ANTIRACISM EDUCATION IN AND OUT OF SCHOOLS

EDITED BY AMINKENG A. ALEMANJI

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Foreword

It is a shame that racism is still alive in 2017 (Message on Twitter, January 2017)

In the last couple of years, and maybe increasingly during the first months of 2017 since D. Trump's inauguration, the world seems to have witnessed an alarming increase in negative, demeaning, and dehumanizing discourses about the "Other"—about his/her culture, religion, language, skin color, political stance, etc. The impression that this leaves us with is that of collective hallucination and even hysteria. It is surprising in postmodern times like ours that this should continue to happen. Postmodernity is said to be about multiple and unstable identities, the loosening of the grip of nation-states and the recognition of *mélange*. But postmodernity (and the accompanying accelerated globalization) also pushes us towards extremes. It can lead us to try to find our "roots," to take refuge in solid identities to protect ourselves against this fast-moving world and the loss of buffer zones between "us" and "them."

The ugly evasion of neat ordering and explanations that Modernity tried to impose onto us through a pseudorationalization of the Human has been questioned over the last decades. And for "implicity-thirsty" people like us, this is frightening. Othering the "Other," (re-)categorising and differentiating are direct consequences of the fear of not being able to grasp this world and our own identity. *In what box do I place myself? Where does the 'Other' belong? Who am I? What is the difference between the other and I? Where does the border between*

'us' and 'them' stand? As Hanif Kureishi argues (2014: 11): "we like to believe that there was a better time when the world didn't shift so much and anything appeared more permanent. We were all alike and comprehensible to one another, and these spectres didn't forever seethe at the windows". This is, of course, an illusion. Throughout history, we have always been surrounded by "others". However, the way these "Others' were othered was different. Considering the long history of our world, race, the central concept of this fascinating volume, appeared with Modernity, some two or three centuries ago.

Although our era is pervaded with good intentions about 'diversity' (calls for tolerance, respect, etc.), racism, one form of discourse against the "Other" often leading to terrible actions, appears to be a common response to the real and virtual presence of certain "Others." Racism is probably the worst form of pornography of the 'Other'. As the fascinating volume edited by Aminkeng Atabong shows, the racialized Other is too easily 'boxed' and rejected; the heterogeneity that s/he represents (still) frightens the majority.

In many parts of the world, talking about race in education and/or public spheres is touchy, a veritable taboo. There is a shared belief that talking about race "sustains racism" (Gordon and Newfield 1995: 382). What this volume shows is that there is a need to talk about race in order to problematize racism—and, potentially, diminish its influence. Hiding and censoring discourses of race does not help. There is a need for people to understand that different skin colours do not pose a threat to "us," but that our behaviors toward and imaginaries about skin colors represent the real danger. For Selasi (2015), race is a power category. She adds "(…) we know is a social construct, that was constructed to support a sociopolitical and a socioeconomic hierarchy". The chapters of this book demonstrate convincingly that work on antiracism can help people to observe themselves as "Others" and to create a distance inside themselves and thus reflect on this type of hierarchy.

Concentrating on race in education is never neutral. And no educational project can be neutral as such, whatever its "users" claim. Any perspective on issues of intercultural/multicultural encounters, interracial issues *cannot but be* ideological. In 2016, Aminkeng Atabong and I published an article entitled *"If an apple is a foreign apple you have to wash it very carefully": Youth discourses on racism*. The article made it to the New real peer review Twitter feed. @RealPeerReview "tweet mocks" scholarly papers from "Mad Libs." The tweet accompanying

the link to our article said: "Shocking finding. Students do not share the researcher's ideological perspective on racism". The point of our article was not to show that students discussing racism in Finland did not share our ideology but to pinpoint the unique way they were taught to discuss race at school ("we are all the same"; "colour does not matter", "we Finns are not racist", etc.). The idea of anti-racism is not to replace one system of explanation with another, but to help people multiply their explanatory systems and to dig into the real complexities of the issue of race as a social construct. Although we did not know if the label "Mad Libs" really applied to us, we enjoyed reading the message thread following the post, especially comments like "Imagine going to Finland of all places and telling people not to be nationalistic. The nerves of these people"—which reflects, of course, another type of ideology…

Franz Kafka is said to have written "Why read a book that does not disturb you? If a book does not give you a blow in the head why bother with it?" I am convinced that Aminkeng's volume will trigger such reactions among its readers and urge them to reconsider the positions of race, racism, and antiracism in education. I also hope that the volume will contribute to make people aware of their own ideologies about these issues and to consider alternative ones.

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Aminkeng A. Alemanji researches on antiracism education in Finland. His research critiques existing antiracism education practices in Finland and proposes different antiracism strategies both in and out of schools.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Aminkeng A. Alemanji

A: A little bit respect please
B: I am a nurse
A: I am [a] Finnish woman
B: So what?…
A: You are [a] fucking African woman
B: So what?
A: You mean nothing! You are zero! You are not human in my eyes! You know what happen in our country (gesturing towards herself). Why [do you] all come rape our country? We are in trouble because black peoples. Yes. its reality and be ready this country will be big racist one day also. I am not before but I think I am racist because of what I see. no respect, no anything. just try to live good here work, don't use our social please.
B: So you are talking [to] me? what did I do to you?
A: Why? because you are black. this country will be like this because you are black
B: because I am black?
A: You are black am white
B: Thank you
A: You are welcome (walking away) but not in my country.

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In October 2015, another "isolated case[1]" of racism occurred on the streets of the Helsinki region in Finland. Like most racial incidents, this was unprovoked. The main reason for the attack was the colour of the victim's skin (it could very well have been because of her gender, sexuality, or religion—or a combination of these elements—too). The victimiser claims her superiority by referring to two main things: her Finnishness and her whiteness. This is in stark contrast to the victim's blackness and her African-ness. Although the victimiser could not tell if the victim was a Finnish national, she assumed that being black means one cannot be a Finn and that all black people are Africans. Being black and African meant that the victim is *zero*, *not human*. As a result, being "a zero" and "not human" means that any nature of inhuman treatment bestowed upon the victim is justified. As David Theo Goldberg puts it, "race today is supposed to be a thing of the past. And yet all we do, seemingly is to talk about it. We talk (about) race when not talking (about) it; and we don't talk (about) it when (we should be) talking (about) it" (2015, p. 1). In the discussion of race, the issue of skin color remains prominent due to coloniality of power; defined by Maldonado-Torres (2007, p. 243) as a "long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labour, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations" and white supremacy, a belief in the superiority of the white race over the rest (see Ahmed 2012; Bonilla-Silva 2006; Mignolo 2009; Leonardo 2004). This is done through denying its existence yet enjoying from its existence. This is done by inscribing the racialized with a race and the racializing without one. This may also lead to the racializing being presented as superior in some cases. "We are all humans" is a new racial category (as if humanity is such a category) which represents yet another attempt to hide or negate the use of race. First, we replace race with culture, then ethnicity, now humanity.

What does Race do?

A lot of people get trapped around the debates of what race is and/or what it is not. In doing so, they consciously and sometimes unconsciously fail to comprehend the most important lesson to learn with regards to race—*what race does* (see Lentin 2015). Very often such

debates are aimed at denying the existence and relevance of race as an essential part of human relationships and interaction. In such cases, those in denial evoke arguments around the obscurity of race as a biological reality. In this regard, it is important to note that although race is biologically unreal, sociopolitically it has an impact on the lives of the "racialized" (see Alemanji 2016; Goldberg 2015; Ahmed 2012). As exemplified in the discussion above, those who argue that race is unreal, use race to advance themselves and dehumanize the "racialized." Those who are considered to have a race are often viewed as inferior (black), while whiteness, that which is not racialized, and "uncoloured," is seen as a norm (see Alemanji 2016; Goldberg 2015; Mignolo 2009). Race is employed as an oppressive tool to dehumanize the "racialized," while denying the existence and significance of race.

The opening conflict between a white Finn and a Black person moves to a macro level when the victimiser asks "*why do you come rape our country?…*" "*We are in trouble because of black people* "whose inhumanity compares the other's behaviors to that of animals which, if not tamed, must be destroyed or else she/he infects the purity of the host country (Goldberg 2015; Alemanji 2016). Attempts to tame this "savage" African woman is evident in claims that the victim should be respectful, that she should work hard and not use any social benefits from the "*host*" country. In other words, the savage African woman should adopt the position of a twenty-first-century slave—serve, show respect to you, not eat, not clothe, not bear "many" children. When these condemned people fail to conform to this slave status, they become a problem that must be dealt with in any possible way. In other words, when they fail to do this (and often even when they do), they become the cause of all the troubles in most "Western" countries. This is the point where the victimiser claims that like her, the nation (Finland in this case) is fast becoming racist. Going beyond one woman's argument, one must not take denial of a racial classification in Finland at face value as more racially derogatory classifications are gaining popularity such as "immigrant background people" (see Dervin et al. 2015); the growing popularity of the Finns Party in recent years and the recent policing of and government interventions into issues of free speech in public media is indicative of a trend that cannot be continuously ignored.

Employing different literatures on racism, one could simply define the concept as discrimination/prejudice based on difference starting

from skin color and reaching out to other variables like gender, sexuality, religion exercised through the use of power (see Alemanji 2016). Racism is a necessary rhetorical strategy used to devaluate, and justify dispensable lives that are portrayed by hegemonic discourses as less valuable (see Goldberg 2015; Alemanji 2016; Hage 2015; Alemanji and Dervin 2016). The bottom line of racism is devaluation and not the color of one's skin. The color of one's skin is a significant marker used to devaluate. Although people in denial often argue against this fact, the discussion above exemplifies how vital skin color is regarding the issues of racism. Racial violence is often geared toward what is physically different before moving into what is psychologically different. In this light, in a society like Finland, a non-white person, a Muslim veiled woman, a Roma beggar, a homosexual couple, and a friend or "ally" to a non-white person are the easiest targets of racial violence. However, in politics of postraciality (see Goldberg 2015), this group of people are considered to be part of the mainstream by the mainstream, at the convenience of the mainstream. They also easily cease to be part of the mainstream whenever the mainstream decides. They are at the mercy of the benevolent dominant white group.

Moving Beyond the Multicultural to Antiracism

Political movements in most western societies are continuously shifting to the far-right where discourses and policies around the Other are strongly becoming more racialized and normalized (Alemanji 2016; Mudde 2014; Hage 2015). The Other, oftentimes non-whites, refugees, Muslims etc., exist at the mercy of the mainstream who continuously view them as less than humans and the cause of the social and economic crises of the mainstream. They are attacked and caricatured endlessly in the media (especially in social media), during political rallies and even physically in public places like in the excerpt above. On the one hand, such attacks may be different but when they occur they are the same—the Other is always at fault for his/her actions or inactions and, as a result, must be punished (Mignolo 2009; Goldberg 2015; Alemanji 2016). On the other hand, the mainstream has become embolden and more vocal in their attacks and have become blind to the weaknesses of their arguments as they attempt to put the blame on the Other.

These issues are not adequately addressed by a lot of multicultural endeavors and programs (see Alemanji 2016) which continuously target

the Other in an attempt to "help" them "become" better versions of themselves for the mainstream. Although many would argue that critical multiculturalism addresses issues of racism, it is important to note that antiracism addresses these issues better. Antiracism as a word is indicative of the existence of racism. However, it must be noted that not all programs that carry the antiracism banner adequately address issues of racism. Antiracism programs have to be created for a specific target and are not always transferable as one antiracism program may be a direct contrast to another. This is so because the issues of racism occur both at micro and macro levels.

Antiracism is not new (in Europe at least). It was usurped by multiculturalism/interculturalism in the late twentieth century because of the burden of race and racism evident in the notion of anti-*racism* unlike in the labels multiculturalism and interculturalism. While the latter situates the problem in a lack of understanding of people from other cultures, the former situates the problem in systems and hierarchies that create and maintain structural imbalance by giving some groups power while denying others (see Goldberg 2009, 2016; Alemanji 2016; Lentin and Titley 2011; Hage 2015). With the weaknesses of multiculturalism well documented (see Lentin and Titley 2011; Dervin 2015; Alemanji and Mafi 2016; Alemanji and Dervin 2016), it is appealing to look beyond the personal discomfort of the privileged and give antiracism more space in schools and beyond. I have argued in my earlier work how this can be done and this book takes this argument a few steps further. Antiracism is a struggle like the story of David and Goliath,[2] the odds are against the antiracist in most cases. Driven by (but not limited to) human rights, social justice, and equity, antiracism commits to building a worldview where people can recognise and understand themselves and others for who they are. For this to happen, one cannot ignore the effects of history in today's interactions.

It is naive to assume that multiculturalism is like antiracism, and is a static concept. These concepts are constantly being given new meanings and different interpretations in different contexts depending on the sociopolitical realities of that specific context. On this, Mills (2007, p. 89) argues that

> There is multiculturalism as state policy (itself varying from nation to nation) and multiculturalism as minority activist demand, multiculturalism as applied generally to the political theorisation of society as a whole

> and multiculturalism as a applied specifically to tertiary education and curriculum reform, multiculturalism as including the politics of race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation and disability (critical multiculturalism) and multiculturalism excluding at least some of these.

As a political project, in most countries (e.g., Finland, Sweden, Canada, etc.) multiculturalism is politically geared toward immigrants and the need to "teach" them to learn the ways of the dominant group, oftentimes the ways of their host countries (see Dervin and Layne 2013; Dervin et al. 2012). As a result, antiracism projects conceptually grounded in the above-mentioned multicultural political climate may end up reproducing the same essentialist multicultural discourse or one similarly problematic. Antiracism programs must step away from the multicultural targets—immigrant or the Other. Programs that address the wrong target yield limited results irrespective of how good the programs may be. Antiracism programs should be the mirror that everyone must look into to see themselves—their power and its effect on others, their privilege against that of others, and their position in the hierarchical structure of things against the position of others.

Book Objectives

Antiracism is both inter-, multi-, and transdisciplinary. Antiracism as interdisciplinary means that it employs multiple interrelated branches of knowledge. Antiracism as multidisciplinary means that it cuts across several academic disciplines, e.g., politics, education, art, economics etc. Antiracism as transdisciplinary reflects the different disciplines working together to create new conceptual, theoretical, methodological, and translational innovations that integrate and move beyond discipline-specific approaches to address the issue of racism. Its transdisciplinarity is also based on the active inclusion of domains from outside academia (NGOs, among others). This book deals with educational approaches to antiracism. Antiracism (education) is a pedagogical discourse as well as an academic and political practice (Dei and Calliste 2000). As an educational discourse, it is a progressive practice that "questions power relations in the school and society, recognises the importance of personal experience and lived realities as a source of knowledge, and explores the perspectives of different groups in society" (Dei 1996, p. 1). Antiracism interventions in such cases can help to change discourses, actions,

and structures that produce or promote them. Antiracism education questions hierarchical racialized structures and their consequences. It seeks to understand, unearth and deconstruct the foundation of racism at a macro level as well as seeks ways to oppose and challenge daily racialized practices wherever and whenever. It is not limited to a mere reaction to issues of racism. It sets out to dismantle structures that (re)produce individual cases of racism.

This book engages with the state of antiracism education with specific case studies from Finland and Canada and proposes different strategies of antiracism education in and out of school. The book approaches antiracism education as a practical and pragmatic approach to combat issues of power and social hierarchies that produce diverse forms of racism. The diverse discussions in the book justify claims that diverse antiracism practices are needed to combat the ever-changing nature of racism.

Structure of the Book

This book is divided into two sections. The first section—*From discourses of integration to antiracism*—reviews and critiques policies, discourses, and practices of "multiculturalism" and integration. In highlighting the weaknesses of such ideological and practical paradigms, this section calls for antiracism as a viable alternative.

Pigga Keskitalo, Erika Sarivaara, Inker-Anni Linkola, and **Merja Paksuniemi** open the book with the case of the Sámi, one of the minority groups in Finland. In this chapter, they problematize the legacy of the Sámi's assimilation and colonisation and try to solve the resulting problems through mediating Sámi education. This is done through uncovering how mediating education can remedy the legacy of assimilation and racism. They argue that the word "mediate" means to arbitrate, make peace, resolve, and negotiate. The authors argue that assimilation of the Sámi people into the homogenous Finnish identity, without paying attention to their rich cultural heritage, has affected the situation of Sámi people and has caused, for example, poverty, mortality, limited access to education, abuse, a lack of self-respect, language shift, loss of culture, and neocolonialism. To some extent, these processes have also weakened their cultural identity. They call for a Sámi education aimed at addressing specific issues pertinent in the Sámi society and one that aims at addressing the power structures that reproduces inequalities that hurt the Sámi every day. Such education, they argue, should be built around

indigenous knowledge, traditions, and cultural context. This chapter is based on research material gathered in two phases. One part of the data was gathered in a Sámi school history project, while another part of the research project concerned assimilation among Sámi peoples.

In Chap. 3, **Tobias Pötzsch** explores how an anti-oppressive practice perspective can inform contested understandings of social inclusion within the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada integration program at NorQuest College in Edmonton, Canada. The case of Canada is important here because it is often considered as an "ideal" multicultural country that a lot of other countries (Finland included) looks to on multicultural issues. The chapter explores the theme of inclusion vs. assimilation emerging from wider fieldwork data chronicling the experiences of program participants. It critiques the challenges involved in both concepts from the point of view that although assimilating the other into the mainstream is not ideal, inclusion does not entail subsuming the Other within a pre-existing societal order but rather within a fluid structural process where this order is interrogated and changed collectively. Potzsch argues that social inclusion programs should be based on an antiracist and antioppressive policies and practices that foster collaborative learning built on the principles of self-reflexivity, egalitarian partnership, and social transformation.

In Chap. 4, **Helena Oikarinen-Jabai** examines the use of performative, art-based, and participatory research approaches in producing material and productions where the perspectives of young Finns with immigrant backgrounds are shared with larger audiences as part of research reporting. Many young people with immigrant backgrounds have the kind of mental and emotional resources, based on their embodied and personal experiences, to participate actively in deconstructing and restructuring the surrounding culture, its esthetic values and the existing binary relations between "others" and "us." Oikarinen-Jabai argues that their know-how and visions should be valued in antiracist discourse. Together with researchers, educators, artists, and cultural workers, they can play a great role and participate in transversal dialogue, they are able to create cultural productions that open a horizon for hybrid spaces where rigid conceptual borders and national images can be approached with curiosity and not-knowingness. As a result, this chapter argues against ignoring their voices and the potential they bring in antiracism discourse.

The second section of this volume—*From "culture" to antiracism education*—highlights the constrains of basing antiracism within a multiculturalism framework. This section focusses of antiracism education across different levels of education from a viewpoint that antiracism education cannot be limited to a specific level of education or to formal education only. **Mélodine Sommier and Anssi Roiha** open this section with a critique of how culture is employed in educational discourses in Finland. Drawing on critical approaches to culture, this chapter (1) looks at limitations of the way culture is conceptualized within educational discourses, (2) proposes new ways of using the concept, (3) and provides practical examples while considering limitations and challenges such as hidden curriculum and teachers' personal values. Sommier and Roiha discuss the issues of intercultural communication competence and raise the importance of looking for similarities while positively addressing differences. They also highlight the tensions embedded in language use and language teaching, related to homogenous examples of language use and the figure of the native speaker. Furthermore, Sommier and Roiha raise issues related to the overlapping between nation and culture and emphasized the importance of going beyond the nation as the main and normalized unit to address practices and identities. Antiracism, they argue, should be acknowledged across subjects through a series of small steps.

In Chap. 6, **Päivi Armila, Anni Rannikko** and **Tiina Sotkasiira** ponder over the possibility of combining an antiracist research agenda with antiracist campaigning to intervene in certain fields of formal education, namely in kindergartens, elementary schools, and universities. They employ critical autoethnography to analyze their experiences of antiracist interventions within fields of formal education, namely those of kindergartens and elementary schools. They argue that the reluctance to acknowledge racism and handle it within the framework of formal education is derived not only from unwillingness to deal with racial inequality but also from reluctance of those with power and privilege to understand educational institutions as spaces of and for political struggle.

In Chap. 7, **Pia Mikander** and **Ida Hummelstedt-Djedou** follow from the previous chapter by critiquing an educational intervention at a Finnish primary school. The chapter looks at the benefits and drawbacks of an antiracist event in school by questioning in what way such events challenge, or change discriminating racist structures, and in what way it reinforced the division between the norm and the Other. They recommend a shift of focus away from "cultural differences" to power

structures and hierarchies that produce racist consequences. Mikander and Hummelstedt-Djedou critique such antiracism interventions for not turning the focus on the student's own positions and for not incorporating into the discussion how the students could participate in changing the structures.

In the last chapter, **Aminkeng A. Alemanji** and **Minna Seikkula** explore the complexities of teaching issues of race and racism from the point of view of two researchers. Alemanji and Seikkula, through interactive dialogues, outline their experiences of teaching about issues of racism in two different Finnish universities. They discuss the issues of race and racism in Finland. Departing from an understanding of race as an important sociopolitical construct that shapes people's daily lives irrespective of a person's racial group. The authors argue against those who try to deny the existence of racism in the complexities of racism today. They call for diverse approaches to antiracism education in the struggle to uproot racism from everyday life.

I hope that this volume helps to inspire scholars and students to undertake antiracism work in all their educational and life endeavors. A long as racism continues to be the "elephant in the room," we must all commit to pushing this elephant out, educators and researchers alike.

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Notes

1. I am using this here ironically.
2. A biblical story of a young boy (David) who stands up when no one could or wished to defeat a giant (Goliath).

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PART I

From Discourses of Integration to Antiracism

CHAPTER 2

From the Shadows of Civilisation and Racist Ideologies Towards Post-assimilation

Reconciliation Through Sámi Education

Pigga Keskitalo, Erika Sarivaara, Inker-Anni Linkola and Merja Paksuniemi

Introduction

Pamela Rose Toulouse (2013), an Ojibwe woman from the Sagamok First Nation, Ontario, Canada, refers in her paper, *Beyond Shadows: First Nations, Métis and Inuit Student Success,* to themes focusing on equitable educational environments based in social justice philosophies, interagency approaches, culturally relevant pedagogy, system-wide change

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and inclusion. We have borrowed a part of the name of her article, as 'shadows' refers to long-term effects such as poverty, mortality, limited access to education, abuse, lack of self-worth, loss of language, loss of culture and neo-colonialism. We observe that the Sámi are in a post-assimilationist situation, which must be dealt with to avoid continuing assimilation and to revitalise the Sámi language and culture. Other indigenous people in Arctic regions have encountered approximately the same schooling history as the Sámi. In a post-assimilationist context, there is obviously a need to discover pedagogical instruments, which, as Norma Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln (2008) state, accentuate hope, love and shared community in indigenous contexts. Pedagogy and education are interested in all human activity and experience; an indigenous research orientation displays a human voice to allow the development of practices from experienced knowledge. In a multilingual and multicultural context, it is important to find educational and pedagogical measurements, which help to solve the assimilation history of the Sámi people. The need to develop indigenous schooling is internationally recognised (Balto 1997, 2008; Hirvonen 2003; Keskitalo 2009; Lipka et al. 1998). At present, the Sámi are conducting their own teacher education in Kautokeino, Norway, at *Sámi allaskuvla* (Sámi University of Applied Sciences).

This chapter aims to problematise the legacy of the Sámi's assimilation and colonisation and try to solve the resulting problems through mediating Sámi education, discovering how mediating education can remedy the legacy of assimilation and racism. The word 'mediate' means to arbitrate, make peace, resolve and negotiate (Auburn et al. 2012). Mediation encompasses inclusion and caring in addition to participatory and conclusive motives. Peter Berger (1979, p. 169) means by mediating structures 'those institutions which stand between the individual in his [sic] private sphere and the large institutions of the public sphere'. Mediation is a versatile concept from these perspectives (Sarivaara and Keskitalo 2016).

In this chapter, we will first examine the folk schooling history and the school history. We will describe the context in which Sámi history has evolved and will present today's situation. Then, we will look at the ideological processes the Sámi have faced. We try to find solutions to enact in a post-assimilationist era through the Sámi education philosophy. Our examples and solutions to Sámi education are based on our former research about people's experiences within the Sámi language situation and schooling contexts. Our focus of concentration is mostly

in Finland. We describe the church and school processes used with the Sámi, combine the different school history results and explain the ideological basis of the assimilation. We employ people's experiences regarding school and life in multiple contexts in Finland. In the end, we suggest how the Sámi and indigenous education could remedy the long, hard historical results. In this context, mediating structures are presented alongside issues regarding mediating Sámi education.

The Sámi people live in the mid and northern areas of Sweden and Norway, in the north of Finland and in Russia's Kola Peninsula. The Sámi are recognised as indigenous peoples and are thus protected under various international conventions guaranteeing their rights. However, there is no universal definition of the concept of indigenous peoples. This concept was created for international agreements applied to certain populations and communities in certain areas. Often indigenous peoples are referred to as the disadvantaged descendants of the peoples that inhabited a territory prior to colonisation or to the formation of the existing state (Joona 2012; Sarivaara et al. 2013). There are approximately 100,000 Sámi, depending on the definition criteria applied (Sarivaara 2012). The Sámi were previously known as the Lappish, although this word has now been replaced by the Sámi's own name, the Sámi people (sápmelaččat). According to current estimates, the Sámi languages developed, at the latest, during the second millennium BC, and during that period, Sámi culture was also seen to arise (Aikio 2004, 2012). Sámi livelihoods have traditionally been based on nature-sustainable usage. Hence, originating from hunter–gatherer tribes, Sámi people have been involved in fishing, hunting and seminomadic reindeer herding. However, only about 10% of the Sámi are currently connected to reindeer herding (Solbakk 2006). Today, the Sámi are part of the globalised world and its various cultural flows (Seurujärvi-Kari 2011, 2012). Rauna Kuokkanen states that 'for indigenous peoples around the world, economic globalisation is not merely a question of marginalisation but it represents a multifaceted attack on the very foundation of their existence' (2008, p. 216). The Sámi have experienced the phase of cultural colonialism, which is a central manifestation of assimilation, a word which refers to the active merging of minorities into the mainstream population (see Battiste 2000; Keskitalo et al. 2016). Due to centuries of assimilationist policies and policy measures, Sámi languages are now endangered. Today, the Sámi have more or less embraced urbanisation; already 60% of Sámi live outside the Sámi homeland area. For example,

about 1000 Sámi live in Helsinki, the capital of Finland (Lindgren 2000).

Research Methodology and Data

We have studied the effects of assimilation, revitalisation and education in Norway and Finland (see Keskitalo 2010; Keskitalo et al. 2013, 2014, 2016; Linkola 2014; Linkola and Keskitalo 2015; Paksuniemi 2009; Sarivaara 2016; Sarivaara et al. 2013). In addition to research work, we have extensive teaching experience both at the elementary and higher education levels, and thus we have been able to follow and initiate the development of Sámi education and the Sámi language situation in a minority and indigenous context.

Research data has been gathered in two phases. School history data was gathered by Pigga Keskitalo, Inker-Anni Linkola and Merja Paksuniemi. They interviewed five persons about their Sámi school history experiences. Data was gathered between 2014 and 2016, and the school memory data concerns the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s (see Keskitalo et al. 2016). Erika Sarivaara has interviewed over 100 Sámi individuals in an ongoing research project at the University of Helsinki.[1] The focus of Sarivaara's original study was to discover the cultural identity, Sámi memories and way of life of Sámi-descended individuals in North Finland (Sarivaara 2016). We have anonymised the memory data due to sensitivity and for reasons of research ethics.

With the help of memory data, new approaches to indigenous peoples' history have turned the research focus from big national stories to indigenous peoples' alternative memory histories (Keskitalo et al. 2016; Nugent 2005; Wilson 2003; Wright 1992). According to Valerie Yow (2005), people will remember things from their lives, which have special meaning to them. Memory data refer to the person's story of her/his life from the perspective of the present (Portelli 2004). From this point of view, memory data is not a precise report about what really happened but is a retrospective on the events and experiences of a person's lifespan, estimated from the present frame of reference (Keskitalo et al. 2016; Scott and Alwin 1998).

Next, we position ourselves as researchers. This is seen as important, especially when dealing with research on indigenous peoples and minority language speakers, to respond to the ethical needs of indigenous peoples, to be sensitive and to engage in responsible research (e.g. Absolon

and Willet 2005; Bull 2002). We decided to write this chapter together, as we have had common research projects and have gathered research material both together and separately. We share a common research interest in social justice.

Pigga Keskitalo has an insider position, having a Sámi background and being a native speaker of the North Sámi language. She lives in North Finland, Peltovuoma village, and her husband is a reindeer herder. She was born 1972 in Nuorgam village, Utsjoki municipality, located in the Sámi Administrative Area, to a Sámi-speaking family. Her father worked as an elementary school teacher and rector, and her late mother was a homemaker. At that time, they were living next to her mother's parents, who kept a farmhouse. Fishing, berry picking and small-scale reindeer herding was also part of their life. After graduating high school, she chose to attend a teacher education program and then had a chance to participate in a Ph.D. program. She has been working 16 years within Sámi teacher education at Sámi University College in Norway. In her Ph.D., Pigga Keskitalo (2010) focused on studying Sámi school practices, with the aim of contemplating the role of the Sámi culture at school. The main point in her research was to seek mediating structures, which could repair the cultural conflicts which typified Sámi education during cultural colonial history and assimilation and which could repair the skewed power relations. These factors have had a retarding effect on the ability of Sámi to build their own school culture. Successful indigenous schooling must be based on the concerned people's own cultural premises and values. The cultural bases of learning vary in different contexts, and as a result, cultural conflicts are formed between the human microculture and the social macroculture. In Sámi education, a particular situation may arise between individuals or between family enculturation and societal socialisation. In general, the aim of education is to socialise individuals into a society, a goal that could be criticised in the Sámi context.

Erika Katjaana Sarivaara also has Sámi background; moreover, she has revitalised her family's ancestral language, North Sámi. Erika was born in 1976 in Posio and grew up in a family where the father had a working class background with a depth of knowledge of nature and traditions, whereas the mother had an academic education and worked as a teacher. At home, Erika learned both the traditional way of living and the academic way of knowing. This sowed the seed for her academic career but also connected her to her ancestors' land and culture. Erika first attended teacher education

and later studied in an indigenous study program. She defended her dissertation in 2012. Currently, she is working as associate professor at the University of Lapland. In her Ph.D., Sarivaara (2012) presents a rather exact picture of today's Sáminess, which can be characterised as diverse and fragmented. The research presents and analyses the themes, which arose from interviews, such as cultural continuity and the issue of identity over generations. The concept of ethno-stress also arose; this may occur when one is not able to fulfil the claims of ethnic identity and is afraid to express the Sámi identity in public. Ethno-stress may also occur in sociolinguistic situations such as language choice and language-learning contexts. Sarivaara's research visibly brings up internal tensions within Sámi society and exposes the complex consequences of Sámi history (see also Lukin 2014).

Inker-Anni Linkola has Finnish background and comes from Helsinki in the south of Finland. She graduated from a Finno-Ugric languages program as a master of philosophy; her advanced studies concerned the Sámi language. Her master's thesis dealt with the Skolt Sámi situation in Finland. After graduating, she also gained a degree in educational studies at the University of Helsinki, the University of Tromsø and the University of Lapland. She did her Sámi language subject studies at the Sámi allaskuvla, Guovdageaidnu. Before starting her doctoral studies, she worked as a teacher for over 10 years, and at the same time, she continued studying the Sámi language and society and Sámi educational subjects. Sámi research was part of her childhood, as her father worked as an ethnologist travelling in Sámi areas. She has worked as a teacher and researcher in both Finland and Norway and has lived for a long time in those countries. Now, she works as Senior Officer at the Sámi Archives, Inari, Finland. She is going to start to work as a Associate Professor at Sámi allaskuvla on August 2017. Inker-Anni's (Linkola 2014) doctoral research focused on the position and visibility of the Sámi language at an upper secondary educational institution, through the concept of the linguistic landscape. The concept of a linguistic landscape is utilised to describe written language featured on public premises. The study analysed the appearance, producers and forms of the Sámi language in the linguistic landscape of school. The study also focused on the students' perceptions of Sámi language usage at their school. What is special about the study is that it was located in an indigenous context and focused on the position of a minority language and the linguistic practices related to it. Both the position of the Sámi language and the analysis of the hierarchical relationship between the Sámi and national languages are central to the study.

Merja Paksuniemi finished her Ph.D., in 2009. She studied teacher education in the north of Finland in the 1900s. She learned that the purpose of teacher training was to educate model citizens who would teach and civilise the Finnish people and strengthen the young country's national identity. In practice, this meant that teaching should encourage an interest in various activities, which would develop citizens' diligence and would excite students to adopt hobbies and develop strong character. Another common goal was to arouse a regionalism, which would invoke a love of country among the pupils. Religion, literature and history were mainstays of the classroom, forming together the cultural-historical foundation on which teaching was progressively built. The aim of instruction was to improve citizens' morality and Christianity. A teacher was clearly the head of the classroom, and his or her role as a model citizen was important. Teachers were also expected to act as model citizens during their free time (Paksuniemi 2009). Paksuniemi works as a university lecturer at the University of Lapland. She was born in Rovaniemi and, as a Finnish scholar, cooperated in Sámi school history project with some of the team members.

How the Education was Introduced to the Sámi?

The Sámi operate under four countries' administration and educational systems and practices. The current situation has been influenced both by the distant past and by the events of recent history. The Sámi educational conditions were formed and evolved first in all countries as part of processes of national construction, while at the same time, the Sámi population in each country was affected by the differentiated education and the resulting ethnic policies. According to Svein Lund (2014), Sámi school history can be divided into four wider periods:

1. Missionary period. The aim of this period was public civilisation through Christianity.
2. Assimilation period. The aim was assimilation through the national language.
3. The period of accepting. The aim of the school was to provide schooling for everybody; the Sámi language was a pedagogical assistance language, and in some cases, it was a teaching language for Sámi-speaking children.

