Decolonizing Philosophies of Education

Ali A. Abdi (Ed.)

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Any book comes out of collective efforts that are undertaken by many people; the present work is no exception. The original idea of the book came out of my own discontent with the lack of available responses to the dominant constructions of knowledge that are extensively informed by the European colonial project which, among many other things, gave us the problematic inheritance of learning systems and structures that were not designed or undertaken for any libratory purposes that affirm the identity, aspirations and/or the overall subjectivities of people. With this, I started writing an article which intended to challenge colonial philosophies and epistemologies vis-à-vis the African world. With that in place, I have decided to expand the project into a small reader that includes the topical understanding of other scholars who could contribute to the creation of a more robust project that could achieve some multi-centric deconstructions of the dominant epistemic and epistemological locations of learning and social well-being. It was with this in mind, that I invited the contributors who were very generous with their responses and have eventually given us the present book. I thank them for their excellent contributions and efforts. I am also grateful for the outstanding editing, formatting and indexing skills of Maria Veronica Caparas of the University of Alberta's Department of Educational Policy Studies whose graduate research assistantship with me was instrumental in completing the work. Finally, I would to thank Peter de Liefde, Michel Lokhorst and Bernice Kelly of Sense publishers for their support and patience.

ALI A. ABDI

CHAPTER 1

DECOLONIZING PHILOSOPHIES OF EDUCATION: AN INTRODUCTION

The experiences of colonialism, in their psycho-cultural, educational, philosophico-epistemological and social development dimensions have been extensive, and with respect to the lives of the colonized, severely limiting in their onto-existential locations and outcomes. I will not go more than warranted into detail in terms of the immediate and enduring impact of this heavy world phenomenon on the immediate lived contexts of the colonized. It was, *ipso facto*, intensive, extensive, formative and undoubtedly deformative in relation to the hitherto globalizing interactions that have become the derivatives of such experience. And while the focus of this book should not be detached from that, it should also partially aim to problematize and interrogate the potentially misnamed postcolonial outcomes of colonial education and how that needs to be decolonized in contemporary spaces of learning, teaching and human well-being.

For a powerful critical history of colonialism, and to interact with a more than skin deep conjecture of the fateful story, which due to the endurance of its projects and their outcomes, we must continue researching and debating, one should consult the brilliant disquisitions of, inter alia, Chinua Achebe (1994 [1958], 2000), Frantz Fanon (1967, 1968); Julius Nyerere (1968), Aimé Cesaire (1972), Edward Said (1978, 1993), Walter Rodney (1982), Ngugi wa Thiongo (1986, 2009), Albert Memmi (1991 [1965]), Ivan van Sertima (1991), Charles Mann (1996), Ranajit Guha (1998), Eduardo Galeano (1997, 2010), Ashis Nandy (1997, 2009), and Marie Battiste (1998, 2000). These writers have both vertically and horizontally dissected the program of colonialism at the very important cultural, educational and by extension, mental colonization levels which are seemingly more enduring and will take more time to heal than any physically ascribed subjugations that might fade away from memory, and unlike the former, might not be inter-generationally inherited. Indeed Memmi, in his excellent work, *The colonizer and the colonized* (1991 [1965]), narrates the long-term outcomes of the extensively unequal colonial relationships where eventually 'the concerned creatures' actually

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collaborate in the tormenting of one of them (i.e., the colonized); that is, the relationship is naturalized via the mental domination of the colonized who comes to believe in the 'naturalness' of his/her subordination. And it is *à traverse* my firm belief of the inter-generationality of colonizing educational and cultural contexts, that the present work was proposed. It is also via this understanding that critical anti-colonial scholars must oppositionally interact with the dangerously benign, actually banal locations and relocations of postcolonialism/postcoloniality. Here, the temporal representations of the 'post' must be corrected as not indicating the end of colonialism, especially in its more powerful deformations of the mind, but as providing a critical space for re-evaluating the continuities of colonialism in contexts and themes that are more stealth, and therefore, even occasionally more dangerous than what has happened previously.

As many observers should have witnessed, the disciplinary emergence of postcolonial studies and its remarkable growth as an important sub-discipline in select areas of educational and social sciences research in the past 25 or so years, cannot escape from some presumption that we may be nearing the end of the multiple constructions of colonialism as well colonial structures of knowledge, knowing and being. But as it especially applies to the practical formations of ideas and knowledge, such understanding should be replete with errors and relational weaknesses. For starters, colonialism in its psychological, educational, cultural, technological, economic and political dimensions has not been cleansed from all of its former colonies and colonized spaces. So much so that in schooling and attached social development platforms, the way of the colonial is not only still intact, it actually assumes the point of prominence in almost all transactions that affect the lives of people. And it is even more complicated than that. With the identity and attached psychosomatic deformations of the colonized, long ago damaged self esteem and self efficacy platforms are not still healed, and as Taylor (1995) so cogently noted, the potential for self and social development among the misrecognized and the mislabeled are difficult and not attainable without massive reconstructions of what was lost.

Among the most potent elements of the deformative processes was colonial education, which in the African context, for example, assured, not only the supremacy of European languages and epistemologies, but as well, the horizontal inferiotization of African worldviews, epistemic locations, styles of expression and forms of description (Achebe, 2000, wa Thiongo, 1986, 2009). Moreover, the whole knowledge and learning traditions of oral societies were derided as backward, ineffective and unacceptable in the new modalities of colonial relationships (Abdi, 2007b). In his magisterial work, *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*, Rodney (1982) describes how, with the imposition of alien colonial education and ways of knowing, native people were suddenly detached from pre-colonial educational systems that represented and reflected their histories, cultures,

languages and actual needs. Clearly, the new learning arrangements, with their ontologically deforming intentions and outcomes, were not conducive to the well-being of peoples and their communities, but effectively served the interests of the colonizing entity, which was bent on maximizing the dehumanizing exploitation of everything that represented the lives of the colonized.

Interestingly, the first colonial shots at the minds and corps of the to-be-colonized in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, were not launched by colonial administrators and soldiers, but by the grandi literati of the European intellectual space. The reasons here should not be too complicated to comprehend. As we should know, colonialism was first and foremost, psycho-cultural and educational. It was, indeed, after these critical points of conquest that it spread into the technological, political and economic domains of domination. That, even when those who do not systematically study colonialism generally see it as entirely economic, purposefully followed by the political, which serves as the administrative branch for the former. By making such innocent but dangerous assumption, one misreads the main point of the story. To subjugate people, willfully rob their resources, de-ontologize the main fabrics of their being, and eventually achieve the above mentioned naturalness of the project which convinces the oppressed to voluntarily partake in the de-centering of their world, an organized mental de-patterning must take place, and beyond what is done to the indigenous people, the implementers of the project must also be psycho-culturally deconstructed. That is, colonial agents must be convinced that the people they are about to colonize, oppress and exploit are fit to be treated as such. And in an epoch when the word of national philosophers and prominent social thinkers weighed so much, it was no wonder that these men were good at fabricating heresies about peoples they did not know, lands they have never visited and contexts they were not willing to interact with. Needless to add that the case was actually so much more than a favourite past time of scribbling falsified platitudes about Africans, Asians and others. Colonialism, from the European perspective, was essentially an economic survival at a time when old economies were failing, unemployment was rampant and social unrest was expanding in much of the continent. As I have written earlier (Abdi, 2002), even Cecile Rhodes who gained so much from colonialism including the grandiose achievement of naming two countries after himself, was aware of the expanding European crises and urged his English government to hasten and enlarge the processes as well as the magnitude of colonization. In speaking about an Africa he never saw and might have only instantly contemplated about, one of the so-called giants of European philosophy G.W.F. Hegel (1965), who is credited with revolutionizing philosophical discourses in his time with important works on ethics and freedom, prophesied about a continent and its peoples by somehow concluding that it was a space populated by a childish race that needed to be colonized. Others, such as the

quintessential philosopher of the enlightenment, Immanuel Kant equated blackness with lower intelligence (Eze, 1997), and one English man, Thomas Hobbes was sure that non-Europeans were not capable of achieving anything in letters and art.

