

The living dead and the dead living: contagion and complicity in contemporary universities

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In this chapter, we examine the current state of professional academic freedom and research in terms what we see as the zombification of the academy. We argue that neoliberal reforms to the academy have created a research culture that treats academics as non-thinking entities (the living dead), who feel they have limited control over their research and funding amidst a pervasive and contagious audit culture. But whilst these reforms may be experienced by academics as an externally introduced form of control that saps or sucks the 'life' out of research activity, the proliferation of neoliberal reforms is only enabled through the complicit reproduction of an audit culture by academics themselves. In this sense, academics (as the dead living) also contribute, in ambivalent and contradictory ways, to the zombification of the academy.

This chapter and its concern with zombification in academic life emerges out of a 2009-2010 exploratory studyⁱ in which we interviewed 31 Australian academics in 16 different universities across four statesⁱⁱ about research leadership in practice-based professions such as business and management, teacher education and nursing. Although the project focused specifically on research leadership and mentoring in these fields,ⁱⁱⁱ what emerged from the study was a palpable and

widespread concern expressed by academics about institutional and governmental research assessment and audit exercises. Practice-based professions are experiencing a rapid reorganisation of research culture as a result of neoliberal policy reforms. Those who teach and research in practice-based professions know and understand how complex organisations outside of the academy can be run productively. As such, the responses to research policy examined in this chapter come from academics with considerable business acumen and organisational experience who are concerned with the sustainability of a competitive and audit-based research culture. These responses also speak to wider concerns about academic labour across the broader Higher Education sector. In light of these concerns, we apply the trope of 'zombification' to our interview data to explore how neoliberal reforms to the academy, which are centred on discourses of productivity and activity, paradoxically create feelings of compliance and passivity.

Participants in our study experienced the impact of a pervasive audit culture on their working lives as largely negative, citing inability to think, loss of control and an encroaching bureaucratisation that reduces meaningful research. We consider audit cultures and their contagious grip on university work to be exemplified in the zombie trope. In particular, this chapter focuses on three features of zombification: 1) inability to think, 2) loss of individual control and 3) contagion. These features as applied to academic labour encapsulate the loss of control and autonomy over research experienced by the academics in our study. Nonetheless, academics are neither completely powerless nor removed from the impost of a seemingly infectious neoliberal audit culture on the academy. To this end, we draw on a Foucauldian conceptualisation of power as diffuse and productive, in order to examine the interplay between contagion and complicity in relation to the spread and reproduction of audit culture. By framing audit culture in simplistic binary terms—as something that individual academics must free themselves from or become fully complicit in—academics permit audit culture a power of oppression and centralised control. If however, we are to follow the zombie trope to its logical conclusion it is important to remember that the zombie's role in reproducing zombie contagion simultaneously makes it

possible for the zombie to exceed and thwart the control of its zombie masters. We would argue that through engagement with the *productive* aspects of neoliberal culture, that depend for its operation on *active* rather *passive* subjects, critical scholars are better situated to name and critique our complicity in the production of neoliberalism in the academy. In channelling this activity, we can begin to reformulate and reanimate academic life and work.

The living dead and the dead living in academic culture

The recent emergence of the zombie in popular culture has led critics to argue that we are experiencing a 'zombie renaissance' (Bishop 2009). Indeed, the proliferation of zombies on media screens led one journalist to enthuse, 'zombies are so hot right now' (TvFix n.d.). Scientists have recently discovered a new species of fungus in the Amazon 'that turns ants into zombies' (Osborne 2011), universities now offer courses on zombies (The Telegraph 2010) and a group of mathematicians hypothesised that the only pandemic capable of wiping out the human race are zombies (Lenon 2009). As the latter events indicate, zombies and their kin have now begun to invade the academy. Felicity Wood describes academics as the zombies of audit culture (2010: 237) who become enchanted by the occult qualities of corporate managerialism 'purported to bestow efficiency, economic prosperity and success' (227). Nick Couldry and Angela McRobbie describe 'the idea' of the university as dead (2010: 1), Henry Giroux claims that it is 'hardly breathing' (2009: 691) and Mary Evans finds that Higher Education has become infected with a 'horrible psychic reality' (2004: 32) which has produced a 'nightmare world' (34) full of 'dead bodies' (42) with creatures 'from the depths of hell' (46).

