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## Humanities for the Interregnum: Hey There, 'Communitarian Revolutionary Subject' Texting in My Class'

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### **Abstract**

The under-appreciated problem that this article addresses is a lack of widespread contemporary theory for Community Change Studies in dialogue with the Humanities. There are many articles, textbooks and trainings that take on "how to" organize, social movements, and educational theory. But there is little contemporary theory of how, in specific, the humanities contribute to, and are problematic for, a community change subjectivity, a "revolutionary consciousness." This article addresses that problem through a grounded theory, participatory approach. Through an examination of practices in a U.S. community college and public university network that credentials many Black, Brown, Indigenous, immigrant and low- and moderate-income community organizers, a framework of cross-cutting praxes is developed. Finally, brief implications are offered for "organizing curious" college and university faculty in the humanities.

**Keywords:** community organizing, agency, revolutionary consciousness, humanities, higher education, community colleges, Black Brown Indigenous students, discourse, subjectivity

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*The future is not born all at once. It exists in the present. The thing is to know where to look.*  
CLR James

## Introduction: A Community Organizing Humanities for the Polycrisis<sup>i</sup>

There are many articles, textbooks and trainings that take on “how to” organize, plenty of academic research in the social sciences concerning organizing and movements, decades of Freirian educational theory, popular and scholarly histories of particular political and social change events. But there is surprisingly little research and theory that digs underneath widespread organizing practices to their implications, especially implications to catalyze transformative social change that aims to redistribute power, and moreover how higher education might play a role in this aim.

Not all organizers or organizing traditions see this large-scale transformation as their mission. Saul Alinsky’s approach, which still informs a great deal of institution-based community organizing, is to develop leaders and build organizations by starting, and also sometimes ending, with where people are at, in an almost politics-neutral approach. Issues are developed and campaigns built inductively. In this perspective, ideology is seen as a rigid, top-down orthodoxy that stifles grassroots democracy.

Critics of this legacy believe organizing can and should be part of a larger fight for transformative social change. Essential to this praxis is incorporating ideology into organizing. Ideology here is seen more positively as a relatively clear vision of the future that goes beyond talking about values to addressing fundamental questions of political economy, politics, and new social formations. It also means an analysis of the present that distinguishes between right-wing and left-wing populist narratives to identify clearly who are the oligarchs to be challenged what the social formations are that support their power. And finally it means developing and refining a long-term strategy that sees organizing as one of many key elements of a broad coalition for change.<sup>iii</sup>

Without going further into the long debates concerning the role of ideology in organizing, I will be explicit in stating that neither approach is satisfactory on its own, and that a third approach which focuses on the development of the collective “worlding subject” is needed as well.<sup>iv</sup> Organizing must continue its unique work in developing effective community leaders (individual subjects) who can win practical immediate campaigns, while also working intentionally toward long-term and systemic transformation (world). However, as I will describe below, we are in an era we have never seen before, both in higher education and in the globe at large, and fixed blueprints for how that world should be are likely to fail. In this paper, I focus on how transformative work requires the development, even invention, of a flexible collective subject capable of “worlding” otherwise rather than a subject that accepts precarity, isolation and widespread brutality justified by individualistic, pull-yourself-up-by-your-bootstraps agency and beliefs in “freedom,” “progress,” and “human nature.” Organizing praxis in the era of the polycrisis must build a new revolutionary collective subject—and the humanities can and should be a key resource for this process.

This article describes a coherent set of organizing wisdoms about how to get there, wisdoms which infuse the Community Organizing in Higher Education network (COHE is a pseudonym preferred by the network leadership for publication purposes). The COHE network’s pedagogical whole is greater than the sum of its parts: as an assemblage, these practices hold promise as seeds for developing a revolutionary collective subject. The purpose of this article is to describe this

coherence, which thus far has been implicit and un-articulated in a systemic way within COHE; I argue that this is the heart of what we sometimes call the “special sauce” of COHE and the intention is for these wisdoms to be available in other organizing and education spaces for amplification.

The five key learnings COHE students gain in our programs, which I am calling a Community Organizing Humanities framework, are:

- Action, not polite conflict avoidance
- Visioning otherwise, not “there is no alternative”<sup>v</sup> teleology
- Connection, not isolation
- Investment in solidarity, not limited loyalty within democracy
- Autopoiesis, meaning drawing together the above practices and *consciously* composing communitarian revolutionary collective subjects, not bourgeois, (neo)liberal, separate, “mature” subjects.

Many higher education programs do parts of this work, but few if any do all of it together. One purpose of this article is to advocate for more spaces in higher education to cultivate these frames by cross-fertilizing the knowledges, dispositions and skills of organizing with other disciplines, outside of explicit organizing-forward spaces.

Analogous frameworks are certainly invoked in the organizing world. As just one example, Mariame Kaba and Kelly Hayes, in their 2023 *Let This Radicalize You*, offer newer organizers their insights.<sup>vi</sup> In a quintessential excerpt, Kaba and Hayes write, “When we believe in each other, we are more likely to take risks and to invest ourselves in possibility, even when our own hopes are not fully formed. In this way, our relationships and the work of relationship building can change our sense of what’s possible.” Kaba and Hayes parallel the essential elements of the Community Organizing Humanities framework, emphasizing the movement among:

- Connection (*when we believe in each other*)
- Action (*we are more likely to take risks*)
- Investment (*the work of relationship building*)
- Vision (*can change our sense of what's possible*)
- Autopoiesis (*even when our hopes are not fully formed [we] invest ourselves in possibility*).

This parallelism, which I see in many other movement spaces<sup>vii</sup>, suggests to me that my interpretation of what is going on in COHE reflects that the organizing world, “organizingness” if you will, is doing unrecognized cultural work. Make that work explicit and it becomes more available to organizers, trainers of organizers, the academic humanities, and others interested in community change. In particular, in the implications section, I will gesture toward community organizing’s “otherwise” subjectivity-producing potentials, in particular for the humanities.

