George J. Sefa Dei
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Politics of Anti-Racism Education: In Search of Strategies for Transformative Learning

Springer

Politics of Anti-Racism Education: In Search
of Strategies for Transformative Learning

EXPLORATIONS OF EDUCATIONAL PURPOSE

Volume 27

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*We dedicate this book to all
anti-racism educators who work
for a better now.*

Contents

Chapter 1
Introduction to the Politics of Anti-Racism Education: In Search of Strategies for Transformative Learning

George J. Sefa Dei and Mairi McDermott

Politics of Anti-Racism Education is a book that engages the tough questions of anti-racism practice: How do we recognize anti-racism when there is no prescription or recipe for transformative practices? How does anti-racism resist the imperial divisive practices at various sites of difference while simultaneously amplifying the saliency of race? How do anti-racism educators challenge and support each other to do the ongoing work of anti-racism to guard our work from being consumed by hegemonic status quo agendas? What does it mean to name that which is incommensurable – experiences of race and racism? These are among some of the questions the contributors in this book engaged both in dialogue in the classroom, as well as in the chapters presented here. In sharing our stories as framed through the counter-narrative of anti-racism, our purpose is threefold: to hold anti-racism policies, practices, and theorists accountable to the necessity for transformation in anti-racism work; to contribute to a community for those who want to do the tough work of anti-racism education; and to challenge the urge among those who want to move beyond questions of race to reconsider dismissing racism as a thing of the past. We argue that there is a need to retool anti-racism and challenge the epistemological gatekeepers who want us to confine anti-racism discourse to the trash bins of history. This book pursues a crucial search for strategies for engaging a critical anti-racism education for transformative learning. Contributors in this collection generate important enquiries into the praxis of anti-racism education, working through conversations, contestations, and emotions as present(ed) and live(d) in a year long graduate course, *The Principles of Anti-Racism Education*. The chapters present

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multiple journeys – journeys of decolonization – of those who are coming into a critical anti-racism praxis; they speak to the politics of anti-racism education as a dialectic of struggles and desires for transgressive learning spaces that are open to difference. Writing from various subject locations, authors come to engage anti-racism education in the discursive fields of Policy and Curriculum; Media Representations; Ally-ship, Coalition Building, and Representation; and Autoethnography. Throughout the collection, contemporary educational issues are situated within personal, political, historical, and philosophical conversations in relation to the challenges and possibilities for students, educators, staff, administrators, policy makers, and community members to engage in critical anti-racism work.

This collection itself is important because the work diverges from the existing scholarship by way of broaching some of the theoretical limitations and possibilities as voiced through pedagogues. It speaks to the importance of anti-racism education in a time when even those who desire to engage this framework struggle to be heard; in a time when there are anti-racism policies in institutions, yet to speak anti-racism philosophy remains dangerous at worst and made unspeakable at best (see Ahmed 2006); in a time when Canada claims its identity to be one of the most multicultural societies and yet we are bombarded by the media (mis)representations of the Global South; and in a time when to speak race and anti-racism is considered to be stirring up trouble in the face of post-racial discourses.

The goal of a critical anti-racism is to change/transform our communities and our mutual coexistence as communities with Nature and beyond. Resisting and challenging racist hegemonic practices is key. While we can understand ourselves in a holistic prism/paradigm that stresses our mutual interdependencies with everything (e.g., social communities, cultures, and Nature), the ethics of social justice/equity work resides in humans, not in institutions nor Nature. In other words, a critical anti-racism practice amplifies the social construction of race, disrupting the hegemonized discourses of the inevitability of racism through biologizing narratives of race (see, for example, Omi and Winant 1993; Hall 1996).

Primarily, anti-racism is about human action and institutionalized social practices. We know these have consequences far beyond humans (e.g., environments/Nature). The focus on intergroup relations ought to be about understanding conflict and power relations as manifested in everyday materialities of existence, human/social interactions, and the institutionalized ways of distributing and allocating the valued social goods and services of societies (see, also, McDermott and Madan 2012). The politics of anti-racism are grounded in the fact that our social world *can* and ought to be more equitable; anti-racism for transformation keeps its focus on an imagined utopia, but it amplifies the process of mundane (everyday, social, institutionalized) actions towards utopia rather than measuring its success by having reached this imagined space of utopia once and for all. The search is for a "better world," a community of interdependence where mutual coexistence with each other/ourselves, with Nature/Mother Earth, etc., is attainable and must be strived for. This will be creating a "messy utopia" where colonizing relations of any kind are disrupted. We use the term "messy utopia" to signal towards Michael Adams' "unlikely utopia"; for Adams (2007) utopia is a process and is messy and challenging. Our point is to focus on a search for utopia, for any real utopia is messy and uncomfortable,

especially for anyone very much accustomed to the unearned privileges of the status quo. By messy utopia, we imply neither easy nor uncomplicated processes, alliances, and efforts. Instead, we refer to the often awkward, challenging, and rewarding collaborations that are needed to effect change in a society which holds, among its core values, social justice and diversity (Dei 2012a).

Given that our world is about interdependence, networks, and strategic arrangement, anti-racism education for transformation learns from Indigenous Philosophies, which teach about the urgency and imperative to create communities where we rethink our relations as humans with both animate and inanimate others occupying a shared space. This space is what Dei (2012b) has called a "trialectic space" – a space involving a dialogue among multiple parties, a sort of "dialogic encounter." It is constituted as a space for learners to openly work with the body, mind, and spirit/soul interface in critical dialogues about their education. It is also a space that nurtures conversations that acknowledge the importance and implications of working with a knowledge base at the nexus of society, culture, and Nature. Such spaces can only be created when we open our minds broadly to reimagine schooling and to see schooling as a place/site and an opportunity to challenge dominant paradigms and academic reasoning.

Colonial education, which has permeated our individual and collective consciences, as informed by Euro-Enlightenment paradigms, has classified and ordered our world by way of race, class, gender, sexuality, religion, and ability. Anti-racism education, to reimagine social relations, must attend to the intersections of difference. Long ago, Dei (1996) articulated as among the fundamental principles of anti-racism the idea that race maintains its full effects in association with other forms of difference. In understanding the politics of anti-racism, we must engage our interstices through an intersectional analysis and simultaneously hold on to the notion of the relative saliency of particular identities. Tellingly, Kumashiro (2002) writes, "Anti-oppressive approaches to teaching and researching operate in ways that challenge some forms of oppression while complying with others" (p. 68), so part of the challenge for anti-racism education is to remain reflexive on the sites through which we may be complicit in oppressive relations. Andrea Smith (2006) reminds us, too, however, that there are substantive differences in terms of how these various identities are lived and experienced.

In having this conversation, we recognize the discursive authority poststructural orientations have been given in the academy, orientations that urge us to reconceptualize identity and subjectivity away from the unified humanist framework towards a more fluid and contradictory understanding; however, some versions tend towards erasure of the materiality of these identifications. Politics of anti-racism compel us to guard against the dehistoricization of lived experiences and relations of power and privilege. We believe there is something that must not be lost in reclaiming past powerful notions regarding understandings of our identities for the present, particularly for the marginalized. Nancy Hartsock (1990) writes, "somehow it seems highly suspicious that it is at the precise moment when so many groups have been engaged in 'nationalisms' which involve redefinitions of the marginalized Others that suspicions emerge about the nature of the 'subject' […] Why is it that just at the moment when so many of us who have been silenced begin to demand the right to

name ourselves, to act as subjects rather than objects of history, that's just when the concept of subjecthood becomes problematic" (quoted in Weedon 1997, pp. 175–176). Weedon (1997) continues by reminding us that while Hartsock's analysis may speak to some poststructuralist work that discounts questions of agency, poststructural feminism has blended the two desires to at once work with identity politics and amplify the limitations of essentialized, humanist, constructions of identity: "They [poststructural feminists] propose a theory of identity which sees it as discursively produced, necessary but always contingent and strategic" (p. 176). Thus, we revive anti-racism discourse, building on early anti-racism thinking and practice. We are bringing a particular reading of the "race," "racial," and "racialized" that is relevant to the present in which both subjects, communities, nations, states, and the global, construct and resist identities as well as colonial encounters.

The challenge becomes to understand the possibilities and limitations of working with the Western Enlightenment unified subject categories as well as work through what it means to engage those categories concomitantly in our analyses. In other words, discourses about the intersectionality of social difference (race, class, gender, sexuality, disability, etc. as linked, intersected, and integrated) must never lose sight of such differences as sites of marginality and resistance. All intersectional analyses must have an entry point and openly acknowledge that there are often obstructions to what we bring into our focus when we claim to look at all differences at the same time. The fact is that the politics of anti-racism requires that race remains the axis around which other intersections are understood. Here, it is important to understand the notion of saliency as primary/preeminent and guard against it supporting and being supported by a hierarchy of knowing and difference. Saliency also involves a political choice; it speaks of intellectual and academic pragmatism, the efficacy of having a particular entry point in anti-oppression work as well as a recognition of the troubling history of the continual denial of race. The notion of saliency works with the idea that racial groups exist, they exist in hierarchies of power, and that contemporary society is racialized. The politics of anti-racism proposes that this hierarchy of differences works through racialized logics, and for this reason, in anti-racism, we amplify the saliency of race.

In teaching and dialoguing with students and colleagues, we have on a number of occasions had to grapple with questions such as the following: What is "anti-racism"? How is this different from a "multicultural" approach? And how are we to articulate a critical anti-racism orientation as a way of thinking and making sense of contemporary racism, colonial and colonizing relations, and procedures of racialization and colonization in the face of mainstream privileging and intellectual affection for the "post-racial/non-racial"? The "anti" is an unabashed political stance; it locates our work as a challenge to the status quo and it compels us to reimagine a better now (McDermott and Madan 2012). However, we recognize the gumption needed to sustain this political stance, and as has been argued elsewhere (Dei 2008), there is a concern about the "stigma" those who are bent on protecting the status quo have attached to anti-racism work and scholarship and with that stigma come implications for our present and future work as anti-racism educators.

In this collection, we offer a nuanced reading of what constitutes an intellectual subversive politics in the ongoing project of decolonization for both colonized and

dominant bodies as we resist racist encounters and experiences. The everydayness of racism makes this project far more imperative and urgent. There are emerging sophisticated readings of race and racism that smack of intellectual denials and hypocrisy, as attempts to skirt around critical discussions of race and racism. We ask our readers to consider the possibilities of a counter theoretical narrative or conception of the present in ways that make theoretical sense of the everyday world of the racialized, colonized, and oppressed. We bring a politicized reading to the present as a moment of practice to claim and reclaim our understandings of race, gender, class, disability, and sexuality in the present with implications for how we theorize subjectivities and identities.

If identities are linked with knowledge production, then we must speak about anti-racism from our different locations, experiences, histories, and identities. It is important that today's academy be a decolonizing space where we begin to interrogate, think, and rethink the ways in which dominant knowledge, discourse, and practices have shaped our understandings of social power relations; of our relationships with one another; of who we, individually and collectively, are; and who we believe ourselves to be, of our understandings of sociopolitical difference in terms of race, class, gender, sexuality, disability/ability, and body image. In conceptualizing this space as a space of decolonization through the evocation of embodied knowledges that we all bring, we can begin to discuss and think about resistance and the ways in which we can and do collectively and individually assert our own sense of who we are and where we come from in the face of ongoing dominating institutionalized relations of power. The development of a critical embodied consciousness is a primary objective. Asserting this/our classroom/academy space then as a decolonizing space means (crucially) that we are all responsible for knowledge production and dissemination and the politics of embodiment that is required (McDermott and Simmons 2013). In the following chapters, the authors attend to many of these issues, and it is our hope that their diverse articulations of anti-racism education can provide a space for others to come into, reflect upon, and further engage their anti-racism practices.

Situating the Chapters

Part I – Intersectional Analyses: Rethinking Anti-Racism Education, Masculinity, and the Politics of Sexuality

The chapters in this section grapple with the incommensurability of experience and the impossibility of unpacking that experience focusing on one site of difference. In that, they each try to address questions of what it means to work with the saliency of race and simultaneously consider the ways in which various identity categories come to interact in shaping one's experiences through contradictions and inconsistencies. In their own ways, each chapter in this section asks anti-racism

educators to consider the ways in which we can guard against our complicity in some forms of oppression while we are working towards addressing and dismantling others (Kumashiro 2002). George Dei's chapter, *A Prism of Educational Research and Policy: Anti-Racism and Multiplex Oppressions*, asks how we can rehumanize research and policy in order to shake the status quo foundation that upholds hierarchies of difference. Sharing part of the history of the African-centered school that opened in 2009 in Toronto, Dei calls for research and policy to be brought back to the ground, and he suggests that the African-centered school can be considered a model for anti-racism educators, theorists, and policy makers to turn to in their anti-racism pursuits. He urges the necessity for teaching, research, and policy to be dialogic as they come to engage theories, lived experiences, community members, and histories reflexively, and he models this reflexivity as he asks the tough questions around the possibilities and limitations of a focused school (in this instance race-focused) in addressing oppression at various sites of difference.

In *Homonormativity Inside Out: Reading Race and Sexuality Into an LGBT Film Festival Opening Gala,* David Pereira takes us through the screening of the opening film at an LBGTQ festival as he witnesses and contests the whitened homonormativity he found in the elite audience's attitudes towards the film choice. He queries the audience's responses to a film that disrupted their expectations of a stable white gay identity and asks how race and sexuality are regularly implicated in (re)producing a whitened homonormativity that excludes racialized bodies from gay or queer sexuality. While racialized bodies are excluded from the production of a normatized gay identity, Pereira argues that along with the dominant white subject, non-white gays are implicated in (re)producing homonormativity's racial itinerary and consolidate whiteness in ways that uphold racial boundaries. Through personal reflection, the chapter narrativizes the post-screening conversations to suggest the racial discourses engaged by dominant and non-dominant gay subjects reify a singular, white *shade of gay*.

Writing from her position as a social worker in a school site for students who have been removed from the public school system for a variety of reasons, Camisha Sibblis reflects on the challenges her own identity – Black female researcher and social worker – poses in relation to questions of how power functions in the structure of expulsion programs. She notes that the gendered racial makeup of the participants in the expulsion program is suggestive of the results and sites of oppressive practices in the educational system in Canada. She engages a social constructionist orientation to explore the ways in which Black male students are constituted and thereby limited through historical discourses on Blackness and masculinity in schooling and education. Thinking through her experiences, Sibblis unmasks the differential management of Black male students with other students in the expulsion program, making a case for the exigency of anti-racism education in Canada.

Part II – Policy and Curriculum: Questions of Whiteness, Aboriginal Education, and Indigeneity

The focus of this section queries the limitations and possibilities of the institutional discourses, by way of policy and curriculum, inclusivity, multiculturalism, and equity. As anti-racism educators, we are often dismissed in contemporary times due to the introduction of official policies – from inclusion and equity policies in general to specifically anti-racism policies. On paper, in other words, the institutions are addressing the needs of the multicultural society we live in. Chrissy Deckers, in *Moving Towards an Anti-Racism Curriculum*, suggests that we need a sustained politics of anti-racism to uphold the race equity policies to meet the needs of all students. Situating her discussion in the postsecondary education system, Deckers queries the ways in which racialized bodies are "othered" *within* discourses of multiculturalism and existing race equity policies. She articulates the difficulty of speaking to race and practices of "othering" within the context of contemporary education and urges us to resist the temptation to move beyond anti-racism, and instead to move towards an anti-racism curriculum.

Similarly, Susanne Waldorf's chapter engages the postsecondary curriculum through a critical discourse analysis of two teacher education courses that include a specific focus on "Aboriginal Education." Waldorf historicizes critical Indigenous scholars' and their allies' critiques of the conventional "cultural inclusivity" approach to Aboriginal Education since the 1970s. By way of interrogating power structures embedded in racism and colonialism, Waldorf analyzes the increasingly implemented Aboriginal Education focus in teacher education programs. She analyzes the curriculum for the ways in which it interacts with the dominant discourse of cultural inclusion and the alternative discourses it offers. The chapter ends with some suggestions for anti-racism and anti-colonial pedagogies within Aboriginal Education.

The last chapter in this section by Ximena Trabucco Martínez examines the discordance between the Chilean school curriculum and Indigenous Rights policies. Martínez examines the legal framework of Chilean education with a specific focus on the policies of inclusivity in relation to Indigenous education, and she suggests that the incorporation of Indigenous education cannot be effectively provided under the formal colonial classroom structures which work to undermine the possibilities for Indigenous education. Through her analysis, it is possible to see the ongoing processes of colonization and the cultural effects on the Indigenous population in Chile who are continually affected by assimilationist policies that underpin the contemporary relationships in conventional schooling and education. Overall, Martínez suggests that the current organization of schooling has limited capacity to accommodate Indigenous education and that, instead, she argues, Indigenous education would best be served in the structures organized by Indigenous perspectives.

Part III – Representations: The Media, Discursive Authority, and Counter-Narratives

Each of the authors in this section present counter-narratives to the ways in which particular groups are represented in contemporary discourses. These chapters seek to disrupt the singular, essentialized storying of Others and challenge the reader to consider who is telling those stories, with what authority, and, simultaneously, who benefits from the particular tellings? Re-narrating the media conversations about the Tamil refugees who arrived in Canada on board the MV Sun Sea, Gillian Philipupillai considers the role of educators and education in the detention of the children in the political landscape of counterterrorism. Through an analysis of the ongoing marking of Tamil youth as *always already* "terrorists," the chapter draws attention to education as a key site of racial management and examines how racialization of Tamils, especially Tamil refugees, youth, and children, functions in education, public images, and discourses linking "Tamilness" to "terror" and evicting Tamils from the right to belong to the public sphere. Philipupillai argues that the case of the MV Sun Sea demonstrates the targeting, detention, and monitoring of Tamil youth and children in the white settler state of Canada is integral to the project of white settler colonialism and its reliance on education for racial management. Through her discussion, Philipupillai argues for the possibilities of an anti-racism response that is grounded in anti-colonial commitments.

Hodan Yusuf, in her chapter, *The Single Story of Somalia and Media Misrepresentations,* also considers the ways in which an abject Other group has been represented in the media. The chapter disrupts the singular story of famine, ethnic conflict, terrorism, and piracy that the media paints of Africa by inviting the reader to bear witness to the realities of progression and freedom enjoyed in many parts of the continent. Through an anti-racism discursive framework, the chapter explores Western media misrepresentations of Somalia and the media's complicity in advancing the colonial project. The chapter frames a counter-narrative through amplifying Somali voices and the role of Somali's in the diaspora. The chapter articulates the continuing efforts of Somali youth and nonprofit groups to produce stories from the Somali perspective and offer counteractions based on Somali interpretations.

The final two chapters in this section address the implications of the mainstream discourse of "model minorities," and they query the ways in which this discourse contributes to sustaining a racial hierarchy. Ayla Raza brings a critical perspective to the liberal multiculturalism that fosters the "model minority" discourse to demonstrate how it has created and continues to maintain a hierarchy of non-white bodies within Canadian education. In this discussion, Raza engages in counter-narratives to disrupt the limiting subject position for Brown bodies as well as querying the effects of the model minority narrative on Brown youth. Working with Brown as an analytic category, Raza engages in an anti-colonial and anti-racism framework to amplify the missing voices in the discussion of schooling experiences for Brown students. Kenneth Huyn's chapter contributes to this discussion by way of analyzing state-led discourses on the concept "Asians" in Canada. He suggests that these

discourses present a particular representation of Asians as successful, which is productive of the notion that the state-led ideology of multiculturalism effectively manages types of social difference, such as race. This chapter troubles the essentialization around the concept of Asian by situating particular experiences sociohistorically. Through articulating interrelated discursive, historical, contemporary, and affective realities faced by Asians in Canada, the chapter evidences the need for anti-racism research and activism to engage possibilities for transformative understandings.

Part IV – Autoethnography: On Coalition Building, Identity and Belonging, and Decolonization

Orienting their discussions around their own locations and experiences, the authors in this section invite the reader into aspects of their lives as they come to think about the role of anti-racism education in transforming their relationships, identities, questions of home and belonging, and decolonization. Min Kuar brings together teachings from a Sikh prayer from her upbringing which focuses on responsibility to land and all of creation and the Two Row Wampum's (Gaswentah) sophisticated message of coexistence. Kuar reengages the meaning of the Sikh prayer as the grounding for relationship building between racialized and Indigenous communities in what is colonially called Canada. Through her narrative, Kuar considers how intellectual and intercultural relationships between her relationship to land – both her homeland in South East Asia and the land and traditional territories of the Indigenous peoples of Turtle Island, where she currently resides – can frame the relationship and coalition building with First Peoples and constitute a *lived* anti-racism practice.

In the next chapter, Alexandra Arráiz Mattute works with autoethnography to consider her educational experiences through an anti-racism lens as she narrates her ongoing process of decolonization. Mattute shares how the conversations in the course brought her to realize the ways in which the curriculum at the international high school in Venezuela she attended erased her from her own schooling and learning while she simultaneously comes to grips with the colonial legacy that shapes Venezuelan public and post secondary schools. The chapter invites the reader into the journey of decolonizing for Mattute by way of unfolding the layers and picking at the seams of erasure she experienced in school. Simultaneously, Mattute articulates her movement towards anti-racism education and the powerful discovery of Latina feminist writers in her understandings of her experiences.

While Mattute shares her journey through academic conversations, Theresa Smith's chapter was inspired by her journey to the Philippines to lay her grandmother's remains at rest. This journey was more than a physical journey; it was a spiritual journey in which Smith shares her struggles with which lands she (can) call home. Working with an arts-informed narrative, she explores the "middle ground" of

belonging and identity that first-generation Canadians experience both within Canada and in the home country of their families. In doing this, Smith asks what are the ways our social locations shape our ability to claim certain identities, histories, and lands at the intersections of race, class, privilege, and nationality. The chapter urges us to maintain a commitment to reflection as well as action in guiding one's critical anti-racism practice.

Finally, Mairi McDermott's chapter picks up on Smith's call for reflexivity as she works through two particular lived experiences, one as a Teaching Assistant for *The Principles of Anti-Racism Education* and the other as the lead facilitator of a student voice initiative in a community organization, in order to come into an articulation of her anti-racism pedagogy. Writing through her experiences, McDermott traces the role of affect in educational sites, in these cases educational sites oriented by way of an anti-racism politics. The chapter considers how affect is always already present in classroom relations as well as the call by anti-racism education to unlearn what conventional schooling practices suggest is stable and universal knowledge, and she urges the anti-racism educator to engage affect as a central part of her praxis. In this urge, however, McDermott cautions us to remain reflexive about the ethics involved and our pedagogic responsibilities when centering affect in our classrooms.

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Part I
Intersectional Analyses: Rethinking Anti-Racism Education, Masculinity and the Politics of Sexuality

Chapter 2
A Prism of Educational Research and Policy: Anti-Racism and Multiplex Oppressions

George J. Sefa Dei

Introduction

This chapter explores possibilities of anti-racism practice in the struggle against social oppressions through a gaze of critical research and educational policy. The focus is not on research methodologies per se but how anti-racism research is relevant given the questions that need to be broached in the pursuit of social change and justice. What anti-racism research scholarship brings is equally as important to lay clear as the academic pursuit of anti-racism practice, that is, the dynamics of doing oppositional research, the goals, strategies, and efforts required to achieve social and educational change. As anti-racism researchers we have particular responsibilities to explain the continuing silence on race in many academic quarters, as well as the ways in which race discourses are taken up in ways that support the status quo. We must ask about how our research work helps inform how prevailing racial and racist tropes are supported, maintained, and reproduced in the every day of schools and wider society. We must also consider the myriad ways in which racial hierarchies are upheld through the intersections of difference; we must unpack the logics that underpin oppressive societies and why society may wittingly and unwittingly create a culture of hierarchies.

There are problematics of dominant social research as emerging from and consistent with relations of race and colonialism. Anti-racism is political and working with the "political" dimension of research is key to sustaining anti-racism research and scholarship. Our social world is replete with non-racist illusions. Therefore, anti-racism research must capture the "real/everyday" politics, socio-material realities, as well as the institutional practices and the resistances engaged in by subjects with

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or without explicit or conscious "paradigms" to articulate them. Our particular methodological approaches must look simultaneously at forms of external and internal colonial and oppressive relations and practices at various and constitutive sites of difference. In other words, for anti-racism research practice to begin to engage the incommensurability and contentions of lived experiences, we must address the sometimes contradictory subject locations taken up and inscribed on individuals in social spaces. A critical research methodology must explore how the subjects of study resist continuous external and internal colonizing tendencies. What popular forms of consciousness inform these resistances and the subjects' interpretations of everyday practice?

An important goal of anti-racism research is the search for "evidence" in responding to such questions. We must engage what constitutes "evidence" and "data," and there must be a relationship between the "concepts" used and the "data." The "data" must move beyond what we know as researchers. Researching for "data" (e.g., oppressive relations and practices) cannot be pursued as mere descriptive appendages of our theoretical formulations, as these oppressive moments are far from mere appendages in lived experiences. In effect, anti-racism research has a specific political and academic goal to subvert the dominant ideologies that seek to dismiss/downplay/dislodge/decenter the relevance of race in everyday practice (see Dei and Johal 2005).

In thinking through these moments, anti-racism scholars also need to ask what it means to engage multiple sites of oppression in and through our work. While intersectional analyses surely complicate our understanding of oppressions, as anti-racism researchers and practitioners, the goal of our analyses is to come to understand and challenge multiple oppressions, for the dismantling of one oppression cannot be sustained at the expense of other oppressions. In other words, we ought to engage various sites of oppression as operating in relation to each other in order to disrupt the dominant center. Part of this work includes asking the difficult questions of how an anti-oppressive movement is implicated in oppressions at other sites of difference. Adding to the complexities, there are obvious limitations in the possibility of conventional social research paradigms and methods to capture and explain the experiences of the minoritized and oppressed. To counter and redress these limitations, a primary focus in anti-racism research methodology ought to be on the experiences of minoritized subjects as key to understanding oppressions and the pursuit of transformative praxis which speaks to the notion of epistemic saliency (Dei 1999). At the same time, racisms and oppressions cannot be understood fully by focusing solely on the oppressed. The perspectives of the dominant are also important, for example, in terms of their own understandings of oppressions, power, and privilege. We must work with an overarching concern for domination studies and the transformative potential of anti-racism research. To this end anti-racism research must enhance the agency and the "agential power" (Daniel and Yearwood 2002) of the minoritized as part of a critical transformative praxis.

Research must always speak to the social policy implications as far as anti-racism is concerned. Many of us in anti-racism have had to ask difficult questions about the limits of policy efficacy in effecting real change as far as equity and educational outcomes in the lives of marginalized students are concerned. Although educational

institutions are quick to discuss the need for reflexivity among teachers with regard to their teaching practice, the same cannot be said for policy, which tends to reside discursively in a "no person's land" of bureaucratic obfuscation. Policy itself must be a reflexive and reflective process whereby communities (the stakeholders in any given society) are understood as knowers whose knowledge counts and is validated in processes of educational codification and dissemination of knowledge. Policy writing must be an exercise in popular education, which wears its politics on its sleeve instead of relying on false notions of objectivity, historical universalism, and fairness. There is little doubt in my mind that Indigenously informed and more human-centered approaches to policy might offer a public, reflexive, and transparent political approach to education.

Theorizing the Interstices and Implications for Social Research: Asking Critical Questions

Anti-racism discourse and practice has and continues to make contributions to the literature on critical race theory and anti-oppression activism. Critical anti-racism, with a gaze on the problematics of Whiteness as embodied by some engaged in anti-oppressive work, can be an important call for implicating dominant bodies to do solid anti-racism work to bring about meaningful change (see also Howard 2009). In other words, it is a call for a more effective anti-racism engagement that brings an understanding of the power of embodied knowledge, the relations of power and racism, and the implications of one's positionality within social politics. This essay is asking all of us to be self-reflective and to examine why we do race and anti-racism equity work. In this endeavor we must bring a degree of humility in relation to what we know and cannot know about the experience of racism and the intertwining processes of racialization and colonization. The chapter asks us to both engage and disengage ourselves from positions of power and to exploit our positions in the service of race equity work.

We cannot pursue a transracial coalition praxis devoid of any symptoms of politics of identity. Identity is about who we are and the particular politics we chose to engage in. We do not pursue a politics without an acknowledgment of our identities. Thus, we must always recognize our different entry points that speak to both a saliency as well as situational and contextual variations in intensities of oppressions. The anti-racism discursive framework articulates that the study of racism must be preoccupied with the experiences and knowledge of the oppressed while simultaneously focusing on the benefits and privileges that accrue to the dominant from their oppression. The challenge is to come to name, mark, and work with the various identities that those who are oppressed have and to acknowledge those identities that place even the oppressed in positions of dominance and power. The framework acknowledges and works with the understanding that the self and subjectivity matter in terms of methodological implications/considerations, as well as the ways we produce knowledge. Anti-racism emphasizes that bodies and identities (race, class,

gender, sexual, spiritual, etc.) are linked to the production of knowledge as well as social practice. Hence, the learner cannot distance herself/himself from a study of racism and the construction of knowledge about race and anti-racism. The anti-racism discursive framework also seeks to understand the processes and ways of racializing subjects through history as well as social and political systems. It is argued that racial dominance is an integral part of social inequity and that there is the salience of the White body/White racial identity in a race supremacist society. In discussing racisms and oppressions, it is equally important to work with an understanding of the asymmetrical power relations that exist among and between different bodies. This being said, the politics of anti-racism requires that race be kept in the foreground in the axis of oppression. This is what makes anti-racism a truly anti-racist practice.

As many have repeatedly noted, the engagement of other sites of oppression (gender, class, ability, sexuality, etc.) in anti-racism work is critical in order to acknowledge that oppressions are relational, multiplicative, interactive, intersecting, polyvocal, and always enmeshed and embedded with other oppressions. Therefore, we cannot deal with one oppression and leave others in intact (see Collins 1993). Oppressions are best understood within the prism of "and/with" rather than "either/or." Lived experience and acknowledging the self is a starting point to understanding oppressions, as well as emphasis on histories and contexts, linked to institutions and to local and global political economies. We cannot repeat the trend that has historically produced hegemonic knowledges. We must always maintain a critical gaze on the oppressions and oppressive possibilities within ourselves (Lorde 1984). Yet it is equally important as we engage these sites of identities and the pursuit of oppressions to recognize the saliency of issues for certain bodies. Thus, for me, while acknowledging the myriad forms of racisms and oppressions, the saliency of anti-Black racism in a racialized society cannot be denied (see also Dei and Delaney 2013).

What does it mean to speak of race today in relation to its historical and contemporary socio-political realities, i.e., to acknowledge race as about a "floating signifier" and much more in speaking about the physicality and materiality of existence (see also Hall 1989, 1991, 1992; Omi and Winant 1993)? What does it mean to speak of race today in relation to questions of class? The concepts of race and class both speak to systems of power and domination. How do these two sites of difference work to enhance the oppressive politics of hegemonic social and material relations? It will help to situate the discourses historically. A Marxist narrative (a narrative that has historically been given particular credence in the academy) suggests that race is a product of class, that racism is an effect of the pursuit of capital and economic interests: racism, by way of the enslavement of African peoples, was merely a function of capitalism. However, for particular bodies to be deemed inhuman and therefore enslavable must have been informed by racism. Similarly, Euro-Enlightenment classificatory systems worked to hierarchize racialized bodies in pre-capitalist, imperialist pursuits. In other words, Enlightenment discourses of progress, civility, and modernity produced Euro-White superiority (see also Fanon 1963, 1967; Dei 1996). These discourses, productive of a particular set of social

relations, come to inform the materiality of race. This historical discussion of discourses of race and class is not intended to suggest that these are disparate moments, and it is particularly important in contemporary times to speak to more than the materiality of race to address the spiritual and sociological aspects of race and class.

The system of power and domination is dynamic and includes not only race and class but also questions of gender and sexuality as sites of social organization. Anti-racism discourse and practice asks us to consider the ways in which race is experienced through gender and sexuality, as well as how gender and sexuality are experienced through race. There is a "simultaneity of oppression" (Brewer 1993), "a matrix of oppression" (Collins 1993), and "a multiplex of oppression" (Dei 1996) that must be addressed; however, through hegemonic identity politics, these sites of oppression are often marked as distinct from one another, obscuring their constitutivity and co-relational status. We need to move away from an additive model of oppression and instead think through the hegemonic logics that oppress at various sites simultaneously, even while the details of the oppression may vary qualitatively (Smith 2006). Socializing discourses inform how we are to engage social spaces in relation to our sites of difference, and these different engagements produce variant experiences of oppression and marginalization or power and privilege. If the normatized body is assumed to be White, male, and heterosexual, as the circulating dominant discourses proclaim, what does it mean to be Other than any of those identities? Simultaneously, what does it mean to be Other to only one or two of those differences? Are we willing to consider the ways in which we (re)produce power by playing to power (Fine 1994) and become complicit in oppressive relations? Anti-racism must guard against masculinist, heteronormative tropes. We must ask ourselves what does it mean to be human and how do the various sites of oppression work to dehumanize? In other words, in seeking self-humanization, how do we concomitantly rehumanize all Othered bodies? Increasingly, critical anti-racism work is broaching the intersections of race, gender, and sexuality in terms of how masculinity and femininity are racialized and sexualized and which forms of masculinity, femininity, racialized, and sexualized bodies are afforded power and privilege and on what grounds – with whom as the reference point (see also Archer and Yamashita 2003)? For instance, anti-racism research is also beginning to explore the connection between masculinized performances and school-based violence (McCready 2008).

More recently, anti-racism work is asking new questions about how to understand our differences and the role of ableism in this matrix of oppressions. Disabilities studies offer us a lens to read this matrix through questions of language and embodiment. As Titchkosky (2007) asks: how do terms like the "vulnerable," "weak," "special needs," and "elderly and infirm" speak to the possibilities for the human condition? Titchkosky (2007) goes on to amplify that "disability [is] a metaphor of choice to discuss problems" as well as a metaphor that "disappears from the social landscape as a form of human existence" (p. 137). How does consideration and language of (dis)ability inform the naturalization of Otherness? In other words, in thinking through (dis)ability and race, how do these categories come to produce

"normalcy" and the embodiment of difference? Once again, disability and race are not distinct moments. If we were to think about "special education" classes, for example, racially minoritized bodies tend to disproportionally outnumber Whitened bodies.

There is theoretical value in exploring how Whiteness intersects with class, gender, sexuality, and disability in challenging the broad problem of racism. The use of intersectionality must not and cannot dilute commitments to racism and the salience of race. However, it also brings some critical questions for examination. Levine-Rasky (2009) in a shared commentary asks that those of us who seek to remove all oppressions while operating from a particular lens (e.g., a race-centered lens) must acknowledge and work around some methodological questions and issues, for example, to reconcile the discourse of intersectionality and the salience of race in Critical Integrative Antiracism Theory (CART) and practice. Levine-Rasky (2009) poignantly asks: "if race is salient and if blackness is also intersected by gender, sexuality, and class (for example), how can [one] be attentive to other axes of identity that affects the dynamics of racism and the way it is experienced" (p. 2) among Black and racialized people generally? Also, that if we concede that Whiteness confers power regardless of the intersections of race, class, gender, sexuality, disability, etc., what does this mean for anti-racist work by the dominant? Racism is not only about bodies. There is the relationship between the "body" and embodiment, but how do we articulate this relationship such that racism does not become merely about bodies? In other words, there are questions of both bodies and politics. It is generally maintained that power is not necessarily top-down and that, in fact, power works insidiously, systemically, or culturally, and in all these ways simultaneously. Power also works in interstices as in the intersections of social difference (race, class, gender, sexuality and [dis]ability). So how do we articulate the dynamics of power and racism both theoretically and politically to challenge the saliency of the power of the White (colonial) dominant, particularly in a White supremacist context?

Coming to the Anti-racist and Anti-colonial Moment Through Research and Policy

Research is about social relations of power (as the previous section suggests, these relations of power are located at multiple sites simultaneously). Research is also about joy, satisfaction, and most importantly about resistance. Embodiment, as engaged in research, should be more than about knowledge as socially and discursively constructed (McDermott and Simmons 2013). It must also be about "sentient perceptions and the search for symbiotic relationship between physical, mental, emotional and spiritual experiences" (Batacharya 2010). Apart from placing embodiment in social dynamics and political contexts, there must also be recognition that embodiment of oppression hurts and continually marks different bodies. Questions of embodiment, therefore, ought to touch on healing and making selves whole

persons again. Conventional research has tended to objectify theory and pedagogy based on simple transmission and instruction of knowledge with little focus on the transformative power of education. This risks reproducing hegemonic worldviews and the modus operandi of colonialism. Anti-racism engages research practice and pedagogies that talk about and enact transformations on the reader, teacher, student, researcher, and study participants through a rigorous spiritual alignment with the work of social change. Consequently, for the colonized, anti-racism research can be a healing and regenerative process.

We must avoid the theory-practice gap, which makes research a moralizing discourse with little activism and limiting transformative potential. Anti-racism research must also evoke pedagogic authenticity of local subjects of study and the power of using knowledge to help heal ourselves and our wounded souls. For example, study participants' narratives must be well woven with theoretical explorations. But it is important to foreground and honor participants' voices rather than subordinating their contributions to the researcher's analysis and the literature. This entails that the writing of the experiential into text becomes lucid with issues clearly delineated (and not necessarily engaged in a search for definitive answers). The authenticity of experience (as voice and a narration of voice) implies taking the experiential as an entry into theory.

There are particular challenges of note in writing the experiential into text. In naming the acts of resistance in anti-racist research, we must pay attention to those moments when acts of resistance simply insert the oppressed body into colonial, hegemonic, and imperial spaces and relations. These are important gaps for the critical researcher to look for. These lacunae are not critical and anti-colonial research endeavors. Simultaneously, if research is about healing, it is also important to note that not all healing is about resistance or social activism. Certain forms of healing can be individualizing, and the challenge is to move into an understanding of healing as collective politics. Research about race that denies a people's histories is not anti-racism nor anti-colonial. Similarly, research cannot be about single stories since such stories merely work to dehumanize us and the complexities of our collectivities (see Adichie 2009). We must engage research from the heart, making the connections of body, mind, and soul.

In writing the experiential into text, some other issues also come into focus particularly when we begin to speak of dominant conceptions of Black youth experiences. For example, who benefits from the discourse of "at-risk" youth? There is a power of anti-deficit thinking in challenging the normalizing and imperial gaze on schooling, a gaze that seeks to blame and pathologize young learners and their communities for perceived educational deficits while leaving systems and structures of schooling intact. In other words, in asking local communities to take responsibility for the education of the youth, we are fed with innocent discursive practices that avoid talk of institutional accountability to local communities when schools fail youth; we avoid a key tenant of anti-racism research. Yet, through moral panic and colonial tropes, youth are continually blamed for shirking their responsibilities to learn. Similarly, research that focuses on only one identity site risks reifying dominant dehumanizing narratives of other sites of difference and oppression.

Anti-racism resistance educates that Black and racially minoritized parents and communities can no longer wait for change to happen at the systemic level. Communities ought to work to bring about change. Change does not happen without resistance from those affected by the inequities in the existing social order. Local parents and communities have learned from Friedland and Alford's (1991) "dynamics without change" theory, which understands that the more things change the more they remain the same. Thus, disadvantaged students and their communities are empowering themselves to become active agents, not dupes in the systemic reproduction of inequities and oppressions. There is an appreciation of that fact that while schools are sites of indoctrination and reproduction of structural inequities, they are also sites of empowerment, resistance, and transformation. Through anti-racism education, disadvantaged communities become aware of where and what are the fault lines of their children's schooling and education. They begin to resist the "dumbing down" of students and parents and even become skeptical of who is served by teacher bashing, which dances around institutional responsibilities. These parents and local communities begin to challenge ways academic research assigns discursive authority to scholars who many times have no embodied connection to their subjects and communities of study. They begin to assert their voices understanding that silence through the culture of fear can be detrimental to systemic change and transformation. They cultivate an anti-racism and anti-colonial presence as well as a historicized reading of their experiential realities to inform and pursue political praxis and to self-determine through critical consciousness. They begin to make anti-colonial claims around race equity, human rights, and social-economic justice from the circumscribed spaces of (dis)enfranchisement, economic materiality, and nation/citizenship belonging.

Anti-racism must be able to capture these moments in the lived experiences of the minoritized, colonized, and oppressed. This calls for us to rethink the focus of our scholarship and what we seek to destabilize. We must lay bare the intellectual and social hypocrisies that afflict much of current discourse on race equity. For the anti-racism researcher, the search for academic credibility puts on the table different and new questions and concerns. We ask, what does academic credibility mean, what does it involve, and where does it reside? In anti-racism, academic credibility becomes about developing counter and oppositional discourses to the pathologizing discourses at multiple sites of oppression. It problematizes the expectation to publish in mainstream journals for legitimacy when such publishing outlets have not always welcomed critical and oppositional discourses that challenge dominance. Credible anti-racism research would seek to demonstrate the link between state/institutional policies/practices and racist, classist, sexist, heteronormative, ablest exclusions. As noted elsewhere (Dei 2008; Goldberg 2002), historically, Western political systems have been founded upon the construction of racial hierarchies. Such hierarchies have become the bases for the distribution of rewards and punishments. Dominant bodies lay claim to a sense of entitlement, while communities of color struggle daily to resist claims of their "illegitimacy" and "degeneracy" (see Fanon 1963, 1967; Goldberg 2002; Said 1994; Razack 2002; Omi and Winant 1993; Johal 2009). And, perhaps it can be added that such claims of illegitimacy are not just

about our bodies or our mere physical presence in certain spaces. It is also about our Indigenousness, our cultural resource knowledges, and our everyday lived experiences and existence. Such knowledges and our social realities are dismissed either for not validating the dominant experience or for an insistence on the epistemic saliency of our voices (see also Smith 1999). This can perhaps be evidenced in mainstream reaction to local communities' initiatives for educational change informed by an exercise of our own intellectual agencies. The call for African-centered schooling by African-Canadian parents, scholars, and community workers comes to mind.

African-Centered Education as a Policy Initiative to Address Educational Inequality

In this final section of the chapter, I bring together the previous discussions of intersectional oppressions and anti-racism research by way of thinking through African-centered education in the context of Canada. I single out and find the necessity to reiterate some of my ideas on African-centered education because it is one area of my anti-racist pursuit of inclusive schooling, which has led me to rethink the ways of producing counter-visions of schooling. In the ensuing discussion, I consider some implications of African-centered education both for the pursuit of improved African-Canadian educational excellence and for the possibilities and limitations for the locally initiated school to address the various sites of oppression. To contextualize the following discussion, I will present some of the key arguments for rethinking African-Canadian education. Beyond contextualizing the arguments, it is also my hope that by rearticulating the reasoning behind an African-centered education, even while querying the possibilities and limitations, the conversation will register with some who have doubted the Africentric school in Toronto. It has been my experience on many occasions where I was asked to present at or about the Africentric school that inevitably someone in the audience comes up to me afterward to share how she/he had never considered the perspectives I brought and that I had changed their opinion of the school (which were likely informed by misrepresenting discourses that circulate about the school). I am sure that this experience is not unique to my presentations, for most of the information circulating about the school is either mis- or not informed. For a more thorough discussion of African-centered schooling in Canada, Arlo Kempf and I have just come out with a text (see Dei and Kempf 2013).

My experience with the Canadian public school system began in the early 1990s, and since researching Ontario schools specifically, I have come to recognize a need for a restructuring of education to highlight the principles of community, mutual interdependence, and social responsibility, as well as the inclusion of spirituality, a different conceptualization of history as a totality of lived experiences, and respect for all community members by way of local cultural knowledges incorporation into all the disciplines. These are some of the ways in which we

might broach the challenges of improving educational outcomes and success for students who are marginalized in conventional schooling and education. It is on this need for a school organized non-hierarchically, one that embraces all members of the community as knowledge producers and treats them as valued partners in the educational enterprise, that the Africentric school was premised. The school works with and in fact makes explicit the links between knowledge production and identity formation. Founding its organization around notions of schooling as a community of learners and redefining success to be more broadly understood, the Africentric school has wide-reaching pedagogical and curricular implications. By reworking the principles that ground conventional schooling and education, the Africentric school can be a model for doing educational administration and policy differently. I believe that this model can provide different possibilities and rehumanize contemporary education.

I have long (Dei 1993) considered the call for the African-centered school to be a much-awaited anti-racist response to the historical onslaught of educational research and policies that challenge the inequities in dominant schooling and education without producing any real change for the African-Canadian youth who are involved in the system. Since the 1970s in Canada, there have been significant conversations about Black youth disengagement and academic achievement in schools; over 40 years later, we have not seen much improvement. For years, community activists have made policy recommendations that challenge the status quo, only to have them disregarded. Similarly, scholarly informed research has addressed the merits and called attention to the necessity for alternative educational spaces outside of the dominant schooling system, which have gone unheard (see Dei 1993). In fact, back in 1992 in Toronto, the African Canadian Working Group, a multilevel government task force, was charged with considering the disengagement and limited academic achievement of too many Black youth. Among the suggestions put forth from the Working Group to address feelings of frustration and marginalization in conventional schooling and education was to have each municipality in Toronto offer an alternative school for Black junior high students in which the curriculum addressed African-Canadian history, cultures, and perspectives as well as being staffed by Black teachers and administrators (see Working Group 1992). The proposal amplified the necessity for this alternative space in developing, strengthening, and supporting Black youth identity and belonging. Then, in 1994, the Ontario government set up the Royal Commission on Learning (RCOL), which also suggested setting up "demonstration schools" similar to the proposed schools put forth in the 1992 Working Group report (RCOL 1994). Neither the findings of the Working Group nor the Royal Commission on Learning were taken up in the 1990s for fear of public outcry. This produced a further tension for community activists and scholars in the academy who increasingly sought an alternative space of schooling and education (see Dei 1993, 1995, 1996, and 2008; as well as Brathwaite and James 1996; Dei and Kempf 2013 among many others).

Frustrations around the disacknowledgment of the two reports mounted among the community activists and scholars. When these issues are taken up in public discourse and the media, a common dismissal of the necessity for alternative and

Black-focused schools centers around questions of segregation and integration. The dominant paradigm of integration, as presented in opposition to segregation, masks questions of who is expected to be integrated into what and at what costs, as well as the fact that since the nineteenth century and institutionalized schooling and education was established in Canada, particular interest groups have had publically funded separate school spaces – for instance, the Catholic school boards. Presently, in Toronto, there are also alternative schools for students with special needs; schools for creative arts and cyber arts; gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered students; and a First Nations School – and rightly so.

What does it say about the school system when there is a need for schools that speak to particular experiences? This ought to say more about the school system than it does about the multitude of people who seek these alternative schools; however, it remains contested terrain, particularly when race is invoked. How do the present confines of schooling and education require that separate, safe, and supportive spaces are created for those who are socially marked as "different" than some mythical norm in conventional schooling and education? Similarly, within the boundedness of the discourse of schooling and education, what role does locating these schools as "alternative" play in further Otherizing particular bodies and experiences? In other words, while there is a necessity for schools where students can feel a sense of belonging, how do these schools come to reproduce the demarcations of difference that are always already hierarchized in dominant society? What is the responsibility of the schooling system to speak to all experiences and all bodies in the curriculum, to have bodies that represent the various sites of difference represented on their faculties and staffs?

As noted in a forthcoming paper (Dei 2013), much of public hysteria and dominant resistance around an African-centered school as an alternative/counter-visioning of schooling is informed by the landmark decision in the USA, on the 1954 Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education Supreme Court case. In a very influential article, Guinier (2004) argues the Brown vs. Board case actually treated the symptoms of the disease rather than the disease. The decision was more about recognizing "formal equality" rather than "substantive equality"; the latter would require fundamental changes to the broader economic, social, and political order. Guinier (2004) advances a racial literacy framework in examining the Court's decision, her analysis extending the conventional interest convergence argument that shows how the interests of Northern White liberals converged with Southern Black interests in demanding an end for segregation of schools. Such racial literacy necessitates a reading of the ways in which policies and constitutional acts, such as desegregation in the Brown vs. Board of Education case, can work to suggest progress while simultaneously reifying the status quo. Such racial literacy is incomplete without a thorough examination of the histories of bodies of "difference" in social and institutional spaces.

Anti-racism research requires that we ask difficult questions of policies and that we urge, rather, we insist that policy-makers become reflexive of the broader socio-historical context of conventional schooling and education. We must simultaneously ask difficult questions of the positions we take up in our efforts to affirm

Black youths' identities, address issues of community development, and support self-determination and the ways in which they become subsumed under the colonial rubric of differentiating differences by way of hierarchizing access to power and privilege. How, in the African-centered school, are we prepared to speak to the experiences of our Black youth as they are interstitched and entangled with other sites of oppression? In seeking out a space within the auspices of government policies and requisites for schooling and education, where we can concomitantly support our communities' needs, what are the possibilities and limitations of this endeavor, and how do we guard against the narrow reading the media has placed on the call for an African-centered school? Anti-racism research has brought me to the urgency that we must read the African-centered school in the context of the call for Black/African people to take responsibility for our own problems and design our own future, that is, we must think through solutions to the problems that confront our varied communities through a search for our voices and an approach pursued on our own terms and not have them filtered through the perspectives of the dominant and colonizing apparatus/status quo or colonial governance. Any serious discussion of African-centered schooling must move away from the discourse of segregation and start to think of the critical questions of pedagogy, curriculum, and instruction that engage anti-racism as an intersectional analysis.

Policy requires an unremitting critique of conventional, institutionalized schooling and education, as the discussion of the African-centered school amplifies. Policy necessitates not only a view toward shaping future schooling and education but also a sustained appraisal of the underpinning ideologies, frameworks, and politics that have historically shaped the institution of schooling and education. We need to be willing to reimagine what schooling and education can look like. The African-centered school provides us with a site to begin considering these tough questions of policy, pedagogy, and curriculum in relation to integrative anti-racism research and practice, such that it takes as its starting point the community as knowledge producers whose knowledges and experiences are validated within the school.

Conclusion

Anti-racism positions identity, and by extension identifications, as historically constituted and laden with politics. If critically engaged, anti-racism research can be counter-hegemonic and work to destabilize the taken for grantedness of hierarchies of difference and differential access to power and privilege; however, as I have articulated in this chapter, tough questions must be asked, not only of contemporary policies shaping schooling and education but also of efforts to claim spaces within the demarcating logics of capitalist modernity. It is important to note the centrality of reading race through anti-colonial frameworks to offer counter-hegemonic readings that work to disrupt the production and dissemination of colonial knowledge very much endemic to civilizing narratives of what it means to be

human. We must rehumanize research and policy by pushing back on the disinterested, disembodied, and objective research that is validated in the academy. To engage lived experiences, experiences of pain, sorrow, joy, and elation, researchers and policy-makers must recall that these moments are laden with the human. We ought to bring theorizing back to the ground, as the African-centered school represents and we ought to bring theorizing back to the community in efforts to seek transformative schooling and education. The African-centered school presents us with a critical site from, with, through, and against which we can pursue these endeavors. In an effort to end with hope, I believe that the African-centered school presents us with an example that something different is possible!

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Chapter 3
Homonormativity Inside Out: Reading Race and Sexuality Into an LGBT Film Festival Opening Gala

David Pereira

Introduction

The credits rolled for the film *My Brother The Devil*, the majority of the audience rose to its feet and began stumbling over and past the few of us who remained seated for the question and answer session with the director and lead actor. I thought to myself, how could they not want to learn more about this courageous and challenging film? Putting this mass exodus into perspective, I reminded myself that people have places to be and things to do. It was not until afterwards, while talking to others and overhearing conversations in the theatre's lobby, that I began to realize that the film elicited reactions from some theatregoers that, due to my enthusiasm, I had not anticipated. Two dominant reactions emerged from a significant number of those in attendance. These were that the film was 'not gay enough' and 'too dark' for the opening gala of the Inside Out LGBT Film Festival. This chapter aims to unpack and disrupt these two prevalent reactions to expose and critically analyze how, even during a film festival generally perceived as progressive, dominant discourses of race and sexuality silence and other those who threaten the inherently unstable white gay identity and how race and sexuality are regularly implicated in producing and reproducing a whitened homonormativity that excludes racialized bodies from the mainstream gay community and sexuality.

In a narrative fashion, this chapter traces experiences and reflections related to the previously mentioned film screening. This means that as well as reflecting on the film itself, I also turn my attention to the reactions and responses the film elicited in me and in those with whom I spoke. I begin by briefly contextualizing the Inside Out LGBT Film and Video Festival and describing the opening gala film, *My Brother The Devil*. I then provide a brief theoretical framework that guides my

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analysis. Given this chapter's focus, it is necessary to discuss the terms race and sexuality, both of which are socially and mutually constitutive; in other words, they are implicated in the other's conceptualization. In discussing race, I wish to expose its complex construction and understandings and its implication in forming national and subject identities. In terms of sexuality, I explore homonormativity, which links sexuality and race as a subject-forming project. Finally, I return to my experiences and reflections on the Inside Out gala screening to decentre and destabilize dominant white normative constructions of gay sexual identity. In doing so, my intention is to engage in a process where I draw awareness to the manoeuvres of sexual exceptionalism that allow dominant subjects to remain complicit in the othering of racialized sexual bodies. As well, my goal is to surface contestations to an emerging normative queer identity by discussing my personal reflections, experiences and conversations during and following the gala film's screening.

Before proceeding I must briefly discuss my point of entry for this discussion of race and sexuality, specifically gay and queer sexuality. My entry point for this chapter, the gala film and the events that followed the gala film are very much from a queer perspective. The following quote by Sharon Holland (as cited in Ferguson 2007, p. 111), as I have adapted it to gay, lesbian and queer studies, illustrates my motivation for doing this work: 'Black lesbian subjects and their women-of-color allies have always haunted feminism's attempt to articulate itself, putting themselves in the position of challenging the racial inclusiveness of feminist theory and practice and at the same time pushing a developing lesbian/gay studies to describe the face of its constituency'. As a queer-identified racialized[1] man of Portuguese ancestry, I still find myself surrounded by a social network dominated by gay men, and I struggle to reconcile my lasting relationships with these men against my political and social values and beliefs that necessarily generate incongruencies in my relationships and life. In other words, I find myself participating and implicated in a gay culture that affirms and celebrates a Western, white, middle-class, gay normativity externally, despite whatever counter-normative practices and fetishes may be enacted in private. These normative forces are precisely what this chapter engages and contests by reflecting on race in connection with the 2012 Inside Out opening gala film.