The permeation of popular and academic culture with zombie metaphors can be linked to the emergence of a volatile and intensifying neoliberal economic climate. Chris Harman for example writes that '21st century capitalism as a whole is a zombie system, seemingly dead when it comes to achieving human goals and responding to human feelings, but capable of sudden spurts of activity that cause chaos all around' (2009: 12). If the current neoliberal order is 'dead' to human desires that are oriented to goals outside of market forces, Richard Sennett

argues that it takes a particular kind of human to flourish in this environment. 'A self [that is] oriented to the short term, focused on potential ability, willing to abandon past experience is—to put a kindly face on the matter—an unusual sort of human being' (2006: 5). That the skills required to succeed in this new culture of neoliberal capitalism seem unusual and strange is reflected in the historical association of zombification with the de-humanising effects of capitalist economies.

In their study of colonialism, capitalism and the occult, Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff note the zombie's association with the 'fear of being reduced to ghost labor' and 'being abducted to feed the fortunes of a depraved stranger' in rural South African provinces (2002: 789). They argue that the contemporary proliferation of zombie urban legends in South Africa must be understood as a revivification of older zombie motifs which first made their appearance with the introduction of new colonial forms of labour and social organisation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (794; see also Taussig 1980: 20). Elsewhere, the origin of the zombie trope has been traced to stories and representations of the plight of indentured Haitian labourers in the 1920s (see Dayan 1997; Dendle 2007; Stratton 2011). Zombies appear to emerge in times of crises generated by shifts in the evolution of capitalism. They function to explain the otherwise sudden and mysterious appearance of a select few who control the means to wealth and the alienation felt by those whose increase in labour is accompanied by a decrease in control and autonomy over their own lives (Comaroff & Comaroff 2002: 782-783).

In a western academic context, zombification aptly describes the embodied, de-humanising effects of business and consumption models as applied to the administration, teaching and research undertaken by academic staff. The alignment of Higher Education 'with corporate power and market values' (Giroux 2009: 670) has been justified on the basis that such models enable greater transparency of the research conducted in universities (ensuring that public funds are well spent) and that students (repositioned as consumers of knowledge) will have greater choice and flexibility in their learning (Schmidtlein

2004: 264). Under the auspices of economic accountability, neoliberal governments have adopted benchmarking or auditing exercises to collate and evaluate the research produced in publicly funded universities. For example the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) in the United Kingdom and the Excellence in Research for Australia (ERA) initiative both involve the collation and ranking of publication data and research produced by professional academics. Government funding is then allocated to public universities on the basis of these rankings.

Whilst these policies purport to boost research productivity and quality, most participants in our study took a different view. Interviews with academics in professional practice-based fields such as teacher education, nursing, business and management included a range of participants—early career academics, department heads, members of university support units, professors and senior faculty executives. Despite considerable diversity across interviewees' positions and tertiary locations, there was a common concern at the loss of autonomy and control over research brought about by institutional demands for increased output and productivity. We argue that these responses to neoliberal reforms and the economic management of academic labour are exemplified by the zombie trope in terms of the inability to think, loss individual control and contagion. The first two features are consistent with scholarly treatments of neoliberal capitalism as a proliferating force that reduces workers to the living dead, unable to think or exhibit autonomy over their working conditions—something felt acutely by professional academics whose role is predicated on the ability to think critically.

The third feature of the zombie trope, contagion, is reflected in the ambivalent and contradictory ways in which academics acquiescence to neoliberal reforms, further reproducing and spreading audit culture throughout the Higher Education sector. Whilst audit culture produces zombiism inasmuch as it transforms academics into the living dead, the living dead also function to comment on the dead living. By dead living, we refer to those aspects of everyday life, work and relationships that are lifeless or meaningless; a form of living that

is 'dead' to creativity, risk, challenge or change. This might involve 'playing it safe' by developing curriculum within widely accepted paradigms or producing research solely for the purposes of achieving a high ERA ranking. Dead living is the inverse of zombiism as living is reduced to a series of monotonous tasks which hold little significance or meaning for individuals—they are intellectually and emotionally 'dead' already—but is also the precursor to zombiism. Zombies typically go unnoticed at first because they simply blend into an environment that is already mundane and tedious. What aspects of academic life were already host to the dead living before the plague of audit culture set in? In order to answer this question, we will firstly provide a fuller account of how academics become the living dead.

