Borderlands and radical hope

Beyond academic philanthropy

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In April 2020, I received a message from Somi, an Iranian refugee woman, sharing with me her excitement for receiving a prestigious honorary award, the Webster University Lambda Kappa Chapter of the Delta Mu Delta International Honor Society in Business, from Webster University, Athens Campus, where she has been studying since January 2019. Somi's admission in the Athens campus of Webster University to study 'Management in Human Resources' was an event that threw light in some of the darkest moments of her refugee experience and turned a whole new page in her long and tough struggle to survive the borderlands. Since our encounter in December 2018, when Somi became a participant of my research project, we have been in regular communication about her studies. Somi proudly sent me her first university student identity card in February 2019, while later in April she shared with me one of her essays for which she had received full marks. We have been in constant communication about her progress, and I have been offering her advice on academic literature, when I can. Her brilliant essay was peer reviewed and has now become part of the archive of knowledges of a research project (Tamboukou 2018), which underpins the writing of this chapter.

In this project, I have problematised the figuration of the nomadic subject in feminist theory and politics (Tamboukou 2021). Taking up the salience of stories not only in recounting experiences, but also in forming an experiential basis for changing the subject and its world, I have interviewed 22 migrant and refugee women about their experiences of being on the move. I have encouraged these women to tell stories about their decision to leave, as well as about their experiences of travelling without feeling obliged to limit themselves within discourses of victimization and vulnerability. Uprooted women's attachment to and belief in the power of education runs as a red thread through their narratives, opening up new beginnings in their life in the midst of the darkest moments of their experience of forced displacement.

Following the force of migrant and refugee women's narratives, in this chapter I theorize education as a plane of 'radical hope' (Lear 2008). As Jonathan Lear has put it, radical hope emerges from the limits of human existence and it is directed 'toward a future goodness that transcends the current ability to understand what it is' (2008: 103). As always in women's histories all over the world,

education is also an agonistic area, a field that women have been struggling to get access to, but the specificities of forced displacement have created new conditions that need to be charted and understood.

The chapter unfolds in three parts: following this introduction, I map the emerging field of refugee and migrant women's education within current debates around reimagining what education is and what it can do. Here I draw on the narrative archive of my research, taking women's stories as inscriptions and traces of experiences and actions within the wider movement of decolonizing education and re-imagining it as 'a space of solidarity for knowledge exchange' (Aparna and Kramsch 2018: 93). In the third part, I point to the need of moving beyond debates and practices of what I call 'academic philanthropy', to consider the transformative potential of migrant and refugees' education on the plane of agonistic politics. Here I draw on Ball's influential theorization of philanthropies in education as a complex system of governance (2008). By way of conclusion, I make connections between Ball's suggestion of 'how not to be governed' (2013) with current movements of exiting academia.

Education as radical hope

The question of how to act hopefully while immersed in hopeless situations is at the heart of Lear's book on 'radical hope' (2008), a notion that brings forward 'an analysis of resilience as either adaptive or aggressive in different political moments', Bonnie Honig has aptly commented (2015: 624). In this context, 'radical hope' in Lear's configuration revolves around the question of how to respond politically to the loss of public things, by reclaiming the democratic right 'to constellate affectively around shared objects' (ibid.: 625)

Public things are at the heart of democratic life for Alexis de Tocqueville (1840). If democratic life needs shared and common things, education is surely one of them. But apart from the lamentation and critique of how 'public things' have disappeared in the democratic crisis of neoliberal regimes (Honig 2015), the question of who is included in the 'demos' (see Brown 2015) is crucially important when it comes to migrant and refugee women's education, even in countries where education is still considered to be 'a public thing'. What is also important here to acknowledge is that as 'a public thing', education is inevitably a site 'of confrontation and encounter, enjoyment and conflict' Honig has pithily observed (2015: 624).