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[1] Although I intentionally use the term racialized to self-identify, I want to acknowledge the tension and conflict this term surfaces. My belief is that we are all racialized and, according to George Dei, that we are racialized differently, some for privilege and most for subordination. I acknowledge that I regularly access privilege, and because so many do not, I recognize that my experience of racialization is different than those who are racialized for subordination. However, in many circumstances, I equally do not consider myself to be read as a white. My experiences consistently indicate that others read me in a particular classed way based on my ethnicity – not in the same way as a white person might be classed but specifically because of my Portuguese ethnicity, which evidently is an identity I cannot deny given my Mediterranean dark complexion and my surname (I am often assumed to be Middle Eastern of Persian or Lebanese roots).

Inside Out and the Opening Gala Film

According to its website, the Inside Out LGBT Film and Video Festival (2012) 'is a not-for-profit registered charity that exists to challenge attitudes and change lives through the promotion, production and exhibition of film and video made by and about lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans (LGBT) people of all ages, races and abilities' (Inside Out, About Us section). Around 2010 the festival adopted its more inclusive LGBT title, replacing the former title, Gay and Lesbian Film and Video Festival. Indeed, like some organizations, Inside Out perhaps strategically initiated a name change to distance itself from any connection to a festival that focused solely on mainstream gay and lesbian films. In any case, the present LGBT Film Festival aims to challenge attitudes and change lives presumably of those who attend their screenings, and I believe this is the strength in a festival of this sort.

This year's opening gala film, according to festival director, Scott Ferguson, was anticipated to be a challenging film for the audience and likely to not be everyone's favourite (personal communication, June 2012). Scott has been with Inside Out longer than anyone else, and his prediction lead me to speculate what about the film would this audience find challenging. References to audience in this chapter refer specifically to the opening gala because this audience is not necessarily the representative audience throughout the festival's run. Like many film festivals, access and attendance to the opening gala and other gala screenings is made more exclusive by ticket prices and advanced purchasing for members, leaving some less able to participate. As a student member, my partner and I entered the theatre just after the first wave of elite members and before the general public, and I was amazed to see rows upon rows of prime seating already occupied by those who purchase an Inside Out membership of between $300 and $2640. Also, without specific numbers to verify my scan of the theatre, the audience appeared to consist of mostly cisgender males, and although there was some racial diversity, the audience was generally Caucasian. I mention these points to provide context for the comments made about the gala film by the attendees in the theatre, the majority of whom in my opinion were white, middle- or upper-class men. This demographic is not necessarily reflective of the festival's patrons, although for reasons raised previously, I am not sure the same can be said of the festival's membership. Inside Out programs films and shorts that draw greater numbers of women, transgender and gender queer individuals, but as far as I could tell, this was neither one of those films nor one of those audiences.

The opening gala film, *My Brother The Devil*, centres around the fictional characters Rashid and Mo, two teenage Muslim brothers of Egyptian descent. The older brother, Rashid, is a key gang member in the London suburb of Hackney (made infamous by the 2011 race riots). His younger brother, Mo, is a curious lad who idolizes his older brother and everything he does. Without offering a full synopsis of the film, I wish to give a sense of how (homo)sexuality figures into the storyline. Although the gay storyline only explicitly reveals itself in the latter half of the film, it can be argued given Rashid's physicality with AJ, his gang 'brother' and the emotional distance from his girlfriend that a gay sexual tension is alluded to at the film's onset. I will

return to this point later in the discussion of what constitutes 'gay enough' according to the audience. Eventually, Rashid is forced to confront and struggle with his same-sex sexual desires, and Mo, upon discovering his brother's secret, is forced to reconcile his own prejudices and homophobia. All this unfolds in the context of a gangland backdrop where Rashid struggles with the pressures on him to avenge the murder of AJ by a rival gang and his desire to be rid of his street life of crime once and for all and resemble a positive role model for his younger brother.

Theoretical Considerations

Three conceptual underpinnings inform the theoretical framework for this chapter; these underpinnings are influenced by three scholars who trouble queer liberalism and, in particular, who expose how homonormativity, a concept raised most prominently by Lisa Duggan (2003), is engaged to reproduce a heteronormative gay and lesbian citizen-subject through sexual exceptionalism and racial purity. The first underpinning focuses on Puar's (2005) writing on US exceptionalism to expose how queer corporealities are ascribed on Muslim subjects. The second pillar draws on Gosine (2012/2008) to discuss how changes in contemporary social, political and cultural landscapes bring about new boundaries and borders that operate to ensure that straightened queer homonormative subjects comply with heteronormative citizenship. Finally, the third pillar draws on Ferguson's (2005) genealogy of whiteness to explore how race, specifically whiteness, remains a central tool of US exceptionalism. The following will explore these theoretical concepts.

In her broader theorizing of US military hegemony and domination, Puar (2005) provides a framework of exceptionalism that distances the US queer subject from the queer Other. Note that these queer identities are distinctly different in order to produce the intended othering effect. Puar argues that discourses of US sexual exceptionalism reframe the sexual degradation of Arab male soldiers and civilians, in Abu Ghraib, for example, as a technique of exposing the inherent homophobia and sexual intolerance of the non-white Other and positioning the racialized (in this case Muslim) Other as always already queer. The paradox that Puar notes is that the methods of sexual degradation used to shame, torture and abuse these men reveal the US military's homophobia and heteronormativity and yet serve to secure the United States as a tolerant and free country for queer subjects.

The queer American subject – and as others such as Gosine (2012/2008) have argued, the queer Canadian subject – is anything but queer. According to Gosine 'a young queer is a deviant body, but, still, a recuperable citizen' (p. 508). Indeed a deviant queer body is recuperable through adherence to normative and normalizing behaviour and values that reproduce the heterosexual citizen-subject. Gosine states that, "legal codes and social-cultural norms across contemporary geographies compel heterosexual citizenship, denying, denunciating, and/or punishing any expressions of *nonheterosexual* desire" (Gosine 2012, p. 507, emphasis added). Significant changes to Canada's legal codes and social-cultural norms over the past 10 years,

evidenced, for example, by nationally legislated same-sex marriage, support for gay-straight alliances in public schools and extending same-sex partner benefits for employees in both the public and private sectors, now compel gay and lesbian citizen-subjects to adhere to increasingly homonormative lives that reinforce heteronormative citizenship, denying, denunciating and/or punishing any expressions of queer desire. Gosine's language is noteworthy. He specifically writes that queer subjects are deviant rather than naming gay or lesbian subjects. I believe this is the effect of homonormativity that already produces the expectation of the gay or lesbian subject as complying with heteronormative values and behaviours. Even if the gay or lesbian subject does engage in same-sex sexual relations, he or she does so in a dyadic monogamous relationship, ascribes to expected hegemonic gender norms and pursues the expected life script of marriage, perhaps even raising a family made possible through legalized same-sex adoption.

Race further informs homonormativity through the genealogy of ethnicity and whiteness, explored by Ferguson (2005) who writes, 'nonwhite racial difference was the racialized mode of gender and sexual confusion and 'indeterminacy.' While ethnicity functioned as a category of racial and heteronormative equivalence, racial difference operated as a sign of nonheteronormativity and exclusion' (p. 58). Sexuality therefore has become a technology of race, imagining, as Ferguson notes, African American culture as the antithesis of compliance, discipline and normativity. Although Ferguson's theorizing relates to the African American experience in the United States, we can see through Puar's (2005) work that indeed the Arab or Muslim individual is also subject to a similar technology of race. It is evident that theoretically, race and sexuality are co-constitutive. This theoretical exploration provides a framework through which to analyze and interpret the experiences and discourses that surfaced as a result of the gala film.

Race Embedded in Sexuality

Race remains an extremely complex concept, and to fully engage race is outside the scope of this chapter. Rather, in this section, I consider several specific complexities of race, in particular how race has been used to (re)produce forms of inclusive and exclusive national- and citizen-subject identities and how these epistemologies (re) produce certain racialized sexual identities. To do this, I will draw on scholarship that specifically addresses the connection between race and sexuality, particularly gay sexuality, but also an increasingly normalized queer identity, deviating from a defiant queerness defined as affirming sexuality as fluid, not simply other than straight, and resistant to the male/female binary (Barnard 2004).

Race has served and continues to serve as a useful tool for Western imperial and colonial economic and cultural proliferative activities, and race remains a convenient and effective way to rationalize these exploitative actions (Reynolds and Lieberman 1993). The continual efforts of white Western dominant powers to construct race as a 'social fact' in an attempt to minimize its reality and relevance is, as

shared by Omi and Winant (1993), articulated in W. I. Thomas's dictum that asserts that race is made real because the consequences of race are real. Racial theory, according to Omi and Winant (1993), must critically engage the falsely claimed objectivist approach to race studies by imposing an increasingly subjective and contextual imperative on studies about race and its intersectionalities. This implores me to search for the ways in which race is made irrelevant or unmarked by white dominant subjects in the commentary and discourse surrounding the film. Similarly, it is necessary to think through a critical lens to engage the ways that whitened racialized subjects (re)produce racist discourses in their comments of the film and reactions to what the film surfaced for them.

Intersecting factors that, along with race, inform identity, such as sexuality, further complicate the consequences of race. Constitutive aspects of sexuality are strategically repressed to render racial aspects of sexuality hard to see (King 2009; Stoler 1995). Ferguson (2007, p. 115) labels the "process by which queerness is put in the service of a hegemonic rationality that conveniently regards queerness as a satellite for citizen ideals and as a lever for the state's regulation of racial difference" as homonormativity. The connection between homonormativity and race is provocatively stated in the expression "homonormativity's racial itinerary" (Ferguson 2007, p. 112). In other words, racist readings of sexuality, including homosexuality, such as those I will discuss concerning the Inside Out gala film, are enforced through homonormativity, which works to support white supremacy. Drawing on Du Bois' (2009/1897) notion of racial differentiation that describes how race groups became constituted with certain spiritual and physical difference, a similar process occurs in gay and even queer circles where gayness or queerness is defined in a particular way that is not compatible with non-Western notions of same-sex sexuality or non-heterosexuality. Quite often these static definitions of gay, and increasingly queer, are socially rationalized and justified through a human rights protectionist framework and, as Puar (2005, p. 122) notes, through "U.S. nationalism via a praxis of sexual othering that unwittingly exceptionalizes the identities of U.S. queerness vis-à-vis Islamaphobic constructions of sexuality in the Middle East". I do not mean to suggest that no good work occurs in the pursuit of global human rights protections for all people; however, I do argue that how we justify these pursuits informs and perpetuates a racialized Western version of gay that incepts our perceptions and reactions to non-Western forms of same-sex sexuality and the consequences for racialized men and women who are sexually attracted to the same sex (Massad 2007).

Non-white gays and lesbians are also implicated in (re)producing homonormativity's racial itinerary and consolidate whiteness in ways that permeate racial boundaries. According to Dei (1996), racism also exists from within – internalized racism – where subordinated subjects within marginalized communities perpetuate the dominant racist discourse: Dei marks this as a consolidation of whiteness. The effect of consolidated whiteness is that these non-white individuals are effectively annexed from their racialized communities and further assimilate in the dominant ideology of white citizenship. With the degree to which sexual tolerance and homosexuality itself has been whitened, the annexing of these whitened racialized

individuals who espouse dominant racist discourses means that homophobia and sexual intolerance become increasingly racialized with non-whites (King 2009). Subordinated gays also consolidate whiteness to obtain, for example, the privilege that is bought with the currency of whiteness or to promote racist ideals of 'good' citizenship by distancing oneself from the Other. I will return to this in a moment in a discussion on views on terrorism and homosexuality elicited by the film.

Having briefly discussed race and sexuality for the purposes of this chapter, and having raised several ways in which the two are intimately connected, I turn to my reflections on the Inside Out film to provide context and specific examples of how race and sexuality are regularly implicated in (re)producing a whitened homonormativity that annexes racialized bodies outside of gay or queer sexuality.

To Be Gay Enough Is to Be White Enough

To trouble whiteness is to decentre the socially constructed paradigm of racial exclusion. This is precisely the method required to understand the experiences of those non-white racialized gay, lesbian or queer bodies that do not perform white homonormativity. The homonormative white citizen subject is frequently incapable of considering his[2] whiteness unless whiteness is decentred in his perspective to constitute whiteness as race. Indeed, for these individuals, *My Brother The Devil* raised several realizations and reactions that lend credence to the ways in which dominant discourses of race and sexuality reproduce the racialized queer Other.

The characters in the film eventually begin to raise questions about Rashid's absence and the nature of his activities outside of the gang. By this point in the film, Rashid has been spending time with his lover, Sayyid. Mo, his younger brother, having seen Rashid and Sayyid together, calms their suspicions by saying Rashid's absence is due to his involvement in terrorist activities as opposed to him spending time with another man. Several aspects of this narrative interest me, particularly as they relate to race and sexuality. Mo's decision to reveal his brother to be a terrorist, as opposed to a homosexual, serves several purposes to strengthen the notion that being a terrorist is less disruptive to dominant paradigms for a masculinized Muslim than being gay. First, Mo is struggling with his own homophobia and trying to come to terms with the fact that the person he most idolized up until this point is gay. It is safe to assume it is less difficult for Mo to come to terms with the notion that his brother is a terrorist, as popularized discourses come to locate the possible subject location of the Muslim body as terrorist.

A cultural message is also communicated in this moment. The choice to characterize Rashid as a terrorist instead of gay, and that the former appears more acceptable

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[2] Because my focus, and the focus of the film, is on 'gay' male populations, and since I am writing of the hegemonic norm (that of a white male body), I want to acknowledge the exclusionary manoeuvre of intentionally naming 'his'. This is informed because the experiences and reactions on which I draw occurred with male identified individuals.

to his peers, truly indicates the degree of homophobia that exists in this gangland landscape but also in the racialized communities that this film features. I do not wish to discredit the accuracy of this choice given that according to the director's response during the question and answer period, considerable research with these communities revealed this sentiment to be true, but I must raise the concern that choices such as these risk generalizing and entrenching stereotypes about Arabs and/or Muslims, including about Arabs and/or Muslims in Western countries, that associate these identities with non-normative sexuality and questionable citizenship (Puar 2007). I will, however, offer an interpretation of how this terrorism-as-preferable-to-homosexuality sentiment racializes homophobia for Western identities and in the Inside Out context.

The 9/11 terrorist attack on the United States reified a race/terrorism association in the minds of Americans and many others living in Western nations. In a sense, a single act of terrorism has coloured terrorism and terrorists. For the majority of gala attendees therefore, the notion that someone can perceive terrorism as easier to accept and less abhorrent than homosexuality is difficult to accept, even intolerable. A dichotomy is therefore produced where white Western normative identities (whites) are equated with sexual tolerance and non-Western identities (non-whites) are equated with homophobia. This process is not unique and has successfully produced the colour of homophobia in the United States by constructing the 'Black community' as more homophobic than America at large or 'white Americans' (King 2009, p. 283). The consequences of such a dichotomous structure for racialized sexual minorities living in a Western setting are many, including being excluded from potential sexual partners based on one's racial identity and/or a need or desire to distance oneself from one's racial identity.

The experiences of one gala attendee, to ensure his anonymity, I will name him Mohamed,[3] illustrate the desire to distance oneself from one's racial identity. Mohamed was born and raised in Pakistan and attended, in his words, the oldest and most prestigious British established school in Pakistan before immigrating to Canada, where he holds a senior-level position at a Canadian financial institution. Mohamed generally agreed with how homophobia, in the context of the film's racialized characters, was handled in the film, including the idea that terrorism would be easier to tolerate than homosexuality for these characters. But, in discussing the film, Mohamed also revealed how Western and gay norms have inculcated his racial identity to the point that he struggles to connect with other Pakistanis, in particular those from a less privileged upbringing. When in Pakistan, in fact, he admitted feeling distanced from others and distancing himself from others via his Western privilege, revealing the internalization of racism with which Mohamed wrestles. Mohamed attributed this to the way he was raised and that his accent, dress and way of carrying himself distinguish him from others. This is certainly partially true, but it is one among many factors contributing to this distancing. Mohamed chooses,

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[3] I have chosen to use the name Mohamed in part because it appropriately reflects a cultural resemblance to my informant's actual name and because it is such a common Muslim name that I can ensure to protect his real identity.

both consciously and unconsciously, to live in these ways that he knows distinguish him from others. He also knows that these forms of distinction bring him closer to identifying with others unlike those of his racial group, namely, white dominant elites, whom he is not unfamiliar with given his line of work. Dei (1996) characterizes choices and behaviours like Mohamed's as a form of contemporary racism, where racist discourse by the colonizer is reproduced by the colonized within marginalized communities.

Race relations are power relations, and a racialized person comes to be dependent on the acceptance or tolerance – these notions themselves speak to the power relationship – of those in power in order to racially distance himself or herself enough to construct a whitened version of one's racial identity. This is evidenced by the fact that racialized non-whites and at times racialized whites or ethnically diverse individuals are quickly and easily reminded of where their racial identity positions them in relation to power and privilege, especially when their claim to privilege is perceived by the dominant as something unusual or inappropriate. Mohamed shared an experience of when he was reminded of the instability of his whitened yet racialized identity. In a casual conversation with a senior executive, it was suggested to Mohamed that he was likely not familiar with Wiltshire (a small county in South West England). Mohamed proceeded to state, 'Oh yes, Wiltshire, I know it well'. In many circumstances, this move might espouse a sense of closeness, common ground or conviviality between the two individuals. In this situation, it did not, and although he did not mention how exactly it was communicated to him, Mohamed sensed that the conversation with this individual became tense from that moment onwards. Indeed, I argue that the problem started with Wiltshire, the moment when the white dominant subject intended to assert a sense of privilege and dominance over Mohamed was foiled by his familiarity with precisely what it was assumed he would not be familiar with. In other words, whiteness and its dominance and privilege were decentred, and in the process, a particular way of re-inscribing race on the racialized individual was reproduced.

I had a whitening experience of my own involving a conversation with another gala attendee – white, male and approaching his senior years – who, when asked what he thought of the film, repeated the now infamous phrase in my mind, 'it wasn't gay enough'. When I asked him what would have made the film gay enough, he paused for a moment – I suspect he was not sure what to say – and eventually said, 'I just didn't connect with the story'. When I pressed further and asked him if that was his measure of a story that was gay enough, he said, 'well, they [Inside Out] should know their audience' – implying that Inside Out should know the types of stories – and, necessarily, characters – their audiences want to see. His response, accurate in one respect considering that the festival director foresaw that this film would challenge the audience, points to the fact that racial (white) notions construct what is 'gay enough' or, in other words, whiteness constructs homonormativity. In this sense, similar to Mohamed, I decentred whiteness in my conversation with this individual, and he quickly became disengaged in the conversation.

The Colour of 'Dark': Unmarked Homonormativity

According to Scott (Inside Out director), there was a considerable sense by the attendees that *My Brother The Devil* was 'too dark of a film' for Inside Out's opening gala (S. Ferguson, personal communication, June 18, 2012). I did not personally come across this sentiment, perhaps because I was engaged for much of the night with Mohamed as a result of his enthusiasm to talk about race in the context of the film and beyond. However, the idea of the film being 'too dark' raises questions of race and sexuality in the context of Western sexual tolerance. Just as social and institutional forces (re)produce whiteness and heterosexuality as social facts, despite being "historically unstable identities invented and performed with genuine consequences related to opportunity, stability, and lifestyle", similar social and institutional forces in gay and lesbian communities, heavily informed by dominant culture, (re)produce a homonormativity that begins to afford consequences of privilege and access to resources to white gays and lesbians (MacDonald 2002, p. 381). The following section is an exploration of how homonormativity acts to silence the lived realities of racialized sexual minorities within a larger gay and increasingly queer consciousness and in so doing reproduces gayness as white and unmarked.

There is no denying that *My Brother The Devil* is a challenging film that explores various themes that are seen as oppressive to sexual minorities, and films depicting oppression can certainly take on a heavy tone. Throughout the film, we see Rashid struggle with several forms of oppression. These include his father's racism (many of his gang buddies are racialized as Black, including his best friend), his gang brothers' homophobia and pressure to avenge his best friend's death and the pervasiveness of drug abuse and violence against women in gangland culture. None of these themes, however, are too 'dark' for the remainder of the festival, as themes of this sort are regularly screened in films throughout the 12-day festival. What made this film 'too dark' for the opening gala is that it perhaps sets a tone for the festival via a story, which according to one participant, does not connect with the average white, middle-class gay man who attends the opening gala. Different struggles are differently racialized. What I mean to suggest is borrowed from James Baldwin (as cited in Bérubé 2007, p. 369) who discusses how white gay people see themselves as "cheated because they were born, in principle, into a society in which they were supposed to be safe. The anomaly of their sexuality puts them in danger, unexpectedly". The dominant find it then difficult to understand their marginalized position on the basis of sexuality. This frames and racializes the marginalization that they understand and the consequences that they encounter as real, as unmarked or as sexual minorities lacking a race struggle. A struggle that amplifies intersecting identities that include race, ethnicity, (trans)gender (dis)ability, religion and immigration status is racialized differently from the struggle known to white gay men. Therefore, a film that focuses on a differently racialized struggle is a story that is not likely to connect with some privileged people, and this may be interpreted as 'dark'. Moreover, understanding the complex and multitude ways in which racialized

bodies experience otherness necessarily reveals how the homonormative citizen-subject comes to be implicated in the process of othering. Rather than being uplifted and affirmed in the opening gala, dominant bodies may have been challenged as to their positionalities of power, thus marking the film as 'too dark'.

Perhaps the actors themselves were 'too dark'. With the exception of one of Mo's friends, the film's actors were nearly all people of colour and implicated in the gangland depicted in the film. According to Omi and Winant (1993), "it is now possible to perpetuate racial domination without making any explicit reference to race at all. Subtextual or 'coded' racial signifiers, or the mere denial of the continuing significance of race, may suffice" (p. 7). The violence and 'darkness' of this film is coloured, (re)produced and mutually reinforced by depictions of people of colour or various religions (Islam) in certain regions of the world (Egypt, e.g. being Mo and Rashid's ancestral home). A coded, racist discourse is (re)produced by referring to the film as 'too dark', as opposed to too serious, too heavy, too violent, etc. And this coded discourse that marks the racialized body is necessarily (re)produced by white men mostly, who in this context are afforded the privilege of seeing "their race as unmarked, as an irrelevant or subordinate category of analysis" (Barnard 2004, p. 4). A racialized non-white man attending the film would perhaps be less likely to describe it as 'too dark' because in all likelihood he would understand the consequences being played out on film as real, even if he never experienced them, because racialized individuals cannot afford to see their race as unmarked or irrelevant. The dominant bodies are able to continually mark racialized bodies.

Lastly, *My Brother The Devil* does not leave its viewers with the certainty of a new positive gay future for Rashid. In fact, what we do see, despite a marvellously heartfelt moment of reconciliation between the two brothers, is that Rashid remains in tension with his sexuality, his family and his friendships. Instead of being left with a positive outlook for Rashid's future, we, the audience, are left with the sense that his future is quite grim, even 'dark'. This appears out of sync with the dominant US exceptionalism-like discourse among the majority of Western political leaders that generally ensure the human rights and freedoms of sexual minorities. Homonormativity is informed by this dominant discourse and perpetuates that things get better; in this way, it works with notions of progress and modernity, both of which are colonial forays. For certain people in a society where messaging around gay identity (gay youth in particular) is produced as positive and improving, characterized by Dan Savage's 'It Gets Better' campaign, the film's conclusion is difficult to accept. For racialized sexual minorities however, this ending, much like the struggles the film depicts (not necessarily concerning drugs and violence but regarding the tension between family, religion, culture and sexuality), in all likelihood more closely depicts their reality. I do not mean for my comments to further essentialize racialized people; rather, I caution that through whitened notions of 'coming out', the complex and unique experiences of Others are silenced and the necessary resources and supports to ensure their emotional and physical safety are systematically denied (Ferguson 2005).

Conclusion

Throughout the 12-day Inside Out LGBT Film and Video Festival, I was reminded of my experience at *My Brother The Devil*, particularly in relation to the other films I attended. In particular, I was reminded what an 'appropriate' opening gala film might have been when I saw *Let My People Go*, a comedic film about a white Parisian man and a white Norwegian man whose relationship is thrown into turmoil because of a small package that appears in their idyllic Norwegian town. Despite numerous escapades involving family, friends and one another, they finally arrive at a moment of acceptance that transcends religion, culture and sexuality. Might this in fact be the sort of 'gay enough' and sufficiently 'darkless' or 'light' film that an opening gala audience expects? It is difficult to tell, although anecdotal evidence and survey results from the screenings may provide some indication.

According to its website, Inside Out aims to challenge attitudes and change lives, but based on feedback and response to *My Brother The Devil* ('not gay enough' and 'too dark'), many in attendance did not necessarily embrace this mandate. Ian Barnard (2004) urges us to consider how marginalized identities are silenced and excluded through practices that (re)produce a dominant-centred whiteness:

> Any US politics, no matter how coalitional its compass, that identifies itself in terms of gender and/or sexual orientation only (lesbian separatism, Queer Nation, Lesbian and Gay Studies) will be a white-centered and white-dominated politics, since only white people in this society can see their race as unmarked… Women means white women; lesbian and gay means white lesbians and gay men. When any marginalized subjectivity (i.e. gayness) becomes the basis for community, it will, in turn, create and enforce marginlizing prioritizations and exclusions. (Barnard 2004, p. 4)

Comments that the film was not 'gay enough' or was 'too dark' suggest to racialized sexual minorities that their sexual and racialized lives and histories are excluded from white 'gayness'. These homonormative responses whiten sexist and hegemonic notions of homosexuality (gay and lesbian) and queer liberalism onto the lives and experiences of racialized non-white sexual minorities and exclude them from gay or queer sexuality.

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Chapter 4
Progressive Discipline, Regressive Education: The Systematic Exclusion of Black Youth In and Through Expulsion Programmes

Camisha Sibblis

Introduction

Bill 212, also known as the Education Amendment Act (Progressive Discipline and School Safety), was passed in Ontario in 2007. Subsection 5 (1) repeals Subsections 312 (1), (2) and (3) of the Education Act to mandate the provision of educational programming to excluded students. It states: "every board shall provide, in accordance with policies and guidelines issued by the Minister, if any, (a) at least one program for suspended pupils; and (b) at least one program for expelled pupils" (Education Amendment Act 2007). Since then, as a school social worker in a school board's expulsion programme, I have observed that male members of racialized and minoritized groups make up the majority of the excluded student population. My observations support studies concluding that males – particularly Black males – are more likely than females to receive harsh treatment by the school system. In my experience, learning disabilities and mental health concerns also surface in the expulsion programme at an elevated rate among the Black students, where they had not been detected or diagnosed previously. Barring obstacles to testing for learning disabilities and mental health issues, such as poor attendance and parental consent, this suggests expectations of 'problem' behaviour on the part of Black students which may have precluded an investigation into other reasons for their performance in school.

My role in this programme includes serving on the committee that functions as gatekeeper for the expulsion programmes and reviewing the performance and profiles of students to decide who will be admitted, remain in the programme for a longer term or 'graduate' from the programme based on an assessment and

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prediction of risk. The committee is comprised of the Superintendent of Alternative Education Programmes who is accountable to the Board of Trustees who in turn are elected by citizens of the region; the Principal of Continuing and Alternative Education who, unlike the principals of mainstream schools, works out of the Central Board Office rather than on location at the school; the Vice Principals for each of the two alternative schools; the Chief Social Worker; the Chief Psychologist; the Fresh Start Social Workers; and a School Support Officer who is a liaison between the police and the school board. As each student is presented for the programme by the sending school administrators, the School Support Officer accesses the student's charges and bail/probation conditions on a laptop and shares them with the committee once the presenter is excused for deliberation. Through participation in this committee, I witness discourses around Black students and how starkly they contrast with those of the few White students who are presented.

At one particular meeting, I presented two boys for review: one Black and the other White. Both of the students had been formally expelled and had participated in the expulsion programme for an entire school semester. The Black student was from a single-parent home and had been previously diagnosed with ADHD which was untreated. He was symptomatic with poor impulse control and relative, perceived immaturity. He was expelled for comically (albeit inappropriately) gesturing towards another student with a box-cutter supplied by the art class in which they had been working. During his time in the programme, he was able to acknowledge harm, show remorse and take onus for his actions with recognition that he had no ill intent. My recommendation, supported by programme staff, was that he should return to the mainstream school setting for the upcoming semester with supports in place. By contrast, the White boy was from an affluent neighbourhood, lived with both parents and attended the most well-regarded school in the region. He had brought live ammunition to school with plans to meet another student who was to bring a rifle. He claimed that this was for the sole purpose of target practice since he had done weapons training in army cadets. His incident received some media attention, and his parents had hired a lawyer, who advised that the student was not to discuss the events with anyone. That said, the student was unable to process his feelings around the incident with programme staff and maintained that he had done nothing wrong. Further to this, both his legal counsel and parents continually appealed to the school board to remove the White student from the programme, citing concern for his daily exposure to the 'elements' in the classroom. My recommendation, supported by programme staff, was for this boy to remain in the programme until such time that therapeutic work could be done around being accountable for his actions and acknowledging potential harm. The committee, within which Superintendents of Education make final decisions, ordered the Black student to remain in the programme as they considered him to be a risk to others despite reports to the contrary. The decision for the White student, on the other hand, was to return him to his sending school, given that committee felt he had served his time. Clearly, there were differential interpretations of the two boys' behaviour and their potential or propensity for risk, which were not exclusively connected to the acts for which they were expelled. Both the Superintendent responsible for the sending

school and the Superintendent of Alternative Programmes were more concerned about how they would justify to the Trustees on the Discipline Committee, the release of the Black student after only a single semester than they were about what they were teaching him about his world by holding him back for an additional semester.

Many researchers in this area of study agree that institutionalized racism is embedded within educational systems in the Western World. Countless studies have shown that racialized Black students are being suspended or expelled from school at rates that exceed their representation in the school population (see, e.g. Carrol 2009; Farmer 2010; Parsons 2008; Wallace et al. 2008). To many, this would suggest that racialized Black students exhibit more 'anti-social' behaviour, warranting such disciplinary measures; however, studies have found that Black students are punished more than their White counterparts for less critical episodes and more subjective reasons (Brown 2007). The findings have been that White students were significantly more likely to be disciplined for smoking, leaving without permission, obscene language and vandalism, whereas Black students more likely to be referred to the office for disrespect, excessive noise, threats and loitering (Skiba et al. 2002).

The oversight in this field has been a thorough examination of the extent to which the behaviour precipitating the expulsion of racialized Black students is a consequence of these students negotiating their masculinity in a world that delegitimizes indigenous notions of masculinity while simultaneously making White notions of masculinity inaccessible; the historical narratives (from colonial enslavement of Black bodies) that come to frame the Black masculinity as a perpetual, inveterate threat needing to be disciplined; and the effect of the school disciplinary system upon this population. My research seeks to explore how excluded Black youth are constructed in the educational system, how the intersection of the different forms of social identity (race, class, gender and ability) and family structure influence the experiences and outlook of excluded Black students, the ways in which the identities and behaviours of Black youth shift as a result of participation in the expulsion programme and what becomes of Black youth once they are no longer in the expulsion programme. Black youth are often the products of a failed education system, and social work sees them throughout various stages of their lives, whether within the school system or once they have departed and are often homeless, jobless, struggling with addictions and/or mental illness and strained family relationships.

Central to the issue of the expulsion population is the identity of these students. Previous studies report findings that suggest "there may be gender-specific processes that support or protect against discipline problems in early adolescence" (Farmer et al. 2004, p. 332). Gender plays a major role according to studies concluding that males are more likely than females to perceive receiving harsh treatment by the school system (Petiers 2003) and that males were approximately four times more likely than females to be excluded from school (Kane 2006). The Kane (2006) study also argued that male students' actions leading to expulsion, namely, being aggressive and challenging teacher authority, were not due to a loss of control but rather to negotiating their masculinity in a very controlled and deliberate manner. The subjects were all working-class White male students. Since the 1990s, researchers have been exploring the ways in which masculinities are created, regulated and reproduced

within the school setting (Connell 1995; Francis 2000; Mac an Ghaill 1994; Renold 2004, Skelton 2001). There is, however, a lack of research in the area of Black masculinity in the Canadian school setting and the influence it has on behaviours and outcomes. The study of Black masculinities, as they pertain to school exclusion, is relevant because of the historically shaped different performative spaces made available and recognizable to African masculinities and European masculinities and the ways in which these differences make it challenging for Black males to negotiate or assume the dominant culture's version of masculinity than it is for White males due to issues of cultural incongruence and oppressive barriers rooted in enslavement and colonialism.

Although the school board for which I work does not collect race-based statistics, thereby obscuring its racialized composition, I have noted that of the 17 students currently in the programme at the site in which I operate, only 1 student identifies as White, 2 identify as Southeast Asian heritage and one identifies as Hispanic. The remainder of the students identify as Black and have been placed in the programme in response to significantly less serious incidents than the four non-Black students. In fact, unlike the others, the majority of the Black students in the programme have not been formally expelled as they have not committed any acts that could warrant an expulsion. Bill 212 puts pressure on school boards to reduce their numbers of suspensions and expulsions (Contenta and Rankin 2009). As a result, the board has created a programme they refer to as 'proactive' which enables school administrators and superintendents to exclude whomever they choose under the guise of voluntary participation, despite unofficially advising the student that there are no other options. These students are thus unaware of their right to be in a mainstream school or, subsequently, feel too disempowered to defend their rights. These students are thereby rendered invisible as they are neither suspended nor expelled and therefore are not reflected in the numbers reported to the ministry (Contenta and Rankin 2009). This work explores the theoretical construction of the expulsion programmes, racialized bodies and identities and discusses how certain bodies come to be excluded from the educational system. It also briefly discusses where I, as a Black female academic and researcher, locate myself as I endeavour to conduct this intersectional analysis.

The Structure and Theory Behind the Expulsion Programme

Michel Foucault's works enhance our understanding of the devices at work in the conceptualization of the school structure, expulsion programmes and the construction of those who populate them with his discussions about the relationship between knowledge, power and discipline (Foucault 1977, 2000, 2004; Jennings and Lynn 2005). Much of Foucault's contributions deal with the various ways in which power operates via social institutions and with the components of social relations that control, govern and normalize individual collective behaviour (Foucault 1977, 2000; Anderson and Grinberg 1998). He maintains that power only exists in action/

exercise and this exercise of power activates a relationship that establishes inegalitarian and asymmetrical relations between individuals and groups (Ryan 1991; Foucault 2000). To Foucault, "discursive practices are the link between knowledge and power" (Anderson and Grinberg 1998, p. 338). Discursive practices, here applied, determine what counts as true or important in any given place or time within the school system. These discursive practices by teachers, support staff and administrators create types of students. For instance, references such as 'good student', 'positive attitude' and 'nice kid' are discourses in schools telling students what behaviours are rewarded (Anderson and Grinberg 1998) and disciplining students to accept authority and the goals of the educational institution as well as those of the larger society.

Through imposed rules, norms and laws, students internalize 'correct' behaviour (Anderson and Grinberg 1998). The "norms invariably centre on the imperatives of docility and productivity, and individuals are ranked on the basis of where they stand in relation to such norms" (Ryan 1991, p. 109). Many minoritized students, however, experience greater challenges to this process which Foucault refers to as normalization. These students are at a disadvantage since the imposed post-colonial, Eurocentric rules and norms are located as universal and standard, meaning that anyone who does not fit the mould comes to be located as 'other'. These challenges to the normalization process, in addition to the adapted ways of living and being resulting from the 'othered' experience, are compounded by alternate discourses which tell these youth that they are unable to reap the benefits of such normalization because of their skin colour. Although studies show that "teaching [socio-economically disadvantaged Black] students specific skills needed for school success can enhance their school adaptation" (Pigott and Cowen 2000, p. 191), the furthering of efforts towards assimilation of Black youth reinforces their subalternity, attempts to efface their identities and might limit their ability to function in other settings. Particularly, when many marginalized students "often learn survival skills in highly stressful environments" and their "assertive style, adaptive in the neighbourhood context may well be seen as problem behaviour in school" (Ogbu 1997; Pigott and Cowen 2000, p. 191). Furthermore, some studies have found that in Black people, alienation from racial identity and conformity to the norms of the dominant culture was linked to psychological distress such as low self-esteem and depression (see, e.g. Arroyo and Zigler 1995; Mahalik et al. 2006). In accordance with Foucault's theory, rewards and punishments are applied based on relation to conformity (Ryan 1991). In keeping with social institutions' general tendency to blame the victims and treating the symptoms, the focus is on punishing the students and changing the behaviours rather than on the socio-economic issues in larger society which create and cultivate such behaviour. Understanding some of the cultural factors behind 'assertive' behaviours could lead to shifts in educational structures towards becoming more inclusive spaces that value such 'assertive styles'.

Foucault (1977) believes that institutions that normalize, produce inequality. Excluded Black students are the result of an inequitable disciplinary system that victimizes them by using strategies such as dividing practices, which, according to Foucault, fragment knowledge and promote a form of rationality facilitating control

(Anderson and Grinberg 1998; Foucault 2000). Foucault contends that "the methods associated with discipline continually and systematically produce inequalities in the pursuit of docility and productivity" (Ryan 1991, p. 106). Schools use disciplinary practices which can refer to a set of discourses, norms and routines (Anderson and Grinberg 1998) that shape the ways in which behaviour is constituted, enacted and viewed. Certain students are acutely scrutinized and constructed by their documentation. School testing produces norms which also produce abnormalities or exceptions and, consequently, inequalities (Ryan 1991). Just as the aforementioned labels are discourses that elicit desired behaviours of conformity, discourses such as 'exceptional', 'behavioural', 'voc kid' (student in vocational programme) and 'LD' (learning disabled) are used to construct students who do not conform. They pathologize these students due to a perceived inability to self-regulate or respond to group control and create ideologies about them comprised of a scope of possibilities, expectations and predetermined outcomes. Foucault (2004) affirms "…if you are not like everybody else, then you are abnormal, if you are abnormal, then you are sick. These three categories, not being like everybody else, not being normal and being sick are in fact very different but have been reduced to the same thing" (p. 95). According to Ball (1990), "oppositional activity within the organization is defined in terms of the perspectives of the dominant groups as inherently irrational… The problem is taken to be 'in' the person rather than the system…" (p. 158). Since, as this theory asserts, the human subject is at the mercy of dominant discourses, "the resister is cast as a social deviant and is normalized through coercive or therapeutic processes" (Ball 1990, p. 159).

In accordance with Foucault's conceptualization of panopticism, "power… rests in the architectural formations, the distributions of bodies in space, the practices of surveillance, the accumulation of knowledge – and not with an individual" (Ryan 1991, p. 111). That said, expulsion programmes which contain students in one enclosed space, prohibiting them from fraternizing with students in the mainstream school system and, in fact, criminalizing such interactions and breaches of boundaries, scrutinizing them and subjecting them to testing previously unavailable to them, are significant sites of power and control. Foucault (1977) asserts that "Discipline proceeds from the individuals in space…and sometimes requires enclosure, the specification of a place heterogeneous to all others and closed in upon itself" (p. 141). The programmes, highly funded, ensure the dedicated allocation of social workers and psychologists for observation and assessment:

> Examination further enhances visibility of subjects… in this way individuals come to be characterized as "cases" to be known. Files containing information on the most insignificant (and significant) performances and behaviours are available for use. Furthermore, these recording practices allow for the accumulation of individual data into the cumulative systems. Knowledge obtained through these methods permits not only the description of group and the characterization of collective facts, but the construction of norms. (Ryan 1991, pp. 108–109)

Although Foucault's theoretical framework provides insights into the multitude of discourses produced by institutional practices to exercise power and control over individuals and groups, it does not sufficiently capture my position or support my

work since Foucault rejects the notion of "an all-encompassing division between the rulers and the ruled… a conspiracy which more or less plans the domination of subordinate groups or a hidden hand which guides those forces that ensure the preservation of the privileges of one class at the expense of another" (Ryan 1991, p. 117). Without doubt, Foucault poses effective arguments "against reductive, sovereign theories of power that view conscious, rational oppressors as imposing their will on powerless oppressed individuals and groups" (North 2006, p. 525). He feels instead that through institutional practice, power "becomes a machinery that nobody owns" (Foucault 1977, p. 202) and that the production and maintenance of inequalities are the by-product of the relationship created by institutional practices. Accepting Foucault's claims, "schooling need not be seen as an instrument of class [or race] domination even though it may contribute to the maintenance of inequalities in the modern world" (Ryan 1991, p. 117).

Pierre Bourdieu, like Foucault, asserts that institutions play a major role in maintaining inequality but also feels that cultural processes and producers play significant roles. However, he contends that society has strong social class divisions and values knowledge differentially. Bourdieu "sees the educational system as the principal institution controlling the allocation of status and privilege in contemporary societies" (Schwartz 1997, p. 189). He focuses on the role culture plays in social reproduction. Bourdieu extends the idea of capital to include anything that functions as social relations of power whether they are material, cultural, social or symbolic in nature (Farkas 1996; Schwartz 1997). Most pertinent to my focus are the concepts of cultural capital – noneconomic cultural goods and services including educational credentials, tastes, etiquette, demeanour, speech and general interaction styles (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990; Bartlett and Brayboy 2005) – and symbolic capital, which involves legitimation (Schwartz 1997). Cultural capital is inherited from the family milieu and, as Bourdieu sees it, is more responsible for school success than some natural aptitude, talent or intelligence (Bourdieu 1990; Schwartz 1997). As previously mentioned, impoverished students inherit their parents' circumstances and limited or disadvantageous cultural capital that society accords those circumstances. In his conceptions about cultural capital, Bourdieu reminds us that in looking at why the working class fails to achieve in schools, we must examine the thriving class' success and, moreover, their domination of the school curriculum and the integral role that plays in the social exclusion of the working class (Whitty 2001).

While Bourdieu focused his work on culture, subsequent authors have extended his concepts to think through race and ethnicity (see, e.g. Healey 2003; Devine-Eller 2005; Olneck 2000; Yosso 2005). Working with Bourdieu's theoretical insight, it follows that "People of Colour 'lack' the social and cultural capital required for social mobility" (Yosso 2005, p. 70). It also gives those who belong to the mainstream culture an advantage, as their cultural goods function as capital in the society in which they live. For instance, students in North America who have a particular command of the English language score higher on essays for language style whereas students who emigrate from the Caribbean are placed into ESL (English as a second language) or ELD (English Literacy Development) courses, are placed in lower

grade levels and often achieve poor marks due to their accents and learning styles, despite the fact that English is indeed their first language.

The results of a logistic regression analysis conducted on Toronto high school students indicated that minoritized students were more likely than White students to perceive discriminatory treatment in the forms of teacher behaviour, school suspension practices, the use of police and police conduct (Petiers 2003). In general, Black students were the most likely to perceive discriminatory treatment, followed by South Asian students and then students from 'other' racial/ethnic backgrounds (ibid). Research indicates that students who perceived school discipline as fair are judged to be better behaved (Way 2011); however, the fact that they are better behaved and do not receive disciplinary intervention might be the reason they have that perception. By contrast, "students who are in schools with more school rules and students who view school rules as strict are rated as more disruptive by teachers" (Way 2011 p. 363). Students who also escalate behaviour in response to disciplinary actions they feel are unjust or 'confrontational' (Brown 2007). It follows, then, that Black students in impoverished neighbourhoods may be perceived as confrontational more frequently since the schools in those neighbourhoods, which are highly populated by Black youth, tend to have more rules and harsher, less flexible disciplinary practices.

Although it is noted "that high profile research into the very 'visible' (and thus intrinsically more 'measurable') ills of the education system should not deflect attention away from more subtle forms of '*(social)* exclusion', which may or may not feature within explanations *of physical* exclusion" (Ratcliffe 1999, p. 154). Given the saliency of race and the far-reaching impact and injury of exclusion on racial minorities, it would be an injustice not to assign it concentrated attention. As Carlisle (2012) notes, the "conflation of 'race' or ethnicity with a sort of generalized concept of social deprivation…can have a blurring effect, distracting focused attention from the effects of institutional racism and classism" (p. 177). This was illustrated in the comparative case studies featured earlier. Studies show that external circumstances such as poverty, unemployment and family breakdown (Social Exclusion Unit 1998) have a stronger correlation to school exclusion than internal school factors (Vulliamy 2001). It therefore follows that despite the blame that the government and media tends to place on school leadership for exclusion rates, it is social policies and government educational policies that influence internal school processes to racialize and heighten school exclusion. Government policies serve to oppress racialized Black people on multiple planes: these students that may grow up in homes broken by post-colonial conditions, impacted by poverty, unemployment and criminality, are then excluded from school which works to set the conditions of social exclusion, unemployment, poverty, criminality and the creation of their own broken homes. This system effectively limits the future of racialized Black people through cultural, political and economic forms of domination.

Considering the fact that our current educational system was born out of the intellectual culture of the Enlightenment, at a time when revered intellectuals and philosophers rationalized oppression, such as David Hume (1748) who believed that "all other species of men are naturally inferior to the whites" and Emmanuel

Kant (1762) who asserted that "humanity is at its greatest perfection in the race of the whites", it could easily be posited that the odds are stacked against Black students in North American educational systems. The school system as a mechanism of cultural hegemony works to disadvantage these minoritized students through curriculum, discourse and disciplinary practices. It devalues, discredits and omits non-European cultures, styles of learning, histories and subjects. A system centred in Whiteness as the norm necessarily alienates non-White students from their identities as they are judged against this particular colonial model of scholarship and civility. Scholars argue that racism in schools is a reality that cannot be ignored under the guise of multiculturalism, which serves to perpetuate the myth of equality and opportunity (Mazurek 1987). The effects of this racism are seen in the large number of Black dropouts who often feel that school was not a welcoming environment; it is in this sense that some have reframed the question of 'dropouts' to 'push-outs' (see, e.g. Fine 1991; Dei et al. 1997).

Theoretical Construction of the Racialized Body

According to George Dei (1999), "race may be regarded as a social, relational category defined by socially selected physical characteristics" (p. 96). Through language and for the purposes of social order, people, behaviour, objects, ideas, etc., are classified: "constructionists tend to maintain that classifications are not determined by how the world is, but are convenient ways in which to represent it…the world does not come quietly wrapped up in facts. Facts are consequences of ways in which we represent the world" (Hacking 1999, p. 33). It is widely accepted that race is a social construct lacking biological basis, used to place certain groups in subordinate positions in the social, economic and political spheres (Banton 1977). Classifications, categories and labels are used to organize people, such as in the case of racialization, and in this case, the different classifications are placed in a hierarchy which lends itself to oppression of those who are on the bottom rungs of that hierarchy. In general, knowledge and social realities are not initially produced by the masses they affect most, yet they are maintained by the masses. People act on the understanding of their common knowledge, thereby reinforcing their shared reality. People tend to enact or embody these constructions, which works to reify their social locations. In other instances, people are read in ways that reify existing beliefs. As Lopez (1995) states, "race mediates every aspect of our lives" (p. 192), and it can be argued that the manner in which racially marginalized students are viewed and treated is mediated by race knowledge.

It has been my experience that when one refers to a Black person, the reference has less to do with one's actual skin colour or physical attributes than it does the essentialist notions and misconceptions about what it means to be Black, the misperception of a shared and singular culture, history, ideologies, behaviours, mentalities, etc. The label 'Black' and the idea of 'Blackness' carry with them all of the prejudice and negative connotations they were created with. Therefore, when

one speaks of a Black person, they are consciously or subconsciously referring both to the individual person and to (a greater extent) the essence of 'Blackness' that it is assumed the individual represents and embodies. This creates a context for the listener; it conjures up images and sets limitations for the subject around actions and reactions, tendencies and potential. Racialized Black youth, more specifically, must account for personal identity, the socially constructed notion of the Black male youth and the interaction between that imposed idea or classification and the individuals comprising it. That said, the way in which Black youth are interpreted is very much located in a social context: a racialized youth living in the Jane-Finch area of Toronto would not be classified and interpreted in exactly the same way as a Black youth in, say, Mbale, Uganda. The consequence of such classifications is either an embodiment or rejection of the ideas associated with them (Hacking 1999). Adolescents, who are at the crucial stage of identity development (Erikson 1968), can internalize stereotypes about themselves and in turn fulfil those stereotypes (Fanon 1967). This contributes to the way they conceptualize life as it is, as well as how they imagine life in the future (Farmer 2010). Marginalized students are experiencing what Bourdieu coined 'symbolic violence', meaning an imposition of cultural product, namely, categories and identities imposed upon them by the educational system and society at large (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990).

The operative concept of 'Blackness' is constitutively constructed because its definition is predicated upon a set of traits (which are generally considered negative, undesirable, brutish) ascribed to Black people by their dominant White counterparts which are not intrinsic; rather, these are assigned in order to generate a false perception of some Black essence. Black as a race is discursively and causally constructed because creating the classifications and arbitrary distinctions between 'Blacks' and 'Whites', for example, caused the differences in experiences of power and opportunity thereby causing differences in behaviours and general tendencies. These differences in turn reinforce the classifications and the institutional power to classify.

Human attitudes are certainly a mode of existence for race/racism; notwithstanding, the race and its by-product, racism, are constituents of objective reality due to its operationalization and consequences for specific groups. Racialized Black people have been fighting the idea of Black essentialism and the idea behind the pejorative word 'nigger' for hundreds of years with painfully slow progress. Attempts to disprove 'knowledge' and ideas about these racialized grouping are constantly combated by pervasive and insidious mechanisms put in place by the dominant group. Mirza (1998) states that "because biological racism has not been exorcised from our vocabulary, from our mental maps, our ideas of 'them and us', essentialist notions of race—those notions of innate inherent difference, remain intact" (p. 112). Studies supporting eugenics have been used to prove the intellectual inferiority of Black people, rationalize underachievement among Black people and justify the educational system's low expectation as well as limited options and supports offered to Black students (Mirza 1998). According to Mirza (1998), the prevailing argument is that Blacks in poverty produce low birth weight babies who have low IQs, remain in poverty, become abusive parents and perpetuate a natural causal cycle of poverty. To her, the message is that the government need not spend

their money on educational initiatives because "these [black] folks are dumb, culturally and intellectually predetermined, and social spending will make no difference" (p. 114). When we look at the ideology surrounding 'the Model Minority' and the achievement gap, it appears on the surface to support claims that intellect, or lack thereof, is biologically connected to racial categories. Further scrutiny would lead us to ask who the people are that emigrate from China versus those emigrating from, say, Jamaica. Those are vastly different populations departing different situations with very different motivations, and simultaneously, due to immigration laws, bodies from different geographical locations are welcomed in under different conditions. Economic status, mobility, opportunity, networks and family supports, education level of parents and access to education in their home lands prior to immigrating are all factors that can impact academic performance and play a major role in accounting for the disparity, yet none have anything to do with inherent capacity or biological predetermination. Mechanisms are put in place to obscure the political agenda preventing inquiry into the impact of social structure on these racialized bodies and allowing for assumptions to be made around causal relationships.

The discourses driving these mechanisms are epistemological and ontological in nature as they serve to tell us who we are, what can be known about us, what is real and who the expert knowers are. They invalidate the knowledge of the subjugated and naturalize the knowledge of the powerful. Haslanger (1995) views this as "a political fight about what relations to 'us' count and about who is included in the 'us'" (p. 112). She also states:

> there is an illusion implicit in our attributions, since the background assumption is that what's real is not a matter of how things are related to us but rather a matter of an intrinsic feature of things. This illusion is, of course, politically significant, for the distinction between what's real and what's not has important social consequences. (ibid. p. 116)

Overall, research pertaining to school effectiveness has failed "to explore the political and economic interests…[and thereby] shifts attention away from the nature of knowledge, the culture of schooling and… the question of for whom and in whose interests schools are to be effective" (Angus 1993, pp. 335, 342; Whitty 2001, p. 289). An example of this is the Harper government's proposed credit cap to support planned cuts in mainstream and specialized teaching staff. Students require 30 course credits to graduate from secondary school, and the cap will limit students to a maximum of now 34 credits. The issue is that though a credit is granted for any full course where the student earns a final grade of 50 % or above, marks of 50–69 % attenuate the likelihood of acceptance into postsecondary education. The policy will further disadvantage excluded youth since generally they acquire few if any credits during their exclusion and usually face significant school challenges prior to the exclusion – often being granted credits at the 50 % threshold just to push them along. The credit cap would effectively prevent students from what is known as 'the victory lap' – the upgrading of (more than 4) courses in secondary school after graduation. In so doing, the cap particularly limits excluded students' chances of resurgence in secondary school as well as their chances of meeting the grade and course requirements of postsecondary institutions. Barriers such as this make it

difficult for marginalized students to even conceptualize beating the odds since, as Martha Nussbaum puts it,

> The desire for a college education is not a brute fact of Nature [sic] but is shaped by what you think about yourself, what amount of self-esteem you are led to have by your society, what your society tells you about the opportunities that are likely to be open to you, and so on. (Nussbaum in Pyle 1999, pp. 244–245)

As Whitty (2001) notes, "there are not many families in this country who are education rich but poor in other respects" (p. 293). Youth who have a restricted sense of what they can achieve academically are also limited in other aspects of life. For Black youth, the consequences are further reaching.

When I proclaim that race and the ensuing racism are social constructs, I am not saying that they do not have real, material effects. On the contrary, I am saying that because they are social constructs, they are all too real. The criteria upon which race is deemed real include the fact that just like material objects, we cannot simply will them away. One can will away any idea as long as she/he is the only person who holds it. It takes on a life of its own once it is held by a collective and is reconstructed time and again through discourse. This is not to say that race has the same kind of permanence that material objects have (although even concrete structures are in the continual process of degeneration, possibly undetectable to the human eye), but the idea of race cannot be changed by any individual and, despite attempts in history, has not been abolished by groups. The idea behind race has had an element of permanence throughout the years, but it has been slowly shifting. The notion of race in the social context of my grandfather's generation is not the same as it is today, and it will be different still in my son's generation.