4. The period of revitalisation. Typical thinking for this period is that among other aims, school should give Sámi children possibilities for revitalising the Sámi language and culture after the assimilation period (Lund 2014, p. 11).

Sámi school history is shaped by the national schooling histories of Norway, Finland, Sweden and Russia. Each country has special features when it comes to its own schooling history. The research conducted in these countries forth, how in these countries, the national school histories have constructed the Sámi school history (e.g. Afanasyeva 2013; Alleman 2013; Andelin 1858; Anderzén 1997; Boine et al. 2005; Henrysson 1992; Huuva and Blind 2015; Keskitalo et al. 2014; Kortekangas 2014; Koskamo 2013; Kylli 2012; Kähkönen 1982, 1984; Lassila 2001a, b; Lehtola 1996, 1997, 2012; Liukkonen 1993; Länsman 2007; Nyyssönen 2013, 2014a, b; Rasmus 2008). Church activity was twofold; it both actively destroyed the Sámi culture but civilised the Sámi through the Sámi language at the same time. As a result, it produced Sámi books, and the special features of the Sámi culture were also documented.

Christian contact with Sámi people occurred in the heart of the Middle Ages; in Lapland, single missionaries appeared during that period. At that time, the first monastic institutes were established which were in touch with the areas in which the Sámi lived. The key element in the meeting between the church and the Sámi people was that the Sámi nature-based religion changed gradually to Christianity. This was a long and complex process. Royal Swedish and Lutheran church deportation action in Lapland started at the end of 1500, and church activity intensified in 1550 when Gustav Vasa imposed miscellaneous measures to start in the Lappish villages (*siida*). In 1574, King Juhana III demanded that multilingual priests be sent to Lapland; these priests visited Lappish villages a couple of times per year, and tax authorities and traders found their way to the villages. Duke Charles's target in the late 1500s was to set up a church and priest in every Lappish village. As of no later than 1500, half of the Sámi Kemi were under a religious service district, and they met a priest about once a year in their winter villages. After the church implemented the external framework for its operations to function, the Sámi way of life became more difficult. The Sámi learned the catechism doctrines by heart, as the language of instruction in Kemi Lapland was Finnish. Christian expulsion of non-Christian Sámi was quite effective in the late 1600s, and after the era of Gabriel Tuderus, all villages in Kemi Lapland were considered Christian (Koskamo 2013).

Catechist schools functioned until after World War II. Laestadianism was introduced at the end of the 1800s, when charismatic revivalism induced many Sámi to turn to Christianity (Kylli 2012). Whether the language of instruction was Finnish or both Finnish and Sámi depended on the place. For example, in Utsjoki, Sámi functioned as a help language, and during times of instruction, only Sámi was used, due to the teacher's language ability (Keskitalo et al. 2014).

The Primary School Act of 1866 allowed the systematic development of the school system to start. Outakoski in Utsjoki municipality as well as Inari founded elementary schools from the 1880s onwards, but most Sámi teaching activities in the late 1800s were based almost entirely on catechist work efforts by a church representative. Proceedings were established, and elementary schools were founded in Utsjoki in 1878, in Enontekiö in 1888, in Sodankylä in 1889 and in 1894 in Inari (Lassila 2001a, b).

Sámi areas also saw the building of Finland folk schools with dormitories. Children had to stay in these dormitories, because these schools were located in sparsely populated areas, so the children had to travel considerable distances to school. In fact, the organising of teaching in Finnish Lapland proved challenging due to these long distances. Therefore, travelling catechists continued to work as teachers. The transition from catechist teaching to folk school facilities occurred in Lapland throughout the first half of the twentieth century, with the last catechists ceasing operations only in 1956.

Although teaching the people began to move from being the responsibility of the church to being the responsibility of the State in the early 1900s, the change was slow. However, the aim was to build central schools quickly, so that the catechist institution could be disassembled and all children could be covered by general compulsory education. This began in the 1947 Compulsory Education Act, which also covered school-aged children living more than 5 km from the central schools. The secondary school system first covered Lapland in 1972, and after that, the reform progressed in stages to southern Finland (Lehtola 1997).

Racism and the Sámi People

From the late 1700s until the Second World War, the Sámi were a central target of thriving research. Hundreds of researchers measured, assessed and classified them. In the study of the Sámi people, researchers hunted for answers to questions about the formation of races, past Europeans and racial diversity. Some of these racial theories and classifications were racist

(Schanche 2002). In studying racist terminology, Pekka Isaksson (2001) simplified those claims, opinions and attitudes that met three conditions: there are races, races are different and they are unequal. In his doctoral dissertation, Isaksson examined the racism in the racial research and in the racial theories used in researching the Sámi. The dissertation is the first very impressive presentation about racism towards the Sámi over the centuries.

The first time the Sámi were mentioned was in the famous Germania (98 AD) text; they were described as wild people who lived like animals, had no permanent housing and dressed in furs, unlike the author's compatriots. Byzantium expressed a disdain of nomadism; thus, in the spirit of the time, a lack of grain and wine rather than climate meant primitiveness. However, a hard and cold climate was also believed to generate a tough character and wild and aggressive people. The concept of wild nature and the wild man settled into classical and Middle Age texts as opposites to a cultural and civilised man (Isaksson 2001). Isaksson (2001) highlights the fact that as early as 1684, the French medical doctor and orientalist, Francois Bernier, described the Sámi people's racial status in his short article. Therefore, the Sámi were mentioned in first race typology. Bernier's race typology clearly draws a picture: The Lappish (the Sámi) were wretched animals, stunted creatures with thick legs, broad shoulders, short necks and enormously lengthened faces. In short, according to Bernier, they were very ugly.

In the most famous study of the Sámi in history, *Lapponia*, Schefferus describes the Sámi people as large-headed with broad foreheads, grey-blue eyes, eyes from the deep, with short, flat noses and, for most of the Sámi, wide, protruding mouths. Further, the people are said to be of a rather small stature due to the cold as well as the food, which is not nourishing and does not develop the body structure (Schefferus 1963/ 1673). Johannes Torneus (1983) and Jean-Francois Regnard (1982) describe the Lappish to their readers as whimsical, with partly alienating features.

Physical anthropology has undoubtedly left its mark. All the classical race theories were somehow hierarchical and appraising. In the classifications of the 1800s, the Sámi were considered far from the intrinsic values of the true and beautiful European tradition. The debate condenses to a question of conquerors and conquered, the winners and the extinction of the condemned and the power of the Aryan elite and the conviction of breeds. The discourse led to the Sámi being closed outside of nationhood (Isaksson 2001).

Since the 1800s, during the building of nationhood, the Sámi were defined as others, external, strange, exotic and an undeveloped,

disappearing people. Vesa Puuronen (2014) researched how this starting point has affected the Sámi by interviewing Sámi people. Speaking the Sámi language was not allowed widely in education until the 1950s, and this led to assimilation. There are also many kinds of discrimination; for example, Puuronen mentions linguistic discrimination at present-day schools. Sámi linguistic rights are realised to varying degrees.

The Sámi people have encountered more or less conscious assimilation aspirations for centuries, first with the Christian church and continuing through to measures instituted by the school system. Education focused on the Sámi people has left behind chains of lost generations with respect to Sámi language and culture. Each country in which the Sámi people live has implemented either written or non-visible forms of assimilation. A large-scale language exchange occurred due to nationalist aspirations, especially after the Second World War (Seurujärvi-Kari 2012). The language change is confirmed by the fact that school education did not use the minority language on a large scale before 1980. For instance, in Norway, the teacher's task was to urge parents not to use the minority language in their families as a home language. However, in recent decades, the large national stories and the emphasis on homogeneity have given way, as previously assumed assimilated ethnic or other minority groups have become visible in a new way in the society. Criticism is directed inter alia towards church and school activities. At the same time, the politicised and lived discourse about socialisation and identification has been enhanced within the Sámi's own culture and among their ethnic group members (Anttonen 2010).

> I remember when I was in school, there were also Sámi speaking children who were in the Sámi class,and always wore Sámi traditional clothes during festivities, so I recognized them as fully Sámi. And Imyself was only a quarter of that, because I didnot know the Sámi language properly, I only studied it inschool. I had Sámi traditional clothes, but I didnot use them so often. I naturally compared (myself) to thoseothers. They had much more Sáminess, it was much more visual in their life, and consequently they areSámi, but I am nothing more than part-Sámi. (Interview 2014)

School Experiences

We have gathered Sámi experiences in post-assimilationist situations in Finland, where Sámi schooling has been realised to varying degrees at different times. The enlightenment period created people with ecclesiastical teaching, and at that time, it was stated that educating the Sámi people was more appropriate than repressing them (Lindmark 2014).

By this, it was meant that the Sámi people were chosen as active targets of civilisation instead of repression. During the nationalism period, the Sámi were not the targets of straight assimilation, yet as a result of the *One nation, one language* policy, attempts were made to make them Finnish through putting in an effort to emphasise the Finnish language and Finnish nationhood, despite the Sámi language. J.V. Snellman and Uno Cygnaeus were conducting schooling ideology, which emphasised through Finnish nation-building and Finnish language (Paksuniemi 2009). In the early periods of church folk education, before the beginning of formal schooling, in linguistically powerful Sámi language areas except Sodankylä, the Sámi language was given attention at least as an auxiliary language (e.g. in Utsjoki). In sociologically weak linguistic areas, such as in Enontekiö, the Sámi language was taught only every now and then before recent decades (Lassila 2001b). Christian texts served as learning materials (Capdeville 2014).

In practice, the folk school instruction of Sámi areas took place in Finnish, although in principle, the Act of 1871 stated that the language of folk school instruction should be adapted according to the local population's language ("sovitettaman väestön kielen mukaan"). In 1934, an ABC book in the Sámi language (*Samikiel abis,* T.I. Itkonen) was published, but it had little effect on the language of instruction, since this was often the Finnish language despite the act (Capdeville 2014). Nationalism, which started in the mid-nineteenth century, culminated in the post-Second World War period when the Sámi language was even forbidden at schools in some places, where pupils were not allowed to speak Sámi to each other. According to Veli-Pekka Lehtola, the reason for using Finnish language in Sámi areas with Sámi pupils was the lack of Sámi-speaking personnel and the lack of Sámi teaching material. Hence, Sámi parents resisted and sometimes officials resisted Sámi-speaking instruction (Lehtola 2012). Instruction at folk schools was not held in the Sámi language, even not by a Sámi-speaking teacher:

> When I went to folk school in the Utsjoki municipality, I already could speak Finnish. I learnt from neighbours. The Finnish language at that time seemed to be obvious at school. At school, it was nice, even though the discipline was tough. In PE teaching, you got a pointer on your back if you did not stand straight — beaten with a stick on the back. Some children were beaten on the fingers. The Sámi-speaking teacher spoke the Finnish language when teaching. (Interview, 2016)

Minna Rasmus (2008) writes that the prohibition against Sámi language usage was not unconditional in the schools and dormitories, but the Sámi

language usage area became smaller until it was almost non-existent. The reason was the negative atmosphere towards the Sámi language and the fact that the folk schools' instruction language was Finnish. The result of these Sámi school history experiences was a large-scale language shift. In Finland, there are now three threatened Sámi languages: The North, Inari and Skolt Sámi languages. Assimilation has also sped up through modernisation, industrialism, urbanisation and migration (Bull 1994). The language shift has affected individual motivation; the language shift stems from people's own desire to adapt to the weak support of society (Perridon 1994). According to Marjut Anttonen (2010), despite a conscious choice, the language change is usually an emotional and painful process.

The language change has been confirmed through the ages as the Sámi language has not been used in teaching in schools at all times. In the research material, there is a clear difference between the folk school and elementary school. One interviewee has gone first to a folk school and later to an elementary school. About the Sámi language, she says:

> Only Finnish was used at folk school. There was no possibility of using Sámi. When the folk school ended and the elementary school started, at junior high school, then we had an hour or two per week of lessons about the Sámi language. This was North Sámi. In addition, there was teaching in Inari Sámi, but not in Skolt Sámi. (Interview 2015)

In the teaching of subjects other than handicrafts, there was little Sámi content:

> We learnt song 'Lake Inari' in Sámi and a Christmas song during the whole school. In handicrafts, there was more Sámi content: we made narrow reed tape, a Sámi garment and a coffee bag made from reindeer leather. In the boys' class, horn work was taught. (Interview 2015)

In addition to feelings of losing the mother tongue, homelessness and mental violence describe the school experiences of Sámi children. Catechist institutes finished their activities in 1954, but the transition from solid circulating schools to integral school system brought no improvement in Sámi education. Often, even small Sámi children were forced to leave their homes and move to dormitories (Lehtola 2012). Dormitory experiences were traumatic, as illustrated in the following quotation:

> We went to citizen school in Inari. It was a horrible time. On weekends, we took a long trip home by bus. Bullying between children was hard. It

> was mental abuse, but not physical. Bullying was practised among children between the villages. I did not enjoy living in the dormitory, because discipline was tough. However, it was bound to be. We had to clean up public spaces. (Interview 2016)

The dormitory and school system can be said to have participated in the forced assimilation of the Sámi (Rasmus 2008). Skolt Sámi person describes school experiences in the 1950s through the contemporary accent of Finnishness and the Finnish language, which has been responsible for part of the Sámi language shift:

> I went to school eight kilometres from home. At our school, there were approximately 100 pupils, and they came there from nearby and from farther off areas. The dormitory was next to the school, and many pupils lived there. I did not want to stay there. I stayed only a couple of times, when the outdoor temperature was terribly cold or we had a skiing competition. We spoke Skolt Sámi at home, but we were not allowed to speak it at all. At school, only Finnish was spoken, and we were taught in the Finnish language. There were two Sámi language-speaking children, who spoke Inari Sámi and Skolt Sámi. It was very hard when the speaking of Sámi was forbidden. And many of children stopped speaking Sámi entirely. It was the Finnish-hood that dominated. (Interview 2014)

According to Raija Erkkilä and Eila Estola (2014), going to school meant that you had to be away from your home the whole time. According to Rasmus (2008), dormitory life was often hard for Sámi children, and in extreme cases, it meant abandoning the Sámi language and culture. Dormitory life brought Sámi children a new life with new customs, food and culture (Rasmus 2008). In our interviews, the removal from home was mentioned; this move was often very hard for small children. At school, the experiences varied. Being a pupil could mean children being left to survive alone. The school and dormitory system distanced children and youth from their homes and from Sámi culture, and among other reasons, these experiences have often led to the youth moving from Sámi areas to South Finland. After school, it was hard for students to adapt themselves to home, and many of the youth decided to leave home early in life (see Huuva and Blind 2015):

> Once I ran away home by walking 30 km, when I missed home so much. Next day, they brought me back to school by horse. After dormitory life,

> I did not feel home as a home any longer. I left as a young person, going to South Finland, early in life. I have not returned. (Interview 2015)

Children spent a large part of their childhoods in a foreign growing environment, so they faced a wide range of loading factors, such as being away from family, bullying and dormitory staff negligence. According to the data, minors living in the dormitory were exposed, for example, as targets for sexual acts:

> Dormitory children were forced to be sexually involved with older children of the dormitory. No one was taking care of dormitory children, because the young dormitory custodians did not look after them. The children were by themselves. (Interview 2015)

Although experiences of being bullied and a lack of proper pedagogy are not minority-specific experiences, they are significant; however, as Sámi children endured negative treatment for a long period during their childhoods (Keskitalo et al. 2016). In addition, most Sámi were affected by dormitory life as a negative phenomenon, while only a small portion of the majority of the population went to school dormitories. Thus, the dormitory experiences' impact on the entire Sámi population and culture is significant. On a large scale, negative treatment has extensive and far-reaching psychological, economic, social and societal consequences up to the present day (Laiho 2006; Turunen 2004).

The emphasis on competition and success brought about bullying. No one provided support for pupils in difficult situations. They were left all alone:

> Between the pupils, it was a tough race. If you got a bad grade on any examination, the pupil was bullied. The teacher said the number aloud as the grades were ready. I remember when I was sick, and then we had a math test when I came back to school. Therefore, I got a bad grade, of course. The teacher shared the results, and I got five and a half. The gang went behind me after school and shouted all the way home, "Ha, 5.5." It continued for many days. In fact, I did not bother to tell of the bullying at home. I did not want to burden the parents, and on the other hand, I was afraid of the risk of penalties at school because of possible snitching. (Interview 2016)

Sámi school experiences caused frustration for the Sámi people, because of the ethnic mobilisation in the 1960s. The revitalisation of Sámi

languages emerged as a key objective of the 1990s (Nyyssönen 2014a). Today, Finnish education is provided in the student's native language, Sámi. The development of Sámi language teaching took place in the 1970s, at the time of the establishment of a primary school. Bilingualism has been stressed since the 1980s (Aikio-Puoskari 2014).

Mediating Structures

Empowerment, revitalisation, education and research are the core components of the transformation of and a future for indigenous peoples. Today, Sámi pupils are members of a future society. It is necessary to explore what kind of Sámi society is desired, what kind of values are important and what kind of issues should be changed. The objective of research is to identify issues of oppression and indignity and to try to solve them (see Suoranta and Ryynänen 2014). In addition, mediating structures corroborate human rights, which aim to include all peoples and involve them in the development of society. Language revitalisation benefits mediating structures, since it enforces individuals' language learning and hence increases language domains. Mediating structures also aim to tackle—at a societal level, at a practical macro and micro level and at an individual level—the complicated practical and psychological issues that may help or hinder language revitalisation.

In the context of Sámi education, colonial history and asymmetrical power relations have prevented the Sámi from forming their own school culture. The necessary mediating structures must take account of time, space and knowledge understanding, so that school timetables, space and knowledge are rethought and the Sámi knowledge system and values are placed at the core (Keskitalo 2010). Family culture and school culture should be compounded in order to empower the people (Berger and Neuhaus 1970). Further, Kari Nurmi and Seppo Kontiainen (1995) adapted a model about mediating structures that could operate in an intercultural educational context. Generally, in an intercultural context, cultural conflict is inevitable. Mediating structures communicate between the past, the present and the future circumferentially. Families, neighbourhood groups, religious groups and voluntary associations were also mentioned in Vivian Johnson's (1994) research as mediating structures; such structures are intercultural educational tools. Through mediating structures, it is possible to resolve a school's culture and any possible cultural conflicts (Keskitalo 2010).

The Sámi people have experienced racism during their lifespan. We suggest that Sámi education, the separate research discipline, could solve the problems the Sámi people have faced. It is more than time to work on revitalisation and healing. Sámi education is a tool by which to learn diverse, interdisciplinary, unique subject matter. It also has unique aspects, challenges and responses. According to Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), it is important to develop indigenous capacities, theories, methodologies, analytical categories and ways of thinking and being. She further states that it is important to develop indigenous peoples' own evidence platforms, so that the discourse is about that what makes them succeed. Indigenous people need to prioritise and respond to their own aspirations and anxieties.

Aimo Aikio (2010) comments that as Sámi education has been discoloured by the long history of assimilation, the most important Sámi educational goal is therefore the teaching of coping skills. In order to learn to cope, Sámi education aims for learners to be naturally helpful, peaceful, amicable, situation satisfied, curious in a familiar group, hard-working and imaginative (Aikio 2010). These personality traits have an inevitable impact on language revitalisation. Such revitalisation could therefore be further developed through education, which relies on these traits. Among other things, the mediation of Sámi education is interested in how education can disassemble oblique and unequal connections between communities. Another important development measure involves looking at how we can strengthen the pedagogical research concerning mediating and inclusive indigenous identities. Several issues have become topical lately in the context of indigenous education, and they will help to dismantle the heritage of assimilation (see Denzin et al. 2008).

In the End

In this chapter, through school history and ideologies, we have showcased racialisation and histories of racialisation against the Sámi in Finland. Karla J. Williamson (2016) stated at the Kautokeino Arctic Indigenous Education conference that assimilation has brought to indigenous peoples a new belief system, 'better' language instead of indigenous languages, 'better' social organisation, settlement into urban areas, education, new knowledge, different values, job and wage earnings and citizenship in a nation. Williamson argues that indigenous peoples lost the power to talk about issues concerning them. Indigenous people are contesting for the ownership of their land, respect of their belief systems,

their language—at least to threatened level, has passed relocations and their indigenous social organisation and kin systems—and their identity. So the above-mentioned issues have become topical lately in the context of indigenous education and in the context of a heritage of assimilation. Research in this area would benefit from practical work with language revitalisation. Researchers and educators should thus work together to help language revitalisation to progress.

We have touched on the nature of mediating educational Sámi research, the base on which it will be built and the solutions it leads to. Systematic implementation of the role and content of the mediating education could remedy the previous racist education. The goal of indigenous education is to help people grow to be members of the indigenous peoples' community and society. Stressing the cultural background to enhance feelings of power and a sense of superiority does not acknowledge indigenous people but merely enacts aspects of essentialism and ethnocentrism, which unlawfully export racism within and against the indigenous peoples. According to our theoretical exploration, we suggest that mediating Sámi educational research adapts Sámi identity research and can serve as a means to explain the multicultural situation. Mediating Sámi research is a tool by which to explain the multicultural educational context. Mediating research points out the value of an inclusive, caring and participatory approach. Within this context, the mediating Sámi research includes many sides.

Through education, it is possible to problematise the stances of today's society and, through consciousness and activities, to pursue the greater expression of human rights. Empowerment, revitalisation and the aspirations possible through education and research are the important factors and goals of indigenous peoples' future. That is why it is important to be reflective concerning what kind of Sámi society we are building, what kinds of values are important and what kinds of things we must reverse or change. We want radical, multicultural inclusive revitalisation models, which are already in use in Norway and more or less in New Zealand. These models offer a way to increase the linguistic vitality of indigenous languages.

Research Data

The data includes five interviews by Pigga Keskitalo, Inker-Anni Linkola and Merja Paksuniemi about school history, 2014–2016, and 100 interviews about life experiences by Erika Sarivaara, 2015–2016.

Notes

1. Together with researchers Janne Saarikivi and Reetta Toivanen from the University of Helsinki.

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CHAPTER 3

Assimilation Vs. Inclusion—An Anti-oppressive Perspective on the Experiences of Participants in Integration Educations

Tobias Pötzsch

Introduction

> But sometimes I get the feeling here with multiculturalism that it has gone overboard where we have no right to say that this is a norm here. I am talking about where something is actually "good" and it seems that the attitude is always relative, very relative where our way is not better. But how can you say that for everything? How can everything be absolutely relative?

The above quote of a senior instructor at NorQuest College[1] reflects the ambivalence and insecurities experienced by many teachers and administrators in struggling with questions of integrating official doctrines on multiculturalism into an integration program aimed at educating migrants in Canadian language and culture. It seeks clarification of program aims in a society founded on official policies of multiculturalism

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and challenges conceptions of inclusion. As such, the statement throws into sharp relief the tension between assimilationist approaches based on essentialist understandings of culture versus inclusion-based, fluid or co-constructed ideas of culture where norms are negotiated in dialogues emphasising diversity among egalitarian social actors. What forms does or should inclusion take? If it holds true, as Zygmunt Baumann (2000, p. 86) posits that 'whatever road to integration is chosen it starts from diversity, leads through diversity and is unlikely to reach beyond it …,' can anti-oppressive practice (AOP) perspectives offer new ways of conceptualising inclusion?

Background

The source material which provides the framework for the chapter, was obtained during fieldwork conducted between June and November of 2015 at NorQuest College in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. It explores how Canada's National Integration Program, Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC), is practically realised and how those who work and participate in the program experience it.[2] The study occupies a unique position as there is limited previous research examining the nature and implementation of integration programs from an anti-oppressive perspective. The Canadian case was deliberately chosen as an example of national discourses on inclusion being founded upon multiculturalist ideals, distinguishing it from traditions in most Nordic welfare states. Indeed, research evidence suggests that compared with nearly all Western democracies, Canadian migrants[3] and visible or religious minorities demonstrate higher levels of social, political and economic integration and that official policies of multiculturalism are instrumental to this outcome (Bloemraad 2006; Adams 2007; Kymlicka 2010).

LINC Education and Previous Research

Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) is a federally funded program introduced by the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CIC) in 1992 (Cervatiuc and Ricento 2012). According to its mission statement, it is designed to facilitate the integration of migrants into Canadian culture by providing language and settlement training and by offering students a platform to develop academic, social and employment competences. In Alberta, prerequisites for student eligibility include permanent residence status and the

provision of a Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB) assessment from a Language Assessment Referral and Counselling Centre (LARCC), completed within the previous 6 months. CLB levels are assigned by looking at how learners accrue skills and develop competences in completing assigned learning tasks although they focus primarily on linguistic competences. (Derwing and Waugh 2012; Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2015).

Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) as implemented at NorQuest College is structured around three educational streams: foundational/literacy, building academic skills and basic studies. This structure aims for students of the same educational background to be grouped together so that literacy or foundational classes include students having 0–10 years of education while regular integration stream classes comprise those with more than 10 years of formal schooling. The program offers courses intended to help students improve their English proficiency, as well as develop intercultural, employment, teamwork and IT skills. These include full- and part-time studies as well as specialised classes organised in flexible time schedules for full-time employed students. All courses employ various components of synchronous, asynchronous and online learning strategies. Student support services including career counsellors, settlement workers and student advisors complement the program.

Although the largest group of NorQuest LINC's 1500 students are university educated, their numbers have clearly been declining while the numbers of students with 0–9 years of education are increasing. The main countries of student origin are China, Ethiopia, Somalia and Eritrea. Many are unemployed but seeking work and there is a clear upward trend in terms of students' part-time employment. The majority of those working, commonly within the cleaning and retail sectors, have career aspirations in Health Care and other related fields. The LINC Program follows NorQuest College's task and outcomes-based educational approach to learning, which emphasises applied knowledge and skills rather than stressing content, the focal point of a traditional content-based approach (Lefebvre 2014). One outcome of this emphasis on applied, 'real-life' skills has been the adoption of Portfolio-Based Learning Assessments (PBLA) as the foundation for curricular development. Ideally, PBLAs have been conceived of as tools for empowering students to take ownership of their learning progress and ways for teachers to re-conceptualise 'learning' relationships in line with more horizontal power arrangements. They emphasise a collaborative approach

where teachers in cooperation with students are to set language-learning goals, collect evidence of language proficiency and other competencies in individual portfolios and reflect on learning progress over time. Curricular theme choices such as Canadian Politics & Law, Health Care and Employment, among others, are to be negotiated and decided upon in student groups. Themes are constructed around the four skill areas of Listening, Speaking, Reading, and Writing and are aimed at integrating students into their adopted communities and spheres of employment (Pettis 2014). It must be added, however, that although LINC federal curricular documents present suggested topics as well as teaching aides, they are not prescriptive. Topic selection, structure and implementation leave a great deal of room for interpretation and experimentation. Moreover, given the various provincial manifestations of LINC; integration educations and curricula can vary widely from province to province or even school to school.

Studies examining the LINC program have been prolific and wide-ranging since its inception. They have shone a critical spotlight on issues of program and teacher ideology, curriculum content, accessibility, and teaching practice, among others. However, while the personal motivations of teachers and interactions with students as well as the nature and applicability of curricular contents have been researched, a structural, anti-racist or anti-oppressive analysis of the societal and institutional norms which 'colour' what is taught and how is largely absent. Similarly, under-researched are the effects created by structural forces such as, for example, legislation concerning the recognition of foreign qualifications or social assistance regulations and how these circumscribe the lives of LINC students and thereby their educational participation. I am referring here to forces from beyond the walls of the institution and how these affect program participants and delivery.

Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) studies can roughly be divided into those examining teaching practices and ideologies and those focusing on curricular issues. With reference to the former, studies have pointed to a need for more self-reflection and critical thinking skills among teachers (Sauvé 1996) as well as a re-examination of teacher roles in line with more empowering educator-learner partnerships (Khalideen 1998; James 2000; Ilieva 2001). They have further raised the issue of teacher disenfranchisement from decisions affecting LINC program mandates and curriculum development (Richardson in

Pinet 2006). Cervatuic and Ricento (2012) in examining the 'hidden curriculum' of unstated norms, values and beliefs guiding teachers and teaching found that it was reflected in either an indifference to migrant problems or the idyllic belief that they face no challenges borne of an overly positive view of Canadian society. As a consequence, critical thinking on social issues related to migrant's lives was not promoted, learners had little input on discussion topics and were encouraged to adapt to Canadian society. Cleghorn (in Pinet 2007) in drawing upon interview material with LINC administrators, teachers and students in a Toronto community education centre found that a focus on unilateral cultural transmission and on 'what learners can do' essentially precluded meaningful dialogues of migrant experiences thus reinforcing a 'vertical mosaic' of cultural belonging and citizenship.

Research on the aims and usage of LINC curricula and how these reflect a particular integration ideology has also yielded interesting conclusions. Cray (1997) found that LINC curricula were under-used by teachers and unsuited to teaching writing as a social practice (Cray and Currie 2004). Derwing et al. (1998) and Thomson and Derwing (2004) point to the lack of a participatory citizenship orientation in LINC, where a predominant focus on language proficiency often precluded opportunities for social inclusion. Their recommendations in promoting participation included, among others, extending CIC's Community Connections program to facilitate migrants' social networking possibilities and sharing information on successful inclusion programs among various levels of government. These findings are echoed by Morgan (2002) who emphasised a curricular shift towards topics of identity politics as well as social and community engagement to challenge inequitable power relations outside of the classroom. This transformative pedagogical approach is also espoused in a study by Robert Pinet (2007) which focused on curricular development and implementation by analysing LINC curricular material and interviews with staff. His findings align with those of James (2000) by exposing the clear imbalance between 'Canadiana' vs. other curricular materials reflecting cultural diversity and students' migrant experiences thereby exposing a *discursive discrimination* (Boréus 2006) in which the lack of references to minority groups reflects the general discourse instead of being a one-off omission in an instructional text.

Theory

Anti-Oppressive Practice

Today's increasingly pluralistic, multicultural societies engage social educators, social workers and other welfare providers in a series of seminal yet also contradictory discourses. Many discussions focus on the necessity of European countries, Finland among them, to more effectively integrate newcomers though it has been argued that current practice methodologies do not sufficiently incorporate principles of cultural awareness and anti-racism. (e.g. Dei 1999; Gundara 2000; Baines 2007; Blomberg-Kroll et al. 2008; Laird 2008; Cox and Pawar 2013; Mullaly 2010; Jønsson et al. 2013; Kivisto and Wahlbeck 2013; De Roo et al. 2014). Although many services aimed at the integration of ethnic minorities claim to be based on values of empowerment and cultural equality, these concepts are often interpreted differently and founded on little specific theory or practical methodology (Sue 2006; Sisneros et al. 2008). It is not surprising then, that AOP developed within the field of social work in the 1980s in the U.K. and Canada with its more radical interpretation of work with socially excluded clients as a partial, political enterprise and its aims of challenging oppression and power imbalances has been one conceptualisation seeking to redress these shortcomings. AOP's dissemination has also been facilitated by changing attitudes among minority groups who themselves began to challenge present patterns of power. Relying on the perspectives of oppressed groups to define their own needs and challenges has helped workers to utilise this knowledge to develop alternative models of working (Payne 1997, p. 263).

In anti-oppressive models, 'the personal becomes political' (Mullaly 2010) meaning that social inequalities and personal problems are not placed at the door of individual pathology or family shortcomings, but are rather seen as reflections of structural inequalities in society through which dominant groups socially exclude others from true participatory citizenship. Therefore, the foundation for interaction between social actors and clients within AOP is derived from a detailed analysis and understanding of the views and experiences of disempowered groups, while fostering their involvement in the development and self-management of social welfare services. In so doing, one seeks to reverse the debilitating process of silencing the voices of those who are shut out from participating in decisions affecting their own welfare. Wilson and

Beresford (2000, p. 554) characterise AOP as an emancipatory approach to work committed to social justice, social change and assisting people who have been subjugated by structural inequalities in reversing their position. Other common elements in definitions of AOP are self-reflexivity, client partnership, social equality, empowerment and structural analyses of power (see Preston-Shoot 1995; Dalrymple and Burke 1997; Keating 2000; Valtonen 2001; Chand et al. 2002; Dominelli 1997, 2002; Russell and White 2002; Mullaly 2010, 1997; Baines 2007; Lundy 2004; Shera 2003; Hick 2002, 2009; Brown and Strega 2005; Sakamoto 2005).

Conceived from its inception as a practice methodology, AOP has often been visually represented by concentric models which emphasise the need for social workers and social educators to concurrently strive for change on personal, cultural and socio-structural levels (see Dalrymple and Burke 1997; Thompson 1997). These models employ a circular design to demonstrate the interconnectedness of the person in the social environment and the multidisciplinary, multi-positional strategies necessary for resistance. This explains why AOP frameworks emphasise personal reflexivity and interpersonal interactions informed by critical social analyses as equally important as partnership strategies to confront oppression on cultural and structural levels. An important aspect when discussing social change as represented in the aforementioned concentric models is that these processes do not occur step by step, nor that they necessarily begin at the personal niveau and culminate in political action. All levels are interconnected and interdependent with activity occurring simultaneously on a number of planes. Sometimes political activity precedes personal empowerment, but most certainly changes on one level permeate all. This demonstrates the models' fluid and reconstructive nature with the crucial element being the obligation to strive for change on all levels.

By emphasising oppression's intersectionality mediated by a myriad of identity markers such as class, gender, age, disability, sexuality etc., an anti-oppressive lens seems to offer advantages over single-strand models of oppression inherent in some forms of anti-racism. Singular models tend to assume a certain non-existent homogeneity within or among groups subjugated by racism or any other form of oppression, often reducing origins to singular causes. In addition, such approaches hold little potential for solidarity and joint action by 'othered'[4] individuals and groups and provide few answers for overcoming the divisions currently existing among them (Mullaly 2010). However, models conceptualising

the intersectionality of different oppressions (see Sisneros et al. 2008) illustrate how these intersect, change and become mutually reinforcing in everyday life. Making links between oppressions requires recognising commonalities and specificities in oppressions' different forms and experiences as prerequisites for efforts at social transformation. In making these links, AOP can contribute a wider perspective to those debates on anti-racism in education which predominantly focus on issues of racial or ethnic discrimination as forces of social exclusion within school curricula, pedagogics and institutional practice.