Sucking the life out of academic freedom

As discussed above, Higher Education reforms have changed the ways research funding and activity are accounted for, typically involving auditing and quality control mechanisms designed to assess and ensure 'research excellence'. However, as Schmidlein notes, 'there is a tension between governments' legitimate interests in institutional accountability and quality and the values represented by institutional autonomy that have been described by many scholars and practitioners' (2004: 264). For instance, scholars have argued that government initiatives such as the ERA rely on arbitrary and vague notions of 'quality' and 'excellence' (Shore 2008), emphasise process over the substance and long-term effect of research (Cooper & Poletti 2011; Redden 2008) and increase bureaucratic and administrative academic labour whilst reducing the time available for research and teaching (Evans 2004; Giroux 2009; Sparkes 2007). It is here that we find the first two features of the zombie trope in academic culture: 1) inability to think and 2) loss of individual control.

Most participants in our study took the view that assessment and benchmarking exercises value conformity and subservience to university policy over critical scholarship. For example, one interviewee argued that auditing measures produce 'an over emphasis on the unimportance of ratings and counting' and a 'culture of compliance and counting' (Leila, Senior Lecturer,

Business/Management). As these policies are often underpinned by vague terms like 'quality' and 'excellence' it can be difficult to keep track of institutional requirements; as one interviewee noted, 'it's a bizarre game' (Sylvia, Senior Lecturer, Business/Management). These sentiments bear out Stephen Ball's observation that 'we now operate within a baffling array of figures, performance indicators, comparisons and competitions—in such a way that the contentments of stability are increasingly elusive, purposes are contradictory, motivations blurred and self worth slippery' (2001: 212). In order to reconcile the seemingly disparate incentives to accomplish institutional audit requirements whilst maintaining a critical research culture, Ball suggests 'we tell ourselves "necessary fictions" which rationalise our own intensification or legitimate our involvements in the rituals of [audit] performance' (2001: 216). For Leila and Sylvia, reducing the significance of audit exercises to 'counting' and imagining them as a 'game' constitutes one way of resolving the split between the performance of audit tasks and the capacity to exercise criticism.

But while Ball contends that fabrications and fictions are necessary to cope with the cognitive gap between neoliberal policy imperatives and traditional understandings of academic scholarship, the expansion and intensification of audit exercises may simply evacuate the critical and creative capacity for action. For instance, one academic spoke of researchers being unable to act due to the increasing complexity and confusion of institutional policies:

I see people being paralysed ... by all [the] demands on them [such] that they don't actually act, even if, however much encouragement and sticks ... [are] waved at them, how much resources seem to be there (Penny, Senior Lecturer, Business/Management).

As Penny observes, even when resources are available, often accessing (or attempting to access) this support simply creates more layers of bureaucracy for staff to negotiate, ultimately detracting from research work. Paralysis is the logical response to bureaucratic reforms that transform 'educators into dispensable labour with little or no power over the basic decisions that structure academic work' (Giroux 2009: 683). Compliance with bureaucratic reforms and

external impositions all too often reduce academic labour to mindless busy-work. These reforms are intended bring about increased productivity and activity but paradoxically create feelings of compliance and passivity.

Another area in which academics experience a devaluing of their critical thinking skills and a loss of autonomy over their research is the institutional organisation of research into strategic or priority areas. This aspect of research management was particularly galling to interviewees who considered that their own research interests and plans were being defined for them. As one interviewee noted:

... because the whole system is geared towards getting university support it's much easier to gain university support when the person can point to the fact that it's a research priority in that university ... if you happen to be a person whose area is smiled upon, well you're very lucky; if you're not, then you're unlucky (Tim, Professor, Teacher Education).

This method of research management and organisation is often coercive. For example, one interviewee was told by her Head of School that it would be advantageous if staff shifted to discipline based research in terms of internal and external funding opportunities. She concluded:

... you're in this constant struggle [where] I won't be bothered doing anything then, I'm too busy anyway (Penny, Senior Lecturer, Business/Management).

These responses attest to an overwhelming view that little that could be done to claw back the individual autonomy, both within and beyond the workplace, seen as necessary to intellectual life. One participant, for example, described how his Dean of Research suggested that academics write 'papers at midnight on a Saturday night' (James, Lecturer, Business/ Management) in order to meet research demands placed on them by the university. Another researcher felt that there was an expectation that 'you've almost got to approach research as if it's your hobby because it will ... it inevitably impinges on life beyond the university campus and so I think that you don't get to switch research off' (Amy, Research Director, Teacher Education). The notion that research is a 'hobby' is one of the necessary fictions both research managers and academic staff tell themselves so

that production of work outside normal university hours is not understood as the excess of labour that it is. Many of the early career researchers interviewed in our study lamented the idea that a 24/7 academic lifestyle was required for success in academia. One early career researcher expressed his disappointment that ‘a lot of people who have made it, who are supposed to be the ones who could mentor me, they’re a 24/7 academic—and it’s as if that academic identity has taken over’ as the norm for academic work (Gary, Lecturer, Teacher Education). Such expectations imply that academic labour necessarily extends beyond a working week and unproblematically dominates life outside the university.