In many places, racism has become less overt than it has been in times past. According to Mallon (2007), it hides in theories; the content of which is determined by the interest of the powerful (i.e. wealthy, White, male) in retaining power. Racism has a surreptitious nature that infiltrates minoritized groups, as evidenced by racialized Black people using the powerful racist language to label each other and by racialized Black individuals purporting to claim the words 'nigger' as their own, while this label was never theirs to own. On the other hand, the reasons why Dei and James (1998) argue that "'Black' becomes a racial category and a marker of resistant identity" (p. 95) can be understood since the transformation or overhaul of defining and essentializing terms and concepts is a logical starting point for assuming and exhorting power. The issue of race proves that power lies in labels and discourses.

Recently, on December 19, 2011, a fashion magazine in the Netherlands published and distributed a story in which Black pop singer Rihanna is referred to as 'the ultimate niggabitch' (Dutch Daily News 2011). Consider the image that this raced and gendered branding portrays. When reprimanded for it, the editor-in-chief offered an 'apology', stating that the "author meant no harm" and that there was "absolutely no racist motive behind the choice of words" (Chernikoff 2011). This is further evidence of the insidious, ever-evolving exploitation and abuse of Black people. The latest forms of oppression are difficult to see and more difficult

to combat as they are institutionalized and woven into such processes and structures as the educational system. This compels my research with Black students.

My interest in this issue is not only as a Black female and academic but also as a school social worker – an unwilling constituent of the oppression that I oppose. Intersecting identities influence my work and will invariably influence my research. As a Black social worker, I am seen by the Black student population as both an ally and, to a lesser extent, an adversary, given that I work within the programme that they find antagonistic and represent a system they feel is grossly unjust. I am othered by this group of students also because I am a female adult, who is apparently fully abled and evidently successful enough academically and socially to have been allowed into this position of relative power and esteem. Generally, this is understood to mean that I must possess some understanding of, and have conformed to some extent to, dominant White norms. I thereby commit a form of race treason otherwise known as 'selling out'. Assumptions about my adopting negative perceptions that White people hold of Black people, and more specifically underachieving Black students, may be made, in turn, othering them. My queries as a researcher then may be met with some suspicion from participants. Similarly, suspicions and further questions may be raised by non-Black academics with regard to my motives behind the research. Certainly, the very questions explored in my research about expulsion programmes as racialized spaces would appear more valid coming from my White counterparts since academia is a White space assigning expert voice about even the most abstruse experiences of race, oppression and non-European culture to White 'knowers'. Furthermore, the assumption is that I have a vested interest in the redemption and progression of my race through inculcation.

Using an integrative anti-racism framework which Dei (2000) describes as an action-oriented educational and political strategy aimed at institutional systemic change that addresses the issues of racism and the intersecting systems of social oppression including but not limited to sexism, classism, ableism and heterosexism, I approach my research and my life as a dualist, affirming the existence of a relatively objective reality. I consider these marginalized students as holders and creators of knowledge. Their lived experiences and ideas are not only a part of subjective reality, but they also constitute a part of independent reality in which we all partake.

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Part II
Policy and Curriculum: Questions
of Whiteness, Aboriginal Education,
and Indigeneity

Chapter 5
Moving Towards an Anti-racism Curriculum

Chrissy Michelle Deckers

Introduction

In this chapter, I will share some of my concerns regarding the current curriculum and pedagogical practices found within our Canadian education system, a system that I would qualify as neoliberal. Specifically, I am interested in examining how racialized[1] bodies are so often "othered" by white dominant bodies and Eurocentric institutions, yet how this is done within discourses of 'multiculturalism' and 'color blindness', and with the existence of race equity policies; consequently this "othering" becomes difficult to speak to. In addition, as a white educator myself, I attempt to begin the process of unpacking my own complacencies in this practice and to reflect on how I might continue to move towards becoming an anti-racism educator. I will work with what I find to be an increasingly prevalent notion of "student as consumer" within the (neoliberal) education system, to highlight the need for transformation.

Following an initial critique of 'multiculturalism', which assists to uphold this "othering" I speak of, I will share my observations of the "othering" that I see taking place in the postsecondary education system, with examples from the social and community services field in which I teach. I will share examples from the curriculum broadly defined, including the absence of required courses on anti-racism and options to participate in study abroad experiences. Moreover, I will present some possible considerations as to ways in which we may move from a current focus on multicultural education to offer an anti-racism education, which will bring us closer to upholding race equity policies within the postsecondary education system and meeting the needs of all students.

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[1] I use the term racialized to refer to individuals who do not identify/are not identified as being white. However, I recognize that white bodies too are racialized.

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A Brief Critique of 'Multiculturalism'

To begin, I will provide a brief critique of 'multiculturalism'. As stated by Ladson-Billings (1998), there has been a "transmutation of theory" (p. 22) and while 'multiculturalism' "began on a scholarly path designed to change institutions so that students might be prepared to reconstruct the society, in its current practice iteration, multicultural education is but a shadow of its former conceptual self" (ibid). Thus, one problematic with 'multiculturalism' is that it does not meet the goal set out in its original conception. In failing to meet this goal, multicultural education does not equate to anti-racism education, as multicultural programs do not challenge the status quo (Schick 2010). As explained by Schick (2010), multicultural education commonly only includes a broad range of supports and cultural programs, which, without challenging the status quo, do not meet the politics of anti-racism education. While these programs may be offered by "well intentioned"[2] schools and they may increase some students' well-being, there remains the potential to frame participants as being in need, working from a deficit frame, and to reinforce stereotypes of "us" and "them." Such programs may also be equated to tokenism, that is, the presence of cultural programming may be a product of obligation rather than concern for inclusivity. Moreover, Mohanty (1990) explains:

> The central issue…is not one of merely acknowledging difference; rather, the more difficult question concerns the kind of difference that is acknowledged and engaged. Differences seen as benign variation (diversity), for instance, rather than as conflict, struggle, or the threat of disruption, bypasses power as well as history to suggest a harmonious, empty pluralism. (p. 181)

Thus, another critical problematic with multicultural programs is that they do not always recognize the importance of historical, political, and social contexts and therefore cannot truly lead to change. This is one explanation as to why multicultural education has not been successful in meeting the goal of transformation.

In concordance, Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) state that "The multicultural paradigm is mired in liberal ideology that offers no radical change in the current order" (p. 62). Therefore, a tokenistic celebration of diversity can be at least partially explained by the presence of liberal education which "espouses equitable, accessible and inclusive schooling" (Schick 2010, p. 49), in addition to the belief that schooling should be a "neutral activity" (ibid.), which does not ask critical questions. In other words, the policy makers, administrators, and teachers who take up 'multiculturalism' are quick to celebrate diversity yet not move past this to acknowledge the continuing presence of white supremacy within our educational system and truly alter its structure. Recognition of this is important, as Mohanty (1990) explains that

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[2] I place the term "well intentioned" in quotation marks to recognize that while some individuals may be well meaning and not recognize that multicultural programs can do more harm than good, others may understand the potential harm of these programs but continue to offer such programs to replicate power relations under the guise of "good intentions." I myself have in past writings proposed the need for a greater number of multicultural programs; however, the need exists to view multicultural programming through a critical lens.

classrooms should be understood as "political and cultural sites" (p. 183), as power hierarchies are often reproduced in Eurocentric educational institutions (Mohanty 1990; Dei 1999).

However, despite these shortcomings, even in its original conception, 'multiculturalism' fails to place saliency on race, which is placed at the forefront in an anti-racism framework. Thus, even if multicultural education was successful in transforming educational institutions, it is still important to note that it may not be as effective as anti-racism education in specifically disrupting the privilege and currency of whiteness (Dei 1999). Given the importance of naming race, I am impressed when race, racism, and institutional racism are named in a post secondary institution's equity policy.

The presence of a race equity policy is key in the process of transformation; with the presence of a race equity policy, there exists the possibility of holding the institution accountable to uphold the policy. Though it is important to name race, given my observations of the "othering" that takes place within the postsecondary education system, many race equity policies seem to me to be a case of what Ahmed (2005) discusses as nonperformative speech acts. That is, the presence of policy documents can work to "conceal the very inequalities that the documents aim to reveal" (p. 7). To specify, the presence of race equity policies can assist to remove responsibility from the institution, that is, if an institution has such a policy, how could they be racist? Therefore, while the existence of race equity policies is a significant step forward, it is how these documents are acted upon, which must be given consideration (Ahmed 2005).

Examples from the Curriculum

Required Courses

I will now share some examples of this "othering" that I have observed taking place, which leads me to believe postsecondary educational institutions' race equity policies risk being nonperformative acts. Within the social and community services field in which I teach, we aim to teach students how to effectively work with clients from diverse communities and become advocates for them; importantly many of the students enrolled in the social and community services program in which I teach are white. However, within these programs students are not uniformly required to complete a compulsory course in anti-racism.[3] Let me illustrate with a concrete example as to why I think this is problematic. Consider that students may be required to complete an internship with a secondary school, without necessarily being aware

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[3] Depending on the individual program, students may be required to take a course in diversity; however, as previously discussed, multicultural education does not equate to anti-racism education. Furthermore, some programs include no such requirement.

of the pushout factors that exist for many of their racialized clients. Perhaps not all students require direct teachings to recognize these systematic factors, though I would argue that the majority of white students do. As stated by Lopez (1995), white dominant bodies must be "explicitly encouraged…to critically attend to racial constructs" (p. 165). Though racialized students may be aware of such factors, a course on anti-racism would still be of benefit to them, as they may not have the language to express their concerns or may not feel empowered to do so.

The presence of both racialized and white dominant bodies in one classroom can be an effective strategy to meet these aforementioned goals, in that each may see the other's perspective and critically reflect on his or her own experience (Banks 1993). My own experience in the course *The Principles of Anti-Racism Education* mirrors this sentiment. Through discussion with a diverse group of individuals, I learned not only from my professor, and a teaching assistant who modeled how to engage in anti-racism work as a white body, but also crucially from my peers. Importantly I had some of my own previously held beliefs actively challenged in an environment that invited discussion and recognized that we were all at different places in our learning or rather unlearning. Discussions of race are so commonly excluded from the conversation, even within a discussion of anti-oppression; for myself this meant that a time and space solely dedicated to the discussion of anti-racism was imperative in my acquiring the language to talk about race and anti-racism – specifically with reference to the structural nature of racism (Mohanty 1990). Moreover, I found my experience and the creation of a community of other individuals who were willing to talk about these issues pivotal in moving beyond thinking and talking about anti-racism to actually doing anti-racism.

Despite the value of diversity in the discussion of anti-racism, it is important to be cognizant that within such discussions racialized bodies must not be further framed as victims (Dei 1999), though the inequalities present must be acknowledged, as not doing so may cause further violence to racialized students (Ladson-Billings 1998). Likewise, white students must examine their own complacencies while not feeling overwhelmed by guilt, which could potentially stop them from moving forward. For myself this was critical, as I needed to examine what responsibility I had for the doings of my ancestors and critically question my own complacency. Immobility caused by guilt would have likely prevented me from attempting to put anti-racism theory into practice in my own place of work. As Simpson (2006) explains, in being white it is important for me to understand my role in white supremacy; this acknowledgement is important in me taking responsibility for my past complacency as a means to compel me into action. Thus, it is important that I not allow my guilt to be "a blocking emotion" (Dyer 1997, p. 11). This is not to say that I have not questioned what my role as a white educator is or if I have any role doing anti-racism work. Moving forward there exist possibilities and limitations in my being white. However, I have come to understand that within my classroom, I can work to ensure space is created for all students to share their experiences, being cognizant that the experiences of racialized bodies not be trivialized and simultaneously that I cannot not speak *for* them. Rather, what I can attempt to do is model the decentering of whiteness to other white bodies in the classroom.

My concern for the students I work with is that without courses that specifically speak to the presence of structural racism, the risk of unconsciously maintaining the hegemonic discourses exists for these students, discourses that do not recognize the systemic oppressions present within our institutions. Therefore, rather than recognizing structural racism's role in pushing out racialized students, blame falls back on the client and/or his or her family and lends further support for the notion of needing to "pick one's self up by the bootstraps." Ironically while such a saying "others" racialized bodies, this can be connected back to a larger discourse of 'color blindness'. As stated by Dei (2006), blaming the individual shifts attention from the larger systemic issues of racism by not naming race and not recognizing racial privilege. Likewise, Ladson-Billings (1998) proposes that a discourse of 'color blindness' allows us to approach multicultural education in such a way that we can all celebrate our diversity because we are all immigrants. When such a discourse is taken up, Ladson-Billings (1998) similarly suggests that when racialized students do not succeed, this places the blame back on them for not rising up as other immigrant groups have. Finally, when systematic oppressions are recognized within a discourse of 'color blindness', a lack of success is instead attributed to factors such as socioeconomic status. Again, a discourse of 'color blindness' does not allow for the recognition that race contributes to such disparities, as the two often intersect (Lopez 2003) and simultaneously works from an ahistorical lens.

Despite the inherent problematics with a discourse of 'color blindness', this remains the ideal when it comes to race, as is evidenced by my recent experience in a professional development workshop for instructors which examined the disengagement of black students. During the course of this workshop, we were asked in small groups to describe the demographics of typically disengaged students. Despite my naming race, I observed that my colleagues would not note race as a factor. Upon having a larger group discussion, the exclusion of race was noted by the facilitator. To this my colleagues commented that they were not comfortable speaking of differences in relation to race. As has been noted in previous writings on 'color blindness', when educators fail to acknowledge the importance of race in the instructor-student relationship, this is an example of 'color blindness' (James 2005). Having now reflected on this experience, I am left with the question: if we cannot speak to issues of race in a workshop which is designed to examine the disengagement of black students, when can we speak to the saliency of race? Of course if we as instructors find it difficult to speak of race, it is no surprise that our students may too; this is why a required course on anti-racism is of such importance, as it provides a space for students to actively question the current dominant discourses and provides them with a language to name and discuss racism.

The notion of "student as consumer" becomes important here, as within the social and community services field, we desire our students to be able to effectively advocate for their clients. I argue that when, as instructors, we engage in a discourse of 'color blindness', and we fail to implement a required course that speaks to the systematic nature of racism, we cannot succeed in meeting the goal of teaching students to advocate for their racialized clients; rather, we further the hegemonic discourse, in which racialized individuals must "pick themselves up by the bootstraps."

However, Mohanty ([1990]) points to a possibility for change in that the classroom can serve as a site of resistance.

Therefore, as a whole, the pedagogy of instructors within the field of social and community services must be reflected on and challenged when it is found to perpetuate whiteness. My experience within the previously discussed workshop suggests that this may be a challenge; mandatory professional development could serve as a starting point for such a pedagogical shift. As instructors we must engage with the "deep curriculum" (G. Dei, Personal Communication, January 23, 2012), that is, we must reflect on the readings selected for courses and our interpretation of these readings. Thus, as proposed by Dei (Personal Communication, February 13, 2012), our pedagogy must be reflective and involve an embodied connection – as instructors, what is our entry point? How are we complicit? Likewise, we must be cognizant of power hierarchies and our respective positions within them. Similarly, as called for within inclusive schooling, inclusion involves centering one's experience and the collective knowledge production (G. Dei, Personal Communication, February 13, 2012).

In my own classroom I have attempted to decenter whiteness by limiting lectures in which I am the purveyor of knowledge and rather creating opportunities for my students and I to engage in discussion of the material, including our entry point into it. While I have brought socioeconomic status, gender, and ability into our classroom discussions, I readily admit that it remains difficult to name race in the absence of a larger community that supports such a discussion.

Study Abroad Options

Perhaps following a larger pedagogical shift in which, as instructors, we ourselves felt that we could label and speak to racism in the classroom, a required course on anti-racism could follow. In addition to the absence of a required course in anti-racism, courses with a goal of engaging in community development work in an international context could be seen as problematic, as they have the potential to contribute to the false understanding that we "the West" are the holders of knowledge and that we must "teach to" the rest. Such courses may be found in the social and community services field, and these courses, along with study abroad options in general, raise concern when examined within an anti-racism framework. Likewise, the experiences of international students within our programs can fit into this discussion. Given that international students are typically characterized as coming to us, "the West,"[4] for better opportunities and to gain skills to take home, this notion may further contribute to an ongoing colonial mindset, wherein our students may believe that we "the West" are the only holders of knowledge, and thus the

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[4] I place "the West" in quotes to emphasize the commonly employed dichotomy of West and East, in which an "us" versus "them" mentality is fuelled that fails to recognize the complexities within our societies. Likewise, these terms represent a dyadic colonizer/colonized relationship, in which "the West" is commonly understood to signify progress.

international students within the classroom may not be understood as having much to offer to the conversation. Not only does this discourse affect our racialized international and domestic students, but it also inadvertently silences the racialized clients with whom our students aim to serve.

This example speaks again to how certain bodies are "othered" in regard to holding or not holding knowledge, but furthermore we are doing a disservice to our students as we, "the West," are not the only holders of knowledge; rather, there is much to be learned from international students coming from locations other than "the West" and study abroad experiences. The question then becomes how do we have our students learn from others, without it being at those students' expense? My experience in *The Principles of Anti-Racism Education* has demonstrated to me the importance of being sure that white bodies do not dominate the discussion and more importantly that white bodies listen to and appreciate the experiences of racialized bodies when they choose to share. However, this is not to suggest that white bodies be let off the hook from sharing and critically examining their own complacencies.

Simpson's (2004) writings become relevant here as she states that Western society generally does not view Indigenous knowledge as a legitimate source of information. Rather, Indigenous knowledges are most often viewed as "myth" (Dei 1999, p. 21), thus contributing to the creation of "knowledge hierarchies" (Dei 1999, p. 22). Having our students design and implement programs in an international context has the potential to play into such a knowledge hierarchy. However, as observed by Simpson (2004) we, "the West," are slowly becoming interested in Indigenous knowledge when it is of benefit, specifically in cases where "scientific data is lacking" (p. 374). As Simpson (2004) continues to explain, Indigenous communities originally met this with optimism, though this has not furthered the process of decolonization as originally hoped. We must recognize Indigenous knowledges as legitimate and disrupt the perpetuating power imbalance between Western society and Indigenous communities (Simpson 2004). Therefore, we must enter Indigenous communities as allies and be conscientious of what we do with the knowledge these communities choose to share. As stated by Simpson (2004),

> Academics who are to be true allies to Indigenous peoples in the protection of our knowledge must be willing to step outside of their privileged position and challenge research that conforms to the guidelines outlined by the colonial power structure and root their work in the politics of decolonization and anti-colonialism. This Indigenous approach is critical to the survival of Indigenous knowledge and ultimately Indigenous peoples. (p. 381)

While the maintenance of such knowledge is important for Indigenous communities, it can undoubtedly benefit those outside of the Indigenous community as well. However, as previously stated the existing power imbalance must first be disrupted and we, "the West," must be willing to learn from Indigenous communities and not only when scientific data is absent. I concur with Dei (1999) who postulates that a discourse of 'multiculturalism' assists in upholding such knowledge hierarchies, as 'multiculturalism' does not challenge the power imbalance present within our institutions, as does an anti-racism framework. Moving forward then, the international student experience must not solely be about international students gaining knowledge to take home to their countries of origin but rather should emphasize the

valuable opportunity for our students to learn alongside international students. Likewise, any study abroad options which are offered must approach the experience in a similar manner; thus, our students should not study abroad solely to teach; rather, they should study abroad as a means to learn other ways of doing and being, and we must challenge students to act responsibly with this knowledge upon their return.

Kanu (2006) actually argues for a "reappropriation of tradition" (p. 204) into the curriculum, as traditions may be used to challenge current curriculum and pedagogical practices. While the basis of Kanu's (2006) research was centered in an African context, I would argue that it is useful in a Canadian context, especially when considering our ongoing colonization of Aboriginal populations, whose experiences are often excluded even within the discourse of anti-racism (Lawrence and Dua 2005). Therefore, within our Canadian curriculum there must be a greater presence of Aboriginal knowledges. Such changes to curriculum offered within the postsecondary education system, both at home and through study abroad options, would be of benefit to the students in allowing them opportunities to truly gain experience in local and international settings, thus fitting with the notion of "student as consumer" when an international or global education is advertised.

Conclusion

In conclusion, though I have highlighted some examples of concerns with the current state of curriculum and pedagogical practices within postsecondary education there exists much possibility for transformation in the presence of race equity policies. The key is that educators and students alike need to hold educational institutions accountable to their policies. This chapter has offered some ways in which we may move forward, including the necessity of a required course in anti-racism, to provide students with a language to speak to racism, and reconceptualized community development and study abroad opportunities, in which our students learn with others and come to view the legitimacy of this new learning which includes treating it respectfully. These recommendations would assist us in moving towards an anti-racism education. As a white body I still undoubtedly have much unlearning to do, though my reflections presented in this chapter serve as an important step in the process.

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Chapter 6
"Aboriginal Education" in Teacher Education: Beyond Cultural Inclusions

Susanne Waldorf

Introduction

Systemic racism and ongoing colonialism are still largely ignored in educational policy and practices that purportedly seek to remedy disparities between Indigenous[1] and non-Indigenous peoples in education and society (Friedel 2010). Rather than focusing on racism and colonialism, the focus of many current "Aboriginal Education"[2] practices is largely on Indigenous history, culture, and helping Indigenous students to reclaim their Indigenous identities (Dion 2009; Friedel 2010; St. Denis 2007, 2011a). This focus on history, culture, and identity often leaves the processes of racialization (which I will discuss later in this chapter), construction of whiteness,[3] and the hierarchical power structures imbedded in racism and colonialism unacknowledged. Further, a focus on Indigenous peoples leaves Canadians

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[1] For the purposes of this paper, I use the term *Indigenous* to refer to those diverse groups of people who were first on the land that is now known as North America and their descendants, including both those who are recognized by the Canadian or US nations as Indigenous and those who are not (status and non-status). Although the term Indigenous lumps together a large number of people with distinctly different ways of life, it provides a way to speak about the common impacts of colonialism and racism. To signify the vast diversity between and among Indigenous nations, I have chosen to use the plural "peoples."

[2] The term "Aboriginal Education" is commonly used to describe education efforts to include Indigenous content in Canadian educational institutions.

[3] Whiteness is a somewhat difficult concept to define, as it is both an ideology and an unstable, constantly reforming identity. Schick and St. Denis (2003) offer this useful definition from Frankenberg's (1993) *White women, race matters: The social construction of whiteness;*

"Whiteness refers to a set of locations that are historically, socially, politically, and culturally produced and moreover are intrinsically linked to unfolding relations of domination. Naming "whiteness" displaces it from the unmarked, unnamed status that is itself an effect of its dominance," (p. 62).

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with very little understanding of how they have benefited from and maintain the injustices of colonization (Cannon 2012). Cannon states,

> As long as we remain focused on racism and colonialism as exclusively Indigenous struggles, we do very little in the way of encouraging non-Indigenous peoples to think about what it might mean to be an 'ally' of Indigenous sovereignty and education … think about matters of restitution, their own decolonization, and transforming their complicity and ongoing dispossession. (ibid., pp. 21–22)

St. Denis (2007) has indicated, "[i]ncreasingly, educators are seeing the call for anti-racist education to become a part of what constitutes Aboriginal education" (p. 1070). As "Aboriginal Education" becomes more and more a part of courses in teacher education and elsewhere in the Ontario education system, and as recent Ontario legislation has indicated that teacher education programs will become longer – moving from 1 to 2 years in length beginning in 2014 (Rushowy 2012) – I find it important to take a closer look at the curriculum which addresses "Aboriginal Education" to see if it does, in fact, move beyond cultural inclusions to address power dynamics through anti-racist and anti-colonial curriculum. In this chapter, I interrogate the curricular materials used in the "Aboriginal Education" components of two Teacher Education Seminar (TES)[4] courses at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education/University of Toronto (OISE/UT) through an anti-racism and anti-colonial framework. This chapter is taken in part from my Master's thesis,[5] in which I analyzed curricular resources in the three teacher education foundation courses[6] at OISE/UT for the ways that settler colonialism was either discursively reified or disrupted.

I begin this chapter by describing my relationship to colonialism and the methodology used to examine the "Aboriginal Education" curriculum. I go on to elaborate what critical Indigenous scholars and their allies are saying about using culture as the main lens in education and then highlight the way these challenges and pitfalls show up in the "Aboriginal Education" components of the two TES courses studied. In my conclusion, I engage with some possibilities for the implementation of anti-racism and anti-colonial pedagogies in teacher education programs.

A Comment on Method

Indigenous scholar Kathleen Absolon (Minogiizhigokwe) (2011) asserts that the researcher is *as much* a part of the research as the research itself and that it is important for scholars to ask themselves "who am I?" "why am I doing this?" and "who

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Thinking of whiteness as a set of locations is useful in that these locations are located outside of bodies. It is important to understand that access to whiteness can go beyond skin color. Whiteness is accessible to more than white bodies although its primary function is to maintain power and privilege for white people at the expense of people of color.

[4] TES is a yearlong required course in the consecutive teacher education program at OISE/UT.

[5] Waldorf, S. (2012). *Moving beyond cultural inclusion towards a curriculum of settler colonial responsibility: A teacher education curriculum analysis.* Accessible at http://hdl.handle.net/1807/33680.

[6] The three foundation courses are TES, Psychological Foundations of Learning and Development, and School and Society.

am I doing this for?" throughout their work. She states, "we, as learners and searchers, accept responsibility for our intentions, understandings and knowledge by writing self into our research" (ibid., p. 68). My research and writing comes from who I am, what I believe, and my hopes and responsibility for a better future for generations to come.

Who am I? I am a white woman of German and English heritage from the USA, and like many white people in the USA, I know very little about my own family history. I do not know why my family left Europe or why they came to the middle of North America (or for that matter, exactly when they arrived). I do not know if or how they actively participated in the dispossession of Indigenous peoples from their lands. Although I do not know the specifics of my family history and their interactions with white colonial settler history, I have learned that these specifics do not matter as much as the recognition of the fact I have benefitted from and continue to benefit from settlement. What matters is that I recognize that I am a white settler and an inheritor of stolen land and resources and that my white settler identity historically provided me and continues to provide me with social, cultural, and economic benefits. I recognize that my relationship to Indigenous peoples is one that exists within power structures of inequality, and I know that my responsibility in that relationship is to stand with Indigenous peoples in their fight for equality and justice.

Why am I doing this? While Iowa, my home state, was at one time the home to many Indigenous nations and is currently the home to the Meskwaki nation, my understanding of myself in relationship to Indigenous peoples did not really take shape until I was in my late twenties and I took a trip to another colonized land – Palestine. This was because Indigenous peoples were represented in my public school and dominant discourses elsewhere in ways that relegated them to mythic figures in history and as the victims of "necessary" colonization. After graduating from college with a teaching license, I began teaching in a small high school in rural Iowa with a nascent, but underdeveloped, understanding of systems of oppression and even less of an understanding specifically of colonialism. I did not know how we (my students and I) had benefitted from and were continuing to participate in colonialism. I taught what I knew and still reinforced dominant histories and sociocultural norms, just as they had been reinforced with me.

It was not until I began to work on issues related to Israel's colonization of Palestine and travelled to Palestine that I began to draw some comparisons between colonization processes there and back home. I needed to see a process of overt colonization to really interrogate American-dominant national discourses and reflect on my relationship to Indigenous peoples in North America and my responsibility in that relationship.

Who am I doing this for? At one level, I am doing this for other non-Indigenous teachers. I believe that they should have an opportunity to understand their own complicity in, or relationship to, colonization so they can become allies in the struggle for justice as well as bring that understanding into their classrooms. I wish that my understanding of settler complicity could have come earlier in my life and without a trip to Palestine – a trip that was borne out of the privilege of white mobility and financial support. I wish I had this understanding and a greater

understanding of systems of racism when entering the teaching profession so that I could disrupt, rather than reify dominant norms. It is out of the belief in the possibility for social change and teachers' potential for playing a role in it that I focus this study on teacher education. My hope is that future teachers be better prepared than I was to resist systems of oppression in their curriculum choices, pedagogy, and practices.

In this research, I employ a document analysis and more specifically a form of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with the required and optional readings in the "Aboriginal Education" sections of two syllabi. As my objective was not only to understand and interpret what was in these documents, but to do so with a critique of how dominant discourses were either supported or resisted in the text, I employed CDA. The main aim of CDA is to understand "the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (van Dijk 2001, p. 352). In this research, I have taken a position that the dominant discourse of multiculturalism and cultural inclusion should be problematized in teacher education programs and an examination of the power structures in racism and colonialism should be present. My goal in using CDA is to disrupt and resist dominant ways of representing the relationship between Indigenous peoples, settlers, and others and to point to the possibilities of alternative discourses.

The Turn Toward Culture: Critical Indigenous Scholars' Critiques

The teaching of Indigenous culture and history came as a welcome change from the former assimilationist and culturally genocidal policies and practices of residential schools (Friedel 2010; Dion 2009). After the Canadian government closed most of the residential schools in the 1950s and 1960s (the last one not closing until the 1990s), they opened Federal Day schools on reserves and integrated approximately 60 % of Indigenous students into Canadian public schools (Kirkness 1999). In 1972, the National Indian Brotherhood/Assembly of First Nations put forth a policy paper to address the education of Indigenous students. They called for control of Indian education to lie in the hands of Indian parents rather than the Canadian government and the opportunity for Indian children to learn their languages, cultures, and histories in the classroom (National Indian Brotherhood 1973). The Canadian government adopted the policy the following year, and in 1975 and 1977, the Ontario Ministry of Education published a *People of Native Ancestry* guide and a *Multiculturalism in Action* support document, which provided teachers with curricular units and ideas for presenting Indigenous material (Dion 2009, p. 68). Together, these three documents played a critical role in providing more accurate descriptions of First Nations people in curriculum, which included appreciation for traditional and contemporary Indigenous cultures and Indigenous contributions to Canadian society (ibid., pp. 69–70).

These movements toward Indigenous cultural inclusion happened side by side with a larger turn toward multiculturalism in Canada. In 1971, then Prime Minister Trudeau institutionalized a policy of multiculturalism – a strategic move by the government to deal with the demands of French language speakers, an increase in culturally diverse citizens, and Indigenous land claims (St. Denis 2011b). The policy became a national law in 1988 (ibid.). In its essence, multiculturalism claims that difference resides in culture, rather than race, and that everyone in Canadian society has equal opportunity because of Canada's benevolent inclusions of cultural difference (Simpson et al. 2011; Thobani 2007). The law and subsequent discourse of multiculturalism and its implications for policy and practices in Canada provide unique challenges to implementing successful anti-racism and anti-colonial pedagogy, some of which I will touch on in this chapter.

First, I want to briefly trouble the very concept of inclusion by asking the question, "inclusion into *what*?" The approach of curricular inclusion is problematic in that it is an add-on to an already existing curriculum and does not necessarily decenter that curriculum (Dei et al. 2000). These add-ons are also critiqued for their inability to transform the system (ibid.). In other words, inclusion does not always address the reasons why inclusion is necessary in the first place. Instead, inclusion can leave the structures of power and privilege, which are at the core of institutions, intact.

While focusing on cultural inclusions has been known to help Indigenous peoples to withstand injustice, such a pedagogical focus has not contributed toward ending that injustice (St. Denis 2007). One measurable example of this is that although aspects of Indigenous cultures have been included into the educational curriculum in Canada since the 1970s, educational disparities for Indigenous children and youth have not decreased (Friedel 2010). I do not mean to say that cultural inclusions are not necessary or desired. Many scholars agree that such cultural education is a necessary part of anti-racism and anti-colonial education (Dei 2011; Dion 2009; Hermes 2005; Kumashiro 2009). For example, Dei (2011) has argued, "a culturally grounded perspective helps center indigenous peoples' worldviews" (p. 4). However, critical Indigenous scholars have also studied the problems that pedagogies focused solely on Indigenous culture maintain and accentuate.

In Verna St. Denis' seminal work, *Rethinking Cultural Theory in Aboriginal Education*, she has articulated how the anthropological theory of cultural discontinuity has influenced this focus on cultural inclusion (2011a). Cultural discontinuity, in educational anthropology, refers to the differences in school and home cultures. When cultural differences are the lens through which educational disparities are viewed, the assumption is that when "multicultural" students do not succeed in school, it is because they do not fully understand the culture of the school, and teachers and administrators do not fully understand the culture of the home. Proposed solutions to cultural discontinuity for Indigenous students have been the following: to bring some of the home culture into the school through educating and hiring Indigenous teachers, to train non-Indigenous teachers in cultural practices, to incorporate more Indigenous knowledge and culture into the curriculum, and to increase connections between the home and the school through parental involvement (Friedel 2010).

A main goal of Indigenous cultural inclusions has been the revitalization of Indigenous cultures and reclamation of Indigenous identities (Friedel 2010). One major problem with focusing on these as the end goals are the complexities around *defining* Indigenous cultures and identities. The process of defining these has been impacted by racism and colonialism, and without an anti-racism and anti-colonial analysis, hierarchies of authenticity and essentialism can be resultant outcomes.

Indigenous identities have been defined historically by the colonizers through racialization processes, rather than by Indigenous peoples themselves (Friedel 2010). Racialization refers to the processes used to produce and distinguish people as different social groups through which these groups are subjected to unequal treatment (Dei 1996). For example, the Indian Act lumped all Indigenous peoples together under the legal classification of "Indian" and imposed Indian status distinctions under the guise of "protecting" Indigenous lands from outside land encroachments (Cannon and Sunseri 2011).[7] The Act and its amendments still purport to give Canada the power to control Indigenous governance, landholding practices, and cultural practices in addition to defining who is a "true Indian" and who is not (Cannon and Sunseri 2011, p. 276, quoting Henry et al. 1998). Additionally, the violently assimilationist practices of residential schools resulted in the slaying of Indigenous cultures and languages (St. Denis 2007). An effect of these colonial and racist policies and practices (as well as other racialization processes) was that many Indigenous peoples stopped practicing their cultural traditions.

The implementation of policies and practices of multiculturalism has also had a significant impact on the inclusion of Indigenous cultures and reclamation of identities. Within a multicultural framework, significant importance is placed on the knowledge of cultural traditions. Those who know their traditional languages, participate in their traditional spiritual practices, know traditional stories, and know other cultural practices are often seen as the most authentic (St. Denis 2007). The resultant hierarchy of authenticity can sometimes divide Indigenous students from one another (ibid.).

For non-Indigenous students, Indigenous cultural inclusion often leads to essentialism. A focus on culture requires the defining of material cultures, and these definitions are often inaccurate, incomplete, or unchanging.[8] The notion of defining, in and of itself, is too narrow and cannot cover the entirety of lived experiences. In the act of defining, because of a tendency toward cultural fundamentalism, variations and differences are often forgotten. This problem is exacerbated by the fact that Indigenous culture is most often taught as an add-on to a specific unit (Hermes 2005) with little time allotted for including the vast array of material cultures as they relate to Indigenous knowledge and worldviews. Non-Indigenous students often come away from such lessons believing that they have a "concrete" understanding

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[7] Indigenous peoples have been racialized through the Indian Act, as well as other distinct times and events. For more information on the racialization processes regarding Indigenous peoples, see St. Denis (2007), Mawani (2002), and Cannon and Sunseri (2011).

[8] See also Kumashiro's (2002), description of *education about the Other*.

of Indigenous peoples and that they know about Indigenous people and can relate to "them." Non-indigenous peoples are then able to use this newly acquired language and knowledge to engage in recolonizing actions and behaviors in more sophisticated ways.

Although non-Indigenous students may think they know Indigenous peoples as the result of such cultural lessons, cultural inclusions actually maintain a distance in the relationship of self/other. By self/other, I mean the construction of distance between "us and them" which allows for or justifies unequal treatment (Dei 2006, p. 9). Notions of superiority and inferiority are produced and reproduced through this construction of distance. As I described earlier in this chapter, in the 1970s there was a shift in educational discourse and practices to include more accurate and respectful representations of Indigenous peoples in the curriculum. Although this is generally regarded as a positive shift in focus, these new representations continued to set Indigenous culture apart, as different than the "norm." Rather than disrespecting or ignoring Indigenous peoples in curriculum, the new curriculum placed Indigenous culture "as something to be respected" and put non-Indigenous students in the position of respectfully admiring the cultures of Indigenous "others" (Dion 2009, p. 71). Susan Dion (2009) refers to these representations of Indigenous peoples as "the romantic, mythical other."

There are several different ways "the romantic, mythical other" exist in curricular materials to reproduce this distance: as static, existing in precontact time; as victims of colonialism or "European progress" (and therefore now in need of help); or as people with vastly different material cultures (Dion 2009). Social studies education curriculum still uses a precontact material culture survey approach to teaching about various First Nations (ibid., p. 73). Students learn about First Nations housing, dress, dance, and spiritual practices. This information is often presented in a way that disconnects it from beliefs, values, and worldviews. Additionally, Indigenous peoples are mentioned in footnotes related to European pioneering, settlement, and nation building as having lost their homes, families, and cultures in the process of inevitable European progress (ibid.). Through these representations, students are allowed and encouraged to relegate Indigenous peoples to history or see them as separate from the realities of their lives.

These challenges and pitfalls of a sole focus on cultural inclusions need to be taken seriously when implementing "Aboriginal Education" in teacher education programs. The discussion outlined above lends itself to an important analysis around what is currently happening in "Aboriginal Education" at OISE/UT. I now turn to take a look at the curricular materials used in the "Aboriginal Education" components of two TES syllabi. I refer to these as syllabus #1 and syllabus #2.

Does "Aboriginal Education" Go Beyond Cultural Inclusions?

In syllabus #1, "Aboriginal Education" was combined with "equity," as the topic for one day, under the title of "Education for all: Equity and Aboriginal Education." It is important to note that this was not the only week in the syllabus that focused on

equity, but it was the only one with a specific "Aboriginal Education" focus. There were five required course readings for this week including an article, two equity policies, and two Aboriginal Education policies. In syllabus #2, "Aboriginal Education" existed on its own for one day under the title "Aboriginal Education: Beyond Frozen Images" and included a presentation by the Toronto District School Board's Aboriginal Education Centre. There are two articles listed for this day – one is required and one is optional reading. I start here with an analysis of the policy documents and move on to the articles.

Policy Documents

The two equity policies are *Ontario's Equity and Inclusive Education Strategy,* published by the Ontario Ministry of Education (OME) and the *Toronto District School Board's (TDSB) Equity Foundation Statement*. The former is a call for and a requirement placed on school boards across the province to develop or revise policies on equity and inclusive education and begin implementing them by September 2010. The latter is the TDSB's declaration of a commitment to and plans for ensuring equity within the education system.

Ontario's Equity and Inclusive Education Strategy mentions Indigenous people as a group experiencing racism in the context of discussing the previous version of the policy, which was titled, *Development and Implementation of School Board Policies on Anti-racism and Ethnocultural Equity* and written in 1993 during the NDP government. This 1993 policy "reflected a commitment to eliminating racism in schools and in society at large by changing both individual behaviour and institutional policies and practices" (OME 2009, p. 10). It specifically called all school boards to develop race-relations policies. However, when the provincial government repealed this policy in 1995, at the time when the Conservatives came to political power, most school boards abandoned these efforts (Dei 2003). While the new 2009 policy continues to mention racism and includes Indigenous peoples in its examples, the main focus is on cultural diversity and inclusion rather than an explicit focus on anti-racism (Friedel 2010, pp. 16–17). For example, in a section on inclusive curriculum and assessment practices, the document describes Ontario's curriculum policy in this way:

> The ministry's curriculum policy supports respect for and acceptance of diversity in Ontario's schools. Through the curriculum review process, curriculum is continually revised to maintain and increase its relevance to the changing needs and lives of students. Recent revisions include the addition of sections on antidiscrimination education and Aboriginal perspectives and how they relate to the particular subject or discipline. (OME 2009, pp. 20–21)

This inclusion of Indigenous perspectives, without troubling the dominance of Eurocentric curricula, is firmly ensconced in the dominant discourse of cultural discontinuity (Friedel 2010; St. Denis 2011a). The problem being addressed within this framework is that of the "changing needs and lives of students," which refers to

the fact that students are from "diverse" backgrounds. The increase in the number of students from "diverse" backgrounds has in effect highlighted the fact that the school operates with a specific curriculum that speaks to some students and not to others. The solution proposed in this document is to bridge the cultural gap by including more Indigenous perspectives, with the hopes that this will better the lives of Indigenous students. While such inclusions may, in fact, be a positive thing for Indigenous students in Eurocentric-dominant schools, what this process of inclusion fails to address are the reasons why the curriculum does not speak to Indigenous students in the first place, as well as whose interest it serves to maintain the Eurocentric curriculum. Furthermore, including "Indigenous perspectives" in the curriculum in this way could lead to essentializing Indigenous peoples and creating hierarchies of authenticity (St. Denis 2007; Friedel 2010).

The other equity policy, the *TDSB's Equity Foundation Statement* was developed as a result of Ontario's 1993 Equity policy and is likely to be one of the few clear lasting effects of this policy (Dei 2003). The TDSB statement refers to the creation of equal opportunities within the TDSB and takes a stronger stance on anti-racism work than Ontario's 2009 policy. The statement makes clear that it is important to understand the factors outside of the TDSB that contribute to inequity and refers to racism as a central problem. The document is focused primarily on the school system and discusses inclusion as a key strategy to address racism. For example, in the staff development section, there is an emphasis on "training teaching and support staff in anti-racist education methodologies to enable them to deliver an inclusive curriculum" (2000, p. 7). Again, this emphasis on inclusion into the school system leaves absent a focus on structures of racism and settler colonialism and how non-Indigenous peoples are implicated in the maintenance of these structures.

The two Aboriginal Education policy documents are the *Ontario First Nation, Métis, and Inuit Education Policy Framework* and the accompanying *Aboriginal Education in Ontario Resource Guide*, both published by the OME. The latter is a short pamphlet, which contains a lot of overlapping information with the policy framework document. Therefore, I do not separate the two documents in my analysis here.

The *Ontario First Nation, Metis, and Inuit Education Policy Framework* was introduced in 2007. The goal of the policy is to close the gap in the areas of literacy and numeracy, retention of students in school, graduation rates, and advancement to postsecondary studies by 2016 (OME 2007). Through this document, the OME calls on governments, educational institutions (including faculties of education), and First Nation, Métis, and Inuit families, communities, and organizations to work together to implement the policy recommendations, which range from changing the curriculum, to providing programming for Indigenous students, to drawing greater connections between the school and Indigenous families and communities (ibid.).

This policy comes in a historical line of efforts for education policy initiatives directed at remedying the past mistakes of the education system for Indigenous students (Dion 2009, p. 69). The focus of this policy on Indigenous history and culture largely supports Indigenous students' reclaiming of their Indigenous identities (Dion 2009; Friedel 2010; St. Denis 2007, 2011a). For example, it includes a focus

on developing strategies to "increase the capacity of the education system to respond to the learning and *cultural* needs of First Nation, Métis, and Inuit students" and "provide quality programs … that support improved academic achievement and *identity building*" (OME 2007, p. 7, emphasis added).

The strategies of the policy focus on raising awareness among teachers about Indigenous learning styles and changing the curriculum to reflect First Nations, Métis, and Inuit cultures, histories, and perspectives (OME 2007, p. 6). It briefly mentions the need for educators to understand the mistrust Indigenous peoples have of the school system as a result of residential schools (ibid.). However, this statement does not reflect on residential schools as a racialization or colonizing process or go into any detail about the purpose or outcomes of them. Instead, it focuses on the development of positive cultural identities among Aboriginal students (ibid., p. 8).

This policy is largely reflective of a theory of cultural discontinuity within which one of the main solutions is to incorporate more Indigenous culture and perspectives into the school (Friedel 2010). The OME seems to recognize that it is important for non-Indigenous students to also have an understanding of Indigenous history and culture, as is evident by a small focus on developing strategies for providing "a curriculum that facilitates learning about contemporary and traditional First Nations, Métis, and Inuit cultures, histories, and perspectives *among all students*, and that also contributes to the education of school board staff, teachers, and elected trustees" (OME 2007, p. 7, emphasis added). However, the inclusion of Indigenous perspectives for non-Indigenous students and teachers does not go so far as to help them understand the role they play in upholding these structures of power.

The use of government-related statements and policies to discuss "Aboriginal Education" exists within a theoretical framework of multiculturalism, a framework which is intended to mask structures of power (Simpson, et al. 2011; St. Denis 2011b). As such, these Equity and Aboriginal Education policies do not encourage critical reflection on the structures of dominance that have created and maintain educational disparities for Indigenous students. Furthermore, the focus is exclusively on an indigenous other, which affirms the dominant understanding that non-Indigenous peoples have nothing to do with colonialism (Cannon 2012).

Articles

I turn now to take a closer look at the articles included in "Aboriginal Education" in the two syllabi studied. The required articles are *Affirmation, Solidarity and Critique: Moving Beyond Tolerance in Education* by Sonia Nieto and *Closing the Gap for Aboriginal Students* by Emily Faries, and the optional reading is *Aboriginal Education and Anti-Racist Education: Building Alliances Across Cultural and Racial Identity* by Verna St. Denis.

The purpose of the article by Sonia Nieto is to "challenge readers to move beyond tolerance [of differences] in both conceptualization and implementation" (2002, p. 18). Nieto presents a model of different levels of multicultural education support. The four levels are tolerance, acceptance, respect, and affirmation, solidarity, and critique.

The article is written from a nationalist perspective, in which the goal is to make a "new definition of 'American'" (Nieto 2002, p. 28).[9] In fact, "American Indians" are mentioned three times in the article: referring to the lack of American Indian authors in school curriculum; referring to the racial identity of some of the students in a school; and discussing the inclusion of American Indian storytelling (ibid., p. 25). The use of the term "American Indian" is itself a sign of uncritical inclusion into the US nation-state. The problem here is that such inclusions erase claims of Indigenous sovereignty. These claims are often erased in multicultural theories, as well as some anti-racism theories, as a result of a false understanding that the genocide of Indigenous peoples was complete enough, for claims of sovereignty and self-determination to no longer be feasible (Lawrence and Dua 2005; Smith 2010). Rather than recognizing that the nation-state exists on top of Indigenous sovereignty, many multicultural and anti-racism frameworks pursue justice and equality within the nation-state. However, Indigenous sovereignty claims and rights are at the "heart of Indigenous peoples' realities" (Lawrence and Dua 2005, p. 124). When these are ignored through rhetorical moves such as using "American Indian" or through uncritical Indigenous inclusions into the nation-state framework, racial equality for Indigenous peoples cannot be fully realized. Fighting for equal rights for all within the model of a democratic nation-state is one way to build a movement, but it should not be done without an explicit focus to decolonize North America as the end goal.

The second article, a research symposium paper titled *Closing the Gap for Aboriginal Students*, emphasizes the need to teach Indigenous history, culture, and worldviews in schools specifically *for* Indigenous students (Faries 2009). Faries highlights the fact that Indigenous peoples have had extremely violent and destructive experiences with Canadian education – from the assimilation policies of residential schools to the integration policies of current schooling – and, as a result, have apathy for Canadian schooling (ibid). Faries then calls for curriculum and resources to include Indigenous traditional cultures as a way to revive Indigenous identities (ibid.).

While Faries describes the attempts to eradicate Indigenous knowledge and cultures as beginning at the point of European contact, and the intent behind residential schools being to "destroy culture and language," it is interesting that these segments of the paper are largely written in the passive voice and do not point very harshly to the colonizing nation as the perpetrators of such violence (2009, p. 1). Faries highlights the racialization of Indigenous peoples but does not engage with the construction of colonial dominance through these racialization processes. Additionally, the call for inclusion of Indigenous traditional cultures for the purpose of identity reclamation is a call which critical Indigenous scholars have critiqued as problematic, saying that hierarchies of authenticity or essentialization often result (Friedel 2010; St. Denis 2007).

In the optional reading, *Aboriginal Education and Anti-racist Education: Building Alliances Across Cultural and Racial Identity,* St. Denis argues for the inclusion of critical anti-racism education in Aboriginal Education so as to interrogate

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[9] It is noteworthy that this article discusses the American, rather than the Canadian context.

the racialization processes for Indigenous peoples and construction of whiteness as superior (2007). She describes some of the racialization processes, discusses how a focus on culture can essentialize Indigenous identities, and explains why cultural revitalization will not end injustice toward Indigenous peoples (ibid.).

While the six required readings under the heading of "Aboriginal Education" focus almost entirely on inclusion of Indigenous history, culture, and worldviews and largely, with some exception in the Faries (2009) article, on Indigenous inclusion into the nation-state, the optional reading is a promising start for focusing on systems of dominance in "Aboriginal Education." Using the Faries (2009) article and the St. Denis (2007) article together would create a space for discussion about Indigenous cultural inclusion. Unfortunately, since the St. Denis (2007) article was an *optional* read, there is not likely to be much discussion around it during class time, and without it, the curriculum's strong focus on culture reifies the dominant discourse of cultural inclusion and multiculturalism. Even with the St. Denis (2007) article, the primary focus is on Indigenous peoples, and non-Indigenous teacher candidates may be unable to understand what they have to do with colonialism.

Conclusion

Rather than focusing solely on cultural inclusions, a racial analysis is required to understand the implications of racialization processes on Indigenous cultures and identities and on the processes of revitalizing and reclaiming them (Friedel 2010). However, this racial analysis must also center Indigenous sovereignty rather than working only within the nation-state framework toward equality.

One of the ways that anti-racism education has been implemented in teacher education is through pedagogies which disrupt the self/other binary. Disrupting the self/other binary requires highlighting and questioning the construction of distance and the ways in which whiteness holds on to dominance through that construction. Pedagogies that can help to disrupt the self/ Indigenous other binary are those which highlight the historic and ongoing racialization processes for Indigenous people in Canada and the construction of whiteness in relationship to colonialism.

St. Denis and Schick (2003) have seen some successes in their preservice education courses in using anti-racism pedagogy which focuses on the racialization processes that are intricately tied with colonialism and how whiteness gets produced as superior (St. Denis 2007). They focus mostly on race privilege through an analysis of interlocking identities and how racial identities are produced in the specific context of nation building. This process often brings teacher candidates to the point of challenging their own worldviews in relationship to whiteness and Canadian nationhood.

Similar to pedagogies which engage with internalized white superiority, these pedagogies assume that making white settler dominance visible will lead to a disruption of these dominant identifications. Furthermore, the underlying hope is for such disruptions to translate into action for social justice. It is through this naming

process that some of their teacher candidates come to understand their own positionality (Schick and St. Denis 2003). Although Schick and St. Denis have seen some successes, there are also many challenges to engaging with an examination of identities and identity-making processes. Whiteness pedagogies often lead white students to react with a range of emotional and other responses that can leave them stuck rather than engaged in learning. Schick and St. Denis (2003, 2005) describe their teacher candidates' reliance on dominant discourses as a defense against learning and the need for whiteness pedagogies to examine and disrupt these discourses. As teacher candidates are brought to a point of challenging their own worldviews, it is also necessary to interrogate the defenses that arise and/or the assertion of moral goodness that students engage in (Applebaum 2010). Boler and Zembylas (2003) assert that challenging dominant worldviews requires paying attention to and inquiring into the emotional reactions to such challenges. They state, "[b]y closely examining emotional reactions and responses – what we call emotional stances – one begins to identify unconscious privileges as well as invisible ways in which one complies with dominant ideology" (ibid., p. 108). These emotional responses can range from anger or guilt, to indifference and distancing, to an amnesia which leads to superficial engagement with the concepts (Boler and Zembylas 2003; Urietta and Riedel 2006).

Schick and St. Denis' (2005) pedagogy, which is focused on disrupting white identities as they relate to colonialism, has been useful in Saskatchewan, where the vast majority of teacher candidates are white and the main group produced as "other" are Indigenous peoples. Such pedagogies would likely not have similar outcomes in teacher education classes at OISE/UT, where approximately 30 % of the applicant pool are "visible minorities" and the acceptance rate is approximately the same.[10] Also, since OISE/UT is located in Toronto where many different groups are produced as "other," a focus on the production of whiteness as it relates to nationhood may not be sufficient. Additionally, the challenges for racialized students when pedagogies focus on whiteness need to be considered. Blackwell (2010) explains that whiteness pedagogies marginalize students of color while expecting them to offer their personal stories as learning tools for white students and teachers. For this reason, Blackwell advocates for a model of racially separate spaces for students of color and white students.

Similarly, we must engage with questions about how whiteness pedagogies addressing colonialism will impact both Indigenous students and students of color in teacher education classrooms. What pedagogies would enable both white students and students of color to understand their positionality as it relates to colonialism in North America? How then do we lead teacher candidates through a naming process, to understand their positionality, and on to a point of action?

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[10] The OISE ITE program collects demographic statistics from applicants to help determine if there are biases or barriers for marginalized groups in the application process. These are not used to determine acceptance into the program or published. I garnered this general understanding of the racial identity of the applicant pool through a conversation with Kathy Broad, Academic Director of the ITE program at OISE.

CDA scholars agree that that discourse plays an important role in the reproduction of social domination and resistance to that domination (van Dijk 2009). Through curriculum choices in teacher education, we can participate in shifting dominant discourse to facilitate movement toward equity and justice for Indigenous peoples. The "Aboriginal Education" components of the two course syllabi studied here have not explicitly engaged with discourses that go beyond cultural representations. However, the inclusion of Verna St. Denis' article as an option in one of the syllabi suggests the possibility for alternative discourses and a focus on anti-racism and anti-colonialism in "Aboriginal Education."

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Chapter 7
Indigenous Education in Colonizing Space: Reflections on the Law, Education, and Indigenous Rights in Chile

Ximena Martínez Trabucco

Cuando el fresco de las culturas mayas y quechuas aparezca completo, llegará el momento de que el hombre latinoamericano confiese plenamente a su progenitor, cosa que, hasta hoy, hace a regañadientes. Él completará la confesión que, a pesar suyo, siempre ha hecho su semblante de su Mongolia en el pómulo implacable y en la bella mirada que de las Mongolias le vino; pero él confesará a su indio sin reticencias sesgadas, al fin, al fin [When the fresh of Mayan and Quechua cultures appears complete, will arrive the time for Latin America men fully confess to his progenitor, which, until now, does so reluctantly. He will fully confess that, in spite of himself, has always done his semblance of his Mongolia in his relentless cheekbone and the beautiful look which from the Mongolias came, he will confess his Indian without skewed reticence, at last, at last]. (Gabriela Mistral)

Introduction

An important concern that has been addressed during the last two decades in Chile is the question of the right to education as a fundamental pillar for the social and economic development of the country. As a response, the state has enhanced access to school and higher education and defined a group of actions to overcome low levels of achievement in the so-called vulnerable schools. Quality and inclusion are central

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issues in the discussion, considering areas such as ethnic minorities, disability, and schools with students classified as having low levels of achievement (Infante 2007).