### **The Revolutionary Collective Subject and Academe: Producing Otherwise Subjectivity**

Why make demands on academe, particularly the academic humanities, now? Because the world is a literal hot mess—and an audacious potential, and higher education is asleep at the wheel. Humanity has reached an interregnum (a time between ruling structures) and higher education is paralyzed. With our biosphere transforming, the scientific community itself is quietly calling for a

“fundamental, system-wide reorganization,”<sup>viii</sup> and now, not at some future time, global capitalism is simultaneously collapsing and sprinting in tighter circles to keep itself in place. Inequalities of wealth, well-being and power are dystopic. A new world will emerge out of this polycrisis—the questions are how to redistribute the pain of now, mitigate the hard to come, and grow the beauty that is already emerging through the cracks. Even though many will die in the coming centuries, many will survive. We can keep our eyes closed, or we can start to remake higher ed now to help constitute new subjects for this interregnum, and the new world after.

We will need, as my yoga teacher said, all our collective joy to do it. COVID-19 took the lid off the entire global market-political system<sup>ix</sup>, showing us that *no one is minding the store* (precarity), but also: *hey fam—no one is minding the store* (we are “essential” and can change the whole thing overnight)! Higher education operating status quo is part of the fantasy that things are still ok, with colleges barely responding to this inchoate reality except to panic about enrollments and add online educational “choices.” Instead, lessons from organizing can provoke us in global North institutions of higher education (IHE’s) to help create the conditions for something else, for urgently-needed collective subjectivities to grow, for ourselves and our students, together.

Education (as well as organizing) already produces subjectivities; anyone who claims a politically neutral education is disingenuous or naïve. The question that critical theorists ask is, is it possible to deliberately develop “otherwise” subjectivities in the context of education, and how? Those of us in the Global North have come to take for granted our modern, individual Western subjectivities—civilized, rational, free, separate—as if they are real, with the “Other” of the racialized Global South produced as underdeveloped, irrational, inscrutable, savage. It is this intellectual paradox gifted to us by the Enlightenment (all “Mankind” is universal and equal yet simultaneously the door to equality is restricted and humans are innately hierarchical) that decolonial and postmodern humanities attempt to deconstruct. This *deconstruction* leaves the *construction* of subjectivity an open-ended problem.<sup>x</sup> Recent research posits that indigenous peoples and autonomous movements—such as the Zapatistas or the Rojava, or semi-autonomous movements such as protest encampments or political collectives—are central actors in the development of otherwise and revolutionary collective subjectivities. This research (see Barkin and Napoletano, Zibechi, and others<sup>xi</sup>) suggests that it is possible to make conscious praxis choices that fertilize the ground for the production of “communitarian revolutionary subjects.” I suggest herein that COHE’s work with students in Global North public IHE’s may do this fertilization work as well.

### Methods: Grounded Theory

Founded more than a dozen years ago as an explicit response to the lack of knowledgeable community organizers in the U.S. from the communities most impacted by vital issues, COHE was established primarily in community colleges, and a few public four-year schools, in collaboration with change organizations on the ground, to create credentialed pathways for Global Majority and Indigenous (GMI), immigrant, and poor and working class persons to organize in their own communities. While COHE programs certainly teach “straight up organizing skills,” COHE sites immerse participants in a great deal of other new collective ideas, beliefs and behaviors. COHE’s practices therefore offer fertile ground to uncover insights about the relation between the humanities and organizing. I have been a participant in the COHE network, so my role is as participant-researcher.

Grounded theory is qualitative research that inductively builds from data toward an explanation, in contrast with deductive approaches that test hypotheses derived from larger theories. The Community Organizing Humanities framework was developed using a grounded theory approach. Each COHE site has formal independence from the network, but COHE serves as a loose “community of practice”<sup>xii</sup> and network of support. Initially, through the auspices of a grant aimed at civics education, COHE took on the two-year field scan of its own best practices. I was one of three team leaders working on the grant. Faculty and staff from eight different core sites were asked to discuss with other local staff and contribute program practices, lesson plans, and justifications for their most influential and long-standing curricular methods to an electronic repository; the sample of data was therefore purposive and self-selecting. Ultimately, forty-two separate contributions were made to the repository. These were grouped according to emerging commonalities. Next, a subset of those contributing individuals, and others affiliated with COHE, participated three times in recorded working group meetings to discuss the meaning and language to describe cross-cutting practices; additional one-on-one meetings occurred with various COHE leaders.<sup>xiii</sup>

### Findings: Coming to Believe We All Matter

COHE’s primary intention is to provide degrees and prepare individuals to take on organizing roles. Many COHE alumni have indeed graduated with the skills, knowledge and disposition to become powerful community organizers, both professional and informal. At the time of this research, over 800 alumni nationwide and counting. While doing so, COHE’s local sites also function in parallel to build “movement spaces” within higher education that seem to transform students toward greater collective agency in ways very different than many other spaces in academia.

Authentic agency toward collective change appears notional in most higher education contexts, but more than a decade of experience suggested that what was happening in COHE programs was reliably different:

*I have a student who I've done some community work with...And she almost dropped out because she said, all of her professors were super social justicey, but all they wanted to talk about was how terrible it all was. Yeah, it's like, they were trying to convince middle class kids that the world was really a mess. And she was like, I know that. I grew up that. ...And then in her practice, the community work we did, she knew about the difference she could make. So I think there's something really toxic about what academia does with social problems.*

– Cynthia Kaufman, COHE faculty and Director, Vasconcellos Institute for Democracy in Action at De Anza College, CA

*A lot of my students--and they're working class students--their understanding of how do you get involved in the world in order to change it is wholly through charity. Not about changing systems....Because you kind of have this assumption: systems can't change. So within that idea of 'systems can't change,' well, what do you do to take the sting off? And you know, and that's not a crazy position to take [of charity as change]. It's just not one that ends up being satisfying for anybody. So one of things that we do in all our classes is actually contrast these approaches.*

— John Krinsky, COHE faculty, City College NY

COHE programs have figured out something about how to contend with the prevailing discursive terrains of change on both political ends. On the one hand, neoliberalism presents modern racial capitalism as a largely functioning system that is the natural, inevitable end-point of history, so much so that it seems ahistorical: it can't change, there is no alternative. If the analysis is that systemic change is impossible, then strategically we are restricted to individualized charity fixes, like cleaning up a park or making sandwiches for the unhoused. At the risk of overgeneralizing, traditional "service learning" of this sort still predominates many community engagement offices at colleges and universities. On the other hand, many university colleagues espouse postmodern critiques that, no matter how accurate a diagnosis of our material conditions, can feel to students like they devolve into shallow identity politics ("super social justicey") or "toxic," empty political correctness.