That it has become almost *de rigueur* for academics to research outside of normal university working hours is a consequence of neoliberal reforms to the academy which attempt to maximise productivity. The association of zombiism with capitalist labour is centred on the loss of autonomy and control over production but the association also draws attention to the de-humanising effects of the long hours required to sustain an increasing production rate. In order to increase productivity within capital relations, workers are reduced ‘to separate, marketable commodities in the form of their body parts’ (Wood 2010: 238). When applied to academic labour and the production of knowledge, the alienated body part is the brain. The zombie trope then is a fitting explication of the exploitation and control over that research-producing organ by university managers.

Contagion and complicity in contemporary universities

We have been discussing so far the zombification of the academy in terms of the increasing bureaucratisation of academic life and neoliberal imperatives to maximise research productivity. Both of these features of academic life lead to an inability to think and loss of control over research production exemplified in the zombie figure as mindless and lacking autonomy. Given ‘the speed and enthusiasm with which the corporatisation of many universities has taken place, both locally and internationally’ (Wood 2010: 231), the means through which academics are reduced to zombies also bears a resemblance to the virus or

plague that spreads zombiism. At the same time however, it is important to note that in popular culture, zombie contagion often exceeds the control of the authorities or the scientists who are initially responsible for creating the zombie virus. As with films such as *Night of the Living Dead* (Romero 2004) and *28 Days Later* (Boyle 2003), zombies themselves are responsible for spreading and increasing zombification. Thus, whilst neoliberal university reforms may be experienced by academics as an externally introduced form of control that saps or sucks the 'life' out of research activity, the proliferation of neoliberal reforms is only enabled through the complicit reproduction of an audit culture by academics themselves. Although our study indicated there is considerable anxiety and negativity about the ways in which neoliberal reforms have been implemented by research leaders and managers in Australian universities, many participants also expressed an ambivalent acquiescence to these reforms. As one professor in the field of education reflected:

... having limped through the changes in the VET sector, in the 90's and the changes in the senior secondary schooling areas, what I see this institution and other institutions doing is exactly the same thing. Canberra cracks the whip and every institution has to turn around and fall in line. So the bureaucratisation it's moved ... I just see it that it's, bureaucratisation and forms of self surveillance that have been brought in that we're all complicit in, aren't we? (Belle, Professor, Teacher Education).

While recent reforms to the academy have had pervasive and negative effects on the ability of scholars to think critically and maintain autonomy over their research, Belle's comments illustrate that these reforms are not so much 'new' as they are an extension of earlier forms of bureaucratisation whose success hinged on institutional and academic complicity. In pointing to this earlier complicity, it is useful to think through the ways the zombification of the academy has fed off the dead living or lifeless aspects already permeating academia such as: the privileging of publications over the experience of developing research, a focus on student results rather than learning, and career progression through individual achievement, which obfuscates the collegial nature of scholarship. Typically in zombie films, it is the seemingly lifeless and mundane aspects of a society or city that enables the proliferation of zombiism to initially go unnoticed. In the film

Shaun of the Dead (Wright 2004), the parallel between zombiism and the mundane is used to humorous effect. In an early scene from the film, Shaun (played by the film's co-writer Simon Pegg) and Ed (Nick Frost) are leaving their local pub late at night, singing the Grandmaster Melle Mel song 'White Lines'. Their singing is interrupted by the moans of an approaching zombie. Shaun and Ed however, mistake the zombie for someone who is extremely inebriated and incorporate his moans into the bass-line of the song. In focusing on the association between zombiism and the dead living, we want to argue that apathy, complicity and competitiveness play a role in reproducing a zombie academic culture and exemplify the third feature of the zombie trope: contagion.