About 400 years before Hegel's time, the physical and mental colonizations of the indigenous peoples of the Americas were in full force. As in later times, the onslaught was multi-phase: forceful subjugation, enslavement, cultural and educational domination including the debasing (indeed, outright denial) of the natives' achievement in agriculture, urban engineering and the art of governance, which according to Charles Mann (2006), were in many ways, superior to anything that was achieved in contemporary European cities. There again, de-philosophizing the psycho-cultural plateaus of peoples' lives was essential to multi-directionally justify their extensive chattel-ization. As Alain de Botton (2002) noted, the practice of denying even the humanness of native peoples in the Americas was propagated at the highest levels of the colonial order where doctors and priests justified the dehumanization of millions of individuals who were enfranchised citizens before the triumph of the Spanish and Portuguese conquistadores. In the case of Asia, on the other hand, Thomas Macaulay's (1995 [1935]) Englishization and anglicization of Indians was not only interesting, it might have actually achieved its intentions. As Ranajit Guha (1998) noted, the major component of the Indian sub-continent's colonization project rested on extensive cultural hegemony. This would be true of almost all colonial contexts, which should justify the needed emphasis on the historical, cultural and philosophical constructions of colonialism, which then critically locates the theme as well as the attached intellectual responses contained in this work.

DECOLONIZING PHILOSOPHIES OF EDUCATION

Philosophies of education generally focus on the rationale as well as the reasonableness of learning programs that are specific to historical and geographical locations. Clearly, these should not be the monopoly of any group, region or continent. But the de-philosophization of colonized populations rested on a premise that certified the idea and practical outcomes as requiring higher levels of organized thinking that was propagated as particular to the West. Interestingly, on cannot and should not disengage from the reality that all societies including those in traditional, pre-colonial contexts, designed their education on thoughtful, analytical trajectories that defined and justified this education as socially important, culturally and linguistically viable, and capable of ameliorating the livelihood of its recipients. Without that fact, these communities would have managed their situations successfully and would not have achieved functioning ecological relationships for thousands of years. As I have argued elsewhere (Abdi, 2007a), if there is one disciplinary space where quasi-equitable epistemic

perspectives could be claimed by peoples in different parts of the world, it is the constructions of the philosophical and its educational fragments and platforms.

That being as it should, it is also the case in most contemporary, so-called postcolonial spaces of education and schooling, the native elite has failed in deconstructing colonial philosophies and epistemologies of education, and has not done much in reconstructing indigenous systems that affirm the identities as well as the existentialities of the populace. Indeed, this should be one of the biggest plunders of the story, and undoubtedly, a major trigger point for the currently disturbed contours of social development in many corners of our world. In speaking about social development, which for me represents all forms of human well-being including the economic, the political, the educational, the cultural, the technological and the emotional, one has to insert a point of caution: previously colonized spaces are fully incorporated into the current world system, and are not necessarily seeking a disengagement from it, they have to survive within its boundaries, but with a more decolonizing agency that gives them the capacity to shape some of the interactions that should be salient in the context. And with education having a direct effect on the conditionalities of human well-being (income, employment, access to health care, food security, viable shelter, reliable transportation, etc.), the prominence of learning systems that do not disenfranchise (as colonial education and its postcolonial progenitor have been doing), but affirm the lives as well as the needs of people, have become the sine qua non of inclusive human progress.

In addition, the conventions of social development must themselves be subjected to critical inquiries where as the late Claude Ake (1996) said, these must not be imported in pre-packaged formats which have been the main reason so much of the endeavor has failed. It also central to note that with formal education having some relationship with positive forms of social development, a decolonizing philosophy of education that leads to decolonized platforms of learning, should also instigate decolonized platforms of development. In addition, the book's focus actually aims to have a global resonance, and despite the crucial discussions on the opposing geographies of the colonizer and the colonized, decolonizing philosophies of education are also needed in today's so-called liberal democracies where schools and informal forums of learning such as media impose colonizing cultural capitals on different minority groups who via such exclusions, might disengage from productive citizenship, and cannot, in the process, access the constructive outcomes of the educational and social well-being projects. Once again, the problems are philosophical, epistemological, and, by extension, can become onto-existentially debilitating.

The observational twinning of the philosophical and the epistemological is deliberate. That is, as worldviews and their thought systems are established, they spawn out clusters of situationally located knowledge possibilities and ways of

knowing, which then shape learning systems that can enhance people's locations vis-à-vis their points of eco-cultural significance. As such, it is important to counter, at least at the descriptive and analytical levels which are initially responsible for the formative stages of the philosophical and the epistemological, the continuities of colonially based education and attached ways of reading and relating to the world. And with that, it is important to establish a body of anti-colonial criticisms and deconstructionist notations that hasten the now incomplete processes of epistemic decolonization, which could slowly liberate spaces and intersections of learning and social progress. It is in the spirit as well as the praxis of this important decolonizing project, therefore, that chapters in this book were put together, with the select objective of **a)** revaluing indigenous knowledges and ways of knowing, **b)** minimizing the negative impact of the still ongoing de-culturing schemes of education (in both general and specialized terms) that permeate the lives of people, and **c)** contributing to the beginnings of non-alienating schemes of learning possibilities, both internationally and within specific national spaces, that are historically interrogating and authentic, culturally enriching and developmentally empowering.

But the task is not easy, for the organized processes of mental colonization (Nandy, 1997), are constructed in ways that unite strong trajectories of living and being which eventually affirm their durability. It is with this crucial understanding and attachable extensive counter-hegemonic discursive formations that the cure for the still colonizing master-narratives has to be comprehensive, of high dosage and tempo-spatially responsive. It is also with this in mind that the different chapters engage, from different angles and emphasis, in what might actually be seen as a new *court de guerre*, the problematic fabrications of knowledge methodologies, and from the opposing side, the historically interventionist works of cognitive decolonization thinkers, complemented by the analytical reclaiming of geographies and spaces of knowledge and knowing, which should facilitate the critical recasting of minority and gender representations, as well as the re-reading of the enduring legacies of science and mathematics education.

ORGANIZATION OF THE BOOK

Besides this introductory chapter, there are 11 other chapters in the book. In chapter two, '*Discursive epistemologies by, for and about the decolonizing project*', Paul Carr and Gina Thésée discuss the importance of epistemology, which is connected to political literacy and *conscientization*, as was charted in the work of the Brazilian philosopher Paulo Freire, with the central aim of understanding the salience of colonialism at a time when there is a *de facto* official recognition of de-colonization. They note, the formal, structural crassness and de-humanization involved in literally controlling countries from afar, as part of the

center-periphery dynamic that has been discussed in the works of major dependency theorists such as Andre Gunder Frank, Samir Amin and others. As has been extensively analyzed by these and other writers, the formations of the centre-periphery dichotomies (and all their subordinated and oppressive educational outcomes) were not of accidental formations, but were deliberately set up so as to sustain levels of interdependency that actually developed the West, while underdeveloping the rest.