Dissatisfied with both unrelenting critique and unrelenting ahistorical, brutal neoliberalism, a core practice of all COHE programs is hands-on work in real movement spaces, in conjunction with iterative reflection. Because COHE programs are coherent certificates, academic minors, or whole majors grounded in an organizing approach, they provide a sustained opportunity for learning together through praxis—theory and practice actively influencing each other.

*As a descendant of people who did things back in the days, to really put myself in that position, as a person, as a human being....Why did this group make those kind of decisions, especially when it comes to social justice movements, or messed up things that happened in the past? ....it's important for us to be able to understand that from all perspectives, not just from the oppressor's perspective, which is our regular history. But this idea of lessons learned is, to me, opening up the space for students to try to really think about what were the different struggles of, for example, the civil rights movement, both internally and externally? And how do we see that in today's different movements as well. So always bringing it back to how do you as a learner understand it—you know, it's not just dropped on you? And then also, how do you challenge it too, because, things like history, for example, it's so fluid—it depends on who you talk to. So even having that kind of critical framework, you have to do it in a different way. Share the different facts, then share, what's the wisdom?*

—Shelia Balque, Senior Program Manager for the Community Planning & Economic Development Program at CDTech and COHE alum

The sustained being-together in Freirian<sup>xiv</sup> inquiry-based study opens up spaces for new subjectivity production; "that kind of critical framework," as COHE staffer Shelia notes, is not enough. Shelia instead recognizes the importance of an intimate knowledge-producing practice: "to really put myself in that position as a human being," conjuring a collective self ("this group" "social movements") in a particular historical moment. She brilliantly captures how COHE faculty help students extract "lessons learned" rather than having knowledge "dropped on you": that we have to retell historical moments from the people's perspective, that we must acknowledge internal as well as external struggles, and we have to explicitly connect and challenge the lessons learned from history in our own context and local experience. Then we put the facts on the table together and finally collectively "share": "what's the wisdom?"

As subtly implied by the quotations above, in COHE, the relational enhances the pedagogical. A majority of our faculty, staff and students are GMI, immigrant, low-income, or queer. Consequently, COHE students' "otherwise" experiences are fluidly, intentionally honored as "community cultural

[epistemic] wealth"<sup>xv</sup>, essential to the knowledge-making and dialogue in our classes, as described by Hector:

*It's not about teaching critical thinking, you've already been doing critical thinking. We're offering you this way of saying you have these assets already, you have another place to put that resistance. It's empowerment and coming to believe that you and your experience matters (not how many letters after your name).*

– Hector W. Soto, J.D., Professor of Law and Public Policy, Eugenio Maria de Hostos Community College, CUNY

COHE's asset-based approaches contrast with approaches that assume our population of students come from places of deficiency. Conversely, they also contrast with "gritty" approaches that ignore systems of oppression and can thereby replicate them. Rather than taking up our liberatory energies resisting schooling's messages of individual deficit, faculty, staff and students together resist in practice the unjust systems in place. This uncommon confluence of context, relationship, pedagogies and structures<sup>xvi</sup> provides a territory to doula<sup>xvii</sup> the holistic development of a different kind of subject.<sup>xviii</sup> This hands-on and community-centered context helps base the more specific pedagogies described below.

### ***ACTION, or Figuring out How to Engage in "The Struggle."***

Predictably, action practices include the on-the-nose content of community organizing trainings, as well as scaffolding toward such work. These practices answer the "how" question. How to use strategies and tactics to empower the powerless and to move the people who have decision-making power? How do we influence policy and practice that bring material improvement in our lives, sometimes for our very survival? COHE action practices tend to fall into two categories: *laying the ground*, and *apprenticing together to do actual organizing*.

- *Laying the ground* practices include asset-based community mapping, having a community organizing elder visit a class to describe the "local lay of the land" on an issue, neighborhood walks, power mapping an issue, and working on a hyper-local "real" project for class.
- *Apprenticing doing actual organizing* includes the core COHE practice of "legitimate peripheral participation"<sup>xix</sup> in a regional movement, but also includes action exchanges (turning out for other classmates' public events), field trips and lobbying, conducting internal organizational needs analyses, strategizing, and constructing logic models.

COHE programs explicitly teach community organizing through actually engaging students in movement-based local organizations. Along the way, we are teaching students and ourselves to have a new relationship to *valuing conflict*: whose needs are actually getting met in our neighborhood? How to get a public figure to listen when they don't want to? Conflict, especially on under conditions of unequal power<sup>xx</sup>, is not to be avoided, but instead is valuable, fruitful. It is also messy, as some of the pedagogical strategies named above imply: power is not evident but requires mapping, cutting an issue is opaque and often requires a "real local lay of the land." As Hector puts it, "you don't get things because they are on paper, you get them because you fight for them."

### *VISION, or Figuring Out What to Struggle Toward.*

In order to know what to struggle toward, COHE students are given opportunities to envision that a changed world is possible. These pedagogies are in many ways the most evidently humanities focused: texts and interpretations that view the world-as-it-is as a work in progress, radically, thoughtfully changeable by us. COHE practices tend to fall into three categories: *making conscious the status quo*, *stories of struggle*, and *speculation*; COHE faculty might mix simultaneous analyses of present problems with dreams of futurity and current/past examples of struggle.

- *Raising the status quo to consciousness*, through rooted looks at lived social systems such as health, transportation, housing, education, etc. For example, Hector starts with a question to his students from the Bronx: "What would happen if there were no police in our neighborhood?" (Spoiler: his students do not typically start with the semi-abolitionist conclusions they end up with several class periods later.) I use the story "The Ones Who Walk Away from Omelas" by Ursula LeGuin to raise analytic questions about our current local and global economic system.
- *Studying concrete stories of struggle and freedom*, including telling our own social justice origins stories (Cynthia's prompt: "We all come from families and people who have cared in different ways about the world—what is the story of how you came to have the values you have for building a better world that make you who are you today?"); inviting in guest speakers from the community involved in a current struggle so students can witness human stories of becoming change-makers and local wins; close reading of examples and counter-examples in history and fiction. (I show students unfamiliar films such as *Brother/Outsider*, the Bayard Rustin documentary, or the youth-led Serbian group Otpor documentary *Bringing Down a Dictator*).
- *Speculating through various ways to reimagine reality*, such as mapping alternative community futures; readings in speculative fiction (sci-fi) or utopian studies; or constructing a theory of change.