In our study, compliance, and in some cases strategic complicity in the form of 'playing the game', were often described as necessary in order to secure competitive funding and to ensure job security. For example, one interviewee commented, 'the whole thing is just game theory as far as I'm concerned' (Sylvia, Senior Lecturer, Business/Management). Acquiescence to research reforms whilst still maintaining a critical position in relation to them, is one way that academics endeavour to negotiate a research culture that requires compliance. However, such complicity is also a form of contagion because it reduces research or teaching to a form of passive instrumentalism. Acquiescence can also lead to intense competition and the abandonment of collegiality. One senior research manager negatively described the type of scholar who is able to succeed in contemporary academia:

The other interesting phenomenon we've noted is that rather unpleasant comment the other day called the selfish researcher. So they're saying right, okay my promotional prospects and reward systems in here depend on what I'm doing in research. Great, then I'll do what I'm required to do in teaching, so if you want me to front that class but you know I'll do the minimum I can get away with. If you want me to serve on that committee, no sorry, can't actually fit that one in. Can I come to meetings or school meetings or research meetings, nah, you want people to put their hands up and ... and they become dedication [sic] to furthering their research career which in one sense it's about output and then they'll be snapped up and they will leave (Daryl, Dean of Research, Business/Management).

This notion of a 'selfish' researcher embodies a sort of contagion that disregards collegiality, the value of research beyond an individual academic's interests and further reinforces the asymmetries of academic labour. But whilst academics may emphasise the importance of transformational and democratic scholarship in the face of neoliberal reforms (see Giroux 2005; Molesworth et al. 2009)—a characterisation of academic research with which we are aligned—we note nonetheless that the competitive and hierarchical nature of the academy has existed for some time. Mary Evans argues that it is precisely these negative aspects of academic culture that have created an enduring public perception of the academy as elitist and esoteric in its research (2004: 33). Although scholars are right to contest this image and the instrumentalisation of research under neoliberal reforms, the cynical pursuit of knowledge or 'playing the game' exemplify a kind of dead living that lays the groundwork for the induction and proliferation of the living dead into the academy.

Drawing on Foucauldian conceptions of disciplinary power, we would argue that academics are the pivotal point at which these neoliberal policies are enacted and embodied. For Foucault, power is never simply an oppressive force, but rather a system of self-directed control and discipline whose very effectiveness lies in its ability to encourage individual subjects to re-produce technologies of control and rule (1979: 26). This self-directed control eliminates the need for external physical or institutional coercion since subjects carry out this coercion on themselves. For this reason, Foucault does not treat power as a repressive or oppressive force but as constitutive and productive:

Power functions. Power is exercised through networks, and individuals do not simply circulate in those networks; they are in a position to both submit to and exercise this power. They are never the inert or consenting targets of power; they are always its relays. In other words, power passes through individuals. It is not applied to them (2003: 29).

If we consider this Foucauldian conception of power in relation to the zombification of the academy, it is possible to see the complex ways academics work to perpetuate audit culture even as they are simultaneously concerned

about its effects. As Ball notes, neoliberal models of job performance and efficiency encourage academics 'to think about themselves as individuals who calculate about themselves, "add value" to themselves, improve their productivity, live an existence of calculation' (2001: 223). Whilst academics may *feel* disempowered and at a loss to counter neoliberal reforms to the academy, they nevertheless participate in and perpetuate these reforms and their de-humanising effects. By internalising, adopting and enacting the competitive pressures and demands of a neoliberal culture, academics only make themselves more attractive as victims to the zombification of research culture. As such, when academics acquiesce to neoliberal reforms, they enact the very technologies of control to which they are opposed.

If we are to follow the zombie trope to its logical conclusion it is important to remember that 'the phantasm of the zombie ... does nothing but attest to the fulfilment of a system that moves the victim to internalize his condition' (Dayan 1997: 33). The zombie has been misread as a passive rather than active agent. In other words, it is the zombie's role in reproducing zombie contagion that simultaneously makes it possible for the zombie to exceed and thwart the control of its zombie masters. The problem with conceiving the zombification of the academy as a system of management which oppresses academics is that audit culture is then framed in simplistic binary terms as something that individual academics must free themselves from or become fully complicit in. This permits audit culture a power of oppression and central control that overlooks the role of academics in reproducing this system. Audit culture is credited with too much power and academics with too little. One of the effects of disciplinary power Foucault argues, is that the 'mastery and awareness of one's own body' required to carry out self-discipline can also produce 'a counter-attack in that same body' in the form of resistance to disciplinary regimes (1980: 56). Following Foucault, we would argue that through engagement with the *productive* aspects of neoliberal culture, which depends for its operation on *active* rather than *passive* subjects, critical scholars are better situated to name and critique our complicity in the reproduction of neoliberalism in the academy.