In chapter three, '*Decolonizing social justice education: from policy knowledge to citizenship action'*, Lynette Shultz starts with how she has realized in the past few years that the theme of "social justice education" has became visible in more than few progressive education journals and meetings that resisted the neoliberalization and globalization of education and policy. Over time, however, she notes, she has started to worry about what it means that social justice is declared from such disparate places as conservative government education documents, activist networks, international institutions, and even from the offices of few corporations that name social justice in their efforts to project images of sustainability. She adds that while the whole thing might suggest that it is best to abandon the term and look for another signifier for citizens' attempts to overturn systems and practices of injustice, she chooses to argue that the power of "social justice" as a container for centuries of wisdom, activism, and social transformation should be reclaimed and restored for these purposes. To deal with these potentially contradictory pointers and issues, Shultz attempts to locate social justice education in a way that might help practitioners, policy makers, and academics claim it for the generative and regenerative work that will improve the lives of the many who continue to suffer through poverty, racism, patriarchy's sexism, and other exclusions. In chapter four, '*Nyerere's postcolonial approach to education*', Peter Mayo examines the educational program of Tanzania's first postcolonial President and philosopher-statesman, Julius Nyerere. Despite all his detractors, notes Mayo, Nyerere was one of Africa's most celebrated leaders, mainly because he dared envision a different educational and development trajectory for his country and for Sub-Saharan Africa at large. Nyerere was not willing to absolve colonialism of the ills it imposed on the African person, its deliberate destruction of people's learning and related life systems, and the desire of former colonizers to install their control over the existences of supposedly independent African countries. As noted in the chapter, one area where Nyerere's achievements are prominent is education; he believed in a new type of education that affirms African ways of living, and as is explicated in his well-known essay, 'Education for self-reliance', promotes equality, sharing of resources, and the end of exploitation.

In chapter five, '*Tagore and education: gazing beyond the colonial cage*', Ratna Ghosh, M. Ayaz Naseem and Ashok Vijh attempt to capture some aspects of the Indian thinker, poet and Nobel Laureate, Rabindranath Tagore's philosophy of

education including those bearing on education in the colonial India of his time. As noted here, the outlooks he expounded on, led the educated classes of British India of his time to think and act outside the shackles of colonialism. To discuss this, his educational philosophy and practice is outlined by delineating its liberating influence on the evolution of educational thought in colonial India at that time. The authors state that Tagore's four pillars of his concept of education were: nationalist traditions; syntheses of Western and Eastern strands of philosophy; science and rationality in approach; and an international and cosmopolitan outlook. In addition, the original way in which Tagore interwove these various strands to expound a system of free and creative enquiry that gazed beyond the shackles of colonialism in India was unique, and his manner of liberating the mind and the people through this approach to education and learning is outlined. The sixth chapter is interrogatively entitled, '*Decolonizing diaspora: whose traditional land are we on*?' Here, Celia Haig-Brown considers the possibility of decolonizing discourses of diaspora, and to do so, asks not only where people of the diaspora come *from*, but where have they come *to*? She notes how in North America, nations have been superimposed on Indigenous lands and peoples through colonization and domination. By taking this relation seriously in the context of discourses of race, indigeneity and diaspora within university classrooms, one interrupts business as usual and promises a richer analysis of one's particular similarity amongst diasporic, as well as settler groups in North America with possible implications beyond this context. In short, the author asks readers to respond to the question, "Whose traditional land are you on? as a step in the long process of decolonizing our countries and our lives." While part of the focus for this paper is on theorizing diaspora, there are obvious implications for all people living in a colonized country. Drawing primarily on three pedagogical strategies and events arising from them, Haig-Brown takes up some of the possibilities for the theory-building they suggest. To do so, she engages select reflections on courses taught, student feedback and textual representations from Toni Morrison's *Playing in the Dark* to James Clifford's "Indigenous Articulations", which all ground the discussion.

In chapter seven, '*Forts, colonial frontier logics, and Aboriginal-Canadian relations: imagining decolonizing educational philosophies in Canadian contexts*', Dwayne Donald explores possibilities for the decolonization of Aboriginal-Canadian relations in educational contexts, with a specific focus on curricular and pedagogical considerations. He notes that the significance of colonialism, as a social, cultural, and educative force, has not yet been meaningfully contemplated in Canadian educational contexts. For the most part, the average Canadian citizen comprehends colonialism as something that happened elsewhere, like Africa or Asia, a long time ago. This disposition, Donald notes, is symptomatic of a deeply learned habit of disregarding the experiences and memories of Aboriginal peoples of Canada. This habitual disregard of Aboriginal peoples stems from the colonial

experience and is perpetuated in the present educational context as a curricular and pedagogical logic of naturalized separation based on the assumption of stark, and ultimately irreconcilable differences. As the author says, the overriding assumption at work in this logic is that Aboriginal peoples and Canadians inhabit separate realities, and the intention is to deny relationality. In chapter eight, '*The Problem of fear enhancing inaccuracies of representation: Muslim male youths and western media*', Dolana Mogadime, Sherry Ramrattan Smith & Alexis Scott discuss how in the Western world, there is an ongoing colonization of Muslim male youths' representations, where without their voice and knowledge, they are routinely portrayed as a threat to national security. In so doing, the popular press serves as the main vehicle for reproducing assumptions about Muslim youths as potential terrorists. The authors argue for the use of critical discourse analysis (CDA) in critiquing the popular print media's distorted representation of Muslim youths as troubled and violent. In searching the keywords *'Muslim, youth' and 'Muslim, youth and alienation'* among international daily, weekly and monthly newspapers and magazines, Mogadime, Ramrattan and Scott coded and analyzed 100 articles to arrive at an understanding of common language use to describe Muslim youths. When imploring CDA, they asked questions such as who are the voices of authority that are given credibility in discussions of Muslim youth, alienation, and national security issues? From there, the authors present the counter narratives of the everyday life of Muslim youths who are striving to exercise their rights to live as democratic responsible citizens and as contradictions to a fear enhancing popularized public image. Drawing from a research project based in a Southern Ontario school, they juxtapose the life of Muslim youths with the image in the popular press in ways that call for a critical re-examination of the representation of Muslim youths in public forums.