Radical hope through education has offered Somi some sense of stability in moving through the abyss of the borderlands but has also mobilised her 'lines of flight' (see Tamboukou 2020). As Honig observes, 'radical hope is a key element in anyone's repertoire of resilience' (2015: 627), but it is also through the affective channels of 'radical hope' that subjects negotiate existential and political strategies of survival and resistance, treading the thin line between messianism and despair. Such a stance towards a world that falls apart 'is a daunting form of commitment to a goodness in the world that transcend one's current ability to grasp what it is', Lear notes (2008: 100).

Somi's amazing achievements in pursuing university studies and living the experience of sharing 'public things' is not unique. It is rather a bright moment in a chain of academic successes that I have traced in the archive of my research, but I have also seen emerging as a trend in the wider field of migrant and refugee higher education worldwide, including UNHCR's Albert Einstein German Academic Refugee Initiative (DAFI) Programme[1], the Connected Learning in Crisis Consortium (CLCC)[2], as well as the Refugee Education Initiatives (REIs), a European project a funded by the *Erasmus and Social Inclusion* programme.[3] All these refugee education programmes are supported by national and international institutions in the context of the Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Despite such forceful assertions however, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimates that only 3% of refugees now have access to tertiary education and that the Sustainable Development Goal 4 (SDG4) 'won't be achieved if we don't prioritize refugee education'.[4] Higher Education has indeed become a priority for UNHCR as outlined in their education strategy, *Refugee Education 2030: A strategy for refugee inclusion,* which 'aims to foster the conditions, partnerships, collaboration and approaches that lead to all refugee, asylum seeker, returnee and stateless children and youth and their hosting communities – including internally displaced persons – to access inclusive and equitable quality education, including at the tertiary level'.[5]

In thus addressing harsh inequalities in the field of Refugee Higher Education and beyond, the UNHCR has devised a tripartite schema of action: a) inclusion of refugees in the national education systems of host countries; b) funding from donor governments, and c) involvement of the private sector and individuals. UNHCR's targeted contributors include 'governments, intergovernmental and regional organisations, donors within multi-lateral and bi-lateral organisations, international non-governmental organisations, private sectors and foundations, national civil society organisations, academic networks and individual philanthropists',[6] in short an assemblage of 'diverse and flexible networks' that Ball (2008) has carefully mapped and analysed in considering new modalities of governance, as I further discuss in the third section of this chapter. Social movements are not listed in the UNHCR education strategy though, but I suppose they could be linked to national civil society organisations. What definitely emerges from this strategy is that refugee education is an undisputable human right, but the fact that it is also a contested field is not discussed in the public documents of refugee educational policies. Thus, apart from the fact that only 3% of refugees have access to tertiary education, even when they do, they face barriers that seriously hinder and jeopardise their educational possibilities.

Situated in a country severely hit by a wave of intertwined economic and political crises, Somi's success story emerges from intersections of synergies between academic networks and NGO's. She initiated her studies in January 2019, having won a first term scholarship from Webster University, Athens Campus and after achieving top marks in the first term, she got a full scholarship to complete her degree from LERRN (Love Elevates Refugees Relief Network),

an American non-governmental organisation.[7] But here it is important to note that only two candidates were awarded this scholarship. Although Somi's success is not unique, it is still exceptional and rare, and her pathway should be considered within the wider picture of only 3% refugees having access to Higher Education worldwide. For Elina, a young Syrian woman, who escaped the war after the death of her parents and the failure of her marriage, university education has now become her 'wildest dream':

> What I want now is to reunite with my son and then stay in Greece and study. I want to learn Greek and English and to go on with university studies and become a doctor. This is my dream. I don't want to get married again; I only think of my studies. When I was in Syria after finishing school, I trained as a nurse, and then I worked in a hospital for 2 months. That's why I want to follow medical studies. It is my wildest dream.
>
> (Elina's story)

The dream of studying to become a doctor has indeed sustained Elina during the darkest moments of her refugee experience, particularly so when she was trying to cross the Syrian Turkey borders: 'I tried to cross the borders 6 times but the Turkish police would be there and they were shooting people'. Her sea passage to Greece was also 'difficult and dangerous' as 'again the Turkish police would come, arrest people and send them to prison'. When she finally reached Greece, she had to endure the dreadful experience of the Moria camp for five months, before she was transferred to a flat in Mytilini, where I met her through *Iliaktida*, a Greek civil non-profit organization, providing accommodation and protection for vulnerable asylum seekers. At the time of the interview Elina was still waiting to reunite with her son, who had left Syria seven months before her. Seeing her son again and studying to become a doctor were the flickering lights she was waiting to see at the end of the tunnel.