The main goal of the system has been to broaden the access to quality education for all Chilean students. Thus inclusivity means the access to a homogeneous schooling system that does not make distinctions among students that come from very different socio cultural backgrounds. Instead it has promoted the universal character of a standardized education system which all the children must participate in on an equal foot. The state, since 1996 – through the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) as well as external agencies (for instance, Inter-American Development Bank (IADB)) – has attempted to reach that goal of inclusivity, which has propelled a transformation in the system that finally crystallized in an education reform that meant a new law of education: the "Ley General de Educación" (General Law of Education, my translation or also named in the article as LGE).

A question that I, as a teacher, have hardly seen posed among colleagues and those who are involved in the schooling system is, what does *quality* mean when speaking about education? There is a general assumption that quality, in terms of education, is closely related to the development of particular kinds of abilities that help students to achieve high scores in the national testing system (SIMCE), and that inclusion is to offer a standardized curriculum and pedagogical practices that do not vary, so what everybody experiences is the same. Apparently, these homogenizing practices are not new, and it is possible to trace them through recent history. In particular, I remember the motto of the presidential campaign of a center-left government in Chile, *crecer con igualdad* (grow with equality), at the end of the 1990s. Interesting words to be compared to what Augusto Pinochet said just 20 years before, during 1979 when the Decree Law No. 2.568, speaking of land division over indigenous lands, was enacted: "*en Chile no hay indios, somos todos chilenos*" (there are no indigenous people in Chile, we are all Chileans). Those words later became one of his repeated phrases to talk about the Chilean identity. Apparently, there is an insistence on masking one of the main characteristics of the Chilean society: difference. Persons in Chile do not differ just in their ethnic origin – during the last two decades, there has been an increase in migration to the country – but also there are the differences in terms of social class that, in Chile, constitute living in different worlds. In addition, the geography of Chile makes each province unique in terms of local histories and social conditions. This homogenizing logic is conventionally what schooling has done within the frame of the state, for instance, the Chilean state has used education and the schooling system to erase traditional cultures by means of developing the concept of individuality over community (Aylwin 1995).

The need to create the sense of a unique national identity is what characterizes the aims of school. Under this scenario, it is pertinent and relevant to ask: What are the implications of having an *egalitarian* schooling system in Chile that ignores diversity as a central component of the population? What does quality mean in the field of education and particularly in the schooling system? Is it possible to quantify quality? Who defines what quality in education is in Chile? What is the role of the schooling system in the policies of the development of Chile? What is the ultimate goal of all those efforts that have been invested to reach quality in education? All of these questions are worth considering, especially because "we cannot continue to talk about knowledge as neutral, objective, and of not being biased" (Dei and Simmons 2010, p. xv). Education

and the schooling system are spaces where culture and society are reproduced with all their strengths and vices (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977/1990). But those are not new questions; they have been largely addressed by scholars. Michael Apple in his *Ideology and Curriculum* (1979) has already posed them in a masterly way, and recently, Dei and Simmons (2010) have sharpened the discussion reminding us of the narrow relation between the state and knowledge production, and by means of a set of questions, they lead us to think about who the learner is and what the position of this learner is in this narrow relation: "We need to keep in mind the relationship of state and schooling and ask: What are the bodies and histories being centered and marginalized through state and schooling relations? Whose interests are sought through neutral locals of state and schooling allegiance?" (Dei and Simmons 2010, p. XV).

My intention here is to address these questions but in the context of Chile, the place where I was born and I grew up, and where I later became a teacher. My work as educator in different contexts has shown me that quality in education is a quite flexible concept that takes shape in accordance to the context, which is not a tandem of fixed practices; education, considering its effect on the (social) identity, "is not a passive participle [on the contrary] it is a gerund"[1] (Isla 2012, p. 3), and that is why as Dei and Simmons (2010) say, "Education ought to centre the learner within the learning process" (p. xv).

In the following paragraphs, I discuss the actualization of the right to education in Chile in relation to the issue of "inclusion." I consider that looking at the politics of inclusion is to look at the very core of exclusion. In particular, I analyze the policy and program of intercultural bilingual education (EIB) and the legal framework on which it lies, as both are interrelated and declaredly seek to develop an inclusive and democratic system. I look at the schooling level and I must say that my view is also intersected by my own experience within the system early as a student from a *mestizo*, low middle class family and later as a teacher in a space where the minorities became numeric majorities.

In this chapter, I argue that the policies for inclusion fail to provide a place where non-Western epistemologies can be worked with. Thus, there is no place for indigenous knowledge; on the contrary, the colonial classroom structure has hitherto undermined its application. In Chile, indigenousness does not speak for itself; it is spoken from what the hegemonic nonindigenous group has defined as indigenousness. Why is it necessary to open spaces for indigenous knowledge in a society that declares, through the law, to be democratic? How can indigenous knowledges be understood as a way to achieve democracy in Chile? Why is it necessary today in Chile to include indigenous knowledge? Among the reasons that seem to be the most evident is the membership of Chile to certain global organizations that demand the following of certain protocols.

In this chapter, a critical discourse analysis around the schooling system is presented. It considers the law of education, the principles that underpin it, and the pragmatism of these axioms in relation to the policy of inclusion and its indigenous rights recognition

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[1] Expression developed by Pablo Isla Monsalve in his doctoral thesis "no es un participio pasivo, sino un gerundio" alluding to the dynamism of identity. I extrapolated the sentence to education in order to express that education and practices surrounding it are not a fixed corpus of knowledge applicable to any context; on the contrary, it is extremely flexible to the cultural and societal context where the act of education takes place.

scope. In the analysis, I center reflections on the relations that exist between the schooling system and the international organizations, treaties, and conventions that Chile is part of or has signed. Following the principles of Van Dijk (1993) of a critical discourse analysis, I look into the dynamics among the formal and practical aspects of the program of EIB in relation to the legal, the sociopolitical, the economic, and cultural conditions in what it has produced, as well as its consequences.

This chapter engages an anti-racism approach and an anti-colonial discursive framework intertwined to explain the act of subordination of indigenous knowledge. Through the anti-colonial discursive framework, it is possible to "[interrogate] the power configurations embedded in ideas, cultures, and histories of knowledge production, validation and use. It also examines our understanding of indigeneity, pursuit of agency, resistance, and subjective policies" (Dei and Asgharzadeh 2001, p. 300). In the case of Chile, a colonial structure shapes schooling, which undermines indigenous education as well as the political recognition of indigenous peoples. In this light, to work from an anti-colonial framework and the anti-racist discursive approach (Dei 1996) allows me to inquire into the structures that support the schooling system and its politics of inclusion, to consider the "genuine intentioned" actions, and also to look at my work as a teacher and as a citizen in my complicities and resistances to the system. As Dei has pointed out, "the anti-colonial discursive framework acknowledges the role of societal/institutional structures in producing and reproducing endemic inequalities" (Dei and Asgharzadeh 2001, p. 301). This chapter critiques currently applied perspectives that underpin intercultural education and points out that currently constructed schooling has little capacity to accommodate indigenous education.

Contextualization

- During the last 5 years, the economic and the political scenario in Chile has been marked by two notorious events. In September of 2008, the International Labor Organization's (ILO) 169 convention of indigenous and tribal peoples was ratified and entered into force a year later. The action meant the recognition of indigenous peoples' rights and participation opened for indigenous institutions in all areas related to indigenous peoples. Two years later, in January of 2010, the agreement that allowed Chile to become a member of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) was signed. Both events had significant influence in the field of education, since education is considered an indicator for economic and rights matters.
- The ratification of the ILO 169 convention meant to accelerate the implementation of the program of intercultural education (EIB) and its expansion in terms of the numbers of schools participating in the program. Although the program had already started in the middle of the 1990s, as promoted by the Ministry of Education and the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB), the ILO convention influenced the launch of the subject "indigenous language" in 2012 which became the main instrument of the EIB program (MINEDUC 2012b).
- Chile's OECD membership also had a direct impact in educational matters. Actually, most of the recommendations that OECD made to Chile asked to

improve *quality* in education (Brandt 2010; OECD, 2004, 2009, 2012a), quality being defined and measured in relation to levels of achievement in the standardized testing system at a local level (Institutional System for Measurement of Quality in Education, SIMCE) and in comparison with other members of OECD through PISA (Program for International Student Assessment).

- Guarantying the right to education is important in Chile as its international obligations as well as a significant step in ensuring inclusivity in the socioeconomic environment. Chile is at the threshold of determining how to contend with the rights of the indigenous population and to offer quality in education, which really considers diversity as a main pillar. Indigenous populations constitute 5 % of the Chilean population (INE 2002). Recent studies (Ortiz 2009; Lasser and Contreras 2010) suggest that these rights may best be served by integrating them in the Eurocentric curriculum, which provides for the rights of rest of the Chilean population. Yet indigenous discourses present unique axiological principles which are often in contradiction with conventional formal education.

The General Law of Education and Its Implications in Rights Matters

Law No. 20.310 is the newest instrument in education matters in Chile. During 2009, a new legal frame for the educational system was finally approved, *Ley General de Educación*, *also known as LGE* (General Law of Education), an instrument that regulates all activities in education, especially the production of knowledge within schools. It defines what education is and who the actors involved in it are. The law establishes forms of participation for those actors, mechanisms for recognition, and certification of knowledge acquisition outside of formal education; enables schools to operate and outlines the school certification processes; and defines universal standards of quality and evaluation. In short, the law determines what constitutes *true* knowledge. It lays out the processes and procedures of acquisition, validation, assessment, measurement, and evaluation of the entire education process. It also accredits and legitimizes knowledge, the persons that deliver it, and accounts for its relevance. A fundamental passage is article No. 1 of the law of education that explains a key reason for this generalized control of all aspects of education is the searching for an equity and quality of the "service."

Article No. 1

"La presente ley regula los derechos y deberes de los integrantes de la comunidad educativa; fija los requisitos mínimos que deberán exigirse en cada uno de los niveles de educación parvularia, básica y media; regula el deber del Estado de velar por su cumplimiento, y establece los requisitos y el proceso para el reconocimiento oficial de los establecimientos e instituciones educacionales de todo nivel, con el objetivo de tener un sistema educativo caracterizado por la equidad y calidad de su servicio."	"The Law regulates rights and obligations of members of the educative community; it establishes the minimal requirements that must be achieved for each individual in pre-school, elementary, and secondary education; the law regulates requirements and the process for official recognition of schools and any educative institution at any level. The aim is to have an education system characterized by equity and service quality"

According to the law, Chile has undertaken to provide education that is the primary means of engendering social values, developing human capacities, and promoting human dignity. The General Law of Education is explicit in stating that "education is a lifelong process that aims at achieving ethical, moral, emotional, intellectual, artistic and physical development of all" (General Law of Education of Chile, my translation). Article No. 2 of this law, for example, exhorts that:

Article No. 2

"La educación es el proceso de aprendizaje permanente que abarca las distintas etapas de la vida de las personas y que tiene como finalidad alcanzar su desarrollo spiritual, ético, moral, afectivo, intelectual, artístico y físico, mediante la transmisión y el cultivo de valores conocimientos y destrezas. Se enmarca en el respeto y valoración de los derecho humanos y de las libertades fundamentales, de la diversidad multicultural y de la paz, y de nuestra identidad nacional, capacitando a las personas para conducir su vida en forma plena, para convivir y participar en forma responsable, tolerante, solidaria, democrática y activa en la comunidad, y para trabajar y contribuir al desarrollo del país." (Ley General de Educación de Chile)	"Education is the lifelong learning process that covers the various stages of life of people and aims to achieve spiritual, ethical, moral, emotional, intellectual, artistic and physical development, through the transmission and cultivation of values, knowledge, and skills. It is based on respect and appreciation of human rights and individual freedoms, multicultural diversity and peace, and our national identity, enabling people to lead their lives fully, to live and participate in a responsible, tolerant, united, democratic and active in the community, and work and contribute the country's development." (General Law of Education of Chile)

Education is seen as a lifelong learning process whose main goal is to develop the human being in all its scopes. But what human being is it talking about? Who is this subject that the Chilean law is searching for? At this point, it is crucial to think over the ideas purported by Dei and Simmons (2010) that, "Education is about the power to define oneself, to construct, validate, and legitimize knowledge and learn what is acceptable and not" (p. xiv). As the quote suggests, education is about the power to be, to reproduce the self in what undeniably occurs in relation with *the other*. It is in the encounter when what we are emerges through differentiation, when our identity surfaces. But there is not identity without memory, and there is not memory without narratives (Isla 2012); thereby, how could it be possible "to define oneself" if there is no place to exercise distinct narratives, to recall our memory. The omnipresence of a specific but universalized subject opaque to the dynamic of the encounter between the other and the self comes to generate the subjection of the other; there is no chance to produce less officially legitimized knowledge, and diversity becomes a delusion. Chile is a diverse country; thus, how is it possible to define a tandem of values that apply to all subjectivities? As Dei and Simmons (2010) have stated, "education is a power-saturated discussion" (p. xiv). In this case, it is the state, by means of its institutionalism (the law and the school), that comes to define a utopian "universal subject," "a perfect citizen," that we are all asked to aspire to become. Thus the legitimating of this human being and the values and principles attached to her/him are brought via a concatenation with international regulations.

The main guideline is the Universal Human Rights Declaration which provides axiological foundation for the Chilean constitution and, in consequence, for the rest of the norms emanating from it, ergo, for the Ley General de Educación (LGE). In addition, the recent accessions to convention 169 and OECD, also instruments intertwined with the Universal Human Rights Declaration, have acted over Chile's education system in order that it reflects the values and principles of education that resonate with educational goals in the developed world. The following principles are fundamental pillars that support the schooling system axiologically and cognitively, for example, respect for human rights and individual freedom, the recognition of Chile as a multicultural nation but also the respect for the national identity, and the commitment toward development. The gist of these principles is explicitly outlined in Article No. 3 of the General Law of Education.

Article No. 3

"El sistema educativo chileno se construye sobre la base de los derechos garantizados en la Constitución, así como en los tratados internacionales ratificados por Chile y que se encuentren vigentes y, en especial, del derecho a la educación y a la libertad de enseñanza…." (Articulo N°3, Ley General de Educación)	"The Chilean educational system is built on the basis of the rights guaranteed in the Constitution and international treaties ratified by Chile that are in force and, in particular the right to education and academic freedom…." (Item No. 3, General Law of Education)

These complex axioms are actualized through the curriculum that is one of the principle means by which Chile expresses the aspirations and values that underpin both national and international law that govern education. Underlying the curriculum are dynamics of power that determine the content that is taught and the extent to which it represents diverse cultural and social leanings, "the curriculum is never simply a neutral assemblage of knowledge, somehow appearing in the texts and classrooms of a nation. It is always part of a *selective tradition*, of someone's selection, some group's vision of legitimate knowledge" (Apple 1993, p. 1).

Here again, who's selective tradition is it? What conceptualization of the human informs the curriculum and the principles that underpin it? According to article No. 3, education in Chile is guided by a clear set of values including universalism and lifelong learning, quality in education, equity in education, autonomy, diversity, responsibility, participation, flexibility, transparency, integration, and sustainability (LGE 2009). This gives a veneer of democracy, inclusivity, and equity. All principles recall the neoliberal subject, the cosmopolitan one that has to be flexible enough to successfully handle continuous new challenges and new contexts; it is the global citizen that answers a call in Colombia to a Chilean family that is subscribed to certain telecommunications company, and during the night, by Skype, date someone located in Canada. An individual that understands diversity within the global logic of the market, where diversity, is seen as a skill that contribute to one's ability to succeed in a very dynamic and unstable economic and social scenario. And individual that also understands diversity as value added to the national Identity discursive construction. Mitchell (2003) points out that there have been "changes in the philosophy and practices in national education system [that] have turned toward

the development of the creation a more individuated, mobile and highly tracked, skills-based education, or the creation of the 'strategic cosmopolitan'" (p. 387). Actually, taking a look at "Education at a Glance 2012" (OECD report 2012b), it is possible to distinguish the structure that supports the principles and values that inform the education system and the curriculum in Chile and promotes a certain kind of individual. The report centers its conclusions in the positive impact in economic conditions that access to higher education brings. To begin with, the report significantly insists on the many positive effects a higher level of education presents from an individual as well as a more general perspective: it is a better protection against unemployment compared with lower educated people (OECD 2012a).

Although Mitchell (2003) talks about a philosophical change in education systems, earlier, in the same article, she pointed out how in the nineteenth century the education system participated in the formation of the modern state and had a relation with the economic project of the state, a task mainly achieved through the construction of the "citizen subject" and his/her identity. Thus, it is towards the formation of the modern state that the education system works in Chile, and the legal principles reflected in the General Education Law gravitate to the development of a national subject in accordance with a state of a Neoliberal character. The same meaning of diversity that is professed through the policies of the OECD that also reflects the values of Western society. A great example is how equity in education is defined by the possibility to access to the education system, which means currency, the same logic that applies to quality. Chile has known how to put an instrument for perpetuating inequalities through systematic protection of a status quo that reproduces inequalities in education by rationing rewards and punishment to participants in the system.

Implications of Axiological Principles in the Curriculum

Universalism and lifelong learning refers to the opportunity to have access to education irrespective of the social, economic, or cultural background of the individual. It is assumed that learning is a continual process that happens at all ages. Nevertheless, universalism also comes to signify the existence of a standardized education system. When applied to school, it means a single schooling system with a single epistemology, even within a diverse society. The premise that operates here, which is reinforced by the law, is the idea that the whole population responds to one single sort of universal – national, normatized – individual. School acts as a means to create that said national identity, a place where "us" and "them" are conceptualized in a symbolic asymmetry that includes and excludes in relation to territory, time, a collective, and a symbolic and normative order (Isla 2012, p. 3). School works as a powerful "dispositive" that contributes to the construction of a national subject full of essentialisms. Larraín (2001) reminds us that "the national identity, as an essentialist notion, lays on a set of selected features, milestones, and meanings that stay quite stable no matter social and historical changes. He keeps arguing the always latent possibility of recovering the national identity by means recalling a

source of collective memory which could be a military tradition, a historical group or ancestry" (Larraín 2001, p. 144).

But memories do not happen in isolation; we remember helped by other's memories (Ricoeur 1998), and the memories are engaged with collective narratives, which are enhanced through celebrations, commemorations of certain events that protrude over others (Rubio 2007; Isla 2012). The schooling system in Chile produces a universal notion of a subject built on certain traditions, in certain memories that speak to particular events that formed (and re-form) the nation. It relates to certain faces, certain historiographies. It is the memory of the hegemonic elite presented through the curriculum and the schooling culture that surrounds it. "State schooling was not just about the creation of a literate population or a trained workforce, but was implicated more generally in the creation of a particular kind of state subject – one schooled in the norms and proper codes of behaviour related to national citizenship" (Mitchell 2003, p. 389).

In terms of this universalism, it is interesting to look at the role that the constitution assigns to the family in terms of education. While the state guarantees the right to education, it is the family that is responsible to actualize that right, a position in tune with OECD's statements on responsibility that falls on families around questions of education. The last education report of OECD highlights the importance of families in financing education; Ángel Gurría, OECD secretary general, underlines that, "because changes to the global economy affect both countries and individuals, countries should take care to strike a careful balance between providing appropriate public support for education and requiring students and families to cover some of the costs" (OECD 2012a). Even though the recommendations are addressing the access to upper secondary education, it still presents an idea of the role of families in education systems in OECD countries.

The role of the family in education in Chile is clearly expressed in the law. Constitution of Chile, Article 19, Nr. 10, section 3

"Los padres tienen el derecho preferente y el deber de educar a sus hijos. Corresponderá al Estado otorgar especial protección al ejercicio de este derecho." (Constitución Política de la República de Chile 1980)	"Parents have the preferential right and the duty to educate their children. The State shall provide special protection for the exercise of this right." (Constitution of the Republic of Chile 1980)

The fact that government legislates on the right of education to individuals but leaves its actualization as families' responsibility creates room for significant controversies, contradictions, and conflict. On the one hand, the responsibility for education falls on the family, but on the other hand is the state that defines what should be learned at school – the official curriculum. Admittedly, pupils may learn at home or acquire nonformal education, but whatever skills and knowledge they have acquired will have to be certified by the state. At the same time, it is the state, through the law, which creates a set of instruments to formalize any capacity, ability, or attitude acquired outside of the formal system. For example, the family, as an institution, is the ultimate social entity responsible for education. However, in the

best scenario, any production of knowledge and skills acquisition done outside of the system, for instance, in the family, can still be recognized by public instruments and get a "labor competencies" certification. Thus, the official system determines what counts as knowledge, and its functionality, even within these circumstances.

Universalism in education remains even more controversial if we look at the implications that it has for the curriculum and how this universal right to education could undermine other essential rights. Montecinos (2004) suggests a way to explain the conflicts that come up when official policies are confronted with political positionalities of minoritized bodies in school. She narrated that during one of her visits to a rural school in a Mapuche area, the teacher she visited pointed out her conflicts at the time to develop the subject of history. According to the narrative of parents, it had contradictions in the way it portrayed Mapuche peoples. A student's father had cautioned his son that he would hear lies in school about Mapuche peoples, so the teacher had difficulties handling the contradictory versions of students' and the school's about specific events in local history. In this case, what Montecinos (2004) amplified is the conflictive encounter between the indigenous counter-hegemonic discourse and the official discourse in relation to one of the most marginalized populations in Chile. It is the Mapuche subject portrayed by the state through the schooling and its curriculum and the subjectivity of Mapuche community that neatly shows how the notion of universalism undermines the one considered and produced as *the other*. As Montecinos (2004, p. 39) asked: what could happen if the teacher would say 'your father is wrong' and so delegitimizes the father and the whole community? Could the teacher publicly agree with the community and disagree with the system or does she have to advocate for the official history narrated through the curriculum and the schooling texts? When the policy allowed indigenous parents to participate in curriculum development, was the community envisioned as wanting to build a vindicating curriculum based in current Mapuche peoples' issues over an essentialized past? Universalism turns problematic in terms of attainment in a system that is highly segregating.

Earlier, education was provided through a standardized curriculum that, subsequent to the introduction of the General Education Law, was more rigidly linked to utilitarian values that impose specialization at an early age in life. Several education programs have been developed in Chile seeking unity between the productive needs of the country and the educative programs (e.g., Chilecalifica, Secondary Technical Education, networks to articulate technical education and competitiveness). A change experienced lately in the curriculum is the competence-oriented methodologies that seek to install skills that will prepare the individual to better serve the economic model very early in school.

Some of the international agreements that Chile has signed have been domesticated through ratification by the Chilean Parliament. The country has, however, not established adequate mechanisms for the realization of these conventions in education. For example, ILO's convention 169 advocates for protection of indigenous rights. There is a significant indigenous population in Chile in the name of the Mapuches, the Rapa Nuis, the Aymaras, the Quechuas, the Kawashkars, the Collas, the Atacameños, the Diaguitas, and the Yamanas. Article No. 2 guarantees these

indigenous communities educational rights that are consistent with their worldview. Government has a responsibility to promote these rights.

Convention 169, Article No. 2

1. Governments shall have the responsibility for developing, with the participation of the peoples concerned, coordinated and systematic action to protect the rights of these peoples and to guarantee respect for their integrity.
2. Such action shall include measures for:

   (a) ensuring that members of these peoples benefit on an equal footing from the rights and opportunities which national laws and regulations grant to other members of the population;
   (b) promoting the full realization of the social, economic and cultural rights of these peoples with respect for their social and cultural identity, their customs and traditions and their institutions;
   (c) Assisting the members of the peoples concerned to eliminate socio-economic gaps that may exist between indigenous and other members of the national community, in a manner compatible with their aspirations and ways of life. (ILO 169 Convention 1989)

The ratification of the ILO 169 convention suggests that Chile offers the indigenous populations an opportunity to participate in activities that promote indigenous values. However, if we look at the foregoing narrative, their possibility of participation of indigenous knowledge within the curriculum is not open as it threatens the hegemonic order. Moreover, historically in Chile, indigenous peoples have experiences of dislocation and limited access to traditional shrines, cultural sites, and livelihoods that are consistent with their cultural worldview. Besides, within the Chilean context, indigenous rights are often trampled upon by government legislations that criminalize the choice to not participate in Western education. Thus, contrary to the ILO 169 convention, the Chilean educational experience is based on a linear schooling system with a uniform and normalizing curriculum for the whole country, undermining the possibilities for the (re)production of the values and knowledge forms of indigenous communities. To expose indigenous youth to a linear schooling system that ignores or gives little space for different epistemologies, involves a process of assimilation that works to exterminate rather than promote indigenous ways (Pedrero 2012). Thus, the guarantee of a right to education, as postulated in the General Education Law, serves to undermine the ILO 169 convention and its provision, especially as contained in Article No. 2.

Similarly, the quality of education is defined in relation to a national system of assessment that also responds to standards established internationally (e.g., Program for International Student Assessment, PISA; Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study, TIMSS; and Progress in International Reading Literacy Study, PIRLS). Furthermore, the meaning of success and excellence is determined by the OECD and the Western values that support ongoing processes of colonization. In fact, just one look at the studies developed around Chile during the process of admission to the OECD, as well as more recently, show as a main concern, the

performance of Chilean students in international assessments, and this is what is considered an indicator of growth and social development for the nation (Brandt 2010; OECD 2004, 2009).

On the other hand, key principles of genuine education are severely diluted. For example, equity is thought in terms of access to quality, or rather the ability of students to attain the same grades regardless of their background. Simultaneously, autonomy is reduced to mean freedom to establish or replicate schooling spaces that offer identical educational experiences. The import is proliferation of private schools that are fashioned as services provided, attracting government subsidies while perpetrating the same hegemonic ideology of Western education.

In this context, diversity becomes a tokenism that acts as a check-mark for the list that is required through the international agreements that Chile has subscribed to and ratified. "In the field of education, multiculturalism draws directly from this Deweyan nationalist legacy. Multicultural education in liberal, Western societies is concerned with the creation of a certain kind of individual, one who is tolerant of difference, but a difference framed within certain national parameters and controlled by the institutions of the state" (Mitchell 2003, p. 392). The same logic operates for the rest of the principles. If integration suggests the incorporation of what is outside of normalcy, then the questions to ask are: What is normal? Who defines that normalcy? Why does a democratic nation need a special policy to integrate the margins? How do particular bodies come to be marginalized in these so-called democratic spaces?

Curricular Bases: The Navigation Chart

The education reform (2009) established the *Bases Curriculares* (curricular bases) as the main instrument to inform the schooling system in curricular and methodological aspects. The documents have the mission of offering a common cultural basis for the whole country (Ministry of Education 2012). The tasks are presented as a tandem of administrative rules and learning objectives that following the Piagetianian logic and are addressed according to the age of the students. Thus, it is ensured that the totality of students have a similar schooling experience (Ministry of Education 2012, p. 5). A common cultural background is assumed, and an idea of social cohesion and integration is promoted. However, due to the principle of integration, the systems have to allow the "addition" of contents as a way to accommodate alternative learning experiences in school. This is done through the chance that schools have to present particular educative proposals which count for 30 % of curriculum. In this way the freedom that schools have to express their diversity is safeguarded according to the law. Underpinning this space is the idea that the curriculum is able to be complemented when, for instance, there are cultural minorities attending a particular school.

The curriculum provides 30 % flexibility opportunity where schools may develop their own teaching experiences while these must not be in contradiction with public

order. This would ordinarily be an excellent chance to allow wide latitude of indigenous learning. Nevertheless, because the curriculum is not specific about the kind of experience that should be promoted through this 30 %, questions abound about its meaning abound. What are the possibilities for different epistemologies to be developed within the schooling system? Is the 30 % of the curriculum enough to incorporate different knowledge?

This policy is called "free disposition" (MINEDUC 2009a). According to the Ministry of Education, it is seen as a token of coherency among the educational system, the Chilean constitution, and the law of education. Through this 30 %, integration, diversity, and autonomy take place. What is interesting to consider is how the interpretation of that autonomy in the schooling system reflects the meaning that the concept of autonomy acquires in the political arena. There is a clear parallelism between what occurs in Chile in terms of rights recognition and the relations of power that happens in the schooling system. For instance, the state recognizes the existence of indigenous peoples, and until 2011, those populations had just the category of ethnicity; however, that recognition does not mean the right to self-determination and autonomy. Instead, it means a tandem of paternalistic policies that deepen the marginalization of indigenous peoples rather than enhancing their dignity through, say, recognizing their right to their land and self-governance. Similarly, in schools, policies are designed to incorporate these peoples into the mainstream schooling system instead of considering autonomy in education as the right to develop and experience their own ways of knowledge production within their own institutions. This is the case of the 30 % of "free disposition" policy in the curriculum which acts as a cold cloth for a boiler that is about to explode; a token of autonomy that serves to scuttle the people's struggle for more inclusive education.

Learning Aims: The Trip to Get the Right Knowledge

Methodologically, the curricular bases collect past experiences and incorporate disciplinary innovations as well as new pedagogical and curriculum tendencies (MINEDUC 2012b). Within this framework, the *Objetivos de Aprendizaje Generales* (General Learning Aims) are defined: a set of knowledge, abilities, and attitudes that will allow students to continue their trip through the schooling system (ibid.). The general learning aims are subdivided into cognitive categories, measurable through specific attitudes and competencies. Besides, there are the transversal learning aims, which are defined as specific attitudes toward knowledge developed through all the curriculum subjects: appreciation of knowledge, curiosity, joy for reading, communication, estimation for art, wellness and physical activity, family, society, environment, self-esteem, and a feeling of belonging for the country are matters addressed from elementary through secondary school.

Both types of aims look for preparing the individual for her/his future life in society. The cognitive domain requires that students develop a comprehension of

the world as well as abilities that will allow them to have access to knowledge at different levels. The cognitive focus locates as a central capacity the ability to master the official language of the country (Spanish); both spoken and written. The last one is seen as a key competence that introduces students to other areas of knowledge. The cognitive learning aims are defined and structured in relation to the main disciplines addressed in the curriculum: natural science, social sciences, and humanities, mathematics, and language. Those areas of Western knowledge turn into a group of subjects which structure and operationalize the production and reproduction of knowledge through the curriculum.

Through school, a particular sense of identity and belonging to the Chilean society (MINEDUC 2009a, 2012b) is fostered. However, this Chilean society does not belong to everybody, and not everybody is considered Chilean on equal footing. A recent study showed that the 50 % of the general managers of the biggest companies that operate in Chile attended the same five schools, all with a catholic orientation; the study also showed that a 50 % of ministers and members of the parliament during 2009 were students of the same five schools, three of them catholic private schools, two of them secular, and one of these two public "the famous Instituto Nacional (National Institute)" (Waissbluth 2010, p. 27). Also, 80 % of those ministers were people raised and currently living in Santiago, the capital of Chile. The concentration of resources, and the narrow distribution of positions of power, talks about a society with profound inequities, where a centralistic logic is capable of erasing the singularities of a country with 15 regions, distributed along 4,300 km in length, co-inhabited by indigenous peoples, mestizos, and an increasing number of immigrants.

Going back to this sense of identity and belonging, the following questions present themselves: Why is it compulsory to develop this sense of national identity? Who benefits from this idea of sameness? What are the implications of it? Why is it that even the recognition of the otherness through the law does not open the possibility for the cohabitation of multiple nationalities within the same territory, in fact, rather than that, we see how those others are expected to be integrated to the mainstream?

Language and mathematics are the most important subjects in the curriculum. The rest of the subjects become complements to the curriculum; this reflects the hegemonic interpretation of these other subjects as they work to fix possible subject locations. Also, language and mathematics are the subjects that are evaluated according to international standards and that report the progress of Chile in education matters (PISA, TIMSS, PIRLS, ICCS, MINEDUC 2009a, 2012b). The written word is of an enormous importance. The idea that through the written word the world is mainly codified is present in the curriculum. Also, letters are the way to get into the beauty of thought, into ancient and classical intellectual activities. But the written word is also a tool for working. In Chile there are not many legal labor possibilities in the market for someone who is "illiterate" (Waissbluth 2010).

Indigenous Language: The Reproduction of the Margins

Ley Indígena/Indigenous Law

Título IV De la Cultural y la Educación Indígena	Title IV Cultural and Indigenous Education
Párrafo 1º Del Reconocimiento, Respeto y Protección de las Culturas Indígenas	Paragraph 1 Recognition, Respect and Protection of Indigenous Cultures
Artículo 28	Article 28
El reconocimiento, respeto y protección de las culturas e idiomas indígenas contemplará:	Recognition, Respect and Protection of indigenous cultures and languages will include:
(a) El uso y conservación de los idiomas indígena, junto al español en las áreas de alta densidad indígena;	(a) The use and conservation of indigenous languages, along with Spanish in the areas with a high concentration of indigenous people;
(b) El establecimiento en el sistema educativo nacional de una unidad programática que posibilite a los educandos acceder a un conocimiento adecuado de las culturas e idiomas indígenas y que los capacite para valorarlas positivamente;	(b) The establishment in the national education system of a program that enables learners adequate access to knowledge of indigenous cultures and languages and to enable them to evaluate them positively;
Párrafo 2º De la Educación Indígena	Paragraph 2 Indigenous Education
Artículo 32	Article 32
La Corporación, en las áreas de alta densidad indígena y en coordinación con los servicios u organismos del Estado que corresponda, desarrollará un sistema de educación intercultural bilingüe a fin de preparar a los educandos indígenas para desenvolverse en forma adecuada tanto en su sociedad de origen como en la sociedad global. Al efecto podrá financiar o convenir, con los Gobiernos Regionales, Municipalidades u organismos privados, programas permanentes o experimentales. (Ley Indígena Chile 1991)	The Corporation, in areas with a high concentration of indigenous people, and in coordination with state departments or agencies as appropriate, develop bilingual intercultural education to indigenous students to function adequately in society both in local and global society. The effect may support or agree with regional governments, municipalities or private bodies, permanent or experimental programs. (Chile Indigenous Law 1991)

Besides these traditional subjects, during 2010 the subject "indigenous language" was launched. This new area consigned in the curriculum is a way for Chile to recognize the rights of indigenous peoples through their incorporation into the schooling system.

The promulgation of the law was in 1993, and during 1996, an experimental program of intercultural education was started (Montecinos 2004; Infante 2007; Magendzo 2008), focused on those areas with larger numbers of indigenous peoples: 162 schools implemented the program, consisting of just 1.9 % of the total (8,886) schools in Chile (MINEDUC DOCUMENTS 2009a). Finally, in 2009, a program of consultation among the indigenous population was implemented in order to intervene in the curriculum in terms of content and methodological aspects.

The result was the creation of the subject "indigenous language." The main instrument that prompted it was convention 169, specifically according to what it says in its article 28:

> Children belonging to the peoples concerned shall, wherever practicable, be taught to read and write in their own indigenous language or in the language most commonly used by the group to which they belong. When this is not practicable, the competent authorities shall undertake consultations with these peoples with a view to the adoption of measures to achieve this objective. (169 Convention, article 28, paragraph No. 1)

As a result, and in concordance with the recognition of nine indigenous groups in Chile, four languages were developed in the curricular language proposal for Aymara, Rapa Nui, Mapuche, and Quechua populations. The axes for intercultural education were determined as: communitarian participation, curricular contextualization, and strengthening of indigenous languages.

The subject is consigned and regulated in the curricular bases that organize the schooling system, according to the Ministry of Education. The indigenous language is the way in which intercultural education materialized in Chile. It is defined as the "intent to rescue and [support] appreciation of differences among culturally diverse groups… [in their interactions] languages and specific cultures acquire much importance due to the necessity of mutual recognition" (MINEDUC 2012b). However, the treatment of the curricular subject is ambiguous.

A quick look at the policy shows a tandem of inconsistencies, which clearly express how superficial the policies that recognize rights for minoritized bodies in Chile are. First of all, the implementation of the subject requires an enrolment of a specific number of students who self-define as indigenous. In a country where being indigenous is stigmatized, however, there tends to be a conspiracy of silence where individuals who are indigenous opt not to self-identify themselves. Besides, the act of self-identification with a particular minority in a society such as Chile, where the discourse of the colonizer has been well internalized, means self-adscription to the margins. In particular, I remember a conversation with a group of students in the city of Arica, one of the territories in Chile with the largest indigenous population according to the census data: 11.5 % (Intituto Nacional de Estadística 2002). The students were mostly indigenous; however, when I asked them if they were indigenous, all, except one, did not self-identify as indigenous. I repeated the exercise several times in different schools, but the answer was much the same. One time, when I insisted, one of the students said: "my grandparents used to be indigenous, but we are not any more."

In a schooling system where individualism and competitiveness are the key elements to success, concentrating on economically rewarding subjects such as math and language appears preferable over empty preoccupation with indigenous language. In conjunction with indigenous languages being optional courses, it is no wonder they have been marginalized in the curriculum and have done little to change the conventional curriculum in Chile's schools. Simultaneously, the marginalization of the courses within the schools does little to support students' desires to claim indigeneity. Montecinos (2004) amplified the failure of the EIB in creating

conditions for inclusion. She, looking at the foundational reasons of the EIB, distinguished that the EIB program focuses on the indigenous individual as if they were the only bicultural subjects: those who have to learn their own culture, as well as the dominant culture. For example, the indigenous language subject is taught to indigenous peoples, but as Montecinos (ibid, p. 37) posed, it looks like the nonindigenous bodies do not need to participate in interculturalism, which works to keep the indigenous student as *the other*.

There is also no intercultural dialogue, nor does the policy have a real impact in the recognition of the difference. The recognition of indigenous peoples and their cultures, as complex systems of knowing with a disadvantaged position within the Chilean society, is presented as fixed through the program of intercultural education, a policy that is another tokenism that works as a euphemism in the task of avoiding a real recognition of the right to education. Who needs integration, and integration into what? As is declared by the Ministry of Education, the General Law of Education, the Constitution, and the Indigenous Law, and so on, "further than just recognize the coexistence of different cultures within the same Nation/State… [Intercultural Education] search to refine the concept of citizenship with the purpose of adding to the already established rights of liberty and equality under the law, the recognition of cultural rights to indigenous peoples, cultures, and ethnic groups which cohabit within the borders of Nation/states" (Fuller 2002 in MINEDUC 2011, p. 3). Instead of self-determination and autonomy as a possibility to establish and run an alternative institutional environment in education, the right to education and the recognition of differences are reduced to an option within the curriculum rather than the real institutional transformation that should be demanded.

A Way to Conclude

In the forgoing paragraphs, I have considered the Chilean law of education and the principles that underpin the schooling system as well as the shape that the system acquires through the curriculum. The examination looked at the implications of the law of education in rights matters, specifically what refers to ethnic minorities' rights recognition.

The law of education in Chile appears connected with the Universal Human Rights Declaration as a source of inspiration in matters of humanity: that humanity which the educational system aims to develop in each student. Also, the law is informed by the international conventions and treaties that Chile is bounded to. Recently, the organizations that have informed the definitions of public policies that search for inclusion and improving have been the OECD and the 169 ILO convention.

The OECD has reinforced, through the curriculum, the principles that underpin the neoliberal individual that also connects with notions of cosmopolitanism. The logic of the market that accompanies this cosmopolitan individual which goes along with a neoliberal market raises as the constructor of globalization, not in vain Chile

is part of the OECD. Harvey (2007), in relation to this individual, says: "While personal and individual freedom in the marketplace is guaranteed, each individual is held responsible and accountable for his or her own actions and well-being. This principle extends into the realms of welfare, education, health care, and even pension […] Individual success or failure are interpreted in terms of entrepreneurial virtues or personal failings (such as not investing significantly enough in one's own human capital through education" (p. 65).

At the same time, the ratification of the 169 ILO convention has molded the schooling system in order to recognize indigenous rights within the system. However, far from what it is possible to imagine, the transformation imposed by the convention goes to the compass of the neoliberal values. The indigenous language subject is an island within the curriculum; it works as a tokenism that finally validates the notion of national identity based on a memory that includes the first nations as part of the past of the nation but barely acknowledges their existence today as a population that experience deep conflicts with the state precisely in relation to rights matters. In fact, the program of EIB and specifically indigenous language as a subject left the responsibility of building a pluralistic nation through education to indigenous peoples, the "objects" of intercultural education, because for individuals that are part of the dominant society, it is not necessary for them to participate in the intercultural dialogue. How can indigenous populations that have been deprived of power to participate in society be asked to be responsible for its transformation? What tools would they use? In asking these questions, I do not intend to undermine or disacknowledge the power of resistance that comes from individual marginalized, but that is a topic for another article.

As the majority of the population in Chile, I am a mestiza, I was born during the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet in Chile. During my childhood I attended to a public school in a small city located in the northernmost part of the country. The name of my school was D-91 Centenario. The name of the school was chosen as a way to honor100 years of occupation of the region by the Chilean state. I remember leaving my home every Monday morning, crossing the street, and getting to school. When I was there I was usually chosen to be the girl who, along with a male student, was going to hoist the flag while the rest of students were singing the national anthem. I never wanted my father going to school, I was ashamed, he did not look like me, and also he did not look like the people who were in the books, neither I did. I never liked my last name.

Lately, I have been thinking about what being a mestiza means and how school had an influential role in that identity construction. Through school, we, the majority of Chilean citizens, learned that being mestizos means being part of the hegemonic group. The national mythology places us on the side of those who are considered the "founding fathers" of the country, but very far away from those who inhabited the land that today is called Chile, before the Spaniards arrived. Being on that side is much more convenient; it is a way closer to the center and far from the margins – at least nominally.

Paradoxically, we do not live within the center, not even close. In school, the national identity is constructed and embodied by the student. However, in our daily

lives, the privilege attached to the colonizer is gone, and we experience our real position within the colonizing project called Chile: "The colonizer did not only seize land, but also minds" (Asante 2006, p. ix). Fanon tells us that "the rich history and institutions of the indigenous population are physically and symbolically destroyed, and in their place the colonizer produces a people who deserve only to be ruled" (Fanon 1967, p. 18). This is the collective memory posited in Chile that which has been trained through school to forget that being a mestizo also includes the heritage of knowledges of those people who inhabit the margins.

Dei (2006) points out the importance of subverting dominant discourses in order to challenge social oppression (p. 4). I, as a mestiza and a teacher of history, see in school the possibilities to rewriting ourselves from the margins. I strongly believe that school is the precise place where it is possible to start to vindicate our positionality in terms of the real recognition of rights, where we can encounter our responsibilities and recognize our complicities with the national colonizing project, also redrawing the erased side of being a mestizo, as Dei (2006) states, "…stand firmly in the present, with [our] back to the future, and [our] eyes fixed upon the past, seeking historical answers for present-day dilemmas" (p. 1).

Finally, I just want to add that it is important to pay attention to the stated intentions of these policies, even when they do not produce the spaces of inclusion they claim to seek. The policy of intercultural education in Chile is just another tool to continue performing processes of colonization. What really matters is to look at how those instruments (legislations and international agreements) are seen and expected to protect and promote the recognition of rights for minorities, but that finally just becomes another piece of the colonization project. It is not possible to vindicate the rights of minorities if it is not through the recognition of their self-determination and autonomy, conquest that will really come true through the devolution of the land occupied by outsiders. As a mestiza, I embrace the cause, and in solidarity through my indigenous roots, I amplify those roots that the school has erased.

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Part III
Representations: The Media, Discursive Authority, and Counter Narratives

Chapter 8
'You Make Our Lives Better': Education and the Detention of Tamil Refugee Children

Gillian Geetha Philipupillai

> 'They' schools ain't teachin' us, what we need to learn to survive
> 'They' schools don't educate, all they teach the people is lies
> – dead prez (Gavin et al. 2000)

On August 13, 2010, a shipping vessel named the MV Sun Sea arrived under military escort to Canadian Forces Base (CFB) Esquimalt on unceded Coast Salish territories, colonially known as British Columbia. The MV Sun Sea was carrying 492 Tamil migrants fleeing violence and genocide in their homelands claimed as territory of the state of Sri Lanka. Upon their arrival, Tamil asylum seekers encountered state, media, and public responses to the perceived threat of a horde of Tamil bodies. Tamils were understood as 'terrorists', 'queue-jumpers', and 'threats to public safety'. Fleeing 30 years of war which culminated in a genocide and ethnic cleansing, displaced from their lands and homes and having spent 3 months on a ship in dangerous and difficult conditions, the migrants were then subject to mass arrest and detention. Much of the critical response and organization which has sought to resist tactics of intimidation and oppression brought down upon migrants has been focused on the comments and actions of public figures like Prime Minister Stephen Harper; Jason Kenney, the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration; Vic Toews, the Minister of Public Safety; law enforcement agencies like the RCMP and the Canadian Border Services Agency (CBSA); and legislation like the ironically titled Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA), as representative of an unjust, racist, colonial, and oppressive white supremacist capitalist state.

In this chapter, I specifically implicate the role of educators, including the BC Teachers' Federation, the Burnaby school district, and the Ministry of Education, in processes of racism, colonialism, and repression for participating in rather than opposing the detention of Tamil children and all migrants aboard the MV Sun Sea.

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Education plays a particular function in the colonial order both distinct and complexly intertwined with the violence the state exerts through the policing of its borders, securing land theft, appropriating resources, and incarcerating those who resist the norms of colonial capitalism and whiteness. In focusing upon the role of education and educators, I am attuned to the ways in which colonialism and critiques of colonialism are gendered (Fanon 1963; Razack 2008); I argue that we must also recognize the position of white and Western women in colonial education. I also work with the concept of schools as landmarks of colonial frontiers, as well as their potential as crucial sites for anti-colonial and anti-racism intervention and resistance. Towards resisting the function of education in the colonial order, anti-colonial and anti-racism pedagogy seeks not only to decolonize curricula but also to secure the resistance of both students of colour and educators of colour. Anti-colonial and anti-racism education depends upon transgression and the radical political commitments of educators of colour. If we situate it within the broader context of anti-colonial struggle, this challenge is one that also holds the promise of liberation for students and educators alike since it requires confronting rather than upholding the violence of the white settler state, white supremacy, and colonial capitalism.

Reframing 'Crisis' Within a Colonial Order

I situate the arrival of the MV Sun Sea as an event within a colonial and capitalist framework that is continually denied by the white settler state and white settler subjects. Rather than the imposed narration of the MV Sun Sea and the Tamil bodies aboard it as harbingers of terror and crisis, my analysis is informed by the persistent violence of white terror and white supremacy, including the ongoing colonial genocide against Indigenous peoples and nations on their own lands, the legacy of the residential school system, the displacement and dispossession through the transatlantic slave trade, racist Islamophobia in the 'post-9/11' security state, patterns of forced migration and indentured labour, and the many forms of imperial capitalist domination and exploitation. A common feature of colonialism and colonial governance, from the West Bank to CFB Esquimalt, is that it necessitates apartheid walls, checkpoints, and pass laws, all serving as borders both materially and symbolically. For it is only through this control and management of transit and the exertion of control over the periphery and racialized bodies that colonial governance can produce and generate its ultimate and singular notion of a political community, "the bounded, internally homogenous, nation-state", and entrench it as "the natural unit of the global political order" (Spencer 2003, p. 6). As Sherene Razack writes in *Casting Out*, the nation state requires "a national community organized increasingly as a fortress, with rigid boundaries and borders that mark who belongs and who does not. The national subject of this securitized state understands himself or herself as being under siege" (Razack 2008, p. 6). In this increasingly securitized 'post-9/11' state with its logic of white supremacy, and dependence upon exploiting the labour of people of colour,

it is only the white settler subject who is given licence to understand himself as a victim or a target. Tamils fleeing genocide, violence, and military occupation in their homelands, fleeing a war that was produced by the effects of Western colonial occupation, can no longer even claim to be asylum seekers. Rather, they are always, and already, 'terrorists'. This 'terror' of Tamils aboard the MV Sun Sea is nothing more and nothing less than the crime of insisting with great dignity, and at immeasurable cost (neither of which do I even begin to claim), to always remain Tamil people, and a Tamil nation, despite facing constant threat for doing so by a white supremacist and capitalist world order.

Colonial order is secured through the militarization and policing of borders, not only spatially, but the epistemological borders which demarcate citizenship and humanity as the property of whiteness and deny Indigenous worldviews, governance, and sovereignty. Such an understanding repositions and challenges the narratives of the white settler state in responding to the arrival of the MV Sun Sea. Instead, the manufactured narratives of 'crisis', which the white settler state anxiously produces, also make it possible for anti-racists to engage with anti-colonial histories towards uncovering and foregrounding as a form of resistance, the transits forced upon people of colour[1] (Ahmed 2000; Smith 2010).

The notion of Sri Lanka, of Tamils, of Indigenous peoples, of people of colour, of non-status peoples, of blackness, and of the Global South as problems is a notion produced by colonialism and white supremacy (Smith 2010). While always present, this discourse takes centre stage at moments of 'crisis', functioning both to position bodies of colour as 'Other' and to secure the hegemony of white supremacy and the white settler state (Smith 2010). As anti-colonialists, we must challenge this dominant narrative of white supremacy and the white settler state at each and every site it manifests itself during moments of 'crisis'.

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[1] I do not directly engage with the question of whether or not people of colour are settlers as Lawrence and Dua (2005), Sharma and Wright (2008), Dei and Simmons (2010), and others have done. However, I am informed by these various positions and particularly the ways I have observed them taken up in the academy. In my experiences the debate between people of colour on the settler issue serves the white supremacist and colonial project of 'divide-and-rule' and is also disgustingly consumed as a spectacle for the white settler scholar, securing rather than displacing the white settler's position as 'impartial' arbiter within the colonial academy. Thus I seek alternate pathways to furthering anti-colonial resistance than denying the positions of my fellow racialized scholars while noting this is a forced negotiation imposed upon me by the white settler scholar. I have no desire to support or participate in this process on the terms of the white settler, rather than on the terms of Indigenous peoples and people of colour. I refuse to risk being read as aiding the white settler's 'race to innocence' or worse, the white settler's notion of their intellectual, moral, and scholarly superiority to my racialized sisters and brothers based on their acceptance or rejection of settler identity. In no way do I seek to be read as denying or refuting the claims of Indigenous peoples, leaders, scholars, activists, and warriors who identify all peoples, but predominantly white people, who are not Indigenous to Turtle Island as settlers. Instead I will merely assert, it is not the concern or business of white settler scholars whether or not racialized scholars and peoples understand themselves as settlers or not. I write towards a day beyond the collapse of this white settler state and its colonial academies where I am held accountable to the peoples Indigenous to this land, rather than the white settlers who colonized and continue to colonize them. I fearfully hope the negotiation I have undertaken does not act against the realization of such liberation.

'Children Have Rights, and We're Just There to Help Them'

An article in the BC Teachers' Federation Newsmagazine details the involvement of the BC Teachers' Federation and the Burnaby school district, with funding from the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Children and Families, in providing instruction to Tamil children from the MV Sun Sea while they were detained with their mothers at the Burnaby Youth Custody Services Centre (Knickerbocker 2010). I critique these sites because they are crucial yet under theorized sites of identity formation for white settler subjects, as well as for oppression and resistance of racialized peoples within the hegemony of white supremacy and global capitalism. The three teachers interviewed for the article were Cora Kinoshita, Joan Peddie, and Pilar Spratt. In working with this article as indicative of the participation of educators in the detention of children aboard the MV Sun Sea, I am also emphasizing the structures and institutions within which these individual educators are embedded, particularly the BC Teachers' Federation and the Burnaby school district, as well as the broader role of education in a capitalist white settler state. Throughout the article, the interest of the BC Teachers' Federation is in representing the educators involved in the programme as being proud of their participation in this initiative, 'I felt privileged to be asked to do it', Kinoshita remarks. Peddie says, 'We were very excited', adding 'What an opportunity!' Upon noting the release of some of the detained children, Spratt remarks, 'I miss some of them already' (Knickerbocker 2010). Titled '"You make our lives better": Lessons in hope from Tamil refugee students', the article glosses over the fact that children are being illegally and immorally detained. The article simply states, 'The children were housed with their mothers', and seeks to normalize violence against children and their families by the Canadian state through Canadian educators. As Razack identifies, the 'Othering' of race thinking functions such that "the suspension of rights appears not as a violence but as the law itself" (Razack 2008, p. 9). In this particular case, the suspension of the rights of children and their families is actually depicted as a humanitarian gesture because stigmatization, surveillance, repression, and control are not recognized as such when delivered by female educators but are easily framed as rescue, service, responsibility, and charity.

A second narrative in the article builds upon the notion that the teachers and the educational system are doing some kind of favour or service to these children by noting the improved behaviour, demeanour, and obedience of the children. The article notes that two teachers work with the 5- and 6-year-olds while one works with the 7- to 12-year-olds and that "The first lessons were about proper conduct in school – lining up, sharing, taking turns" (Knickerbocker 2010). Peddie is quoted as saying, "We needed to be firm…They didn't know any rules because they have never been to school before" (Knickerbocker 2010). Kinoshita adds, "But they've adapted really well…Now they are starting to remind one another of the rules!…And they are so eager to learn, they're just *lapping it up*" (Knickerbocker 2010, emphasis added). Included in the curriculum for these children was, "animated facial expressions…the importance of hand-washing,

following directions…" (Knickerbocker 2010), in other words: the nitty-gritty of a colonial education, socialization into whiteness, and the norms of colonial capitalism. A third narrative emphasizes the positive reception from the students and their parents, which, like both of the other narratives, is only voiced through the comments of the involved teachers and a school board official, Reno Ciofi, who is quoted saying "You just see the appreciation and gratitude on the faces of the children and the parents…It has to do with how our teachers work to establish a relationship with every child" (Knickerbocker 2010). Every piece of information in the article is strategically related to depict the relationship between these teachers and illegally detained children and their mothers, as pleasant and based on 'genuine intentions' rather than a colonial, oppressive, and a horrendously unethical example of a system where educators act as jailors and wardens at the frontier of the colonial order. Instead we are told, "The teachers were especially moved to find a message for them written in sidewalk chalk on the playground. It said: 'You make our lives better'" and that "Their mothers are attentive to the children's learning and daily express their thanks to the teachers, bowing with their hands held palms together as if in prayer" (Knickerbocker 2010). So apt at reading the minds of Tamil children and their mothers, Spratt decidedly says, "If there is trauma, we are not seeing evidence of it" because "the children seem particularly resilient and cheerful" (Knickerbocker 2010). Finally Spratt says, "People are too caught up in where they stand on these issues…It's the children we are providing this for. Children have rights, and we're just there to help them" (Knickerbocker 2010) as though children's rights can be respected and recognized when they are being unconscionably detained, terrorized by a state which racializes their parents and guardians as 'terrorists' deserving deportation, surveillance, and mass detention.