In chapter nine, '*Clash of dominant discourses and African philosophies and epistemologies of education: anti-colonial analyses*', I examine the hastened and arbitrary constructions of Africa in the philosophical, educational and by extension epistemological traditions of the West. As I relay them here, these constructions are problematic, both descriptively and analytically and mainly based on misguided colonial assumptions that are fundamentally standing on very shaky epistemic platforms. As such, these are contrasted with the realities of African philosophies and ways of learning, and via these critical re-locations, the chapter attempts to dismantle those hollow European fabrications about Africa, attempting to reconstruct in the process, counter-colonialist discursive and learning reflections and their possible practices, which together affirm both the historical and actual viability of African thought systems of philosophies of education. In chapter 10, '*Gender equity in Africa's institutions of tertiary education: beyond access and representation*', Philomina Okeke-Ihejirika attempts to analyze and extend the debate on African's women's participation in tertiary education beyond the

persistent appeals for equal representation across the disciplines, and in the proportion of teaching and administrative staff. The chapter begins with a brief review of the reasons advanced by those who advocate African women's access to and representation in tertiary education. It also takes a cursory look at African women's progress at this level, highlighting the barriers they face. The author's primary purpose, however, is to explore the ideological content of African women's training, and the various ways it might be implicated in the struggle to achieve gender equity at the tertiary level. As Okeke-Ihejirika, less attention has been paid to women as products of a training that should improve their economic status as well as bargaining power to participate in social transformation. Perhaps as a reminder that women will only be empowered when they lead the initiative themsleves, the author ends her discussion with a section entitled, 'A challenge to African female academics and administrators.' In chapter 11, '*Are we there yet? Theorizing a decolonizing science education for development in Africa*', Edward Shizha explores ways and means of decolonizing science education, and discusses social and cognitive significance for a decolonizing paradigm and how it may benefit the African student and the African community. As he notes, the debate regarding the relationship between science and development, and the role of indigenous knowledges in Africa is very controversial. Arguments for or against the use of indigenous knowledge in science or regarding indigenous sciences are informed by what is perceived as the appropriateness or inappropriateness of indigenous perspectives and epistemologies in science education and development. The author states how those scholars who are rooted in Eurocentric definitions of science and development do not authenticate indigenous sciences nor do they see any validation of the sciences or knowledges in bringing about "modernization" and scientific well-being. Shizha adds that in order to achieve decolonization in African science classes, we need to approach education from an antiracist and anti-colonial perspective; it was the case and continues to be the case that colonial and racial perspectives on Africa misconstrued Africa as a continent without science.

In chapter 12, '*Critical curriculum renewal: The character of school mathematics in Uganda*', Immaculate Namukasa, Janet Kaahwa, Madge Quinn and Ronald Ddungu discuss how the government of Uganda, in partnership with bilateral and multilateral agencies, is currently expanding the education system, which was inherited from colonialist Great Britain, through programs such as privatization. But most of these programs, they note, are focusing on improved access and management of education, with minimal development of curriculum taking place. As such, it becomes crucial for the authors to examine the character of the Ugandan school curriculum, taking the case of school mathematics - a subject that, besides languages, is allocated a high mean percentage total of instructional time in the world. This examination of the struggles, successes and failures of school mathematics

education is put into the contexts of the country's education, the country's history and mathematics education in a globalized world. The methodology utilizes document research techniques of Ugandan curriculum documents. The examination draws attention to how complex relationships between historical, socio-economic and political contexts shape school curricula. With these realities, the authors state that the character of school mathematics education in Uganda exemplifies curricula in several developing countries whose development has for a long time been marginalized by economic and political decisions.

In its entirety, therefore, the central objective of this book should not be limited to posing effective intellectual challenges against European philosophies and epistemes, but as well, to provide timely inclusive ways of going beyond the monocentricity of official discourses, thus aiming for the critical construction of new epistemic formations that are not *a priori* anti-anybody, but want to affirm the collective credit that should be given to all humanity in the across-millennia constitution of philosophies, knowledges and socially located epistemologies.

As such, the chapters in this book, should minimally achieve a critical re-examination, indeed, analytical recasting of both current and historical intersections that explain the locations, descriptions and operationalizations of general learning platforms, educational philosophies and attachable possibilities of social well-being that constructively or otherwise interact with the lives of diverse populations across the globe. With the longue durée outcomes of colonial psychologizations and de-culturalizations, it should always be the right time to seek out and establish new decolonizing trajectories that affirm the onto-epistemological and philosophico-pedagogical liberations that can reconstruct the learning structures that re-affirm the right identity and intentions for all those who aspire to benefit from them. As some of the most prominent philosophers of education including John Dewey, Paulo Freire and the two treated in this volume, Rabindranath Tagore and Julius Nyerere have pointed out in their scholarly and working lives, one cannot achieve identity liberation and social development in alienating systems of schooling.

It is based on such understanding that re-doing contemporary realities of education for the subjective freeing of the colonized, can achieve the inclusive existential grounding that also enlists the intellect as well as the constructive fragments that come for perennially colonizing clusters of knowledge and learning. As I have written previously (Abdi, 2002), the new decolonizing alignments (in these post-facto intermeshed world 'ecologies') cannot aim for the deliberate delinking of world knowledges and educational systems from each other, from the perspective of the philosophico-epistemologically colonized, the immediate possibility of re-enfranchising suppressed epistemes and ways of knowing, complemented by how these locate history, culture, social and physical environments and the encircling social contexts that create, define and use them,

with what is useful and relevant from dominant Western learning systems, thus establishing a co-created schooling/educational arrangements and outcomes that can achieve actual and tangible well-being for all.

Needless to add that this book cannot and should not achieve some stand-alone deconstructions of the epistemically colonizing edifice, and could only serve as one small step to re-write the topographies of the story, which can contrapuntally interrogate the problematic postcolonial status quo, thus disturbing the structural as well as the functional coherence of official knowledges and learning discourses and their selectively dysfunctional scribbling of totalizing Eurocentric metanarratives. It is via this objective that the anti-colonial projects (in its many forms including that which opposes what may be selectively termed as 'postcolonial internal colonization' of certain groups) contained in the following pages would be situated, in re-calibrated descriptive and analytical constructions, some miles beyond what that brilliant student of colonialism Frantz Fanon would have described in his classic, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1968), as the conventionally incomprehensible and rationalist trajectory-deprived noises which were induced, in the first place, via the maddening and methodical projects of the colonizer. They should, in these first years of the third millennium, , represent a little bit more sinister (perhaps trickster) discursive insurgency that achieves a deliberate clash with colonial and conformist postcolonial discourses, thus potentially reconstructing something that is onto-existentially, educationally, developmentally and therefore, practically more enriching and more liberating.

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CHAPTER 2

DISCURSIVE EPISTEMOLOGIES BY, FOR AND ABOUT THE DE-COLONIZING PROJECT

Although colonialism is generally thought of to be buried in the past, similar to the mainstream pop-culture mantra that we are now in a post-racial society because of the election of an African-American president in the US, it is clear that our realities, experiences and minds have been shaped by the platform of centuries of colonial exploitation and degradation (Galeano, 1973). With a handful of White, European-centered countries—predominantly England, France, Spain, Portugal and the United States—having spread their hegemonic reach around the world, centuries later we are saddled with tangible, entrenched political and educational systems, languages and cultures, religious traditions, and economic processes that were, in general, forcibly imposed to ensure a regime of domination (McLaren, 2005). The long-lasting assault on indigenous peoples, as a result, has been substantial, with some viewing it as nothing short of genocide (Churchill, 1998). What do we believe to be true, and why do we believe in these truths, and not others? Epistemology, ultimately, can help us understand the perseverance of colonialism (Kincheloe, 2008b). Whether or not we believe that colonialism was as deleterious and far-reaching, or, conversely, not as debilitating and entrenched as many argue, has some connection to the critical historical, philosophical and political contours shaping today's realities. Have we witnessed a veritable de-colonization, or are we simply ensconced in a more sophisticated process of re-colonization?

This chapter discusses the importance of epistemology, which is connected to political literacy and *conscientization*, as Freire (1973/2005) would put it, in understanding the salience of colonialism at a time when there is a *de facto* official recognition of de-colonization. The formal, structural crassness and de-humanization involved in literally controlling countries from afar, part of the center-periphery dynamic that Gunder Frank (1979) elaborated on, has been nuanced in a legal sense. Yet, the reality of their being a *developed* North and *under-developed* South speaks to the (semi)permanent legacy of colonialism.