In channelling this activity, we can begin to reformulate and reanimate academic life and work.

Reanimating academic life

Zombies seem to emerge when life itself, hinging as it does on the importance of human relations, thinking and freedom, is threatened by the loss of that which constitutes us as humans. In this chapter, we have argued that three features of zombification—inability to think, loss of individual control and contagion—characterise the experiences recounted by most participants in our study of research leadership and research culture in Australian universities. For these academics, neoliberal reforms that emphasise slavish compliance to audit cultures are experienced as dehumanising processes that erode, rather than cultivate, the kinds of innovation, productivity and interdisciplinary problem solving claimed as policy goals and outcomes. Zombie cultures emerge as both new and experienced academics alike struggle with limited time and even less institutional support, to find themselves shuffling through increasingly meaningless bureaucratised terrain that was, for many, once the vibrant ground of intellectual rigour and collegial endeavour.

The proliferation of zombie myths and stories in a newly colonised and industrialised culture makes sense when the bodies and creative capacity of indigenous workers are exploited and then discarded. Yet here we would ask by what strange turn of events do highly paid professional workers in a privileged institutional setting such as a university find themselves in such peril that they resort to the language of magic to explain their predicament? If we follow Ball's thesis that zombiism is a necessary fiction created by academics to explain how an otherwise incompatible audit culture operates alongside critical scholarship, we could see this representational abstraction as an extension of the 'complex set of ... strategies and practical tactics which underpin the fabrication of performance' in contemporary neoliberal universities (2001: 221). In the current academic climate, 'we make fantasies of ourselves, aestheticise ourselves' to meet institutional requirements (221). Importantly though, once performance is embedded in audit culture, 'we also have everyday opportunities to refuse

these ways of accounting for ourselves' (223). In this sense, we would call for a consideration of the ways in which zombification remains in many respects an active, agentic process, in which autonomy is in part relinquished rather than taken by force in every circumstance.

Despite the havoc wrought by zombie contagion, zombification ultimately presents as the fate of those who fail to recognise its dangers, refuse to exercise agency in resisting its power or endeavour to manipulate it to their own ends. In the recent film *Zombieland* (Fleischer 2009), the United States has become infected with a zombie plague. A surviving quartet travel to Los Angeles where they discover that Hollywood actor Bill Murray has managed to stave off infection by dressing as a zombie. The quartet are initially impressed with Murray's survival strategies. That is, until one of their members fatally shoots him, having mistaken Murray for an actual zombie. After this incident, the quartet learn that it is essential to operate as a team and avoid acquiescence to zombification, even through subterfuge.

Our research findings demonstrate that these potential perils are being played out in the academy today—some treat zombie culture as a game to be played, others give up in resignation and others capitalise on the zombification of colleagues in order to gain power and privilege for themselves. As academics we are not controlled by power, we exercise (differing levels of) power. This power can be used for inclusivity in terms of distributed leadership models that encourage the exchange of ideas and input from staff so that they have some ownership over research management. Other forms of inclusiveness involve maintaining contact among teaching teams so that staff are not 'a legion of lost souls' struggling in the 'valley of the shadow of death' without contact or support and treating knowledge as a living entity that requires new ideas and insights, in course content and research, to survive. Cross-disciplinary collaboration in teaching and research also reanimates thinking, discussion and action. The development of partnerships between seemingly distinct disciplines, such as cultural studies and education, for example, can challenge the externally imposed and institutionally organised research 'hubs' or 'strengths' that limit

creative collegial research relationships. By refusing to succumb to neoliberal constructs of research, intellectual life can be reclaimed. It is the power of thinking and sharing ideas that stops contagion in its tracks. In our view, the reanimation of academic life relies in no small part on individual and collective commitment to and insistence upon recognising, naming and actively resisting the dehumanising effects of neoliberal reforms on scholarship and collegiality.

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Notes

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ⁱⁱ The number of universities in each of the states from which we interviewed participants are as follows: New South Wales (5 universities), Victoria (4), Queensland (5) and Western Australia (2).

ⁱⁱⁱ See Saltmarsh, Sutherland-Smith & Randell-Moon (2011a, b) and Sutherland-Smith, Saltmarsh & Randell-Moon (2011).