As organizers know, visioning practices build a better world by envisioning that one is possible, rather than accepting a teleological view in which present conditions justify past orders of things. Oddly, even futuristic, technocratic imaginaries can take this restrictive, teleological approach. Consider our obsession with interplanetary settlement: we keep testing out humans' ability to survive on Mars by volunteers living for extended periods in tiny, uncomfortable compartments, yet as the 2023 book *A City on Mars* notes: "An Earth with climate change and nuclear war and, like, zombies and werewolves is still a way better place than Mars." We could far more easily revamp the entire Earth toward our utopias than make a small portion of Mars even livable, but we don't go there. The limit factor of our imaginations is not the physical world; it is what we (don't) imagine human beings are capable of in the here and now.

COHE says *otro mundo es posible*, with the emphasis on "possible," not just desirable, but within our grasp. As a package, all three visioning practices together build a collective agented subject: we explicitly, collectively re-render visionary exemplars as real (study concrete stories, especially our own families and communities), visible (raising the status quo and alternatives to consciousness), and nontrivial (learning about historical wins that matter locally or globally).<sup>xxi</sup> These visioning practices vary a great deal in their scope; while a few faculty may have certain "blueprints" in mind—ecological, abolitionist, socialist, radical democratic, etc.—the pedagogical emphasis tends



to be on developing the very capacities needed to imagine otherwise, a subjectivity that grows in comfort with the unsettledness of *refusing teleology*. Given that we have never been at this particular interregnum ecologically, economically, politically nor socially, we simply do not have a blueprint, and there is great power in continually, habitually asking together, What next?

Here is a reflection from one of my own students, Dagmawe Berhanu, on the film *Bringing Down a Dictator*; note Dag's visionary re-imagining of status quo social systems:

*In the world I believe we should all be struggling toward, society is not void of violence and crime, because I believe these are fixtures in our nature as humans. Despite the inevitability of it, I believe there are ways we can improve upon where we are. For one, incarceration, as we know it in this country, is not a panacea for crime; if it were, just by the sheer number of incarcerated humans in America alone, you would think we would've fixed the issue by now. In the world I strive for, there are social structures set in place for accountability and transformative justice to occur whenever it is feasible. More often than not, this doesn't require the caging of humans for the rest of their lives, sequestering them to the outer margins of society. In the world I want to build, the community is the change agent - together, we the people manifest the transformation we wish to see in our world. We appreciate the creativity and passion of our youth, like with Otpor in Serbia during the time of Milošević, and how they were taken seriously in all their protest pursuits and re-imagining of what their nation could look like. Indeed, the youth have an equal say in the world I want to live in. People will always matter more than the interest of capital gain and would be reflected in our education systems, housing, as well as transportation. Simply put, the world that I struggle for is a world where a human has the opportunity to realize their full potential, without arbitrary oppressive forces getting in the way of that.*

Like Dag, some of our students enter our COHE programs with some parts of the “what to struggle toward” question worked out, but none of us have it *all* worked out. We have never seen a world without class oppression, White supremacy, sexism, or Darwinistic ideas about humanity, but concrete visioning practices begin to unearth examples toward it. These pedagogical practices build up a well of stories for us to communally call on, different stories than those we are often exposed to, through which we can come to a more empowering view of who humans are and our possibilities to transform the world around us.

### **CONNECTION, or Figuring Out When to Engage in Struggle and When to Heal and Sustain for Well-Being.**

In order to know when to struggle and when to restore toward well-being, COHE students are given opportunities to feel connected. Practices in this arena contribute to students' sense of refuge and belonging. These are practices made explicit and honored by current generations of on-the-ground organizers prioritizing sustaining practices in the context of a beloved community. As the Nap Bishop Tricia Hersey says, “Rest is revolutionary.” COHE pedagogical practices that promote connection fall into three categories: *self-care through valuing one's assets*, *building community through listening*, and *locating the self through story*.

- *Self-care through valuing our own assets* includes emotional emancipation circles, *familias*<sup>xxii</sup>, and resource groups, as well as repertoires of self-care such as therapy, art, mindfulness,

hitting the gym or the woods. COHE faculty model the connective, depth practice of being truthful with students about their own needs to recharge.

- *Building community through structured, non-judgmental listening* includes formal conflict resolution tactics, nonviolent communication strategies, or informal pair-shares that deemphasize cross-talk, with attention to empathy and the assumed goodness of the interlocutor. These are used within classes and taught as skills to be used in the field.
- *Locating the self through story* includes story circles or aspects of identity exercises.<sup>xxiii</sup>

Words we often do not associate with the academy come to mind here: joy, intimacy, play, healing, humor, nourishment. Soul, not just survival. These are the human needs that make much of life worth waking up to. Putting “the good stuff” first is “prefigurative politics”<sup>xxiv</sup>—creating the world to come right now in small doses, seeding a liberated society. Paradoxically these ingredients are also necessary to develop deeper wells of being-together<sup>xxv</sup>—set against the *isolation and exhaustion* demanded by our neoliberal society, often including our own IHE’s—which enables our participation in widening that good stuff into the world, to sustain collective struggles and/or maintain membership in a movement.

That is, connective practices are both what we want, as singular human beings, and the nourishment we require to get what we want, as a collective. (Watch *You Got to Move*, the Highlander School documentary, and see how much people celebrate!) Aloneness leads to despair; so does an imagined future world full of only scarcity and work. As Edmundo Norte, COHE faculty and former dean at De Anza College, notes: “sometimes it’s not that people don’t have hope, nor critical consciousness, it is that they don’t have the collective.” This good stuff is not the same as the pleasures of consumption, a fleeting Starbucks experience: people grow to know that they are not alone in their moral vision, and that people are going to stick with them while they dream and learn and try. These connective practices contribute to communitarian revolutionary subjectivities by helping to answer the “when” question, as in, when is it time to act in collective struggle and when it is time to renew as an individual and a collective.