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In its enhanced state, whereby mass migration, intolerably high levels of poverty, comparatively weaker prospects for gainful employment, burgeoning military conflict, and pervasive instability, characterized by rampant corruption and political nepotism, are a reality for much of the previously colonized world, could we realistically speak of the end of colonization (Chomsky, 2007; Chossudovsky, 2003)?

For this chapter, we start with a vignette related to a conference organized by a French-language, European, intercultural research association that took place in Brazil in 2009. We then elaborate on the epistemology of identity, ethics and politics, providing arguments to buttress our contention that de-colonization does not signify an end to human suffering, but, rather, pushes us into other, complex, equally problematic spheres of inequitable power relations. Next, we discuss briefly the conceptualization of the environment within an epistemological framework, highlighting some of the concerns related to hegemonic control over the *developing*, formerly colonized world. We end with a discussion of the potential for epistemological liberation through critical pedagogy as a means to establishing a more tangible de-colonization.

A VIGNETTE ON THE END OF COLONIZATION

Intercultural relations are, arguably, at the base of humanity. The world is filled with different languages, cultures, ethnicities, religions, races, orientations, and diverse identities. If we are not to understand, appreciate, and seek meaningful engagement and solidarity with the *other*, then what would be the (il)logical outcome? The devastating wars, conflicts, racism, hatred, xenophobia and despair that have characterized human civilization? Within distinct geographic and cultural zones, diverse peoples must reconcile differences based on *lived experiences* resulting from the social construction of identity. For instance, simply because someone is American does not mean that there may not be enormous cultural differences in the way that this individual has experienced American life, especially when one thinks of race, class and gender. Moreover, the world has been continually re-made through mass migration, which further concerns about identity, values, power and change (Macedo and Gounari (2006) speak of the "globalization of racism". Every nation has some level of heterogeneous pluralism woven into its tapestry. When one considers how colonial regimes de-based local, indigenous languages, cultures, and traditions through forcible and sophisticated forms of enslavement, domination and oppression, it is not difficult to appreciate why intercultural relations should be a necessary and meaningful part of any society, educational system and political discourse.

Thus, with the backdrop presented above, we would like to briefly illustrate an example of how contentious and problematic intercultural relations can be,

even amongst those who have a particular specialization in the area, and who, equally, are committed to more fulsome, productive and tangible connections between peoples at several levels. We have been involved in the French language *Association pour la recherche interculturelle* (ARIC/Association for Intercultural Research) for the past several years (Carr since 2005, and Thésée since 2000) as researchers, collaborators, conference organizers and members of the 22-member international executive. In the past few years, we have attended conferences in Algeria, Romania, Italy, and twice in Brazil. Before these conferences, all previous meetings were held in (French-speaking) Europe, where ARIC was founded twenty-five years ago. ARIC offers a forum for the international community to its work, scholarship and activism in relation to intercultural relations (in French) with major conferences every other year, interspersed with colloquia on alternate years. With members from over forty countries, including much of the French-speaking world, ARIC has represented a unique and important forum to establish contacts, disseminate research, and to, importantly, seek to resolve problems and issues. There are many English-language and international intercultural relations associations, and the typical problem of how to co-exist in the other language is probably one of the guiding reasons behind the establishment and continuation of a uniquely francophone association. Anyone familiar with Canadian politics will understand how it is not necessarily a seamless venture to create national associations, policies, practices, etc. when considering which language, and, therefore, which culture, will predominate.

For the past five years, there have been discussions at ARIC's conferences and colloquia about "opening up" discussions, holding events outside of the traditional territory, and in engaging with colleagues from the *South*. At one level, in earlier formulations of intercultural relations, one common perception was that the problematic reposed squarely on the difficulty for Third World immigrants to assimilate into their new host countries. This psychological perspective has evolved, recognizing that an individual's integration into a society is also contingent on various extraneous and concrete factors outside of one's control, such as racism, intercultural acceptance, educational systems, support structures, and political climate, among others. As the debate within ARIC crossed over into a more centrally-focused analysis of broader, systemic issues, and this is not to infer that these matters were never dealt with before, members started to suggest that the conferences should take place in diverse locations so as to meet with colleagues and others in unique intercultural environments. A decision was made to hold the 2009 congress in Florianapolis, Brazil, under the stewardship of the recently elected President, Reinaldo Fleuri, a distinguished professor at the Universdade federal de Santa Catarina, the host-university for this event. The title of the conference, which signalled an important shift in the evolution of ARIC,

was Dialogues Interculturels: décoloniser le savoir et le pouvoir (Intercultural dialogues: Decolonising knowledge and power).

Traditionally, conferences for ARIC are frequented by 400 to a thousand participants, almost all of whom are francophone, and the majority of whom are from Europe, with a good representation from French-speaking Canada as well. Few participants actually came from French-speaking African countries or other areas of the world, in large part, one could speculate, because of funding issues. Holding the 2009 event in Brazil would allow for a broad number of Latin Americans to attend the event. However, a first and fundamental issue/dilemma that arose related to the language of the conference. ARIC is a proud French-language organization, up until now publishing, communicating and having a presence only in French. A pivotal and critical question from an epistemological vantage-point relates to what we may not know or discuss because of linguistic barriers. Thus, from the outside as well as at the conference, with Latin America being populated with a couple of hundred million Spanish speakers, and Brazil, the host country, being home to almost 200 million Portuguese speakers, language became an issue. The conference mobilized some seven hundred participants, including a majority of roughly six hundred from Latin America, almost all of whom could not speak French. A vigorous debate ensued concerning the lack of translation and interpretation, which is costly, and requires technological support, and a high level of expertise to ensure that it is effective. Ultimately, intercultural participation was not always possible because of these linguistic barriers, and, sadly, almost all of the people attending the workshops and symposia in French were francophones, and vice versa for the sessions in Spanish and Portuguese (although Spanish and Portuguese are close enough whereby people can and did attend diverse sessions in the other language). Some people came away with the sense that there were two different conferences because of some innocuous but real issues related to linguistic domination.

Did all participants benefit from the numerous intercultural exchanges that took place before and after the formal part of the program, indeed the part of the conference that people long remember for the friendships, contacts and discussions that take place? Many did, and yet many, we submit based on discussions and observations, were left without the full enjoyment of knowing the *other*. The last general assembly had most of the Latino participants in the halls with the francophone ones on the inside where a retrospective of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Association was celebrated. In no way are we trying to diminish the experience of the conference, nor the efforts of the organizers or the people in attendance. We are simply exemplifying how the best of intentions by people focused on such matters as intercultural relations can face significant challenges, which speaks to the confluence of problems that can arise related to de-colonization

when one may underplay the intricate socio-linguistic, cultural, political, economic and epistemological details.

Another important issue at this conference related to the title and the focus. Latin Americans considered it an invitation to critique colonialism and the advent of de-colonization, especially in relation to indigenous peoples on the continent. Many of the plenary discussions were challenged by people in the audience. Perception, perspectives, experiences and narratives varied widely, as they should in an academic gathering, according to the location of the individual and group. How should people in the *North* talk about de-colonization, and should this differ while being in the *South*? Have people from the *North* already spoken too much, and should it now be time to listen? How can we advance intercultural relations without diminishing the *other*? One can see many valid vantage points from a range of groups involved in this conference: the organizers believed that ”opening up” discussion would be a positive contribution and experience but they did not believe that the French-language character of ARIC would or should be challenged; Latin Americans believed that, especially since, comparatively speaking, there are fewer opportunities to meet with *Northern* colleagues in their territory, the conference could and should address the substantial harm caused by colonizing countries, both historically and in the present. How do we reconcile that our languages, cultures and identities have been fabricated over long periods of time, and that they are not neutral? Hegemonic forces conspire to give salience to what we know, why, and how it is considered valid and relevant.

