on record with Rashmi Singla.
- New York Times. 2017. A Campus Argument Goes Viral. Now the College Is Under Siege. 6 September 2017.
- Padovan-Özdemir, M. and Øland, T. 2022. *Racism in Danish welfare work with refugees: troubled by difference, docility and dignity*. Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge.
- Quijano, A. 2000. Coloniality of Power, Ethnocentrism, and Latin America. *Nepantla, Views from the South*. 1(3), 533–580.
- Schmitt, C., Semu, L. and Witte, M. 2017. Racism and transnationality. *Transnational Social Review*. (3), 239-243.
- Shilliam, R. 2015. *The Black Pacific: Anti-Colonial Struggles and Oceanic Connections*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Siig Andersen, A. and Heilesen, S.B. eds. 2015. *The Roskilde Model: Problem-Oriented Learning and Project Work*. Heidelberg, New York: Springer.
- Singla, R. and Busch-Jensen, P. 2007. Racisme - et psykologisk perspektiv, [Racism - a psychological perspective] In: *Psykologisk Set*. 24(68), 28-37.
- Singla, R. and Just, S.N., 2021. A Well attended 'Gender & Diversity Academy' webinar: Structural discrimination & Minority Tax: The Danish Academic Context Internet: IMT Nyhedsbrev, April 2021, file on record with Rashmi Singla.
- Singla, R. 2015. *Intermarriage and Mixed Parenting: Promoting Mental Health & Wellbeing*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Skadegård Thorsen, T.S. 2019. Minoritetsbeskatning - et værktøj til at forstå opretholdelse af strukturelle uligheder i dansk academia [Minority taxation - a tool to understand maintenance of structural inequality in Danish Academia]. *Kvinder, Køn & Forskning*. 28(1-2), 31–43.
- Suárez-Krabbe, J. 2022. Over our dead bodies: The death project, egoism and the existential dimensions of decolonization. In: Carrales, J.C.F. and Suárez-Krabbe, J. eds. *Transdisciplinary Thinking from the Global South: Whose Problems, Whose Solutions?* Routledge, 130-147.
- Suárez-Krabbe, J., and Lindberg, A. 2019. Enforcing Apartheid? The Politics of "Intolerability" in the Danish Migration and Integration Regimes. *Migration and Society. Advances in Research*. 2(1), 90-97.
- Warren, S. 2019. Re-Thinking the "Problem" in Inquiry-Based Pedagogies through Exemplarity and World-Oriented. *Education Sciences*. 9(4).
- Wright, S. et al. 2020. *Enacting the University: Danish University Reform in an Ethnographic Perspective*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Notes

- ¹ For the parliamentary proceedings of Resolution V137, see <https://www.ft.dk/samling/20201/forespoergsel/f49/index.htm> For an English overview, see e.g. *Times Higher Education* (2021) Danish academics fear for freedom after MPs condemn 'activism', 11 June 2021, available from <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/news/danish-academics-fear-freedom-after-mps-condemn-activism>
- ² For the announcement of the action plan on 9 June 2022, see <https://www.justitsministeriet.dk/pressemeddelelse/justitsministeriet-inviterer-organisationer-mv-til-at-komme-med-input-til-ny-handlingsplan-mod-racisme/>. On 3 March 2023, the current justice minister responded to a question in the parliament about the status of the action plan: <https://www.ft.dk/samling/20222/spoergsmaal/S328/index.htm>
- ³ See the original text of the Call at https://docs.google.com/document/d/1sSeBEyrv00IE_QgGOyUk6pYjhh32YGipELt3yzD41V4/edit?usp=sharing
- ⁴ Evergreen State is in a partnership agreement with RUC; in 2017 it had been 'on the front line of the national discontent over race, speech and political disagreement' (*New York Times* 2017). The text of the letter of disagreement, addressed to the academic council, is on record with the authors.
- ⁵ See for instance these personal experiences by international researchers in Denmark <https://thedisorderofthings.com/2020/09/29/race-racism-and-academia-a-view-from-denmark/>
- ⁶ There was an existing but generally non-functioning equality body before this development.
- ⁷ RUC Gender Equality Plan 2022, available from https://ruc.dk/sites/default/files/2022-08/GenderEqualityPlan_folder_UK_A4.pdf
- ⁸ See RUCpaper (2020) RUC kickstarter ligestillingsudvalg 28 May 2020 <https://rucpaper.dk/2020/05/28/ruc-kickstarter-ligestillingsudvalget/>