Having said this, AOP shares anti-racist education's goal of promoting critical discourse on race and racism in society and of interrogating the continuing racialising of social groups for differential and unequal treatment (Egbo 2008). It also sutures issues of racial and social difference to those of power and oppression rather than explaining these by pointing to cultural differences. It is in response to another of anti-racism's aims, that of achieving institutional, systemic change to address racism, that AOP's practice focus may be of particular use. By promoting simultaneous efforts at social transformation targeting personal, cultural and socio-structural levels, it presents a counterpoint to those discourses in anti-racist education which confine efforts at change solely within the walls of the institution while limiting its gaze and engagement beyond them (Kumashiro 2000). Building community and societal networks represents an integral component of AOP's social change agenda. It is based on the recognition that social partnerships reflect and enhance 'glocal' embeddedness and that issues of racism with their societal origins require cross-sectorial, collective responses. Opening up institutions to both community involvement and scrutiny from without is a necessary part of this process as is the grass roots, bottom-up way of working which underpins anti-oppressive conceptions of partnership. In seeking to contribute to debates on anti-racism in education by presenting an AOP perspective on the social inclusion of adult migrant students, it is my contention that good AOP emphasising interventions on interpersonal and societal levels represents good anti-racist practice.

Integration, Inclusion and Assimilation

To this point, I have utilised the terms of social inclusion and integration interchangeably in juxtaposing them with assimilationist immigration ideologies, which stand as the antitheses to diversity and egalitarian

cultural plurality. In fact, the meaning(s) of the aforementioned terms are actively debated and critically contested. Social inclusion as conceptualised within critical theory in the social sciences and social work has been defined as the 'realisation of full and equal participation in the economic, social, cultural and political dimensions of life in [immigrants'] new country' (Omidvar and Richmond 2003, p. 1). However, some theorists go further in suggesting that sweeping structural changes are required in the way, we arrange our societies in order to achieve this due to the constriction of democratic potential within territorial nation states. In seeking to redress the 'undesirable' consequences of globalisation such as increasing social diversity and migration, states are increasingly involved in projects aimed at social cohesion where the rallying cry around shared values, beliefs or histories often results in policies of negation and exclusion. Angus Stewart, therefore, posits that a commitment to social inclusion necessitates the pursuit of deliberative democracy and a distributive justice of equality. 'Such a pursuit addresses inequalities of class, gender, race, and religion as structured obstacles to the effective exercise of political agency and confronts institutional domination whether bureaucratic, economic or cultural' (2000, p. 69). A prerequisite for social transformation on this scale is the recognition that present institutional structures are contingent, impermanent and subject to democratic reform and critique. Inclusion so envisaged is not based on 'integrationist' responses which often presume absorption into something; into a pre-defined, static, national entity. Instead, it entails a 'participationist' response where one is not included into pre-existing social, political and economic arrangements but rather into a structural process where the fluid nature of such arrangements is consistently renegotiated on principles of egalitarianism and the full exercise of *political agency*.[5] Inclusion here is not prescriptive. It is a dynamic, involving and evolving process. Its means and methods are changeable and adaptable to the specifics of social circumstances. As such, it must be recognised that all projects of inclusion have the potential of generating new forms of exclusion subject in their turn to critique and democratic reform (Askonas and Stewart 2000).

Integration as an ideal shares the characteristics of ensuring migrants' participation as equals in both public and private societal spheres and envisages this process as multifarious with reciprocal responsibilities shared between newcomers and the host society (Kymlicka 2010; Reinsch 2001). In practice though, it has been criticised as a

thinly veiled attempt of many European countries to assimilate cultural and other differences into the essentialist narratives of 'homogenous' national cultures, effectively turning a 'two-way street' into a one-way cul-de-sac of ethnic hierarchies and social exclusion. Arguments used to justify assimilative integration measures are often couched in paternalistic terms citing economic or social justifications to disenfranchise, silence and render migrants legally incompetent. The underlying attitude of 'we know what's best for immigrants' robs the latter of their critical engagement and agency and creates relationships of dependence for which they are later chastised (Goldberg 1994). Kritnet (Netzwerk Kritische Migrations—and Grenzregimforschung), a network of critical researchers and academics examining topics of migration and border regimes has gone so far as to depict integration as the 'enemy of democracy' in an initiative entitled *Demokratie statt Integration* where integration means 'das man Menschen die in diesem Land arbeiten und Kinder bekommen, alt werden und sterben, einen Verhaltenskodex aufnötigt, bevor sie gleichberechtigt dazugehören(Kritnet.org).'[6]

Anti-oppressive discourses recognise the pejorative associations connected with these interpretations of integration. In fact, neither integration nor inclusion are unproblematic concepts. Both can be understood in hegemonic and oppressive ways and much depends on how these processes are practically conceived and enacted. For example, integration still holds positive connotations for many practitioners and teachers who describe it largely in terms of the aforementioned definitions of inclusion. In such inclusion-based understandings of integration, it is defined as 'where the responsibility of the host society to provide resources, services and supports in the adjustment process rests less on the part of the newcomer and more on the ability of agencies to accommodate these so-called 'differential needs' (Yee 2005, p. 99). Such inclusion presupposes a *parity of participation* in social arrangements. Parity of participation has a double meaning that affirms the inherent reflexive character of democratic justice. On the one hand, it is an outcome notion which permits us to evaluate social arrangements as just only if all relevant social actors participate as equals. On the other hand, it is also a process notion which outlines specific standards of procedure allowing us to evaluate the democratic legitimacy of norms; the latter being legit only if they can be embraced by all in a fair and open process of deliberation (Hick and Thomas 2009). In this understanding, mere social participation is not sufficient if the structures within which such participation

takes place are skewed in favour of dominant groups (i.e. Anglo-centric hiring practices). The other part of the definition, mainly the standards of procedure allowing for an evaluation of the legitimacy of norms, refers specifically to the structural conditions in which such participation takes place. Are these and the hegemonic ideologies which underpin them also open to critique and reform? What constitutes a fair and open process before conditions for parity can be met?

Integration so conceived emphasises a reconceptualisation of the paternalistic state responses to immigration characteristic of many European countries which place the burden of responsibility on the shoulders of already marginalised migrants. In so doing, they covertly promote assimilation to an unequal society which cements inequalities both economic and social (Lentin and Titley 2011). At its heart, AOP represents a bottom-up approach which is predicated upon clients setting the boundaries for interactions with authorities based upon their own needs and interests. The key in this type of social partnership is to reduce power imbalances by providing clients 'real' opportunities to be involved in deciding over their own welfare and allowing them to seize these. This empowering dynamic includes supporting the choices of migrants regarding the nature of integration strategies central to their acculturation. It further necessitates that workers and educators act as facilitators in helping clients build upon their existing knowledge and strengths. Power relationships are suddenly inverted when educators relinquish their role as experts to become learners, 'walking a mile in their clients' moccasins' to co-construct helping relationships from the ground up. In such an understanding of partnership, agreements are negotiated and not imposed.

It is here the emancipatory potential of AOP based on a multi-level social change agenda offers interesting alternatives to current resettlement practice. An integral component, reflecting the 'personal level' in anti-oppressive models revolves around the ability of educators and social workers to be self-reflexive in unearthing individually held ethnocentric biases or egocentric values and fostering resistance to conformity in order to make changes in the social world they share with their clients (Fook and Gardener 2007). In addition, effecting social change at cultural and structural levels requires the mutual development of political agency to mean that in order for migrants or groups of workers to have an impact on policies, they must act collectively to transform political relationships and the power structures which support them

(Payne et al. 2002). Best AOP's are grass roots oriented and create spaces for joint social action. Thus, educators have an obligation to support the integration choices of their clients even if it means challenging the structural arrangements which obfuscate their realisation. In so doing, they advance parity of participation combining politics of redistribution with those of recognition and ultimately the right of all to be 'differently equal' (Hick et al. 2005).

Methodology

Data Collection

Anti-oppressive research embodies a collaborative, participant-centred, emancipatory methodology in which responsibility and accountability of process and outcome are collectively shared. (Braidotti 2002; Yellow Bird et al. 2013; Brown and Strega 2005; Denzin and Giradina 2010). Such an approach is methodologically and epistemologically distinctive as it focuses specifically on how principles of social justice in shifting power to insiders, community building and working for change are put into practice (Brown and Strega 2005). Inductive qualitative methods are often deemed ideal in highlighting participants' voices to contest mainstream and dominant perceived truths about the Other (Moosa-Mitha 2005). Two questions designed to guide the researcher in integrating an anti-oppressive approach are can participants see themselves in the study, and does the analysis ring true to participants? (Potts and Brown 2005) The most explicit way of answering 'yes' to both questions is if participants actively engage in deciding study parameters.

My research data consists of 22 in-depth qualitative interviews with NorQuest LINC teachers, administrators and counsellors. Interviews varied in length from 45 to 90 min and were based on a semi-structured interview guide. Discussion topics included LINC aims, self-reflexivity, cultural accommodation, agency, partnerships and structural factors. Staff were recruited during initial information and discussion sessions which served to introduce my study, elicit questions and discuss the ethical implications further explained in letters of consent. In addition, 9 small group interviews with 47 adult migrant students studying in LINC integration programs were carried out varying in length from 35 to 70 min. Discussions with students who ranged in CLB language

ability levels from 3 to 6 were free-flowing with themes co-constructed between participants in keeping within a critical anti-oppressive research paradigm. Topics arising from student interviews ranged from views on program structure, teaching, studies and life, student agency and cultural inclusion. Student groups were recruited in information sessions akin to those for staff with letters of consent tailored to specific language levels. Lastly, student interviews were supplemented with 6 weeks of participant class observation with four LINC groups including sharing in extra-curricular activities.

In returning to the questions gauging the anti-oppressive nature of research referred to above, the data collection process with migrant students reflected a collaborative approach, even though the methods of collection were decided by the researcher. Participation was negotiated in information sessions and supplemented by individual discussions eliciting consent. Furthermore, interviews were not pre-structured and themes emerged creatively depending upon the varying constitutions of student groups. Giving voice and choice to participants dictated arrangements; a policy which also guided my interactions during the observation period where I participated as one of the group in all activities. With NorQuest staff, however, given time and logistical constraints, the interview process became more researcher-centred. Interview guides were semi-structured and although transcripts were sent for approval upon request, similar open collaborations in shaping the process of data collection were limited.

Margaret Boushel (2000) argues that researcher reflexivity is crucial in anti-oppressive research because we develop an *experiential interdependence*, or the almost unconscious perpetuation of dominant roles given us by our status within powerful groups which must be interrogated. Being a white, educated male from an Anglo-Saxon Western country, I belong, by virtue of my background to a dominant group and yet my migrant background in Canada, arriving as a political refugee, and spending my formative years in Edmonton placed me in the eyes of many LINC students in the position of someone 'who had made it', creating feelings of positive regard which facilitated my interaction with them. The fact that I had studied within the Faculty of Education at the University of Alberta also provided me with links to the staff at NorQuest many of whom had similar educational backgrounds.

Data Analysis

Anti-oppressive principles as applied to data analysis question to what extent the reality of the Other is reflected in this process as well as how findings are presented and communicated. This study falls in many ways short of Bishop's principles of decolonising research which emphasise participant-driven solutions such as collaborative coding and shared partnerships in reporting and dissemination (Yellow Bird et al. 2013). Due to the limited duration of fieldwork, competing schedules of both staff and students and the summer term structure, I had limited access to many of my collaborators after the data collection phase which necessitated analysing the material alone. However, in seeking to represent the descriptions of participants' experiences as closely aligned to the data as possible, I opted for less-abstract approaches. Thus, the collected data was analysed employing inductive content analysis of transcribed interview material and observation logs. By adopting open coding from grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin 1998) in generating categories and themes, I have attempted to steer away from some of the more prescriptive approaches to content analysis (see Schreier 2012) which apply theory-driven pre-constructed coding frames and statistical representations in working with data. Data-driven, descriptive approaches to content analysis (see Hsieh and Shannon 2005) utilising open coding in conceptualising, defining and developing categories and axial coding in comparing categories and building thematic descriptions allow meaning to emerge without the imposition of pre-existing concepts. They can be used in developing a more general theory of what is going on, but do not depend on this theory (Flick 2014). This was especially useful in my case where themes were then juxtaposed with anti-oppressive theory allowing new understandings to emerge from this dialectic (Roulston 2014).

Folklorist, Barbro Klein (1990) postulated that transcription is in itself an analytic act guided by clear conscious choices on the part of the researcher as to how text should convey meaning. In this study, emphasising the communicative impact of participants' voices entailed that interviews were transcribed word for word but utterances such as 'uh' which obfuscated meaning were omitted from the final text. In turning to the process of writing log entries during the participant observation stage of the research, this procedure was complemented by the concurrent conducting of interviews. Reflecting on interview material while

engaged in observations and interactions with staff and students added another dimension to the entries. Log entries thus moved from the descriptive to the interpretive and correspondingly informed interview inquiries. Transcripts and observation logs were analysed post-fieldwork through open and axial coding employing both emic and etic codes in establishing core categories. The latter yielded themes such as Diversity of Choice, Voice and Experience; Cultural Relativism vs. Conformity; Structural Barriers; Inclusion vs. Assimilation; and Partnerships.

Although some of the truly collaborative potential of anti-oppressive data analysis was not realised in this study, other strategies were used to ensure that the analysis 'rang true' to participants and reflected their experiences. Transcripts were made available to contributors for perusal prior to being finalised. Dissemination presentations and discussions of findings individually tailored to both students and staff at NorQuest were arranged during which the main results were presented and interrogated. In the student sessions it became clear that the results validated their experiences with many wondering how and when changes would be implemented by administrators. The staff sessions also clarified findings and gave opportunities for many to critique those institutional procedures and practices they experienced as disempowering. Notes taken after the sessions served to further nuance understanding. Lastly, agreements for continued cooperation with NorQuest College have been made including additional planned visits and consultations.

Findings and Discussion

For the purpose of this chapter, I focus an anti-oppressive lens on the theme of Inclusion vs. Assimilation emerging from the data to highlight contested understandings of how inclusion is perceived and negotiated by staff and students at NorQuest LINC and suggest some ways forward. In AOP, social exclusion and oppression operate at personal, cultural and structural levels meaning that efforts at social inclusion must be correspondingly multifaceted and based on a reflexive praxis[7] between individuals, their cultural environments and the structures which support them (Baines 2007). Therefore, in examining contestations of inclusion, the sub-categories of *teaching culture & language, cultural negotiation, critical citizenship* and *fostering community partnerships* reflect multi-level discourses and responses which illuminate how this phenomenon

is practically interpreted both within the confines of the institution and beyond its walls.

Teaching Culture and Language

> I think this whole issue of "Canadian society", what is Canadian society? We don't ever problematise or look critically at that in a LINC context. It is all, multiculturalism is so wonderful and never mind that we are all settlers in this country. We are an occupier's land.

The above quote by a LINC instructor avows the need for more critical dialogue on perceived 'cultural facts' and dominant national identity discourses in the program which de-emphasise the history of colonial oppression in the process of Canadian nation-building. It further raises pertinent concerns as to how cultural knowledge is then transmitted to migrant students. As such, it illuminates a question central to inclusion, namely; how does one reconcile the co-constructed nature of Canada's cultural mosaic, which allows for a diversity of cultural traditions and "belongings" to be subsumed under a definition of "Canadian," with the aims of teaching a coherent culture and language. The quote further challenges teachers to expose the silences, the gaps in the story of Canada thereby interrogating the power relations underpinning dominant narratives. Previous studies (see Sauvé 1996; Ilieva 2001; Thomson and Derwing 2004) have pointed to the contentious nature of teaching Canadian culture due to the difficulty in articulating its essence. Some authors question if teaching culture as a disassociated classroom topic is even possible or if direct observation or cultural immersion in society are the only ways to achieve this (Fleming 2003). At NorQuest LINC, one commonly adopted strategy in seeking to reconcile the contradictions of cultural transmission with the postmodern realities of cultural pluralism is explained in the following way by a teaching staff member;

> I think most teachers in teaching Canada and culture and so on would… draw the distinction of this is how we do it in Canada, but also recognising, I'm not saying that this is the best way.

While this demonstrates an awareness of the multiplicity of competing values, beliefs and ways of life, it seems to implicitly accept the existence of an objectively definable 'Canadian culture'. One question this

approach raises is if such presentations of Canada include the cultural experiences of migrant students within such a definition? Critical understandings of multiculturalism[8] maintain that if students own cultural backgrounds are portrayed as distinct from, instead of a part of being Canadian, then they inevitably become cultural add-ons (Goldberg 1994). Anti-oppressive perspectives on inclusion at the personal level support the creation of more forums for dialogue where students and staff could interrogate the concept of 'Canadian' and the curricular materials which transmit such reflections. Such institutionally embedded forums, would also be invaluable in negotiating other issues such as those concerning religious and cultural allowances and develop critical self-reflexivity—the deliberate effort to foster resistance to conformity and ethnocentric biases (Fook and Gardner 2007). Moreover, they could make room for ad hoc cultural exchanges where learning about ourselves and others becomes inadvertent and incidental; something often referred to as the 'intangibles' inherent in multicultural educations. Consequently, they may even inform a 'hyperreflexivity' one of the components of which is the committed collaboration on an equal footing of all participants in the learning process (Dervin and Clark 2014). It is here the innovative implementations of PBLA as adopted by NorQuest which envision bottom-up, student-centred approaches in curriculum development could be instrumental in renegotiating *teaching culture*.

However, changes at cultural and structural levels can only be achieved if the forums of dialogue lead to an examination of the hidden assumptions and dominant narratives in curricular materials and change the concrete institutional procedures guiding how these are taught. Some suggestions by participants for inclusion-based strategies include broadening the programs' knowledge base to encompass more global perspectives and incorporating student-created instructional materials to reflect their stories and their realities in the learning tasks. The juxtaposition of different or more voices into a curriculum can create different 'stories', a different framework for thinking and acting in anti-racist ways. However, if structural and institutional changes are restricted to modifying curricula and teaching to learn about the Other, they fall short of forcing educators or students to interrogate privilege nor illuminate the wider societal processes of othering. Confronting racism and oppression requires disruptive knowledge, knowledge which resists the desire to essentialise and close oneself off from learning more (Kumashiro 2000).

The tension between fostering policies of inclusion predicated upon diversity and essentialist strivings for sameness which is inescapably present in *teaching culture* at NorQuest also resurfaces in how language instruction and language competences were perceived. A LINC 5 student interestingly adopted a pluralist standpoint relating to language learning within the program;

> When you study in multicultural groups you improve your skills especially in language because you have to speak English and it is good that it is not the same pronunciation and here you catch all [types of] pronunciations. And I think Canada is multicultural and you have to know the [different] pronunciations.

However, this astute acknowledgement of the vicissitudes of multi-linguistic landscapes problematising the striving for a 'perfect English' in language learning and teaching within multicultural contexts was not without its detractors. A number of teachers and students continued to emphasise the importance of attaining Canadian language perfection with some advocating more English practice at home and others seeking to dissuade parents from practicing English with their children as the latter will then adopt 'wrong' ways of speaking. However, as one instructor laughingly related about her own teaching experience abroad in problematising the elusiveness of 'perfect' language competence, '*a family member of one of my students came to visit and said, where is your child learning this horrible English? She said, oh, she has a Canadian teacher. Well that explains it!*'

Cultural Negotiation

If debates on teaching culture and language demonstrate the need for a socially critically approach involving participants in LINC as partners in curriculum development and implementation, then the theme of *cultural negotiation* extends this principle. It examines the institutional arrangements which govern how issues of inclusion ranging from religious and cultural allowances to staff recruitment are dealt with. In general, there was a genuine willingness to provide opportunities for LINC students to decide over matters concerning their education and involve them in consultations. However, questions did remain as to how this was best achieved and what concrete outcomes their involvement would have in

affecting change. Examples of negotiating cultural diversity could be seen in addressing religious differences by installing foot washing stations in some washrooms and designating prayer rooms for religious observances. A certain flexibility in arranging LINC schedules to coincide with other than Judeo-Christian religious holidays also existed though this was critically contested and adopted on a case-by-case basis as one administrator explained;

> So we always have this end of term testing and it just so happened that this was right at the end of Ramadan, at Id the big festival and it was becoming a really big issue and when you have that many students saying that we can't test because this is our one big special day?…You know there were different opinions about what we should do about that and because of the number of students involved, I really pushed to change the date…I know we were opening up a can of worms [but] I still feel that that was the right call to make in that situation and I know there were people who felt, well no, they have come HERE…I don't know, it is an ongoing learning thing for both sides. It is a settlement thing for students but it is also an education thing for the rest of us to learn.

The quote reflects the different opinions among staff ranging from cultural conformity to inclusion which had to be negotiated in making this rather controversial decision. It further affirms the resulting risks perceived in exposing oneself to demands for changes from other religious or cultural groups implied in the '*opening up a can of worms*'. Yet, there is also an acknowledgment that inclusion demands compromise, even structural change and that this is essential for students' own settlement process and reciprocally for the development of intercultural competences among staff. The above example echoes Will Kymlicka's (2010, p. 18) assessment that 'religion is now the most controversial domain of multiculturalism'and that innovative ways must be found to negotiate and 'normalise' such issues. From an anti-oppressive perspective, it is notable that such efforts at inclusion necessitate changes to institutional arrangements and procedures for prioritising the voices of more disempowered individuals and groups (Mullaly 2010). Other examples of institutional changes supporting social inclusion at NorQuest College include an official policy of intercultural training enjoined on 85% of staff and administrators by 2017, the creation of a centre for intercultural education and the drafting of a College-wide 'immigrant strategy' designed to develop educational, social and employment supports. The many

extra-curricular activities and events ranging from class potluck dinners to Canada Day celebrations, though often dependent upon the initiative of individual teachers and students, also attest to an openness in validating LINC students' 'differential needs'. (Hick et al. 2005).

However, as the following discussion on staff diversity demonstrates, certain issues pertaining to the structural embedding of inclusion principles remain largely invisible. In discourses with most white staff members, staff diversity, or the lack thereof, was not cited as an obfuscating factor to inclusion. It is therefore interesting that the statement below expressing surprise in describing the colour homogeneity of instructors, originated from a research participant representing a visible minority background;

> I feel like this campus is very white in terms of the staff. I believe that in every institution the staff's cultural or ethnic background should reflect the student population. I feel like that it's not diverse.

This observation raises crucial questions as to the inherent responsibilities of institutions to reflect the demographics of their clientele at all levels when we speak about operationalising inclusion. The Maritime School of Social Work in its recipe for building anti-oppressive schools ranks the diverse nature of the institutional staff as one of its most poignant indicators of diversity (MacDonald et al. 2003). The often posed argument of 'we hire the best' is challenged for its colour-blindness, which overlooks that individuals or groups with histories of marginalisation often do not have the same educational opportunities, resources or access to social networks (Malik 1996; Lentin and Titley 2011). A comment by one LINC staff member echoed these challenges;

> I think teachers who are from visible minority backgrounds or who are perceived as English learners themselves find a lot of challenges. I think they are judged more critically by their students and maybe, I don't know, by their colleagues. From student feedback there is a lot of "I want a Canadian Teacher," and by Canadian teacher they mean a white, native English speaker even though somebody could be from India and be a native English speaker.

The above quote provides an eloquent answer to the question of why, especially in integration programs espousing multicultural ideals, the staff

should 'reflect the student population'. If instructors who are often viewed as the primary representatives of 'Canada' predominantly represent a certain ethnic, linguistic, or 'racial' background, then it is not surprising that those who deviate from this norm are going to be viewed as atypical or un-Canadian. It is also interesting how the invisibility of whiteness,[9] alluded to above, then becomes a norm obvious to all who deviate from it. Sara Ahmed (2012, p. 33) argues that although institutions might not have an intrinsic 'white' character, they are given character partly by 'being given a face'. Anti-oppressive recommendations by program developers at Maritime College in promoting staff diversity include a designated hiring policy as part of larger diversity schemes with support mechanisms to assist minority faculty in undertaking further studies as well as addressing institutional barriers to employment (MacDonald et al. 2003).

One thing the above examples of cultural negotiation demonstrate is that adding 'difference' to a learning environment does not necessarily have to change teaching and institutional practices that affirm our sense of normalcy. Kevin Kumashiro (2001) postulates that perhaps we desire teaching and learning in ways that affirm and confirm what we have come to believe as normal or common sense in society, are the way things really are and are supposed to be. The alternative of seeing ourselves and our perceptions of 'normalcy' as social constructs maintained only through the othering, or the silencing of other narratives in which we are complicit can be troubling. His point is that perhaps we resist anti-racist or AOP's because they challenge not only how we think and feel about the Other, but also ourselves.

Critical Citizenship

The previous discussions on *teaching culture & language* and *cultural negotiation* represent snapshots of how such discourses serve to shape and reify inclusion at NorQuest LINC. It must be recognised, however, that all of these internal contestations also have very real external ramifications. They circumscribe how both students and staff understand integration and inclusion not only by what is subsumed under these definitions but also by what is left out of them. This in turn frames their interactions with wider society. The debate on critical citizenship illuminates this periphery. It highlights the marginal, the backsides of integration and thus essentially its multidimensionality. Critical citizenship

necessitates uncoupling ideas of citizenship from specific national, cultural and religious identities where in the face of globalisation it is used as a model for false, enforced homogeneity and hegemony by nation states (Mohanty and Tandon 2006). Instead, it means linking 'belonging' to values of diversity and social justice and in the case of anti-racist practices in education to active strategies of exposing white privilege and racial oppression (Dei 1999). As LINC provides a gateway to citizenship and a preparation for students to actively participate in all realms of social, political and economic life, it seemed curious that curricular topics which developed a social critique of the host society or explored integration's downsides were lacking. Topics such as discrimination or racism were, according to both staff and students, rarely discussed or broached by teachers. Reasons for this varied as a staff member postulated;

> Maybe the first response when a student comes up and those issues of race and discrimination happen, we tend to say that that is just one individual who does that, or "No, No, we all live in a multicultural society, we all have to get along", or "We have to stop seeing difference." We kind of got to those standard responses rather than saying, oh, tell me more. So sometimes those bigger conversations could happen but I think they get stopped.

The justifications, encapsulated in the above quote, for relegating these issues to the margins reflect a number of current post racialist discourses; namely that racism is an aberration—the domain of a lunatic fringe—something which enlightened multicultural societies have left behind and that highlighting 'difference' is incompatible with the colour-blind ideologies of liberal egalitarianism. In such discourses, one has successfully unlinked culture from biology by substituting 'cultural differences' for biological ones in justifying Othering. 'Race' has been semantically conquered by being defined solely in terms of what has been rejected; the narrow and selective terms of false biology and phenotypical classification (Lentin and Titley 2011). It has thus become invisible; its mutability ensuring that challenges which interrogate the interconnections between the idea of race and the institutions of modern nation-states can be ignored. The new face of racism is a pseudo-biological culturalism where nations are seen to be constructed not out of politics and economics, but out of human nature. 'It is in our biology, our instincts, to defend our way of life, traditions and customs against outsiders—not because

they are inferior, but because they are part of different cultures' (Barker 1981, p. 24).

The unfortunate bi-product of the invisibility of race resulting in '*those bigger conversations getting stopped*' mirrors research findings postulating that teachers representing the 'dominant' culture have internalised idealised narratives about multiculturalism and Canada as a tolerant nation. 'One consequence is that teachers do not validate student's experiences of racism and discrimination…but rather focus on harmonising relations in the classroom' (Richardson in Pinet 2007, p. 61). Indeed, a variety of responses ranging from deflection and defensiveness to a paternalistic desire to protect students from social ills by counselling adaption rather than challenging discrimination were all present in the fieldwork material. In 'individualising difference' exemplified by harmonising and adaption strategies, the responsibility of becoming multiculturally competent Canadian citizens is placed primarily on the shoulders of migrant students. Therefore, structural factors, even present within schools, which underpin racializing practices are obscured.

However, there were also those who welcomed the opportunity to extend discussions to the 'negatives', as a senior LINC teacher disclosed;

> When people say I hate Canada, I don't get defensive because I think they need to get it out and I want to make this a safe place so whatever you think and whatever you feel you can say it because maybe out there in your real world you can't say it. I think for them it is kind of good. Sometimes, depending on the issues it is almost like a therapy session.

There is an explicit recognition in the above quote that integration is an oft conflictual process whose complexity is diminished if topics like racism or social exclusion are considered taboo—to the detriment of mutual learning for both students and staff. For certain instructors, discussions of Canada's colonial history and its marginalisation of indigenous peoples offered a natural Segway in linking cultural knowledge with topics of oppression and discrimination.

These findings confirming the lack of a critical citizenship component in implementations of LINC with a corresponding focus on cultural adaption echo similar conclusions reached by Cervatuic and Ricento (2012) and Pinet (2007). Anti-racist and anti-oppressive pedagogies suggest possible explanations for this, positing that teachers feel insecure about relinquishing control of how learning is structured, what is

learned and how this is communicated. Correspondingly, they may also feel insufficient and incompetent in participating in such forms of learning, not least because of the responsibility it places upon them to challenge their own privilege (Kumashiro 2000). Morgan's (2002) call for a critically reflexive pedagogy emphasising a *Weltanschauung* of social engagement with curricular contents built around identity questions, community participation and societal critiques may provide cogent ideas for new ways forward.

Fostering Community Partnerships

The adoption of a 'dual perspective' as a prerequisite for AOP's serves as a foundation for the last theme on *fostering community partnerships* which highlights discussions on NorQuest's social responsibilities in furthering inclusion. A dual perspective requires the recognition of one's embeddedness in society and linking this subjective world to a greater social reality (Dalrymple and Burke 1997). For efforts towards inclusion at LINC this entails recognizing how wider social policies and global pressures affect the individual lives of students and staff. It also recommends casting a correspondingly wide net to include a myriad of social actors when planning initiatives.

It became apparent from discussions with students that there was an intersectionality in mechanisms of social exclusion some of which had societal origins such as provincial differences in recognising foreign qualifications and subsistence levels of social benefits institutionalising poverty, and how these interfaced with NorQuest processes and regulations. For example, many professional students felt that their skills atrophied within a LINC program structure they perceived to be too lengthy and inflexible and which focused on language and culture to the exclusion of other subjects such as maths, sciences or work training schemes. In addition, the limited social assistance levels coupled with the lack of day-care facilities at NorQuest meant that many, primarily female students, had difficulties in balancing childcare requirements with studies. This begs a number of future questions of the educational institution if social inclusion is to reach beyond the walls of the school. First, does the recognition of these structural obstacles have an impact on program implementation, and does NorQuest have a role and responsibility to support the political agency of students and staff by seeking to collectively transform existing social policies? (Payne et al. 2002). In response

to the first question, there was an awareness at LINC that the structural obstacles impeding student employment, welfare and the building of professional/social networks could not be ignored nor overcome by simply focusing ameliorative strategies on internal institutional processes. A recurring theme in conversations with students was their curiosity about Canadian society and the wish for more participation within it. This ranged from extending "real life" language practices, increasing their participation in various workplace practice schemes or traineeships to opening up the curriculum process to more input from without, as one student expressed it; '*We need some people especially Canadian people to develop this course and talk together*'."

The need to foster meaningful community partnerships, reflecting similar recommendations from recent LINC studies (see Derwing and Waugh 2012), was also shared by many staff members who realised that student inclusion necessitated a perspective which looked beyond the confines of the campus. While there was evidence of fruitful connections with other educational institutions and some third-sector volunteer associations, there was a gap where links with cultural or religious organisation were concerned as one administrator confided;

> One of the proposals was to build an international education career centre… but some of the feedback was that we hadn't demonstrated things like partnerships with the ethno-cultural organisations.

It also appeared that third sector or ethno-cultural organisations were not involved in the CIC proposal drafting, curriculum planning or assessment processes. In the Maritime School of Social Work's program realignment according to anti-oppressive principles, questions such as what is the nature of relations with stakeholders and how are they participating in the education and in program reviews, were of central importance (MacDonald et al. 2003). AOP includes all as shareholders in inclusion endeavours with corresponding rights to participate in discussions relating to the LINC course. Such efforts demand including ethno-cultural associations whose role in the lives of students is often incalculable and whose expertise in negotiating questions of exclusion and inclusion is unique.

In developing community partnerships at NorQuest, there was one ideological position expressed by a senior LINC administrator characterising outreach efforts which set a particularly vital prerequisite for such

contacts and truly reflects 'best practice' according to anti-oppressive theory.

> the foundational principle for the last eight years, [is] that we will only work with you through a two-pronged approach, so the Canadian moves this way and the immigrant moves this way, and somewhere you meet whether you are pulling one along or the other way. So all the work we do with companies…if they are not willing to have all of their managers come to the intercultural sessions and the educational piece we are not willing to come in. We have never put the responsibility or the accountability on the immigrant alone in any of the work we do outside of that.

This recognition of integration's distinctly transformational essence incorporates a social change agenda as part of the democratic mandate of NorQuest and reflects the dual perspective alluded to at the start of the section. The quote also addresses this reciprocal fluxion which takes place when inclusion is conceptualised as a process from which all sides emerge changed. When one adds this to the forthcoming immigrant strategy and other efforts at diversity, a progressive pattern of institutional reform emerges. Sara Ahmed inverts the old axiom of knowledge leading to transformation by arguing that institutional transformation leads to knowledge. Therefore, one can interpret the tangible 'hands-on' changes undertaken by NorQuest as opening worlds of insight into diversity. Diversity as praxis in this view generates knowledge for and about institutions in the process of transformation (Ahmed 2012).