In the case of the MV Sun Sea, we find not simply silence and complicity by educators in the colonial order of the white settler state but indeed the active participation of educators, including women and educators of colour, in criminalizing children and legitimizing the detention of children and their families. Teachers were on the frontline of this state's construction of a 'crisis', acting as foot soldiers in the larger system and structures of colonial education, within a violent white supremacist response designed to demonize, racialize, and criminalize the bodies, communities, behaviours, expressions, and identities of Tamils, migrants, non-status peoples, and people of colour. All while claiming the 'sovereignty' of the white settler state on stolen and occupied lands of Indigenous nations. Here, the Western woman as an educator plays a significant role in the colonial management of borders and the production of a national community based upon genocide against Indigenous nations, the equation of blackness with slaveability, and the exclusion of the racialized 'Other' (Smith 2010, p. 2). As Reno Ciofi, the official from the Burnaby school district mentioned above, put it, he assembled "'a dream team' of teachers…to work with this unique group of children" (Knickerbocker 2010). Identifying the gendered roles of policing within the colonial order, Razack writes, "Empire is a gendered project not only in the sense that what happens to colonized men often differs from what happens to colonized women, but also

because the work that the ruling race *does* is also stratified along gender lines" (Razack 2008, p. 17). Understanding how gender stratifies the work of the colonizer and the colonial order is crucial for developing both anti-colonial analysis and resistance. If we understand the white settler state's response to the arrival of the MV Sun Sea only through figures like Jason Kenney, or institutions such as the RCMP and the CBSA, we limit our understanding of the gendered operation of colonialism, as well as our recognition of the sites of Indigenous and colonized women's historic and ongoing resistance and our future capacity for resistance. In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Frantz Fanon writes:

> In the colonies, the official, legitimate agent, the spokesperson for the colonizer and the regime of oppression, is the police officer or the soldier…the proximity and frequent, direct intervention by the police and the military ensure the colonized are kept under close scrutiny, and contained by rifle butts and napalm. (Fanon 1963, pp. 3–4)

Situations such as the education of detained Tamil children from the MV Sun Sea, as well as the cultural genocide against Indigenous peoples perpetrated through the residential school system, and the pushing out of black, Indigenous, racialized, and non-status youths from formal education demand that we examine the gendered role of the teacher as agent and spokesperson for the settler and the classroom as a space of containment, surveillance, and scrutiny and that we consider the violence of colonial education alongside the Fanonian gaze on "rifle butts and napalm" (Fanon 1963, pp. 3–4).

Identity and Complicity in Colonial Education

As anti-racists and anti-colonialists, we must assert our analysis of colonial education as a tool and function of the white settler state, as well as a critical site of resistance for us. For many of us – racialized bodies – schools were the site of our first acts of resistance to the imposition of whiteness upon our minds, bodies, and spirits. If then we are to become educators, as I have found myself becoming, or at least aspiring to, we bring very different perspectives, experiences, knowledges, challenges, and struggles to the table than white educators, regardless of their politics. What does it mean to be an anti-racist and anti-colonial educator in a system recognized as violently colonial and capitalist?

I reflect upon the activities, mission, and purpose of educators of colour as a diasporic Tamil living on occupied Turtle Island. In school I have been taught the Western tradition, from Homer to Shakespeare, Dickens, and Atwood, but I was never taught that Tamil is an ancient culture, with its own rich literary tradition that, like the languages of many colonized peoples, precedes English. I can tell you from what I was taught in school, why white settlers came to Canada, but I was never taught why my cousins live in Switzerland, Norway, and Australia. My teachers taught me how the colonizer 'peacefully' made the 'New World' his home, but no

teacher has explained to me why the colonized cannot even live in peace in her ancestral homeland. Given the extent to which this colonial education influenced and occupied my mind, it is no accident that I too once thought my own people were 'terrorists', that they, rather than white supremacist capitalist order that oppresses us, were the problem. Perhaps most telling as an effect of colonial education, I thought that 'they' were somehow different from me.

As diasporic people of colour, we live in the white settler state, differentially complicit in the ongoing settler colonialism of peoples indigenous to this land, because of processes of colonial capitalism (Dei and Simmons 2010; Smith 2010). Our education in systems and structures founded upon Eurocentric epistemology represents the ongoing nature of the colonial project. A key difference between the colonizer and the colonized is that the colonizer experiences formal education as a process of identity formation, whereas the colonized experiences it as a violence designed to displace identity (which is not to suggest that the colonizer and the colonized exist as homogenous groups). What I know of my language, history, culture, identity, and that I even know that I am Tamil and not a 'minority,' or a 'Canadian,' I know in spite of, not because of my education. That I have to learn who I am in spite of my education is not an accidental effect of colonialism; rather, it is the very purpose and function of colonial education to take away my identity. Thus, we can also understand the project of anti-racism education for students of colour as the search for a sense of dignity in one's identity which is not conferred by aspirations to, or assimilation into, whiteness, but which flourishes out of resistance and resilience against white supremacy and capitalism.

It is important to note that the system of colonial education required and still requires the complicity of colonized educators. It is no accident that as the child and grandchild of English teachers, I am far more proficient in English than I am in Tamil, that I too can now teach English, but never Tamil. The process of decolonizing education then begins with an inventory of our own colonial investments and a commitment towards subverting them and opening spaces for the plurality of various histories, traditions, languages, forms of governance, spiritualities, worldviews, and indigeneities to flourish. As academics, organizers, and educators who identify as anti-colonialists and anti-racists, we contend with the notion that "Power is a preeminently social concept. Individual agency as such is tied to and constrained by institutional power" (Dei 1996, p. 29). While action and agency may be curtailed, "Anti-racism discourse argues that educators, students and community workers cannot claim to remain neutral in the provision and utilization of educational knowledge" (Dei 1996, p. 26). Thus, to be an anti-racism educator within the capitalist, white settler state demands that we also engage as anti-colonialists. To engage with anti-racism in education is "to rupture the status quo through the social and personal commitment to political activism…to be a theorist and a practitioner for social change" (Dei 1996, p. 26). Community-oriented social and political change or action from within educational institutions and academies may be where anti-racism education begins, but cannot be where it ends.

'The Appalling Silence': Educating as a Political Practice

Colonial contexts worldwide demand political activity and commitment from educators. One such example from the Tamil liberation struggle is the activism of the 'University Teachers for Human Rights (Jaffna)'. The webpage for the 'University Teachers for Human Rights (Jaffna)' displays a quote from Dr. Martin Luther King that reads, "We shall have to repent in this generation, not so much for the evil deeds of the wicked people, but for the appalling silence of the good people" (UTHR(J) 2010). The notion of teaching as a profession where silence in the face of oppression, injustice, terror, and violence would amount to inexcusable complicity was a founding and motivating principle for the 'University Teachers for Human Rights' (UTHR) in Sri Lanka. Sticking to these beliefs did not come without a price; in 1989, Dr. Rajini Thiranagama, a leader within UTHR Jaffna and the head of the Anatomy department at the University of Jaffna, was assassinated by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). The UTHR Jaffna has continued its activities, documenting the political climate in the north and east and advocating for a just peace despite many of those associated with the organization being forced to leave the University of Jaffna in the 1990s. At various points, including the articulation of a claim based upon a Western 'human rights' model, the organization's analysis does not reflect my own. Yet, what I consider most remarkable and pertinent is how UTHR Jaffna frames the roles of teachers and educators and their political responsibilities not only at the cost of earning a livelihood but also at the cost of life itself. In the formation of the UTHR, the notion that teaching is a noble and respectable profession, that educators are 'good' people, is challenged. Rather, the UTHR noted that for far too long, educators in Sri Lanka, in both the north and the south, and from all ethnic communities, had been disappointingly silent and by extension complicit in grave atrocities committed by the GOSL, the Sri Lankan Army (SLA), the LTTE, and various paramilitaries. The formation of the UTHR Jaffna, in Tamil areas in particular, and the leadership of Dr. Thiranagama points towards the educator's role and responsibility to resistance against oppression, not only from where educators hold positions of power and privilege but also from positions of marginality, including minoritized, targeted, and besieged Tamil women in their homelands claimed as territory of the state of Sri Lanka.

The interpretation that the UTHR Jaffna brings to teaching and pedagogy places the political involvement and activity of educators as inherently significant to the community, especially in holding accountable those who violate the principles of the community. As the UTHR Jaffna notes in its mission and statement of purpose, the organization defines itself "as responsible members of an academic institution and citizens of our community', working to produce reports that 'are very unorthodox as human rights documents" (UTHR(J) 2010), perhaps because most so-called human rights documents are written by Western, and white outsiders to an affected community legitimized because their authors are considered 'impartial'. UTHR Jaffna, however, finds its mission, purpose, and responsibility in its crucial role and membership within the affected community. Education is a realm where the past,

present, and future of a community come together, and as the resilient stand of UTHR, Jaffna reminds us that the work of educating, in any of its forms, can never be anything other than a political practice.

'The Old Will Die and the Young Will Forget'

Rather than allowing our presence in colonial institutions to be used to do the work of white supremacy, we must struggle to subvert it. While having a curriculum which centres the histories of colonized peoples is one way to bring anti-racism into classrooms, current events, particularly crises structured by the narratives of white supremacy, also need to be responded to in a manner which guards against and helps respond to the injuries done to students and bodies of colour, their families, communities, and histories at such moments. Crucially, there is a process of reclamation, and a reconciliation with one's own silencing within educational spaces that the racialized anti-racist confronts and engages with, which is empowering and produces the kind of agency we are reminded that we seek to allow racialized students to find within educational spaces.

Within the white settler state, the understandings of bodies in transit, and bodies at borders or checkpoints, are crucial sites at which 'state sovereignty' is expressed and claimed and where such understandings are challenged and resisted. In such moments of crisis that are manufactured by the discourses of white supremacy, the white settler state, and the dominant hegemonies of white epistemologies and knowledge production, it is crucial for anti-racist and anti-colonial pedagogy to intervene. Doing so does not only secure the identities and hopes of liberation for students of colour but also for educators of colour. For wherever we find white supremacy, racism, and colonial violence, we also find space to challenge and space for dissent and opposition.

I was recently reminded, by an older Tamil activist, of David Ben Gurion's prediction that 'The old will die, and the young will forget', a statement which encapsulates the reliance of the colonizer upon the violence of colonial education as a tool of cultural genocide, for colonial education seeks to hasten the forgetting and erasure of Tamil identity towards an assimilationist inclusion, a conditional invitation to be a permanently dispossessed underclass of the white settler state, whereas what anti-racist and anti-colonial pedagogy offers resists the forgetting, remembers the struggle, and seeks liberation for students and educators alike.

Particularly for Indigenous women and women of colour who are educators and organizers, in schools and in communities, the fact that teaching is a highly political profession is not easily forgotten. Both schools and the academy, like other public institutions, are a primary site where political crises are narrated, where we are continually reminded of our supposed inferiority to whiteness and heteronormative masculinity. Occupying at times tenuous positions within colonially capitalist institutions as racialized and Indigenous peoples, as women, part-time, on-call, and sessional workers, we are quick to tally the risks of speaking out; of organizing;

and of making our anti-racist, anti-capitalist, anti-sexist, and anti-colonial political positions known or even the risks of developing these aspects of our political consciousness and activism. Perhaps, as I am now beginning to, we should first ask the 49 Tamil children aboard the MV Sun Sea, what are the risks of our silence?

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Chapter 9
The Single Story of Somalia and Western Media Misrepresentations

Hodan Yusuf

Introduction

> The news texts are frequently accompanied by moving pictures of some poor, emaciated and malnourished figures of women and children who are sorrily staring into the camera (the reader), their eyes empty and hopeless, as if pleading for mercy. Whether these reports and pictures are from Ethiopia, Somalia, Zimbabwe, Botswana or the Sahel regions of West Africa, they all tell the same tale. More often than not, the reporters and editors splash headlines that speak in general and absolute terms about hunger and starvation in Africa. (Michira 2002, p. 4)

Misrepresentation and dishonest coverage about Africa in western media has become a widespread norm. Images, by and large, depict unhealthy children, ethnic conflict, and, more recently, piracy and terrorism. Rarely do we witness images depicting the reality of success and freedom enjoyed in many parts of the continent. Rarely do we witness images of Africans helping Africans. Rarely do we see the images of the historical and present imperial conditions that make for the unrest on the continent.

If it bleeds, it leads. My high school Media Studies teacher first uttered these words to our class as she began to explain issues of representation in the media. This meant stories of car accidents, violence, and death automatically receive priority in media coverage. When the United Nations Secretary-General, Ban Ki-Moon, released a statement on July 26, 2011, officially declaring a famine in Somalia, we saw an influx of images of Somali refugees overflowing in refugee camps in neighboring countries, Kenya and Ethiopia. According to several news outlets, this was now the "worst humanitarian disaster" in the world, requiring the immediate assistance of the international community (Muhumed and Luc 2011).

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The question that often comes to mind is: why must all news about Somalia be bad news and consistently focus on the refugee "crisis," piracy, and violence? The issue is western media regularly takes a deficit approach and, for the most part, neglects to highlight the innumerable celebrated achievements in various parts of Somalia since the fall of the central government in 1991 (Samatar 1992). Images of starving Somali children exemplify the following narrative: "the weak were pushed aside, trampled in the rush on one rice pot. The cooks desperately tried to save it as the starving crowd clawed in vain. Hundreds of faces eyed the cooking pot, burning to eat the contents" (Mermin 1997, p. 398). These are the representations of Somalia in western media, portraying a situation, which can only be solved by the hands of benevolent western aid workers. Using anti-racism and anti-colonial discursive frameworks as the basis of my research, I will explore media misrepresentations of Somalia, particularly in times of crisis. Additionally, this chapter will explore the silencing of Indigenous Somali voices and the ways in which Somalis are countering this prevalent narrative.

Discursive Frameworks

Anti-racism work unquestionably encourages us to move beyond dominant representations and recognize the inherent "danger of a single story" (Adichie 2009). The single story often breeds ignorance when we are exposed to one side of the story; it is important to expose ourselves to multiple stories and situations before we can truly understand a person or place. Similarly, there are evident dangers of multiple stories when they do not speak to the interdependence of stories and their connectedness. Our lives encompass various overlapping stories, and it is imperative to emphasize this interconnectedness. Much of the news coming out of Somalia paints an image of a nation now recognized as the poster child of a "failed state," predominantly airing images of conflict and famine (*Fund for Peace*). As the reigning champion of failed states, Somalia has been coined the most dangerous country to live in (Gettleman 2009). Those of us in the west have been exposed to the single story of Somalia and made to ignore the implications of western involvement in the country and its complacency in the crisis. Anti-racism theory challenges dominant ideologies and questions racialized misrepresentations by western media. Why do western media often depict Somalis as helpless and hopeless? Why are certain bodies represented in media images while others overlooked? These are all excellent questions that I may not have answers to in this chapter; however, I plan to think through them in this chapter, as well as in future research. In anti-racism practice, bodies matter and the representation of particular bodies becomes a key site of investigation (Dei 1996). With that in mind, this chapter explores the ways in which Somali bodies, predominantly children, have been exploited by the media to serve media, and western, interests. Why did western media place so much emphasis on the story of Minhaj Gedi Farah, when millions of children in Somalia are malnourished and facing starvation? (Hasan 2011). To rephrase the words of Joseph Stalin (Faust

2006), when one child dies, it is a tragedy, yet when millions die, it is a mere statistic. This is the sad reality of the times in which we live. Working with the assumption that famine is indeed racialized, this chapter will explore the racialized media images in the coverage of the Somali famine. Anti-racism theory questions and challenges the motives of mainstream narratives and calls for indigeneity. It calls for immediate recognition of the agency of the people represented in these popular images and seeks to bring their experiences and histories to the forefront (Dei 1996). There are a lot of faces to the famine in Somalia; Minhaj is just one of many. In order to envision a way forward, as anti-racism theory calls for, we must create a narrative based in action; those actions must lie in the hands of the Somali people, not western media or any other external actors. In a conversation with one of his former graduate students, Marlon Simmons, George Dei states, "anti-racism must speak through one's lived experiences, through personal memory, through personal narratives" (Dei and Simmons 2010, p. 115). Recognizing that memories, narratives, and experiences of the people of Somalia are missing in dominant representations of Somalia, this chapter will examine why these voices are missing. This conscious silencing of marginalized voices can be seen in much of the discourse around Somalia, but particularly in the discourse on famine, where the western media have selected certain bodies to be the face of famine in an effort to produce the famine victims as the "other."

Central to anti-racism thought is the epistemic saliency of the oppressed, which in this context is the people of Somalia; their voices and experiences must be central to all representations and discussions (Dei 1996). The agency and legitimacy of Somali people must be central to discussions and narratives of the plight of the Somali people. The danger lies in western journalists and external forces relating the stories of refugees and displaced people while denying the Somali people of their right to their narratives. The silencing and erasure of these voices has sparked a variety of emotions within me, most particularly anger. As I switch on the television and witness dehumanized images of my brothers and sisters, I cannot help but feel angered at how they have been portrayed: as mere consumption and commodities. It angers me even more that the majority of my peers are exposed to this story of Somalia, stories in which the victims are imputed and genuine causes of the famine are ignored. In the spirit of anti-racism practice, I have learned to not only theorize my anger but to practice that anger to resist and overthrow dominant knowledge. This chapter will thus explore ways in which myself and other young Somalis in the city of Toronto have used our anger in a constructive manner through the Walk for Somalia initiatives in 2009 and 2011.

Recognizing the inherent interconnectedness of anti-racism and anti-colonial discursive frameworks, the research presented in this chapter will be approached from an anti-colonial perspective as well. In the aforementioned conversation with Marlon Simmons, Dei states that for anti-racism discursive praxis to occur, analysis of colonization and its histories are necessary (Dei and Simmons 2010). In order to understand the ways in which the media constructs Somalia, one must first understand the colonial histories and their influences. To dismiss the complacency of western media in the Somali crisis is to dismiss the grave impacts of historical and

present colonization. An anti-colonial framework calls for the transformation of Somalia and Somali realities and to drive emphasis away from deficit paradigms and crisis. It will also be instrumental in my discussion of the dynamic youth-led Walk for Somalia initiative in Toronto, an initiative rejecting western media domination of Somali realities. An anti-colonial framework speaks to the practices of resistance against domination and oppression (Dei and Kempf 2006). Western media representations scarcely, if at all, portray the likes of Muhammad Abdullah Hassan who is considered to be "the symbol of political revolt against foreign domination of any kind" (Hess 1964, p. 433). By the same token, there are also countless women who fought for freedom and are great representations of Somali nationalism, including Hawo Tako, a revolutionary freedom fighter (Ahmed 1996). Ignoring the tremendously rich and extensive history of Somalia, only to illustrate images of a "failed state," is undeniably a continuation of the colonial project. The most destructive force—colonialism—not only obliterated Indigenous systems of governance, it also vehemently imposed the concept of "modern state" and indirect rule onto colonized nations in Africa (Mizuno and Okazawa 2009). This meant imposing a western notion of political organization, and any state defying these notions would consequently be deemed as a "failed state." From the perspective of western standards, Somalia falls into this category or, more aptly, is discursively located as representative of this category, and therefore, we must investigate western complicity in the classification and production of nations as failed states. European countries currently in an economic crisis, particularly Greece, meet most, if not all, of the requirements of a failed state; however, the term is solely reserved for nations in the south, particularly in Africa (Manolopoulous 2011). We have not witnessed the labeling of these European countries as failed states, amplifying the hypocrisy of the west.

Anti-colonial theory also speaks to the agency of the people and "works with the idea of the epistemological power of the colonized subjects" (Dei and Kempf 2006, p. 3). An anti-colonial framework allows for the understanding of colonial ideologies, which continue to be perpetuated in society and consequently offer disruptive possibilities via the notion of using our own voices (Dei and Kempf 2006). There is great power in leaving people to their own agency. Colonialism robbed Indigenous peoples of that agency, but we must not overlook the resiliency of the Somali people, despite the media's disregard of it. When the British and Italians colonized Somalia, they were not met with open hands; instead, they encountered rather fierce resistance from the people. Freedom was not handed to the Somali people; our ancestors fought for it. That is the reality of the Somali people, people who, each time, join forces when confronted with a common enemy, regardless of the cost. A more contemporary example of Somali unity when faced with a common enemy is the 2009 UN-backed Ethiopian invasion of Somalia, when Somalis both in the diaspora and in Somalia rallied together to denounce the presence of imperial powers in their country (Samatar 2007). Ethiopia has had a long-time adversarial relationship with Somalia, and in that moment, Somalis united and supported the Islamic Courts Union, led by the current president of Somalia's transitional federal government. The Ethiopian invasion would eventually result in the fall of the Islamic

Courts Union, a fairly moderate group portrayed in the media as "rebels and terrorists," despite having brought 6 months of relative peace to Mogadishu (Mwangi 2010). Somalis have pulled together long before the advent of colonialism and will continue to do so into the future.

In his celebrated book, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Frantz Fanon explores the various effects of colonialism in Africa. He writes, "colonialism has made the same effort in these regions to plant deep in the minds of the native population the idea that before the advent of colonialism their history was one which was dominated by barbarism" (Fanon 1963, p. 213). The very same colonial mentality is used to construct Somalis as backward, barbaric, and primitive. Thus, an anti-colonial framework enables recognition of racist ideologies that continue to be coerced on to the Somali people. This framework has also been instrumental in theorizing the problematic nature of such representations and the interconnected implications it has on my community and recognizing the importance of using our own voices to contextualize the Somali identity and construct new meanings to what it means to be Somali.

Subject(ive) Location

As a member of the diasporic Somali community and a native of Somalia, I am also subjected to, and subjugated by, the media's misrepresentation of Somalia. People with whom I identify and carry a deep connection with have been criminalized, devalued, and plastered across various media outlets with no regard to their person-hood; in fact, the representations work to dehumanize in contemporary colonial fashion. I recognize my anger and profound disappointment; however, my hopes are to theorize my anger and experiences to truly engage in anti-racism and anti-colonial work. I am inspired by bell hooks, who so powerfully reminds us to use our rage and disappointment constructively in order to effectively bring about change (hooks 1995). I am deeply passionate about this topic for a variety of reasons, although primarily because it hits home. My family and I lived in refugee camps the years following the collapse of Somalia's central government, and despite my young age at the time, memories of the camps still remain with me, haunting me. It was in those camps I last saw my father, with whom I always had a strong relationship; therefore, particular memories continue to linger in my thoughts. I remember a very important piece of advice my father left my siblings and I with; he encouraged us to return home when we had received our education and peace was restored back to Somalia. Certainly not anticipating his children would spend nearly two decades abroad, he cautioned us to not abandon our homes and roots and to constantly be reminiscent of where we came from. The counsel of my father, who passed on the year following our arrival in Canada, is a constant reminder of the responsibility I have to my country and the obligation to not forsake my people. Therefore, I write this chapter from the position of a Somali woman with deep-rooted connections to the land and people of Somalia. As a result of those deep-rooted connections, I am

hurt each time I witness the desecration, exploitation, and manipulation of Somalia, and therefore, the media's misrepresentations of people who resemble me continue to have a profound impact on my spirit.

On one occasion in high school, I remember feeling completely dehumanized as I walked towards my Family Sciences classroom on the first day of the tenth grade. It was also the first day of the school's operation; it had just opened that previous summer and had brand new facilities, both outdoor and indoor. I had never imagined the walk towards my first class would have such an impact on my spirit. Alongside the entrance of the classroom was a large poster with two contrasting images: one of a thin, white supermodel's legs and the other of a thin, Somali child's legs. The caption on the photo read "thin isn't always desired," making reference to the idea that thin is sought after by supermodels but some poor Somali people just become that way because of lack of food. What did they know about Somalia and its children? Why did the school opt to put up such a poster that misrepresents the reality of most Somalis at the time? Why would other students look at the poster, look back at me, and comment on how "all Somalis were skinny"? Did they not realize the child in that photo and I live completely different realities? More importantly, did they not recognize the sensitivity of the issue? This is a profound example of the systemic trend of misrepresenting Africa in the western world and the circulating protean discourses that come to shape people's understandings of Somalia. These misrepresentations have consequently shaped and supported stereotypes about Africa and Africans, and in the case of my high school, particularly about Somalia and Somalis. I have never witnessed such a mockery of my country and its people. It was as if this image was a representation of all Somalis and implied we were all indeed "skinny, starving Africans." Students would often joke about the poster and the notion of the skinny Somali and I recall repeatedly being on the defense. The reductionism and mockery of Africa has become so normalized that many lose sight of the implications. To constantly have to be in a position of defense to explain the serious implications that the poster had—not only on me but also on my countrypeople—had an enormous effect on my spirit. My entire identity and being was put on display, mocked, and dehumanized just as images of Somali famine victims are displayed at this moment in time. Although I underwent several injuries to my spirit during those high school years, I have learned to work with that injury and anger as an entry point to my research. It was such experiences that have encouraged me to challenge racist and dehumanizing representations of my community and, as George Dei reminds us, to understand and theorize my anger (Dei and Kempf 2006).

I also approach this research from the position of a community activist, who has spent the last 5 years engaging in community-led projects, both locally and in Somalia. I am a member of a larger network of youth involved in providing support to grassroots agencies on the continent and recognize that western media, which is adamant on exclusively reporting the adversity, ignores our efforts and achievements. In my experience, few in the western media have focused on the extraordinary efforts made by Somalis around the world. Therefore, I approach this work with the intention of shedding light on some of the remarkable work being done

by Somali youth here in Toronto to support current efforts on the ground in Somalia. I recognize the importance of the voice of the oppressed and its centrality in fighting oppression. My efforts and those of my community are stepping-stones to not only understanding but also resisting and overcoming oppression.

Western Media and Their Single Story of Somalia

Resistance and agency are fundamental principles of anti-racism thought: resistance to western media's insistence of speaking for Somalis. Misrepresentations have become suitable visuals for those of us in the west who often distance ourselves from our own implications in the crises we witness in the media. According to Stuart Hall (2003), all forms of media are ideological in that they speak to the meanings of the images they represent and consciously negate alternative representations. Images are fixed and controlled by the dominant group at the expense of the minority, who consequently fall victim to media misrepresentation (Hall 2003). The poster in front of my Family Sciences classroom and subsequent images of Somalia I would eventually be exposed to are in fact disseminated by a dominant group who relentlessly feel the need to speak for us "poor" Africans and in doing so construct a single story.

Studies have shown Africa is the least covered region in the world; however, when the region does receive media coverage, we repeatedly witness images of conflict and famine with particular focus on poor starving children with bloated bellies and skeleton-like bodies (Fair 1993). These stories are continually negative with an incredibly narrow focus. As famine was announced in Somalia in the early 1990s, following the collapse of the central government, it became newsworthy and consequently, scores of media professionals were *inspired* to travel to Somalia to cover the catastrophe. They practiced what Jo Ellen Fair refers to as "parachute journalism," where journalists would literally go in and out of these hot spots to photograph and film the crisis (Fair 1993). Journalists continue to practice this particular form of journalism in Somalia and in refugee camps in neighboring countries. A Somali woman, who fled to Dadaab refugee camp during the recent famine, conveyed her frustration with journalists in a recent Al Jazeera Documentary, "Horn of Africa Crisis: Somalia's Famine" (2011):

> All of Somalia has a problem. Nothing will be left in the South. Everyone will die. Tell the world what I'm telling you right now. There are journalists coming here all the time taking pictures. Why do they not do anything?

The answer to this woman's question is relatively simple: their role is to merely steal, then consequently sell, their stories. Essentially, that is their end goal. Somalia has become an opportunity for young and seasoned journalists alike to exploit the suffering of the people without any regard to their circumstances. An aggravated elderly man in the same documentary expressed similar sentiments and noted, *"They just come here to take pictures and they leave. Nothing happens"* (Horn of

Africa Crisis 2011). The journalists, often coming across as patronizing and condescending, seldom report the full picture. Most will report from the capital city or in refugee camps where they have virtually no access to Indigenous voices. As a result, they speak to government officials, aid workers, and other elites who claim infinite knowledge on the situation in Somalia and subsequently present a single story.

To create a single story is to constantly show a people as one thing, over and over again; the single story of Africa is that of calamity, and as novelist Chimamanda Adichie so eloquently articulates in her Ted Talk speech (2009), "power is the ability not just to tell the story of another person, but to make it the definitive story of that person" (Adichie 2009). Regrettably, famine, conflict, piracy, and terrorism have become the single and definitive story of Somalia as these are the predominant portrayals we often see in western media. The systemic trend of presenting one, single story and misrepresenting Somalia has increased since the famine was announced in July 2012 (Famine in Somalia 2011). The single story not only neglects the substantial implications of foreign policies but also generates stereotypes, which brands the single story as the only story. Consequently, the single, imbalanced story of famine and conflict robs the Somali people of dignity and perpetually emphasizes their "otherness."

Rakiya Omaar and Alex de Waal speak to the single story sensation, after having both left their posts with Africa Watch in 1992, largely due to the organization's support of US military intervention in Somalia. In their Los Angeles Times article (1992), Omaar and de Waal speak of the escalation of undignified images of Somalis and the lack of positive images in western media.

> Do pictures of Somalia show herdsmen tending large flocks of well-fed camels, or farmers cultivating ripening crops of sorghum and maize? Do they show vegetable markets flourishing in Mogadishu? Are we allowed to see clan elders negotiating a local cease-fire, or the women who have turned their homes over to orphanages, filled with the laughter of healthy children? All these are just as much facets of life in Somalia today as looting and starvation, but they are not what we are shown. (Omaar and de Waal 1992)

These are the images viewers are not exposed to, because the only stories that will sell are those that "bleed."

Western Media "Stealing the Pain of Others"

The countless single stories disseminated about my countrypeople leave me to contemplate their consequences and the impressions they leave with viewers. While a part of me sympathizes with viewers since much of their insights are from popular images, I similarly like to believe there are ample opportunities available to them to engage with alternative sides of the story. With respect to the situation in Somalia, audiences would rather believe themselves to be compassionate beings, donating in times of need and abandoning the situation once media coverage dwindles away. Moeller equally argues that in Somalia,

> The 'hit and run' mentality of western media makes it easy to briefly light up trouble spots, while the years of exploitation and deterioration that produced them are left in the dark. The 'here today, gone tomorrow' nature of much international reporting, with star newspersons briefly crowding each other at media feeding troughs, then jetting on to the next venue, doesn't help. (Moeller 1999)

The "here today, gone tomorrow" mentality of the media does a lot more harm than good to the people it portrays. According to Sherene Razack, we "steal the pain of others" when we engage in a process of consumption of the stories and experiences of others. In her article, *Stealing the Pain of Others: Reflections on Canadian Humanitarian Responses*, Razack (2007) addresses the systemic silencing of Rwandan voices in western media representation of the Rwandan genocide. Rather, we are subjected to the stories and experiences of American aid workers and journalists who have taken empathy to higher heights. When we engage in the process of "stealing the pain of others," we are "believing ourselves to be citizens of a compassionate middle power who is largely uninvolved in the brutalities of the world, we have relied on these images and stories to confirm our own humanitarian character" (Razack 2007, p. 376). While we witness the "flood of terrifying images," we are to feel compassion, not only for the victims but also for the western aid workers and journalists who are outwardly "risking their lives." Razack also argues that the images we often saw of skeletal and malnourished Rwandan children in refugee camps "do not only displace narrative testimony of the Rwandans themselves but actively silence and dehumanize Africans by presenting them as a 'mere, bare, naked or minimal humanity'" (Razack 2007, p. 381). This phenomenon of western media "stealing the pain of others" is not unique to Rwanda alone. In Somalia, the famine immediately following the collapse of the government and the recent famine last year have both sparked an outpour of sympathy and benevolence from the western world. I am reminded of a conversation with a colleague last summer who was wearing a pin with the Somalia flag, in "solidarity" with the victims of famine. He expressed his satisfaction in having "done something" to alleviate the hunger of so many destitute children in Somalia. Here is a Canadian man, with absolutely no real knowledge of the situation in Somalia, validating himself and encouraging me to "do something" by simply completing an online survey from the World Food Programme. It was as if this 2-min survey has brought him great satisfaction as he rejected my request to have a serious and critical dialogue about the intentions of the survey. He was not prepared for me to rescind his good feeling at the time.

Razack speaks to the centrality of race in paving "the path of innocence" and the convenience of believing in a backward Africa with no history (Razack 2007). In the context of Somalia, it is much more convenient for the west to believe in a chaotic failed state *emaciated* with piracy, famine, and terrorism which subsequently ignores western implications in the crisis. The stereotypical images we often see in western media do not depict a Somalia suffering from years of foreign occupation and influence. The popular image of foreign presence is that of "humanitarians" who are around to absorb and consume the stories of Somalis.

Interrogating the Face of Famine

There is this need, among western media, to put a face to famine so as to validate hunger. We remember the Ethiopian famine in 1984 when Birhan Woldu became the poster child for the famine, after her face was broadcasted across Canadian media. We witnessed the story of a 3-year-old famine victim who would eventually be saved by a white nurse working for the International Red Cross. Headlines alluded to the selflessness and dedication of the aid workers to save this child who was on the brink of death. This image garnered a combination of fury and compassion among the western world (Stewart 2004). Twenty-seven years later, a famine is announced in Somalia, and just days later, the media has already selected its poster child for the Somali famine. That child would be Minhaj Gedi Farah, a severely malnourished 7-month-old child in Kenya's Dadaab refugee camp. Before being taken to an International Rescue Committee clinic near the Kenya–Somalia border on July 30, 2011, Minhaj and his mother, who was unable to breastfeed, were photographed by a collection of media professionals reporting on the crisis. As we followed the progress of Minhaj from the comfort of our own homes, we witnessed images of white, western aid workers helping an "emaciated" child and transforming him into a "healthy, chubby toddler" (Hasan 2011). Stories such as Birhan and Minhaj's are designed to create compassion and instill guilt among viewers; compassion and guilt ultimately increase ratings for media agencies and funds for aid agencies yet do nothing for the real victims.

Stuart Hall encourages us to critically examine and understand the politics of the image, through what he calls an interrogation of the image. We do so by asking critical questions, thinking critically, and not just accepting the images as is presented to us (Hall 2003). Without engaging in this process of interrogation, important and basic questions become lost in the process. The key is in interrogating popular images and teaching young people to be conscious viewers who will not fall victim to the single story phenomenon.

Somali Youth Creating Counter-Narratives

In our pursuit to challenge dominant representations of Somalia, we, the Somali youth of Toronto, have organized to create a new narrative, a narrative based in Somali actions. We recognized the manipulative nature of media, aid agencies, and foreign governments and consequently took matters into our own hands. We resolved to collectively bring our voices and rage together to constructively create a counter-narrative. We vowed to engage in acts that would not be destructive to the people of Somalia and approach this work from a positive perspective. As problematized as it is, rage can indeed be constructive; as a result of this rage, we peacefully organized and spoke up against injustice as we created these counter-narratives. This was going to be an action *for* Somalis, *by* Somalis. We no longer

wanted to sit idle as we witnessed powerful, greedy, and unscrupulous parties misrepresent and exploit the people of Somalia. It was the right time to refresh the story. Adichie reminds us why stories matter: "Stories have been used to dispossess, and to malign, but stories can also be used to empower and to humanize. Stories can break the dignity of the people but stories can also repair that broken dignity" (Adichie 2009). Our hope was that the story we embarked on producing would empower, humanize, and restore the dignity of the Somali people.

Through our collective efforts, we were able to build the capacity of a local non-profit organization on the ground long before the media frenzy on Somalia. Through town hall meetings, blogs, social media discussions, and more importantly the Walk for Somalia, the team continuously emphasized the need for Indigenous actions to address the Somali crisis and defy the dominant representations of Somalia. Anti-racism and anti-colonial thought privileges the narratives of the oppressed and the importance of these narratives in understanding the challenges of the oppressed. The objective of Walk for Somalia was to create an alternative narrative, moving away from the misrepresentations currently proliferated by western media. Walk for Somalia, a youth-led movement, was initiated in 2009 to raise awareness of the humanitarian situation in Somalia and raise immediate funds for displaced people in Somalia's largest refugee camp in Afgooye, 30 km from the capital city, Mogadishu. We purposely elected to designate the funds raised to a camp within Somalia and not those operating in Kenya or Ethiopia. We recognized the significance of building the capacity of local NGOs in Somalia and supporting those who have been mostly forsaken, the internally displaced people. The popular walk on October 10, 2009, attracted over 700 attendees and raised $25,000, with the support of our partner organization, Human Concern International (*Walk for Somalia* 2012). Once again in 2011, the group mobilized and organized a second walk with a more ambitious goal of raising one million dollars for those affected by the famine. The walk, commencing in Toronto and ending in Ottawa, was to support the initiatives of the African Future, a promising organization led by young Somalis. Recognizing the evident absence of Somali voices in the discourse surrounding the famine, we took to the web and to the streets to express our deep frustration. The public was donating to major international organizations once the famine was declared. Billions of dollars were raised, enough to feed the entire country, yet the situation remained unchanged and donors continued to fund international aid agencies. The African Future has built feeding centers throughout various parts of Southern Somalia and has plans of building water wells in the very near future (*The African Future* 2012). Although the objective of the walk was far more than to raise funds, we collectively decided to donate all funds collected to advance the projects and initiatives of the African Future.

The walk from Toronto to Ottawa began in Toronto's City Hall and concluded in Ottawa's Parliament Hill. There were 20 walkers, some as young as 8 months old, walking through 20 different cities in a span of 8 days. Speaking to residents of the 20 different cities between Toronto and Ottawa, the group did a phenomenal job in raising critical awareness of the situation in Somalia and returned with a great deal of hope and optimism. The walk was a testament to the dedication of Somali youth

in Toronto who refused to have their narratives written for them. They walked for every man, woman, and child who has been stripped of basic human rights and has been exploited at the hands of the rich and powerful. They walked to revive and restore the dignity that has been stripped of Somalis for the last two decades and appealed for Somali-led actions.

There are countless stories of local, Indigenous efforts in Somalia working to support their people, yet those initiatives go unnoticed by the western (mis)representations. Across the globe, Somali youth are taking ownership to improve the livelihoods of their countrypeople. Another great example of Somali-led solutions is the UK-based group, Global Somali Emergency Response Team, who traveled to Somalia and Kenya long before the famine hit the headlines. The team of young media professionals sought to witness the situation firsthand and consequently produce a documentary from the Somali perspective. As part of their journey, the team traveled the route refugees were taking from Mogadishu to the camps in Kenya, in an effort to supply displaced people with survival backpacks. The backpacks contained items as basic as water, sandals, and small rations of food to support the refugees, many of whom lose their lives during the journey. The team produced a short documentary, "Dadaab: Get There or Die Trying" (2011), with the objective of creating an alternative narrative to what the public is constantly exposed to in western media. They told the unheard stories of Somalis, and because they spoke the same language, they were able to genuinely convey these narratives. Such projects are testament to the continued efforts of young Somalis in addressing the situation in their native country. I engage in this work in an effort to emphasize the ways in which Somalis *are* taking control of their destinies and dismissing the narrative of Somalis as incapable of addressing their own needs. Among other groups currently on the ground in Somalia are SAHAN International Relief Agency, Adar Foundation, and Amoud Foundation, all of which are organizations initiated by diasporic Somalis and doing noble work within Somalia. Many in the community feel the time is ripe to build the capacity of these phenomenal organizations and collectively endorse Indigenous solutions. In the spirit of anti-racism and anti-colonial practice, as Somalis, we must not lose sight of all the good we have achieved as a nation and not allow the negative misrepresentations in the media to prevent us from not only celebrating our accomplishments but building upon them as well.

Conclusion

The people will not have their voices heard on international media, rather in their place will be unscrupulous journalists and NGOs who will continue to tell their stories. The power lies in leaving people to their own agency, to create their own narratives and actions. As western media continues to be complacent in the crisis in Somalia, we, the Somali youth, will continue to challenge misrepresentations and never lose sight of our responsibility to our nation. Our pursuit to restore the

humanity, resilience, and dignity of the Somali people will continue so as long as western media continues to exploit and manipulate.

The continuing efforts of Somali youth in the diaspora to challenge media misrepresentations are testament to the power of young people. In the Somali community, we often hear *"Somalia Somali baa leh,"* meaning Somalia belongs to the Somalis. It is on this premise in which we, the Somali youth, are beginning to reclaim our stories and create counter-narratives based on Somali solutions. The key is to challenge the younger generation to think critically about media representations, create their own narratives, and consequently capture the realities and lived experiences of the Somali people.

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Chapter 10
Multiculturalism: The Missing Bodies and Voices

Ayla Raza

While the Ministry of Education and the Supreme Court of Canada officially recognize the concrete realities of race and racism in our society (Equity and Inclusive Education in Ontario Schools: Guidelines for Policy Development and Implementation, 2009), this does not necessarily translate into practice. This is evident in the disproportionate pushout rate of non-White students from the education system (TDSB Achievement Gap Taskforce 2010). While it is commonly accepted that Aboriginal, Black, and Portuguese students, and specifically male students, are being pushed out, Asian students are more often seen as "succeeding." As a Brown woman who is academically "successful," I would like to trouble this idea that Brown students are all "succeeding."

Until recently, I have been adamant in my two-dimensional, uncritical view that multiculturalism is useless and that it should be entirely discarded. However, since reading scholarly texts on this topic, such as Dei's (2011) article, *In Defense of an Official Multiculturalism and Recognition of the Necessity for Critical Anti-Racism Education*, I have come to more critically engage multiculturalism. I now agree with Dei's (2011) thesis that instead of entirely discarding of multiculturalism, we should work with its possibilities and bear in mind that it is a work in progress (see also Ghosh 2011). By bringing an anti-racism, anti-colonial lens to this policy, it could become meaningful and equitable.

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Theoretical Framework

Anti-racism necessitates an action-oriented approach that "names the issues of race and social difference as issues of power and equity rather than as matters of cultural and ethnic variety" (Dei 1996, p. 25). The goal is to create systemic change. Accordingly, it is imperative to move beyond individual discriminations and prejudices to "examin[ing] the ways that racist ideas and individual actions are entrenched and (un)consciously supported in institutional structures" (Dei 1996, p. 27, quoted in Desai and Subramanian 2000, p. 23). Working with this foundation of anti-racism, which will be elaborated upon throughout this paper, I will discuss multiculturalism and the category of the "model minority" in relation to Brown youth and education. However, before delving into this, it is imperative to discuss what I mean by anti-colonialism.

The current system of education is one that privileges Western knowledge and that operates within the notion that Whiteness is the norm. While colonization is not occurring in the same explicit ways as it did in the past, it *is* occurring but in more subtle ways. As mentioned by Dei, examples of "colonialism and re-colonizing projects" include "the different ways knowledges get produced and receive validation within schools, the particular experiences of students that get counted as [in]valid and the identities that revive recognition and response from school authorities" (Dei 2006, p. 2). An anti-colonial framework, among many things, looks to disrupt the taken-for-granted notions of power, privilege, imposed knowledge, and the categories of good (colonizer) and evil ("Other"). I work with this framework for several reasons. First, I strongly believe that colonization is an ongoing process and that schools are one of the key institutions in the success and perpetuation of this project (and can thus be a key institution in the disruption of this project). Second, many of the anti-racism strategies I bring to this chapter and to my professional practice go hand in hand with anti-colonialism, as the goal in both is to disrupt the current system. These include, but are not limited to, historicizing and contextualizing "facts," critically examining power and privilege, accepting multicentric knowledges, and being held accountable for one's knowledge.

The Premise: Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism was brought under federal law in Canada in 1988, with the purpose to "[promote] cultural diversity as an intrinsic and valuable component of the social, political and moral order [and also to] value racial minorities on the basis of a common humanity" (Dei 2011, p. 15). While this recognizes the different cultures in Canada, it fails to address critical issues of history, power, marginalization, identities, structural inequities, and the like. The mainstream model of multiculturalism is referred to as left-liberal or liberal multiculturalism (Ladson-Billings 2004; Naseem 2011; Gerin-Lajoie 2011). Although difference is foregrounded in this interpretation, it is not contextualized in historical and/or cultural contexts (Naseem

2011; Ladson-Billings 2004). This creates a static and stereotypical view of cultures that are not White. Further, within left-liberal multiculturalism, while the voices of "minorities" themselves are included, the reality is that only one voice speaks on behalf of an entire culture. What often happens is that only the more powerful individuals have their voices heard, resulting in a dialogue between the most powerful members of a predefined racial/cultural/ethnic group. This singular voice often becomes representative of the entire "minority" group, resulting in a reproduction of colonial hierarchies, as the most powerful person(s) within a "minority" group is represented, while the rest of the group is essentially silenced (Naseem 2011) and simultaneously essentialized through the monovocality of the representation. This can result in exoticism (Gerin-Lajoie 2011; Ladson-Billings 2004); the identities of those who are Othered become fixed and essentialized based on, and further perpetuating, existing stereotypes. Thus, left-liberal multiculturalism does not work across difference; it adheres to cultural relativism and perpetuates the notion of culture as static.

My Positionality

My family and I migrated from Pakistan to Canada in 1997. I completed my B.A. and B.Ed. concurrently at York University. In the concurrent program, there are three teaching placements, the first of which is in a community organization. In teachers' college classes and in my placement schools, I never quite felt comfortable: I felt like I did not belong and remember being very aware of how I spoke, how I dressed, and generally how I presented my Brown body. Thinking through Du Bois' (1903/1994) concept of double consciousness helps me in understanding these experiences. I did not look like the rest of my classmates, I did not look like my professors, nor did I look like my mentor teachers or other staff at my host schools. I did not come from the same socioeconomic background, the same religion, or even from similar life experiences as them. I came to see myself through my own experiences, as well as through the eyes of these dominant bodies, as different and not quite fitting in.

It was not until I taught at an independent school in the GTA that I accepted my experiences of alienation and identity confusion and fragmentation as being legitimate. This school was populated by lower-income students who were 99 % Punjabi Sikhs and who were recent immigrants to Canada. These students did not fit within the category of the model minority, so I was curious how to understand their stories. My personal experiences within educational spaces and the experiences of my Brown friends all reflected the experiences of these students, although in varying degrees. However, no one ever talked about Brown youth as "failures." While I am aware that we cannot generalize about groups of people (no racial group is homogenous), I cannot figure out how to make sense of these experiences. If there are a large number of Brown youth who do not "succeed," how can the model minority myth still be applied to Brown students, and simultaneously, what is the work being done in locating one minoritized group as the model for other minoritized bodies to aspire to?

Model Minority

I have faced many hardships within educational spaces in Canada, but I have always found a way to "succeed," ignoring the internal "failures" these attempts to "succeed"[1] have created within me. This realization is what led to me to look critically at multiculturalism, specifically with regard to Brown people. I have found that the space created for Brown people by multiculturalism is within the category of the model minority, a category that reinforces the liberal multicultural notions of colour blindness and meritocracy. This denies the realities of the current and historical power imbalances existing in society, it hides White privilege, and it also denies difference (Sue 2004). The standard here, while it is not spoken about, is Whiteness: "Whiteness and its invisibility serve as a default standard that makes it difficult to see how it may unfairly intrude into the lives of racial/ethnic minority groups" (Sue 2004, p. 762). While there is available research on the category of the model minority, the research is primarily based in America, and its focus is on East Asian students (see, e.g., Lee 1994, 2009; Museus and Kiang 2009; Weaver 2009). Thinking through this research and my personal experiences, I will discuss the effects of the model minority myth on Brown youth.

The category of the model minority is thought to be a positive category. However, it is imperative to bear in mind that this is a stereotype that is imposed upon Brown students, while it may also come to be internalized and taken up by those same said bodies. According to this stereotype, Brown students are successful in school because they work hard and the culture(s) they come from believe(s) in the value of education (Lee 1994). Such thinking re-creates the preexisting colonial hierarchies. In *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963/2004), Fanon suggests that colonization has created a spatially organized Manichean world, that is, a world of good and a world of evil. While Fanon discusses this in relation to the colonizers as good and the natives as evil, I take this model as it informs the multicultural epoch we are currently in. Accordingly, the category of good is reserved for Whites, while the category of evil is applicable to all non-Whites. Thus, the structure that colonialism sets up and that it needs to ensure its survival is a hierarchical one.

In our current multicultural context, there is more than one racial hierarchy (with the colonizer at the top and the colonized at the bottom). Today, there is a racial hierarchy within the category of the non-Whites. So racial categories are further perpetuated and are pitted against one another. This fits within the basic tactic of war and colonization: divide and conquer. The term model minority is an example of this.

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[1]The terms success and failure are wrapped in apostrophes because they are being used in the dominant and normative way. These two concepts of success and failure are Eurocentric in nature, as they do not take the person, his/her circumstances, context, upbringing, etcetera into account, and they also assume that there is only one truth/reality.

Model minority is a category that is created within the mainstream, dominant, left-liberal multiculturalism. Accordingly, it creates static and homogenous categories of the Brown culture. Before I can further explain this, it is imperative to discuss my use of the term "Brown."

"Brown" Versus "South Asian"

I have, and I continue to, struggle with what term to use when talking about the category of people who I am interested in discussing. The two terms I am familiar with are either "South Asian" or "Brown." While I feel that both terms are exclusionary, I suggest that, for my purposes, the term "South Asian" is more exclusionary than "Brown" because it is based on geography. Also, the newer generation of youth may or may not associate with being South Asian; some say that they are Canadian. To avoid this, by using the term "Brown," anyone who identifies as Brown, or who fits into the mainstream category of being Brown, based solely on skin colour, is included. For my purposes, the term Brown is thus more appropriate. However, it is important to mention that while I am cognizant of the fact that using racial categories replicates the colonial and racial hierarchy that I am trying to complicate and disrupt, doing so is important as naming race is the first step.

Another reason for using 'Brown' instead of 'South Asian', other than trying to broaden the people who can identify with the category and to name race, is that I am able to bypass the complicated relationships between race and ethnicity, something that is outside the parameters of this chapter. However, I am aware that by choosing to focus primarily on race, I risk locating this work as void of other aspects of identity – I recognize the intersecting and interlocking nature of oppression, however, again that is beyond the scope of this chapter.

In this case, when discussing the myth of the model minority, the term "South Asian" seems to be more appropriate because it can be used to battle the homogenous notion of Brown people that liberal multiculturalism sets up and that the term "Brown" seems to reinforce. While using "South Asian" would imply the great diversity within this category of peoples and while "Brown" does not do so at face value, I suggest that if one uses "Brown" in a broad sense, it can also be representative of the heterogeneous nature of peoples included with this category. I would also like to think that by using the term "Brown," "which was originally used as a derogatory term by the British to refer to 'natives of the Indian subcontinent, Southeast Asia and Australian' and was later used as a descriptor for people of South Asian origin" (http://www.sun-nation.org/sun-brown.html#), I am disrupting this colonial category and I am broadening its narrow definition. Furthermore, "South Asian" reinforces the preexisting categorization and hierarchical notions that stereotypically exist within South Asian communities and individual persons. For instance, there is a stereotype within Pakistani Muslims, particularly those from Karachi and Islamabad, that Punjabis are simple-minded rude people. In the GTA, there is also the stereotype of Punjabis (particularly Sikh Punjabis) as being individuals who

abuse the welfare system and who are academically unintelligent. Further, the men are thought of as being alcoholics who beat their wives and work simple jobs (i.e., manual labor), and the women are thought of either as subservient house-wives or as strong, powerful, "Westernized" women. At the same time, Tamils and Muslims are thought of as terrorists, and Muslim men are thought of as wife beat-ers. Even more troubling is that only Indians and Pakistanis who adhere to the normative religions (Islam, Sikhism, and Hinduism) are included in these discus-sions, while Christians from these countries, or Bangladeshis, for instance, are not discussed in popular discourse. Furthermore, these stereotypes are completely removed from history and context, so they are essentially floating without any context attached to them. Another concern that this stereotypical and racist hier-archy raises for me is that there are no positive characteristics included. So how is it that Brown people are the model minority on the one hand, while they are also associated with negative stereotypes, on the other hand? To wrestle with this con-tradictory notion, I utilize Ogbu's categories of voluntary and involuntary minori-ties, as discussed by Lee (1994).

To refer back to Fanon (2004), I argue that within this continually colonial world (the organization and thinking of which is based on colonization) that is hierarchically organized and that needs to pit peoples against one another to survive, we need to bear in mind that the category of the model minority works to accomplish this goal. Categories are inherently competitive, so creating the model minority myth and using it as a category that all minorities should strive to achieve create and perpetuate ani-mosity between minorities and thus further categorize them. Simultaneously, through the discourse of success, as understood in a static Eurocentric mode, the myth of the model minority works to whiten those who fit into its category.

Generally speaking, Brown people voluntarily migrated to Canada, while many Black people are involuntary minorities (Lee 1994). Accordingly, Brown people are more likely to believe in the myth of social mobility, influencing them to learn English and attain a formal education, while Black people tend to view education as oppositional and challenging to their cultures and identities (Lee 1994). While these categories of voluntary and involuntary migrants are helpful in contextualizing the concept of the model minority, we must also be cognizant of intra- and intergroup dif-ferences (Lee 1994). Discussing all of these differences is not relevant to this chapter, so I will focus specifically on the fact that not all Brown people fit within this harmful category of the model minority. Also, even when Brown people are academically "successful," they are not necessarily emotionally, socially, and/or psychologically "healthy"; the "success" takes a toll on their beings.

Effects of the Label of the Model Minority

The myth of the model minority, like all stereotypes, creates difficulties for indi-viduals who it identifies. While it appears to be complimentary to Brown people, "it often generate[s] barriers that are difficult to overcome" (Weaver 2009, p. 4).

Museus and Kiang (2009) identify five misconceptions regarding Asian American students that result from their forced association with the model minority myth. I believe that four of these myths are particularly applicable to Brown students within the education system. First, there is the incorrect belief that all Brown people are the same. Second, Brown people are not thought of as racial minorities, as compared to Black, Latino, and Indigenous and Aboriginal peoples, who are thought of as racial minorities. This sets out the idea that racial groups are in competition with one another. According to Lee (2009) and Weaver's (2009) data collected on the effects of the model minority myth on Asian American students, they found that it creates conflicts and tensions between Asian Americans and other minorities. This connects back to the point about the hierarchical system that is characteristic of our colonial society. This attitude is also reflected in teachers' attitudes.