### ***INVESTMENT, or Figuring Out With Whom to Struggle.***

Who we think of as “we” is one of the most complicated, and always incomplete, questions that are addressed in COHE pedagogies.<sup>xxvi</sup> “Which side are you on?” as the union song goes. In order to choose with whom to struggle, students must be given opportunities to *identify, appreciate and question their concrete relationships and situate self- and other-interests through story and build bridges of investment.*

- *Identify, appreciate and question concrete relationships and investments* practices include: an “American Dreams and Nightmares” timeline, which narrates one’s own personal social history (developed by a COHE faculty member); an “interpretative lens” paper, narrating one’s social present (developed by Lena Jones, COHE faculty, Minneapolis College); a “Who are you” infographic.
- *Situate self- and other-interests through story, and build bridges of investment practices* include: widely-used organizing practices of public narrative and one-on-ones; engaging artistic texts with critical scaffolding focused on bridge-building, investment, and relationship (e.g., films such as *Pride*, *Matewan*, or *Erin Brockovich* can be rehearsals in relationship building and complex solidarity).

These pedagogies do not begin with ideological assumptions but stick close to the specific, providing opportunities for construction and reconstruction of self/we/other. For example, Lena's substantial "interpretive lens" paper includes sixteen different prompts, from "has racial and/or ethnic identity been important *in your life?*" to "how do you define power?" Lena notes:

*[This practice] allows students to get clearer on their own stories, and what aspects of "your lens" gives you a particularly powerful ability to see what is going on in a situation, and also one's blind spots. Allows them to know more about how they relate to others because of this lens. We particularly emphasize the power of your lens—how our lenses collectively are assets to see problems, issues, strengths, etc. clearly.*

COHE pedagogies like this provide opportunities to, at minimum, (a) describe where we are socially situated (where our own material, social and ethical interests lie), and (b) interrogate how our interests intersect or don't with others'. Counterpart hands-on experiences provide the opportunity to build on and question these identifications, to develop relationships/build bridges/choose sides, activating solidarity within and across communities. To *disrupt reflexive loyalties*—whether to presumed social or political identities, nations, or systems—and instead build sophisticated bridges of relationship within a diverse classroom, it is important that these "investment/who" assignments are not just handed in to a teacher but are shared (e.g., in small groups, in a class "museum").

However, COHE leaders tend to avoid shallow gestures at examining structural oppression, like "privilege walks," which may obstruct solidarity with shame, or focus more on subjugation and domination than liberation. These practices tactically push back on the core neoliberal, modernist notion that we thrive as individuals at liberty, free to do whatever we like within the bounds of the law, loyal to a precious few in our family, church, or fraternity. They provide a bottom-up, contingently-generated, but doula-ed, vision through reflection and questions and sharing. Questions that get raised in these pedagogies parallel those that many organizers ask regularly in practice: Who are our real allies? How can we build a "sticky solidarity" that lasts beyond mobilizing for an action, and get closer to others that may seem "Other?" Who can hold us accountable to act ethically? How can we back each other to face the hard choices? How does the biggest "We" help us thrive?

### ***AUTOPOIESIS, or Figuring Out Our Why by Consciously Composing Communitarian Revolutionary Collective Subjects.***

These kinds of pedagogies answer the "why" question—if collective struggle is so contentious, long term, draining, and risky, why do it? Many revolutionary organizers were literally killed by their own governments: Walter Rodney, Fred Hampton, Rosa Luxemburg, Che. Given this harsh reality, how do we provide students opportunities to negotiate identities as change-makers as an emerging gravitational center of their lives? Especially first generation/community college students, many already struggling just to survive in multiple ways? Many have already been seeking ways to produce "new selves" through clarifying their own values, sense of purpose, big visions and hopes. As well as running multiple side-hustles that keep them in food and shelter.

This final set of practices celebrates the rewards of struggle toward liberation for all. COHE pedagogies of autopoiesis include *tools for seeing and celebrating growth*, and *tools for composing hybrid selves and building capacity*:

- *Tools for seeing and celebrating growth*, such as a river of life exercise or a celebration of growth
- *Tools for composing hybrid selves and building capacity*, such as individual development plans, creating emancipatory avatars, or reading for change.

Even though collective struggle is how emancipation happens, we generally experience our lives—especially in Western culture—as individuals. So these practices do celebrate individual development. However, they are embedded in a recursive tangle with the other four sets of practices; figuring out “our why” in the context of connection, vision, investment, and action is different than writing an individual mission statement for our lives. COHE students know that it’s brutal out there. The system isn’t working—GMI, low income and LGBTQ students, rural folks, immigrants, and to be frank, nearly everyone post-COVID pandemic—know this. In some way, they already know that barreling on as separate individuals, trying to live in the precarity of modernity, produces 99% of us as lonely, insignificant, and possibly doomed.

COVID, the climate catastrophe, the police state, the “organized abandonment”<sup>xxvii</sup> of rural and urban areas. The harsh truth of the polycrisis is that we live in a failed state that simply is no longer keeping any of us safe, in terms of the basics of food, housing, healthcare, water, air, and security from violence. Once someone has “taken the red pill” and seen the status quo for how outrageous it truly is, there is no going back. If we are somehow “making it” but that means accepting the harsh, unjust society as it is, and maturity means finding one’s “niche” in the accepted social order<sup>xxviii</sup>—COHE students already intuit in sharp or unformed ways that something is wrong with that, and that is why they are drawn to our programs. COHE programs gestate and doula a different lived imaginary.

Community organizing is literally the project of collectively recovering the power taken from us by the ruling classes; Raul Zibechi notes, “...the ruling classes have only one project...which is to remain dominant. The rest is improvised.”<sup>xxix</sup> Centering on emancipation becomes *our* improvised, collective project. It brings greater joy, connection, and agency; less politeness and predictability, but greater fulfilment and humanity to our lives. Community organizing can be defined as the gathering of more and the deepening of relationships, collectively, which provides greater power to that network of relations; community organizing also grows the capacity and desires of those people, groups and communities to make change on their own behalf. The abolitionist chant, “we keep us safe” is literally true, and so we need all of us for liberation.