Conclusion

It is argued that integration interpreted as assimilation runs counter to modern sensibilities as 'it is incompatible with a modern understanding of cultural liberties and more likely to trigger resistance than compliance' (Bauböck 2000, p. 10). One could go a step further and claim that according to anti-oppressive principles, assimilation violates human rights conceptions of social justice and institutionalises oppressions which are at once personal and structural. The previous chapter has focused on how contested negotiations of social inclusion by participants in NorQuest College's LINC program when juxtaposed with AOP principles may offer new perspectives of conceptualising critical and anti-racist pedagogies. This chapter highlights the theme of Inclusion vs. Assimilation

emerging from wider fieldwork data chronicling the experiences of program participants.

The inclusion discourse yielded findings which call on educational providers to transcend their institutional boundaries by adopting structural, cross-sectorial and distinctly political responses. Such responses include creating more egalitarian educational partnerships with all stakeholders comprising teachers, students and community organisations involved in LINC. They further entail re-examining institutional procedures, curricular aims and contents, as well as promoting public education programs and collective political agency to address the socio-structural factors circumscribing the lives of migrant students. A complementary finding in furthering inclusion suggests that components of social criticism and critical citizenship including students' own experiences should become more entrenched within NorQuest's integration educations. Inclusion so interpreted does not entail subsuming the Other within a pre-existing societal order but rather within a fluid structural process where this order is interrogated and changed collectively.

If a foundation for anti-racist and AOP fostering collaborative learning is built on principles of self-reflexivity, egalitarian partnership and social transformation, then inclusion becomes a real possibility. Becoming cognisant of the intersections between cultural and individual norms and bringing an openness to sharing all the 'others' world in our encounters are both preconditions and outcomes of such a process (Yellow Bird et al. 2013). As a prerequisite for inclusion on such terms, Gloria Anzaldua (1988) advocates adopting a 'borderland perspective' where we find comfort in ambiguity and contradiction and make ourselves vulnerable to different ideas, thoughts and ways of being. Seeing from the margins, and using one's own experiences of exclusion in relating to 'Othered' groups is, as one LINC teacher expresses it, one way of connecting;

> Well, that is the nice thing because I never really did fit and a lot of these people feel that they don't fit either so we're a team [laughs] and I can give them encouragement and support.

Dislodging comfort zones and positioning oneself at the intersections of discourses on culture or religion may provide a perspective for NorQuest staff and students from which it is easier to negotiate integration and

inclusion's varied interpretations. Ultimately, it may be more satisfying than the insecurity of oscillating between approaches of cultural relativism and social conformity.

Notes

1. The author would sincerely like to thank the staff and students of NorQuest College for opening their doors and hearts in participating in this study. Without their openness, commitment and honesty this research would not have been possible.
2. As such, the research constitutes a part of my Ph.D. thesis whose main objective it is to carry out a comparative study between the re-conceptualised Swedish integration educations in Helsingfors, Finland and Mariehamn, The Åland Islands, and the LINC program at NorQuest College. The comparative foundation of the programs lies in their inclusion of language as well as cultural learning and work life practice components within their curricular mandates.
3. I will forthwith use the term 'migrant' to refer to newcomers to Canada due to its less pejorative and stigmatising connotations within a European context, recognising that 'immigrant' is widely used in both Canadian public discourse and academic literature without similarly negative associations.
4. The term 'Othered' is used to refer to the process of marginalising those individuals and groups in society that are deemed *other than* the norm.
5. *Political agency* is hereby defined as; agency in the sense that your actions can affect a situation requires acting to transform political relationships, that is, structures that incorporate and mediate power. Change necessitates an awareness of, and engagement in multi-professional networks, and their social, environmental and community origins (Payne et al. 2002).
6. Where integration means that people who work and have children, grow old and die in this country, have a behavioural code imposed upon them before they can belong as equals (author's translation).
7. Reflexive praxis is to take action to transform the social world based upon our awareness of how we may be complicit in perpetuating social hierarchies and privilege (see Fernández-Balboa 1998).
8. For an in-depth discussion of contested understandings and manifestations of multiculturalism including conservative, liberal and critical or resistance interpretations (see Goldberg 1994; Sisneros et al. 2008).
9. For discourses on whiteness and privilege (see Malik 1996; Mullaly 2010).

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CHAPTER 4

Youth with Immigrant Backgrounds as Agents of Anti-racist Cultural Productions

Helena Oikarinen-Jabai

Introduction/Background

What kind of experiences motivate us to do the things we do and ask the questions we ask? We all have stories that influence our paths and concerns. One important incident that directed my interest to questions of belonging was my own experience of immigration, in my youth, from Northern Finland to Sweden. It had an impact on my life, work, studies and research interests. I am particularly interested in the embodied belonging of women, children and young people, their relationship to their environment and their cultural landscapes and practices, which have often been the focus of my projects and research. Since the 1980s, I have organised projects producing research, workshops and exhibitions together with children, youth and women in different cultural and social settings in the Nordic countries, Africa and South America.

In my doctoral study, I investigated cultural in-between spaces and how these spaces could be mediated. As part of my doctoral dissertation,

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I created performative texts to express the kind of cultural in-between realities and experiences that may be beyond the reach of traditional academic descriptions and vernaculars (Oikarinen-Jabai 2003, 2005, 2007, 2008a, b). In this multidisciplinary study, I was especially inspired by postmodern, post-colonial and post-structural feminist writers and their experimental research approaches that leaned on performative writing practices (Anzaldua 1999; Behar 1995; Haraway 2004; Irigaray 2002; Cixous 1993; Hooks 1995; Jagne 1994; Minh-ha 1991; Kristeva 1992; St. Pierre 2005).

One of my Ph.D. texts was a children's book, *Mona's and Sona's Monday*. The book was based on the data I collected from Gambia and Finland and on my own experiences the mother of two Finnish-Gambian daughters. I was interested in combining Finnish and Gambian visual styles and storytelling practices to create a story that moves in-between different cultural landscapes. The visual elements that support the storyline took the form of a collage. It included photos, still pictures from videos, children's drawings and pictures of West African artefacts, fabrics and illustrations.

The book was also a statement about the lack of anti-racist discussions in Finnish educational settings that I witnessed when collecting my data in schools and other contexts. It seemed that the Finnish education system was based on the idea of cultural and gender homogeneity, and consequently, the position offered to a non-white person was that of a stranger (Gordon et al. 2000; Lappalainen 2002, 2006). Anti-racist discussions were often associated with a notion of multiculturalism that was largely understood as something concerning *others*—their traditions, ritual practices and 'race'—i.e. it was connected to the condition of immigrants before they integrated into Finnish society. Even when 'integrated', these immigrants especially those with darker skin, were seen as 'foreigners', even as a threat to Finnish values (Oikarinen-Jabai 2011a, p. 98).

Therefore, in *Mona's and Sona's Monday,* I wanted to explore a variety of identifiable cultural and political issues, including the social injustices inherent in contemporary society's failure to appropriately address issues of race, class and gender (Lentin 2004a; Oikarinen-Jabai 2011a). The book deals with the issues of difference, othering and racism and simultaneously creates hybrid landscapes and embraces alternative representations and images of Finnishness.

The results of my Ph.D. research led me to explore more deeply the sense of belonging of second generation immigrants in Finland. I was inspired, among other things, by the research projects conducted in the

UK with people of immigrant backgrounds by Maggie O'Neill and a team of artists in the East Midlands (1999–2009). When witnessing how these projects provided their participants with spaces for the negotiation of belonging and diasporic imagining, I became even more convinced of the excellence of participatory performative and artistic research approaches when moving and playing in cultural in-between spaces (Ballengee-Morris and Stuhr 2001; Finley 2005; O'Neill 2008).

To provide a space for the participants' perspectives and voice, I placed my trust in 'unfinished knowledge', an approach highlighted by Nira Yuval-Davis. This approach is founded on transversal politics, where universalism and homogeneity are replaced by dialogues to allow acceptance of the participants' different voices and positions and the knowledge that can be produced by every different position (Yuval-Davis 1997). This intersectional approach helped us, as participants, to be receptive to the positions and paths emerging during the research process (Brah 2001; Lloyd 2005). For example, racism and anti-racism seemed to be topics that overshadowed many other themes that we touched upon with the young participants. It appeared that their productions, especially those participants with a Somali and Muslim background, dealt with issues connected to discrimination and racism. These topics also highlighted the ambiguity and negotiated nature of presentation and representation.

Path to the Common Project

In spring 2008, I began to hold photo and video workshops with a group of 5- to 11-year-old children in my neighbourhood. Data collection turned out to be rather complicated because, for example, a large number of children wanted to participate, some were only given permission to participate in certain parts of the project. For the exhibitions, we selected a few photos with the children who had been given permission to participate. Some of the material I analysed as more traditional research data.

In the autumn of 2009, I started to run photography and video workshops with the photographer Sami Sallinen in the Youth Multicultural Living Room, established by the Youth Department of the City of Helsinki. In addition, other short photo and digital media courses—for example, a workshop where participants produced audio-visual narratives about their relationship to Helsinki cultural heritage by using Life

Breather mobile applications[1]—were organised at the Youth Centre during the course of the project. There were 15 young participants, aged 15–22. The most active participants were five young men with Somali backgrounds. However, one young Somali woman took part in making a radio programme and another young Finnish-Somali woman took photographs in her free time in Finland, in England, where she studied, and in Somalia during visits to that country.

We workshop leaders soon noticed that we were expected to act more like facilitators, to be present when needed and to give support to the young people. So, we decided that it was practical to let the participants borrow cameras in order to video and photograph their everyday lives when it best suited them. As an introduction, they were asked to describe their everyday experiences in, and relationship to, their current home town of Helsinki and the other places where they had lived or visited. During the spring, summer and autumn of 2010, we regularly met these young people to discuss and edit videos with them. As part of the process, the participants interviewed each other. Sometimes, we went out together to take photographs around the city.

Based on the material produced, a photo and video exhibition, *My Helsinki*, was staged between 21 December 2010 and 24 January 2011 at the Music Library, located in the centre of Helsinki. In 2011, the radio programme 'Where is my space?' was broadcasted on YLE, Finland's national public service broadcasting company. In 2012, a book, *Mun Stadi* (My Town), based on the stories and photos of seven young men, was published. The video documentary Minun Helsinkini/My Helsinki/Wa Magaaleydi Helsinki was released in 2013.

Parts of the exhibition were presented again on several occasions, enriched with new material. For example, in April 2012, as a part of the project, I organised a video and photo exhibition, Young Helsinki, at the Finnish Museum of Photography, together with several artists, art educators and museum workers. The workshops in which the material for the exhibition was created were held in schools and Youth Centres in various districts of Helsinki with participants from diverse national, ethnic and language backgrounds. In 2013, the *My Helsinki* exhibition was on view at the Institute of Migration, including photos and an installation by a young Somali woman. Moreover, in addition, some of the photos and videos produced in the project have been included in other exhibitions.

A book based on the photos and stories of a young Somali woman, *By Other Eyes*, was published in 2015. Furthermore, the creators of the first

video production wanted to update the story they had made some years ago and make a follow-up documentary. Together with the same group of young people and the art educator Joel Gräfnings, we created the documentary Soo Dhawoow/Tule lähemmäs/Come closer which was broadcasted by YLE, Finland's national public service broadcasting company in 2016. Moreover, we are going to produce a video documentary together with Joel Gräfnings based on the narrative of a young football player with an Iraqi background. In my current research project concerning young Muslims' resilience, I continue to use participatory, performative methods, leaning partly on the already produced or collected data while also collecting new material.

Multidisciplinary Performative and Art-Based Approaches

Critical performative approaches have various roots. In the nineteenth century, Frederik Douglas—himself a former slave—already recommended participatory experiential epistemology as a method for understanding the experiences and expressions of black people (Conquergood 2009). At the beginning of the last century, Zora Neal Hurston developed an academic strategy for describing black people's lives by using their own language, and the experimental texts of Christine Quintasket, alias Morning Dove, dealt with questions of power and gender connected to the positions of the native American population (Finn 1995; Hernandez 1995; Hooks 1990; Oikarinen-Jabai 2008; Viswesvaran 1994). In addition, many early twentieth-century philosophers (for example Buber 1993/1923; Freire 1996/1968) emphasised the empowering capacity of sensuous, narrative and dialogical knowledge in educational settings and human encounters.

Since the 1980s, various scholars working in the fields of social science, ethnography and education (such as Barone 2006; Behar 1993; Eisner 1997, Geertz 1973; Denzin 1997; Mc'Laren 1997; Richardson 1992), have questioned the academic practices of their fields and have recommended approaches that provide space for understanding knowledge production in wider terms. In particular, people of colour and members of diversified groups or minorities have been critical of the power relations and hierarchy hidden in academic theories, methods and reporting (Anzaldua and Moraga 1983; Conquergood 2009; Hill Collins 1998; Hooks 1990). Subsequently, performative and art-based

research, which allowed data and results to be presented in symbolic and presentational forms, emerged as an independent approach and methodology (Barone 2006; Lincoln and Denzin 2005; Haseman 2006; Minh-ha 1991; O'Neill 2009).

The notion of performativity is often linked to J.L. Austin's (1975/1955) linguistic notion of the speech act being a performance. For example, according to Judith Butler's constructivist approach, subjectivity is constituted through repeated performances as an effect of pre-existing regulatory discourses, such as 'gender', 'race' or 'sexuality' (Butler 1993; Friedman 2012). On the other hand, Victor Turner's idea of in betwixt and between—based on Van Gennep's (1906) notion of the liminality of cultural transition rites and Donald Winnicott's (1971) ideas of play and art creating possibilities for the virtuality of subjectivity—have inspired performance and performativity researchers (Turner 1964; Schechner 1995).

Richard Schechner approached performance and performativity as a symbolic form of cultural/artistic expression that creates a gap between the performer and what or who is being represented (Friedman 2012). He understood (1995, p. 20) entertainment, healing, education and ritualising as the four intertwined spheres of performance. Peggy Phelan understands performance in post-stucturalist Derridean terms as presence/absence where performing living bodies 'are forever cut from what they represent' and where performance is 'representation without reproduction' (Friedman 2012, Phelan 1993, pp. 46–49). Trinh Minh-ha reminds us that to understand what happens between individuals, genres and cultures, we should move towards the other side of speech and to representations where no narrative can describe the opened boundary between different approaches to sensing the world (Minh-ha 2011, p. 94).

Dwight Conquergood (2009, p. 312) considers that the dominant way of knowing in academia—based on the enlightenment project of modernity—emphasises empirical observation and critical analysis from a distanced perspective: 'knowing that,' and 'knowing about'. This knowledge is shadowed by 'knowing how,' and 'knowing who,' grounded in active, intimate, hands-on participation and personal connection and rooted in embodied experience, orality and local contingencies. Conquergood states that in their struggle to stay betwixt and between theory and theatricality, paradigms and practices, critical reflection and

creative accomplishment, performance studies are able to bring hybridity and the capacity to bridge different values, knowledges and subjugated moods to the academic world.

O'Neill defines the approach that involves working in collaboration with artists, performance artists, writers, poets, photographers and participants in the space between ethnography and art as 'ethno-mimesis'. 'Ethno-mimesis' involves a methodological practice, a process that enables the intertextuality of biography/narrative (ethnography) and art (mimesis) to become a 'potential space' for transformative possibilities (O'Neill 2008). Performative, participatory projects are especially useful when dealing with transnational and diasporic experiences, because they allow people to play in the 'potential' in-between spaces (O'Neill 2008; Winnicott 1971). Art-based approaches involve praxis as purposeful knowledge—which tells us, in a relational and phenomenological sense, something about what it is to feel 'at home' and have 'a sense of belonging'. They enable participants to 'talk back' and create new, more flexible narrations of belonging, identification and visual images (Denzin 2003b; Oikarinen-Jabai 2011b; O'Neill 2011).

Social relations, experience, subjectivity and identity as 'differential' categories are articulated (or disarticulated) in the diasporic space within a complex web of power (Brah 1996). The transversal landscapes shared in the productions of the young people participating in our project enabled the exposure of these webs and practices of differentiation and discrimination as embodied practices from a conceptual horizon (Ashcroft 2001; Brah 2001; Anthias 2009; O'Neill 2008). When the participants' voices and perspectives were expressed in audio, visual and creative forms, unexpected grammars and vocabularies were able to emerge (Minh-ha 2011; Oikarinen-Jabai 2015b; Tolia-Kelly 2007). This supported the view of identifications, belonging and cultural citizenship as translocal positionalities that occur in the lived practices in which identification is performed. (Anthias 2012; Hua 2011; O'Neill and Hubbard 2010).

Artistic and practical procedures enable research strategies with new kinds of positioning for the researcher, the researched and the research setting (Haseman 2006; Oikarinen-Jabai 2011b; O'Neill 2008). In our project, the performative approach helped us all, as participants, understand the multiple positioning that second-generation immigrants in Finland often experience. This made it easier to recognise the

different epistemological standpoints and 'rootings and siftings' shared by research and production groups and to create discussions that dealt with issues of 'race' and racism from unusual perspectives (Oikarinen-Jabai 2015a; Yuval-Davis 2011). When creating videos, photos, texts and artwork, we were all able to encounter and 'twist' some representations of Finnishness and challenge common notions and images given to 'minorities' and the 'majority' population by the media and regulatory regimes.

Visual, narrative and poetic performances may touch our bodies in ways that are different from the effects of standard scientific texts (Denzin 2003a; O'Neill 2009; Tolia-Kelly 2007). Poetic and (audio)visual approaches can make visible the underlying labour of sociological and scientific production and its conventional rhetoric and enable the reflection of the research story at a sensory and cognitive level (Richardson 1997). In our project, the 'potential dialogic space' included transformative elements which allowed visual and textual products to emerge through 'subject-reflexive feeling' (O'Neill 2009). The participatory process also helped young participants critically approach different labelling or discriminating practices and claim a personal and political space against the wider socio-political hegemony (O'Neill 2009).

For example, creating the book *Mun stadi* was a process where the visual material and stories created by the participants were combined in such a way that the poetry of the young people's photos and stories created many open storylines. This kind of 'unfinished performance' also creates a space for readers to think and feel themselves and to be in dialogue with the text. For example, the chapter Racism[2] begins with a 'poem' based on the statements of the participating youth (Fig. 4.1).

> Some people believe that dark-skinned people are inferior
> and think that we are not even human beings
> I have met those kinds of Finnish adults
> who are educated and who look like civilized people
> and they come up with something really infantile
> like go back to the jungle you monkey
> I am like what the hell we are living in the 21st century
> didn't you learn anything in all those schools that you went through
>
> (*Mun stadi* 2012, p. 61)

Fig. 4.1 A page from the book *Mun stadi/My town*

Experiences and Expressions of Racism in Youth Productions

When the young people participating in the project were growing up in Finnish society, they all encountered prejudice and discrimination. They are also familiar with othering and colonial representations of 'race' and ethnicity in educational material, public discussions and the media, even in supposedly anti-racist and multicultural discussions (Lentin 2004b; Oikarinen-Jabai 2015b). In a video recording, one young man said:

> I think that every Finn has that attitude; they want to show that you have to know your place; you are a second class citizen, coming from the developing countries, a tax money grabber, a hungry Somali. And it is in the minds of all Europeans that African countries are undeveloped and people suffer there because of a lack of food.

In personal encounters and group discussions during the research process, the participating youth discussed their childhood experiences and incidents of discrimination more openly. When they dealt with racism, they most often distanced themselves from it and adopted an analytical or practical perspective, even though they were describing their personal experiences. Someone pointed out that 'the media somehow presents things wrongly … either they don't show the positive things or when they try to they somehow do it in a black and white manner'. Clearly, they were aware of how cultural identities are formed and reproduced in cultural and media productions, and when making their own exhibitions, videos and books they were careful not to repeat the performances of the 'other' (Friedman 2012; Oikarinen-Jabai 2015b).

Both young women and men had the experience of being representatives of their ethnicity, 'race' and religion in public spaces and of being target of prejudices directed at various groups with a similar skin colour, religion or outsider position in Finnish society. According to Veronika Honkasalo (2011), in youth work and the public space, young women with an immigrant background are often seen as being forced to act according to the norms of their family, which are determined by patriarchal and uncivilised men. In our project, the participating young women had the same experience. Moreover, the participants often discussed their presence in public places as a kind of performance: they were aware of certain kinds of categorising and 'othering' looks, and at same time they consciously undermined and played with the prejudices behind those gazes (Oikarinen-Jabai 2015b; Phelan 1993; Schechner 1995).

These young people are forced to deal with racism and prejudice from many perspectives and to analyse both the historical and individual reasons for its appearance. One way to try to understand existing Finnish attitudes was to evaluate the history and outsider positioning of minorities, especially the Roma people, who are the traditional 'dark people' in Finland. For example, in *Mun stadi* one youth discussed the positionings of the Roma in Finland:

> Many of the Finns I know say that 'I'm not racist but I hate the gypsies. They are out there committing robberies'. I say that 'the gypsies haven't done anything to you; you don't even know any gypsies. You can't hate all gypsies. Of course they are out there robbing cos they know that you hate them. Why should they be nice to you when you hate them?'

> As soon as people hear the name Mertsi, they think you are a bad person. I know one little boy who is half Somali and half Gypsy. His name is Mertsi Mohamed, I guess when he is eighteen, he will experience much more racism than all of us put together. Mertsi Mohamed, that's really bad. (*Mun stadi* 2012, pp. 75–79)

Naming was an issue, especially with young men. Just as the name 'Mertsi' is used as a label for all Finnish Roma males, 'Mohamed' was seen as a common signifier of Somalis and other Muslim people and of being an outsider (not a Finnish citizen). In Minun Helsinkini/My Helsinki/Waa Magaaladeydi Helsinki, the participants discussed the night life and night clubs of Helsinki. One of them explained that:

> Sometimes there are excuses for not letting people in, especially if they see Mogadishu on your passport. They say that 'Not today! Your name is Mohamed, and last week there was a fight'. And I say 'What, my name's not Mohamed'. So it's as soon as they see someone with a Somali background it's 'Not today'.

Nevertheless, in certain situations a black (Muslim) person could be considered a Finn. Another participant, who performed his military service during the project, said:

> I've heard quite a few times when I'm on leave, wearing a uniform, some people come to tell me on the metro that it's great you're in the Finnish army, that we respect you so much … they come to explain that you're a Finn … They like look up at you if you're dark-skinned and in the Finnish army… and then when you're out of the army, they believe or think when they see you that there's another foreigner or immigrant or something bad, most of them.

The participants often wondered about and discussed the reasons behind the negative attitudes and racism. One young man formulated the reasons behind racism in this way:

> At our school I have sometimes seen people who are skinheads or Nazis. We have been classmates at primary school, and then at secondary school they suddenly change. I thought 'what the hell, this was a good guy'. You can see that the person is good inside, you feel he is a good person, but the

> way he behaves and the kind of image he gives of himself. It really feels like this person has mental health problems or something. At least that's what I've felt when I've seen people who used to be my classmates and then suddenly they say: 'I am racist, I hate …' Where did so much hate suddenly come from? … He hasn't processed the problems he's had at home or school or wherever. So he had to create another personality like 'now I am racist, I hate all dark-skinned people'. And then he feels good when the hatred is directed at foreigners. Then he does not think about his own problems any more. He is just thinking 'you are the problem; if I am feeling unhappy, it's your fault, so you have to go away'. It's easy isn't it? I would probably do the same if I had someone to hate. (*Minun Helsinkini/My Helsinki/Wa Magaaleydi Helsinki*)

In the documentary Soo Dhawoow/Come closer, the same young man tells his friend that he converted a Nazi. 'Okay, he was stupid, but he wanted to be a Nazi. He had all the swastikas and blahblahblah. I changed him. How? Long story … He started getting to know me and saw that I helped him more than his friends'. It seems that because of their personal experiences and insights these young people had become 'practice-based specialists' in diversity and discrimination and in their own positionings. They noticed and were able to describe such phenomena and instances of structural and everyday discrimination that are not openly recognised and discussed in Finnish society (Midolo 2011; Oikarinen-Jabai 2015b). This is seen as a strength, but it can also be a burden. A young female participant put it like this in the radio programme Where Is My Space?

> Personally I have thought for some time that it should not be this way, that these children and youths should not be looking for their own place all the time, but they should make their own place … so that they would feel that they belonged somewhere … Because in the end we don't have a place almost anywhere.
>
> As Somalis also at home we are like bridges to everywhere; for example, you take care of issues between the outside world and your family. Then when you are in the outside world, you are expected to be a typical Somali. We should find here, in between, in the centroid of the identity crisis, some nice box where everyone could go, where they would fit in. (*Where Is My Space?*)

In her statement, this young woman was able to summarise an experience that many second-generation immigrants share, especially those who have roots outside Europe and belong to Muslim communities. 'I am a mirror of different realities', remarked one male participant when describing his position in-between cultures. He also compared himself to James Bond, as 'playing a role in a cover story' (*Mun stadi* 2012, p. 47). This cover was sometimes played at home, sometimes in public places or in media and official discourses that label people because of their ethnic, 'racial' or religious background. In the documentary Soo Dhawoow/ Come closer, the young men critically discussed the absurdity of different identity categories, such as 'refugee', 'immigrant', 'a new Finn', 'a mainstream Finn', 'a person from Central Finland',[3] an Afro Finn', offered to different kinds of people living in Finland—also by well-meaning fellow citizens and those involved in anti-racist and multicultural discussions. Nevertheless, perhaps because of their own constant negotiations of locations of borders, nationalities, citizenship and homes in different cultural spheres, they agreed that people should have the right to identify themselves as they wished and to belong wherever they wanted. Furthermore, they all had different preferences when it came to their own national identifications and belonging.

It is obvious that the transnational spaces to which the participants belonged through their kinship relations and the diasporic community also made it possible for them to share a kind of 'horizontal' or 'nomadic' citizenship (Ashcroft 2001, p. 187; Joseph 1999, p. 155). According to Bill Ashcroft (2001), the notion of horizon can be used to contest the concept of boundary—so central to Western epistemology—and in this way, different dimensions of post-colonial subjectivity emerge. From this emerging standpoint, some practices may seem strange. For example, integration takes on different meanings depending on the vantage point. For a young woman with a Somali background, integration may seem a derogatory concept and practice.

> This integration nonsense; I think we should get rid of it. Nobody ever thinks whether people really want to integrate … Like these immigrant discussions that they have in Parliament, they even objectify these people … like 'this mass of immigrants here, they don't actually do anything, they're no use for anything'. How can a person in this 'mass' be useful if that individual does not feel comfortable enough in herself? The mass is made up of individuals of course. (Where Is My Space? 2011)

The young people in the project have gone through the Finnish education system. Even though some of them have finished school some time ago, in most cases their perceptions may still be valid and should be listened to carefully by people working in the field of education. In the context of school, a common experience was that name calling and racist incidents were downplayed or ignored with comments like 'don't take any notice', 'he doesn't mean anything' or 'forget it'. On the radio programme Where Is My Space?, a young female participant crystallised the ideas that most of the participants brought to discussion concerning conflicts based on 'racial' and 'ethnic' name-calling and bullying.

> The teachers … don't do enough of what they're supposed to do. Starting from primary school it always happens that the dark-skinned kids come and say that 'they insulted me and then I beat them up', but nobody ever says 'why did you insult someone' and 'why did you beat them up' … They avoid these so-called sensitive issues. But the issues are not really that sensitive. After all it's about this kid's life for the rest of his life. But the fact that someone refers to you with the n-word does not necessarily mean that someone is a complete racist. They just want to annoy you and know how to do it. (Where is my space? 2011)

> We should discuss the roots of racism, what it is … what kinds of racism exist. There are many kinds of racism. If we categorise it so that only white people are racist against blacks it is outrageous … And teachers are very scared to talk about racism. If you avoid the subject it does not mean that it goes away, because these children are living with it all the time. There should be a racism course at school so that people would really understand what it means. We all have prejudices … we should learn to deal with people as individuals … and children would learn to respect other people, black, semi-black and all. (Where Is My Space? 2011)

Playing with and Transgressing Borders

Susan Stanford Friedman (2012) claims that hybrid forms of mimetic performances or parodies produced in the borderlands dissolve the fixity of the border in the act of transgressing it. Imitation on the borders between difference—cultural, racial, gender, sexual, class and so forth—constitutes a performance with a difference, one that highlights the gap between the two (binary) in the form of hybrid representation. Whether consciously planned or not, the effect of this kind of parodic

performance, which the participants in our project also created, may be to denaturalise and deauthorise the structure of domination and help those involved understand its social construction and look for change (Friedman 2012).

In the video documentary Minun Helsinkini/My Helsinki/Wa Magaaleydi Helsinki, the young men played with and ironised the categorising labels and stereotypes with Finnish friends with roots in different parts of the world. For example, they joked, 'look at this white dude, now when I have a fucking camera he wants to fight me', 'yes, I am a black man with a camera', 'Arab, soon it will blow man', 'Obama, you are going to do it, black power' or 'Why do you make a racist attack on a black man, okay, just for him, then that is okay, just cool'. This kind of tongue-in-cheek performance creates a hybrid landscape and enables one to reveal the contradictions generated by modernity and take a step toward democratising everyday thinking and culture (Garcia Canclini 1995). Pointing out difference may empower participants, and humour helps the audience become aware of the ridiculousness of certain stereotypical views (Friedman 2012; Ibrahim 2009).

By performing fresh images of Finns, the participants made space for a diverse Finnishness capable of including different ethnic, 'racial' and religious identifications (Oikarinen-Jabai 2015b). The magic of play offered by the performative approach provided a space for transgressing and overturning normative ideas and stereotypes and facilitated interaction between all of the players (Hooks 1995; Schechner 1995). Applying different types of narration and means of expression helped the participants deconstruct and reconstruct meanings hidden in language and visual representations (Gough-Dijulio and Wolcott 1997). When different voices and difference were recognised, it was possible to question the cultural constructions that produce inequality and binary positions, and hegemonic relations could be explored (Berry 2002).

Brah (1996) remarks that even though, on the one hand, power may be oppressive, repressive or suppressive, serving to control, discipline, interiorise and install hierarchies of domination, on the other hand power is also at the heart of cultural creativity, pleasure and desire. It is the means for challenging, contesting and dismantling the structures of injustice (Brah 1996). It seems that at least some participants in our projects also saw the process as a possibility to exercise power as a cultural citizen. The research process also provided the participants with

the opportunity and power to define their identities, identifications and citizenship. In the book *Mun stadi*, one of the participants describes his belonging to Finland and Finnishness thus:

> Even though I don't see myself as a Finn, this is my home country or something in-between. I have a lot of friends here. I was born here, I went to school and grew up here. I get along in Finland. After school I would like to see the world a bit, but I think I'll stay here. I'm used to living here. My friends are also from all over the world, but I often talk in Finnish to them. I guess we are some kind of new generation of Finns, and each one is also slightly something else. (*Mun stadi* 2012, p. 5)

Sara Ahmed (2000) claims that for many people living in a diaspora, home is in a constant state of emergence. Sometimes, the place that feels most like home is not the place where one lives. Home may also be experienced as an imaginary lost space that unites the past and present. For instance, the young woman in the book *By Other Eyes* states:

> My home country is always Somalia but home is where the family and the memories are, which is Finland. Home and home country are different things in my opinion and I see myself first as a Somali and then – not necessarily quite as a Finn – but as a person from the country of Finland. Above all I see myself as an international Somali.

In the video installation, she discusses the photograph (Fig. 4.2):

> I think this picture is really great in the sense that every hand belongs to a person from a different continent. I wanted to see what the water reflected, but then my friends became interested in what Najma was doing. Straightaway, everyone joined in and then we started to consider what kind of message this particular picture would give. And there you can perhaps see how important it is that people interact with each other, and even if there are a lot of different opinions, this should not be seen as a restrictive factor. Everyone has the freedom to express their own opinions and their own way of thinking. The point is that you can communicate with others, and they may have something quite different to offer, something that you never imagined, and you may even like it.

In whatever manner the participating youth define their national identifications, their sense of belonging to Helsinki and other places where

Fig. 4.2 Photo taken by Najma Yusuf

they have lived in Finland is strong. They are conscious of the fact that even though the concept of citizenship promises equality, it is also used to socially exclude and spatially displace certain individuals and communities, often for reasons of 'race', ethnicity, religion and gender. In their productions, the participating youths wanted to perform citizenship as a form of personhood that provides the means for creative survival and to claim multiple modes of belonging and multiple locations of home and affiliation (Hua 2011; Oikarinen-Jabai 2015c).

Conclusion

In our project, the performative participatory research setting helped young people to direct their voice in their own way and to struggle for social justice and open 'dialogic spaces' by using the media and artistic means of self-expression (Conquergood 2009; Minh-ha 2011; O'Neill 2011). That assisted them in the creation of cultural imagery, furthering an understanding of the processes of othering and belonging. Schechner (1995, p. 21) emphasises that in a post-colonial world where cultures

collide, interfere with and fertilise each other, academic disciplines and the arts are also most alive when moving along their ever-changing borders, where embodied play and performances occur. Consequently, performative participatory approaches can provide a space for artistry, analysis and activism, or put in another way, for creativity, critique and citizenship (Conquergood 2009, p. 318).

The young people participating in this project seemed to be aware of the role of boundary markings in the social hegemony and in their being labelled and placed in certain enclosures. Nevertheless, they refused to be victims of circumstance; rather, in their productions they negotiated the various in-between identifications, belongings and spaces that being a diasporic subject afforded them. These translocal positionalities also gave them the means to deal with othering, categorising and racism and create dialogues that mocked the boundary categories related to concepts like ethnicity, 'race', class, religion and citizenship, thereby generating new kinds of resistance discourses (cf. Anthias 2012; Aschcroft 2001; Yuval-Davis 2004). By performing their contradictory subjectivities, the participants empowered their marginalised identities (Butler 2000). In this way they altered the exclusionary (symbolic) nation and created new spaces for new homes and offered multiple ways of being a Finnish citizen (Hua 2011; Oikarinen-Jabai 2015c).