Things were even more difficult for Schachnaz however, an Afghan refugee woman in her mid-thirties, who left her country after the killing of her husband, because 'in Afghanistan it is not safe when you are a woman alone'. (Schachnaz's story) Schachnaz was herself wounded by a bomb and lost her job as a teacher because of her disability. 'The whole journey was difficult, but the most horrible experience was the sea voyage' she told me, as 'I really felt I would die'. On arriving at Lesvos with her toddler son, who also has a disability, she went through the Moria experience, before being granted a flat in the *Iliaktida* structure. Being a teacher herself she was fully aware of the importance of education but there was no provision for single mothers, and she felt helpless:

> The situation in Moria camp was also very difficult. I had to join long ques waiting for food, and with my leg problems this was such a difficult thing to do. I also couldn't go to school to learn English and Greek as I couldn't leave my kid alone in the tent, because it is dangerous. When I moved from Moria to the *Iliaktida* apartment here in Mytilini, I tried to go to a school

here, but they told me that I had to go on my own, how can I do that? He is a baby; I can't just leave him. So, I haven't been able to follow any class up until now. If you are alone, you always feel uncomfortable. I was always in tears because I didn't have anybody to talk to. It is so difficult to be alone.

Schachnaz's story is not an exception. Adult refugees' education in Greece is a huge problem since the few courses that are available mostly through civic organizations' and NGO's channels become immediately oversubscribed and things are even more difficult for single mothers, like Schachnaz. As Ourania Tzoraki has noted 'in 2015, the Greek government was unprepared to face the refugee influx in terms of both procedures and infrastructures' (Tzoraki 2019: 13) and although a lot has been done since then, in relation to refugees' children integration in the Greek education system, adults' education, as well as access to Higher Education, are still considered to be huge challenges. And yet, the dream of making a new beginning through education ran as a red thread throughout all of the stories that refugee women shared with me. Having gone through the hell of domestic violence with her in-laws in Cameroon, Hanielle escaped her country, only to find herself in the hands of traffickers in Turkey, but she concluded her story opening up her dark times to the radical hope of freedom and new beginnings:

> Now that I am here, I feel safe. I have been here for two years, I have a home, I don't have any problems and I feel good. I go to school, to *Mosaik*[8] here, to learn English and Greek and I want to continue my studies in Information Technologies, which I had started when I was still in Cameroon. I want to find a good job in Athens, perhaps in tourism as a hotel receptionist or something like that. I also want to bring my daughter over here, I have already asked for our reunification. My dream is to be here, to stay here in Greece and to be free. It is very important for me to make a new beginning.

Refugee women's stories of gathering hope by re-imagining themselves through education reverberates with many of the observations that Kolar Aparna and Olivier Kramsch have made in relation to 'the Asylum University movement' (AU): 'our refugee friends for the first time had the chance to use their minds, the dignity to engage in the world as thinking beings, rather than as 'bodies' awaiting a decision from the Dutch state as to their asylum procedure' (2018: 100). The AU movement is an initiative of the Nijmegen Centre for Border Research (NCBR) at Radboud University, that emerged in the Dutch/German borderland of Nijmegen (in the Netherlands) and Kranenburg, Kleve (in Germany) and has now been extended to other locations in Belgium, Italy, Denmark and Kenya. What is crucial for this movement is that it has sprung from grass roots and community activism within academic circles and beyond:

> The Asylum University (AU) emerges as a movement bringing together academics, students, activists, volunteers, citizens, 'undocumented migrants'

(whose asylum application has been rejected), refugees (those waiting for the asylum procedure as well as those with 'legal status'), and just people to find ways to collaborate with each other in an informal manner.