At this conference, we were asked to deliver a keynote address, titled *Le tango épistémologique : Deux voix différentes dialoguent sur la décolonisation du savoir/pouvoir* (*The epistemological tango: Two different voices dialoguing on the decolonization of knowledge/power*), in which we spoke about the themes enunciated in this chapter. The reaction to our address was illuminating: while a few people asked questions during the allotted discussion period about why we were focusing on race, at least fifteen people, all of whom were “of color,” came to the stage to embrace us afterwards. It would seem that the subject as well as the way that it was conceptualized had an impact for many of the people in attendance. Why? We were intrigued to learn more, especially since Brazil has been considered, at a pop-cultural level, to be a racially accepting society. Why were so many people “of color” interested in, in solidarity with, and compelled to voice support of a critiquing of the supposed end of colonialism while, simultaneously, our work was critiqued by many of the Europeans in attendance. One comment that arose from some (White) Europeans in attendance concerned whether or not we were presenting *scientific research.* Indeed, Carr (2006; Carr & Lund, 2009) has met a similar reaction to his work on Whiteness in North America on the part of Whites (at a National Association for Multicultural Education conference in Baltimore in 2007, one African-American participant to his session told him:

"your work is good, and we agree with you but do you think that Whites will buy into it?").

In sum, this vignette of the French language intercultural conference held in Brazil dealing with de-colonizing knowledge and power demonstrates for us the deeply-entrenched meaning that is evident in the faces, hearts and minds of people around the world in relation to subjugations, oppression, domination and difference. To be indifferent, ignorant or openly disengaged is to accept the benefits and the *malheure* of inequitable power relations. Epistemological inquiry represents a way of seeking more constructive intercultural relations.

EPISTEMOLOGY AND IDENTITY, ETHICS AND POWER

A significant area of our research over the past several years has related to racism and social justice. Although we are leery of presenting ourselves in such stark silos of potentially deceptive confusion, Carr is a White, anglophone male of European origin from Toronto, and Thésée is a Black, francophone woman of Haitian origin from Montreal. It is necessary to state the obvious, while it clearly does not capture the more important aspects of culture, experience, ideology and engagement, because we have learned that who talks about what is often challenged based on who that person is. For example, a man speaking about women, or a Jew speaking about Muslims, or a Canadian speaking about aboriginal peoples can all conjure up certain values, prejudices and mythologies, rightly or wrongly. Carr has undertaken work on Whiteness for the past several years, and has found that White people are more apt to listen to a discourse on White power and privilege from a White person rather than a "person of color," the latter term of which conjures up a certain normative value to begin with ("of color" in relation to what?). Thésée has worked with epistemological racism for a number of years, and has found that the very notion can be rejected based on the perception that it was developed by anglophones. Thus, as we attempted to exemplify in the vignette related to ARIC, language matters in relation to what we know, what we believe and what we can say in addition to what others believe to know about themselves and others.

Carr (2006) undertook a project on Whiteness with Darren Lund, who is also White, culminating in a book, *The great white north? Exploring whiteness, privilege and identity in education* (Carr & Lund, 2007a), which involved presentations, interviews, articles and other work, both inside and outside of the classroom. Our conceptualization of Whiteness includes the following (Carr, 2009; Carr & Lund, 2007a):

- Cultural conventions, literature (Babb, 1998), art and societal "metaphors, analogies, images, and cultural landmarks (that) all speak to the sanctity, beauty, and the hypnotic predominance of the colour white in the Western world. Not merely the opposite of black, white has been a signifier for global

racial supremacy—good against evil, lightness versus darkness, and benevolence over malevolence—and symbolizes cleanliness, kindness, serenity, and youth. White is associated with Europe the conqueror, while Black is inexorably fused to colonial notions of the 'dark continent' of Africa." (Carr & Lund, 2007b, p. 9)

- There has been a long and virulent history of hate groups in North America (Kinsella, 2001; Daniels, 1997), with different manifestations elsewhere, which have emphasized erroneous notions of biological racial superiority, often based on xenophobic interpretations of Christianity, to justify violence and segregation against non-Whites.
- "Slavery, colonialism of First Nations and other peoples, neo-colonialism, imperialism, and a host of other political, economic, and cultural strategic manoeuvres and mindsets have all been buttressed by the grandiose conceptualization of the White man as morally enlightened" (Carr & Lund, 2007b, p. 9).
- The most abhorrent forms of human degradation perpetrated by Whites against "people of color," especially aboriginals (Churchill, 1998) and Africans, have permanently scarred the human experience, and also, significantly led to what has been characterized as the colonization of the mind (Dei & Kempf, 2006).
- There have been numerous examples of White power and privilege in Canadian history pertaining to racist immigration policies toward the Chinese, the internment of Japanese-Canadians during World War Two, the razing of the African-Canadian section of Halifax (Nelson, 2002), and numerous other visible acts that have served to institutionalize discrimination with Canadian society (Henry & Tator, 2005).
- It is acknowledged that grasping with Whiteness is equally complex and problematic, and that many Whites may refute the very notion because they perceive no real advantage to being White (McIntosh, 1992), especially in light of longstanding conflicts between White racial groups (i.e., the French and the English in Canada, Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland, the Basques and the Spanish in Spain, and numerous other conflicts in Eastern Europe).
- The pervasive notions of meritocracy, individualism and a belief in political neutrality underpin an ideology of "color-blindness," making it unacceptable for many to consider race as a meaningful concept in society (Carr, 2006; Dei, Karumanchery & Karumanchery-Luik, 2004). Yet, there is documentedracism at multiple levels, and avoiding acknowledgement of this fact can lead to more entrenched discrimination.
- The obvious manifestations of racism in contemporary society, such as academic under-achievement for some minorities, under-representation of

> "people of color" at the highest levels of government, business, the judiciary, the media, and key decision-making levels, higher rates of incarceration and poverty for aboriginals and African-Canadians, employment disadvantage despite higher levels of education for minorities, housing segregation, and a plethora of human rights issues, all point to the widespread influence of Whiteness (Fleras & Elliot, 2003; Boyko, 1998).
> - Whiteness is still exemplified through intricate networks of social interaction, restrictive clubs, private schools, elite business circles, and other configurations that effectively keep people of color on the outside, explicitly or implicitly, overtly or covertly (Kincheloe, Steinberg, Rodriguez & Chennault, 1998).
> - For many Whites, the notion of inter-racial marriage is still taboo, and one can also see racial segregation on the day of worship where churches remain largely segregated, exemplifying the stark reality of supposed "colorblindness" in multicultural nations like Canada.

Whiteness, as indicated in the title of the book, relates directly to power and privilege, and is not focused on guilt and shame. The intersecting reality of identity (one is never only a Black person, a woman, a Spaniard, a homosexual, etc.) nuances our understanding of Whiteness but the predominant influence of racialization as a fundamental organizing principle necessitates a critical and lucid examination into why and how Whites have, in a general sense, when considering history, laws, politics and economics, exempted themselves from the equation of being a full participant in the legacy and perpetuation of racism (Dei, Karumanchery & Karumanchery-Luik, 2004). The concept of being *color-blind* or now being in a *post-racial society* was most undoubtedly not advanced by people who are not White, those that Whites have labelled "of color." If we are past, or are post, race, why are people`s experiences, based on race, so salient (for example, residential segregation, outcomes in education and the job-market, poverty levels, racist incidents, etc.) (Carr & Lund, 2007b)?