Minh-ha (1991, p. 6) remarks that if we want to shake up dominant values and challenge the foundation of the cultural order, it is not enough just to destroy a few prejudices or reverse power relations within the terms of economy of the same. Art, media and fiction are forms of production. It is important to recognise that oppression and discriminatory attitudes and practices can be located not only in the story but also in the telling of the story. Therefore, 'intervals where knowledge acquired remains suspended in non-knowingness are especially important when we conduct performative participatory research and productions' (Minh-ha 2011, p. 94). My experience is that in our project we participants and facilitators, at least momentarily, were able 'to see with skin, hear with the flesh and feel with the bone', and go beyond our restricted perception (Minh ha 2011, p. 85). This provided a space for sensory interaction and helped create unfinished research narrations that contested the binary juxtapositioning of 'us' and 'them' (Ashcroft 2001; Oikarinen-Jabai 2015b).

Performed everyday actions in diasporic spheres allow the creation of 'the location of an experience and an identity that is always pushing beyond itself' (Achcroft 2001, p. 193). Even though the colonial visions

that influence discussions of nation, gender, religion, 'race' and human rights seem to produce, time and again, the same passions and images, these discourses can also be interpreted as part of the rich capital of the 'othered' that can be used in negotiations of post-colonial transformation and resistance (Ashcroft 2001). For instance, in our project participating 'locals', who are part of multifaceted networks of memory, language, space and cultural practices, were able to create fresh and contradictory narrations, images and representations of belonging and spatiality (Oikarinen-Jabai 2008; Ashcroft 2001). Their productions could also be interpreted as anti-racist statements that challenge the ideas and images of some people and empower others. In terms of the latter, one visitor commented in the guest book of the exhibition *My Helsinki*, 'You showed the Bright side of Helsinki! It is always gonna be Our Helsinki! Photos that bring a smile'.

Many young people with immigrant backgrounds have the kind of mental and emotional resources—based on their embodied and personal experiences—that are required in a globalising world and multicultural environments. They actively participate in deconstructing and restructuring the surrounding culture, its aesthetic values and the existing binary relations between 'others' and 'us'. Their know-how and visions should be valued, also when modernising and transforming anti-racist discourses and approaches. As these mediators between cultures—together with researchers, educators, artists and cultural workers who are willing to ask 'how' and 'who'—play and participate in transversal dialogue, they are able to create cultural productions that open a horizon for hybrid spaces where rigid conceptual borders and national images can be approached with curiosity and not-knowingness.

Notes

1. I organised this workshop in cooperation with Professor Lily Diaz, researcher Jürgen Scheible and graduate students from the Media Department of Aalto University.
2. In the book *My town* (Oikarinen-Jabai 2012) A number of the thematic chapters on the concerns of the participating youth were included, for example, *Childhood, Youth, School, Helsinki, Upbringing, Racism, Languages, Military service, Religion, Somalia, Family and Community, Guards and Cops, Finnishness/Somaliness, Dark people and Media*.
3. Finnish a person from Central Finland, also means an average Finn.

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PART II

From “culture” to Antiracism Education

CHAPTER 5

Dealing with Culture in Schools: A Small-Step Approach Towards Anti-racism in Finland

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Introduction

The global situation has changed very rapidly during the past few years due to several conflicts and economic recession which have affected migration and discourses about migrants. Populist anti-immigration discourses have become even more common and audible across Europe. Discourses building on ideas of *cultural incompatibility* and *clash of civilizations* (Hutington 1996), have also become more prominent. In Finland, increased diversity is a fairly recent phenomenon and the country is considered as a somewhat homogenous society (Holm and Londen 2010) and has typically been a country of emigration until the 1970s (Korkiasaari and Söderling 2003). Teachers in Finland are therefore faced with challenges of taking diversity into account more than before. These reasons highlight the importance of developing anti-racism education from a cultural standpoint.

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In this chapter, we discuss anti-racism education in the Finnish context. Even though we do not use empirical data, we nevertheless rely on the new Finnish National Core Curriculum for Basic Education to discuss the notion of intercultural communication competence and its implication, for instance, in language teaching. The Finnish context is relevant to examine for several reasons. First, Finnish education has a very positive reputation worldwide and it is generally considered as extremely high quality. The most prominent reason for this is the exceptionally high attainment in the previous Pisa studies (OECD 2000, 2003, 2006, 2009). Second, Finnish education is considered very equal and democratic due to the comprehensive school system where all children regardless of their socioeconomic background attend the same school and follow the same curriculum (Sahlberg 2011). Nearly all children in Finland (99.7%) complete the comprehensive school (Finnish National Board of Education). Schools do not select their pupils and normally the pupils enter their nearby schools. However, the ability of the Finnish school system to deal with the challenges arising from immigration has been questioned, for instance, in relation to teacher training (Holm and Londen 2010). The increase in immigration is a relatively new phenomenon as Finland has typically been a country of emigration (Pitkänen and Kouki 2002). Despite being a bilingual country (i.e., Finnish and Swedish) with several significant minority groups (i.e., Sami, Roma, Jewish, Tatars), Finland is usually regarded as fairly homogenous (Holm and Londen 2010; Pitkänen and Kouki 2002). In 2015, foreign nationals (i.e., individuals living permanently in Finland, excluding asylum seekers and the ones who have acquired citizenship) made up only 4.6% of Finland's overall population (Ministry of Interior 2012; Statistics Finland 2016). The country's self-representation and increased immigration provide interesting grounds to examine and develop anti-racism practices in education. Lastly, Finland is currently adopting a new National Core Curriculum for Basic Education (hereafter FNCCBE) where cultural issues are dealt with more extensively than before.

The overall argument of this chapter is that small changes in conceptualizing and teaching culture can significantly contribute to anti-racism education. This chapter brings together theoretical insights as well as practical implications and challenges. We start the chapter by discussing the relation between culture and racism from a predominant critical intercultural communication viewpoint. We then briefly introduce aspects of the new FNCCBE which are relevant to anti-racism education

(i.e., cultural competence and foreign language teaching) and discuss their practical implementation. This chapter proposes a small-step approach to anti-racism education by introducing three steps which are (1) *intercultural communication competence*, (2) *language and culture*, and (3) *nation and culture*. Finally, we list some practical challenges that can hinder anti-racism education.

From *Race* to *Culture*: Shifts in Racist Discourses

The evolution of discourses of racism moving from *race* to *culture* is grounded in the invalidation of biological arguments to explain differences by new theoretical approaches as well as a new international, political, and economic order in the twentieth century. Inherently, racism is utilized to construct and maintain unequal relationships between individuals. Gillborn (2008, p. 3) points out that race is "far from being a fixed and natural system of genetic difference" and that racism therefore relies on socially constructed categories that keep being reinvented. Thus, the disappearance of biological categories has left room for new ways of justifying and maintaining inequalities (Wren 2001); a gap that *culture* seems to be increasingly used to fill as it nowadays dominates various types of discourses. Some scholars (see Jameson 1998) talk about the *cultural turn* to address the shift in discourses following which everything became cultural. Whether it is to describe individuals' behaviors, hobbies, and values, to explain international relations, or to enhance business transactions, culture appears everywhere as a tool to define everything and everyone. The pervasive focus on culture to explain, predict, and categorize individuals hints at culture being utilized as a marker of differences. Breidenbach and Nyíri (2009, p. 22) note that culture is mostly used to highlight what "distinguishes one group of people from another". The notion of difference appears to be a key element to the emergence of culture as a discursive resource, especially as one utilized to replace race. Taguieff (1989, p. 77) argued already 25 years ago that discourses switched from "inter-racial *inequality*" to "inter-cultural *difference*," the latter one sounding more positive and less dangerous. Similarly, Lentin (2004) discusses the way in which culture tends to be regarded as unproblematic and unrelated to politics. She argues:

> Thinking culturally about difference is the default for not talking about "race", thereby avoiding the charge of racism. But the need for such a

> substitute obscures precisely the fact that the hierarchy put in place by racism has been maintained. It no longer exists as blatant persecution. It is more ambivalent. (Lentin 2004, p. 99)

The emphasis put on difference reveals another key aspect of culturalist discourses: their essentialist underpinnings. The propensity of culture to replace race lies in its conceptualization as something people *have* so that cultures are understood as "second natures" (Taguieff 1989, pp. 76–77). Such approach contributes to define culture as a homogenous and stable entity, which in turn allows to categorize and describe individuals based on those fixed attributes. In his account of color-blind racism in the United States, Bonilla-Silva (2006) presents *cultural racism* as one of the four main frames of postracial discourses of racism. In line with other studies on cultural racism, Bonilla-Silva (2006) argues that it has become both more common and more effective than racially-based racism. In Europe as well, cultural racism has been identified as a powerful element of racist discourse articulated around two main elements; the idea that (1) "Europeans are not *racially*, but *culturally* superior," which is supported by (2) the "constructions of the nation as a bounded *cultural* entity" (Wren 2001, p. 143). The role played by national culture highlights the importance of exploring discourses contributing to the construction of the nation as an *imagined community* in which members share common practices, values, identities, and ultimately a same culture (Anderson 1991).

Schools constitute a relevant venue for investigating nationally oriented discourses since one of their missions is to transform pupils into citizens through the construction and legitimation of national culture and identity (Bourdieu 1994). Previous studies have explored ways through which racism can operate in school settings. In her study of everyday racism in the Netherlands, Essed (1991) highlights the insidious separation of black and white pupils between schools, the underrepresentation of black teachers besides ethnic activities and institutionalized forms of racism that appear, for instance, in textbooks. Further research has drawn attention to the way inequalities and stereotypes can be sustained by educational systems that overlook—or misunderstand—the importance of everyday racism and the pitfalls of using culture instead (Dovermark 2013; Kundnani 2004). Numerous studies have pointed out limits inherent to the materials used by teachers. Gulliver (2011) casts

light on the pervasive use of national symbols in English as a Second Language (ESL) textbooks in Canada. Such illustration of "banal nationalism" (Billig 1995) highlights ways in which school books contribute to construct the nation and reinforce its legitimacy as the primary source of identification. Exploring different textbooks used in Finland, Hahl et al. (2015) offer insights into representations of *Finnishness*, "us" and "them", as well as the concept of the "West." This chapter contributes to this body of literature and sets out to bridge the gap between theoretical insights and practical implementations by discussing concrete ways in which to address culture in class without the specter of racism. Critical intercultural communication research brings insights into this topic by questioning the very use of culture. This issue is discussed in the next subchapter.

Critical Intercultural Communication Approach

The pervasive use of culture and the shift in racist discourses where *culture* is the main discursive tool to discriminate highlight the urgency to investigate "who makes culture relevant to whom in which context for which purposes" (Piller 2011, p. 174). As opposed to essentialist approaches which underpin cultural racism, critical intercultural communication is informed by social-constructionism, poststructuralism, and postmodernism. All three philosophical traditions shed light on culture as (1) something people *do* (and not something people *have*) and (2) a socially and discursively constructed concept (3) which is permeated by power (Dervin 2011; Halualani et al. 2009; Piller 2012). Contrarily to essentialist views which conceptualize culture as an abstract fixed notion, constructionist views focus on local productions of culture. This level of inquiry sheds light on *liquid* practices and highlights ways in which individuals' experiences can be varied and volatile rather than static and predictable (Dervin 2011). This approach therefore urges researchers to explore ways in which culture can be performed by individuals and mobilized as a discursive and interactional resource. Investigating productions of culture also draws attention to the interplay between local and global dynamics, present and past discourses, and associated power structures. Such an approach helps move pass the assumption that culture is an unproblematic and logical explanation of how individuals behave. On the contrary, critical scholars inspire to examine how and

why culture is typically conceived of as the answer. That is, culture is regarded as raising questions rather than providing answers.

The emphasis put on culture being a construction enables critical intercultural communication scholars to "shift from reified and inescapable notions of cultural difference to a focus on discourses where 'culture' is actually made relevant and used as a communicative resource" (Piller 2012, p. 14). Focusing on the construction of culture underlines tensions related to the representation of culture as normal and natural (Sommier 2014). Particular attention has been paid to the recurrent and unproblematized association of culture and nation which sustains the status-quo and associated privileges (Halualani et al. 2009). Questions are raised such as "Who ultimately has the power/privilege/right to define and reproduce 'culture'?" or "Who benefits from the creation of 'culture'?" (Halualani 1998, p. 267). This hints at the emphasis put on exploring *discourses* of culture and discourses in which culture is made relevant. A discursive approach starts from the premise that "culture is not a real thing but an abstract and purely analytical notion. It does not cause behavior, but summarizes an abstraction from it and is thus neither normative nor predictive" (Baumann 1996, p. 11). Building on such assumption enables to investigate the power structures, tensions, and struggles that permeate culture and that are reproduced through its usage. The *critical cosmopolitanism* approach developed by Holliday (2011) is a useful framework to understand the ideological underpinnings of culture. It highlights the normalization of some cultural representations and their positioning at the center of a global order, while other cultural realities are overlooked and marginalized. Critical cosmopolitanism ties intercultural communication together with other prominent theories about the construction of peripheries (Bhabha 2004; Hall 1998), critical approaches to the notions of race and culture (Delanty et al. 2008) and research in critical pedagogy and critical multicultural education (Holm and Londen 2010; Sleeter and Bernal 2004). These different research traditions all endeavor to deconstruct taken-for-granted representations of culture and identity that sustain status-quo. Investigating power dynamics in schools and educational texts enables to address tensions circulating at large within society in order to tackle deep-rooted structural issues and trigger change. Informed by these different strands of critical research, this chapter focuses on the concept of culture and its use in order to develop anti-racism education in Finland.

The Finnish National Core Curriculum for Basic Education[1]

Finland is currently going through a major school reform in the form of a new national core curriculum which will be implemented in August 2016. The curriculum sets objectives and content to each school subjects and defines the general concept of learning. In addition, the curriculum describes seven broad-based competencies that should be taken into account across subjects and throughout the whole 9-year comprehensive school. The broad-based competencies derive from the current societal situation and aim to answer the challenges of the future. One of the broad-based competencies is called *cultural competence, interaction and expression*. According to it, "pupils are brought up to a world that is culturally, linguistically and religiously diverse." Pupils are expected to "familiarize with and appreciate the cultural heritage of their own environment." They are also encouraged to "recognize cultural diversity and see it as a positive resource." The curriculum urges pupils to recognize "how cultures, religions and different views affect the society and its everyday live, how media shapes culture and to ponder upon what issues are not acceptable against human rights" (Finnish National Board of Education 2014, p. 21). Besides the broad-based competence of *cultural competence, interaction and expression*, some subjects discuss cultural issues more explicitly than others. For instance, religion, history and foreign languages tackle the issues of culture and tolerance in their core content and objectives.

In this chapter, we discuss the notion of cultural competence as an overarching theme. We also focus on its implications in foreign language education and introduce practical ways in which culture could be addressed and discussed when teaching English as a foreign language. The curriculum objectives of the foreign languages are divided into three main categories which are (1) *growth into cultural diversity and language awareness*, (2) *language learning strategies*, and (3) *language skills*. The first category contains issues such as "guiding pupils to perceive the linguistic and cultural richness of the near environment and the world and to motivate pupils to appreciate their own and others' language and culture backgrounds and to encounter people with no preconceptions." (Finnish National Board of Education 2014, p. 219)

Overall, the new curriculum, therefore, seems to present a less essentialist-embedded approach to culture than the previous curriculum

(Finnish National Board of Education 2004). A relevant illustration can be seen in the shift between emphasizing the "essence of the Finnish and European cultural identities" (Finnish National Board of Education 2004, p. 37), to making pupils familiar with their close cultural environment and its diversity (Finnish National Board of Education 2014, p. 21). The new curriculum places more emphasis on the diversity of national culture as well as contextual experiences of it. This discourse helps move away from fixed and reified views of culture as a homogenous preexisting entity and instead supports ideas about multifaceted and constantly changing practices. This shift suggests a transition from explicitly essentialist approach where culture is something people *have*, to constructionist discourses which understand culture as something people *do*. However, the new FNCCBE could be perceived as an example of neoessentialist discourse in which "national culture remains the basic unit" and "diversity is the exception to the rule" (Holliday 2011, p. 14). The curriculum also maintains the validity of comparing "our" and "their" cultures. More importantly, the new curriculum does not question the concept of culture and its salience, therefore using it as an unproblematic category. The absence of attention paid to the pervasive use of culture in official texts has been criticized for de facto institutionalizing a depoliticized approach to culture. Several critiques have argued that the institutionalization of culture as a normal and neutral category lays the foundation for cultural racism (Kundnani 2004; Lentin 2004).

We argue that despite limitations, the new FNCCBE provides a good outlook for anti-racism education by going beyond homogenous essentialist views of culture. Capitalizing on this shift in official discourse is important in order to enhance anticultural racism practices and awareness. A critical intercultural communication approach—and the intercultural awareness that grows from it—is a relevant tool since it allows to tackle culture in its political form and usage by questioning reasons why culture is so prevalent and scrutinizing ways in which it is used in discourses circulating throughout society.

Similarly, to the notion of overarching cultural competence in the new FNCCBE, discourses of culture and in which culture is made relevant occur across subjects. For this reason, this chapter emphasizes the need to consider anti-racism education from a holistic perspective by making adjustments in teaching situations where culture is brought up. This chapter thus argues that anti-racism at school is better conveyed through small steps and practices rather than the implementation of a

large program that would be more tedious and intricate to apply, and would potentially uncouple racism from existing teaching practices and contents. Throughout this discussion part, we will introduce aspects that need to be taken into account. Specifically, issues of language use, figures of the native speaker and national references are tackled hereafter. Those issues relate to the broader topic of intercultural communication competence, both at teacher- and student-levels.

Step 1: Intercultural Communication Competence

In this chapter, the concept of intercultural communication competence is discussed from a critical approach which enables to depict a full picture by addressing the dynamics between individual features and societal forces (Dervin 2010; Martin and Nakayama 2015). Competence models emphasizing individual aspects typically revolve around the three main components of *affect*, *knowledge* and *behavior* (Spitzberg and Changnon 2009). These models can be adapted to underline intercultural interactions as embedded in immediate and larger contextual forces. Within educational contexts, this means developing pupils' knowledge and attitude not toward culture but toward the way culture is utilized and made relevant. It also hints at raising pupils' willingness to go beyond ready-made, homogenizing, and reducing representations embedded in widely circulated discourses. This approach to competence places emphasis on the construction and contingency of meanings by teaching pupils to *examine what is said* rather than teaching pupils *what is said*.

Growing awareness of the way culture is utilized is central to developing intercultural communication competence and anti-racism education. Another key aspect lies in the attention paid to and attitudes toward *differences* and *similarities*. Oftentimes in school subjects where culture is made relevant (especially history, religion, language), *differences* tend to be pointed out first and foremost, which in turn teaches pupils to notice and pay attention to them. This reinforces *cultural differentialism* informed by essentialism which supposes that differences are inherently cultural and an appropriate way to understand others (Dervin 2010). Focusing on similarities is a relevant strategy to diminish the salience given to differences in culturalist discourses. Placing emphasis on similarities enables to move past the assumption that culture automatically creates gaps between individuals. It also gives pupils the opportunity to grow awareness of how similarities, as well as differences, are constructed

and performed. Ultimately, this orients pupils to detect similarities and actively build bridges that are relevant to their interactions and personal situations, rather than being subjected to ready-made discourses. Casting the light on differences and similarities as artificial is also a cornerstone element to go beyond representations of difference as *natural* and *inevitable* and instead encourage pupils to focus on the construction, ascription, and utilization of *cultural differences* (Titley 2004).

In general, the way difference is conceptualized and connoted is very important to reflect on. Intercultural competence recommends focusing on similarities in interaction but it is equally important not to overlook and prejudice against differences. As argued by Xu (2013, p. 394):

> Difference is not the problem for communication; the problem is the attitude of the interlocutor toward difference and the other – negative or positive, complaining or appreciative.

From an anti-racism point of view, being able to positively deal with differences is very important in order not to reproduce what has happened with race-oriented discourses of racism. The scientific proofs that race is not a biological reality has been used to support anti-racism but it has also given room to the more insidious and politically correct form of cultural racism. Dismissing culture and cultural differences because they are social constructs may not prevent cultural racism but may on the contrary contribute to the emergence of new racist patterns and strategies. Addressing differences and not making a taboo out of them is a very significant aspect of anti-racism education. As Abdallah-Pretceille and Porcher (2005) point out, for intercultural education to be beneficial it must take into account both similarities and differences and cannot overlook either one of them. It is also primordial to introduce pupils to the reasons behind differences by pointing out situational, economic, political, religious or historical factors behind practices and customs. Even with young learners, this is possible to achieve since it affects aspects of everyday life. One can, for instance, discuss agricultural and economic reasons behind the food people eat, climate issues behind particular clothing, infrastructures and migration as well as historical and colonial reasons behind sport practices and hobbies (e.g., cricket in India, football in Brazil). Explaining reasons why practices differ within and between countries can provide a mirror image of one's own practices and reasons behind them. Exploring the way practices are

constructed can help understand difference as a relational, and not absolute, construct. It can open pupils' eyes to how their own practices can seem *odd* for newcomers so that the implicit hierarchy of "our" culture being *normal* and *better* and "their" culture being *odd* and *less valuable* is dismissed.

Step 2: Language and Culture

Language use and language teaching are particularly relevant to examine in relation to anti-racism because of the hierarchies between groups of individuals that they implicitly assume. For instance, according to Kachru's (1985/2006) concept of "circles of world Englishes," the inner circle countries (i.e., United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New-Zealand) provide the norms for language use which speakers from other countries (i.e., outer and expanding circles) follow. This hierarchy can affect representations of individuals among "native" as well as between "native" and "non-native" speakers. Those different statuses have to do with the intersection between linguistic skills, stereotypes, and the pervasive assumption that monolingualism and monoculturalism are the norm and diversity the exception.

The prevalence of homogenous language use can appear through the type of accents presented to pupils in language classes. For instance, English teaching audio materials tend to follow what is labelled as "standard" English (i.e., British and American) pronunciation, grammar, and syntax. The use of uniform audio material sustains the supremacy of British and American English as "normal" ways of speaking English, while limiting pupils' understanding of the scope of varieties of English used and spoken worldwide. In order to prepare pupils for authentic *cosmopolitan realities,* teachers should provide them with examples of various *Englishes* relevant to current globalized times (Holliday 2009; Pennycook 2007). Teachers should more systematically introduce pupils to a wide variety of accents and organize communicative situations where those different varieties are used. Some teaching materials already acknowledge the different types of *Englishes* and, for instance, introduce pupils to different countries and the way English is spoken there. However, in the case of Finland, such practices tend to remain minor (Kopperoinen 2011). This maintains a distorted representation of the state of the global English community, so that the English spoken in former British colonies (e.g., India, Nigeria, Jamaica, South Africa)

is marginalized and English spoken in politically powerful states (e.g., U.K., U.S., Australia, Canada) is used as the norm.

In addition to different types of first-language English speakers, it is important for pupils to become familiar with different varieties of foreign-language *English*es. As the proportion of users of English as a Foreign Language is globally increasing, the typically imagined communicative situation involving a "native" and a "non-native" speaker is likely to become less common than that of two language learners talking together (Graddol 2006). It would therefore be greatly beneficial to maximize interactions with visitors whose first language is not English. Otherwise, teachers can rely on recorded materials which are widely available, for instance, from the Internet.

Introducing pupils to a variety of accents can contribute to anti-racism on several aspects. First, exposing pupils to a large variety of *Englishes* help them become aware of and appreciate differences, so that *different* does not mean *deviant*. Second, it helps both teachers and pupils go past the model of the "native speaker". Literature on Second Language Acquisition (SLA) has criticized the concept of the "native speaker" because of the unattainable goal it sets for learners of a foreign language (Cook 1999; Kramsch 1997). Other scholars have pointed out the ideological tensions embedded in the figure of the "native speaker" because of the dominant and unchallenged position it holds among all speakers (Holliday 2006). Representations of "native speakers" have strong intercultural implications also because of the stereotypes they convey. Holliday (2009, p. 25) argues:

> There is growing evidence that the populist notion of 'native speaker' is connected with the 'white Anglo-Saxon' image of people who come from the English speaking West, and that 'non-native speaker' educators are excluded from 'native speaker' status because they do not fall neatly into this image.

When it comes to English, challenging the homogenous views of who native speakers are is crucial given the width and plurality of the global English-speaking community. Using different models of English speech, vocabulary, syntax, and grammar can encourage pupils to appropriate the language and grow into responsive language users who can adapt their language use based on the context and features of the interaction instead of growing to reproduce fixed instances of an ideal "native speaker."

Step 3: Nation and Culture

The emphasis placed on dominant national culture is visible in English language teaching as the main textbooks used in Finland mostly discuss the mainstream cultures of the U.K. and the U.S. Often, the stories and images revolve around stereotypical families and practices as opposed to presenting different facets of national cultures. Examples of banal nationalism in textbooks are intertwined with the role played by schools in the construction of citizens belonging to a national imagined community. The covert construction of the nation as a normal and natural basis for individuals' practices and identifications impedes anti-racism education. Banal nationalism maintains homogenous representations of the nation, thus sustaining dominant practices as the norm and reproducing existing hierarchical relations within the society (Billig 1995). Banal nationalism, therefore, functions as a powerful tool to maintain unproblematized views of culture, cultural practices, and cultural differences. Teachers should be aware of the ways banal nationalism can permeate representations proposed in textbooks in order to be able to question them and provide alternative materials that show more multifaceted aspects of national cultures.

One common activity in English teaching is giving pupils "native" English names. Typically, the names are very traditional and sustain dominant views of the national imagined community. For instance, names like Ibrahim and Muhammad for boys or Nur and Maryam for girls are scarcely used despite their growing popularity. Muhammad was, for instance, in the top 20 list of names given in England and Wales in 2014, and was the most popular name when taking into account the different spellings (i.e., Muhammad, Mohammed, Mohammad) (Office for National Statistics 2015). Similarly to accents previously mentioned, the name activity reflects double-edged inequality. At the global level, using names emanating mostly from the U.K. and U.S. reproduces biased ideas of who global users of English are. At the U.K.- and U.S.-levels, those names maintain distorted views of the national community. In Finland, two of the most used EFL textbooks (i.e., "Wow!" & "Let's go!") which propose this activity also provide a list of very traditional names such as Jack, Charles, Adam, Caroline, Allison or Fiona. On this issue as well, ready-made materials maintain status-quo and push teachers to reproduce dominant existing views.

The prominence of the nation as the cultural system can be challenged by discussing differences and similarities not only between but also among countries. Finnish schools provide opportunities to focus on diversity within the country as there are almost no private schools and most children, including refugees, attend their nearest school. There are, however, separate preparatory classes for refugees in Finland which pupils usually attend for one academic year. It is important that these classes are not separated from the school community but rather brought together with other pupils by participating in common projects and activities. This is especially important given that preparatory classes have drastically increased in Finnish schools in 2015. In addition, schools can have visitors from local organizations and do cooperation with local reception centers.

Another practical way of deconstructing the prominence of the nation as the main cultural system is to talk about the different and similar ways of celebrating the same holiday between families, for instance, regarding food and clothing. Examining differences within countries can help pupils realize that diversity surrounds us and that "we" are plural. It is important to emphasize that different ways of doing are equally valuable and make them realize that all practices are social constructions negotiated within communities (whether it is at the family-, regional-, national-, or online-level) and that there is nothing absolute or natural. Making pupils aware of the way practices are negotiated at different levels is an important step to recognize knowledge in general as constructed and situated. In classrooms with pupils from different nationalities, one could have a calendar in which different-level celebrations (e.g., national holidays as well as individuals' birthdays) are shown together and can be used for discussions. That can provide opportunities to talk about differences as well as similarities and discuss reasons behind them. A key element when presenting different celebrations is to engage all pupils and orient the discussion around the analysis of cultural practices being equally artificial and not fall back into the pattern of comparing "our normal habits" with "their odd customs."

Because of the unclear distinction between *race* and *ethnicity*, previous studies (Kundnani 2004; Pyke and Dang 2003) have shown pitfalls of focusing merely on "ethnic" customs which tend to reproduce stereotypical views of culture. Especially, when drawing attention to differences, the emphasis put on ethnic practices tends to build on essentialist views of culture as a homogenous entity and on exotic representations of

the "Other." Said's (1978) discussion of *Orientalism* casts light on the construction of Asian and Middle Eastern people in European discourses as inferior, retrograde, and exotic. These discourses have been used to support colonialism and keep nourishing racist discourses (Ware 2015). One way of overcoming the exotic appeal of differences is to, once again, present different practices and customs in classes where pupils are from the same country and where instances of regional or linguistic differences can be explored. This contributes to making pupils aware of existing differences within the same nation and of the importance of respecting one another's practices regardless of the level at which differences occur. Furthermore, this emphasizes the importance of considering interaction as occurring between *individuals* and not *cultures*.

Kundnani (2004, p. 107) points out potential counter effects of emphasizing "ethnic minority culture" as it can give pupils from dominant groups the impression of having no culture and being discriminated. Exploring differences within the same country can contribute to make taken-for-granted practices visible so that pupils from majority groups, whose cultural practices tend to be invisible, become aware of their own situatedness. Ultimately, this can break down hierarchical assumptions about the *exotic cultural other* and the *normal a—cultural us*. The emphasis, or absence thereof, on some nations or practices relates back to prestige associated with certain identities, countries, or cultures. This illustrates how permeated with power culture is and how referring to culture is never as innocent and unproblematic at it may seem.

By going beyond fixed homogenous representations of culture, anti-racism education ultimately presents identity from a liquid standpoint by drawing attention to the range of identifications available and ways in which they overlap. Discussions about identity capture the overall strategy of anti-racism education underpinned by critical intercultural communication. Identity, like the other key concepts of culture, difference, and nation, is highlighted as a construction permeated with power. The emphasis is therefore placed on presenting them as contingent ideas and not established facts:

> Once we go from the façade of the "givenness," "naturalness," and "normality" of social and cultural identities to the historical processes that produced them, we begin to shift the ground of discussion from fixed reified notions of identity as a "thing," "given in nature" to processes of

> *production*, *naturalization*, and *normalization*. (Mendoza et al. 2002, p. 316)

Going beyond the nation as the main unit and offering varied examples of linguistic practices are central aspects in developing pupils' awareness of identification as a performance that can go beyond existing categories and their immediate locality. Acknowledging and supporting the development of fluid identities is a key aspect to move past static categories based on assumptions of what "cultural diversity" entails. Holm and Londen (2010) point out the limitations of thinking only in terms of ethnicity, religion, and language, as it dismisses other aspects such as gender, sexual preference, social class, or disability and overlooks intersections between all these facets.

Presenting identities as constructions is especially important in education given its enculturation and socialization role and the overarching theme of identity across subjects. Language teaching is a prominent venue given the emphasis placed on linguistic communities and identities, but subjects such as history also have a role to play in presenting the construction of culture in the light of the conflicts and struggles that shaped (and keeps shaping) them. Ngũgĩ (1993, p. 28) powerfully reminds us that "Any study of cultures which ignores structures of domination and control and resistance within nations and between nations and races over the last four hundred years is in danger of giving a distorted picture."

Other Issues to Consider

There are several challenges that need to be taken into account in anti-racism education. First, teachers themselves might have a very stereotypical view of culture which can be conveyed in their teaching. Because culture is not often identified as an instance of racism, teachers who are not aware of it may reproduce such racist discourse by giving more prestige and visibility to some cultures. Therefore, it is very important for teachers to be aware of their own values and beliefs of race and culture. For instance, a study conducted about teacher students' perceptions of multiculturality by Jokisalo et al. (2009), sheds light on the discrepancy of people's values and practical actions. That is, the majority of the teacher students agreed with the statement that "it is important to talk about the different personality traits of different ethnic groups" (p. 207)

even though this kind of discourse is considered highly racist. However, 92% of the teacher students agreed with the statement that "racist actions or discourse should always be interfered with" (p. 207). This conveys their willingness to take anti-racism seriously and highlights the need to develop future teachers' understanding of culture as a tool for racism.

Second, pupils may have constructed views of existing cultures which teachers have to overcome. That is, stereotypes are often appealing to pupils and intrigue them because they offer simple answer to complex questions. Pupils are also already accustomed to stereotypes, for instance, through media exposure and family socialization. Therefore, teachers might have to push pupils out of their comfort zones and challenge their assumptions. For instance, referring to the example of foreign names provided earlier, pupils may be unwilling to choose nonstereotypical names and instead pick traditional and popular ones. To overcome this, teachers can, for instance, offer a list containing only nonstereotypical names.

There are also few practical challenges in implementing anti-racism education. First, school materials play an important role. Despite relevant improvements in the past years as regards gender roles and minority groups, important shortcomings remain. One issue is the prevalence of *culture* to address diversity, which, as this chapter shows, harms rather than serves anti-racism practices. The lack of relevant materials forces teachers to come up with their own resources. Taking upon such mission at the individual level requires a considerable amount of time. Compiling relevant anti-racism material that is ready to use and tailored to each discipline is a critical aspect to tackle in order to successfully implement anti-racism education. Second, even though Finland is becoming increasingly diverse, there are still very homogenous areas and schools in terms of practices, social backgrounds, and nationality, which makes it both crucial and challenging to address the issue of anti-racism education.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed anti-racism education from a cultural standpoint because of the increasing visibility of the ubiquitous concept of *culture* and its propensity to replace *race* in racist discourses. We looked at the new FNCCBE and how it talks about culture and linked it to education. We argued that anti-racism practices should be acknowledged across subjects through a series of small steps and presented three main aspects.