(Aparna and Kramsch 2018: 94)

Apart from the obvious reasons that makes the AU so different from the official education institutions and policies, its configuration as 'a movement' is of particular importance for the discussion of this chapter. Its existence and activities have shaken the legalities of borders and border practices, particularly as they are implemented in Higher Education across Europe through policing and tracking international students' mobility and status within a system of 'technologies of everyday bordering' (Yuval-Davis et al. 2018). In doing so, they have inevitably challenged the institutional structures of the neoliberal university, wherein education ceases to be the 'public thing' that democracy needs and becomes an irregular commodity that cannot possibly serve the laws of the free market it is supposed to follow: 'AU emerges as a movement to transform everyday processes of knowledge exchange within university walls as well as within walls of asylum procedures and walls confronted by those who are "out-of-procedure"' (Aparna and Kramsch 2018: 94).

Moreover, when extracted from the particular geopolitical context of its emergence in the Dutch/German borders, the AU movement is much wider and multifaceted and has an interesting genealogy that goes back to the radical histories of popular education and its strong links with international social movements (see Grayson 2014). As I have written elsewhere at length, migrant and refugee women workers are alive and kicking all over the world, with radical education projects being at the heart of their grass roots organizations and activism (see Tamboukou 2022). What I therefore want to do next is to map uprooted women's education within the wider plane of migrant and refugee social movements, challenging discourses and practices of what I call 'academic philanthropy' that seem to dominate and indeed restrict the field of Refugee Higher Education, as already shown above. In doing so I do not want to downplay the importance of international synergies, institutions and state structures in promoting Refugee Higher Education, but to highlight the role of agonistic politics in the struggle to reposition education as 'a public thing' that democracy needs and relies upon.

The agonistic politics of refugee's education: beyond academic philanthropy

Being poor, African and non-Greek I do not have access to Higher Education. I want to follow postgraduate studies, but I cannot afford it. Since I do not have Greek citizenship, I cannot have access to other European Universities either.

(Noor's story, cited in Louka 2020: np)

Noor's bitter observation about the impossibilities of following graduate studies in Greece was included in a report of an important academic event that

took place in Athens between 11 and 13 October 2019. Centred on the theme 'Sisterhood and Struggle: Writing Black Women's Political Leadership' the event was organized by The United African Women Organization—Greece (UAWO) and The European Network of People of African Decent (ENPAD). It included workshops, women's circles, reading groups and public talks and its aim was 'to address issues concerning the politics of space, and function as a platform to access knowledge and histories of political struggle often unacknowledged in many activist spaces in Greece and elsewhere'.[9] The central speaker of this three days' event was Carole Boyce Davies, Professor of English and African Studies at Cornell University, who spoke about a long genealogy of marginalised Black women's activism.[10]

This event did not emerge out of the blue, but rather as a culmination of UAWO's ongoing study of Black and Afrofeminist traditions, including a Black Feminist Skillsharing workshop, which run for five weeks in Athens between October and November 2018. When I visited Athens for the first leg of my research in December 2018, I had the chance to meet some of the wonderful women from UAWO. What struck me at the time and continues to do so, is that these important intellectual events are happening outside the formal structures of academic institutions in Greece—perhaps this is why they are so vibrant and interesting.

It was in the context of crossing the borders of academia that I got involved with the 'Feminist Researchers Against Borders' (FRAB) network of academics and activists[11] and participated in the summer school of the *Feminist No Borders* short course, 'Inhabiting the Borderlands' organised in collaboration with the 'Feminist Autonomous Centre'[12] in Athens in June 19–21, 2020.[13] Both of these networks have been working with the UAWO, as well as with other feminist activist groups and grass roots organizations of migrant and refugee women in Athens. Having visited all these organizations and centres and having interviewed some women in them I had the chance to see new channels of knowledge formation and new pedagogical relations emerging that keep challenging what education is (in the process of becoming). The Athens experience of transgressing institutional borders in opening up education is a local phenomenon, which makes connections with wider global attempts in educational praxis today.