The influential genre of the Bildungsroman (the “coming of age” story) narrates to us the bourgeois version of identity development: leave home in youthful discontent, go through trials, find mentors, and eventually reach contentment and meaning in relation to a defined social order. Many scholars have pointed out the Bildungsroman’s origins in 19<sup>th</sup> century early capitalist Germany reflected the need to shape bourgeois subjectivities: humans achieve self-actualization (what’s your unique talent, your niche?) and “the state” serves that self-actualizing need, and in turn, individuals can harmoniously serve the state.<sup>xxx</sup> The Holden Caulfields of art and life are to “grow up” by resolving internal conflicts, learn moral lessons, and reevaluate their own self/character in relation to an essentially unbending society.<sup>xxxi</sup>

Critiquing a literary genre like the Bildungsroman might seem fussy and far off from community organizing, but consider the strong pressure to conform to European-bourgeois values in contemporary Western culture and institutions: those in life who finish school, marry, succeed in a

career, have children, and vote the “right way” are “mature,” “grown.” COHE faculty may not critique those choices per se, but COHE program practices—whether directly or indirectly—ask: what if the prevailing definition of identity development instead means seeking to be a person for whom “liberation for all through collectively changing society” was at the center of one’s life? What if no matter how nice your house is, or no matter how many “letters after your name,” you might feel discontent, or at least not be regarded as “adulthood,” if creating community change in opposition to the outrageous hurts being inflicted on so many and toward healing and justice were not central to how you organized your life? When we question the values of the Bildungsroman, we have the chance to redefine maturity as humans who find meaning in their commitment to transformation of the status quo even when there are costs, even when the rewards are not those of bourgeois society—a society that is unlikely to exist a few decades from now. Preparing our students for that society is looking backward with our eyes wide shut.

In sum, I am arguing here that each of the four previous praxes, simultaneously constituted, together hail us toward a fifth, what decolonial scholar Sylvia Wynter calls *autopoiesis*. Wynter argues that the way out of our human predicament of our own making is to remember that we are autopoietic (self-creating). Wynter’s arguments took her a lifetime, but in short: pre-Enlightenment, humans saw themselves as devised and limited by a deity; post-Enlightenment thinking meant humans coming to know ourselves as biological beings, structured by evolution, science. That self-knowing was and is not innocent and accurate, but instead was generated to justify the brutality of colonialism with its mass appropriation of land and lives. This remains true today. Wynterian scholarship lays bare that we “mistook the map for the territory.” We mistakenly believe that what we know of White, Western, homo-economicus Man is the entire territory of “humans Be-ing.” Instead, Wynter argues, we are “bios-mythos,” hybrid beings whose perhaps most important shared characteristic is our ability to create ourselves: autopoiesis. Wynter is not, however, interested in the academy uncovering what we can know about ourselves as individuals, which is still often thought of as the realm of the humanities. Instead, her work directs us to reconfigure who we know the entire genre of humanity to be, how we are “worlding subjects.” Worlding cannot be done alone. Composing and celebrating new selves practices celebrate us as singular examples, yes, but of a new kind of human, autopoietic yet solidaristic, collective and visionary, conflict-loving but joyful. COHE programs partially, imperfectly, but excitingly till the ground for new subjectivities that get unearthed through this package of practices, and worldviews, generating stories toward new “human be-ing” that recenters an emancipatory, powerful, exultant, ordinary us-in-production.

### Implications: What the “Organizing Curious” might gain from a Community Organizing Humanities

The framework offered here is likely to be more evidently useful for organizers and trainers and teachers of organizers to play and think with. However, in the brief space below, I suggest that the framework is also useful for faculty in the humanities who may not explicitly be preparing community organizers in the now.

COHE programs offer a risky, exhilarating bid that liberation for all as central to meaning in our lives is not just a temporary, youthful, or oddball aspiration. In fact, community organizing is the meaning of human life, which makes it a humanities jaw<sup>xxxii</sup>, as we like to say in Philadelphia. Community organizing is the “fractal referent,” to flip a term used by decolonial scholar Denise Ferreira Da

Silva, for our inherent human being-together.<sup>xxxiii</sup> The implications of this are manifold, and I will offer some immoderate possibilities below.

- The humanities, in both its traditional and critical modes, should abandon its focus on critical interpretative work and return to its legacy as a set of disciplinary communities focused on actively producing subjectivities. Gayatri Spivak asserts simply, “the task of the humanities is to teach literature and philosophy in such a way that people will be able to imagine what a socially just world should be.”<sup>xxxiv</sup> That is, the task of the humanities is to produce people, not critique. We should experiment with a Community Organizing Humanities, a Humanities for the Interregnum as a decolonial worksite of new Humans Being.
- The traditional humanities should abandon its Enlightenment obsession with individual, sovereign subjects and take up community organizing’s obsession with the collective subject. We should stop telling—or even noticing, except as fallacious—hero stories, and raise up the ordinary. In the same way Women’s and Gender Studies scholarship in history, art or literature critiques the tropes of romance or rescue and recenters women’s and queer stories, tropes and truths, scholarship in Community Organizing Humanities must make absurd notions of exceptional heroes and revalue the collective, the ordinary.
- The critical humanities should maintain our well-developed suspicions of the narratives that justify our brutal, precarious modernity, such as Progress, Freedom, and Exceptionalism. But we should deepen our suspicions of Maturity, Separability, Loyalty, Civility, and Democracy, leaning in early, perhaps from elementary school, and certainly not waiting until graduate school or upper-level seminars in elite colleges. No more curricula and classroom moments that (re)create bourgeois “free individual consumer/wage laborer” subjects (even if we are reproducing them by critiquing them, critically analyzing the narratives without offering something otherwise).

The humanities is one collective place that might be capable of *freedom dreaming*, speculating in arrears to those who *know otherwise*<sup>xxxv</sup>, those whom liberal democracy renders as incomprehensible: the indigenous, the Black, the colonized, the hilarious, the laughable, the studious student, the pessimistic artist, the loving professor, the illegible text, the bad subject, the emancipatory cult, the lying historian, the theoropoetic, the traumatized, the queer, the trans, the autistic, the crippled.