Thésée (2003, 2006) has undertaken research on the experiences of Blacks in education, especially in relation to the francophone context. She has encountered systemic and institutional layers of complexity that serve to justify and rationalize limited inclusion and responsibility in ensuring equitable outcomes for all groups in education, particularly with regards to racialized and marginalized communities.

In our work together, we have found that having different racial identities is an important symbol to discuss racism. Thésée's work on epistemology and science education has provoked a number of reactions: first, there is opposition to her contention that positivism should be critiqued; second, there is criticism of her analysis that race and identity are not disconnected from science and science education; and, thirdly, there is concern over her argumentation around the notion that positivistic science has further entrenched the colonial project. As Carr (2006)

has found, Thésée (Carr & Thésée, 2008) has noted that the most vociferous challenges to her work come from White, European-origin scholars and educators.

Thésée (2006; Carr & Thésée, 2008) has developed a colonial resistance model as a means of seeking some form of veritable de-colonization. This model consists of the following features:

> 1) *Refuse:* Globally, this strategy is used to address the different discourses which are infused into the mind continuously in everyday life. These discourses present strong symbolic, implicit and explicit content. The symbolic content includes images, styles, attitudes or relations which fill the ordinary social environment with, for example, media and artistic productions.
>
> 2) *Re-questioning:* This strategy relates to new forms of questions to address issues of scientific knowledge. Re-questioning is similar to de-construction: the de-construction of the technocratic world, which asks mostly "how much," seeking the measurable goals in various situations. Re-questioning the "How," therefore, shatters the certainty and rigidity of methodologies by daring to structure procedures differently.
>
> *3) Re-define:* There must be a re-definition of knowledge in all its dimensions that is social in nature: formal traits, aesthetics, choices, ethical values, and collective rituals. The formal traits of knowledge include concepts, basic principles, rules, laws and theories which have been formalized through periods of inert-subjectivity and broad consensus.
>
> *4) Reaffirm:* To reaffirm the self is necessary in order to deviate from the pervasive Eurocentric view of others that one is inferior. Going further in the resistance process is supposed to affirm the collective self supported by all actors at all levels (societal, community, family and individuals of all ages).

Thésée (2006) concludes by emphasizing that:

> The most important factor associated with the resilience of the persons in posttraumatic syndrome, as well as in school, is the positive support offered by a nurturing social environment which can buffer the trauma. Despite the impregnation of colonization through scientific knowledge, and despite the erosion of vernacular cultures (re)generated by people and nations, the hope for a meaningful resistance and resiliency is situated within the framework of understanding, meaning and empowering, which can be only achieved within a strong and supportive communitarian-based experience, and a strong racial socialization and identity (p. 40).

Therefore, a fundamental concern in relation to the epistemology of a de-colonized world is whether Whites, those largely of European origin, are proverbially “on the same page” as those most affected by colonialism. Similarly, how should we heal the wounds caused by colonialism? While those inhabiting the Earth today did not

directly cause colonialism, they have most definitely been the recipient of its legacy, including the benefits as well as the deficiencies that presently plague society. Should there be reparations to compensate those now toiling in poverty from centuries of colonialism? Should there even be a debate? How should we understand democracy in the *developed* world in spite of our relations with the *developing* world (Lund & Carr, 2008)? What do we know about how the colonized world was colonized? (For example, is there an understanding of the Berlin Treaty and the perverse division of Africa by European countries in 1895?) Thus, education, and we would argue, critical pedagogy (Freire, 1973/2005; Kincheloe, 2008a, 2008b; McLaren & Kincheloe, 2007) plays a substantial role in cultivating a critical interrogation of our epistemology, and must be factored into the mix as to how de-colonization is understood.

Epistemology and the Environment

In order to further explicate our concern over how de-colonization may not have taken place in a comprehensive and socially just manner, we now introduce the theme of environmental destruction in relation to inequitable power relations and hegemonic forces, largely in favour of the North over the South. We highlight the domination of Whites over people "of color," and present the concept of vulnerability. The connection to our subject of de-colonization is brought to light when considering that the harm caused by developed countries over developing countries is largely predictable and preventable. In sum, it is important to consider epistemological racism as a substantive factor in determining which regions, groups, and problems are considered ripe for military or economic destruction (Thésée & Carr, 2008).

In linking together the Vietnam War (1959-1975), Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans in 2005, the Iraq Wars (1991 and 2003-present), the 2006 Israeli invasion into Lebanon, the deplorable environmental degradation and impoverishment in Haiti as well as in many First Nations reserves in Canada and the US (see Thésée & Carr, 2008), we ask the following questions:

- Necessity (are our actions necessary?)
- Risks (do we evaluate the level of risk for our actions?)
- Predictability (do we know of the impact of our actions in advance?)
- Objective and result (do we achieve what we plan to achieve?)
- Costs and benefits (are we satisfied with the results of our actions?)
- Centrality of the environment (what is the place of the environment in our actions?)
- Vulnerability (who is the most affected by our actions?)
- Social justice (is social justice a part of our actions?)

Critical of the usage of military means as well as weakly constructed but forcefully implemented economic measures, we have found some common denominators:

1) people "of color" are generally the victims, and White people are generally the aggressors;
2) enormous environmental catastrophes are often over-looked because of hegemonic arguments that consist of vested interests, national security concerns, human rights and the "permanent war on terror" (McLaren, 2007);
3) the media are either complicit, ignorant and/or incapable of reporting on the reality of war, environmental devastation, and corruption within developed nations (Chomsky, 2007, 2008);
4) the notion of development is often usurped by thin arguments about democracy (Moyo, 2009);
5) the absence of a vigorous debate on the root causes of problems in the South as well as a negation of a link to colonialism (Thésée & Carr, 2008).

Thus, a more critical and fundamental process of epistemological interrogation, in and through education, can help us strive for more meaningful solutions to war, poverty and environmental destruction in which the poor are further punished for what the rich have done to advance wealth generation and hegemonic control of limited resources.

DISCUSSION: CRITICAL PEDAGOGY AS A MEANS TO FACILITATING DE-COLONIZATION

Critical pedagogy offers us a framework to understand political literacy and social transformation, in which static representations of power, identity, and contextual realities are rejected (Denzin, 2009; Giroux, 1997; McLaren & Kincheloe, 2007). Critical pedagogy is not about providing a checklist against which one can determine the level of social justice within a given society (Carr, 2008a). Rather, it is concerned with oppression and marginalization at all levels, and seeks to interrogate, problematize and critique power and inequitable power relations. Giroux (2007) emphasizes that critical pedagogy "refuses the official lies of power and the utterly reductive notion of being a method.... (It) opens up a space where students should be able to come to terms with their own power as critical agents; it provides a sphere where the unconditional freedom to question and assert is central to the purpose of the university, if not democracy itself" (p. 1). Critical pedagogy makes a direct, explicit and undeniable linkage between the formalized experience in the classroom and the lived experience outside of the classroom, in which bodies, identities and societal mores influence what takes place in schools. Giroux (2007) boldly states that "Democracy cannot work if citizens are not autonomous, self-judging, and independent—qualities that are indispensable for students if they

are going to make vital judgments and choices about participating in and shaping decisions that affect everyday life, institutional reform, and governmental policy.