First, we discussed intercultural communication competence and raised the importance of looking for similarities while positively addressing differences. Second, we talked about tensions embedded in language use and language teaching, related to homogenous examples of language use and the figure of the native speaker. Third, we raised issues related to the overlapping between nation and culture and emphasized the importance of going beyond the nation as the main and normalized unit to address practices and identities.

This chapter intended to bridge the gap between theory and practice by providing concrete examples in order to implement anti-racism education. However, some of these examples which are from the Finnish societal context might not be transferred to other contexts as such. In the future, it is important to keep developing concrete and approachable ways for teachers to deal with *culture* in class without reproducing racist discourses. In addition, it is necessary to produce better teaching materials and raise teacher students' awareness of intercultural competence and the pitfalls of culturalist discourses. Working teachers should also receive courses on anti-racism education so that it becomes an inherent part of every teacher's teaching philosophy.

Note

1. The references to the FNCCBE (2004) are based on the official English translation by the Finnish National Board of Education. The translations of the FNCCBE (2014) are done by the authors as the official ones were not yet accessible.

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CHAPTER 6

Invading Formal Education by Non-Formal Anti-Racist Campaigning

Päivi Armila, Anni Rannikko and Tiina Sotkasiira

Introduction

'The age of migration' (Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer 2002) has a lot to do with age: Young people face societal changes much more tangibly than older generations, and thus they also encounter changes introduced by immigration and multiculturalisation more concretely in their everyday lives (e.g. Harinen et al. 2016). Classically, youth are perceived as having a 'fresh contact' with the world, thus carrying no burdens of traditions that prevent a welcoming attitude towards societal changes (Mannheim 1927/1974; Ziehe 1991). However, the contact of young Finns with the changes of multiculturalism has not been solely 'fresh' in the Mannheimian sense. Negative attitudes towards ethnic diversification have not disappeared in spite of multicultural aspirations highlighted,

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for example, in the formal curricula of the Finnish elementary education, and racist attitudes among certain sections of adolescents have raised concerns (e.g. Myllyniemi 2014).

Despite acknowledging the challenges regarding young people's attitudes, Finland thus far lacks the tradition of anti-racist education. As Alemanji and Mafi (2016) argue, the concept of multicultural education is more familiar to Finnish educators, and there is confusion over the differences in contents between anti-racism and multiculturalism. However, discussions of multiculturalism and tolerance started in Finnish educational institutions in the 1990s (Killen et al. 1997). At the time, at schools and nurseries, it was understood that increasing immigration creates challenges for everyday interactions, and particularly for the relationship among educators and caregivers, pupils of immigrant background and their parents. That said, the discussion on the interlinkages of racism and education is still in its infancy in Finland (Alemanji and Dervin 2016; Alemanji and Mafi 2016). Researchers have argued that educators rarely acknowledge the existence of racism at schools, meaning that multicultural education is what is currently on the table (Holm and Londen 2010; Souto 2011).

Multicultural education, as Alemanji and Mafi (2016, p. 35) explain, 'works with the notion of our basic humanness and downplays inequities of difference by accentuating shared commonalities' (for original, see Dei and Calliste 2000, p. 21). As Holm and Londen (2010) point out, multicultural education is often intended only for immigrant students. Although there is a more critical approach within multicultural education with the focus on social justice and structural changes (Sleeter and Grant 2006; Ladson-Billings 2004; Sleeter and Bernal 2004), in practice, many schools interpret their multicultural education as ethnic foods and festivals. Researchers have criticised this line of education for not directly tackling racism and, in the case of Finland in particular, the discursive and physical othering of those deemed 'immigrants' (e.g. Jokisalo 2013; Souto 2013). However, racialised children and young people, as well as researchers who work on racism, are in agreement that racist practices prevail at schools and in the lives of young people in general (Salminen 2009; Dami et al. 2016).

Over the years, the authors of this chapter have aimed to awaken different educational institutions to acknowledge and tackle racism. We have carried out anti-racist interventions into different educational and care contexts as part of our formal work as university teachers, as well

as civic action in relation to a local Joensuu-based campaign, *Meille saa tulla—in English: You are welcome* (see Sotkasiira et al. 2010). In this chapter, we analyse our experiences of anti-racist interventions within fields of formal education, namely those of kindergartens and elementary schools. We also make an excursion to higher education by bringing out in the open some notes from our work as university teachers. By relying on critical autoethnography, we aim to identify conflicts that occur when openly ideological anti-racist education is conducted within seemingly apolitical institutions of formal education.

Dealing with Racism in Educational Settings

Racism is a fuzzy concept. For some, racism is synonymous with neo-Nazis and the extreme right, whereas others think of racism as personal prejudice. For still others, racism equals institutional discrimination, meaning laws, customs and practices that systematically reproduce racial and ethnic inequality (Essed 2001). As Essed (2001) clarifies, the notion of institutional racism may, however, be misleading if we overlook the fact that institutionalised practices are made, enacted and encountered by real people in real circumstances. She explains racism as a broad phenomenon consisting of cultural patterns, societal structures, recurring practices, behaviours, ideologically informed attitudes and discourses through which racial and ethnic minorities are excluded, problematised and inferiorised (see also van Dijk 1991, 1993; Feagin and Feagin 1993).

In Nordic countries, we live in 'learning societies' (e.g. Keep and Mayhew 1996) where formal education is highly valued and participating in it is societally and legally required. Therefore, a 'natural' response to a rising concern over racism and intolerance would be to educate people away from it. When it comes to educating and caring for preschool and school children, the ideal of multicultural education is promoted in Finland. For example, the National Curriculum Guidelines on Early Childhood Education and Care in Finland (STAKES 2005) includes a chapter on how to support children with different language and cultural backgrounds. Now, the new curricula for compulsory basic education (Finnish National Board of Education 2014)—which has been implemented since August, 2016—states that bullying, violence, racism or any other form of discrimination is not accepted in the school environment. Also, at least in bigger cities, the importance of helping multicultural children maintain their cultural traditions is written into the regional

and local plans for conducting education. That said, the promotion of tolerance and cultural rights has not been turned into large-scale anti-racist education within formal school settings. Anti-racist education is predominantly conducted by non-governmental actors and campaigns (Alemanji and Mafi 2016).

In everyday (pre)school realities, banal nationalism as a structure (Billig 1995; Souto 2011) and 'micro-aggression' (concept from Cacho 2012) as a practice may intertwine and form an atmosphere that the cautious concepts of 'tolerance' in the formal curricula have not been able to improve. School, to a certain extent, does not always look like a very effective place to form young people's attitudes. In different educational settings, cultural hegemony and the nationalism behind it do not exist solely in individual people's actions and attitudes. White, Christian Finnishness penetrates Finnish school and preschool education at its formal (written curricula plus teaching and caring principles and practices) and informal (hidden curricula) levels, as well as in its physical, cultural and social spaces (Holland et al. 2007; Souto 2011). This penetration induces not only banal nationalism but also concrete conflicts. According to Miles (1994), the line between nationalism, patriotism and racism is very porous. Thus, spaces of multiculturalisation—and at the same time basically nationalistic educational environments—are not just spaces for diversified and tolerant coexistence; they can become hot fields of racialised inclusion and exclusion.

Kindergartens and schools are places where children and young people come together and where they spend a lot of time. Thus, the question arises: How can the anti-racist and anti-nationalistic content of teaching be brought to traditional nationalistic and patriotic environments, given that school and preschool ethnographies have repeatedly shown us (see, e.g. Lappalainen 2006; Holland et al. 2007; Souto 2011) that the word 'racism' seems to be too hard to say aloud? As actors of anti-racist education, in order to get in touch with the youth, we often have to go to schools and try to reach them with methods that catch their attention, not just lecture them about the importance of 'multicultural tolerance'.

In order to influence anti-racist education, we also often have to approach it via educating adults to make them notice educational patterns that maintain—often unintentionally—ethnic bias. In the following sub-chapters, we aim to analyse our efforts to intrude into some educational settings where either teachers or their pupils/students have been

present. We also make an excursion into the world of adult education and open up our experiences in which we have tried to promote anti-racist messages as part of our posts as university teachers. The analysis is based on a critical autoethnographic approach described in the following section.

Critical Autoethnography as an Approach

The methodology of this analysis may be described as an approach in which multi-sited critical ethnography is combined with an autoethnographic perspective. The research field is anti-racist civic activism in the North Karelia region of Eastern Finland, framed by our academic work as social science researchers and as activists of the *Meille saa tulla* anti-racist campaign, in which different kinds of anti-racist interventions into schools, kindergartens and different communal happenings in co-operation with teachers, nurses, youth workers and activists have been conducted.

Meille saa tulla is one of the forms of anti-racist campaigning within the North Karelian anti-racist movement, which has existed for more than 20 years (e.g. Puuronen 2001). We have been involved in the campaign since it started in 2010, and this analysis is based on the experiences of anti-racist actions within the campaign since then. As autoethnographers, we are supposed to employ our own individual selves in the analysis and observe phenomena from the standpoint of insiders (Anderson 2006; Uotinen 2010). We are also expected to be competent members of the community being researched, as we are in the anti-racist campaign. On the other hand, we have not always been familiar with the sites of our interventions, and certain incidents and conceptualisations in the field have surprised us. These moments of surprise, or in some cases of self-doubt, are the focus of our attention in this text.

Participation, collaboration and the production of counter-knowledge were central in the fieldwork conducted within the anti-racist civic campaign (see Suoranta and Ryynänen 2014). As researchers and as activists, we are committed to the ethos of anti-racism (Souto 2011), which also defines how racism as a phenomenon has been perceived in the campaign. The key point is, as Rastas (2008) explains in regard to anti-racist research methodology, not only to look for pitfalls in society but also to stop and change direction when one realises that what she or he does may, in fact, contribute to racism and racialised bias, rather than work against it.

Critical ethnography as a form of activist or rebellious research rests upon the idea that knowledge produced by researchers should bring benefits to those individuals and groups whom it concerns. The goal is to gain practically and theoretically relevant knowledge that is produced together with informants. (Suoranta and Ryynänen 2014; Mills 1959/1982) Ethnography is considered an approach to research that incorporates the silent knowledge and unspoken agreements behind 'the ordinary'. Moreover, it exposes paradoxes between ideals and practices, and is therefore applicable to anti-racist research (Fetterman 1989).

There have been multiple sites of observation; over the years, the campaign has covered several different locations and environments. Traditionally, ethnography has been conducted in one particular place and among one particular community. Rather than considering the research field a tangible cartographic location, it can be perceived as an action space formed by interconnections, anti-racist actions and places where the activists act. All different sites are tied together through the experiences of activists as researchers. (Marcus 1995; Falzon 2009; Uotinen 2010.) Critical autoethnographers also aim to analyse their own interventions. In this case, the data consist of reminiscence of elementary school visits, training for school visitors, training for school and nursery personnel, experiences as university lecturers and other interventions as anti-racist activists. All events analysed in this chapter have taken place in Eastern Finland.

In most of the cases, we have not written a systematic fieldwork diary, but the occurrences have been recalled later on. When choosing what to write about in this chapter, we simply sat down and started discussing our memories and impressions of working in different educational and care contexts as researchers and activists committed to anti-racist education. There is no denying that this was subjective work, meaning that what we write about is conditioned by our subjective understanding of what is important. Second, because reminiscence is primarily about meanings, rather than the concrete course of events, we are aware that the meanings we give to our experiences are subject to change over time (Rannikko 2012). It could be that when a person is surprised or startled, s/he does not necessarily understand what has just happened. It could be that only moments, even years later does s/he understand (or thinks s/he understands) what happened at that moment.

When reminiscing about our experiences in the field, we have tried to do as Essed (2001) advises; that is, we have attempted, as a team

of researchers, to expose racism in the educational and care systems, as well as in our own actions, by analysing apparently unambiguous meanings, exposing hidden currents and generally questioning what seems normal and/or acceptable to ourselves and to others around us. Our method is based on retrospective meaning making, which brings to the forefront various actions, emotions, inequalities and intuitions we have encountered in the field. The material and citations from our recollections are those that we think crystallise the moments in which we have become aware of the inequalities around us. As autoethnographers, we have discussed and organised our memories and experiences by discussing them as a team. We now argue that these moments of surprise and doubt give us an opportunity to highlight racist undercurrents within the institutions, as well as pedagogical principles and actions that order the everyday functions of the educational institutions we have worked with.

When working in the field, we have always made it known that we are researchers. However, we have not always informed the people we have met that we will be writing academic papers about our experiences. Therefore, in many cases, the informants have not given their consent to participate in our ethnographic work. That said, during the past years, we have written several analyses of anti-racist activism, so our academic interest is not a secret, and local people are aware of our attempts to combine activism and research. However, in terms of methodology, this means that because we have not informed the people with whom we have communicated in the field about our intentions to include them in our research, we keep our field descriptions few and general enough to maintain the anonymity of the people we have encountered. By the same token, we do not mention places or dates where observations have taken place.

In what follows, we discuss our experiences in three different pedagogical contexts—nurseries, schools and universities—which means that we are simultaneously dealing with anti-racist education among three different target groups: children, young people and (young) adults, as well as, and in many cases, the adults who work with these groups of young people. We recognise many differences between these contexts. However, when reminiscing about our experiences, we also became aware of many similarities between our experiences, regardless of the educational institution at hand. We have therefore included here themes that will speak to audiences working with any of the above-mentioned groups.

The *Meille saa tulla* campaign is an important context for us because it has allowed us access to various places and spaces. However, here the thread that binds our experiences together is not the campaign as such, but our attempt to combine our academic interest in anti-racism and our attempts to spread and 'root' the knowledge we have gained via academic pursuits into the contexts of education and care.

Interventions and Excursions

Dealing with 'Innocence'

> We are gathered in a hall of a nursery. By 'we', I mean a group consisting of three researchers and some two dozen staff members of various city-run nurseries. A colleague of mine first gives a presentation on handling everyday racism in a school context. I then continue with a speech focusing more directly on children of preschool age, and how as a parent (and as a researcher) I have observed nursery staff unintentionally categorising children on the basis of ethnic differences. We both try to highlight how important it is to recognise racism within care and education. We also argue that it is a responsibility for adults to acknowledge racism, because if we do not talk about it, how can we expect young children to recognise racism and have the courage to bring the issue out into the open? When the Q&A session starts, one of the staff members begins to talk about a multicultural festival at her child's school. She is very happy with the event, during which refugees and other immigrants came to school to talk about their experiences. She refers to immigrant children as 'mamus,' which we, the researchers, know to be a derogatory term for an immigrant. I don't know how I should feel about this address. Should I be happy that schools have started to introduce multicultural elements into the curriculum? Or should I fall into desperation? All this talk about racism and we still come across educators who don't understand that they use words that people may find insulting! Furthermore, what can I say to make these experts understand that these days we don't need festivals to bring multiculturalism into our nurseries and schools? Multiculturalism settled in them a long while ago. In practically every group and every class, there is a child who, or whose parents, could tell the same stories, for example, about racism that the invited guests tell their audiences. These things don't just happen somewhere out there. (Fieldnotes, TS.)

Within our anti-racist campaigning, we have participated in a co-operation between municipal day-care services, civil society actors and

researchers, which has been based on a need to pay attention to multilingual children's rights in kindergarten care and preschool education. Parents of multilingual children have noticed that even if kindergarten teachers' attitudes towards multilingualism are predominantly positive, they do not necessarily have expertise in supporting these children's language learning processes. When the municipality organised trainings on this topic, it was understood that the staff members' attitudes towards multiculturalism are not entirely positive. Stereotypes that border on racism could and can still be found within kindergartens. The staff members have, for example, discussed children with an immigrant background as 'particularly difficult to care for', because of their presumed cultural background (cf. Armila and Kontkanen, Forthcoming).

The head of the day-care services wanted to tackle this issue by arranging training that would encourage staff members to ponder the existence of racist practices in the everyday preschool environment. The aim of this training was to enhance the staff members' ability to identify and intervene in nationalist and racist practices. As a team of researchers, and also as voluntary activists, we were responsible for organising this training for the adult teachers.

During the interventions, it was noted that there are conflicting views on how kindergarten teachers can relate to anti-racist education. It seems that different conceptions of childhood and an ability to position oneself as a minority member of society are key to understanding whether adults see a need for anti-racist education in kindergartens and what the contents of this education should be. Before anti-racist education can be discussed in kindergartens, there is a need to agree on whether preschool children are in need of anti-racist education, or if it, in fact, may be harmful to them, as some preschool teachers argued. To explain this, we can refer to two different pedagogical conceptions of childhood.

First, for some teachers, a pedagogical perspective that treats **children as innocent and vulnerable** (Wynes 2000) is a firm foundation on which to base their educational approaches. From such an angle, children either need protection or adult guidance, such as concerning knowledge of what is good and what is bad. Children are considered innocent and in need of adult protection; they are portrayed as 'tabula rasa' and perceived as lacking the skill to categorise people on the basis of their ethnic background or skin colour. Within this framework, the starting point is the vulnerable child encapsulated within an ideology of innocence. According to Holt (1975, p. 22):

> most people who believe in the institution of childhood as we know it see it as a kind of walled garden in which children, being small and weak, are protected from the harshness of the world outside until they become strong and clever enough to cope with it.

The perception of children as innocent generates demands for adults to protect children, which some caregivers understand as a legitimisation of the exclusion of young children from anti-racist education. In these terms, anti-racist education comes across as an activity that brings 'evil' into the garden of childhood. Adult teachers have argued that racism is not part of the children's world, which is why we would do children a disservice by introducing them to negativity that should be a part of the adult world only.

We, however, argue that the exclusion of children is based on a fallacy of protected childhood. Already preschool children may experience racist slander and insults. In addition, nursery play grounds can become spaces of hot political debate; we have been told how in Finnish kindergartens children play, not police and thieves, but police and asylum seekers. We find that the escalation of the public debate on immigration and multiculturalism creates a demand for a more informed child in terms of the knowledge and skills to comprehend what adults around them are talking about. This has been our message to kindergarten teachers: They cannot ignore these experiences of some children, to close their eyes in front of them as if these experiences did not exist.

We concur with Lappalainen (2006), who has researched multicultural education in the Finnish preschool context and claims that even today, childhood is predominantly constructed as a time of innocence and vulnerability. Lappalainen (2006, 49) argues that this dominant construction of childhood makes it difficult for adults to approach childhood in terms of exclusionary categories of cultural differences, which often prevail in the adult world. However, it is noteworthy that in children's lives, there are tensions and discriminatory 'isms', such as racism, nationalism and sexism. Lappalainen (2006) concludes that cultural diversity is widely recognised in the preschool environment, but this recognition tends to operate in a way that reserves agency for the hegemonic majority. The questions therefore arise: If we are not prepared to acknowledge racism in the world of children, who are we actually protecting? A key question is: Does a white child's right to innocence count more than a

minority child's right to name his or her experiences and be protected from racism?

Another pedagogical perspective we have faced in kindergartens is the one which highlights the **experiences that orient from a child's life and the social relations that s/he is involved in** both at home and at the nursery. Within this framework, children are perceived as experimental subjects that benefit from anti-racist education. Activities that target bullying can be seen as particularly important. The idea is to work on relationships between children and support these relationships to allow 'different' children to find friends and not be excluded by their peers. If we think about kindergarteners' everyday lives, there are continuous possibilities for teachers to use a 'carpe diem method', by which we mean small scale encounters and confrontations:

> I am following a music class at a local school. One of the children has a birthday, and the whole class sings her a birthday song, "Happy Birthday to You", in Finnish. A Russian speaking boy raises his hand and asks if he can sing the same song, but in Russian. The teacher gives him permission, and the pupil starts to sing. Once the song is over, the teacher thanks the boy and tells him that she did not understand a word and did not have any idea what the song was about. This reminded me of how different the adult world is from the children's world. For the boy, it was quite a natural thing to sing in Russian, but adults still need to practice how to act in such situations. If the teacher had wanted to encourage a positive attitude towards the Russian language, she could have asked what the lyrics meant or asked the boy to teach the song in Russian. The melody was well-known to everyone in the class. (Fieldnotes, TS.)

In our visits to kindergartens and preschools, we have witnessed how different perceptions of childhood entail different perceptions of dealing with racism in preschool education. If children are seen as innocent and pure, racism is detached from them, and anti-racist activities are perceived in a negative light, or alternatively, they are seen as unnecessary. If the focus is on children's experiences, it is recognised that even if there are children who live in predominantly white neighbourhoods where racism seems not to be 'an issue', there are also children who cannot escape racist adult realities. These educators have what Essed (1991, pp. 76–77) calls 'the knowledge of racism' that affords them the ability to explain individual experiences as group experiences, to acknowledge

the historical nature of current events and to take personal responsibility in the process of change. Educators with knowledge of racism are able to interpret racist bullying as racism and not 'merely' bullying.

Our notions from preschools show that educators working in Finnish kindergartens basically acknowledge societal change. They realise that there are more and more children with multicultural backgrounds in these environments, and thus they feel a need to gain new skills to come to terms with new situations. At the same time, they do not necessarily recognise conflicts in their own working environments. For example, we have experienced on more than one occasion that when one starts to talk about multicultural or anti-racist education with nursery teachers, their initial response is to invite someone over to the kindergarten to talk about their experiences of multiculturalism or racism. This is why we need to be encouraged, even guided, towards analysing the sometimes exclusive practices and interactions that take place in our very own working places, and not just 'somewhere out there'.

According to our experiences, we can say that in our region today, it is quite easy to intervene in Finnish kindergartens with a message of anti-racism. However, to open up the preschool teachers' eyes, to see the practices maintaining cultural hierarchies and nationalism—which, according to Miles (1994), are seeds of racism—in their immediate working environments is not easy. This is the case either when we talk about preschool children's mutual relationships or the teachers' own attitudes, as well as their readiness to work together with different families, as educators.

From Tolerance Towards Recognition of Privileges

I'm participating in a weekend training of global education in order to gain new ideas for anti-racist school visits. We get a task to draw 'me as a Finn'. Every one of us—we are ten participants, all committed to anti-racism and willing to do school visits—should draw our own picture. And so we draw. Later on we explain to each other what we have drawn and why. In the vast majority of pictures, Finnishness has positive connotations; it signifies peace, cleanliness, safety and independence, and even the Finnish flag is present in many pictures. But in some, there are more critical views as well: skinheads, privileges, ignorance and the possibility of closing one's eyes to injustice. I think this would be the most perfect moment to talk about privilege, solidarity and alliance, or at least to discuss other possible views on Finnishness. However, we move on to the next task and

> leave those difficult discussions unspoken. I'm frustrated, but I somehow don't have enough courage to say that we just missed an important point. (Fieldnotes, AR.)

The previous quotation is from a training organised by two national NGOs who came to train activists in Eastern Finland. It addresses some typical difficulties we face when a shift from the nationalistic context towards anti-racism is attempted. These difficulties related to anti-racist school visits in practice will be analysed in this chapter. An anti-racist school visitor group has been a part of the *Meille saa tulla* campaign since 2012. Group members come from different backgrounds and have different motivations and varying levels of pedagogical experience and training. The group has invited trainers and organised workshops to collectively improve school visitors' skills. It organises interactive school visits to approximately 10 elementary and middle school classes annually.

School visits are often ordered to schools by adults: A teacher or a principal contacts the *Meille saa tulla* network and asks for a visit in order to solve problems that have recently occurred, although often it is not easy to admit that there is racism at one's school. Although the group of visitors is called 'anti-racist', visits are normally called 'school visits promoting equality', because most schools wish to avoid highlighting racism. Educators seem to think that a positive approach is more suitable for the school environment; racism is such a harsh and difficult word. In their perception, admitting that there is racism in their school might also mean that they have not done enough to resist it (Souto 2011, 2013).

Formal anti-racist activities at schools seem to be conditioned by adults. In some cases, the teacher's impulse has been that s/he woke up to see how multicultural their school already is, so s/he assumes that training is needed: 'Now we have someone different here, so we thought it would be useful to have you here before some problems occur'. For them, anti-racist education is necessary only after someone 'different enough' is present. Formally and carefully planned curricula, as well as schooling practices termed 'hidden curricula' (Souto 2011), are based—often implicitly—on banal nationalism (Billig 1995). For example, in Finland, time schedules at school follow the traditional Christian week order and holidays weekly and termly, Finnish textbooks present white Finnishness as a mainstream, and ethnic minorities as something special and rare, school celebrations and their sites are filled with nationalistic

symbols, and so on (Holland et al. 2007; Souto 2011). Teachers see how their school is becoming multicultural in new ways, but they do not see that their pupils already have the expertise of the lived and existing multicultural reality.

There is a risk that pupils will remain unheard and that their experiences of exclusion or/and racism will be unacknowledged. Adult educators do not always remember that racism is not always visible to everyone. It is essential to reflect on and be aware of one's own privileges and to stay sensitive to the knowledge of those who may not be as privileged as others (Souto 2011, 39; Rastas 2007). On the other hand, it might be problematic to bring forward the expertise of the marginalised, because often it leads to derogatory remarks or even aggressive responses, results that are often unexpected (Juvonen 2006). A short visit is not always enough to make sure that the classroom is a safe enough space to share experiences of oppression without fear of rejection.

> We are organising a workshop for a class of eighth-graders. We have almost finished the workshop and are talking about things we have learnt in small groups. I hear that in a group next to mine, the history teacher whose lecture we have joined tells his pupils that anti-racist activism is part of the same dangerous plot as feminism, because these ideologies only promote the rights of oppressed, not the pro-human rights of everyone. I can't believe my ears. The class is very multicultural, and I know that I have to say something to secure the situation, but I'm so surprised about the teacher's attitude that I don't know how. I join the teacher's small group and tell the pupils that their teacher is actually wrong and that both anti-racism and feminism involve the promotion of the rights of every one of us. The point is not to oppress anyone. The teacher looks at me but says nothing. The discussion continues, but I know that even if the pupils had believed me, their teacher surely did not, and he has a chance to talk about this with his pupils after we leave the school. (Fieldnotes, AR.)

When a group of people voluntarily get together and work to combat racism, it takes much to observe methods critically, because obviously nobody wishes to conclude that their actions reflect and maintain the racist world order. Methods and tools to creatively visit schools are being developed, but often workshops and practices are not completed with discussion, the lesson remains unclear, and they might even reinforce banal nationalism and a sense of powerlessness. School visitors are

quite alone with their doubts because it is difficult to demonstrate how some common methods might actually maintain racism in spite of good intentions. Moreover, it is not always clear whether some methods are more harmful than useful. There are certain common interactive methods, such as talks given by 'an expert by experience' and the Human Library, where experiences of the oppressed are used to throw into relief the privileges of others. These methods are considered empowering and liberating on an individual level, but they are also exoticising and rather structure-blind (Taavetti, Forthcoming).

Sometimes reflection on privileges or learning about inequality leads to discussions in which people try to defend their privileged position and undermine the experiences of more oppressed people. This might reinforce exclusion and rejection, even if the intention was to oppose these settings. It is important to find ways to motivate pupils to 'know differently' and to break down old prejudices in a safe environment (Juvonen 2006). Anti-racist school visits easily remain exotic excursions that momentarily interrupt the everyday functions of elementary schools. Many beginnings are made to question normativities at schools, but anti-racism is not primarily carried to the practices of schools. This is mainly because neither the already existing diversity nor banal nationalism is recognised at schools.

All the above-mentioned difficulties arise from a contradiction between two different approaches to anti-racist pedagogy: tolerance pedagogy and norm-critical pedagogy. Many human rights organisations have given up tolerance pedagogy and shifted to talking about norm-criticism, in which discrimination is treated as a structural phenomenon. (Älä oleta 2013). In norm-critical pedagogy, the focus is on recognizing exclusionary and segregatory structures in communities because they are usually not noticed by those who are not targeted by them. Tolerance is considered problematic because of the hierarchy it maintains—the majority may decide whether it tolerates the inferior minority—and because it exotisises the oppressed by focusing on individuals. Based on our experiences, at schools, tolerance is still the key concept in discussing inequality. It happens that we are invited to organise 'a workshop of cultural encounters', in which the focus is more or less on exotisation and othering. Nevertheless, elementary schools are willing to take a stand against discrimination. However, choosing sides is not as obvious when we move to analyse the situation at universities.

An Excursion Among and Between Adults: Against Racism in Academia

All the authors of this chapter have experiences surrounding teaching in scientific environments and also about trying to deliver anti-racism as an important content of the social sciences and as an important attitude for emergent social scientists, social politicians and social workers, as well as for future teachers and student counsellors. These experiences have cumulated, for example, in our courses for social scientists, class teacher students and exchange students from abroad. We can say that in Finland, the university is a formally anti-racist academic institution, but its everyday life still contains many kinds of tensions surrounding the questions of multiculturalism, as the following fieldnote highlights:

> One of our colleagues has written a book concerning the current extreme right movements in Europe. I have sent an advertisement of this publication to the general email-list of our students, as I tend to do when a new book dealing with important issues is published in the field of the social sciences. One of the students then sent a message to my boss, to the head of the department. He complained about my actions and wondered whether this general list has become to "advertise as 'knowledge' one's and one's friends' so called 'books'". (Fieldnotes, PA.)

When we move from child and youth education institutions towards universities and academia more widely, we start to discuss adults as learners, and we talk about science-based teaching. Evidence, facts, objectivity and reason are terms guiding teaching and discussion in contemporary academia, and students' societal and general attitude formation seems not to be a task for higher education. Even though theorists of critical adult education (e.g. Mezirow 1981; Brookfield 2005) discuss the need to also promote adult learners' critical consciousness about social inequalities, it seems that ideologies, 'isms' and openly expressed political perspectives cannot be emphasised at universities, not in Finland, not any more.

Aittola (1992) has analysed late modern (and neo-liberal) universities and dubbed its learners 'the new student type'. For Aittola, the 'new student type' refers to people to whom higher education and 'becoming civilised' does not mean knowledge attainment *an sich*. Rather, studying in higher education has become instrumental and obtained meaning as a road to well-paid jobs or high societal status. Thus, in a way, we can see

how academia has participated in educational policies with a severe shutdown of the values and virtues emphasising sociality, social justice and basic human rights (see Souto 2011). Rather, universities can be seen even as battlefields where competing individuals campaign alone, carrying out their personal projects against each other. There are of course individual actors who swim against the tide; in fact, our campaign *Meille saa tulla* was established as an initiative by a group of university students, and it was even rewarded with the formal university's equality prize some years later. However, it is very obvious that these individuals cannot change the direction of the current discursive waves.

Anti-racism can be seen as a life-political orientation. Within this interpretation, teaching anti-racism is a conscious attitude that aims to influence and 'form' students, something that is against the spoken logic of the university education of today. Adult learners are also quite sensitive in recognising their teachers' 'ism-aspirations' and their responses to them can sometimes be very tough. In universities, people with different backgrounds, political thoughts, life-course experiences and sometimes quite stabilised prejudices share the same intentional learning situations with quite instrumental aims. University students, although they are perceived as capable of internationalism, can be quite ethnocentric. Besides, often those who remain silent in the face of racism are defined as neutral in their attitudes, even though silence can also mean taking a position on the racist side (Rastas 2007; Souto 2011).

> I'm having a class for exchange students with many different ethnic backgrounds. The topic is 'current local research', and I'm telling the students about our research concerning the tension between immigrants and Finnish youth, showing the exclusive patterns with which immigrant young people are isolated from many local youth scenes in Finland. One young exchange student, a white man sitting in the front row, wants to comment. I give him the space, and he starts to bomb me with questions like this: "Do you think that it was right that Europeans went to America and stole the land from Indians? Do you say that it is right to just go and start to live in someone else's country? If you condemn the colonisation of America but accept the current colonisation of Finland, aren't you double-faced then?" and so on. I became very confused and didn't know what to say. It is so confusing; I don't want to begin to argue with a student in front of the other ones. We all seem to feel quite uncomfortable at that moment. Later, I think that at least I should have said that the colonisation

> of America is not today's migrant children's fault, but it is too late then. (Fieldnotes, PA.)

> I have a lecture about racism with our foreign students. I feel very uncomfortable talking about theories of racism when I see so many coloured students in front of me. Who am I to talk about racism to them, as a middle-classed and middle-aged Finn? I feel like I'm totally losing my touch. And I lose it. Later one of the students from Cameroon sends me an email, in which he suggests that I could give more space for them to deliver their own ideas about the topic. In the future, I will try to do that. (Fieldnotes, PA.)

When working with adult students, the teacher very often finds him or herself in peculiar situations like the one described above: teaching—as a white person—black African students what racism means and how it feels to be a target of racist discrimination. The students, who surely know what racism means, have sometimes themselves offered a solution by asking if they can participate as co-teachers in these kind of situations. On these occasions, we can lean on the basic theories of adult education and make use of students' experiences (Dewey 1929/1999). We have noted that giving space to experienced, authentic expertise in racism and exclusion can be effective, when it occurs on a student's own initiative and in small gatherings. However, when discussing racism and the emotions it provokes, we should not position people as possible targets of racist critics among students who participate in the lecture.

Learning methods in universities have, in principle, been developed for adult students. That said, we find that they still are very much based on repetition and even indoctrination. For example, lecture diaries and text-books as learning methods may require students to repeat hegemonic conceptions, and they may thus sustain the prevailing hierarchies, ignoring exclusion and emotions (Juvonen 2006). When looking at the newest trends in higher education—which highlight the importance of studying individually, web-based learning and multitasking—we can reason that they account for the needs of the new student type (Aittola 1992) and her or his instrumental aspirations. They do not necessarily offer places for real encounters that feed empathy or internalisation of how, for example, racism really feels. In order to organise learning spaces suggested to us by the Cameroonian student, as was described above, we must take a critical stand against the mechanical ways of study that prevent authentic encounters with different learners.

Conclusions: Possibilities of Anti-Racism as an 'Ism' for Education?

In this chapter, we have pondered the possibility of combining an anti-racist research agenda with anti-racist campaigning to intervene in certain fields of formal education, namely in kindergartens, elementary schools and universities. This has been done by describing and analysing our experiences and recollections of interventions that we have conducted to awaken educators and children—and also ourselves as university teachers—to the recognition of everyday racism (Essed 1991) in their (and our) surroundings.