Now, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, when we are “hospicing modernity,”<sup>xxxvi</sup> a humanities for the interregnum should offer pedagogical experiments<sup>xxxvii</sup> which afford us a chance to find our place as part of a joyful polis (a collective, directly self-governing public), with the knowledge to engage in strategic, creative, meaningful, and ultimately powerful struggle, having the skills to use a multiplicity of strategies, including disruptive ones when necessary, and the dispositions to make tactical sacrifices to transform the status quo. The real teleological error is assuming there is such a thing as human nature at all. We need new narratives of what it means to be human. Mature: a grown up who is unafraid to be uncivil, willing to make a scene, to be a civic virtuoso, extra-ordinary in solidarity alongside other extra-ordinary inhabitants of our shared territory, all willing to make smart, tactical sacrifices to transform the status quo into something more beautiful than we have ever seen.<sup>xxxviii</sup>

There is simply no time to waste with curricula that recreate bourgeois “free individual consumer/wage laborer” subjects. Higher education, particularly the Humanities together with

Community Change Studies, can be part of creating the conditions for struggle, risking sincerity and reaching for Freire's *conscientização*.<sup>xxxix</sup> We do not know what an unbroken society would look like.<sup>xl</sup> In fact, we can be sure it will not a tedious Eden, but a catbox in need of constant social-political cleaning.<sup>xli</sup> As colleagues in the interregnum, we should be prying open opportunities for the co-creation of new subjects needed for the new world--*preguntando caminamos*.

## Endnotes

<sup>i</sup> The views expressed in this paper are solely those of the author, and not necessarily those of the organization pseudonymously identified here as "COHE," nor its affiliates. This article is adapted from Hannah Ashley's book, currently under editorial review, with the working title, *Doing Humanities While Dying: Community Organizing, Humanities Teaching, and Collective Capacities in the F&\$#ing Polycrisis*. Readers interested in more detailed explanations of selected pedagogical practices as well as further elaborations on a Community Organizing Humanities framework should consult the complete volume after publication.

Terms used in the title draw from:

Barkin, D., & Napoletano, B. M. (2023). The Communitarian Revolutionary Subject and the Possibilities of System Change. *Monthly Review* (New York. 1949), 52–64. [https://doi.org/10.14452/MR-074-10-2023-03\\_4](https://doi.org/10.14452/MR-074-10-2023-03_4)

Althusser, L. (1971). Translated by Andy Blunden. "Ideology, and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)". *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*. (Verso: 1970, p.11)

<sup>ii</sup> I would define as polycrisis as the current, new period when multiple global systems--especially environmental but also social and political, economic and health—have become entangled and reinforcing in nonlinear and somewhat unpredictable and overwhelming ways that cause major harm to living beings.

<sup>iii</sup> See any number of texts on the history of organizing; a recent memoir by George Lakey (2022), *Dancing with History: A Life for Peace and Justice*, describes this analysis/vision/strategy tripartite as a "medical metaphor...what health looks like...a diagnosis to determine [the] pathology...treatment plan" (210). Also see Oliver, Pamela E. and Hank Johnston. 2000. "What a Good Idea! Frames and Ideologies in Social Movement Research." *Mobilization* 5(1):37-54.

<sup>iv</sup> For some further context, readers are referred to, for example, Hinson, S. and Healy, R. (2020). Bringing Back Ideology, found at the organizing journal, *The Forge*.

<sup>v</sup> Margaret Thatcher's infamous declaration that there is no alternative to neoliberal modern capitalism.

<sup>vi</sup> Hayes, Kelly and Kaba, Mariame. (2023). *Let this Radicalize You: Organizing and the Revolution of Reciprocal Care*. Haymarket Books.

<sup>vii</sup> For example, the BOLD agenda, the THRIVE agenda, and numerous other Indigenous and Global Majority led organizer training outfits.

<sup>viii</sup> IPCC, "Climate Change 2022: Mitigation of Climate Change," WGIII Sixth Assessment Report (Geneva: Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2022), TS-133.

<sup>ix</sup> See for example Wendland-Liu, J. Marxism, U.S. Democracy, and Lenin's Commune Against Capitalism. *Fudan J. Hum. Soc. Sci.* 15, 277–297 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40647-021-00342-6>

<sup>x</sup> The arguments elided here are elaborated in my forthcoming book, but draw deeply on Decolonial Studies, Black Studies and Afropessimism, and queer theory.

<sup>xi</sup> For example, Zibechi's 2024 book, *Constructing Worlds Otherwise* makes similar and even more extensive arguments, invoking language to contrast with Western modernity's "social movements." Zibechi's "societies in movement" in the original Spanish is "pueblos" in movement, the world pueblos capturing a sense of both people and locales. Zibechi, R. (2024). *Constructing Worlds Otherwise: Societies in Movement and Anticolonial Paths in Latin America*. AK Press. Translated by George Ygarza Quispe.

<sup>xii</sup> Lave, Jean., and Etienne Wenger. *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge University Press, 1991.

<sup>xiii</sup> This description of methods elides complexity, some of which are addressed in the forthcoming book. COHE had concerns or disagreements about some of the concepts elaborated here for political, intellectual or other reasons, which make sense given the political and social realities of 2024. Nevertheless, some of the basic concepts were used for training new COHE sites, and faculty and staff were invited to anonymize their names and institutional affiliations, which they opted not to do.

<sup>xiv</sup> The origins and practice of Freirian inquiry-based study are beyond the scope of this paper; however, any Freirian (and Alinskian) work which is effective is both-and. Freire's well-known pedagogy, originally with Brazilian peasant-farmers, focused on problem-posing education and consciousness-raising towards the liberation of the oppressed, but Freire insists that reflection without action is empty sloganeering. And whereas in Alinskian organizing there is a *relative* lack of a priori political education, many theorists of organizing and social movements argue that skilled organizers aim to use organizing as education.

<sup>xv</sup> Yosso, T. (2005). Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. *Race*,

Ethnicity and Education, 8(1), 69–91. doi:10.1080/1361332052000341006

<sup>xvi</sup> For some reflections on how the contemporary university does not reward or make space for this type of work, see Parks, Steve and Popovic, Srdja (2022) "Democracy, Pedagogy, and Advocacy 2022," *Community Literacy Journal*: Vol. 16: Iss. 2, Article 34. : <https://digitalcommons.fiu.edu/communityliteracy/vol16/iss2/34>

<sup>xvii</sup> A doula is a birth coach. I like this metaphor for COHE faculty and for organizers for many reasons: a doula is seen as more of a peer, versus a midwife who is closer to a doctor's role, while at the same it acknowledges different roles, all critical, in the work of birthing new consciousness.

<sup>xviii</sup> Again, the development of a collective subject capable of acting in their own interests has long been a topic of study and theory; what this article highlights is the capacity for higher education programs to help such an agented subjectivity to emerge. For further clear discussion and background on debates on the development of this type of subjectivity, see for example, Kaplan, R. L. (2012). Between mass society and revolutionary praxis: The contradictions of Guy Debord's Society of the Spectacle. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 15(4), 457–478. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549412442208> .