In launching the project *Futures of Education: Learning to become*, UNESCO has underlined the need for re-imagining education as a process that emphasizes potentials, rejects determinism, and expresses a flexible openness to the new as a global response to current conditions of poverty, exclusion, displacement, and violence.[14] This project is a transnational milestone within a wider field of debates and discussions about how education can be and most importantly act, within dark times of precarity, crises, and risks. As Heila Lotz-Sisitka has succinctly put it: 'Should education be about acculturation in order to "progress", "cope" and "adapt" according to pre-framed scripts, or should education be about transgression of the here-and-now in order to "stay with the trouble" (Haraway 2016) and re-constitute life more organically under hot, messy, uncertain conditions?' (Lotz-Sisitka 2019).

Lotz-Sisitka's suggestion of education as a transgressive praxis, shows that things have not really moved very fast in the past 25 years since bel hook's important book, *Teaching to transgress* (1994), where she configured the pleasure of teaching as both an act of resistance and performance, 'countering the overwhelming boredom, uninterest and apathy […] of the classroom experience […] offering space for change, invention, spontaneous shifts' (1994: 10, 11). What migrant and refugee women's experiences have shown is that dehumanizing trends in education, particularly along the lines of what Al-Amoudi has configured as the *dehumanisation of subalterns* (Al-Amoudi 2019: 182) are components of wider assemblages of power relations, striated institutional practices, and colonial discourses, wherein education is not recognized as 'a public thing' anymore. To put it simply, the sore state of refugee's education is a symptom and effect of the overall demise of the idea of inclusive education, which 'isn't dead, it just smells funny', as Roger Slee (2018) has wittily put it.

In re-imagining inclusive education 'we need to re-think the very foundations of what we currently do' (Lotz-Sisitka et al. 2015: 73), since the question is not about optimization anymore. UNHCR's tripartite schema of action towards Refugee's Higher Education, as outlined above, is limited within discourses of optimization—doing what we do better. It is precisely on this restrictive optimization level that I situate moments of what I have called 'academic philanthropy' in the form of scholarships, university collaborations within the Erasmus and Social Inclusion programme and other academic initiatives, as already discussed in the first part of this chapter. Without denying the usefulness of such programmes what I argue is that they mostly offer individual and temporary forms of relief and do not really address the wider problems of dehumanization and exclusion. Moreover, such academic philanthropic practices are often instrumental: modalities of 'civic engagement' and 'outreach activities' that the neoliberal university needs to demonstrate its 'usefulness' to society, following guidelines and requirements of public and private funding bodies.

There is today a burgeoning literature on the histories and philosophies of western philanthropy in general (Jung et al. 2016) and its role in education in particular (see Ridge and Terway 2019), but the role of Higher Education institutions and universities as actors—and not just as recipients of philanthropic contributions in the form of research grants alumni funds and endowments— needs more research.[15] As we have already seen in the first part of this chapter, in the wake of the so called 'European refugee crisis' from 2015 onwards, many universities in Europe and across the global North have offered scholarships for refugee students.[16] What I want to suggest here is that such interventions of academic philanthropy shake the structures and discourses of the neoliberal university, at the same time of being limited within its restrictions. In this light they constitute a hub in the field of what has been configured as 'new philanthropies' (see Ball 2008; Ball and Junemann 2011; Avelar and Ball 2019).

Philipps and Jung have noted that 'philanthropy in our days occurs in ways that are big and modest, business-like and community-first, strategic and spontaneous' (2016: 33). Within such changes and various deployments, expressions,

and manifestations, 'philanthropies of various kinds are taking on the moral responsibilities of the state articulated within a complex global architecture of economic and social relations', Avelar and Ball have argued (2019: 65). Academic interventions in refugee's education include expressions of giving, responsibility, solidarity, and collective action, whose importance cannot be downplayed. (see Birey et al. 2019; Bhabba et al. 2020; Crimmins 2020; Esin and Lunasmaa 2020). To paraphrase Foucault then, my point here is not that academic philanthropy is bad, but rather that it is dangerous, in terms of concealing the dehumanised trends and exclusive practices of the neoliberal university.[17] If academic philanthropy is dangerous then, which is not the same as bad, then we can act upon it, Foucault reminds us (1986: 343).