I have often had discussions with teachers and teacher candidates regarding the presumed academic achievement of Black students, White students, East Asian students, and Brown students. Predictably, and in line with the model minority myth, Black students are faced with low expectations while East Asian and Brown students are faced with high expectations, and White students are not really discussed as fitting within any one category. So it is interesting to note that White students are not necessarily seen as a homogenous group; they are permitted an individuality. This is because Whiteness is the standard. It is non-White bodies that are compared to the norm of Whiteness, and it is also non-White bodies that are fit into a preexisting system that will not change for them; this is a system that is premised on Whiteness. Further, since the system was created based on Whiteness, White bodies were not, and are not, considered homogenous; there is space for difference. However, non-White bodies, for whom, and for with, the system was not created, have been fit into the preexisting White system. According to Fanon (2004), the colonizer's world is based on racial categories. So racial groups are thought to be inherently homogenous in nature. Thus the importance of work such as this; race is not spoken about, but it is central to the colonizer's society and its organization.

Third, Museus and Kiang (2009) found that the model minority myth creates the illusion that Brown students do not face major challenges that result from their skin colour. Fourth, there is the stereotype that Brown students do not need any resources or supports from schools. This is likely a result of the reality that Brown students do not access supports and/or resources that are available. Bringing an anti-racism and anti-colonial lens to this fourth issue, questions about why Brown students do not access these resources should be explored, instead of reaching the simple conclusion that since Brown students do not access resources, they do not need to access them. This problematic conclusion reinforces the left-liberal thinking that colour does not matter.

As a Brown woman who outwardly fits within the category of the model minority due to my academic success and my minimal encounters with the law, my spirit is fragmented. In line with research conducted with those who identify with the Asian American label, I continue to struggle to live between two cultures, I was expected to meet impossible expectations, I have faced bouts of depression, and

I continue to struggle with my level of self-confidence. However, these parts of myself that I continue to struggle with are not apparent to others, so they are thought not to exist. As mentioned by Weaver (2009), students labeled as the model minority are "trained to exhibit approved classroom behaviour" (p. 3). Further, similar to a dangerous result of left-liberal multiculturalism, the model minority myth creates smoke clouds around the harsh realities often faced by Brown people. Also similar to an effect of left-liberal multiculturalism, the model minority myth perpetuates the idea of meritocracy.

The contradictory foundation set out by left-liberal multiculturalism allows concepts such as meritocracy to remain unquestioned. On the one hand, left-liberal multiculturalism claims to accept difference: "[it] emphasizes cultural differences and suggests that the stress on the equality of races smothers those important cultural differences between races" (McLaren 1995, p. 41). On the other hand, however, multiculturalism erases any and all diversity within the racial groupings it perpetuates. Given the context of our capitalist society, the notion of individualism is promoted in schools. Working within the belief that schools play a role in furthering the project of colonialism, Nicholas (2001) writes that through the hidden curriculum, schools engrain the concept of individualism within students, a concept that is highly Eurocentric in nature. For instance, when there is a concern at school, students are taught that the "problem" is individual in nature and that it is not connected to larger systemic, societal, or communal problems (Nicholas 2001). So the "problem" is not thought of as the community's responsibility. Instead, the individual is often labeled as a "bad apple." This attitude, which is embodied by most teachers who I have encountered, erases systemic discriminations; it advances the belief that success is based on individual effort, thus diverting attention away from inequitable and racist institutional practices (Weaver 2009; Lee 2009).

The problematic notion of meritocracy goes hand in hand with the belief in colour blindness. In line with left-liberal multiculturalism, our capitalist society, and the myth of Canada as a country that welcomes all and where everybody can succeed, the mainstream notion is that Canada is such an equal society that Canadians do not even see colour. On the basis of being humans, all Canadians are the same, regardless of their skin colour. This uncritical interpretation of multiculturalism further perpetuates racism as it ignores the saliency of race as well as the experiences of non-Whites. The first step to disrupting this is to bring the voices of Brown youth to the forefront. By doing so, it will be difficult to argue that race does not affect individuals.

The general belief in current society is that in a democracy such as Canada, anyone can reach his or her goals as long as he or she works hard, the myth of meritocracy. This belief goes hand in hand with the myth of colour blindness, as it disavows difference and attempts to explain away structural inequities. So this notion of meritocracy perpetuates and inscribes the model minority myth onto bodies. When considering Brown people to be voluntary migrants who believe in the myth of social mobility, it is logical to argue that Brown people internalize educational failures. There is no blame on the system, but there is blame on the self. This self-defeating attitude often leads to mental health issues. I strongly believe that a

common result of this is the development of Du Bois' (1994) double consciousness. For instance, as a Brown woman who has succeeded in the current Eurocentric education system, I continue to struggle with my identity and with finding a space where I feel I belong. In teachers' college, I did not see others who looked like me. This made me overly conscious of myself. To make up for the lack of my White currency, I altered my dress, my speech, and even my personality. While I did graduate from teachers' college with great evaluations and great grades, I did so at the expense of my spirit. For me to succeed in a system steeped in Whiteness, I felt the need to change myself to fit the system, in the process of which I lost a part of myself, a part that I am still struggling to find.

Brown students attempt to live up to the stereotype of the model minority in public, but at the same time, they also try to meet the expectations held by their parents. While trying to balance these two views, they also have internal struggles with trying to balance their home culture and the culture of the West. Underlying these three consciousnesses, Brown students are also dealing with the pressures of being in high school, such as peer pressure and bullying. Although there are available services for students to take advantage of, I feel that the model minority stereotype plays a large role in explaining the hesitancy of Brown youth to reach out for help. This is a common story of Brown youth who fit within the category of the model minority. Now, what about the other side of the story, those individuals who do not fit the stereotype?

Brown Students Who Do Not Adhere to the Model Minority Myth

While teaching at a private school in the GTA, I was confronted with stories of extreme racism faced particularly by Brown males in schools. The stories of facing criminal charges for minor indiscretions and being suspended on a regular basis reminded me of the stories of my own Brown friends from high school. Until recently, I have explained away these stories because I could not believe that there are so many Brown students who do not fit the model minority myth. It is only now that I am realizing that if I do not make people aware of the realities, the students I taught will likely face a bleak future in jails and in poverty.

From my limited experience, the students who are pushed out of the system are those who do not fit the model minority myth and instead fit the category of the unruly male student. These Brown youth are hypermasculinized Brown boys who wear baggy jeans, hats, and bandanas (often in gang colours); speak with a "gangster" accent and use terminology from mainstream hip-hop culture; walk with a limp; have an "intimidating" presence; and generally advocate for themselves, people, and things they care about. Based on my experiences, these youth were commonly feared by school personnel. I believe that this fear was an unfounded racist fear resulting from the resemblance of these Brown boys to the stereotypical and feared Black male body. I suggest that these Brown boys were treated like Black

boys because they embodied what the general public associates Blackness with. In line with Sandoval's (2000) discussion on semiotics, the historical processes that led to this fear of Blackness and the strong connection between Blackness and hypermasculinity become invisible. This process is necessary for Whiteness to continue to dominate. This idea demonstrates the social nature of race and racial categories, as well as the racial hierarchy created and re-created by left-liberal multiculturalism; these are fluid categories. However, the stereotypes associated with each category need to be historically contextualized so that we can disrupt these deep-rooted racist ideologies.

Liberal multiculturalism decontextualizes, dehistoricizes, and depoliticizes the stereotypes that are associated with racial categories. As the stereotypes are more and more decontextualized, but continue to be associated with the racial category in question, the stereotypes seem to become increasingly objective. This is one explanation of how the racial hierarchy has become almost naturalized; very few people question it. Thus, history becomes invisible and Whiteness becomes normatized; Whiteness becomes the norm that we are expected to strive towards.

As mentioned several times thus far, no racial group is homogenous; there is great variance both within groups and among groups. While it is imperative to be aware of the internal struggles faced by Brown youth who try to fit themselves into the model minority myth, it is also important to bear in mind that there are Brown youth who do not fit this myth. One similarity, though, between all of these Brown youth is that they are silenced and they continue to grapple with their identity.

Through practices such as streaming, suspending, and expelling, certain students are provided with the cultural and social capital needed to flourish, while others are left to fail. Thinking through Foucault's (2008) notion of biopower, schools are one of the many social systems of the state that mark certain bodies as unruly and as a threat, while marking other bodies as virtuous. This makes it clear that schools are an important actor in the ongoing project of colonization.

Expelling non-White students, and essentially denying them an education and thus a fair chance at life, tells them that they are not welcome in schools unless they submit to the White norm. Further, disciplining also sends the aforementioned message to other students and to the rest of society. Treated like prisoners with no rights, mitigating circumstances are often not considered when deciding to suspend and/or expel a student. By expelling and criminally charging many of the students I encountered while teaching at the private school, society is sending the message that there is no tolerance for potentially violent behaviour in schools, or outside schools, by Brown students. In fact, violence comes to be signified differently when enacted by different bodies. The way that Brown students are defined in this context is contrary to the expectations set out in the context of the model minority myth. For instance, one student I taught had been expelled from an entire school board and was also facing multiple criminal charges that were a result of his previous suspensions and expulsion. Part of his expulsion was for breaking the dress code; he always wore a red bandana somewhere on his person, whether in his back pocket, around his neck, or on his wrist. The school that expelled him associated the colour red (on him) with a gang called The Bloods.

Although this student had no proven affiliations with The Bloods, because of his appearance, he was categorized as being a gang member.

Another student at the private school told me his story of being placed in a behaviour classroom. During attendance one day, this student was rocking on his chair. To get this youth's attention, his homeroom teacher made fun of his name. In frustration and embarrassment, this student kicked his desk, which made contact with his teacher's knee. As a result, this student was placed in a behaviour classroom, leading him to further "act out" at school and barely attend classes. These behaviours played a large role in his eventual expulsion from public school.

The peripheral positions held by Brown youth within schools are ensured through the increased militarization of schools as well as through the practices of labeling and streaming students. Within a public school, students like those at the private school, who are placed in special education classes, do not receive the same education as students in mainstream classes. Thus, they are often pushed out of schools or graduate with insufficient education to enter postsecondary education or to begin a career path of their choice. Within public schools, then, non-White students are not treated the same way as White students since they are often viewed as a threat, and teachers' expectations of them are lower than average expectations.

Conclusion and Future Research

The concept of Whiteness is premised on dominance and aggression; without power and domination, Whiteness is threatened. Skin colour does not have any meaning and/or significance without the social meanings that have been ascribed to it (see, e.g., Hall 1996). As aptly put by Fanon (1952), the Black man does not exist except through the eyes of the White. As a result, the meanings attached to identities such as Whiteness and Brownness, and the implications of being a part of these identities, are all relational to one another. Thus, race is a social relation kept in place by the colonial hierarchy. Schools are structured on the logic of Whiteness, and they aim to indoctrinate this logic upon all students. Multiculturalism works within this colonial system. It leaves the current system intact, as it does not question the structure. This often results in pathologizing non-White bodies. These realities speak to the importance of standing in solidarity with one another. This raises an important concern that must be addressed in future work: how can we work with Aboriginal peoples so that we do not exclude them from anti-racist, anti-colonial work (for more on this point, see Lawrence and Dua 2005)?

I have shown that the experiences of Brown youth do not fit within the category of the model minority, which I argue is the space created for them by multiculturalism. It is disheartening and telling of the prevalence of this myth that there is not much research on this topic. Also interesting is that similar to left-liberal multiculturalism, the myth of the model minority re-creates a static and homogenous Brown culture that becomes set as the goal for all other minorities to reach, simultaneously keeping them in their place in the racial hierarchy.

The purpose of my work is to shed some light on the realities of the current situations for Brown people. First, there are multiple realities. Second, all Brown people do not fit within the model minority myth, and third, even those who outwardly seem to fit within this myth may be facing constant internal struggles as a result of this myth. As a Brown academic and educator, my goal is to bring the voices and lived experiences of Brown youth to the forefront. Based on my personal and professional experiences, it is clear that the model minority myth creates compartmentalized individuals who continue to be colonized, mind, body, and spirit. To make meaningful change, I believe that this reality must be recognized.

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Chapter 11
To Speak, Know, Live and Feel 'Asian': For an Anti-racist Approach on the Study of Asians in Canada

Kenneth Huynh

Introduction: On the Difficulty of Speaking About Race and the 'Asian' Subject

Regarding increasingly complex racial categorisations and relationships in the USA, in response to the dominant biracial model of 'black and white', Bonilla-Silva (2009) attempts to explain racial categories and relationships through a more nuanced 'tri-racial' model. Bonilla-Silva argues that, rather than the black and white paradigm, a vertical tri-racial model of 'whites', 'honorary whites' and 'collective blacks' is more useful as a means to understand how present amorphous racial groups interact and understand one another.

The author offers this intervention in order to discuss the shifting realities and social positions of racialised populations in the USA. In presenting the basis of his argument, he offers both quantitative data sets and qualitative analysis and critique. Pertinent to this discussion, Bonilla-Silva articulates in his discussion that it is important to remember that the racial category *Asian* encompasses various ethnic groups with extreme levels of variation, both in regard to social practice, social position and consequent social perception and influence. While the Chinese are among the 'honorary whites', for example, the Vietnamese are among the 'collective blacks'.

The aforementioned author is not alone in his views. The reality that it is difficult to intellectually determine which bodies might be socially understood as Asian has long been a topic of generative discussion and debate among those whom study the experience of those subsumed by the category in North America. Those who critically study and assess Asians as objects of analysis have long spoken to how the racial categorisation makes reductive and simplistic the manifold histories and lived

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realities of many groups of people. For example, in her seminal collection of cultural criticism *Immigrant Acts*, Lowe (1996) argues that any analysis of Asian American cultural work – conversely, the Asian American experience – needs to be based on the understanding that these experiences are marked by heterogeneous, hybrid and multiple differences. Chuh (2003) further suggests that Asian Americanists should adopt a 'subjectless' critique. By this, she means a mode of criticism in which the Asian American subject is deconstructed even while it is utilised as a point of departure for intellectual examination. As Chuh sees it, the task of the Asian American critic is to recognise that the subject of Asian American, especially as it becomes more intellectually institutionalised, is both potentially a form of criticism and a known epistemological object, which implicates them as producers and purveyors of a discourse.

In light of the preceding paragraphs, it is reasonable to succinctly state that it can be difficult to discuss who are, and beyond this, what it means to be Asian in North America. The task of just – as opposed to *precisely* – speaking about the object(s) of research and analysis presents a challenge (let alone how one might determine how they would engage in undertaking their research and analysis). As the preceding paragraphs have also made evident, however, issues of racialisation, racism and ethnicity have brought about intellectual dynamism and rigourous conversation.

Regarding this crisis of categorisation, the simplest definition might be best. 'Asian', in North America, or otherwise, is most easily defined as people who have been, presently are and might be in the future be categorised as such. Asian themselves, as both objects of knowledge and self-knowing subjects, have come into legibility and self-recognition as a result of a historical and present epistemological system in which racial categories, racialisation and racism are crucial components. The project of critical Asian scholars then should be to study the experiences and the manifold conditions and situations that structure and result in the experiences of these people.

Necessarily then, discussions about race and racism should figure prominently in these projects. My general goal here is to demonstrate the primacy of race and demonstrate the importance of a race-based, explicitly anti-racism analysis, in understanding the Asian experience in North America. I want to demonstrate that, despite the fact that intellectual conversations about race and racism and the fact that what is implied and constitutes 'Asians' and 'Asianness' are complex and multiple affairs, there still exists the necessity of goal-oriented, transformative anti-racism intellectual methodologies and projects (Dei 1995, 1996). While our social contexts have become more complicated, there is still a need to discuss and transform the unequal terms imposed and perpetuated by past and present racisms, the continuing imposition of and actions based on hierarchal social categories. A general point of departure and strategy is still required.

Very simply conceptualised, an anti-racism intellectual project can be understood as a type of explicitly political intellectual articulation and social engagement, one that operates on at least three fundamental presuppositions:

1. Firstly, that racism continues to be a pervasive feature of contemporary life and, consequently, operates to the disadvantage and detriment for those who are racialised

2. Secondly, that the production of anti-racism intellectual work requires for those who produce it a self-reflexivity that both concedes and continually works through how racial classification in a hierarchal but also complicated fashion varyingly places and privileges different groups and individuals

3. Thirdly, that present-day anti-racism intellectual work is necessarily intertwined with larger projects of historical anti-racism social struggle, with the continual and explicit goal of transforming the unequal terms that presently structure and influence everyday life, themselves a by-product of Western and White-dominant imperialism, colonialism and capitalism (see Goldberg 2011; Sivanandan 1982)

Consider that, while requiring contextual qualifications and adjustments, Bonilla-Silva's model is useful also for considering the varying positions of 'Asians' in Canada. Certain subsets of 'Asian' groups in Canada enjoy substantial socioeconomic privilege (see Fong 2005). Other 'Asians', however, namely, Southeast Asians such as Filipinos, are markedly less advantaged (see Coloma et al. 2012). This chapter is not compelled, however, by how certain types of 'Asians' in Canada are socioeconomically advantaged. It is compelled by the fact that because of this advantageous position, prominent elements of the discourse about Asians in Canada celebrate the group's socioeconomic successes. These elements of the discourse provide more often-occurring and visible representation to particular types of ethnic 'Asian' groups.

This chapter will critique the pervasive idea of the successful and privileged 'Asian' subject. It does this because these 'successful' and 'privileged' 'Asians', irrespective of their actual intent and desires, are in themselves utilised as representatives – and more importantly, sociohistorically removed as aspirational representations for the Canadian nation-state. If you are an "Asian" capitalist, the state will let you in and sometimes socially deify you. I hold no ill sentiments against Senator Vivienne Poy, former Lieutenant Governor Adrienne Clarkson and Michael Lee-Chin as businesspeople and as philanthropists. It is necessary, however, to simply point out that there are reasons as to why their narratives are more prominent than those of others and, more importantly, the consequences of the location of those narratives.

These narratives, because they are demonstrative of a type of ethnoracial, neoliberal self-propelled empowerment, disempower those who would argue that race and racism is a salient issue in Canada. Those who would criticise racial hierarchy and the consequent realities brought about because of them have their claims invalidated. These successful Asian subjects, and this discourse that is consequently generated about them as 'model minorities', serve as problematic aspirational examples. It both reifies reductive racial categories and, in lending prominence to these very particular and exceptional narratives, continues the masking of other more general and less easily celebrated realities resultant from racialisation, as experienced by both those who are coded as 'Asian' and among other racialised people (see Gilmour et al. 2012; Coloma et al. 2012). Working with select examples of 'Asian' experiences in Canada, I want to make clear that speaking about race and racism is still a crucial task. I will make this case based

on a series of arguments demonstrating that there are interconnected, empirically based discursive, historical, contemporary and affective reasons why race/racism is a central concern.

Speaking 'Asian', Speaking Race: A Discursive Rationale for 'Asian'-Specific, Anti-racism Practice

The case for vigilant 'Asian'-specific, anti-racism studies could first be suggested based on the simple fact that specifically anti-Asian racism is prevalent in both historical and present popular discourses. While certain sectors of the academy might have their own specific, specialised issues in 'speaking about Asians' (Lowe 1996; Chuh 2003), the public has issues of a different, more problematic and frustrating type. A selective overview of the public's popular racial conversations about some 'Asians', and its ideas about these 'Asians', reveals this unfortunate state of affairs.

Even those who are lucky enough to fulfil the trope of the successful 'Asian' subject are prone to victimisation. On the topic of the Asian Canadian subject, Miki (2000) argues it is an ambiguous and ambivalence-inducing topic for the Canadian nation-state, as it both demonstrates and represents how capitalism results in the all-at-once desired and non-desired arrival of racialised 'Asian' labour, capital and commodities in a White settler-state. Related to this point, Li (1998) and Park (2010) also offer similar historical discussions on how the arrival of economically powerful 'Asian' immigrants produces characteristic and contemporary responses of admiration, anxiety, fear and resentment on the part of dominant-White communities. In turn, these responses result in the use, repetition and reiteration of racist stereotypes and ideologies that reductively and unfavourably represent 'Asians'.

Li (1998) provides an overview of how racism that depicts the Chinese as invasive and relentless foreign labour, emergent first in the nineteenth century when the Chinese arrived in large numbers as indentured labourers, is still recurrent in present conversation. Park (2010) evidences that on the macroscale – toward 'Asian' states and 'Asia Rising' discussion – a response to 'Asian' economic ascendancy and power renders Canada's whitestream media unable to depict 'Asians' in a complex and balanced fashion.

Reflective of this situation, both Toronto's Mayor Robert Ford and the nationally circulated Canadian news magazine *Maclean's* have made statements derivative of stereotypes that frame 'Asians' as a 'model minority' and 'invading' foreign labour force, reducible to their work and simultaneously privileged because of it. The model minority stereotype, related to the invading foreign labour stereotype, has its origins in the 1960s, first framing Japanese in the USA as a group that, owing to its hard work, managed to achieve success exceeding White Americans (Petersen 1966; Chou and Feagin 2008). While the model minority stereotype is ostensibly 'positive', it is interrelated to the negative invading labour stereotype – placing 'Asians' in contradistinction to a 'normal' and 'balanced'

majority, White population and framing them as preternaturally and prodigious talented labour at the expense of their humanity.

In 2008, then Councillor Ford commented that "Oriental people work like dogs" and 'I'm telling you, Oriental people, they're slowly taking over, because there's no excuses for them. They're hard, hard workers' (CBC). In 2010, an article in *Maclean's* suggested White students did not want to attend universities that had a reputation for being 'too Asian', e.g. a reputation for academic rigour, and therefore with a higher percentage of 'Asians' in their student populations. White students were framed as being threatened by hard-working 'Asians', who were blamed for adversely influencing an otherwise balanced academic and social atmosphere (Findlay and Kohler 2010). Ford, under immense public pressure, eventually begrudgingly apologised (Hune Brown 2012). Neither the editorial board of *Maclean's* nor its parent company Rogers Communications has conceded to a public apology despite the vociferous public outcry (see Gilmour et al. 2012).

An integral reason as to why these conversations continue is in part because of the Canadian state's (official) ideology of multiculturalism. Drawing from Althusser's work on ideology and Smith's thinking about 'master categories', Bannerji (2000) argues that the state-led ideology diffuses attempts by racialised groups to articulate and politicise their racial difference and grievance, because the very terms of articulation have been set by the state. Because multiculturalism is conceptualised as a state-given boon, any complaint and issue brought up by a racialised group becomes a reflection of their inability to solve their own issues in an 'ideal' and 'equitable' environment.

Thinking through Foucault, multiculturalism can thus be seen as an example of a discursive technology of government (Barry et al. 1996) and an adherence to it is a manifestation of governmentality (Foucault 1991[1979]) of Canadians who believe they are 'natural' members to the Canadian nation-state, in so far as it results in unaware self-governance related to articulations about social difference, particularly about race and ethnicity. More precisely, multiculturalism's uncritical celebration and affirmation structures of difference manage the perceptions and conversations of those in Canada, particularly as it relates to racial and ethnic difference. It results in a general national situation where most people do not know how to constructively speak about racial difference and discrimination as informed by the realities consequent from White dominance.

A case, then, for an explicitly anti-racism lens for the study of 'Asians' can be made and justified if only because the public discourse on race and difference, about 'Asians', needs to be criticised, contested and improved. All subjects, 'Asian' or otherwise, deserve multilayered and empowering discursive means and representations by which to work through and develop their subjectivities and identities. An integrative anti-racism approach, because it is an action-oriented strategy meant to enact social change and because it recognises the saliency of race and other forms of difference, can serve as both impetus and guideline for work that means to accomplish this goal. Anti-racism praxis, as outlined in the onset of this chapter, articulates how and why those who engage in such work should and need to continue to wage efforts to realise this goal. While recognising the complexity and messiness of

present-day racism, it also speaks to how imperative it is to be cognizant and critical about how racial oppression and subordination continues to operate. As this section makes evident, these processes are reflected in discourse and can influence individuals' perceptions of potential and actual practices of self-actualisation.

Race and Subordination: Historical Contexts: Contemporary Manifestations

This being said, it is important to remember that there are concrete historical and contemporary reasons for both past and present discourses, and the need to improve them. 'Asians' – conversely, 'Asia' and previously 'Orientals', and 'the Orient' as subjects, and as a subject – are subsuming terms of interpellation for groups of people and spaces that have been mistreated and subjugated for the benefit of White Europeans (see Said 1979).

As Omi and Winant (1994) have discussed, the formations of racial categories are projects and processes where racial representations are created and mobilised to contest, structure and distribute economic and material resources, as related to the interest and maintenance of power. The significance and impact of the afore-mentioned perceptions and attitudes should not be underestimated or forgotten. Along with the previously mentioned studies by Li (1998) and Park (2010), both Roy (2004) and Anderson (1991) also provide critical histories that evidence that these perceptions and attitudes were crucial in the consolidation of power and privilege among Whites, and the attending punishment of 'Asians' and other subordinately racialised people in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century North America (see also Oikawa 2012; Mawani 2009 for further discussions and contemporary examples). Rather than simply existing as stereotypes that are 'benign' and mean to 'compliment', they dehumanised, compelled and made justifiable acts of violence, such as mass riots, forcible whole-scale group imprisonment and unpunished murder.

Oikawa's (2012) work, for example, makes apparent that the Japanese who were forcibly incarcerated by the Canadian government during the Second World War because of paranoia and anti-Japanese racism have yet to recover from the economic and psychic toll of that action. Her historical study, particularly the interview data that she provides, makes clear the loss and trauma that the Japanese were/are subject to is an ongoing process. Reconciliation is an active process and for some – because of lost years, resources or even family members – an impossible one.

An obvious point is that the past is not the present, that today's context is different from the ones that have preceded it. And without question, this is true. Crucially, however, an integrative anti-racism means of examination compels us to examine how, irrespective of open intention, racism and its effects endure and mark contemporary social life (Dei 1995, 1996).

Canada, for example, is no longer a defiantly and explicitly White supremacist state predicated on the genocide of its Aboriginal population and subordinate

racialised labour, kept in such a position by explicit legal decrees. That being said, however, there continue to be enduring structural and institutionalised legacies from this past. There also exist social formations and positions that echo this past. Canada remains a site of actual and, in Bourdieu's (1991) sense of the term, symbolic violence. For many, this is a space where the reality of stratification and hierarchy severely confines and limits their life trajectories and actualisation. Aside from the intertwined discursive and historical circumstances that provide legibility to those who are categorised as 'Asian', the present, concrete reality of their particularly racialised subordination – especially pronounced among those that are more recent immigrants – also beckons one to examine them through an anti-racism approach.

Supplemented with a historical overview of Canada's changing immigration laws, Go (2012) demonstrates that rather than simply being consistently humanitarian as it self-labels itself on the world stage, Canada's present immigration policy functions in a fashion that selectively allows the entry of some immigrants and refugees, while barring the entry of others. Go's analysis effectively and succinctly summarises the basis of a continually heated and difficult public debate. She makes clear that while Canada's immigration policy actively courts racialised people from abroad because its economy needs them to provide labour and capital, it is less than welcoming to the 'burden' presented by their nonworking family members and their consequent claims on Canada's social services. While some people from Asian and African countries are welcome to Canada, the idea that Immigration Canada offers them an easy entrance is a myth. There are some racialised people who are simply 'unwanted' in a White-dominant Canada, namely, the less fortunate, those who are unable to meet particular socioeconomic requirements needed for entry.

Related to this conversation, Nangwaya (2012) and the duo of Teelucksingh and Galabuzi (2007) offer respective works that speak to challenges confronted by racialised immigrants once they arrive in Canada and, more broadly, the general experience of racialised people in a less than bountiful job market. Both essays – the former author does this through a qualitative data review, and the latter author does it through an overview of a series of quantitative datasets – make clear that racialised people confront structural and systemic barriers to gainful, let alone meaningful employment. As Nangwaya directly puts it, racialised immigrants from the global South countries of the Caribbean, Africa and Asia have more difficulty finding work in the present context than their earlier European counterparts did in the 1970s. As such, once they have arrived, contemporary racialised people discover a less than hospitable and welcoming social of context of, and for, work. Teelucksingh and Galabuzi observe that race and immigrant status in a context marked by the "intensified racial stratification of Canada's labour market under neo-liberal restructuring" (202) result in a state where the racialised immigrants are in a constant state of working precariously, suffering from less access to a variety of jobs and a marked disparity of actual income.

Some of the more precarious work is undertaken by those who come to Canada by way of its guest worker programmes, designed by the government to provide immediate, non-committal (on the part of the state) and therefore 'flexible' labour.

As guest workers, the people who come to Canada with this initial designation have fewer rights and access to the benefits afforded by the Canadian nation-state to those with official state designations. As Trumper and Wong (2007) also make clear, those who enter Canada by way of these programmes are also racialised and gendered in particular ways – higher-skilled workers are recruited from White, or White settler-states, while lower-skilled workers are recruited from the Asia-Pacific region and Central and South America.

Of particular interest is Trumper and Wong's (2007) data set and overview of the literature regarding Canada's Live-In Caregiver Program. Their discussion evidences that the overwhelming majority of contemporary domestic workers are 'Asian' women from the Philippines and, beyond this, that almost all domestic workers who come to Canada by way of this programme are women of colour. It also touches upon how the nature of this work can produce a situation where these women feel the emotional effects of isolation and loneliness, exacerbated by harassing and exploitative employers (163).

How Filipina domestic workers, and Filipinos more generally, endure and negotiate the emotional consequences of their particular racialised subordination is further up taken in respective works by McElhinny et al. (2009) as well as Pratt (2004). Both scholars provide interventions that support and evidence the fact that there is an emotional dimension to being denied opportunities for full recognition and actualisation. McElhinny demonstrates that the oral histories of lower-classed Filipinos are marked by multiple negotiations regarding how and why they are less advantageously positioned; her narrators demonstrate a need to understand, reconcile and 'explain away' their social circumstances. Pratt, through interviewing young Filipino adolescents and adults, demonstrates that racial stereotypes and racially motivated social exclusion take a toll on those she speaks to, causing them to long for a (at times, never seen and imagined) homeland.

Conclusion: Racism and Affect, Return to Words

It is appropriate here to transition by offering some concluding thoughts as to why the affective dimension of the racialised 'Asian' experience, and attending analyses of such, serves to both validate why we should analyse 'Asians' as a racial group with an anti-racism lens and, more immediately, why these analyses are interesting.

As the previous section made evident, there is an emotional dimension to the racialised experience. Events engender emotional responses, both pleasant and unpleasant, on the part of those who are subject to them. This is necessarily expected for those who have undergone the litany of historical and contemporary events consequent from racism and racialisation, such as those discussed. In addition, the processes attendant to and that can precede racialisation, such as migration and long-term separation, are affect-inducing processes.

With her discussion of contemporary Chinese immigrants from both Mainland China and Hong Kong, Man (2007) connects the present experience of recently

arrived and socioeconomically advantaged Chinese immigrants with those who formed Canada's first Chinese communities. Man demonstrates that present Chinese immigrants are beset by a socioeconomic context that prompts them to find work away from their families, irrespective of their desire to settle with them in Canada. Coupled with racial discrimination, she argues that this shared experience of prolonged familial separation links this community with the first Chinese community in Canada.

Man (2007) demonstrates that racialisation and immigration are emotionally difficult by providing select interview material with some of these aforementioned present-day Chinese immigrants. Though not her intention, Man highlights how a particular subset of 'Asians' – in spite of their privilege and their 'success' – can be, to put it simply, unhappy.

It is arguable that any case of distress brought upon by what causes and comes from racism and its effects are worthy of attention. All of it, in the final analysis, is a form of violence that needs to be remedied. As made clear by portions of this chapter, 'Asians' have no shortage of events that would bring about such distress. I bring to attention, however, the particular preceding example because it is illustrative of how this violence operates on those it supposedly advantages, in a less than immediately obvious fashion. If Bonilla-Silva's (2009) tri-racial model of race relations is to be accepted, and some 'Asians' are 'honorary whites' – some informed conjecture about the emotional states of those it can advantage (as opposed to those whom it obviously does not) is useful. It is useful because it serves as another distinct means to support the claim on which this chapter is premised, which is to state again that an explicitly anti-racism and 'Asian'-focused analytic is necessary, for all 'Asians'.

From the standpoint of someone who thinks critically about race and other forms of oppression (particularly with a Marxist bent), the issues raised by the idea of embodying and aspiring to be model minority and the, at times, 'by-one's-own' affirmation of this discourse (see Chua 2011) are infuriating. When one interrogates this particular representation, it becomes increasingly problematic. We might begin by asking: What type of subject does a model minority discourse produce? On the topic of this stereotype, Lowe (1996) suggests the idea of a docile model minority serves to domesticise 'Asian' labour power and prowess. Building on this, I would suggest that the 'Asian' capitalist subject, by way of the depoliticised model minority stereotype, has their labour power conceptualised in such a way that affirms the need of a paternal nation-state, by way of a state-affirming (if not state-granted) designation. 'Asians' are made a model minority, in and because of a patriarchal, neoliberal state. Moreover, because notions of docility by way of domestication make sense within spaces formed and coded through patriarchal meaning, association and value – domesticised comes to be feminised while freedom becomes masculinised. 'Asians', by way of this particular racial meaning, are deprived of capacity and vigour, politically and socially.

One should not be surprised then that those who can be categorised as model minorities, these new and Other 'Asians', are not necessarily happy either with their categorisation or with elements of their lives. Beyond and in conjunction with

whichever concrete, tangible difficulties and hardships they might encounter, we can suggest how they are produced as subjects engender an infuriating component of their self-perception – 'but you should be happy'. As model racialised subjects, they are beset by both a particular hyper-visibility and set of neurosis – for how can one not be at the very least unhinged if everyone keeps telling that they should be happy?

This is a structural issue. More precisely, an affected state stemming from a comprehensive system of social organisation and action that results in one's physical and psychic detriment, and particularly so if one deviates from the normative standard. Irrespective of how one might be more 'advantageously' framed within a system of racial categorisations, it is important to remember that there is a basis on which the system is predicated and sustains itself. In brief, inequality, exploitation, oppression and false promise inevitably result in conflicted and unpleasant feelings on that part of those whose embodiment represents or conveys this difference or whose experience deviates from what is understood and accepted, because these framings ultimately serve to sustain the system.

Cheng (2003), through an analysis of Asian American and African American literature, offers a psychoanalytic perspective on this emotional pain. She argues that those who are racialised undergo a specific process of racial subjection, which in turn renders them victim to racial melancholia: grief that, owing to its intrinsic properties against a social context of White dominance, is unexpressed or unacknowledged. Cheng argues that grievance, the public articulation of grief, because it is underpinned by this backdrop, is a "luxury to which racially melancholic minorities have little or no access" (174). Within this system, one might suggest those minorities most 'advantageously' categorised are in fact most melancholic. Unlike those who are less advantageously categorised, one can suggest that they have more to gain by actively repressing their grief and have consequently devised and developed various measures to exist in state of denial, e.g. a self-told lie of 'there is no racism, take me, for example'. The Wretched at least have access to their anger, even if they've yet to find the words to express it. But they might one day more easily find the language.

Indeed, in the final analysis, while there are a multitude of reasons as to why the specific study of 'Asians' should be done so with an explicit anti-racism approach – I would argue that it returns to being a question of the discursive, because it is a discourse that allows for and ultimately compels and motivates the political. On the topic of identity, Hall (1992) reminds us it should be much more so than a matter of self-description and selective affiliation. A language of identity can and should compel one to recognise how such language can serve to influence and determine one's standing and actions in relation to communities. And while what compels Hall's analysis is the reality that previously easier-to-go political identifications such as those provided by race are troubled (which they indeed are, as was made reference to at the onset of this chapter), we still should remember that irrespective of this, and maybe because of this, even more so – the need for political projects is still pronounced. The moment might very much be unstable, but we still need to know what we are talking about and why we continue to talk about it.

In a social context that prescribes all people characteristics based on legacies of racism, imperialism and colonialism – a form of thinking predicated on causing productive cognitive and social dissonance is necessary. Dissonance can compel change. Anti-racism illuminates the importance of our shared task, by demonstrating why and how this is so. It compels us to locate our respective positions in the undertaking of this task, and it imbues us with a sense of shared historical responsibility and purpose with previous struggles.

Afterword: On Ill-Defined Subjects

I want to close by addressing a potential criticism that follows from a shortcoming of this chapter: in arguing for the continued importance of race-based, anti-racism approach for the study of 'Asians' in North America, I concede that I have highlighted the social experiences of select ethnic groups subsumed by the larger racial category. Moreover, I have not managed to provide a discussion on major elements of the experience of some who can be categorised, and as well self-categorise, as 'Asian'. For the sake of brevity, I have not discussed in substantial fashion, for example, the considerable historical and present-day experiences of South Asians in Canada. I have also afforded a discussion on how some Asians who are Muslim suffer from the present-day, pervasive mood of Islamophobia.

As such, it could be argued that this chapter – even if unintentionally – is contributing to a situation where both Asian Canadian Studies, and Asian Canadians themselves, are messily or ill defined. While conceding the limitations of my work, on the topic of an ill-defined Asian Canadian Studies, or subject(s) in itself – the driving point of this chapter has been that *it is ills that have defined, and continue to define the subject, and consequently the project, that are more important.* Ultimately, a dialogue focused on these issues is vastly more important. And such a dialogue does not prevent the future inclusion of any absent narratives here or in another work. In fact, I would argue that it encourages it. If questions of ethnicity, social categorisation and interaction were long ago conceptualised as issues of boundary making (Barth 1969) – our present task might best be conceived as continually providing a purpose-driven space whereby these boundaries are understood as porous and interconnected, enabling but also surmountable.

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**Part IV
Autoethnography: On Coalition
Building, Identity and Belonging,
and Decolonization**

Chapter 12
Honoring Gaswentah: A Racialized Settler's Exploration of Responsibility and Mutual Respect as Coalition Building with First Peoples

Min Kaur

… before the Indo-Europeans came …. there was a time when the peoples of North American forest experienced war and strife. It was during such a time that there came into this land one who carried words and plans of peace. That one would come to be called the Peacemaker. The Peacemaker came to the people with a message that human beings should cease abusing one another. He stated that humans are capable of reason, that through that power of reason all men desire peace, and that it is necessary that people organize to ensure that peace will be possible among the people who walk about on the earth. That was the original word about law – laws were originally made to prevent the abuse of humans by other humans. (Akwesasne Notes, *Basic Call to Consciousness,* 1986, p. 46)

The oral history of the Haudeosaunee relates that our ancestors observed how the colonizers had brought different ways and customs that were destructive to the natural world of the land and all living things given to the Indigenous people as gifts by the Creators of Life. Based on those observations the Haudenosaunee people realized a mechanism must be put into place that would define a mutual relationship based on co-existence; a relationship based on respect, peace, and friendship between sovereign Nations. (Goodleaf 1995, p. 9)

> Paun guru pani pita, mata dharat mahat,
> Dinas rat due dai daia khelai sagal jagat. (Sikh prayer)

Growing up, I was always taught to begin my day with this prayer in the Sikh tradition that reminds us to honor the Creator through our relationship to the sun, the moon, and Mother Earth beneath us. As my parents explained it to me, the prayer declares that the purpose of human beings is to achieve a blissful state and to be in harmony with the earth and all creation. As a child I did not fully appreciate these ceremonies and traditions, which often surrounded organized religion that I felt forced to participate in. Most recently, I reengaged with this particular prayer as I

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participated in an *Antam Sarkaar*[1] ceremony for my mother's death. I have been asking myself how the meaning of this prayer can be the grounding for relationship development between and among racialized and Indigenous communities as it relates to our relationship and, therefore, our responsibility to land. How can this teaching be related to the teachings of the Two-Row Wampum and its sophisticated message of coexistence (Goodleaf 1995)?

This chapter explores the particulars of relationships and alliances of healing through traditions involving ceremonies of water. By thinking through water as a metaphor, I will take up how intellectual and intercultural relationships between my relationship to land—both my homeland in Southeast Asia and the land and traditional territories of the Indigenous peoples of Turtle Island (colonially named Canada), where I currently reside—can be the basis of relationship and coalition building with First Peoples. To do this I ask:

– What are the implications of performing traditional ceremonies on Indigenous lands that I do not originate from?
– How do I negotiate my personal responsibility to the teachings of Gaswentah that have been generously shared with me, as I reside on Haudenosaunee and Anishnawbe lands?
– And how can I work with my position as an adult educator in imparting these teachings of responsibility and coexistence?

I ask these questions as I detail my personal journey of supporting my mother's transition to death, the ceremonies that I participated in for her funeral, and the responsibility I took on of bringing her ashes to Canada to perform my own ceremony of closure. Through this, I hope to weave in an interrelationality between the development of personal relationships and the notion of responsibility to land as a reciprocal dynamic.

Unwanted Journey

Late in the summer of 2010, just before beginning my new journey into a full-time PhD program, my family experienced a huge loss. Our mother, who was the surviving matriarch in our family and who seemed to be healing in the hospital from a lung infection, relapsed suddenly, needed to be resuscitated, and was now in a coma on life support. I received a phone call from one of my siblings late in the night informing me that my mother had been moved to the intensive care unit (ICU) and that the doctors had predicted that she would most likely not survive the next 24 h. I arrived in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, almost 2 days later after an excruciatingly long trans-Atlantic flight and an 8-h layover in Dubai. Amazingly it felt

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[1] *Antam*, in my mother tongue Punjabi, means the last and final moment or to come to an end. *Sarkaar* means to burn/cremate.

like time had stood still during that journey of crossing waters and time zones. I was able to spend the last 3 h of my mother's life by her side, supporting her to transition into the spirit world. Surrounded by the beeping sounds of the pulse monitor and the swooshing sounds and movements of the life-support machines that were pumping air into her lungs, and the numerous other tubes invading her body in an attempt to keep her body running, I spent my remaining time with her assuring her that all was well among her children and that she had done all that she needed to in terms of sharing her knowledge and passing down traditions to us. I was able to reassure her that any rift between my siblings and I relating to their disapproval of my relationship was resolved and that I knew that she was hugely responsible for that. While none of us actually verbalized it, we were all in our own way soothing any anxieties she had about the fact that a majority of my siblings took issue with the fact that I was in a same-sex relationship and had prevented me visiting my mother to introduce my partner to her.

I had not spoken to my mother in over 3 years and I am sure that we both carried a great deal of pain and guilt, I know that I did. It was reassuring to hear some of my siblings also reiterate to my mother that they were accepting of me and that she did not have to worry anymore. Despite being heavily sedated and having been nonresponsive for the previous 2 days, we all witnessed her struggling to open her eyes and trying to speak, although it was quite obviously painful for her to do so. My sisters kept saying to me that my mother had been waiting for me to arrive as she had been in a coma since the time she was transferred to the ICU. I chose to spend some of that time with her reminding her of all the places that she loved and enjoyed during the 15 years that she lived in Canada. In the presence of my sisters' daughters, I recounted stories about my mother's life that she had shared with me so that they would hear these stories about her, and throughout that entire time, I reminded my mother of all that she continually did to ensure that our teachings, traditions, and medicines had been passed down to us through her. I reminded my nieces that it was important that they know this information about their grandmother so that they could carry this information with them and pass it on. Thomas King (2003) writes that stories are all we are and that without stories, we do not have anything. These stories, I shared with them, were important not because they were about their grandmother, but they were about journeys. The journey of our collective struggles and survival through colonialism, displacement, and relocation and of our current individual journeys as women, mothers and future mothers, scholars, writers, cousins, aunts, and nieces. As diasporic subjects who have a comfortable cultural and spiritual connection to our lands of settlement despite little or no connection to a "homeland" (or desire to connect), we still need these stories to tell us who we are. The meaning stories give our lives becomes crucial for those of us who come from colonial histories and experiences of displacement as we negotiate the complexities of our current lives on lands we are not Indigenous to, acknowledging first and foremost the space and location of First Nations peoples and lands that provide the ability for even the thinking through of this discourse. My mother died at 8:30 p.m. that evening, surrounded by most of her children, their partners, her grandchildren, and great-grandchildren.

In working through my journey for the purposes of this chapter, I wish to articulate the notions of loss and grief from three perspectives. This grieving process that I am journeying through began way before our family lost our mother. It is a grief I have inherited from loss that took place at a meta-level, that is, the loss of access to our ancestral lands due to colonization and displacement. While our ancestral land is within the subcontinent of South Asia, I was born and raised in Southeast Asia where there are now over four generations of us. This has resulted in a loss of access to elders (grandparents) in our family as sources of (blood) knowledges. As diasporic peoples who are engaged in multiple nation-building projects and projects of modernity in Canada, the United States, Australia, Singapore, and Malaysia, we are still colonial subjects. The second loss I speak of is the loss of "innocence." As a survivor of sexual violence and incest, my personal grieving journey is always one that incorporates my survivorship into my healing journey. The final loss has been the loss of access to family because of my sexuality. For many queer peoples, the prospect of being exiled from one's family and community is a sad, albeit common, phenomenon. Many two-spirit/queer peoples experience isolation, rejection, and fear of rejection (which can be a monumental reason for staying closeted[2]) or are disowned by their families and shamed publicly, and even experience the threat of physical violence from their families and, by extension, their communities. Experiencing isolation from family because I am queer, losing access to my nieces and nephews and their children, and experiencing a loss of relationship development with future generations in the passing down of knowledges to them in terms of stories, medicines, and songs are something that I live with and negotiate daily.

Pani[3]/Water: A Metaphor

I am connected to water in many ways. My full name loosely translated in my mother tongue Punjabi means sacred waters. I also have a deep fear of the power of water. As a child I survived a drowning incident and have never been able to be in water above my head, float, or swim without experiencing panic attacks. And yet I am drawn to water. I am soothed by its sounds, its feeling, and its healing powers. Many of the Sikh ceremonies that I was raised on involved water in some way and I am constantly craving and desiring to be near water.

Water is an essential part of our survival as humans. Seventy-five percent of our bodies and the planet are made up of water. Many traditions and stories relating to

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[2] The concept of the closet itself can be a problematic concept contextualized in a Euro-Western framework of understanding. While many 2-Spirit/Queer/Trans/People of Colour (2QTPOC) living in the West and the many diasporas use this term, it holds a different meaning of a risk of loss in a larger community context.

[3] Water in Punjabi.

water exist in a multitude of cultures and ethnicities worldwide. Water represents movement as it flows and literally moves earth and can over time break rocks in half, bring life, and provide sustenance to vegetation. Nishnaabeg scholar Renée Elizabeth Mzinegiizhigo-kwe Bédard (2008), in her essay *Keepers of the Water: Nishnaabe-kwewag Speaking for the Water*, describes the rapids of the French River in the Dokis First Nations where she is from as "like the heart and lungs of the human body" (p. 91). According to Bédard, just as the heart pumps blood in, the lungs fill the blood with oxygen and cleanse the blood, and the heart sends that blood back out, delivering essential elements to the body while working to remove harmful waste and so do the rapids. Bédard's analogy of the heart and lungs in relation to the rapids is a powerful way to impart the immense necessity of the heart's function in our bodies and therefore the immense power of water (ibid.). Bédard (2008) further describes the role of Nishnaabeg women as having the responsibility of protecting water and ensuring that water is there for future generations (p. 90). This relationship, or rather stewardship, of water, and by that extension land, is a concept that many Indigenous peoples across the world have been consistently sharing through their teachings but is one that has not been heard by Euro-centered systems of domination. Our relationship with water, beyond its obvious realities of survival, is one that needs to be from a decolonizing space, as Bédard (2008) reminds us that the "sacredness of water is not separate from human beings" (p. 96).

With the support of my "chosen family" and community of mostly Indigenous and racialized queer folks in Toronto, Guelph, and California, I was able to hold a memorial feast for my mother and to perform my own ceremony of closure. With the support of my partner, we were able to find a body of water to release her ashes into—signifying a finality of releasing the elements of her physical body into that which provides life. During this time of deep introspection and reflection, I grappled with doing things in a respectful way, making sure to honor not only my mother but also the land on which I was releasing her into. As I reflect on that day, I recognize the importance of working with teachings of Gaswentah, both as a resource of coexistence and an understanding of responsibility.

Understanding Responsibility: Teachings of the Gaswentah

I have had this reoccurring dream since the age of 7. A frozen body of water; two animals, one larger than the other; a mother; and baby perhaps, they look like deer but have odd-looking antlers, and they are off in the distance.[4] There is a woman who has fallen through the ice and is hanging on to the rim of the ice with her hands. She is struggling to stay afloat and keeps looking at the animals. I am this woman.

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[4] I would like to acknowledge and thank Dr. Martin Cannon for creating a space in his course Centering Indigenous-Settler Solidarity in Theory and Research, where the teachings and meaning of the Gaswentah were generously shared with me. Niaweh!

The two animals start charging towards me and I have to make a decision: let go of the rim and take my chances of drowning or stay hanging on and be possibly trampled by the animals. I have always woken up just before the animals reach me and have never known what happens to that woman, me, in the dream. As a young child living in Singapore, I had no idea what those animals in the dream were or what the dream meant. In 1990 when I first moved to Canada and for the first time saw an image of a moose, I realized that it was the very same animal that I had been dreaming of as a child. Over the years, I have always thought of this reoccurring dream, about its symbolism and meaning for me. Was this dream telling me that I was meant to come here to North America? How could I have dreamt so vividly, over and over again about creatures that I did not know existed in a different landscape? Did the conflict in the dream represent a conflict in my life at that time, of one yet to come, or a conflict of the past? Can this conflict be relational to responsibility to the land that I have come to live on?

How can we, as racialized diasporic peoples, come to terms with how we become implicated in the nation-building project of Canada, a project that centers whiteness as the narrative of this land while pushing Indigenous peoples to the peripheries? Furthermore, as settlers on lands where numerous sovereign First Nations exist, how do we ensure that we learn and respect the laws of these sovereign nations who continually tolerate (are forced to tolerate) our presence here on their lands?

To explore these questions, I look at the teachings of Gaswentah as a framework. In her book, *Entering the Warzone: A Mohawk Perspective On Resisting Invasions*, Donna Goodleaf (1995) highlights what it means to be Kanienkehaka (Mohawk) by providing a historical, political, and cultural perspective of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. Goodleaf informs us that the term Haudenosaunee—meaning "People of the Longhouse"—refers to the communities who lived in the longhouses led and headed by a Clan mother. Beyond its necessity in providing shelter, the longhouse was also a spiritual place for traditional ceremonies and continues to be a symbol of the heartbeat of the peoples and community (Goodleaf 1995, p. 5). The peoples of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy are comprised of the Kanienkehaka (Mohawk) Nation, Hodenehiotga (Oneida) Nation, Onodahgeyga (Onondaga) Nation, Gayogwenga (Cayuga) Nation, Donahguh (Seneca) Nation, and the Honhndaskaienh (Tuscarora) Nation. Having the foresight of the inevitable expansion of European settlement by increasing numbers of Europeans settlers, the Confederacy entered into a treaty with the Crown by presenting the essence of the principles of Gaswentah with its clearly specified constitutional, social, and political relationships that were to exist between two sovereign nations (Goodleaf 1995, p. 9). Goodleaf highlights historical evidence from a 1988 document called "Sovereignty Position of the Kanienkehaka" (1995, p. 9) that in the context of International Law, Gaswentah is as follows:

> You keep your laws, ways and traditions in your vessel, and we will keep our laws, ways and traditions in our vessel; we will travel the River of life side by side in parallel paths (Two Rows), which never meet, in peace and friendship, never interfering with one another. Legally, it means that each of the two nations retains its own respective laws and constitution, and maintains its own respective jurisdiction. Neither of the two nations can apply or impose its laws over the other … The Two Row Wampum Belt Agreement, in terms of

government, calls for the two nations to deal with each other as equals; it calls for separate jurisdictions of the two nations. Neither the Six Nations nor the Dutch, neither the Six Nations nor the French, neither the Six Nations nor the English, neither the Six Nations nor the Americans, neither the Six Nations nor the British Colonial Dominion of Canada, were to make laws or force our respective ways on each other. We were to live in peace and friendship, fully respecting each others' right to exercise one's own jurisdiction and sovereignty. (Goodleaf 1995, p. 9)

Haudenosaunee scholar Susan Hill (2008) explains the deep meanings and intentions behind the teachings of the Two Row Wampum, noting a relationship of two vessels traveling down the river of life, side by side never crossing paths and never interfering in the internal matters of the other. While seemingly traveling separately, Hill clarifies that a relationship grounded in the principles of trust, friendship, and respect actually keeps these vessels connected to each other. Without these three principles, Hill (2008) says, "the two vessels could drift apart and potentially be washed onto the bank (or crash into rocks)" (p. 30). The contemporary oral record of Gaswentah, Hill (2008) asserts, also notes that individuals could choose which boat to travel in with the understanding that one must be clear in one's choice, signifying the premise of noninterference. This premise within the concept of brotherhood demonstrates, according to Hill (2008), "the desire to be allies rather than to have one side be subjects of the other" (p. 31).

Working through the intent of this chapter with its desire to focus on the particulars of relationships and alliances of healing specifically as a racialized settler, I reflect back on that dream and the symbolism of the woman's (my?) conflict, a conflict of complicity in the nation-building project of Canada. To me this dream suggests the symbolic occupancy of land and occupancy of space on this land to which I am not Indigenous. While I am not a white colonial settler who comes to this land "by choice," I come to be on this land by way of survival; I come to this land because I could not continue to live in my homeland for fear of persecution as a queer woman. As a survivor of physical, emotional, and sexual violence and incest, leaving my homeland was crucial to my survival and that is how I come to be here. While no Indigenous person has ever asked me to leave or questioned my presence here, I am still conscious of complicity as a subject of the state, through my attainment of Canadian citizenship and particular privileges that it awards me while simultaneously subjugating Indigenous peoples of this land through the cessation of their lands and territories, and the multiple dishonoring of treaties and promises (Thobani 2007). The complicity I speak of is a design of the nation-state of Canada through the logics of white supremacy as articulated by Andrea Smith (2006) in *Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy*. Smith discusses the triple logic of domination under which social differentiation occurs. She argues that white supremacy depends on the enslavement of Black peoples, the genocide of Indigenous peoples, and war with Asian peoples in order to anchor the capitalist project and sustain the dichotomous white identity. This logic laid out by Smith provides a foundation for understanding the logic of white supremacy and how it functions. She defines this logic as a logic that does not "assume that racism and white supremacy is enacted in a singular fashion; rather, white supremacy is constituted by separate and distinct, but still interrelated logics" (Smith 2006, p. 67).