<sup>xix</sup> Movements themselves are "communities of practice." Lave and Wenger's (ibid.) early work on communities of practice theorized about the process by which novices generate an identity as part of the group through ongoing, situated interactions with experts. Lave and Wenger argue that agented activity through "legitimate peripheral participation" results in gradual gaining of skills and knowledge at the same time as the gaining of an identity; the learning is part and parcel of social identity formation.

<sup>xx</sup> For a useful text on these decisions, see Subar, R. (2021). *When to Talk and When to Fight: The Strategic Choice Between Dialogue and Resistance*. PM Press.

<sup>xxi</sup> As noted elsewhere, visioning practices are not unique to community organizing, nor even the Humanities. See, for example, Greenwood, M. (2023). Real Utopia as a Method? Utopian-Sociological Paths from Jameson's Universal Army to a Postcapitalist Post Office. *Sociology*, 57(2), 288–304. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00380385221133205>

<sup>xxii</sup> *Familias* are support, accountability and resource groups. *Familias*, (as developed by Angélica Esquivel, one of our COHE colleagues at De Anza College) by prioritizing care over institutional demands, reinforce the sense of belonging and self-worth that we all need.

<sup>xxiii</sup> Aspects of identity exercises are not "privilege walks." Instead, these types of COHE practices ask students not how they identify, but how they feel and think about their identities.

<sup>xxiv</sup> The emphasis on prefigurative politics is generally attributed to Grace Lee Boggs.

<sup>xxv</sup> Throughout this article, I refer to "being-together," which references my thinking-with of an entire set of scholarship and its connection to decolonial scholar Sylvia Wynter as well as queer and trans theory, which is developed in the book but I do not have the space to address here, including Fred Moten, Jean-Luc Nancy, Jose Esteban Munoz, Marquis Bey, and many others: McKittrick, Mignolo, Levine, Klein, Haraway, brown, Berlant.

<sup>xxvi</sup> A particular complexity of current organizing, due in part to mass- and social media, and which this article does not have space to address, is that mass-responses spring up quickly, then potentially die, before or without movements or organizations, which have built up relationships and resiliency. Therefore the sense of "we," investment and solidarity that needs to be built over the long term, is not needed to have an initial response to a trigger event (e.g. police violence, a new gas pipeline, etc.). Many of us are used to signaling our support online, which has both strengths and problems. For an extensive analysis, see Tufekci, Z. (2017). *Twitter and Tear Gas: The Power and Fragility of Networked Protest*. Yale University Press.

<sup>xxvii</sup> Gilmore, R. (2023). *Abolition Geography: Essays towards Liberation*. Verso.

<sup>xxviii</sup> "The Anthropocene marks severe discontinuities; what comes after will not be like what came before. I think our job is to make the Anthropocene as short/thin as possible and to cultivate with each other in every way imaginable epochs to come that can replenish refuge....One way to live and die well as mortal critters in the Chthulucene is to join forces to reconstitute refuges, to make possible partial and robust biological-cultural-political-technological recuperation and recomposition, which must include mourning irreversible losses." Donna Haraway, D. (2015). Anthropocene, Capitalocene, Plantationocene, Chthulucene: Making Kin. *Environmental Humanities* 6 (1): 159–165. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1215/22011919-3615934>

<sup>xxix</sup> Zibechi, R. (2024). *Constructing Worlds Otherwise: Societies in Movement and Anticolonial Paths in Latin America*. AK Press. Translated by George Ygarza Quispe.

<sup>xxx</sup> And thus we are all to greater or lesser degrees disciplined to that bourgeois subjectivity, even if we do not live a bourgeois life. As noted at the outset of this essay, the contradictions of this ideology are put deeply in question as crises of the environment or pandemics or violence escalate. Some might interpret most "essential workers" staying at work during COVID as them being disciplined, but one could also read that behavior as a type of mutual aid, alongside true community mutual aid as well as the great upsurge in walkouts and strikes that followed.

<sup>xxxi</sup> For an overview of the Bildungsroman and a sample contemporary analysis of its role, see for example, Jafari, M., Beyad, M.S. & Ramin, Z. A novel of de-formation: Cormac McCarthy's Child of God as a postmodern Gothic parody of the Bildungsroman. *Humanit Soc Sci Commun* 10, 48 (2023). <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-023-01543-y>

<sup>xxxii</sup> If you don't know what jawn means, that is because you are not from Philly. Urban dictionary it.

<sup>xxxiii</sup> Ferreira Da Silva, D. (2021). *Unpayable Debt*. Stenberg/MIT Press.

<sup>xxxiv</sup> Hsu, W. (2016). Lessons on Public Humanities from the Civic Sphere. In *Debates in the Digital Humanities* (p. 280–). University of Minnesota Press.

<sup>xxxv</sup> Bell, D., et al. (2020). Retrospective Autoethnographies: A Call for Decolonial Imaginings for the New University. *Qualitative Inquiry*, vol. 26, no. 7, pp. 849–59, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800419857743>.



<sup>xxxvi</sup> Machado de Oliveira, *ibid.*

<sup>xxxvii</sup> Kaba, M. (2021). *We Do This 'Til We Free Us: Abolitionist Organizing and Transforming Justice*. Haymarket. "We need a million experiments. A bunch will fail. That's good because we'll have learned a lot that we can apply to the next ones."

<sup>xxxviii</sup> It is not necessary to remind readers that arguments for incivility in defense of democracy, freedom and truth are also exactly the defense of the leaders of the January 6<sup>th</sup> insurrection; that is, to be "collectively uncivil" is not the domain of any particular political analysis or group.

<sup>xxxix</sup> Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Translated by Ramos, Myra Bergman. New York: Herder and Herder.

<sup>xl</sup> "'Communism is for us not a state of affairs which is to be established, an ideal to which reality [will] have to adjust itself. We call communism the real movement which abolishes the present state of things. The conditions of this movement result from the premises now in existence. (Marx 1975)'" In Bjerre, H., and Bagge Laustsen, C. *Subject of Politics : Slavoj Žižek's Political Philosophy*, Humanities-Ebooks, LLP, 2010. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/wcupa/detail.action?docID=3306103>.

<sup>xli</sup> This pithy formulation is from my friend and colleague, Anne Rhodes, personal communication.