Ball's early intervention of philanthropy as 'governance [which] is accomplished through the "informal authority" of diverse and flexible networks' (2008: 747) becomes pertinent here. In considering new methods of governing society through formal and informal networks, Ball has focused on the field of educational policy, within which 'a new form of "experimental" and "strategic" governance is being fostered, based upon network relations within new policy communities' (2008: 748). Networks of 'business philanthropy' with 'corporate social responsibility' at its heart, are components of these new policy communities, which 'are both routes of influence and access for business organisations and businesspeople and new ways of realising, disseminating and enacting policy', Ball has argued (2008: 758). Such networks of 'business philanthropy', however, have an interesting genealogy that goes back to the religious aspects of the Victorian philanthropic tradition ultimately becoming 'incorporated into state policy' (ibid.: 759).

Ball's network analysis of educational policy communities and their integration in wider state policies through the route of 'governing through governance' (Bache 2003; cited in Ball 2008: 748) is a very useful lens through which we can look at UNHCR's tripartite scheme of intervention in addressing the needs of refugees' education on national, international and transnational levels. As Ball and Junemann have argued the trait that makes current modalities of philanthropy in educational policy 'new' is the tangible and visible relation of 'giving' to 'outcomes' (2011: 648). Since philanthropy keeps changing what I have identified in the different manifestations of academic philanthropy is the continuous monitoring of its beneficiaries. As we have already seen, Somi went through a series of tests and examinations that strictly and closely monitored her progress before the final award of the full scholarship. Moreover, the deserving and undeserving poor of the Victorian philanthropic tradition that Ball has observed re-emerging in the field of 'new philanthropies' has been transposed to the distinction between the deserving migrants and asylum seekers and the undeserving 'sans papier' and undocumented migrants and refugees who attempt to 'play the system' and should therefore be deported, following the 2016 EU-Turkey deal, which gave the right to European border authorities to return to Turkey those refugees who had been deemed ineligible to seek asylum in Europe.[18]

As we have already seen in the previous section, the AU movement has precisely attempted to break down the recognized/undocumented divide by including undocumented migrants and asylum seekers in its courses and extra-curricula, as well as extra-mural activities, since, 'speaking especially about borders and migration in our classrooms without being engaged with embodied practices outside the campus relevant to such work, raises questions of how disconnected to everyday realities university knowledge production processes are' (Aparna and Kramsch 2018: 97). When I visited the university of Iceland in May 2019 to participate in the *Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*—NORA Conference on 'Border Regimes, Territorial Discourses and Feminist Politics', I found myself embroiled in a protest against the University's involvement in performing physical age examinations on unaccompanied refugees, organized by academics and activists of No Borders Iceland, a community-based organisation, whose goal is 'the deconstruction of all borders'. [19] As a result of these protests, a statement was released by the participants of the conference, where we asserted our support for No Borders Iceland and their intervention at the NORA Conference. The statement also flagged up our strong belief 'in the accountability, responsibility and non-neutrality of researchers to engage in the political struggles and lived experiences taking place in the environments in which they exist [standing] for research that is put into action'.[20] What I want to highlight here by referring to just one of many interventions across the globe is the importance of enacting agonistic politics in the field of refugees' education, if we are to move beyond 'academic philanthropy' to transforming education and re-i magine what it can do.