Understanding how the logics of white supremacy influence our lives gives us the foundation to understand how our communities are impacted and continue to be impacted by ongoing colonization.

It is also crucial to think through these questions of complicity to address the notion of racialized settler as I have positioned myself. I come to this term as a response to the call by a number of Indigenous scholars such as Martin Cannon, Haunani K. Trask, Andrea Smith, and Bonita Lawrence (see, for example, Cannon 2011; Lawrence and Dua 2005; Lawrence and Amadahy 2009; Smith 1999, 2010; and Trask 1991), who wish to engage in conversations about the complicity of diaspora, and by extension diasporic peoples in ongoing colonization of Indigenous peoples while simultaneously recognizing that the diaspora embodies different histories of movement. My use of the term racialized diasporic settler as my particular entry point into this conversation is a personal one and in no means intends to implicate other racialized communities, nor serve to maintain systems of domination or the project of white supremacy. Rather, I seek to work through this tension of complicity as a personal struggle of disrupting projects of modernity and exaltation as they implicate me. Scholar Enakshi Dua (2008) in her paper *Thinking Through Anti-Racism and Indigeneity in Canada* proposes that being true allies requires thinking through the way in which peoples of color are positioned, and must be accountable, within a white settler nationalist project (p. 32), while Beejash Jafri (March, 2012) asks, "does being complicit in the marginalization of Indigenous others necessarily entail that one is also privileged in relation to those Indigenous others?" Further in conversations with esteemed Indigenous scholars, elders, and my teachers Prof. George Dei and Prof. Njoki Wane about the notions of the racialized settler and the white colonial settler nationalist projects, I have been challenged to think about the different and multiple entry points from which different racialized diasporic peoples come to be on Turtle Island. I am further left with also wanting to think through what my personal responsibility is to treaty, specifically to the Two-Row Wampum. As I work through how these logics of white supremacy historically, continually, and simultaneously impact Indigenous peoples and peoples of color, the complexity of this complicity is ever more complicated and thus unsettling.

Despite this unsettling, it is also crucial for me to be conscious of how often non-Indigenous peoples posture innocence by adopting and adapting Indigenous ways into their lives as a way to abdicate responsibility. In this, I am not innocent and I recognize the many ways in which I am constantly implicated in the ongoing oppression of Indigenous peoples, not limited to my status as a citizen of the nation-state.

In these moments, I turn to the teachings of the principles of the Gaswentah, its principles of mutual respect, trust, and friendship and work through these complexities by applying them in multiple ways such as in the ceremony that I carried out to honor my mother, in my everyday living through relationships, and in my professional capacity as an educator. These principles inform the ways in which I work in organizing and coalition-building work with Indigenous peoples in the many communities that I am a part of.

Conclusion/Moving Forward

Looking back on some of the childhood teachings that I was taught, I am now more appreciative of the deeper intent and meaning behind them and have been able to work towards balancing my personal conflicts with organized religion and my interpretation of those teachings themselves. Moving towards reconnecting with family that I had been estranged from due to their disapproval and nonacceptance of my queer identity and relationship with my partner, I have had to actively rebuild relationships both with my siblings and their children and grandchildren, to whom I, too, have a responsibility of sharing teachings and learnings. It is my hope that as I move through and heal through my grieving process and the academic journey that I am on, I am able to work through some of these complex questions and issues of complicity, moving beyond merely the theoretical framework but towards frameworks that address healing to the injuries of our spirits from our collective experiences of colonization and oppression.

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Chapter 13
Entre el Aquí y el Allá*: International Schooling and the Colonized Mind

Alexandra Arráiz Matute

When I first embarked on this journey in academia, my goal was clear and succinct: get in, finish my Master's degree in 2 years and get out. Find a job and carry on: business as usual, nothing to see here. And I was incredibly close. It was only during the last months of my degree that suddenly I came face-to-face with the harsh realization that I had been so absent from my own learning that I had come to the point of erasing myself from my own work. This insight sent me down the 'rabbit hole' of critical, anti-racist, feminist studies. As a professor warned in one of my first classes, "doing anti-racist work is not easy. And if you decide to engage with it, then you must be ready to face the consequences" (Dei personal communication, 2011/2012, class lecture). At the time, I understood it as dealing with the realities of upsetting the status quo and having other people who felt threatened by this work attack you and your research. I have come to realize now that in addition to this ever-present threat, there also exist the consequences that take place within: the paradigms that we must break down every day, one assumption at a time, and one shattered lens at a time. As the work wears on, we also came face-to-face with this discomfort when interactions lead to confrontation: when people began to question their own positionalities and how our work contributes to, or hinders, an anti-racism practice.

It is this recognizance, this reconstruction of my own self that I wish to further explore in this chapter. Using a self as method approach, I will weave together my personal narrative as an international schooled woman of colour with how this project of international schooling serves to perpetuate colonial racist and classist structures. In doing this, I will explore themes of linguistic imperialism as well as identity construction/deconstruction. I peer through the tearing seams of my colonized spirit, to gaze upon that which I did not know existed within me and to

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*Between the here and the there

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see clearly that which was bestowed upon myself by another. I will finish up by tying some of my experiences to concepts of reclamation of self and pedagogy, the beginning of which is where I now find myself.

My reason for choosing this autoethnographic approach is multifold. Firstly, because of my belief that in order to further anti-racism, the first step is to look within us. The second reason is slightly more subversive. I wish to use this method as a way to disrupt the norm of academic writing and research. As Ellis, Adams and Bochner (2011) state, "this approach challenges canonical ways of doing research and representing others and treats research as a political, socially-just and socially-conscious act" (p. 1). By insisting on other, nontraditional ways of writing, we also legitimate other ways of knowing that are not the Euro-White, masculine, heterosexual, middle-/upper-classed, Christian, and able-bodied experience. Thirdly, I wish to validate and acknowledge the many ways in which we know and learn—testimonios is a word in Spanish that translates to 'testimony' in English, although perhaps 'stories' would be a more accurate translation. I wish to engage in this practice in the same way that my mother and her mother before her engaged in it: as a way to transmit knowledges about ourselves and the world around us. As the Latina Feminist Group write in their collection of testimonios: "the stories show how knowledge of and from their everyday lives is the basis for theorizinc and constructing an evolving political praxis to address the material conditions in which they live. [The book] i sin this regard a manifesto of the color and gender of epistemology and on the plurality of 'reason' and 'rationality'" (Latina Feminist Group 2001, p. ix). By expanding the lens through which we look upon the world, it is also possible to better understand how who we, as researchers, claim to be and how we are perceived—all influence what and how we study, as well as how we interpret the topic (Ellis et al. 2011). In this case, I am engaging how my own positionality brought me to look more closely at how my education in an international school really separated me from myself.

Linguistic Imperialism

'Y porque nos mandaste a esa escuela?'

'Bueno, sí porque era importante que aprendieran ingles! Cuando yo estuve en Canada, sí pase trabajo. Es muy difícil aprender cuando ya se es más viejo. Que va, yo quería que ustedes fueran bilingües, para que se les fuera más fácil. Además, ese era el mejor colegio de Caracas'.

'And why did you send us to that school?'

'Well, because it was important that you learned English! When I was in Canada, I endured hardship. It's very hard to learn when you are older. No way, I wanted you to be bilingual, so it would be easier for you. Besides, that was the best school in Caracas' (conversation with my mother).

My parents' choice for enrolling my sister and me in one of the international schools in our city was clear: they were adamant that we be fluently bilingual and have 'perfect English'. This desire stems from their own experiences of going to

the USA to learn English and struggling with basic tasks like grocery shopping or finding housing, as well as negative academic experiences in the USA due to their limited knowledge of English at the time. The mentality of immigrant parents, adamant that their own children learn English, is copiously mentioned in the literature (see, e.g. Suarez-Orozco 2000). My sister and I were therefore placed in one of the American international schools in the city, where the language of instruction is English throughout the whole day.

Implicit in this reasoning is the conception of English as currency, the assumption that knowing English will lead to more job opportunities, and more importantly a connection to the 'elite'. In a severely classist society, like Venezuela's, this connection is tantalizing. As my mother put it, 'knowing [English] makes it easier'. Considering their own experiences in coping with daily life in an English-speaking country, their reasoning is not surprising. Yet there are other aspects of knowing English that perhaps did not 'make it easier'.

Being bilingual is not simply the ability to speak or communicate in two languages. As Zulueta posed in 1995, "speaking an additional language can profoundly alter an individual's sense of cultural and individual identity. This has important implications for the individual's relation to the group and to society in general" (p. 179). This relational implication is even more important when considering power dynamics and identity construction for students. How does the alteration of cultural identity affect the way in which a person sees herself, or how her peers perceive her? How are her peers actively involved in this alteration?

The way in which group power dynamics play out also dictates who has the privilege of claiming multiple identities and who cannot. Therefore, while I grew up speaking English, I could not claim the 'English-speaking identity' that my White, blonde-haired friends could claim. Mine was questioned every time, while theirs was assumed. This is the case even now in Canada, where my appearance will always prompt the questions 'So, where are you from?' and then the inevitable 'But your English is so good', always already implying a challenge to the legitimacy of my claim to speaking English. This tale is a familiar one to people of colour who are born in Canada and consider themselves Canadian, yet are constantly questioned as to their 'real' origin (see, e.g. Shadd 2001).

The implications for the racialized body are even clearer in an English-dominant context, where having two languages is not necessarily considered to be an asset. In fact, as Santa Ana (2002) notes of the public school system in California (a state with a substantial population of Latin@[1]s and Spanish-speaking peoples):

> It may be in the public school system that the social costs are the dearest. The bilingual Latin@ child is not viewed as an American child or an American child with an advantage of two languages and culture. Rather, such a child is considered linguistically impaired at best- at worst, a racialized foreigner. (p. 290)

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[1] The "@" sign has recently been adopted in the Spanish language to signify both genders and avoid the repetitive use of masculine and feminine terms in writing (e.g. 'Latino and Latina'). In this work, it will be used in this sense, to signify that I am talking about both Latino and Latina students. It also serves to symbolically include Latinas in all of the variations of the term, as they are erased by terms such as 'Latino community'. Therefore, this re-signing of the noun aims to be more representative of its members.

In spaces where English is the dominant language, English speakers are unable to recognize how linguistic/cultural diversity is an asset to an individual and, in turn, to society at large. These students are viewed through a deficit framework, in which it is their lack of English knowledge that is focused on and highlighted, rather than what other knowledges they do bring to the classroom.

Re-colonial Language

> All the American kids would go 'back home' in the summer. And bring back all these goodies that everyone got so excited about. A whole discussion in the cafeteria of how much they missed 'Grape Nuts'. I looked down to my lunch—my fried arepa with cheese—delicious, but no match for 'Grape Nuts', whatever that was.

One of the troubling aspects of the presence of international schools in Venezuela is the influence of oil and oil business in the establishment of these schools to serve the amount of expats that are assigned to the country. Most of my own classmates were children of expats who worked for the big oil companies established in the country. As far back as the 1960s, when Venezuela's oil boom began, oil companies (mostly from North America) rushed to send their workers to live in camps near the oil fields or in Caracas where the head offices were. An instructional video of the time, which can be found at http://youtu.be/AaVEKcpUQe8, shows how workers were flown in (without any knowledge of Spanish) and were installed in camps separated from the towns and general population of Venezuelans.

An effect of this relationship, in addition to the rise of the USA as a global powerhouse, has been the association of the English language with progress. As Phillipson (1992) notes, while English was imposed by force in colonial times, it is now determined by market forces. The discourse accompanying this rationality is based on the dominant ideology reflected in the belief in market forces. Therefore, these ideas tend to then be internalized by the dominated—even when it is not in our own best interest. The acceptance of the conditions which undermine our way of life is permitted by the construction of a 'rational', 'modern', 'human' subject accompanied by the discourse of English as progress. The way in which non-Western bodies are positioned as others in this discourse renders them as nonhuman and non-rational. The salvation of the nonhuman comes in the form of the rational human, who shall teach us how to become human through progress. Yet the discourse will continue to position certain bodies as nonhuman, which presents an inescapable problematic; no matter how much these ideas are internalized, these bodies are destined to never fully become human.

As far back as 1984, through the USA's project of English language propulsion throughout the globe, this insidious export of ideology has been noted by officials in the English language education industry. English has been successfully marketed as a symbol of modernity, technological advancement and development. However, it is clear now as it was then that this dominance of English is not value-neutral. More specifically, "When people learn English, for whatever purpose and by

whatever method, they acquire something of the flavor of our culture, our institutions and our ways of thinking and communicating" (Iredale 1984, p. 44. as cited in Phillipson 1992, p. 11).

This idea that the propagation of English as a language of instruction can be separated from the hegemonic ideologies of Western North America is a fallacy. Attitudes about ethnicity, race and social aspirations and the nature of multicultural societies are transmitted along with the language, even though the teachers at the international school in Caracas may not realize this (Phillipson 1992). These teachers are often from those countries (the USA, Canada, England, Australia) so they come as individuals with a set of ideologies and beliefs cultivated in these societies as well.

When Queen Isabella set on a quest to implement Castilian as the standard language of Spain, Nebrija wrote 'language has always been the consort of the empire, and forever shall remain its mate'. Indeed, I think this quote is applicable to the twenty-first century still, where English is acting as the new consort in propagating the ideals of Western North America. There exists today plenty of theoretical and empirical work on the ideology of colonizers and its effect on the colonized consciousness of the Third World subjects. Of particular interest is the role of language in causing colonized people to internalize the norms of the colonizers, leading to cultural deracination (Fanon 1952 and 1967). In my experience, this became increasingly clear as I finished my high school education and looked forward to university.

> I was so adamant about not leaving to go to the USA for school. They had a whiteboard in the hallway where they would write down all the seniors' names and where they were heading or where they had gotten accepted. And I felt pride that my name was followed by 'Universidad Católica Andrés Bello'. My mom asked me again and again if I was sure I did not want to go away, we could afford it at this time—who knew if we could in the future? But no, I wanted to stay and learn in Spanish and be like my Venezuelan friends, with their preoccupations about the state of the Metro or dealing with the traffic jam every morning (an hour to get to school!). So I stayed. And my dismay was that I could not learn. Everything I had been taught—to extrapolate, summarize, 'say in my own words what the text says', compare and contrast—it was all meaningless to these professors. They wanted me to memorize, to repeat and to say exactly what they had taught me. I would stay up nights, through the weekend, till Monday morning, just reading, rereading, writing and rewriting things down. And still, I could only achieve mediocre marks. It was a blow to the head—that I could not learn like my Venezuelan friends; I just did not know how to think like them.

That was my experience in the Venezuelan university system. As a result of the imperialist mission of educational institutions, rote memory learning and the principle of authority have characterized university studies in Latin America since colonial times (Tanck Jewel 2005). While my main point is not to critique the teaching/learning that happens in that particular space, my experience does serve to highlight its histories of colonialism and their heritage, in specific, the way in which education, as one of the main tools of colonization, was used to eradicate the indigenous ways of teaching and learning in the region. As Belle and White (1978) remark, the conversion to Christianity meant an absolute conversion to the European (specifically Spanish) patterns of labour, family and habitat—much of which was achieved first by the education (indoctrination) of the indigenous population in the area.

The experience also demonstrated to me how deep the colonization of a mind can go, partly in how I did not realize this until after I came to Canada, in a way, I was forced to come to Canada, because I was unable to learn in my own country. So I fled, seeking the refuge of 'student-centred learning' the familiarity of writing essays to tell the professor in my own words what others before me had already said. Not because this was necessarily a better way of teaching and learning, but because my exposure to education since I had been a child had left me maladjusted to a different system.

It was not until I began to critically think about the project of international schools that I saw how I had been separated from my own education, to the point of being rendered dysfunctional in my own school system. While promoting an 'international' citizen (as is stated in the mission statement of the school), it is clear that this subject is not international in the sense of the word to mean 'of the world'—but really a North American, White, middle-/upper-class subject world. The shrouding of neocolonialism in the discourse of globalization and of 'creating a global citizen' is insidious. If examined from a postcolonial perspective, international education is a tool "for reproducing the same colonial discourse and propagating economic imperialism to a new global middle class of citizens" (Wylie 2011, p. 31).

This idea that there is a global citizen, who is somehow neutral, ignores the long histories of inequality and oppression. As Omi and Winant (1993) argue, the idea that race is simply an ideology ignores the development of a construct over half a millennium and its enforcement not only as fundamental principle of social organization but also its centrality in identity construction. While we may argue about its social construction, race is very real in its consequences. Therefore, it is impossible to pretend that these consequences are not enacted on bodies everyday; our societies are thoroughly racialized. Instead, Omi and Winant (1993) argue that with the advent of migration and globalization, a new analysis of race is needed. As societies become increasingly diversified, more attention must be paid to "racially informed standpoint epistemologies" (ibid, p. 8) as well as notions of diasporic consciousness.

In my personal experience, the school offered one optional course after school hours on Venezuelan history for students that wished to fulfil this requirement for the Venezuelan Education Ministry standards. This was because the high school diploma that was awarded to graduates was valid in North America and Europe (as it was an International Baccalaureate diploma), but it was not valid for the Venezuelan Ministry. To this day, the curriculum now offers the course during the school day, but it is still only offered in Spanish, proving to be a limitation on which students will enrol in the course. The message is then clear: only Spanish-speaking students should be concerned with Venezuelan history, the English-speaking student population does not need to bother. The globe for the global citizen that the school is concerned with educating is restricted to North America and Europe. Obviously, other parts of the world are not 'global'.

This type of discourse simply furthers the neoliberal ideology of individualism that posits racism on 'a few bad apples' in a world that is otherwise 'neutral, rational, and just' (Lopez 2003). This permits a shift in the focus away from broader

social structures that are historically unequal and unjust and generalize racism as the work of individuals as opposed to a macro, socio-structural issue, thereby allowing us to ignore the deeper systemic racism, which operates silently and insidiously on people of colour. Lopez (2003) also argues that this silence only helps to make it harder for these bodies to name their reality. The resolution to not present the labour of working-class people of colour as the backbone of the international economy and therefore integral to the positionality of students in 'international' schools speaks volumes to how this silence is institutionalized and normalized. This has very real implications for how students of colour construct their identity in this context and how they relate to their local and to the global context.

The 'Gringa' and Racial Identity

> While I was growing up, my cousins used to tease me all the time calling me *gringa*. These were usually fighting words when we were small. And although we grew out of the punches and rolling around in the floor stage, that word never lost its bite. When I was older, my Venezuelan friends from outside of school would call me that in a joking manner—but it never seemed funny to me. If I was a *gringa*, then how could I be *Venezolana*? I didn't look like the *gringas* I knew, the ones I went to school with … So how could I be one? What was I?

I believe the previous anecdote hints at the conflict that many bilingual/bicultural children live through. It is a struggle to ascertain your mother tongue and your home culture in a place that constantly belittles it, such as the school. Valenzuela (1999) argues that schools actually have a subtractive nature: they minimize students' language and culture.

> Yes, my name is Alexandra Arraiz Matute. No, that's not hyphenated. No, it's not Alex. No, that's not my middle name, that's two last names. Yes, two last names. I'm sorry they don't fit in your form.

A major turning point for me, once I arrived in Canada, was the struggle to keep my name. The pressure is relentless to Anglicize it, lose the second last name, that is weird! No one knows what to call me—people insist on calling me 'Alex' so they feel more comfortable; all this, even though my name is not even a hard name to pronounce in the English tongue. My mother, whose indigenous name Tibisay is incomprehensible to Anglo ears, lives this struggle too. She has opted to let people call her by her middle name, Mercedes, which rolls easier off the Anglo tongue. Because of the assimilationist nature of schools and monolingual societies, Valenzuela (1999) posits that a sign of post-assimilation racial identity development for people of colour is to reclaim names or other ethnic markers in order to both reject the assimilation and claim their own identity. As Romo (2004) illustrates, the expression for 'What's your name?' in Spanish is '¿*Cómo te llamas*?' ('What do you call yourself?'). This distinction makes all the difference; what we decide to call ourselves says a lot about how we are connected to our roots and language of origin. It is therefore a conscious effort to use names as a way to exemplify that

connection in an environment that strives to sever it. This choice is a bilingual reality that necessarily constitutes an act connected to the negotiation and expression of identities (Bustamante-Lopez 2008).

Class, Race and Identity

> To be a *gringa* is to be rich. And if you speak English, you are a *gringa*. So, if you speak English you must also be rich. This was not too far from the truth, as most of my classmates were wealthy expats who lived in the fancy neighbourhoods of Caracas. My family did not actually pay tuition since my father had managed to negotiate it into his contract—even though my parents were divorced and he lived overseas. Therefore I was an anomaly among my peers—single mother, not upper class and not White. However, I still spoke English; and this gave me a label that other Venezuelans interpreted as being rich.

While Venezuela is a deeply class-stratified society, we cannot ignore the many ways in which class is racialized. In fact, the many ways in which other markers are all racialized and become venues to disguise and therefore avoid naming race. Omi and Winant (1993) articulate this on their critique against using race as a purely sociological construct:

> [Our work is to] focus attention on the continuing significance and changing meaning of race. It is to argue against the recent discovery of the illusory nature of race, against the supposed contemporary transcendence of race, against the widely reported death of the concept of race, and against the replacement of the category of race by other, more objective categories like ethnicity, nationality, or class. All these initiatives are mistaken at best, and intellectually dishonest at worst. (p. 3)

The intersectionality of race and class and how individuals negotiate this in everyday life is a challenge. For example, an investigation into parish marriage records and census answers in Mexico reveals how the legacy of racism from colonialism impacted and continues to affect the way in which people identify into different socioeconomic statuses and racial categories (McCaa et al. 1979). In this case, by trying to align their perceived socioeconomic status to their racial category resulted in households changing their race on a census to match their changed socioeconomic status. In Falcon's (2008) interviews with Afro-Peruvian women, one of the women noted how the invisibility of Afro-Peruvians in Peruvian society was directly connected to historical and material processes of structural racism. This results in an impoverished population that is completely marginalized from all spheres of Peruvian economic and political society.

In my own experience, the intersection of class and race meant a struggle for me in finding a space in which I could feel comfortable—I did not look like my classmates or have their resources. However, I did have access to a certain cultural and social capital (and thereby, the associated privileges) that my non-English-speaking friends and a vast majority of the country did not have access to. This effectively separated me from both groups in different ways.

This complexity inherent in identities is impossible to ignore. As Dei (2000) states on the importance of intersectional analysis, "Race, class, gender, and sexuality are

primary social categories that inform the complexity of human experience" (p. 31). All of these categories influence how we are socialized to the world, along the many intersections. Therefore, he concludes, "one's identity is a complex mesh of race, gender, class and sexual orientation. These identities are also sites of shifting power relations that inform, constrain and determine the human experience and condition" (ibid.). I believe this last point on power relations is key to moving forward in my journey of decolonization. As I pick apart the seams that have stitched together the various intersections, I renegotiate the power dynamics that have constructed my personal history to this point and re-claim empty spaces.

Erasure

The biggest discovery along this path has been the erasure of my own history and ancestral knowledge—and its replacement with a foreign one. This is to be expected as a key agent of socialization and social reproduction is the school system. Therefore, to be educated in an American system is to be socialized into the American 'way'. In the USA, English-speaking teachers were the predominant agents in assimilating linguistically and culturally diverse children to the Anglo norms (Hernandez-Chavez 1978). For these children, the effects were usually devastating. As Pfeiffer noted on the integration of Navajo children to the US schooling system:

> Navajo children are taught in a foreign language: they are taught concepts which are foreign, they are taught values that are foreign, they are taught lifestyles which are foreign, and they are taught by human models which are foreign. The intention behind this kind of schooling is to mold the Navajo child (through speech, action, thought) to be like members of the predominant Anglo-Saxon mainstream culture. The apparent assumption seemingly being that people of other ethnic groups cannot be human unless they speak English, and behave according to the values of a capitalist society based on competition and achievement. The children grow up in these schools with a sense of: 1. Confusion regarding the values, attitudes and behaviour taught in the home. 2. Loss of self-identity and pride concerning their Navajo-ness. 3. Failure in classroom learning activities. 4. Loss of their own Navajo language development and loss of in-depth knowledge of their own Navajo culture. (Pfeiffer 1975, p. 133 as cited in Phillipson 1992, pp. 21–22)

In a way, attending a school that did not acknowledge local histories and context acted in a similar assimilationist project. Venezuelan students dismissed their own Venezuelan-ness in favour of the American lifestyle and symbols. I remember with special poignancy at some point in my adolescence opting not to use bright-coloured clothing because they 'didn't go with my skin'. In effect, they simply highlighted my brownness, but I had so internalized the racism from the discourses around me that it had taken me to this point of choosing clothing that would not accentuate my darkness, my Otherness.

Positioning theory notes that as we take up the position that has been assigned to us by others, we eventually begin to see the world from that positionality. From my own vantage point, I was erased from my own schooling by not having access to

education on my own histories, indigenous knowledges to my country and even being able to function within the educational structures of my country.

In a way, this has led to a sense of loss for something I never knew. I did not miss it until I realized it had never been there. It is difficult to grieve for something that you never knew, as its presence has never been felt—but its absence is. It is a challenge to think of how this loss changed a part of you that was not known until now, your relationality with that missing aspect of yourself. As Butler (2004) reminds us in her theorizing of mourning and loss, it is not just the loss itself which afflicts us but the ties that bind us to that object and how those ties themselves are constitutive of who we consider ourselves to be. "On one level, I think I have lost 'you' only to discover I have gone missing as well" (p. 22). If the 'you' that is lost is not completely known, how much harder is it to grieve that loss?

Furthermore, how do we come to know that which has been lost? That which is known, which is considered enough to be known, versus that which is known by omission—known only because it is not. The idea that some subjects are not 'human' has been discussed before, and I wish now to connect it to the idea of loss—and more specifically the idea that some losses are not mentioned and therefore cannot be mourned. In this case, I am asking about how mourning can take place with the idea that a part of me has never 'been' there. There is a silence surrounding the aspects of myself that never were.

This silence is itself violent. And the violence by omission in discourse leaves a cycle of negation, animation and re-negation which produces at once the possibility and impossibility of mourning:

> If violence is done against those who are unreal, then, from the perspective of violence, it fails to injure or negate those lives since those lives are already negated. But they have a strange way of remaining animated and so must be negated again (and again). They cannot be mourned because they are always already lost or, rather, never 'were', and they must be killed, since they seem to live on, stubbornly, in this state of deadness. (Butler 2004, p. 33)

It is through working this melancholia—for what I have never known to be, but that I know to be lost—that I hope to break this cycle of negation and reanimation. We cannot be stagnated by our injuries if we hope to continue to work and take action. Instead, using our own experiences to better understand the context in which we find ourselves and to produce knowledge from those experiences is the goal.

Latina Feminist Epistemology

A major breakthrough in this journey was my discovery of Latina Feminism. To suddenly read my experience articulated on a page by someone else was astounding. It allowed me to finally name my experience and to have it legitimized and acknowledged 'out loud' in a way. It was also integral in understanding the need to advocate for a pan-racial identity, a *Latinidad* (The Latina Feminist Group 2001) that does not privilege one struggle over another. The transcendence of a concept of nation is a necessary strategy in the anti-racist struggle. The two concepts of

mestizaje and border/lands in particular were instrumental in helping me negotiate my new positionality and engage with my experience of colonization in a different way.

The term *mestizaje* was historically used in Latin America for the racial and cultural mixture that was produced by the conquest of the so-called New World, in which European colonizers mixed with the darker-skinned colonized subjects. The concept, as it has been reconstituted by Latina feminist scholars, acknowledges and embraces multiple, multilayered and fluid identities. It was first taken up in Chicano theory and later in feminist Latina theory as a paradigm for the 'internal contradictions' within identity. *Mestiza* theory highlights the fusion of differences and provides models for analysing transracial border-crossings. As an inclusive concept, *mestizaje* encompasses the multiple cultural, racial and national elements that meet within peoples of the Americas and highlights the mixtures, negotiations and frictions that define American history (Bost 2000; Anzaldua 1987; Moraga 1983). *Mestizaje* recolours racial categories to include a mixture of languages, religions, gender types and economies (Bost 2000).

In the context of the USA, where this theory is situated, Latin@s are constantly situated between two cultures—their own and the majority one—and have to survive and function in both. Because identities are co-constructed by both the subject and the society, this leads to a double consciousness (DuBois 1903/2007)—seeing oneself as an outsider and an insider, a Latin@ and a Canadian/American, and seeing oneself through the eyes of the dominant other. This concept is articulated in Anzaldua's concept of 'borderlands': "the psychological, geographical and emotional space occupied by *mestizas*, and a metaphor for living in between languages, cultures and spaces" and which by its nature counters any 'dualism, oversimplification and essentialism' of these cultures (Elenes 1997). I think the following quote, by Gloria Anzaldua, really speaks to the conflict experienced by many bicultural people:

> A kind of dual identity- we don't identify with the Anglo-American cultural values and we don't totally identify with the Mexican cultural values. We are a synergy of two cultures with various degrees of Mexicanness or Angloness. I have so internalized the borderland conflict that sometimes I feel like one cancels out the other and we are zero, nothing, no one. A veces no soy nada ni nadie. Pero hasta cuando no lo soy, lo soy.[2] (Anzaldua 1987, p. 63)

This conflict of two identities, such as DuBois theorized in his framing of the double consciousness of Black American experience (1903/2007), is a hallmark of the legacy of racist colonization. In the same manner that DuBois frames the experience of Black Americans, I frame the experience not only of a woman of colour in an American school but in the wider context of a postcolonial society. These experiences constitute each other, as legacies of the colonial oppression, which moulded the evolution and history of both societies.

Both Anzaldua (1987) and DuBois (1903/2007) write about the plurality and struggle that this plurality of experience engenders for individuals that are caught in

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[2] Sometimes I am nothing and no one. But even when I am not, I am (my translation).

these borderlands. Writing from their own historical and sociopolitical locations, their frameworks neglect certain aspects of experience. Putting them into conversation with each other allows for an expansion of their individual writings. While DuBois did not address gender in his theorization of the Black American experience, Anzaldua has been criticized for neglecting to give African heritage the same importance as indigenous heritage in her theorization of *mestizaje*. An expansion on both frameworks is at once a gendering of DuBois double consciousness and a broadening of *mestiza* consciousness to account for other borderland existences outside of the US-Mexico borderland context. Using both DuBois and Anzaldua in dialogue with each other allows for a better understanding of a *mestiza* double consciousness and the role of women's agency in this process (Falcon 2008). Moreover, expanding both frameworks of consciousness allows for a more complete understanding of the navigation of intersectionalities (race, gender, nation, ethnicity) that is a matter of survival in the *fronteras*. These *fronteras* (borderlands) are inhabited by the synergy between cultures, the spaces of existence between sometimes opposing identifications. Falcon's (2008) interviews with Afro-Peruvian women exemplify a borderland "where the Global North and Global South meet and collide" (p. 671) and that includes the experiences of Latin American women of African descent that is parallel but different to the dehumanization of Chicanas in the US-Mexico borderland. These experiences allow an opportunity to broaden the *fronteras* to all of the Americas.

In striving for a *Latinidad* that allows us to include experiences from various different borderlands, the theorizing of the everyday experience becomes a site of possibility. Storytelling and other informal social practices are at the forefront in this theorizing. In learning how to navigate white supremacist systems and institutions while in a racialized body, Latin@s' everyday experience is necessarily implicated not only in how they learn but also in how they construct the world around them and in turn how they share that knowledge.

Part of understanding this identity lies in being open to different ways of knowing and learning. Delgado Bernal (2006) poses what she terms pedagogies of the home as a way of conceptualizing ways of teaching/learning that happen outside of formal schooling. Although informal, these social practices transmit cultural knowledge shaped by collective experiences and memory and are therefore a valuable cultural tool. Some authors argue that these pedagogies provide a cultural knowledge base to help Latin@s negotiate the daily experiences of micro-aggressions they might experience in white-dominant institutions and provide them with strategies of resistance and empowerment.

Therefore using storytelling as a way to reaffirm identity is helpful for all racialized students in several ways. They are able to come to recognize their social and cultural location without being constrained by it (Holling 2006). Students are also able to explore their culture/ethnicity and their history, without falling into essentialized notions of culture or stereotypes of 'others' and construct themselves as agents who can reconstruct their own positionalities (Burciaga and Tavares 2006; Delgado Bernal 2006).

This experience and its complexities are also intertwined with the body that experiences. Because of the saliency of the body and how it comes to be inscribed

with different meanings, theorizing the body is also central in Latina feminism. "Too often theory is left without a body, without an acknowledgement of its origins. For the Chicana educational researcher, the body is a critical component of the study of agency and empowerment" (Cruz 2006). Because our bodies have material consequences to our experience, they are fundamental to our knowledge (see, e.g. Anzaldua and Moraga 1983; Anzaldua 1990). To ignore that connection is to delegitimize that knowledge and where it comes from.

Conclusion

The sense of loss is present as I perceive more and more the seams of the colonization of my mind and my spirit. However, I now see through those seams as they are stretched open and I see something waiting to be named and claimed within me that will connect me to this ancestry once forgotten. It is a continuous process of remembering myself and recognizance of the present.

In this process, a reclamation of my own pedagogies of the home and experiences is central. For example, recognizing how my own experience with a single mother cultivated in me a vibrant sense of self. How this kind of pedagogy showed me how to channel energy into a drive and determination and to live by certain standard, what we call '*respeto y educación*'.[3] To recognize that, as Galvan (2001) proposes, women's ways of knowing and their everyday ways of being in the world are tied to specific pedagogical formations, passed down through generations. These pedagogies provide me now with a lens I hope to use in this journey of further decolonizing: to inform myself of who I am, despite losing a part of myself to Eurocentrism.

I am still only in the beginnings of formulating all of these realizations. I have much yet to learn and inform myself from. However, I believe that the first step in this anti-racism critical journey is to take this look inside of myself—and locate the spaces where critical inquiry is needed. This year-long reflection has been hard and at times harsh to recognize. However, working with this discomfort to bring about new paradigms is imperative in order to move forward and continue engaging with structures outside of myself and bring action to this theorizing.

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Chapter 14
(Re)Turning Home: An Exploration in the (Re)Claiming of Identity and Belonging

Theresa Smith

For Merli del Valle Ros

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Land of the morning, Child of the sun
The Spanish took your language from you and named you after Prince Philip
And even though you managed to put a spear through Magellan's heart
The Americans lay in waiting for you
16 000 had to die before the promise of independence
But can you ask the IMF if interest is paid on a promise?
And just because the bombing has stopped doesn't mean the war is over
Because your daughters are still visiting American bases for American dollars
To take better care of you
To take better care of you
Your mothers had to leave to a land where you can only dream about
Where blonde babies ask her to make *lugaw* when they are sick
Now, the only way you can see your mother is in your dreams
And so when they ask you "do you understand English?"
You can say "Yes I understand."
***

We are standing in the cemetery at our family plot. As grounds men work to seal my grandmother's tomb, my mother tells me a story that I've never heard before.

At our family plot lay the remains of my grandmother's daughter Teressa (who died as an infant and whom I am her namesake), her son (who passed at age 33), her husband (who died 2 months after their son) as well as her only sibling (a younger brother) and her parents.

My mother points to the small plaque with my great grandparents' names on it and she says: 'When my grandparents died, they died in Manila. Your grandma wanted them to be buried here in Ligao at the family plot; it was her parents' final wish, but at the time, it was very expensive to ship the bodies. Finally, 15 years later, she went to Manila and was able to pay someone to exhume the remains. Although, in the Philippines it is common that remains are moved from one place to another years after one's passing,[1] *it was still a very expensive undertaking, and so Grandma hired someone to do it illegally one rainy night for a lower rate. Then, with the remains stored in two cardboard boxes—one on her lap and one beside her—Grandma spent 16 h on the bus from Manila to Ligao. Then, she had to keep the bones under her bed for 3 months before finally getting the allowance to have them encased alongside the caskets in the family plot.'*

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[1] In most parts of the Philippines, burial plots are commonly above-ground in cement wall cases which can be rented for long periods (10, 15 years). After the expiry of the 'rental' the remains are then exhumed, and the bones are placed in their final resting place which would typically be a smaller, more inexpensive plot. Underground burial options are performed for very wealthy families.

Family Plot in Ligao Public Cemetery

I was completely puzzled! There were so many parts of the short story where I had to interject to ask questions, at some points I laughed at the absurdity. My mother explained to me: 'That was the love of your Grandmother. She loved her parents too much to have them be away from her. It seems funny now but she did it because she loved them. That was her sacrifice she made for them, for them to return home. That was why she had a blessed life.'

Ninety-six years ago my grandmother was born in the small town of Ligao, Philippines. She was the eldest of two children. The family of four lived in a very modest home literally steps away from the town's cemetery. Today, we have travelled halfway around the world and are standing in the cemetery at our family plot because my Grandmother's final wish was to be brought back home.

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Introduction

My trip to the Philippines for the burial of my grandmother was bittersweet. I travelled there with a heavy heart, but during my stay, I also experienced wonderful joy and serendipitous revelations of the parallels I discovered between my life and hers. Throughout the trip, the themes of (re)union and (re)turning kept springing up. My Grandmother's final wish was to be reunited and buried with the family that had gone before her, and in fulfilling her wish, those of us who she is survived by were able to travel from Canada, the USA and Australia to reunite with one another in the Philippines. My Grandmother's funeral signified not only a return to the land that she called home, but it also made me question which lands I (can) call home. My Grandmother's passing also marked a reunion with her Creator as well as my own reconnection with God as I found renewed strength to lean on my faith as a result of her sickness and passing.

What I learned during my trip crystallized my learning in a graduate course, The Principles of Anti-Racism Education. Working with an autoethnographic arts-informed narrative, through the lens of an anti-racism reading, this chapter will explore the following sections of discussion:

(I) *Am I Home Yet?* I try to understand how I bring meaning to my experience of the Philippines by opening with locating myself, my sense of identity and claims of belonging.

(II) *(Ex)change*: This section gives a brief overview of the historical and contemporary structures that force one to leave the Philippines to look for opportunities overseas and what goes into making that decision. I ask *who* needs inexpensive labour, *whose* labour is depreciated, *how* does labour become depreciated and *what* gets lost in transition.

(III) *My Praxis*: After reflecting on my learning over the year (in relation to the course) and experiences during my trip, this section summarizes how I will take what I have learned and work with it in my life and practice as a future educator.

<div align="center">***</div>

Am I Home Yet?

The food … the sun … the people … the simplicity. Soon after stepping off the plane, I was falling in love with the Filipino way of life … the laid-back attitude of the city … the sense of community. I have lunch with my cousins and we laugh at how different Canada is compared to the Philippines; we build a case to our Filipina cousin on how life in the Philippines is so much better and how we would love to stay. She gently reminds us that many Filipinos, including our parents, wanted to live abroad because life in the Philippines is not always as perfect as we see it.

In jotting down my preliminary notes for this chapter, I found myself daydreaming about living in the Philippines and leaving the stresses of my life in Canada behind. In retrospect, I was getting caught up in the romance of 'vacation life', when food is always prepared for you, there is no job to go to or pressing responsibilities. It took me a while to catch myself toying with the dangers of romanticizing what I viewed as the 'Filipino way of life'. In undertaking this chapter I wondered how I could responsibly write about my experiences, meaning: how do I understand my location and how I had been positioned in bringing meaning to my experience(s) of the Philippines. I wanted to avoid exoticizing and 'othering' what I perceived as a 'Filipino way of life'. Gupta and Ferguson (1992) offer the suggestion that "what is needed, then is more than a ready ear and a deft editorial hand to capture and orchestrate the voices of 'others'; what is needed is a willingness to interrogate, politically, and historically, the apparent 'given' of a world in the first place divided into 'ourselves' and 'others'" (p. 16). Viewing what could be thought of as a 'Filipino way of life' in the way that I was seeing it—through

a romantic lens—is dangerous. Not only does it ignore the less favourable aspects and historical remnants of their everyday realities but it actually reinforces and underscores the privilege that one is granted when processes of hegemony become masked to the outsider. To romanticize or exoticize a culture and people—even one that I consider myself to be a part of—inadvertently disassociates the relationship between 'me' and the now conceptualized 'them'. The disassociation also takes for granted the interdependency of *how* I come to hold certain privileges and *how* I arrive to experience this thing that I label as an essentialized 'Filipino way of life'. The underlying belief is founded on the assumption that this way of life and its dissimilarities to my own are *natural*. More importantly, it ignores how I, as a foreigner, am implicated in the process. It is through 'romantization' and 'exoticizing' that I unwittingly produced my own family members as 'the other' in relation to myself.

Therefore, considering Gupta and Ferguson's approach, I believed that it would be very important to answer Arber's (2000) question: "What is my position in the research? … We must properly define the place from which we speak, the person we are, and the way we might affect, or be affected.…" through the research (pp. 45–46).

I experienced the Philippines the way I did because I am a Canadian-born mestiza (mixed-raced Filipina) woman. These are the signifiers I write down but I return to them later and recognize that I've left out that I am also light skinned, my citizenship status, that I am English speaking, University educated, Christian, heterosexual and by various measures considered (upper[2]) middle class and able bodied. By first framing my understanding of my experiences through the different intersecting lenses of my identity, I have been better able to understand how I am multi-positioned and how some aspects of my identity are always named and how some can go unnamed at times, the moments of unnaming amplifying my particular privileges. As Arber (2000) claims "… where privilege and dominance seem normal, its structures invisible and its understandings and practices unmarked and unnamed…social construction of such a privileged site, remain unremarked" (p. 56). After identifying my points of privilege (especially those that I do not always name and take for granted), I tried to interrogate 'how do I participate in white supremacy?' What prejudices do I hold? What assumptions do I need to unpack? Although these questions were uncomfortable for me to ask, over the course of the year, I have understood that much can be learned when we work through discomfort because in doing so, we trouble the status quo and we demand accountability. I admitted to myself that although I was of Filipino heritage and I was in the Philippines, I was also still very much seen as, and operated as, a Canadian. Due to my Canadian*ness* I embodied privileges—the transnational movement my Canadian passport afforded me, how I was received by the Filipinos who lived there, what my Canadian dollars could do, what the fairness of my skin meant, how I also played into benefiting from my privilege, etc.

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[2] My social status is interpreted to be middle class in Canada but upper middle in the Philippines.

Kung ano
ang puno,
siya ang
bunga.
Whatever
the tree, so is
the fruit

Being of mixed heritage (Filipina and Jamaican), I have always had a struggle to define my racial/ethnic identity. I would often understand identity much like what Gupta and Ferguson (1992) cite as "an approach of making a natural association between the culture, a people and a place" (p. 12). So as a Filipina being in the Philippines, I thought I really was absorbing the culture and *what it was to be a Filipino*: the food, the language and the pace of life. I really felt a connection to the *land*. However, the authors suggest that "both the ethnological and the national naturalisms present associations of people and place as solid, commonsensical and agreed upon, when they are in fact contested, uncertain and in flux" (ibid., p. 12) and that "spaces and places are made, imaged, contested and enforced" (ibid., p. 18). I felt like I had found a place to call home in the Philippines yet I could still see the vast differences between myself and my family there. I was beginning to understand that the differences stemmed from how I directly benefited from the white supremacy of/in my Canadian identity. There were processes by which my Canadian*ness* and the ways I was a Canadian coloured my experiences in the Philippines both in direct and indirect ways, in seemingly trivial as well as very consequential ways. There was an instance when my 11-year-old Filipina cousin marvelled at us foreign Canadian family members that she had never met. She could not get over our accents and light skin. She witnessed us get the best service in restaurants and shop with our seemingly never-ending money. Among the Canadian cousins, we laughed at how inexpensive everything was and we bought her many gifts to remember us by. Before we left, she asked me to buy her skin-lightening soap so she could look more like us. The hegemonic forces of classism and shadeism that lay just beyond the veil of this incident were exposed. My heart fell; I tried to make that a teachable moment and asked her what she meant, or if she knew why she wanted lighter skin. Listening to her answer, I could not help but realize the reality in what she was seeing and experiencing. It would have been easy for me to blame representations in the media, but she was responding to *us*, her own family; we were enacting a real-life example of the privileges we had and the currency of whiteness/lightness. It was hard for me to wrap my head around the situation and articulate what I felt; it still is, but it was one of the many instances during my trip where I experienced what Gupta and Ferguson (1992) refer to as my own location in "multiple fields of power" (p. 20), and I recognized that I had to understand the limits of the identities that I claimed

and to resist denying the ways in which I benefit from white supremacy. As a Canadian-born person from mixed heritage, I have longed to claim a Filipina identity. However, now I am a little more conscious of acknowledging the histories that people belong to and possibly the limits to making claims to a homeland that is not necessarily my own. Of course this is not easy. I asked myself: What does it mean to be Filipina? Who can be called Canadian? Who am I? The answer is still not clear. Am I more one than the other? Can I be both equally and simultaneously? Why do I feel that I have to choose? How am I the 'other'? In what ways do I 'other'? Gupta and Ferguson (1992) pose interesting questions related to my reflection: 'who is "we?" and who is included and excluded from this club?' (p. 14). Arber (2000) adds to this:

> Groups are defined as different if they share natural and heritable qualities by virtue of their common histories and experiences, regardless of whether it can be seen that they share particular phonological or biological characteristics. Boundaries are constructed around these groups as if they have been forever other, and identities within those boundaries are internalized and naturalized, as if they are forever the same and held in common. (p. 48)

It was almost as though my Filipinaness was lost in translation while I was in the Philippines and I wasn't necessarily considered 'one of them'; I wasn't necessarily considered a true Filipina but rather a Canadian with a Filipina mother. It was only through my mother that I was able to claim the land.

In the Philippines, I felt accepted as part of this 'Filipino group' because *my mother is Filipina.* However, at times, I definitely felt like a Canadian (in the sense that I was outsider of the group): I could not understand or speak the language, I wasn't accustomed to many facets of their daily life, and I didn't necessarily look like them. Ironically, however, I knew that this question of 'who are *we*?' would not be any easier to answer back home in Canada. It is understood by critical thinking that a Canadian identity traditionally implies an Anglo Saxon, male, Christian, heterosexual, able bodied and middle-class body that, on the surface, I don't necessarily consider myself to be a part of. Yet, identity can be said to be more than a location, a birthplace or something that is inherited. Identity is something that we participate in. After reflecting on my interactions in the Philippines, it has been hard for me to deny that I did in fact perform this representation of Canadian*ness*. It was in those ways (such as my skin tone and spending power) that my Canadian*ness* began to eclipse my (inherited) Filipina*ness* while in the Philippines. I also came to recognize how my claim of a Canadian identity displaces Canada's indigenous peoples, both in a literal and figurative sense. Arber (2000) summarizes my thoughts: "It is through these definings, these articulations and silences, that the complexities and ironies of identity are understood in modern times" (p. 51). I ask myself again: What was it that I was trying to claim? Is this my land to claim? What does it mean to claim land at all? I tried to unravel the irony of being unable to claim a Canadian identity while living in Canada (which in itself had also been appropriated through the colonial project) yet still have this 'whiteness' of my Canadian identity eclipse my Filipinaness while in the Philippines. In other words, my identity had been shaped to be that of 'the other' while in Canada, yet once abroad, I experienced my

connectedness to whiteness and power to add a new layer of 'othering' in a country that I claimed as my own when asked 'where are you *really* from?' I understood that I cannot assume that culture is unchanging, that it is static 'thing' that I can assert ownership of but instead it is created and reinforced both by internal and external forces and that there are systems that also contribute to the binary of 'us' and 'them' when it comes to claiming a Canadian as well as a Filipina identity. Fredric Jameson (as cited in Hassan and Dadi 2001, p. 297) offers some insight that although the process of holding a national or ethnic identity is a complex interaction of social constructs, it does not make it seem any less 'real' to experience:

> As a universalist, or at least a believer in environment rather than heredity, and constructivism rather than human nature, history rather than biology, one would certainly think that there really is no such thing as national character. And to be historicist about it, one might also affirm that even if there once was such a thing, it is gradually being whittled away and flattened out, homogenized and uniformized, by globalization and the mass media, by worldwide standardization. In any case the nominalism that is our current doxa and on which I have been insisting here inclines us all powerfully to believed that there are only individuals, and perhaps also only specific nation states, and not that strange kind of genus called national or ethnic character of which individuals would be little more than a subset or concrete example. Still, I'm afraid there are situations in which the sense of national character remains strong and seems to correspond to something real. When as an individual you are traveling, and particularly across a group of different nations or ethnic areas, the feeling that there are specific characteristics to each one becomes inescapable.

The middle ground that non-White Canadians occupy while in non-Western countries curiously exposes the processes of how race and identity are inscribed on bodies and represented in spaces. Identity takes on different forms in relation to space and location and other bodies in those spaces. In other words, my identity was informed by my location, which in turn shaped how I understood myself in relation to others, and, although I feel like I have more insight on my different positions of power and the limits (imposed and otherwise) of claiming a Canadian and Filipino identity, it has not made me *want* to claim either of these identities any less. Arber (2000) summarizes: "… I don't think that your identity is defined by birthrite … I think that you choose … you take these things on …" (pp. 48–49). My children will have a Canadian-born father of Trinidadian heritage and I am a Canadian of Filipino and Jamaican heritage. However, I would hope that they will feel as Filipino as they would want to or as Canadian as they choose (or any combination of the above for that matter). In claiming identities, one must acknowledge the sociohistorical contexts that have come to shape these identities that are sometimes mistakenly taken as void of sociohistorical contexts. For example, the process by which 'Canadian' identity (as we are to understand it) has been 'naturalized' as 'whiteness' ignores the fuller Canadian identity that weaves together more diverse stories and origins. When a person makes claims to Canadian identity, but who does not 'take part' in (what is to be understood as) a traditional model of a Canadian identity, they are challenging this model and thereby presenting a counter narrative in shaping (Canadian) identities.

During my stay, I take pictures of the city and country landscapes but the pictures do not seem to be enough. It is as though I want to take parts of the Philippines back with me. Would it be appropriation or reconnection? The Philippines seems to be too beautiful for its own good. I recognize that its beauty is beautiful because it belongs exactly where it is and to appreciate its beauty I must let it remain there.

In addition to recognizing that culture is not necessarily a self-contained 'thing' but relational, I've also come to realize that my own sense of identity has changed over time. If I am honest, I can see when and how my voice has changed and I have been critical of how my beliefs have been informed. In my earlier years, it had been problematic for me to claim a Jamaican identity. Reactions from others varied from 'you don't look Black' or 'how dark is your dad?' and 'why don't you consider yourself Black? You should, your family is Black'. Such comments have been quite problematic for me and are not an uncommon representation of the issues that arise in discussions of what is meant by race? by nationality? by ethnicity?[3] It is no secret that the mention of certain nationalities evokes ideas of certain racial identities. For example, when Canada is mentioned, we are meant to imagine a White identity just as when Jamaican is mentioned we are meant to imagine Black. I can theorize about the Caribbean Diaspora and how the nation of Jamaica has the intertwined histories of many peoples, but in the workplace and in certain social situations, people respond to how my physical appearance presents, occasionally resulting in uninformed, sometimes uncomfortable, and even violent comments. The same when asked 'but where are you really from?' This further complicates something that people may take for granted—that your national/ethnic identity is reinforced by others. "The Jew", Sartre once said fatefully, "is someone other people consider to be a 'Jew'", and he added that "it was only after that that such a subject could choose himself as a Jew and reaffirm this identity in reaction" (Fredric Jameson as cited in Hassan and Dadi 2001, p. 298). So, my experiences of not always feeling able to claim a Canadian identity, a Jamaican (black) identity or Filipina identity due to my racially 'ambiguous' appearance highlight that one's sense of (racial) identity is in part shaped by how others perceive you and your participation by reaffirming this identity. My struggle with sometimes feeling unable to claim a Black identity led me to question 'what is Blackness?' and 'who can be considered Black?' This in turn led me to believe since blackness cannot be statically defined and that it is a social construct that is based on time, location and space then maybe blackness in itself didn't exist. In Bowles' (2011) book, 'Adrian Piper: Race, Gender, and Embodiment', he examines the work of Piper, an African American conceptual artist. In response to an unnamed art critic's description of Piper as "a black artist who can easily 'pass' for white," he asserts that her: decision to call one's self black becomes a moral issue rather than a simple matter of genetics or parentage, reasoning that she "must see herself in relationship to the

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[3] For an excellent discussion of race, read 'Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Race' by G. Dei (1996).

image that she knows others have of her, and in doing so she turns it against them"
(p. 1). Her installations and images work to evoke and interrogate the viewers'
(mis)conceptions of Blackness and race to emphasize the viewer's implication in
'unspoken' racisms.

Adrian Piper, 1974: The Mythical Being: I/You (Her) (Source: Piper, Adrian *The Mythic Being: I/
You (Her)*, 1974. Ten gelatin silver print photographs altered with India ink and tempera, 5×8″
(20.3×12.7 cm). Detail: Photo #5 of 10. Collection Walker Center of American Art, Minneapolis.
© Adrian Piper Research Archive Foundation Berlin)
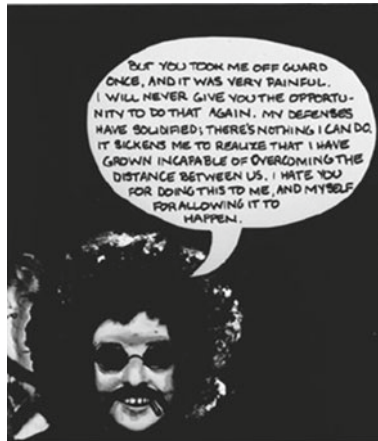
Adrian Piper, 1974: The Mythical Being: I/You (Her) (Source: Piper, Adrian *The Mythic Being: I/
You (Her)*, 1974. Ten gelatin silver print photographs altered with India ink and tempera, 5×8″
(20.3×12.7 cm). Detail: Photo #10 of 10. Collection Walker Center of American Art, Minneapolis.
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I also asked myself: 'Which identities was I holding as fluid and which identities seemed solid?' This is visualized in Piper's (1974) work 'The Mythical Being'. Frame by frame, the artist is transformed into a representation of a Black man while her White counterpart in the picture remains unchanged. I realize now that I held beliefs of identity being fluid, when this is not true at all for some, and I do not deny the fact that, again, regardless of critical theories of race, the very real consequences of the process of racialization are tangible and measurable. Race in itself, when we think of static and separate categories of grouping people, may not necessarily be 'real' or simple science but certainly racialization, in terms of assigning judgments of value to groups of people, is very real. This rebuts the sentiments found in Miles and Torres 1996 article 'Does 'Race' Matter?' who argue that words associated with race (like 'Black') should be eliminated since race, in a biological sense, does not exist. This of course ignores the saliency of race as well as the consequences/repercussions of racialization that individuals experience in any given place, at any given time (Dei 2012–2013, lecture notes). We cannot do away with the terms of race or be misled into thinking that by replacing the language of race, we can solve issues around race. Instead, the opposite is true; by ignoring 'loaded' terms dealing with race, we ignore what the concept of race has done to racialized bodies and we only serve to perpetuate and maintain the status quo. In addition, participating or claiming an identity such as 'Black' must come with the understanding that it is a complex umbrella term that carries a political identity, Pan-African identities, Caribbean-Diaspora identities, etc. and knowing the limits of what one can claim and speak to.