When planning our interactions, we have started with an understanding of racism as a structural and manifold practice of global and societal exclusion. Yet, during interventions conducted at educational settings, we have often found ourselves limited in our approach. While aiming to move beyond individual realities and relationships and into the realm of privileges and structural inequalities, we have found ourselves dealing with racism as outsiders and from the point of view of those who suffer from it, thus externalising racism from the everyday surroundings where our activities have taken place. Instead of analysing how our own actions contribute to racism, we tend to discuss the feelings and practices of others. These recurrent patterns, also identified and acknowledged by other researchers on anti-racist education, seem difficult to break. However, breaking such patterns is essential to move from multicultural education into the realm of anti-racist education.

In order to understand racism as experienced exclusion that touches all members of society, it is crucial that we talk about it out loud and commit ourselves to anti-racist education and work (Souto 2010). What would be better places and occasions for that than those in which people with very different backgrounds are gathered together: in a kindergarten, at school or at university?

The idea of a multiculturalising Finland has been accepted in the Finnish educational institutions; society is changing, and this change has implications in people's everyday lives with all its possibilities, problems and cultural confrontations (Klemelä et al. 2011). It has also been accepted that educators at different levels must gain an understanding of multiculturalism and racism and about how to reject racism. Explicit pondering of these issues within their everyday work is still rare and cautious. We find that educators at large do not yet have the skills to seize

the moment and intervene in the situations that create inequality in front of their eyes. In fact, some of them consciously choose to externalise the issues of racism and inequality from their classrooms.

We have noticed that educators increasingly acknowledge that racism is by definition an intergroup phenomenon (Souto 2011). However, the fact that besides peer relations, children also have relationships with many adults, is seldom brought up. Kindergarten and school education leans on principles of educational partnership, through which teachers and parents co-operate and share the same kinds of attitudes and values. Today, the challenge for teachers is to learn how to deal with parents' or their colleagues' racist or nationalistic patterns. Tackling these adult relationships may also prove difficult for anti-racist educators who enter these places from outside because the very execution of anti-racist interventions often depends on the goodwill of the adults.

In our voluntary work, we have aimed at intervening in educational settings that are quite ethnocentric. Although we have done this with genuine interest in changing the system, it must be admitted that interventions from outside to stable institutions are excursions that cannot reach institutional structures. Schools are especially difficult to reach: Teachers want to teach their subjects, the curriculum defines the contents of learning, and the pupils are not interested in the contents of the teaching (e.g. Saari 2002). For pupils, anti-racist interventions from outside can be nice interruptions from boring school routines, but it is very hard to break the logic of doing and thinking at school. More research is needed to analyse and understand how to intervene in school 'differently' to really make not just pupils and students but also teachers stop and think.

Furthermore, we have come to understand that the reluctance to acknowledge racism and handle it within the framework of formal education is derived not only from unwillingness to deal with racial inequality. It also stems from the reluctance of gatekeepers to understand educational and care contexts as spaces where political struggles for equality take place. Whereas preschool teachers worry about bringing the problems of adults into children's lives, at the university level, the reluctance to challenge one's understandings and point of view takes a different form. It really is a task for anti-racist educators to determine how to bring anti-racism as an ideology and orientation out into the open at the university, where 'making politics' is decried and where spaces for encounters with students are not self-evidently available anymore.

The new Finnish Assessment of Equality, which has been implemented from the beginning of 2017, states that '*the education provider and the educational institution maintained by it shall evaluate the realisation of equality in its activities and take any measures considered necessary to fostering the realisation of equality*' (Assessment of equality, § 6). This means that educational institutions are expected to promote equality more actively than before, which might mean a shift towards a more active anti-racist education. The least the new assessment can do is to legitimise anti-racist actions in educational environments and support those educators who see a need to address racism at their workplace. As Kalliala (2008, 19–25) has noted, teachers use their adult power when they educate children, but they also use power when they choose not to educate them. A choice not to include anti-racism in the curriculum is a conscious one, and it comes with consequences for both youth and adults.

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CHAPTER 7

Discrimination as a One-Day Performance Critically Reviewing an Anti-racism Day at School

Pia Mikander and Ida Hummelstedt-Djedou

Introduction

Finnish basic education is about to adopt a new curriculum (FNBE 2014), which upholds that the core values of Finnish basic education include, for example, an open and respectful attitude towards all pupils. The pupils should be supported to grow as humans, and to strive for truth, goodness, beauty, justice and peace. Human rights are at the core of the school education, as well as a broad understanding of equality. Additionally, basic education should work to enhance dialogue between people from different cultures and with different worldviews. In this way, basic education is expected to provide a basis for global citizenship that encourages pupils to act for positive social change (FNBE 2014, pp. 15–16). These indisputably powerful guidelines for education have not emerged in a vacuum; instead, the Finnish curricula for basic education have evolved in favour of a more or less actively anti-racist policy. The Finnish national core curriculum has changed from seeing multiculturalism as coming from the outside to seeing diversity, multiculturalism and

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multilingualism as an integral part of society and the school community (Zilliacus, Holm & Sahlström, in review).

Nonetheless, when it comes to work on anti-racism, several researchers have criticised how the positive discourses on diversity and intercultural competence do not sufficiently highlight the need for changing unequal structures. Ahmed (2012) argues that the language of diversity, which has become widely used in policy statements, is detached from what she calls 'scary issues' (p. 66) of a more controversial nature, such as power and inequalities. Hoskins and Sallah (2011) found that there is a focus on intercultural competence at the individual level in European policies, suggesting that this mechanism hides oppressing structures. In Juva and Holm's (in press) ethnographical study in two Finnish lower secondary schools, the teachers constructed the school as a neutral and equal place where power relations were not relevant. At the same time, students were assessed hierarchically according to how well they were able to perform normality, which was closely tied to Finnishness. When the teachers talked about migrant students' inappropriate behaviour or lack of success in school, they often explained it in terms of their culture; in contrast, Finnish students were seen more as unique individuals. There are also studies that show how perceptions of Finnishness are strongly connected to whiteness (Rastas 2007; Tuori 2009). These should highlight the importance of addressing racism and racialisation in Finnish schools. 'Scary issues; such as discrimination and racism, as well as means of challenging them, are not explicit in the Finnish curriculum. This could be one of the reasons why the guidelines of the curriculum are not entirely reflected in society. Namely, studies show that prejudiced and racist attitudes are prevalent and even increasing in Finnish schools (Rastas 2007; Virrankoski 2005; Souto 2011; Suutarinen and Törmäkangas 2012). Alarmingly, the pupils with racist views are increasingly inclined towards the use of violence (Suutarinen and Törmäkangas 2012). The responsibility of education for these attitudes has been debated. It has been suggested that teachers tend to ignore racism or leave racist attitudes among students unchallenged (Rastas 2007; Virrankoski 2005; Suutarinen and Törmäkangas 2012).

Even if the curriculum might not be as progressive as it seems at first glance, there is still a clear distinction between the core values of the Finnish curriculum (FNBE 2014, pp. 15–16) and increasingly racist attitudes. This suggests that there is a need for schools and teachers to think about anti-racist interventions at schools. In this chapter,

we discuss an anti-racist event that was conducted by one[1] of us, together with her colleagues, in a Finland-Swedish lower basic education school. By doing a critical autoethnographic analysis of the event, we hope to shed light on how different outcomes may be, depending on which approach is taken when doing anti-racist interventions in school. We ask to what extent the event can be described as challenging discriminating racist structures, but also to what extent the event can be seen as reinforcing divisions between the norm and the other. In order to better understand what was achieved and what should be changed to actually work against oppressive structures, we will use Kevin Kumashiro's (2002) research on anti-oppressive education, theories about deconstructing privilege (Case 2013; Wise and Case 2013), and postcolonial theory in education (Andreotti 2011; Andreotti and Pashby 2013). When researching and developing anti-oppressive education, Kumashiro found that, against the educators' good intentions, a lot of so-called anti-oppressive education still contributes to the othering that makes discrimination possible. He outlined four ways to conceptualise and work against oppression, and he analysed the way each approach conceptualises oppression, what implications it has for bringing about change, and its strengths and weaknesses. In the first approach, *Education for the Other*, focus is put on improving the experiences of students who are othered or oppressed in society and at school. The second approach, *Education about the Other*, aims at teaching the majority about marginalised groups to make them feel empathy and understand the Other better. In the third approach, *Education that is critical to privileging and othering,* the focus is no longer on the Other, but on examining both how some groups and identities are othered and how some groups are privileged in society. Kumashiro emphasises that when it comes to oppression, empathy is not enough, since oppression lies in the societal structures and not in the feelings of individuals. In the fourth approach, *Education that changes students and society*, Kumashiro discusses how to teach and relate to a curriculum that is always partial, as well as how to trouble one's own privileged position and deconstruct the norm/other binary. To come closer to this change, McIntosh (2013) and Case (2013) recommend privilege deconstruction, turning the focus away from the discriminated and onto the privileged. Studying privilege, or systemic unearned advantage, can be a way for privileged students to locate themselves and their role in the upside of oppression. This can trigger feelings of guilt. Andreotti (2011) suggests that

when students experience guilt about being privileged, they can be aided in transforming these feelings into power and agency in order to begin to change the situation. Wise and Case (2013) argue that theories about privilege deconstruction in education should be used in a way that empowers the privileged to use their power constructively. We find these tools by Kumashiro, Wise and Case, and Andreotti to be helpful for the analysis of the event under consideration. This chapter can be categorised as an example of university teacher-researchers engaged in self-study in order to improve the promotion of social justice in their teaching (Copenhaver-Johnson 2010; Leland and Harste 2005). We are using autoethnography (Ellis and Bochner 2000), which means that the description of the event we are analysing involves a reconstruction of it made by one of its organisers. We present the background of organising the event, the planning, the instructions given to the teachers, the event's realisation, the reflective perspective used in the last lesson, and the reactions as a narrative. Our aim with the detailed description is to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the event in light of othering and privilege in order to suggest how it could have been done differently. With this case-study, we seek to raise consciousness about how good intentions are not necessarily enough when it comes to fighting discrimination and racism. We want to initiate a discussion of the possibilities of anti-racist work in schools, and we look forward to sharing the knowledge we have gained in order to encourage others to make efforts, reflect on those efforts and make further efforts instead of being scared of doing something wrong.

Before moving on to the detailed description of the event, we want to point out that the school in focus is a Swedish-speaking school in Southern Finland. Such schools consist mainly of children from the Swedish-speaking minority, having either two parents with Swedish as a native language or one parent with Swedish and one parent with Finnish as a native language (FNBE 2015). The Swedish-language schools in the southern part of Finland are in an exceptional situation, considering their relative lack of racialised students and students with other ethnic backgrounds than Finnish. In this particular school, there were four racialised students out of approximately 150, and one racialised teacher out of approximately 15. Since Swedish is the first language of only 5% of the Finnish population (Statistics Finland 2014), by far most of the people who arrive in Finland from abroad, many of whom are racialised, become integrated in Finnish rather than Swedish and, accordingly, choose a

school with Finnish language rather than Swedish. This can be seen as rational for migrant[2] families. For a child to learn a language spoken by the vast majority in the country, rather than by a minority, would seem to be a better guarantee of securing a place in the labour market. Newly arrived persons may also not have been informed about the possibility of becoming integrated in the Swedish language. Additionally, there have been reports about migrants getting 'steered away' against their will from being integrated in Swedish language (Helander 2015; Bruun 2014). Efforts have been made to increase the number of migrants who choose the Swedish path of integration (Grönqvist 2016). The school included in this study is situated in a district where the majority of the families are upper middle class and white. For the vast majority of the students, racialised people are thus people they meet on the streets, when taking local transportation, and as workers doing dishwashing or cleaning at the school or in their homes. From an educational point of view, the fact that the school settings are ethnically homogenous and dominantly white suggests that the teachers in Swedish-speaking schools bear a particularly heavy responsibility for multicultural awareness and critical examination of the privilege of whiteness (Ahmed 2011).

The Event

This section consists of a narrative by one of the authors regarding the preparation for and realisation of the event, as well as her personal reflections about it.

Background and Preparation

Working as a primary school teacher, I continually tried to find ways of promoting equality and appreciation for diversity in my teaching, as well as in themes for the whole school. The theme of the year for the whole municipality was sustainable development, and I led a team that worked towards its realisation. We were using every sub-sector of sustainable development (ecological, cultural, social and economic sustainability) to raise awareness among students about these issues, both locally and globally. Questions about social and cultural sustainability—or, in other words, equality and global consciousness—have been especially close to my heart for a long time. I have been concerned with problems of racism and ethnical discrimination and how to work against them in our school.

During a meeting with our sustainable development team, I therefore insisted that we should try out something that would make a difference and that the students would not easily forget, something that would make them realise why injustice hurts and have them feel it in their own skin for a while. My colleague had watched a documentary about a teacher in Iowa who tried out an interesting experiment[3] graders, some got more of discrimination with her students in 1968, the day after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., and thought it could inspire us. In the experiment, the teacher Jane Elliot divided her class into two groups, according to their eye colour. She told the blue-eyed students to discriminate against the brown-eyed ones, and she did the same. The following day, they changed roles. The students got to feel discrimination in a practical way when the blue-eyed group was privileged to do nicer things, while the brown-eyed students did not get the same rights and the teacher called them stupid, dirty and unreliable. During the experiment the students started to behave more and more according to the category to which they belonged. Afterwards they discussed their feelings and reflections of how privileges work and how black people did not have the same possibilities in society. The experiment has received a great deal of publicity over the years, with several documentaries and interviews made with Jane Elliot and a follow-up with the students as young adults. We discussed for a long time if it was ethical to try this on young children (7–12 years) and what reactions it may cause among the parents and other teachers. We decided that we wanted to do it for two main reasons: the role-play would make the students understand how it hurts to be discriminated against, which would make it less likely for them to engage in discrimination themselves. The other reason was that by having everybody engaged in the role-play, it would also show students how the mechanism of discrimination works: when people talk in a belittling way about a certain group, it justifies and encourages them to treat members of that group worse than others, even if it starts on the basis of a difference that does not have a sensitised meaning—like eye colour. The idea was that the students would then hopefully realise how certain traits like skin colour are used to differentiate people and make conclusions about behaviour or qualifications which have nothing to do with those traits.

When our team agreed on the idea, we asked our principal for permission to realise it. She was positive towards the idea and said she would

support it because of its important aim, to prevent racism. We started planning our version of the experiment, which was to take place on Anti-Racism Day, on March 21st. In the weekly letter to the parents, we wrote a description of the upcoming role-play and the aims of equality behind it. As part of the preparations, I collected a vast body of material used as resources (see Appendix) for the teachers to be able to discuss discrimination in a historical perspective and in relation to what happens in society today. The material was categorised according to the following themes: people in history, personal experiences from the Holocaust, apartheid, segregation in the US, the genocide in Rwanda, and racism today from different perspectives. The sources included texts and video material to be used in class.

Realisation

We wrote instructions for all the teachers and explained the idea during a teacher meeting. Every teacher was supposed to divide her or his class into two groups, according to eye colour, and mark the discriminated students with scotch tape. Both the teachers and the privileged group of students were told to treat the discriminated group in an unfair way, giving them worse conditions than the privileged and talking about them in a disrespectful way. The following examples were given of how to discriminate:

- talking in a belittling way about the marked group (always referring to the group, not the individual), showing that he/she did not expect any good achievements from its members
- suspecting the marked students of dishonesty and mischief
- explaining good things that happened as due to the non-marked pupils and bad things as the fault of the marked students
- changing the seating order so that the marked students would sit in the back
- not allowing the marked and non-marked students to work or play together during recess

We also suggested some more practical ways of discriminating, in order to make sure that the teachers who were less comfortable with the role-play would also know how to act:

- giving the marked group few possibilities to ask questions, tell opinions and participate
- not praising the marked group after achievements
- giving less material (no colouring crayons, less paper, one pair of scissors for the whole group, etc.) and less time to the marked group
- making the marked group write by hand while the unmarked could write on a tablet/computer
- making the marked group clean up while the unmarked went to recess
- giving the unmarked a head start in competitions
- not allowing the marked group to play games at the end of the lesson
- arranging the lunch queue so that the marked were last

The classes changed roles in the middle of the day, which made third to sixth graders play each role for about two hours and first and second graders for about 1.5 h, according to the length of their school day. All classes reserved the last lesson for reflections on the experiment, making connections to historical and societal events, and discussion on what was learned from the experiment. For the last part of the event, the teachers were given the following instructions to reflect upon the role-play with the students.

Let every student tell what it felt like to be part of the 'us' group and the 'them' group. Then discuss how discrimination like this has happened in history, tell them about the Holocaust, apartheid, and genocide in Rwanda and show them one of the video clips or read the story. Ask them to think about the following questions:

- What determined to which group a person belonged?
- Who decided to which group a person belonged?
- Why do you think it was important to divide people into groups?
- How were some groups discriminated against, according to witnesses in the videos?

Then discuss:

- Are there groups that often encounter intolerance in today's society?
- If so, what is it that makes these groups victims of intolerance?

- What possible advantages or disadvantages are there with belonging to a discriminated group versus a group that is not discriminated against?
- Tell about how people of different skin colour or cultural or linguistic backgrounds get discriminated against by not getting the same jobs in society today.
- How should society treat people and groups of people?
- What could each of us think about in our everyday life?

All classes discussed the students' own experiences about the event, about discrimination today, and then more or less about historical connections, depending on how young the pupils were.

Reactions of Pupils, Teachers, Parents and Myself

All students reacted in some way to the role-play. The younger children had stronger emotions, with some crying and wanting to go help those on the other side, which was being discriminated against. In my own class, comprised of 5th graders, some got more and more frustrated or angry over the time they were discriminated against, especially when they realised I was serious in my role as a discriminator and that the classmates they normally played with were also treating them unfairly. One boy who had studied segregation in the US and the history of Black Panthers during his free time wanted to create a group of "Panthers" to hit back, not accepting his position as discriminated against. I was glad to see his initiative about not accepting to be treated worse than others, but I realised that there was not enough room for this kind of reaction in the role-play, since the whole point of feeling oppression would not have been made if the role of the discriminated was too easily escaped. Even if the students' reactions were not as strong as in the original experiment where the duration was longer (two entire days), the same kinds of mechanisms came into play: many students started to hang out with those who belonged to the same group, and those who were privileged sometimes used their superior role for their own benefit.

Unfortunately, we did not organise a session with all the teachers to reflect on the event afterwards. This is something that would have definitely been of importance, both for the development of the teachers and the event itself. Therefore, I do not have detailed information about the discussions that took place in all the classes after the role-play or how every teacher experienced it. From the comments I heard, both younger

and older students had engaged in discussions about the harm of discrimination and agreed that it was wrong. One teacher I met in the middle of the day told me about young students reacting strongly to half of the class being discriminated against. She was touched by this, and we had a short discussion about racism in everyday life in Finland, something she had not thought about so much before.

Few parents gave feedback particularly relating to the event. Those who did were all positive, except for one parent. She had expressed beforehand that she considered the event to be harmful, since it would teach children to discriminate, and that her child did not need this kind of teaching since he was already used to being with different kinds of people. However, the positive comments included parents saying that they were very pleased with the fact that the school engaged in working against racism. Since studies show that even very small children pick up attitudes and acknowledge power structures (particularly related to whiteness), the concerned mother's argument can be challenged (Van Ausdale and Feagin 1996).

On the whole, I felt very pleased with the event. All the teachers had participated by playing their roles and the students had had thought-provoking discussions about injustice and discrimination. Only one parent had reacted negatively before the event, and some had commented on it as being a positive initiative. My class was filmed for the national broadcast news in Swedish. I was satisfied both with the interviews with my students, in which they showed empathy for the discriminated, and with my own contribution of getting to talk on TV about the importance of addressing racism in school and that we are all responsible for creating norms. It was not until half a year later, when I went to a course about norm-critical education and learned of Kumashiro's model of four approaches of anti-oppressive education, that I realised it may not be enough even when students are feeling empathy for the marginalised; namely, we need to look at the norms that make it possible to marginalise and, even more importantly, the norms that privilege some—in this case, white people—over others. If we don't, we may end up contributing to the othering we are seeking to work against.

Critical Reflections on the Event

Two years after the event, there was reason to look back at the event more critically. Both authors of this chapter, currently Ph.D. students in education, have a background in teaching. We thought it would be

meaningful for ourselves to write a critical analysis of the event, something that would potentially benefit other educators in the field, too.

In light of relevant research about anti-oppressive and critical multicultural education, we considered that there are many aspects of the event that can be challenged. However, before this, we found that there were some positive aspects to be considered. First of all, the intent was good. While we do agree with Gorski (2008) that good intentions are not enough, it should be stated that neither anti-racism education in general nor role-plays about racial discrimination are very common in schools in Finland. Knowing how difficult it usually is to get all the teachers in a school to agree on … well, anything … we also see the collaboration and joint efforts to pay attention to the problem of racism as positive outcomes of the event. Many teachers were teaching outside of their comfort zones when playing roles, and yet they still took part.

Second, we recognised that the event was not, as so many intercultural education attempts seem to be (Gorski 2008; Kumashiro 2002), focusing on difference or on normalising difference. For a long time, many school events touching on global or intercultural issues have been about giving students more knowledge about the other, in order to make them understand and feel empathy for the other. This has often resulted in essentialising non-dominant groups and reinforcing stereotypes and the hierarchy of 'us and them'. The event did not essentialise a certain group, but the aim of empathy was indeed of importance, with the thought that by making pupils feel discrimination in their own skin, they would understand that it is bad. The idea was also that realising an emotionally powerful event would leave less room for it to merely be a problem that was distant from the comfortable reality of the pupils. Empathy is, of course, an important ability to learn, but as Kumashiro (2002 p. 44) states, 'the roots of oppression do not reside solely in the thoughts, feelings and behaviours of individuals'. Discrimination and oppression are structural problems; therefore, they cannot be overcome only by empathy for the oppressed, since that does not change the fundamental division between those who are privileged and those who are othered.

The other main idea of the event, to make power and discrimination visible, was a step forward from just looking at the harm of discrimination. This aspect could actually be categorised as what Kumashiro (2002) describes as *education that is critical to privileging and othering*, because the idea was to show the mechanism of differentiating people based on a certain quality (such as eye colour) and how that results in different possibilities for those categorised as being of lesser value. The classroom

discussions following the event, too, included elements that were critical to othering structures. For instance, there were discussions about how the division into good and bad people was made and who got to make the decision about that. There were also questions about the advantages and disadvantages of belonging to a discriminated versus non-discriminated group, which aimed at also seeing the privileged position. The last question 'what could each of us think about in our everyday life?' had the potential to be categorised as *education that changes students and society*, because of its aim to make everyone take action against discrimination. But since there was not more elaboration on what kind of actions this could include, it simply stayed at the level of 'remember not to discriminate against anybody' and 'treat everybody equally,' thereby not questioning the privileged position of the pupils.

The experiment also shows that role-play and drama as methods for anti-racist education have their strengths and weaknesses, depending on how they are used. In this intervention, an effort was made to have everybody remain in their roles as either discriminated or non-discriminated, in order to force the pupils to realise the harm and mechanisms of discrimination. In other words, not much agency was left for the pupils during the role play, as shown by the example of the child who began resisting the discrimination by forming his own version of the Black Panthers. If he had succeeded in convincing his classmates to protest against the situation, the event might have had a different ending. The actual experiment would have failed, however, the pupils might have developed a sense of agency, thinking that they could do something to change unwanted conditions. However, the downside of this would have been the image given to the pupils that victims of discrimination can quite easily challenge their positions, making the problem of structural discrimination seem smaller than it is. To open up, agency and action against oppression by means of role-play and drama, the Forum theatre created by Boal (2000) could be a good alternative. Members of the audience are there asked to stop a performance in which a character is being oppressed and to suggest different actions for the actors to try and change the outcome to a less oppressive one. However, using drama as a method, it may be challenging in the same experiment to both encompass the agency for change and make the severity of racist structures visible for the pupils. This is not to say that drama should not be used for anti-racist education, but that different approaches with different focuses could complement each other.

We realised that there were other reasons to look critically at the event, too. During Anti-Racism Day, the pupils were given the chance to experience what it felt like to walk in different people's shoes. However, whether they were playing the role of oppressors or the role of the discriminated, they were acting a role that belonged to somebody else. Even though some of the participants might have personally identified with either of the roles, perhaps recognising how it had felt to be discriminated against, the role-playing nature of the event turned the attention away from the pupils' own positions and contributions to oppression. Gorski (2008) has suggested that if intercultural education practices mainly work to give students from dominant groups experiences of personal growth and fulfilment, they should really be seen as the epitome of colonising education. This may seem like an unnecessarily harsh conclusion. However, it cannot be denied that there is a point to be made.

Looking back at the discussions that were encouraged in the classrooms, we consider that there were some missing elements. The pupils were asked to discuss how it felt to be part of the discriminated group as well as the group that was not discriminated against. Now we would direct more attention to this latter group. What does "not being discriminated against" actually mean? We suggest that the concept of privilege (McIntosh 2013; Case 2013) would have brought a necessary dimension to the discussions. The idea behind privilege deconstruction in education is to make privilege visible. In the classroom discussions after the event, the students were able to discuss what it felt like to be discriminated against and what it felt like to not be discriminated against and to have more benefits than the others; however, both of these were roles to be played. If the discussions had turned to how privilege works, the students could not have comfortably remained as neutral players assuming different roles. They would have needed to face their own privilege and learn to see how privilege, as well as discrimination, works to assign people the positions they have. Just as discrimination can lead to one pupil's university-educated parent cleaning the corridors, privilege can help another pupil's parent with much less education running a successful company. This obviously would have meant turning the level of controversy up a few notches, since it is less controversial to study racial discrimination (which, in the context of the Finland-Swedish school system, concerns relatively few pupils, whose voices are rarely heard) than to study privilege. Additionally, we realise that in the classroom discussions

after the event, there would have been a need to bring information about racism into a context that was closer to the students. Focusing on racism as a phenomenon in faraway places (geographically or historically) might, in the worst case, have strengthened the notion of Finnish or Nordic exceptionalism (Lóftsdóttir and Jensen 2012). The reason for using these resources was that there was more pedagogical material ready to be used, as most of the teachers did not feel informed enough to lead a reflective discussion without such material. However, it can also be interpreted as more "safe" to discuss racism in the context of, say, apartheid than to focus on racist structures in contemporary, local settings.

Still, the benefits of studying privilege within anti-racist education are tangible. Finnish students are often told that being born in Finland is like winning the lottery. Privilege deconstruction could teach students to question the preferable position of Finnish children as being simply a matter of luck or meritocracy (Mikander 2016). There are other benefits to privilege deconstruction, too. It can help educators evade the trap of falling into either a passive feeling of 'feeling sorry for others' or feelings of deflation, such as 'the world is so bad, there is nothing we can do.' As Wise and Case (2013) argue, teaching about privilege means refraining from personal guilt and shame, but also from consolation. They suggest that a privileged position should be seen as a powerful position, like having a bank account to withdraw from. "Just as a hammer can be used to build a home or commit a violent assault, privilege can be used for constructive or destructive purposes" (Wise and Case 2013, p. 30). The idea is that teaching about privilege is a way to empower, not deflate, students from privileged positions. Andreotti (2011) shows that guilt can be the reflection of a need to exercise power and agency. The first step, however, is acknowledging one's own position. For a predominantly privileged group such as pupils in Finland-Swedish schools, it is important to realise that they do not occupy a "neutral" position.

Final Comments

In this chapter, we have discussed the benefits and drawbacks of an anti-racist event in school by asking in what way the event challenged, or changed, discriminating racist structures, and it what way it reinforced the division between the norm and the other. We have shown that the good intentions and cooperation between teachers, even for such a large-scale event, worked well. We also consider to be beneficial the idea of not

focusing on 'cultural differences' but on making structures of power and hierarchy visible. We have critiqued the event mainly for not turning the focus on the student's own positions and for not incorporating into the discussion how the students could participate in changing the structures.

The way we see it, anti-racist education necessitates pupils to relate personally to global structures of oppression. It means that anti-racist education also needs to include learning about global inequality. This can be done, for instance, through critical global citizenship education, asking critical literacy questions. The idea behind critical global citizenship is that many pedagogical initiatives tend to ignore historical power inequalities that are embedded in today's global issues and relations (de Oliveira and de Souza 2012; Andreotti and Pashby 2013). Advocates for critical global citizenship, such as Andreotti and Pashby (2013), urge educators to focus on questions such as 'How do different lives have different value? How are these two things connected? What are the relationships between social groups that are over-exploited and social groups that are over-exploiting? How are these relationships maintained? How do people justify inequalities? What are the roles of schooling in the reproduction and contestation of inequalities in society? What possibilities and problems are created by different stories about what is real and ideal in society?' (Andreotti and Pashby, pp. 423–424). When students seek answers to these questions, they can learn to relate their material reality, such as the food they eat and the clothes they wear, to a historical, structural and material context. Even if critical global citizenship education may be easier to use in education with older pupils, one should not downplay the possibility of also working with critical awareness with young children. Guided by the teacher, the students can analyse, for instance, images in children's books, school textbooks and media, focusing on how different people are given different roles and which people are not represented at all in some of the books, and be encouraged to think about what happens when the norms are questioned.

In order to promote the values of the curriculum and to tackle racism in Finnish society, we suggest that there is more work to be done. As noted by Janhonen-Abruquah et al. (2016), there is a need to make more of an effort to include teachers with migrant backgrounds in Finnish schools. We agree with Sitomaniemi-San (2015) that there is room for improvement in teacher education, moving the focus away from promoting individualist growth among pupils and towards a more

socially just approach. We also consider it important to keep in mind that the profession of teaching is about promoting cultural change. As Gorski (2008) argues, to criticise existing structures may make one lose likeability by the powerful, but it is necessary to accept that in order to not be complicit in discrimination. There is a need to step outside the discourse of 'the Finnish school is already equal' (Juva and Holm in press) and take on the 'scary issues'. The potentials of anti-racist education are huge. First of all, we teachers and researchers need to make an effort to become aware of our own role as part of unequal hierarchical structures. Then we need to have the courage to challenge these structures and to have a critical perspective in mind during all planning and realisation of anti-racist interventions.

Notes

1. The sections that describe the practical arrangements for the event, including everything from the preparation at the school to the evaluation of the event, are therefore written in first-person singular (or in first-person plural when referring to the team of teachers). The rest of the text, being a collaboration between both of us, is written in the first-person plural.
2. By 'migrant,' we refer to a person who was not born in Finland, but moved here.
3. The film *A Class Divided* by Frontline can be found online, together with descriptions, transcripts and plans for lessons about discrimination and racism: http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/class-divided/.

Appendix

Examples of sources used in the classroom discussions.
http://www.levandehistoria.se/vittnesmal-med-klassrumsovningar/tema-toleransintolerans/1-att-dela-manniskor-i-grupper.
About racism
http://www.levandehistoria.se/fakta-fordjupning/rasism/rasism-och-framlingsfientlighet.
http://www.levandehistoria.se/rasism-och-framlingsfientlighet/vetenskapen-tror-inte-pa-raser.
http://www.levandehistoria.se/rasism-och-framlingsfientlighet/rasism-idag.
http://omvardera.mearra.com/sisalto/rasism-i-barn-och-ungas-liv.
Holocaust survivor testaments

http://www.levandehistoria.se/film/tema-tolerans-intolerans-julia-lentini?project=1567.
http://www.levandehistoria.se/film/tema-offer-forovare-askadare-hjalpare-margareta-kellner?project=1567.
http://www.levandehistoria.se/film/tema-offer-forovare-askadare-hjalpare-franciska-levy-1?project=1567.
About apartheid:
http://www.ur.se/Tema/Vaga-bemota-framlingsfientlighet/Rasismens-historia/Apartheid.
About segregation in the US:
http://vetamix.net/video/ramp-kamp-mot-segregation-svensk-textning_3758
http://vetamix.net/video/ramp-gloria-ray-karlmark-svensk-texning_3755.
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http://www.levandehistoria.se/folkmordet-i-rwanda/alice-mukarurinda.

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CHAPTER 8

What, Why and How Do We Do What We Do?

Antiracism Education at the University

Aminkeng A. Alemanji and Minna Seikkula

Introduction

The debate on the existence of race is settling on the supposition that while race as a credible biological identity marker is illusory, race as a social construct around various political projects is real (see Mills 1997; Goldberg 2015). As a social construct, invoked by those with power, different people are allocated different places in a hierarchical social order (based on variables like skin colour, sexuality, religion, gender etc.) (see Mills 1997). Such allocation and its consequences account for different forms of racism. Race and racism are concepts/structures that involve all individuals: interpretations of one's position in racialised hierarchies shape daily encounters, and any attempts to alter the patterns embedded in cultural and social structures will require a conscious effort;

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one that does not come without conflict from the system that aims to sustain itself. Putting this in context, it is important to note that anti-racism, or discussions around issues of race and racism have a relatively short academic tradition in Finland because the issue of racism has for long been ignored or denied.

In recent times there have been more and more debates on racism in Finnish politics and media, not least in social media. Racism has been addressed in connection to populist anti-immigration arguments, a discussion led by austerity measures, dwindling social benefits and most recently an increase in migration of people labelled as the Other into Finland and Europe as a whole. Such media debates often yield very limited positive outcomes because of their often seesaw-like nature. This is characterised by attacks (you are racist!) and counter-attacks (I/we are not racist…you are!) discussions. Public demonstrations against racism (in Finland) have been welcomed by demonstrations against demonstrations against racism. Accusations of racism are often followed by a strong defence citing a lack of racist intent (see Goldberg 2015), humour (see Due 2011) and trivial effect.