Challenging academic spaces, or 'how not to be governed'

In this chapter I have mapped emerging spheres of action and agonistic politics in the arena of refugees' education, while interrogating and challenging modalities of 'academic philanthropy' in the field. In doing so, what I have observed is that transgressive possibilities only seem to unfold beyond the striated spaces of the academy and in alliance with migrant and refugee social movements and grass root organisations. I have seen such movements and strategies in the context of an emerging 'academic abolitionism movement', which started as a protest against institutional racism and sexism within universities (see Lomax 2015; Ahmed 2016; Maldonado and Guenther 2019), but has important ramifications within 'the slow science movement' (Stengers 2018; Mountz et al. 2015), the Campaign for the Public University (Holmwood 2011), as well as various strands of the movement for decolonizing the university (Bhambra et al. 2018).

A usual critique that Ball often gets about his lectures, papers, books, as well as his public interventions is that like Foucault, he does not leave much space for hope, resistance, or change. As a matter of fact, in speaking at his farewell event at the UCL-Institute of Education in December 2019, he said that the realization that his work and way of thought has not changed much in the UK educational policy might be his greatest regret. In the concluding chapter of his

book on *Foucault, Power and Education,* however, he offered three themes— subjectivity, neoliberalism, and ethics, particularly pointing to the last as an entry point in considering entanglements between resistance and freedom (Ball 2013: 120). Like Ball, many of us often feel that we are continuously struggling and vacillating between our subject positions as scholars and workers in the knowledge economy, while entangled in the discourses and practices of the neo-liberal university.

Although this struggle is on-going, sometimes, exiting academia altogether and acting outside its 'walls' might become inevitable. 'When we try to shake the walls of the house, we are also shaking the foundations of our own existence. But what if we do this work and the walls stay up?' Sara Ahmed has asked before walking out (2016). Her decision to leave 'the walls' resonates with Tamura Lomax's bitter observation that black women's lives don't matter in academia, a realization that made her resign because 'we sometimes *have* to walk away from the institution in order to tell the truth about it—not for only our lives but those beyond our own' (2015: np). In the same vein, migrant and refugee's education might become 'the event', which will trigger more exits from the traps of the neoliberal university, opening pathways of 'not being governed' (Ball 2013).

Acknoweledgements

Notes

1. See, amongst others, refugee students' testimonies of the DAFI Programme Report 2018, https://www.unhcr.org/uk/5d7f61097 [Accessed 24 May 2020].
2. See https://connectedlearning4refugees.org [Accessed 24 May 2020].
3. See https://www.refugeeeducationinitiatives.org [Accessed 20 May 2020].
4. See https://www.unhcr.org/uk/tertiary-education.html [Accessed 24 May 2020].
5. Ibid.
6. See https://www.unhcr.org/5d651da88d7 [Accessed 24 May 2020].
7. For more details, see https://loveelevatesnetwork.com [Accessed 25 May 2020].
8. Mosaik is a project run by Lesvos Solidarity, a local activist group, run by volunteers in the spirit of solidarity. For more details of this support centre, see: https://lesvosmosaik.org.
9. See https://www.africanwomens.gr/?p=602 [Accessed 25 May 2020].
10. See https://africana.cornell.edu/carole-boyce-davies [Accessed 25 May 2020].
11. See https://frabnet.wordpress.com/about-frab/ [Accessed 25 May 2020].
12. See https://feministresearch.org.
13. See https://feministresearch.org/events/inhabiting-borderlands/ [Accessed 25 May 2020].
14. See https://en.unesco.org/futuresofeducation/ [Accessed 27 June 2020].
15. Ball has importantly discussed the role of several Higher Education institutions in networks of 'new philanthropy' (2008: 756).
16. See for example http://www.refugee-study.co.uk/Refugee-university-scholarships-directory.php for a directory of refugee and asylum seekers scholarships in the UK Higher Education.

17. I refer here to Foucault often cited statement: 'My point is not that everything is bad, but that everything is dangerous, which is not exactly the same as bad. If everything is dangerous, then we always have something to do' (Foucault 1986: 343).
18. See https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/03/18/eu-turkey-statement/ [Accessed 1 March 2020].
19. See https://www.facebook.com/nobordersiceland/.
20. For full and visual details of the protest and the statement, see https://www.facebook.com/nobordersiceland/posts/2293968324002948.

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