Adrian Piper, 1975: The Mythical Being: I Embody (Source: Piper, Adrian *The Mythic Being: I Embody*, 1975. Gelatin silver print photograph altered with oil crayon. 9 15/16×7 15/16″ (25.3×21.1 cm) Collection of Thomas Erben, New York. © Adrian Piper Research Archive Foundation Berlin)

(Ex)change

My cousins and I marvel at how small everything is at the store (shampoo comes in trial-size packets!) and how inexpensive it is to live here. We are excited and talk about buying land and building a vacation house for the cousins to share. We discuss taking turns and visiting here with our friends and family to maintain a connection to the

Philippines. My Filipino cousins stay silent. They live in small homes with siblings, parents and grandparents and sometimes sharing accommodations with over ten people. How is this possible for us? I have an aunt I have only seen in pictures because she works in Ghana. My uncle works as a commercial diver in Dubai. He comes home for a month every 3 months. My own mother had to leave her parents, grandparents and six siblings to come to Canada under the Live-In Caregiver Program (LCG) so she could send money back home. Its citizens are the Philippines' number one export: their stories are the legacy of immigration.

Financemanila.net contributor B. Dragon (2010) outlines the harsh reality that despite being a country rich in human and natural resources, the Philippines is considered, by most hegemonic-capitalist measures, a very poor country. It has been characterized as a developing country—negatively affected by low buying power, failed attempts at self-sustenance and a history of debilitating government corruption. The lack of career opportunities forces nearly 10 % of the country's total population to migrate to other countries in search of employment opportunities—roughly eight million annually.

During my stay in the Philippines, I was amazed at how inexpensive things were and how far my Canadian dollars (CAD) could stretch, but I was equally surprised that my family members were earning little over $150 CAD a month here. Many Filipinas, like my mother, feel compelled to leave the Philippines under programmes like the LCG. However, coming to Canada was not an easy road, and although the money she sent back home did help her family tremendously, it was not necessarily a wage that was affording her a comfortable life in Canada. To better understand who needs inexpensive labour and how labour comes to be depreciated, allow me to briefly review the economic history of the Philippines.

The Philippines was colonized under Spanish rule for nearly 400 years only to then be occupied by the Americans from 1900 to 1942. Shortly after the Second World War, the Philippines was officially granted their independence and at that time managed to rank comparably amongst the richest countries in South East Asia. However, their economic growth was stunted due to economic instability under the dictatorship of President Ferdinand Marcos from 1965 to 1986. During his time in office, Marcos embezzled billions of dollars of public funds leading the country into recession. Since that time to present day, the Philippines has one of the highest levels of socio-economic inequality in the world; the lowest 20 % of the population hold less than 5 % of the country's wealth. This gap is exacerbated by the fact that its highly educated citizens migrate to Canada and elsewhere to pursue a 'better life'. To add to its difficulties, billions of dollars in IMF and World Bank loans taken out during the Marcos regime (May and Nemenzo 1985, pp. 141–142) have reserved half of the national budget for foreign loan repayment, causing severe financial strain in education, health care and infrastructure funding. For these reasons (as well as other complex economic factors), the purchasing power of the Philippine peso has been driven down (Kelly et al. 2009, pp. 14–16).

My mother migrated to Canada in the late 1970s because she thought if she were to stay in the Philippines, the only career opportunity that was viable for her was to remain as a teacher. With two elderly parents and 6 younger siblings, she knew that

her only hope was to migrate to another country and send home foreign income, just as my uncle who works in Dubai and my aunt working in Ghana presently do. Roughly 10 % of the country's GNP is derived from remittances from overseas which "speaks clearly to the lack of dynamism and opportunities within the domestic economy" (Kelly et al. 2009, p. 14). In addition to acting as a promise for a better financial future, the migration process also acts as a filter for those who can even think of applying versus those who are 'destined' to stay home. The social reproduction of class inequities further divides those who remain in the Philippines. The average annual income of a household in the Philippines is around $1,500–2,000 CAD. The prospect of immigration for even the wealthiest of Filipino families (annual income over $12,500 CAD) can easily deplete a year's worth of savings within months of arriving (Kelly et al. 2009, p. 16).

The individuals who are able to emigrate are, for the most, part highly educated, but have very little spending power. Unfortunately, this creates the forced and immediate need to get a 'survival job' as soon as possible in the arrival countries, thus contributing to the depreciation of labour. In these capitalistically driven societies, having a personal domestic worker is a marker of wealth and status—these are people who need inexpensive labour. Like too many other immigrants, my mother's education and work experience was not recognized upon reaching Canada, creating a compromising situation to find a job as well as secure her status in Canada. Canadian host families and employers are fully aware of the class, race and gender power divisions that exist between them, and unfortunately workers can be taken advantage of. In an effort to create better economic opportunities for themselves and their families, workers endure and persist, nonetheless, in low-paying, often precarious employment. Through the systemic discrimination of immigration policies, subordination becomes a 'natural' part of the immigration process. It may be easy at times to take my Canadian citizenship for granted; however, I cannot ignore the sacrifices made by my mother and the many like her who start over in a new country. Also I am reminded of the systems that exist that make integrating into Canada harder for some and easier for others as well as the powerful entities, like the IMF and the immigration policies, that have the ability to create perpetual financial dependence.

Yet, I understand that is how white supremacy works, that it takes many interlocking forms and that it appears to be normal, even desirable in some ways. It is the cumulative effects of the histories between and within countries that result in me knowing a certain way of being and believing it to be 'normal'. I also understand the responsibility I have to resist it.

My Praxis

How do I ensure this chapter is not a non-performative piece as Ahmed (2006) warns? How will I apply what I have learned in this course to my life? It has been revealed to me that reflection is an equal part to the process of change, with action

being the other. In class, I shared the beginning of an arts-informed project that I started with a colleague. While still in our starting stage, we've been able to engage ourselves in the discourse of mixed-race identity in conferences, community engagement workshops and the CHRY 105.5fm public radio programme 'Radio Migrante'. I believe that the centre of anti-racism is action oriented (Dei, class lectures, 2012–2013) and the form of action that I am exploring is becoming an arts educator. I'm interested in the use of arts-informed approaches such as personal narratives, altered text, poetry and mixed media as ways to enter critical discussions of race and racism (see Appendix A for an example of an altered text that I designed). I feel that art can powerfully counter dominant messages by letting the creator animate spaces and share their story with their audience. Schick (2010) reminds that "the narratives of people who experience disadvantage are central to understanding and addressing the issues that affect their lives" (p. 48); in this way arts-informed approaches can be useful expressions of critical pedagogy while making the discourse accessible.

Recognizing that "anti-racist education is not a particular curriculum or method, but rather a political form of work and commitment" (Schick 2010, p. 56), I have stated in class that anti-racism is not like a jacket you can put on and take off. Instead, it truly is a commitment to create and facilitate space where learners can affirm their experiences and there is an opportunity to 'unlearn' dominant messages that are reinforced in mainstream education. Schick (2010) points out that, "… school discourses are not neutral but are embedded in and reproduced through social and institutional settings that normalize white racism and other forms of marginalization" (p. 48). I wonder if (mainstream) education can ever be neutral. I think the answer is 'no, not completely', but it can stand to be much more critical and honest and strive to be more relevant, representative, inclusive and holistic than it has conventionally been.

> Huli man daw at magaling, naihahabol din. It is never too late to offer anything that is good.

In being a community arts educator working within an anti-racism framework, I am mindful that not all things that claim to be anti-racism are actually so. Schick (2010) also warns of this stating that the "problem of inequality is often misdiagnosed as an individual problem facing a particular group and not as a systemic issue of social and political proportion. Consequently, racial inequality is likely to be addressed by perhaps well-intended, but inadequate solutions" (p. 47). In my praxis, I understand adequate actions should be multifaceted as racism affects on multiple

fronts. I also have a resolve to rethink 'action'. Resistance is action in becoming involved in a community, creating community, understanding one's implications and points of privilege, deepening one's critical/theoretical understanding to strengthen one's praxis as well as sharing experiences and responding in teachable moments.

Anti-racism education is also about questioning, resisting and affirming. It is about constantly reviewing and reflecting the space in which I occupy and with whom I share the space. It is about understanding my relationship with whom I consider to be 'us' or 'other' and challenging hegemonic systems of beliefs and practice. It has also meant for me to understand my connection to the past, where world history translates into my own personal history and how the past has lasting effects in the present.

I return to the Philippines with my mother to bury her mother. We give her back to the land that she belongs to, the earth that we belong to. We shed tears because we feel like we are losing her but we have not lost her. We have her memories, her teachings, the stories of her life. Without her sacrifices, this return could not be possible. I understand more of who I am from learning about who she was.

Appendix A

Description of the Altered Text

The altered text on the following pages was inspired by *The Nonperformativity of Antiracism* by Sara Ahmed (2006). Ahmed's article discusses how institutions adopt non-performative speech acts, such as this fictitious 'All Students' email, created from the content of the United Nation's website, in an attempt to disseminate notions of equality and justice as values and characteristics of the institutions by virtue of said institutions *saying* they are.

The altering of the text attempts to expose the irony of the relationship between the content and its medium, emphasizing the gap between the message's delivery and real social change. What is highlighted in particular is the danger in denying the very real issues of inequality and discrimination in a contemporary Canadian context. As a society, we grant ourselves no favours if we lead ourselves to believe that racism and discrimination do not exist in Canada but are a problem 'elsewhere'. While it is important to be aware of violence outside our own communities, violence is created when we choose to ignore how our communities are broken by racism. And by naming violence the focus should not only be that which causes bodily harm but should also include the violence that is enacted upon the livelihood of people every day through systemic discrimination. The student number is the population of Canada as of July 2012; the hidden message of a neutral Canada needs to be resisted by all who encounter it. The reproduction of the text invites the reader to interrogate what more are the outcomes of such performances of speech but the maintenance of the status quo through inaction and denial.

Student Inbox   34 844 096

From:	**donotreply@YourUniversity.ca**
Sent:	March 21 2012 01:23 AM
To:	All Students
Subject:	International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination

The theme for this year's event is "Racism and Conflict," highlighting the fact that racism and discrimination often are at the root of deadly conflict.

The theme was chosen to capture the often ignored yet mutually reinforcing relationship between racism and conflict. In many parts of the world, racism, prejudice and xenophobia create extreme tension and are used as powerful weapons to engender fear or hatred in times of conflict. Prejudice and xenophobia can even lead to genocide, crimes against humanity, ethnic cleansing and war crimes.

The International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination was established six years ago, after an event known as the Sharpeville tragedy or Sharpeville massacre, which captured worldwide attention. This event involved police opening fire and killing 69 people at a peaceful demonstration against the apartheid "pass laws" in Sharpeville, South Africa, March 21, 1960.

We are fortunate to be living in Canada where we promote equity and do not tolerate discrimination. The first article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights affirms that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." The International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination reminds us of our collective responsibility for promoting and protecting this ideal.

Your University Equity and Diversity Department

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Please do not 'reply' to this email
This email is intended for information delivery only. A response cannot be provided to any enquiry or comment directed to this mailbox.
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Chapter 15
Mo(ve)ments of Affect: Towards an Embodied Pedagogy for Anti-racism Education

Mairi McDermott

Framing the Context of This Chapter

In this chapter, I call for an ethics of affect in anti-racism education by way of learning to listen differently through an embodied pedagogy. Thinking through two concurrent experiences I had last year, one as a teaching assistant (TA) for a graduate level course called The Principles of Anti-racism Education and the other working with a community organization in a historically racialized and marginalized area of Montreal, I trace both how I came to recognize affect in anti-racism spaces as well as what it might mean to center affect in anti-racism pedagogy. In both of these roles, I was liminally positioned. As a TA, I was neither the professor nor the student, while I also performed teacher (and was accorded power due to my title) and student (many of my colleagues were taking the class for credit). In my role as a research consultant in the community organization, I volunteered my services, so I was not staff; however, I was also positioned as an "expert" and given space to speak on certain issues. In this uncertain terrain, I began to *feel* things differently.

Last winter, the board and director of the community organization (which I had been involved with many years before during my undergraduate program and had maintained a relationship with) were questioning how they could encourage more community involvement as well as where they should go with the high school program that they have. I took the chance to meet with the director to propose engaging these questions through student voice framed by anti-racism education. This would be the first time I would be the lead on such an initiative in a formal institution, and I considered this a challenge to come into my anti-racism education praxis and pedagogy.

What happened during this time was unexpected. In these in-between spaces, I found myself thinking what does it mean to remain in spaces of discomfort, or what

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can discomfort do[1]? I started to see the ways in which anti-racism calls for an *un*learning of dominant ways of knowing yourself and normatized social relations. We would have conversations in class, and the ebb and flow of energies could be felt on the skin, in the mind, and through the soul. I would gear myself up for a meeting with the community organization, prepared to try to shift the conversation and leave *feeling* like I was running as fast as I could while getting nowhere. In both spaces I was struck by the force and intensity of emotion mostly hovering beneath the surface of our discussions, at times coming to a boil and exploding. The blush of shame and guilt would creep up into the White faces, brought down by denial and doing things as usual (while expecting change). As I began to think about these mo(ve) ments, I wanted to not only follow what affect does (see Ahmed 2004), but what we—anti-racism pedagogues—do with affect.

In the following discussion, I attend to the roiling maelstrom[2] of affects in educational spaces, particularly in spaces shaped through counter-hegemonic stances of anti-racism education. I propose that affect is a central part of educational experiences that is decentered at best and disacknowledged at worst through conventional frameworks of schooling and education. In attending to affect, I show the transformative possibilities for pedagogues and learners to be able to exceed from within the contours, confines, configurations, and boundaries of conventional framings of education. In other words, I suggest that recentering affect in one's pedagogical engagements presents possibilities to do schooling and education differently. Elspeth Probyn writes through Deleuze to address how thinking of affect as an assemblage in educational spaces makes room to "explain that always quirky, always unknowable combination that is the classroom" (Probyn 2004, p. 37): "You do not know beforehand what a body or a mind can do, in a given encounter, a given arrangement, a given combination" (Deleuze 1992, quoted in Probyn 2004, p. 37). What Probyn and Deleuze are getting at is that the instrumental framework that has captured and contained—even stagnated—conventional schooling and education misses the very "thisness" of educational encounters; the epistemological, curricular, and pedagogical understandings that answer to accountability and a flat conceptualization of equity—if everyone gets the same thing, it's equitable—that are represented by standardized tests (epistemologically, knowledge is facts that are transferrable from some knower to the learner), curriculum that is designed by outside experts, with the final product, which is known in advance, shaping the content and activities to get the learners to that measurable end and which is merely delivered or implemented by teachers (pedagogy[3]).

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[1] For a discussion on the Pedagogy of Discomfort, see Megan Boler 1999.

[2] I am thinking through Nigel Thrift's (2004) articulation of "roiling maelstroms" in relation to educational spaces, as he writes, "Cities may be seen as roiling maelstroms of affect" (p. 57). I feel that the phrase encapsulates both the presence of affect in educational spaces and what happens when affect is engaged, stirred up.

[3] I hesitate to even call this "pedagogy" since pedagogy is much more engaged (see, e.g., hooks 1994; Lather 1991) and dynamic than implementation of externally conceptualized materials allows for.

This mode of education misses the incommensurability of pedagogical relations, and I propose that what is needed is to face and embrace the embodiment of teaching and learning for transformation. "These aspects of classroom life reveal how assemblages of bodies and affects continually *create new connections*. Every small element matters in these 'machinations' (Rose 1998) of bodies and affects: facial expressions, body movements, use of language, eye contact and other elements that we are not aware of when we teach or learn" (Zembylas 2007, p. 25, my emphasis). Anti-racism education, which is action oriented, at once points to the societal and structural oppressions in society *and* amplifies the importance of centering lived experiences of (particularly marginalized) bodies (see, e.g., Dei 2005; Dei and Simmons 2010; Wahab 2005; Schick 2010; Schick and St. Denis 2003). It is to the latter that I turn in this discussion of embodiment; experiences are lived, they are embodied. I suggest that this question of embodiment could be disruptive to hegemonized enlightenment narratives of progress, objectivity, and individuality. Embodiment, as I will present here, is transhistorical, assembled through space and time, and acutely social, while it also has an onto-individual spin. With all the complexity of embodiment, I focus this discussion on *affect* as embodied in anti-racism educational spaces as "Affect registers on the body. It is carried by facial expressions, tone of voice, breath and sounds, which do not operate as signs, yet are not mere epiphenomena. And, precisely because affect 'affects' bodies, it can be transmitted, and is intimately social" (MacLure 2010, p. 284 quoted in Mulcahy 2012, p. 12). As Zembylas (2007) stated above, we may not always be aware of these affective assemblages and what they do in educational spaces, and I suggest that attending to affect in anti-racism education can shift the terrain for anti-oppressive, anti-hierarchical social relations. Again, to quote Zembylas (2007), "Recognizing the materiality of the teacher as a 'body of knowledge,' [...] is important in understanding how bodies and affect invite performances of teaching and learning as enactments of transformations" (p. 28).

A Brief Note on Affect and Emotion

Affect is closely related to, although follows a different logic than emotion, "emotion and affect – if affect is intensity – follow different logics and pertain to different orders [...] Emotion is qualified intensity, the conventional, consensual point of insertion of intensity into semantically and semiotically formed progressions, into narrativizable action-reaction circuits, into function and meaning" (Massumi 1995, p. 88). Emotion becomes the social contextual capturing, consciousness, and articulation of affect, and in this way, it becomes difficult to separate the two (see also Zembylas 2007, p. 26), so due to their interconnection, I will also address both in this discussion. To transform necessitates movement and the word *emotion* includes this sense of movement. Etymologically, emotion has roots in the Latin word, "emovere," meaning "move out, remove, agitate" and the sixteenth-century French word, "emotion," meaning "a (social) *moving*, *stirring*, *agitation*" and (from the

Online Etymology Dictionary, my emphasis). Sara Ahmed (2004) writes, "Emotions are after all moving, even if they do not simply move between us. […] Of course, emotions are not only about movement, they are also about attachments or about what connects us to this or that. […] Hence movement does not cut the body off from the 'where' of its inhabitance, but connects bodies to other bodies: attachment takes place through movement, through being moved by the proximity of others" (p. 11). Relatedly, affect is also about movement, in the "Notes on the Translation and Acknowledgements" of *A Thousand Plateaus*, Brian Massumi unpacks how Deleuze and Guattari engage *affect*, "It is a prepersonal intensity corresponding to the *passage from one experiential state of the body to another* and implying an augmentation or diminution in that body's capacity to act" (Massumi 1987, p. xvii, my emphasis). Affect is "pre-linguistic" (Navaro-Yashin 2009, p. 12); it is pre-social (Zembylas 2007; Probyn 2004), yet it is contextually and historically specific (Zembylas 2007; Albrecht-Crane 2005), and most importantly, it is corporeal (Zembylas 2007; Probyn 2004; Thrift 2004; Albrecht-Crane 2005; Mulcahy 2012; Boler 1999) and visceral (Gannon 2009; Hickey-Moody and Malins 2007); affect is about movement, it is (can be) transformative.

During Euro-Enlightenment, the body became a site of control through the regulation of emotions and affect. Emotion, as something to be controlled (Boler 1999, p. xxii), came to stick to particular bodies (Ahmed 2004) as a technology of Othering, so it could be conjectured that in the call to control emotions, there is simultaneously a call to control, discipline, surveil, and contain Othered bodies. Megan Boler also states, "In patriarchal and capitalist culture, we learn emotional rules that help to maintain our society's particular hierarchies of gender, race, and class. In this sense the emotional rules we learn are not arbitrary; they are systematically designed to enforce our acceptance of gendered divisions of 'private' and 'public,' of women as emotional and men as rational" (1999, p. xxi)—as well as Euro-Whites as modern and racialized Others as uncivilized—and she goes on to show that "within educational practices, emotion most often is visible as something to be 'controlled.' The control of emotions in education occurs through two primary ideological forces: explicit rules of morality, strongly influenced by Protestant values, and explicit values of utility and skills measured through the 'neutral' gaze of social sciences which frames the virtuous student in terms of efficiency and mental health" (p. xxii). I return to this discussion later in this chapter; however, I want to amplify that "Affect theories are useful here because they dispute separations between mind and body and between the individual, their communities, and political contexts" (Gallagher and Wessels 2011, p. 254).

Situating the Discussion

So, what does affect *do* in anti-racism education? Simultaneously, what does an anti-racism of affect look like, or what do anti-racism pedagogues *do* with the always already present affect? What are the transformative possibilities of affect?

In what follows, I address questions of epistemology and hegemonic ways of doing schooling and education by engaging in a counter-narrative—anti-racism—a narrative that starts with "bodies matter." In this section, I consider the role of representation of bodies and ask how does affect come to *stick to* and simultaneously *move* different bodies (see, Ahmed 2004)? Thinking through the two mo(ve)ments, I began this chapter with I consider what some affects of (un)learning are. If anti-racism education presents a counter-narrative, what happens when bodies are confronted with knowledge that challenges what they know to be "True?" In this section, I consider specifically the affects of dominantized bodies. As a White, heterosexual, enabled, dominant, feminized body, this section is as much a space for me to consider my own affective mo(ve)ments in spaces of anti-racism education as it is for me to consider attending to affect in anti-racism pedagogy. While I attend to the affects of dominantized bodies, I do not wish to re-marginalize the experiences of Othered bodies in conventional schooling and education (see, e.g., Fine 1994); I certainly hope to guard against suggesting that the affects of the tumultuous terrain of schooling and education for marginalized bodies are somehow secondary in these spaces. This leads me to a consideration of the ethics of affect and pedagogic responsibilities as anti-racism educators. I consider what does it mean to name affect from my subject location? Also, after having named some affects of (un)learning in the previous section, I ask, what is my responsibility as an anti-racism pedagogue to make room for affect to be unleashed and how am I prepared to support what gets stirred up in, through, and between students? Finally, I attempt to bring all the previous thoughts together to move towards an embodied pedagogy. I ask, what might open and unfold if we learn to listen differently?

Engaging Counter-Hegemonic Epistemologies: A Case for Affect in Anti-racism Education

Since Enlightenment, and in particular, since the work of Rene Descartes, the mind and the body have been seen as distinct entities, as holding different places and different roles in one's identity and social relations. This distinction is held in a binary, so that what the mind *is* the body *is not*, and through time, the mind and the body have become attached to different bodies, different subjectivities, and different possibilities for being. Within universalizing discourses, the body became a site of control through disciplining emotions and affect (as already mentioned above). The mind, represented by cognition, rationality, and modern *man*, is where truth and knowledge are made to be located. The body, the corporeal, is made to be where danger lies; the body and emotion are represented as irrational and need to be suppressed, contained so they do not tarnish or contaminate reason (see also, Zembylas 2007, p. 29); the body is where desire resides, and desire, therefore the body, must be contained. Kelly Oliver (2004) locates this division and hierarchization of the mind and the body as a form of colonialism, "Along with economic imperialism that divides the world into 'haves' and 'have nots', colonization brings with it affective

imperialism that divides the world into the civilized, those who have control over emotions, and the barbaric, those who don't" (p. 48). A part of these circulating, universalized discourses works to attach affect to certain bodies as a method of Othering; women, children, racialized, queer, non-Judeo-Christian, (socially) disabled bodies are said to be more easily *moved* obscuring rational judgment (see Ahmed 2004). As Sara Ahmed (2004) writes, "The association between passion and passivity is instructive. It works a reminder of how 'emotion' has been viewed as 'beneath' the faculties of thought and reason. To be emotional is to have one's judgement affected: it is to be reactive rather than active, dependent rather than autonomous" (p. 3).

This mind/body logic has permeated contemporary education such that, "throughout most of the last two centuries, education has tended to render bodies as *hidden* and *contained* (Pillow 2000), suggesting that knowledge acquisition and cognition are essential non-corporeal and rational tasks (Ross 2004). However, knowledge is not merely something to be 'understood'; it is always felt and responded to emotionally and corporeally" (Zembylas 2007, p. 20, author's emphasis). In many ways we are educated out of embodiment; we are educated into disembodied objective/objectifying relations with knowledge and each other; we are taught to theorize, not from lived experience but from an *intellectual*, systematic, scientific, empirical, and measurable way. Wanda Pillow (2000) writes that our bodies have become "sites of humanist prescription, places from which binaries are structured forming polemical categories that define them: 'inside/outside, subject/object, surface/depth' (Grosz 1995, p. 33)" (p. 201). Bodies have become regulated and contained, in attempts "to shy away from the messiness of the corporeal body – the lived experiences" (Pillow 2000, p. 200).

Anti-racism education disrupts these tendencies and suggests that bodies matter; anti-racism education urges one to theorize from lived experience and amplifies that "knowledge resides in the body and cultural memory" (Dei 2005, p. 8; see also, Dei 1993; Wahab 2005; Dei and Simmons 2010). Wahab (2005) reminds us that "Anti-racism [education] […] is grounded in the discourse of embodied knowledge (politically and historically positioned)" (p. 48) and this very discourse is disruptive to hegemonic epistemologies. Similarly, Dei et al (2000) note that emotion is a form of knowledge, rather than the *other* side of the knowledge/emotion binary. Carol Schick (2010) adds, "The political nature of anti-racist education means that it will cause disruption, it is messy and involves unlearning some of the most closely held assumptions about oneself and others" (p. 5; see also Kumashiro 2002; Boler 1999). Anti-racism education not only seeks to address the historical production of asymmetrical social relations (see, e.g., Dei 1993) but also amplifies the contemporary liberal progressive narratives that suggest that Western society has successfully moved on from its oppressive, imperial past (see, e.g., Ahmed 2000, 2004; Gilroy 2005). So what happens when these challenges are made to "closely held assumptions about oneself and others?" In the next section, I write through what I have come to locate as affects of (un)learning by considering the two spaces I was in last year as a TA and a research consultant as well as some literature that speaks to the resistance (Ringrose 2007; Kumashiro 2002) and denial (Solomon et al. 2005;

Rebollo-Gil and Moras 2006) of some bodies in anti-racism education, and challenges (Dei 1993; Schick 2010) and difficulties (Schick and St. Denis 2003) of engaging these politics.

Affects of (Un)Learning

Carol Schick writes, "learning differently about who we are in relation to others can cause a crisis of one's own learning and identity" (2010, p. 51) and John Willinsky (1998) asks, "What comes, we now have to ask, of having one's comprehension of the world so directly tied to one's conquest of it? Much of the knowledge achieved through conquest and colonization was understood to legitimate the political and cultural domination of imperialism. The resulting perspective on the world formed an educational legacy that we have now to reconsider" (p. 3). What comes? Kevin Kumashiro (among others, Boler 1999; Solomon et al 2005; Schick and St. Denis 2003) says that we are intensely affected by these counter-narratives: "Repeating what is already learned can be comforting and therefore desirable; students' learning things that question their knowledge and identities can be emotionally upsetting. […] Learning about oppression and about the ways they often unknowingly comply with oppression can lead students to feel paralyzed *(sic)* with anger, sadness, anxiety, and guilt; it can lead to a form of emotional crisis" (2002, p. 74). Megan Boler (1999) suggests that there is a place for anger and we need not shy away from or silence that anger, but we need tools for embracing the emotional responses conjured and inflicted in anti-racism education; as bell hooks (1995) urges, we need to consider how anger can be reconceptualized as productive of change.

As I stated earlier, affect and emotion are always already present in educational spaces, and not only when these made-to-be-difficult conversations are engaged. Bodies, embodied bodies, encounter one another, as well as the material aspects of social spaces in educational relations, and the affective responses vary depending on one's subjectivity. For the purpose of this conversation, I will be focusing on dominant bodies' affectivity in anti-racism spaces (however, as many of us are educated in conventional schooling and education and by way of dominant media outlets/discourses, it can be argued that the resistance, the push-back, is not limited to bodies inscribed with dominance).

While reading other pedagogues who have written about the resistance and struggle to engage in anti-racism education (see Schick and St. Denis 2003; Solomon et al. 2005; Ringrose 2007; Boler 1999; Schick 2010; Dei 1993), I began considering the role of melancholia as an affect of unlearning. In the literature, pedagogues have discussed the presence of discomfort, guilt, anger, sadness, anxiety, and frustration when anti-racism education challenges assumed universal understandings (Schick and St. Denis 2003; Solomon et al. 2005; Boler 1999; Schick 2010; Dei 1993) and several tactics are engaged as ways to guard against the disruption: "discounting information" (Solomon et al. 2005), "repetition" of the "already-known" (Kumashiro 2002), and denial informed by "ideological assumptions" (Schick and St. Denis 2003).

To locate melancholia as an affect of unlearning, it must be contexualized; different bodies experience melancholia differently, tremors of melancholia rear at different moments for different reasons depending on one's subjectivity. I will begin by briefly locating melancholia in the literature, and then I will work to locate it in the two spaces I was involved in. In the Freudian psychoanalytic tradition, melancholia is conceptualized as an ungrievable loss. In his seminal work *Mourning and Melancholia*, Freud (1917) seems to celebrate mourning as a more appropriate and healthy response to loss than melancholia. Freud (1917) writes, "The melancholic displays something else besides which is lacking in mourning – an extraordinary diminution in his self-regard, an impoverishment of his ego on a grand scale. In mourning it is the world which has become poor and empty; in melancholia it is the ego itself" (p. 246). Melancholia, as presented by Freud, is pathologized, and this proves to be an interesting point when melancholic subjects are too often marked as racialized, gendered, sexualized, socially (dis)abled Others. In *The Colonization of Psychic Space,* Kelly Oliver (2004) articulates the loss of a loved identity for bodies discursively produced as abject and Judith Butler (1990) writes of gendered melancholia in which in dominant heterosexualized spaces, melancholia presents itself as a disavowed or prohibited love. Paul Gilroy (2005), Sara Ahmed (2000, 2004), and Anne Anlin Cheng (2001), however, come to locate melancholia in the nation-state as the denial of a privileged history. Gilroy and Ahmed are writing from, within, and against the British national identity, especially in relation to questions of multiculturalism; the multicultural Other comes to threaten the unspeakability of the "proper ordering of colonial power" (Gilroy 2005, p. 101). This form of melancholia seeks and desires innocence in relation to guilt; melancholic whiteness desires denial of historic articulations of colonialism and privilege. Cheng turns her attention to American identity and considers "first, dominant white culture's rejection of yet attachment to the racial other and, second, the ramifications that such paradox holds for the racial other, who has been placed in a suspended position" (2001, p. xi). Cheng goes on to frame her discussion in the text, *The Melancholy of Race*, by expressing how dominant melancholia and racialized melancholia are co-constitutive:

> On the one side, white American identity and its authority is secured through the melancholic introjection of racial others that it can neither fully relinquish nor accommodate and whose ghostly presence nonetheless guarantees its centrality. On the other side, the racial other (the so-called melancholic object) also suffers from racial melancholia whereby his or her racial identity is imaginatively reinforced through the introjection of a lost, never-possible perfection, an inarticulable loss that comes to inform the individual's sense of his or her own subjectivity. Already we see that these two 'sides' are in fact implicated by one another. (Cheng 2001, p. xi)

One can see melancholia, when attached to dominantized bodies is a powerful force in anti-racism education that counters the conventional and universalized stories of Euro-modernity.

Affects of (Un)Learning: Principles of Anti-racism Education Course

> A question is asked, someone shoots a look across the room, it is picked up and passed on, another face focuses on a computer screen, some shift their positions, the first responses start to pour out, scrambling to put the pieces back together, the tremor is not yet over. Who is speaking and what are they saying? Do they have a right to speak in this space? What is their responsibility to speak about this topic? Who is not speaking and isn't it their responsibility to respond to this question? What does it mean to enter now, after the silence by some bodies has been named? Am I prepared to speak now, right now, here, in this space, on this topic?

There were many moments in the Principles of Anti-racism Education course in which I was struck by the affective energy circulating in the room. Questions were asked, challenges were posed, anecdotes were told, as we tried to come into anti-racism praxis for and of ourselves. The class was made up of students from a variety of backgrounds in terms of their racial/ethnic/gender/class/ability attachments, histories, and experiences as well as in terms of how we thought of ourselves in relation to anti-racism education. The official course description from the University states, "The first half of the course provides a theoretical analysis of anti-racism and anti-oppression education and issues for students, educators, and staff interested in the pursuit of anti-racism and anti-oppression education in the schools," so it could be assumed that people who choose to take this course (it is not a required course) are interested in engaging anti-racism. However, histories and memories are shaken up through the particular discussions and readings. In order to do this work, we challenge(d) each other to be honest, but sometimes that honesty hurts others. We encourage(d) each other to be vulnerable, but when you're vulnerable, sometimes there is pain. We attached ourselves to particular narratives, distanced ourselves from certain ideologies, and sometimes stubbornly held on to our sites of privilege. There are also moments of bonding where the class became a supportive community to share some of the hurt and pain of some and the dismantling of assumed power and privilege of others. As the TA, I found myself floundering, suggesting that we ask how the discomfort might be productive, then feeling frustrated with myself that I would suggest such a thing. As a White body, who am I to ask an-Other(ed) body who has experienced (relatively consistent, persistent, and violent) pain in educational spaces to wait for me to get uncomfortable and witness what that discomfort can be productive of? From my subject location, am I reinforcing a linear progressive narrative in hopes that what we might be feeling are merely the pangs of social transformation, *growing* pains? I return to these thoughts after I briefly contextualize my experiences with the community center.

Affects of (Un)Learning: The Community Center

> The space quivers with histories, memories, relations, power and resistance. 'We want to find a way to encourage more community involvement'. The community, racialized; the people in power positions, white. 'But that was before my time, I did not hurt or offend them'. Legacy of pain trivialized; painful relationships dismissed as phantoms, not real, not concrete, not relevant. 'We have invited them to come in, but they don't come', 'We don't want to linger – get stuck – in the past, we want to focus on the future'. The past, especially a past that is not dealt with, is never past but always present.

When I presented myself and my work to the community center, I shared my belief that to make the kind of changes the people in the power positions (read: White people) wanted, they needed to (learn to) genuinely listen to the community. Framing my work as student voice, I proposed an unfolding of the layers of relationships by first engaging the youth who participate in the various activities as they already have relationships with many of the staff at the organization. It was my thought that we could hear from the students both what they wanted from the organization as well as learn a little bit about their families, who would represent some of the community members the organization is hoping to get more involved. With great enthusiasm by several decision-making committees, I was invited by the organization to spend time getting reacquainted with the community center and prepare some plans to address some of the organization's concerns, namely, the limited involvement by community members, who the organization qualified as adults—the numerous youth who come daily did not represent "the community." Regarding the community participation, the way it was presented to me was that community members are frequently invited in to voice their opinions about certain aspects of the organization and that they do not show up and there was an underlying suggestion that this was attributed to *lack* of care or commitment to *improving* the community and the available activities therein. What I came to learn was that there was a dense history of silencing the community voices and simultaneously projecting the silence back on to some *lack* within the community itself.

The community center, founded by the Presbyterian community in the early 1800s, has struggled to shake itself from its historical civilizing mission. Many of the staff in administrative roles are White bodies, while many of the staff who were not in power positions are more reflective of the Afro-Caribbean-Canadian community. During my time with the organization, I came to recognize how many of the administrative staff came to see themselves as benevolent, in most cases with genuine intentions to "do good." While they ventured into the "dangerous neighborhood" for work, I would never find them walking around the neighborhood, in fact one member of the non-administrative staff commented that they often drove to the community center and parked as close as possible, even though it is easily accessible by public transportation. I share this background to contextualize the circulating affects I encountered during conversations with administrative staff.

After meetings, I would find myself journaling furiously, trying to capture what it was that I was *feeling*. As much as I was told that the organization wanted to change, whenever I made suggestions they were dismissed, whenever I shared what

the students said that challenged the imagined subjectivity of the White bodies in power, I was confronted with denial. Through my journaling I found that the dismissing, disacknowledging, and denying of the asymmetrical at best and more often oppressive relationships were fronts (however consciously) to conceal the guilt and shame that was hovering below the surface. In capturing these moments of denial, I wrote, for example, "the redness crept up from her neck and spread over her face," "she leaned back in her chair and crossed her arms over her chest, she wouldn't even look at me, or anyone else in the room." I asked myself, what do I do to confront that which is being stubbornly concealed? I found myself getting increasingly more frustrated; I thought I was prepared to do the work of anti-racism education, yet I was concerned that I was not doing enough to transform the consciousness of those who are in power roles in the organization. This informed my consideration of the role of affect in anti-racism educational spaces and simultaneously had me querying how to ethically engage affect. Affect is embodied, as is shown in the descriptions I wrote in my journals; simultaneously, affect cannot be captured or read, but it is the (bodily) effects of affect that I came to read in these spaces. In the next section, I consider what it means to read these affective signs ethically.

An Ethics of Affect

In this section, I consider the ethics of a sustained focus on discomfort—one that holds to anti-racism politics. I do this in an effort to change the discussion that too often presents itself when affect and emotion are located in anti-racism education. For example, *Everyday Anti-Racism*, edited by Mica Pollock (2008), presents almost 400 pages and 64 chapters that tend to name the difficult conversation that is race. In this, the contributors provide support and concrete strategies for practitioners to think through in their respective locations. While this tool kit amplifies the necessity for having "courageous conversations" (Singleton and Cyndie 2008), I find that they too often wind up re-coding the status quo. To continue with the Singleton and Cyndie chapter, they write "Education should keep in mind that interracial conversations about race are always a bit dangerous, as they unleash emotions that we have all learned to bury" (pp. 18–19); however, they go on to make suggests about safety and comfort for dominant bodies—who are less comfortable and less experienced talking about race (Tatum 2003/1997)—which becomes a reification of White dominance. There are many seemingly mundane tactics engaged by dominant bodies to ensure *their* world is not challenged while appearing to participate in disruptive spaces, as I witnessed in particular during my work with the community organization. Quoting McIntyre, Solomon et al. (2005) present some of these strategies: "How uncomfortable the participants felt dealing with racism and used strategies such as derailing the conversation, evading questions, dismissing counter arguments, withdrawing from the discussion, remaining silent, interrupting speakers and topics and colluding with each other in creating a 'culture of niceness' that made it very difficult to 'read the white world" (McIntyre 1997; quoted in Solomon et al. 2005, p. 156), and they go on

to quote Brodkey to amplify the point that the "… din of common sense … which cynically denies that difference matters, by dismissing it as superficial or maligning it as divisive" (Brodkey 1995; quoted in Solomon et al 2005, p. 157).

On the whole, *Everyday Antiracism* and texts like it tend to break the space up only to put the pieces back in the same place. I argue that this reifies the status quo and is intensely unethical—to knowingly stir up affect and then simply let it settle back into place (contained) without dealing with it more directly needs to be addressed. I suggest, rather, that we need to learn to *move* from, with, and in affect; I suggest spending time in discomfort and following where it might take us (which also must be ethically considered). What I want to consider is what does it mean to learn to sit in these spaces of discomfort ethically—particularly for dominant bodies who are too often afforded comforting spaces and relations, while *Othered* bodies are silenced, muffled, and made incoherent? How do we support the "unleashing" of emotions that present themselves when we rupture the closely held beliefs about one's identity in anti-racism education? Simultaneously, how do we avoid placing the burden of proving the emotional toll of racism on marginalized bodies? What is the relationship between affect and resistance, particularly for dominantized bodies? Finally, what does it mean to name affect, or how do we come to read affective signs socio-culturo-historically?

We must guard against marginalized bodies being put on display, asked to carry the burden of proof about the emotional toll of racism for White consumption (see Tuck 2009, 2010; hooks 1992)—even, or especially, when a dominant body identifies as an ally. What I propose is that we (re)turn the gaze back on to the affects of dominantized bodies, both in relation to racism and their attachments to racist relations and in relation to the unlearning that is necessary in anti-racism education. Simultaneously, we must guard against anti-racism education becoming a "prejudice reduction workshop" (Mohanty 2003) where the systematic, structural, and historical contexts are dismissed in favor of psychologizing and individualizing prejudice: "If complex structural experiences of domination and resistance can be ideologically reformulated as individual behaviors and attitudes, they can be managed while carrying on business as usual" (Mohanty 2003, p. 210). The individualizing discourse and ideology simultaneously essentializes: "Developmental, psychologically oriented educational literature relies on essentializing and individualizing notions of whiteness, and it has developed incremental 'steps' to achieving greater awareness (Tatum 1992)," writes Ringrose (2007, p. 326) as she cautions against a simplified reading of White resistance in anti-racism education. By engaging affect, I am suggesting that we not so much focus on too-easily codified "resistance," which does little more than reify the status quo, but rather go into affect, center affect as a way to work through it. In other words, I am pushing pedagogues and the literature to go beyond naming the affects—fear, anxiety, anger—and individualizing the affective response to think about engaging those moments, amplifying them and to struggle with, in, and through them.

Part of the work, however, does mean recognizing affects, and so I propose taking caution in how we come to name affect. Affective signs do not present

themselves as transparent; they are read through our own affective experiences as well as through our relationship and understanding of the *other* bodies we are engaging with and may be misinterpreted. Elspeth Probyn writes, "What constitutes an affective response is hugely complex, and is in part the result of an embodied history in which and with which the body reacts" (2004, p. 29). With the embodiment of affect, I struggled in coming to write this chapter as I wanted it to be grounded in the human and in experience; however, I was haunted by this question of naming affect *for* others. If I am honest, this came to be part of the reason I chose to focus my discussion on the affects of (un)learning dominant knowledge, particularly from the perspective of dominantized bodies, as in this I was able to think through my own experiences as a dominantized body in anti-racism education. What I do "know" is that both spaces—the graduate class and the community center—allowed me to come to feel the presence of affect and this brought me to think about questions of pedagogic responsibility in supporting an opening of affect in educational spaces: "… we need to ask what type of affective response is appropriate in the classroom context. In addition, careful consideration needs to be paid to providing safety structures for students whom a triggered affective response may be deeply disturbing" (Probyn 2004, pp. 29–30). In the final section of this chapter, I turn to some emergent thoughts I have regarding this question of pedagogic responsibility in engaging affect in anti-racism education.

Listening Affectively Towards an Embodied Pedagogy of Decolonization

If anti-racism proposes to bring the body "back" into knowledge production, what are the responsibilities of anti-racism pedagogues for engaging affect, as an embodied presence? The contemporary organization of schooling and education—framed through neoliberal logics—desires and requires control of knowledges, of bodies, of relationships through standardization, measurability, and outcome-focused instruction, so how do we attend to the affects of learning? Albrecht-Crane (2005) writes, "Besides the work that can be controlled, explained, represented, there happens something that will not be *understood*. Such intensive/active resistances take place whether we want them or not, whether we see them or not. This is an argument about recognizing them, valuing them, allowing them to matter and to move us" (p. 507, author's emphasis).

In this last section, I write through my thoughts on coming into my anti-racism pedagogy by way of listening to and through affect and embodiment, "In this instance listening is not a biological capacity, but rather an emotional relationship between people that requires trust" (Cahill 2007, p. 279), and as Lisa Delpit wrote this is "a very special kind of listening, listening that requires not only open eyes and open ears but also open hearts and minds" (Delpit 1988, p. 298). I believe that this would allow for different ways of being and would open a space for becoming other than what one is, as that becoming is left to be in process. "Affect matters, it

is a pivotal element of individuals' acting and becoming" (Albrecht-Crane and Slack 2007, p. 100). In other words, rather than seeking some bounded anti-racism pedagogue identity, suggestive of having already decolonized oneself once and for all, listening affectively allows for the constant movement in and through relationships with others as well as with knowledges and spaces. Simultaneously, engaging affect in this way presents the possibility to resocialize that which has been made to be individualized; listening affectively allows the pedagogue to go beyond locking students into prepackaged roles—the White, dominant body, for instance, as always already resisting anti-racism education (Ringrose 2007). Instead of stagnating possible (and desired) movement, listening affectively is about working through the affect; in other words, the moments of resistance by way of denial or disacknowledgment need not be read as the only possibility, but can be understood as something that has to be worked through (see also Ringrose 2007). In fact, if affect is attended to, if we can listen affectively to these moments and recognize them as movement, we may be better prepared to be transformed; we may be better aware of the in-processness of transformation.

bell hooks (1992) shares a story in which working through affect, being able to recognize affective potentiality moved some women towards critical consciousness:

> I was reminded of Lorde's essay while seated among black women, listening to them talk about the intensity of their initial 'anger' at my work. Retrospectively, the anger was vividly evoked so that I would know that individual black women present had grappled with it, moved beyond it, and come to openly acknowledge it as part of their process of coming to consciousness and go on to critically affirm one another. (p. 412)

Had bell hooks not had the courage to return to that moment and engage the affect, she may have had a very different reading, but she instead provided a space for affect to be present(ed) and recognized (even if part of the recognition was retrospective). The specific manifestations of affect is not something that a pedagogue can plan for in writing a lesson or preparing for a conference, it is "wild and diffuse and hard to properly name" (Probyn 2004, p. 29), and it sets things in motion that are out of our control because affect is embodied differently for different bodies. Affect is also shared, contagious, passed out from one body, and picked up by another (Mulcahy 2012; Albrecht-Crane 2005; Gallagher and Wessels 2011); it circulates in and through spaces, in and through bodies, and affects bodies differently while it is also productive of an affective space. Gallagher and Wessels (2011), thinking through the role of power in research and pedagogical spaces in relation to affect write:

> Hutcheon (1994, p. 40) offers her analysis, 'and as soon as power—or lack thereof—enters the picture, affective responses are not usually far behind'. We do not suggest, however, that emotions rested solely with the individuals involved. They were also, clearly, socially constructed and the heat that they created was intertwined with the social and power relations associated with differences in social class and race. (p. 253)

I do not want to suggest that I have a prescriptive method to engage affect in anti-racism education; however, thinking through my experiences has convinced me that as I continually come into my pedagogy, affect is a necessary focus.

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Notes on Contributors

Chrissy Michelle Deckers is a current doctoral student at the University of Toronto's Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, within the department of Humanities, Social Sciences and Social Justice Education. Her research interests broadly concern race, Indigenous knowledges, and the internationalization of higher education, including curriculum and pedagogical approaches. She also teaches in the post secondary education system.

George J. Sefa Dei is Professor of Sociology and Equity Studies, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto (OISE/UT). His teaching and research interests are in the areas of Anti-Racism, Minority Schooling, International Development, Indigenous Philosophies, and Anti-Colonial Thought. In 2000 he co-edited *Indigenous Knowledges in Global Contexts: Multiple Readings of Our World*, with Budd Hall and Dorothy Goldin Rosenberg. His most recent books include: *Teaching Africa: Towards a Transgressive Pedagogy; Fanon and Education: Thinking Through Pedagogical Possibilities,* (co-edited with Marlon Simmons); *Fanon and the Counterinsurgency of Education* (edited); *Learning to Succeed: The Challenges and Possibilities of Educational Achievement for All,* and *Indigenous Philosophies and Critical Education: A Reader*. In July 2007, he succeeded the occupant of the stool (Odikro) of Asokorekuma and was installed as a traditional chief in Ghana. His stool name is Nana Sefa Atweneboah I, the Adomakwaahene of the town of Asokaore, near Koforidua in the New Juaben traditional area of Ghana.

Kenneth Huynh is a Ph.D. Candidate at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto. Broadly speaking, his research interests include Asians in the diaspora, race and cultural production, theories of discourse and political economies of affect. His present research project examines Asians in Canada, strategies of representation, and the emotional consequences of racial activism against the backdrop of neoliberal multiculturalism.

Min Kaur is a queer-identified woman of color of South-Asian descent, originally from South East Asia. She has over 15 years experience working as an adult education, community literacy practitioner and college professor. She is continuing her

own life-long learning work as a doctoral student in the Department of Sociology and Equity Studies in Education at OISE/University of Toronto, focusing on Indigenous knowledges, Anti-Colonial, Anti-Racist and Decolonizing education and spirituality in education. Her doctoral project is concerned with the notion of spirit woundedness, specifically how the spirit is impacted by the operationalization for the logics of white supremacy in higher education. She currently resides on the traditional territories of the Anishnaawbe and Haudenasaunee peoples.

Ximena Martínez Trabucco is a secondary history and geography teacher in Chilean public education. She received her Bachelor degree in education in the Department of Anthropology, Geography and History from the University of Tarapacá, Chile in 2006. Most of her career in teaching has been in schools marked as 'vulnerable' in the northern region of Chile. Most recently, she worked as a teacher of literacy at the high security prison of Acha. There, she worked to develop a project of intercultural education with Aymara indigenous prisoners. She has been actively involved in organizations that critique the system of education and that search to develop one that moves beyond inclusion to achieve a real democratic education system. Therefore, she sees her work in the teaching field as an opportunity to contribute to the transformation of a system that is highly discriminatory and economically centered.

Alexandra Arráiz Matute is a doctoral student in the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto. While interested in pedagogy and curriculum, she has also published in the areas of international education, anti-racism and critical multicultural education. She has previously worked in the field of Latino/a education and identification. Activism and community organizing play an important role in her life and academic interests, and she continues to be part of education initiatives around Toronto working with the Latino/a community.

Mairi McDermott is a Ph.D. candidate at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto. She is also a New York State certified secondary English Language Arts teacher, and her research is informed by her experiences in the classroom. Her research concerns the ways in which particular subjectivities come to be desired, shaped and performed in the context of schooling-and-education. Specifically, she is interested in looking at student voice as a pedagogical site to better understand processes of racialization, marginalization and the possibilities for disrupting the status quo. Her publications include: *The Pedagogy of Uncertainty: Paths to Personally Meaningful Homework; Avoiding the Missionary (Dis)Position: Research Relations and (Re)Presentation* (with Athena Madan); and *Embodiment and the Spatialization of Race* (with Marlon Simmons).

David Pereira is a doctoral student in the Department of Humanities, Social Sciences, and Social Justice Education at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto. David's current research draws on queer theory to resist and rethink the discourse of academic underachievement for subaltern identities, specifically ethnoracialized male youth, in urban schooling. His other research interests include masculinities studies, and anti-racism and

anti-homophobia education. David is a SSHRC Vanier Canada Graduate Scholar, a Junior Fellow at Massey College, and recipient of the 2012 Clarkson Laureateship for Public Service.

Gillian Geetha Philipupillai is completing her M.A. at OISE, her research focuses on the racialization of diasporic Tamils in Canada, especially the marking of Tamil youth in the law, media, and education.

Ayla Raza. As a brown skin immigrant youth who grew up in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), Ayla Raza has lived the experience of growing up under the guise of multiculturalism and the false dreams it sells. Ayla is currently a Master's student in the Department of Sociology and Equity Studies in Education at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto. She self-identifies as a Brown academic activist whose work concentrates on the education experiences of Brown youth in the GTA. With a strong belief in access to education for all, and in the context of increasingly conservative times, Ayla's academic work strives to make the systems of privilege visible. Within her professional work, she brings education to young people who have been pushed out of the system: marginalized students who are confined to detention centers in the GTS. Ayla's work demonstrates her commitment to making education accessible and attainable to all.

Camisha Sibblis is a Ph.D. student at the School of Social Work, York University. She holds a B.A. in Philosophy from the University of Toronto and BSW and MSW degrees from York University. Camisha has extensive experience working with 'at risk' youth as a school social worker in the Peel District School Board expulsion program and counsels wards of the Children's Aid Society. She is a member of the Council for Adolescent Suicide Prevention in Peel. She is a Research Assistant on the Assets Coming Together for Youth Project (ACT for Youth), a community-university research partnership that is focused on developing a comprehensive youth strategy for the Jane-Finch community. Camisha's scholarship focuses on the politics of race, social identity and marginalized youth. Using spatial theory and discourse analysis, she explores the ways in which schools manage their 'hard to serve' youth with the objective of creating awareness for the general public and affecting change in current educational policies, processes and practices.

Theresa Smith has been involved in the community as a volunteer with the Centre of Addiction and Mental Health (CAMH) for over 5 years. Her interest in mixed race identity stems from the intersections of personal history and world history, immigration and colonialism and their implications on the evolution of the social construction of race. Theresa graduated from OISE with a Masters in Adult Education and Community Development.

Susanne Waldorf is a Ph.D. student in Sociology of Education at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education/University of Toronto. Her research is focused around the possibilities for anti-racism and anti-colonialism pedagogies in teacher education programs. She recently completed her Master's degree in the same program; researching the teacher education curriculum at OISE for the ways it

represents settler colonialism in Canada. Susanne also has a Master's degree in Peace and Conflict Studies and has worked as an educator and activist in the U.S. and Palestine for the last 13 years, focusing most of her work on racism and colonialism in the U.S., Canada, and Israel.

Hodan Yusuf is a recent graduate from the Master of Education program at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto. She studied Sociology and Equity Studies & Comparative and International Development Education. She also holds an undergraduate degree in International Development Studies & Refugee Studies from York University. She is a native of Somalia and attributes the inspiration behind this chapter to her deep connection to Somalia and its people; a connection which has been fostered and strengthened through community engagement. She has worked extensively with newcomer youth with mental health issues, victims of war and torture and various other marginalized communities in the Toronto area. She currently resides in Edmonton, Alberta and works as a Career and Employment Consultant for the Government of Alberta's Ministry of Human Services.

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