Furthermore, with the European Union's (EU) policy focus on multiculturalism rather than (anti)racism (Lentin and Titley 2011) and the term antiracism is non-existent in the Finnish education system (see Alemanji and Mafi 2016). Racism continues to go unnoticed in schools and elsewhere in society because progressive discussions on race and racism remain constrained in post-racial methodologies. The atmosphere created in the media and political debates trickles down into schools which are often ill-equipped to deal with such issues owing to teachers' lack of training on these issues (Rastas 2009; Alemanji and Dervin 2016) as well as a prevailing politics of denial (van Dijk 1992; Layne and Alemanji 2015) or minimisation of racism and racial consequence under a multicultural banner of equality and disregard of history (see Alemanji 2016). When racism and antiracism surface as topics both in university and in other sectors of education, they do so as part of multiculturalism or feminism. In recognition of the importance of this subject, some lower and upper secondary schools in Finland invite NGOs (e.g. Walter, Red Cross and The Peace Union of Finland- Rauhanliitto) to deliver antiracism workshops to their students and teachers (see Alemanji and Dervin 2016; Alemanji and Mafi 2016; Alemanji 2016).

Moreover, there has been increasing attempt to address racism through research in the academia, and thus antiracism is gradually

becoming a part of human sciences curricula. In the Finnish context, previous literature addressing the specificities of conceptualising and addressing race and racism in university education is close to non-existent (see Oikarinen-Jabai 2014; Alemanji 2016). In the North American context, for example, there is an extensive literature on pedagogy for Critical Race Studies (see Alexander-Floyd 2008). Although this discussion provides valuable insights to the theme, as we point out below, the differences in societal and academic contexts mean that the mainly US-based discussion cannot be simply applied in the Finnish context.

We have chosen to explore our experiences of teaching on issues of race and racism at different universities in Finland. We believe that the side-by-side reflection of experiences from two distinctly racialised positions provides insight into how Finnish classrooms are racialised. In addition, it shows different possibilities to challenge the racialised structure that shapes the positions of university students and teachers. In other words, we discuss contextualising racism to a Finnish context and race as a structure that shapes both teaching and learning about racism. We also address knowledge-power structures that shape discussions on racism in the context of university education and pedagogical means to overcome those. Responding to questions that we have presented to each other, we explore how racialisation shapes teaching about antiracism and issues of racism on multiple levels. Our shared understanding of race and racism owes to critical discussions on racism and antiracism (e.g. Goldberg 2015; Lentin 2016, 2015) that has demonstrated the shortcomings in addressing race and racism in Western societies. The point of origin for us is recognising that racialised structures are a profound part of western democratic societies, and race (as a socio-political construct) continues to define people's lives (from the perspective of what one can be, what one can achieve and how far can one go in life) in European societies. That such claims are at times seen as provocative in the scholarly debate (e.g. Andreassen 2015) highlights the need to discuss how this theoretical approach translates into a pedagogical strategy. This text is motivated by both delight and confusion over students' reactions at lectures on antiracism we have taught at different Finnish universities. Amin's teaching experience on issues of racism/antiracism, for example, stems from teaching several courses on multiculturalism at the department of teacher education at the University of Helsinki—while Minna's experience is mainly from two courses, one on multiculturalism, gender and racism

and the other on historical perspectives to racism, at the department of social sciences at the University of Turku.

Teachers, Racialised Subjects

Amin & Minna: Part of the challenge of talking about race and racism in the classroom is that we all, whether we acknowledge it or not, have a personal relation to racism and racial hierarchies. Even if we would wish to escape these, we are perceived through those ideas.

Amin: I grew up knowing I was black but like many before me, traveling to Finland (in my case) opened my eyes about what being black means and gave a chance to experience my blackness and all the baggage that comes with it vis-à-vis whiteness (Adichie 2013).

In the case of Finland, the Finnish (and Swedish) word for race (*rotu*) refers to a breed of dog or cat or cow (see Tuori 2009). I think this is an interesting twist regarding how the word race is received and used in Finland. When used across languages, the meaning and understanding of words is influenced. In this case, it does not mean that race is not recognised or relevant in discourses of race and racism in Finland. On the contrary, the word race continues to gain social relevance because of the social and political essence of defining who belongs to the dominant (Finnish) order, who can benefit from such belonging and who does not belong and as a result cannot benefit (see Goldberg 2015). In this process, Othering becomes prevalent and 'new' racial categories are born. The most important of these is the category of the immigrant which has gained reputation as target of racial attacks in Finland and around Europe following the recent economic crisis in Europe since 2008.

Going back to meaning across languages, *Black* as a colour translates into Finnish as *Musta*. So, naturally, I have always been inclined to refer to myself as *mustalainen*, meaning black man in English. However, inquiries into how a black man is called in Finnish language left me smiling, as it seemed like I had to make a choice between *mustalainen* or just *tumma* (dark). Majority opinion leans towards *tumma* as mustalainen in Finnish refers to the Romas. Before coming to Europe, I would not have been able to distinguish between the whiteness of the Roma and a 'white Finn', as growing up we referred to every white looking person (not of visible black decent) as *Whiteman* (or Whiteman woman). Interestingly, today, I still struggle to make such distinctions. However, what intrigues me in this case is that the identity of blackness was given to the Romas

long before huge groups of blacks started coming into Finland in the early 1990s (see Puuronen 2011; Tuori 2009). This identity of blackness was given to the Roma to distinguish them from white Finns and place upon their identity characteristics binding them with their name 'black people'—*mustalaiset*. Such characteristics include their inferiority, inaptness and backwardness associated with the black or African identity (see Urponen 2010). Here, the issue of race was used and continues to be used to stratify an imagined homogenous Finnish identity.

Another interesting angle with regards to race in Finland is that in Finland it is very difficult to define or describe people by the colour of the skin even though skin colour plays a role in social interactions in Finland. The fear to describe people by their skin colour stems from a fear that naming one's skin colour comes with the historical and social package that is easier left unrecalled. Adichie in her best-seller *Americanah* set in the American context (Adichie 2013) describes a scene where a cashier struggles to describe a black shop attendant, describing her looks in every way but not her black skin colour which happened to be her most notable physical attribute. I am a black, and retaining to refer to me as black does not change that social identity nor does it change or relieve me of the historical and social burden attached to my black identity. I do not only want to be black as a problem in the media or in schools.

Minna: You say you grew up without knowing about blackness. I grew up learning about Finnish whiteness without being able to name it, without knowing how to name my own whiteness. It was self-evident that as a light-skinned, natively Finnish speaking, secularised Christian in Finland, I can identify myself with the West and not with the rest (see Urponen 2010; Vuorela 2009).

In order to address racism in Finland, it is necessary to dismantle the norm that protects whiteness as an 'invisible' place of privilege. Of course, the invisibility exists only for those who inhabit it (see Ahmed 2005). Talking about whiteness (*valkoisuus*) is still relatively uncommon in Finland (see Rastas 2013), and I feel it might be easier to position oneself as white in English than in Finnish. In my view, much of the Finnish discussion lures behind euphemisms like *kantasuomalainen* ('original Finns') and *toinen sukupolvi* (second generation) that very likely bear racialised meanings.

Whiteness is of course not only about describing bodily features but about referring to an ideal that consists of features understood both

as cultural, like religion and language, and biological like skin-color or hair-texture (Hage 2000). In her classic text on whiteness, MacInthosh (1988, p. 4) explains, how 'whites are taught to think of their lives as morally neutral, normative, and average, and also ideal'. In other words, the ideal marks a position of privilege. Recognising this is not often a pleasant experience. In this light, talking about race makes people in Finland, like in the other Nordic countries, often uncomfortable and evokes connotations of pseudo-biological categorisations that have supposedly been thrown overboard long ago.

Amin: Right! Race today is supposed to be a thing of the past. And yet all we do, seemingly, is to talk about it. We talk (about) race when not talking (about) it; and we don't talk (about) it when (we should be) talking (about) it (Goldberg 2015, p. 1). It is hardly a secret that race has nothing to do with biological difference (Alemanji et al. 2015; Lentin 2015). However, biological difference remains central in the discussion and understanding of racism today. Race to me is primarily about skin colour although other socially constructed variables like religion, gender, and sexuality have now been dragged into this frame in the name of neo-racism (see Balibar 1992). However, whatever one chooses to refer to (what? something) as race, one thing is binding, the constructs of race and a racialised identity are products born of history and social classification (see Goldberg 2015; Mignolo 2009; Layne and Alemanji 2015). Race is and has always been a central factor in human history and daily struggles. Goldberg (2015, p. 11) highlights that race 'initially defined who was human and who was not, who belonged and who was exploitable, not only who could work but the kind of work they were licensed to do. Race identified whose bodies were alienable, who counted socially and who were disposable, who were fit to live (on) and who could be left or made to die, where and how.' This classification remains true today in Finland as in other parts of the world in varying degrees. For example, within less than two hours upon my arrival in Finland in 2008, I was informed by a fellow black friend about my position inscribed by my race when he told me that as a black man in Finland there are three kinds of jobs I can do: dishwasher, 'posti worker' (late night newspaper delivery person) and cleaner. Any aspirations above this are structurally stifled through mechanisms like language and lack of trust in the black ability to do any better. Those who spring pass such ideological racial lines are often considered to be exceptions of their race. There is a strand of internalised oppression in such thinking

(see Ahmed 2012). However, what is important to note here is that understandings of race and raced positions are not static in the sense that social structures may determine the essence of race in any social interaction. For example, following Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man (1952)*, many black people will be tempted to believe that their blackness makes them invisible because of its 'devaluing' nature. This is not true today (see Coates 2015; Goldber 2015; Mignolo 2009). Blackness is often/always invisible when it comes to awarding equal opportunities to non-whites in the most Western societies. It is hyper-visible when it comes to victimisation (ridicule, punishment etc.) (see Goldberg 2015; Mignolo 2009).

Minna: I think those are striking examples of how the social construction of race has its material effects. But how do you think such perceptions shape teaching?

Amin: In the same vein as my blackness creates resistance, it also has tremendous value with regards to my teachings on race and racism in Finland. I can use my personal life experiences as a great resource during my classes. I talk about my experiences of racism in Finland, ridicule the vainness of the racialising and use these experiences as practical examples to discuss issues of racism in Finland as well as to challenge it.

Minna: In my case, most students see me as sharing their privileged racial position. At times, I have felt that my white students feel too at ease to make uninformed comments, for instance, about 'what immigrants are like' as they assume the classroom to be an exclusively a white space. So, I think my whiteness also requires constant deconstruction.

This has made me curious of how other white teachers and researchers see their position. Oikarinen-Jabai (2014) discusses what it means to teach post-colonial theory as a white Finn. She explains having contemplated if she should explain her position by referring to her brown children (Oikarinen-Jabai 2014). The racialised position of one's children or intimate partner is likely to shape perceptions and experiences of racism (Rastas 2004). Oikarinen-Jabai discusses the possibility of showing solidarity to her non-white students by bringing up her family relations. While I see Oikarinen-Jabai's point, which is on solidarity to a particular group of students, the strategy to refer to family relations and emphasise one's troubled whiteness also leaves me wondering. In the field of queer pedagogy, there has been a discussion on the closet, i.e. concealing one's non-hetero(normative)sexuality, and coming out, revealing it. The critics of coming out have pointed that a single teacher coming out might not dismantle the normativity per se, or coming out might even strengthen

the ideas of norm and exception (see Juvonen 2014). By taking the risk of making an awkward analogy: I am afraid of the personalising and individualising effects of accounts like the one by Oikarinen-Jabai – although my whiteness might have an effect, my teaching should not centre on this in a negative light.

Teaching about race and racism and being perceived as white leaves me with questions: what does it mean to be a white antiracist? Instead of discussing extensively the literature on whiteness here (see Ware 2002), I would just like to paraphrase the point de los Reyes and Mulinari (2005) make: Normative whiteness, the ideal of certain attributes perceived as neutral and superior, might be harder to grasp for those who fit into it. Yet, it does not give an excuse for a researcher or for a teacher to affirm and reproduce such norms.

Thoughts on Racism

Amin: Racism, according to Balibar (1991, p. 17), is a historically essential, socially constructed phenomenon inscribed through "practices (forms of violence—contempt, intolerance, humiliation and exploitation), in discourses and representations which are so many intellectual elaborations of the phantasm of prophylaxis which are articulated around the stigmata of otherness (name, skin colour, religious practices)—thus it organises affects (e.g. irrational ambivalence) by conferring upon them a stereotyped form as regards both their objects and their subjects".

I have always argued that racism is about othering, both structurally and otherwise, along the lines of historical and socially constructed variables (like skin colour, gender, sexuality etc.) and their implications. One could write a whole book on this topic. However, like Dervin (2014) puts it, when dealing with complex issues our goal should be to keep things simple. Goldberg (2015) warns that racism is not only about person to person discrimination or injustice. It involves structural mechanisms of power employed to give certain groups what it denies others. Racism in Finland is as complex, denied yet evident in the outlook of the society. While its victims, often members of minority groups like non-Europeans, migrants, Romas and LGBTQAs (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer or Questioning, and Asexual or Ally), continue to wail in its wake, their victimisers continue to deny its effects under the guise that racism is a thing of the past (not valid or useful today), a lack racial intent in their interaction or a joke taken too seriously.

Minna: I agree that it is indeed important not to equate race only to pseudo-biological attributes but to recognise that race has always been about attributes like religion, culture and language (see Hesse 2007). At the same time, I am hesitant to discuss LGBT(IQ) issues or cissexism and heteronormativity as parallels to racism. As discriminatory structures they might of course overlap in some individuals' lives, for instance. However, in a similar manner as race is a technology to reproduce the colonial difference, also advocacy for gay rights and for gender equality might be used to produce this difference. In other words, at times, the effects of race blend into LGBTIQ issue in a manner that strengthens the image of Europe as progress. Puar (2008) has addressed this through her neologism *homonationalism* by which she refers to a multifaceted combination of discourses and practices that associate rights discourses with West and oppression of gays with the rest, and, hence, reproduces the colonial difference. In other words, identification with a sexual minority does not dismantle a privileged position in racial hierarchy.

Amin: Good point *Minna,* there was a time when I used to say we are all victims in this fight against racism. This argument was sustained with the notion that that since racism is more about structures and systems, individuals are all victims of these structures and systems. However, I side with critics like Goldberg (2015) and Ahmed (2012) who have helped me understand that strategy of universal victimisation accommodates the victimisers while leaving the victims with the post-racial feeling that racism could be anything by anyone. I do not think anti-racism should be grounded on begging people to change. It should be grounded on educating people on the existing systemic structures and how these structures affect different people differently. In doing so people are called to change out of reason, not out of pity.

Minna: Exactly *Amin*. We do not all come from equal positions and no, there is no reverse racism—accommodating such understandings, which are fundamental in grasping racism, to the conception of Finnish social equality might still be a challenge. At the same, racism does not hurt everyone equally but selects its victims with a specific racial framework. Perhaps on some level, everybody loses—although not equally. Despite the gains produced by privilege, racism has been perceived as a loss also to people with white privilege (see Keskinen 2015; Ware 2002). In the famous words ascribed to civil rights activist Fanny Lou Hammer: "Nobody's free until everybody's free".

While it is important to recognise that racism is about asymmetrical and hierarchical power, I also think it is important not to perceive anyone as only a static victim (see Tuori 2012). Anti-racist struggles, like the Civil Rights movement and Black struggle beyond the US, provide grounds to discuss unequal power structures, but also histories of people who have tried and, to some extent, occasionally succeeded to alter them. Therefore, I have thought that education on issues of racism should not focus only on oppression but also on resistance.

Preparing a Lecture: Anti-Racist Goals

Amin: I believe there is no one way to prepare to teach any subject. Every person prepares themselves differently for different occasions. There are a few things I go through before any class or talk on race and racism in Finland. First, I remind myself that my understanding is not absolute. I remind myself that my audience is going to be 95% white. I remind myself that of this 95% about 50% believe that we are living in a post-racial time where there is no race and no racism, not especially in Finland which is exceptional in every way possible (see Rastas 2012; Alemanji 2016). I also remind myself of why I am into this antiracism—to struggle, not to win. I cannot defeat racism all by myself, no one can (see Coates 2015). I am here to struggle so that through my struggle, I could leave this place a better place than I met it, and above all through this struggle have a chance to tell the story of myself rather than have others tell it for me. When all this is done, I try to identify what aspects of racisms I will be focusing on speaking to the class.

Minna: The irony in exceptionalism at the university is that at least in social sciences, humanities and education, the Finnish universities appear predominantly white. Racism in the academia is not a topic that has been widely addressed (see Hortelano 2015). Universities are on top of a discriminatory structure of education and racialised (power) relations as they often recycle racialised knowledge (re)production and systems of domination (Kisihimoto and Mwangi 2009). I think it is very important to bear in mind this context when planning to address racism at the university.

Coming from a background in feminist theories, I draw from an epistemology that there simply are no value-neutral ways of knowing—also when talking about racism. Therefore, I see antiracism as a defining principle in education that discusses race and racism related topics.

Amin: Antiracism education is a progressive and proactive effort against all forms of racisms or racist propaganda. It involves 'critical works uncovering [the] ongoing structures of racial power to active engagements to transform those structures' (Goldberg, 2015, p. 168). From this frame, my greatest goal is to ensure that my students understand how structural racism works. They should leave my class with an understanding that we are all products of a system of inequality, where power and privilege provide somewhat it denies other. The goal here is to make them understand how they contribute or benefit from such power structures. Such consciousness is a vital starting point towards any form of social transformation. On the issues of racisms, there are no bystanders since staying quiet while benefiting and using one's power and privilege makes one as culpable to the very racisms one claims to be non-participatory to.

Goldberg (2015, p. 166) argues that antiracism is 'politics from below, a critical coalition politics of insurgency and unsettlement'. From this frame, I always remind myself that I am not going to my classes to make friends. As a politics of unsettlement, I make it my business not to sugar-code things and hide behind the veil of political correctness. I try to be very forthright and strong in my accusation of systemic racial systems that produce and sustain racism. I use everyday life examples to show how racism functions in Finland and why so much is needed with regards to uprooting racism in Finland. Such accusations are never taken lightly as students with a strong sense of Finnishness feel attacked and uncomfortable. One student once described my class as too 'confrontational'. Antiracism education should involve a mixture of exploration, interrogation, self-reflection, understanding and learning about history and institutional racism, some confrontation and a lot of support. Very often the confrontational part is left out and that is something I do not choose to do.

Another student told me that after my first class (theories of racism—the case of Finland) students left with a heavy heart but after the second class where I talked about practical ways of doing antiracism education in Finland students left happier as they now had the tools they needed to join me in the fight against racism in Finland. The first half of my class is about establishing an understanding of what racism is and how it functions in Finland both at the structural and individual levels. This section is often the toughest as I try to breakdown existing theories into simple words within a context that the students know and understand.

The second half of my class is about giving students tools that could be used in antiracism education. This involves discussing with them how and why antiracism could be done in schools as well as out of schools in Finland.

Minna: I agree. Part of an anti-racist strategy to teach about racism is to recognise different agencies, not only to discuss oppression like enslavement, but also the long tradition of Black struggle and recognition of events like the revolution in Haiti. In the Finnish context, it is crucial to recognise the historical political struggle of minorities, like Sámi and Roma. And this is of course not possible through an all-white curriculum.

In the Classroom: Setting the Stage

Amin: I teach issues of race and racism from a humanist point of view. I always tell my students that: "I am not here to teach you that racism is bad because that is the most open hidden secret". I always tell them that: "I am here to discuss issues of race and racism with them from a learner's perspective". Making them understand that we are in this together and the success of it lies in our mutual understanding and respect for each other.

I use personal experience through storytelling. One of the stories I like to tell is the story of a friend who parked his car in a spot marked for disabled. When reproached by two passers-by he tells them that his blackness in Finland is a disability that qualifies him to park his car in such a spot. I always try to tell these stories laughing and try to deconstruct each story with my students so that they can understand the meaning behind my stories.

Minna: I recognise the need to make the students feel at ease. I have come to think it is important to emphasise that in the beginning all kinds of questions are welcomed and not to try to censor uninformed comments—those need to be cleared up, of course. For instance, false beliefs that white Finns face racism from minorities, or that Muslim men exploit women, need to be clarified. One way to do this is to demonstrate how such ideas link to and reflect the historical continuum of racism. It can be a struggle to keep the discussion in class as respectful as possible. Sometimes there is a thin line between un-informedness and being offensive. As you say, mutual respect is important. My strategy has been to try to keep in mind the words by feminist and critical race theorist Philomena Essed: "I won't accept someone acting disrespectfully in class.

But I don't react by lecturing that person disrespectfully. I look for a way that enables all parties to emerge from the conflict with dignity." (cited in Jonker 2012, p. 70).

Knowing Racism?

Amin: A student once told me that "there is no racism in Finland". When I quizzed her if she really believes in this she argued that "racism in Finland is peaceful. It is not like the killings that happen in the United States of America. When people are racist in Finland" (which is often not an anomaly), she argued "they are often drunk or they don't know better, just a handful of them anyway. But no violence, no one touches anyone so you can just walk away if you feel like you are experiencing something racist".

I try hard to make the student understand that every form of racism is violent and violence is not always physical. To think that non-physical violence (e.g. psychological torture born from racism) does not qualify as violent enough is appalling. Psychological racial violence leads to long trauma and even suicide (Clark et al. 1999; Nyborg and Curry 2003).

Goldberg (2015) argues that it is very common to think that racism is always something done by a few bad apples who do not reflect the voice of the masses even though the masses benefit from the actions of these so called few bad apples. Most of the racism(s) that occur in Finland is not done by drunks. Structural racism in Finland is maintained everyday by "ordinary Finns" who sit back and benefit from the power and privilege that puts and keeps them in the position they are while others, because of their otherness, suffer in the margins. The racism that this student is referring to here is individualised racism executed through now fairly common racial attacks in Finland. It is true that such attacks are at least not yet as bloody as what happens in the US, for example in the case of the Ferguson shooting. However, it must be noted that such attacks happen daily in different forms. For example, when a 6-year-old boy is called a rapist by a group teenage girls because he happens to be non-white—this is violence. When a public figure calls for immigrant to be castrated—this is violence. When people are denied access to public spaces (jobs, housing, leisure etc.) because of their non-Finnishness—this is also violence. To think that one can just walk away from a racial incident is in itself violence. People walk away from an individual racial incident only to walk into the next because the structures sustain

and maintain these racial incidents to begin with. How can my 4-year-old daughter walk away from a nanny in her day-care who loves her but hates the blackness in her; her friends who tell her black girls smell and with people constantly asking her (white) mother in her presence where she got her (my daughter) from and that her mother did well to help save her from a life of poverty and misery in Africa. Where should this 4-year-old girl walk away to?

Racism is about violence, and teaching about violence is never easy. It involves being both confrontational and being peaceful. Knowing when to force participants to confront ignored uncomfortable realities around them

Minna: For me, your examples are telling about how whiteness can hinder perception, which is both supported by and a consequence of racial structures. The tendency to imagine racism elsewhere is not unique to a Finnish context, but the historical circumstances might even enforce it. Vuorela (2009, p. 25) points out that the indirect and often unrecognised involvement in colonial endeavours, colonial complicity as she terms, has 'made the colonial worldview linger for a long time' in Finland. There is a gap between common conceptions of racism and the ways in which critical race studies paradigm describes the phenomenon. A similar gap lies between majoritarian, or normative white perceptions and accounts by people in the receiving end of racial hierarchies. Attaching racism to single events or extremist individuals (see Lentin 2016) is not only compelling but common, and thus one of the key challenges is to discuss racism as a power structure.

At the same time, some of the students in the classroom might be personally very familiar with the racialising structures in the society, which academic research discusses on a conceptual level. I think it is a challenge to provide meaningful content to a group with diverse knowledges of racism. However, an academic way of knowing can provide at best a conceptualisation of the effects of racism as an everyday phenomenon.

Those privileged by racialised structures might not see racism without the help of contesting accounts by people on the receiving end of racist abuse, whether such accounts are academic or non-academic. Whiteness is likely to guide one's observations of the surrounding society *as well as* regulate access to situations and spaces in a racialised world. Access to white segregated spaces, or 'neutral-looking' presence in such situations provides an unfortunate opportunity to observe racism too. Thus, it appears also not only as a site of not knowing, being unaware of the

workings of racism, but also knowing in a certain way, as certain kind of situated knowledge about racism.

I have repeatedly encountered that discussing racism in the labour market provokes some white students to share anecdotes about racist discrimination. As employees they might have become aware of discriminatory recruitment practices, for instance, employers who are explicit about not hiring non-white, or they might have even been given instructions to discriminate customers of certain descent. I have heard students condemning the practices they have previously encountered, and them feeling very uncomfortable about them. I have also heard some students giving rationalising accounts on the practices they have witnessed—for instance, that it is somehow beneficial for some small businesses to have only white or only "pure Finnish" employees. These are both positions of knowing racialised practices, but in the latter case, those are perceived as normal and an acceptable part of society. In other words, students might have previous experience of racist practices without fully understanding them. I have assumed that in such cases the students might not grasp how such practices imply a pattern or structure. However, the task to reorient one's thoughts might not come easy, it perhaps requires some to change their whole worldview, to change the way they perceive the whole society (see Alexdander-Floyd 2008).

I believe antiracist pedagogy benefits from an observation made in discussions on feminist pedagogy, where some researchers have emphasised that simply distributing new or alternative knowledge does not necessarily change students' ways of thinking if the students have a need to stick to the previous patterns of thought (see Saarinen et al. 2014). It might be easy to point out racism by crazy extremists or drunken persons, but to actually grasp the racialised power-structure is different and it might be painful for someone who has always benefited from it. By this I do not mean to give an excuse to anyone, but to acknowledge the pedagogical challenge. McIntosh (1988, p. 4) observes that 'my schooling gave me no training in seeing myself as an oppressor, as an unfairly advantaged person, or as a participant in a damaged culture'.

Another aspect of this is mis-knowledge, a term utilised by Gail Lewis (see Tuori 2012), which refers to a situation, where, for instance, commitment to the false idea that Islam as a religion exploits women could be easily challenged with knowledge, yet, providing facts does not change the misconceptions on Islam. The term underscores how some (racist) ideas might not even appear as conscious knowledge; rather as

the way things are—and how simply providing facts does not lead to rightful "knowledge".

How, then, can one be trained to see unfair advantages or the "damaged culture" (see McIntosh 1988, p. 4)? Can university education address the worldview of students? Honkanen (2011) discusses this from the perspective of cognitive psychology. According to her, categorisations constructing self-perception affect also the processes of thinking about others. Thus, perceptions of the self shape processing knowledge on/by others, and in order to absorb new information or to combine it with previous conceptions, one might be forced to alter the ideas of the self. As you Amin said before, antiracism education should provide the participants an understanding of "how they contribute or benefit from such power structures". Because changing self-perception is not a straight-forward process, anti-racist teachers might also face resistance. Honkanen argues that it might be helpful if the pattern and the reason for the difficulty is explained to the students. In other words, it might be important to leave spaces for reflection on why perceiving racialised structures can *feel* difficult.

To Give into Emotions or not?

Amin: Talking to a predominantly white class (who are not used to having non-white teachers as it is with the case of Finland and Finnish education institutions) about racism does not come without resistance. It is easy for students to adopt a defensive stance about the topic. Often students think I am accusing them of racism as a result of them being white. I do understand such feelings but this does not deter me to change my style. I make it clear to my students in the beginning of my class that I have nothing against them as individuals and that I am not innocent (because I am black) and they guilty (because they are white). I encourage them to detach themselves from being representatives of their race as I am not a representative of mine. I encourage them to claim the positives of their race without comparing their race with any other race (see Helms 1992). Being white and possessing the privilege of whiteness does not make you guilty of racism, but what you do with your white privilege and power could make you racist. Being racist is not a fixed identity.

Minna: Although my experiences are different, I think what you describe is essential. Defensive attitude or guilt do not usually serve learning.

My experience is that the issue of guilt does not surface instantly, but that in the company of a white teacher it is easy for the majority of white

students to describe themselves as non-racists—in contrast to imagined marginalised extremist racists. Nevertheless, I have noticed that discussing the literature that explains the idea of exceptional racism and describes racism not solely as an outcome of ill-meaning acts but also as the result of well-intended action c creates an atmosphere of guilt. For instance, Rastas (2002), highlights that some of her interviewees, young people of colour in Finland, felt tired of being noticed as different—also when the attention is intended to be positive. This observation has made many students reflect their own behaviour. To some, it seems to be important to find out whether they have done 'right' or 'wrong' when they have smiled to someone who they describe as 'immigrant-looking'. While this provides an opportunity for critical discussion on whether categorisations like 'immigrant-looking' are meaningful and thus a way to dismantle the racialised boundaries of Finnishness, the question of 'right' or 'wrong' behaviour contains a temptation to focus on individual deeds rather than observing the structure. Becoming aware of one's privileges is one key element in learning about racism. Such awareness can also lead to feeling guilt or acting defensively, which in the end is not always a good thing.

While guilt "can be thought of as having a useful role to play in making redress for acts and legacies of racial (and other forms of) discrimination" (Gunaratnam and Lewis 2001, p. 143) it also has adverse effects. Gunaratnam and Lewis (2001) remind us of the black feminist discussion that has perceived white guilt as "a barrier to transformation of relations between women of colour and white women". Guilt does not translate into action and thus it is likely to have an immobilising effect. I see a risk that someone getting caught in feeling bad about their previous racialising behaviour, perhaps with good intention, leaves them helpless to take an active stance against racism in the future.

Amin: First, I am not sure if I would use the phrase "immigrant looking people" because it positions certain kinds of immigrants (non-whites) as the Other while other kinds (whites) can continuously remain in the shadows as the good or normal people. This notwithstanding, I would like to add that anger is also another essential human emotion as well like guilt and shame mentioned by Minna. My primary concern is not to save people from guilt but to help them understand the effects of racism to both the racialised and their oppressors. I have realised that there is a huge facade in education with regards to the fact that education has to be fun and participants have to be "comfortable". I respect such stance, however, I believe that learning must not always be fun

especially at the university level. Suomala and Shaughnessy (2000) reminds us that

> At the conceptual level, there has been an important transition from a knowledge acquisition view of learning to a knowledge construction view of learning. According to the knowledge acquisition view, learning involves adding new information to one's memory and teaching involves dispensing information such as in lectures or textbooks. According to the knowledge construction view, learning involves building a mental representation that makes sense to the learner, and teaching involves as a cognitive guide on authentic academic tasks, such as through discussion and guided discovery. (pp. 478–479)

With both views, the responsibility of having fun out of a learning experience lies with the learner. Bloom and Hanych (2002) add that equating learning with fun suggests that if learners are not having fun during the learning process they are not learning, thus trivialising the entire learning process. Learning is not a form of entertainment although students may get entertained through learning. At the university level, my role is not to entertain my students in class. My role is to inspire them and guide them towards achieving a higher cognitive awareness of the world. This reminds me of complaints by some antiracist practitioners in Finland with regards to some schools on grounds that students are difficult, tough, unwelcoming and "closed". In this case, I realised that antiracist practitioners often expect to be embraced with open arms. This should not be the case as antiracism aims at unsettling systemic structures that seek to reproduce itself. It is for reasons like these that I consider antiracism of any kind a struggle. Anyone involved in this struggle must understand and embrace the struggle (see Coates 2015; Alemanji 2016).

Back to the question if it is okay to be angry. Like Ahmed (2012) puts it, one must learn how to use one's anger in a positive light and an appropriate manner—one that yields most fruits for the cause. Victims of racism get angry every time they are racially abused. That is what antiracism should primarily worry about.

To Conclude

We have discussed some of the challenges involved in translating the theoretical orientation that sees race and racism as established structures of discrimination in Finland rather than exceptions into pedagogical

practices. Departing from an understanding that race is as an essential variable, shapes the everyday life of people in Finland in different ways irrespective of the variable of the racial spectrum. As a result, racism and its effects remain an important social factor that shape the lives of people in Finland with respect to access (employability, education, housing etc.) as it places different people at different points of the Finnish sociopolitical hierarchy. We believe that we have passed the point in Finland to focus on arguments that try to deny the existence of racism in Finland. In this regard, like many other researchers and critics, we are arguing that there is a need for different antiracist strategies.

We recognise that our distinct racialised positions influence our teaching about issues of racism differently. However, this does not mean that discussions about issues of race and racism are only accessible to some and inaccessible to others because of race. Our different viewpoints with regards to understanding and teaching on the issue of racism do not represent a universal approach that must be followed by all. On the contrary, our different approaches to the subject open up discussions and support claims that diverse antiracist understandings and strategies are required to combat racism, which continues to change in meaning and essence (see Goldberg 2015; Dei and Calliste 2000; Alemanji 2016).

To suggest that antiracism education should instantly be implemented through all levels of education in Finland would be a stretch. However, there is much that could be done in this regard. An understanding of how antiracism differs from multiculturalism with regards to the fact that antiracism goes beyond accommodating difference to recognising the role of power and racialised structures (see Alemanji and Dervin 2016; Alemanji and Mafi 2016; Alemanji 2016), is an essential selling point. Universities have a huge responsibility with regards to antiracism education. In Finland, for example, having more courses on antiracism especially within teacher education could go a long way to equip the new generation of graduates with a critical mind-set necessary to recognise and challenge different forms of racism. They would recognise that, as much as there is a need to be critical of others—'them', there is a greater need to be critical of the self—'us'. Such an understanding and a willingness to follow such understanding with necessary action aimed at re-establishing power (challenging power structures) is critical in attaining a more antiracist society.

To commit to antiracism as an activist or as a teacher requires that one learns to embrace the struggle of antiracism. The gains of antiracist

endeavours cannot be measured or appraised like some other aspects of education. The gains of antiracism lie in the knowing and in the hope of a better future. The knowing here refers to the fact that antiracism sees in every society a potential for that society to do better than it is doing. Therefore, calls for an end to racism are calls for the society to be better tomorrow than it is today.

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