Freire (1973/2005), the leading figure around which a broad range of scholarship and activism has taken place, theorized that the conceptualization of education based on traditional modes that enshrine the social order—what he labelled as the banking model—can be harmful and destructive for society: "Whereas banking education anesthetizes and inhibits creative power, problem-posing education involves a constant unveiling of reality. The former attempts to maintain the submersion of consciousness; the latter strives for the emergence of consciousness and critical intervention in reality" (p. 81).

Being conscious, able to *read the world*, immersed in humane acts, and engaged in a meaningful interrogation of what the purpose of teaching and learning is should be uppermost in the minds of decision-makers as much as the populace in general. Condemning those who would question hegemonic practices as cynical, negative, uncooperative, unconstructive (even destructive) and corrupted can only further widen the gap between those who enjoy comfort and those seeking a more just conceptualization of society. Education, which - we argue - must underpin democracy for it to be relevant and consequential in favour of the masses, is a political project which needs to be understood for it to challenge systemically entrenched practices, values, norms and conventions (Freire, 1973/2005; Kincheloe, 2008a, 2008b). Comprehending the dialectical relations between oppressed and oppressor requires a re-thinking of the premise of education, one that properly labels *banking* models of education.

Joe Kincheloe puts it quite simply: critical pedagogy is the study of oppression. Some of the components of a critical synthesis of critical pedagogy, according to Kincheloe (2007), are the following:

1. The development of a social individual imagination.
2. The reconstitution of the individual outside the boundaries of abstract individualism.
3. The understanding of power and the ability to interpret its effects on the social and the individual.
4. The provision of alternatives to the alienation of the individual.
5. The cultivation of a critical consciousness that is aware of the social construction of subjectivity.
6. The construction of democratic community-building relationships between individuals.
7. The reconceptualization of reason-understanding that relational existence applies not only to human beings but concepts as well.
8. The production of social skills necessary to activate participation in the transformed, inclusive democratic community.

The inextricable linkage to the establishment of a more decent society is ingrained in the foundation of critical pedagogical work. The desire to enhance human agency, imbued in a process of theory and action, thus underscoring praxis and the liberatory potential of critical engagement, is a central consideration, not an afterthought. Political literacy and media literacy provide a mandatory platform from which education can be explored, cultivated and transformed. Critical pedagogy can assist us in asking questions that are far from the mainstream political process and the corporate media but which resonate with the lived realities of the majority of people who do not partake fully in the myriad societal, institutional, political, economic and cultural decision-making fora that serve to shape their lives. In relation to the de-colonization project, we favour a robust critical pedagogical and engaged epistemology as a means of understanding and acting upon difference, problems, concerns and longstanding inequities. Rejecting rigid, positivistic truths about science and society (Kincheloe, 2008b; Thésée, 2006) can only further subjugate and colonize a range of peoples, minds and interests.

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CHAPTER 3

DECOLONIZING SOCIAL JUSTICE EDUCATION: FROM POLICY KNOWLEDGE TO CITIZENSHIP ACTION

CURRENT LOCATIONS AND UNDERSTANDINGS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AND EDUCATION

In the past few years I have watched with interest as the theme "social justice education" became visible in more than a few progressive education journals and meetings that resisted the neoliberalization and globalization of education and of policy. Over time, however, I worry about what it means that social justice is declared from such disparate places as conservative government education documents, activist networks, international institutions, and even a few corporations that name social justice in their efforts to project images of sustainability. While this might suggest it is best to abandon the term and look for another signifier for citizens' attempts to overturn systems and practices of injustice, I argue that the power of "social justice" as a container for centuries of wisdom, activism, and social transformation should be reclaimed and restored for these purposes. This chapter, then, is an attempt to locate social justice education in a way that might help practitioners, policy makers, and academics claim it for the generative and regenerative work that will improve the lives of the many who continue to suffer through poverty, racism, patriarchy's sexism, and other exclusions. My location in this work is complicated. I am a "not knower" (Brown & Strega, 2005) in many ways when it comes to social justice. As an academic in a Canadian university and a person who identifies/ is identified as a white, middle class woman, I have access to and privilege within some of the elite enclaves that I will be critiquing in this chapter and therefore, write "from the belly of the beast" in many ways. I have also been working as an anti-oppression educator for many years and have come to shift my "not knowing" by *engagement through education*

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as a social justice process as I witness neocolonialism and capitalism spread with their call for liberalism, individualism, and patriarchy's angry justice. This justice has called responses from around the world that are neoconservative and, in many cases, fundamentalist in their adherence to rigid identities and borders of many types. I have learned by listening and by experience that we should all be concerned about citizenship and democracy right now. It appears the elites hate democracy (that is *real* democracy where all of the people who are impacted by situations and policies have a process and a place to provide their knowledge, speak about their experience, and claim their entitlements) because it holds the possibility of disrupting their privilege which is the system that supports them. Those who are marginalized hate democracy because it has come to them as a scam: that it is limited to voting for someone to represent them and it turns out these representatives and their processes have no real interest or respect for the knowledge or experiences of anyone outside their narrow circle, nor has it resulted in improvements in most citizen's material conditions. The marginalized are used to having someone else represent them and speak for them, and here is the core of the problem. The powerful neoliberals and neoconservatives promote the idea that there is only one way to have a democratic society and that is one that is based on global capitalism, liberalism, individualism, and the freedom to engage in the world in these ways through the creation of systems and structures that ensure these are the only possible ways to move in the public sphere. Therefore, the majority of people in the world - in this model of democracy - are free to be hungry, sick, or uneducated, because, according to neoliberal and neoconservative discourses, they have made the "individual choice" to be poor. We see many approaches to social justice positioned in this way as people take up the need to provide some respite for the poor and marginalized but are unable to even identify the system and its processes that perpetuate poverty and other exclusions. To rest social justice education on this kind of understanding is misguided and incomplete at best, and more likely destructive in its omissions. What I know is that the work of fully democratizing social justice through democratizing knowledge, citizenship spaces, and the participation processes in these spaces, must be learned into being.

As others have pointed out (see for example, Gerwitz & Cribb, 2002; North, 2008) current uses of the term social justice are based on conceptualizations of social justice issues that have many facets. Abdi (2008; 2009) and Shultz (2009) argue for a closer investigation of the tensions and contradictions of social justice as conceptualized and practiced in educational policy, sites, and relationships. The tendency of educators to treat social issues in simplistic ways continues to be a problem but understandable as education takes place within a neoliberal context. David Harvey (2005) argues that the deceit of neoliberalism is that neoliberal policies, and the discourses that support them, are presented as the only way to access the rights and freedom that will end poverty and marginalization when,

in fact, they are designed to keep power and privilege located in the elite classes. The deception is a mask for capitalism's exclusions. While many recent ideas of social justice are framed through the analysis of distribution, recognition, and participation, a welcome extension from Rawlsian liberal analysis of justice as distribution, often the language and foundational ideas perpetuate colonialism, patriarchy and an aggressive liberalized capitalism. Monga (1996) points out the deceit of both neocolonialism and its predecessor colonialism with its racist policies and practices that served to de-humanize the majority of the world's people. From the perspective of the subjected person this must be seen as a decitizenizing project (Abdi, 2008) formed by colonialism, patriarchy and economic imperialism for a disturbing interplay that creates elites and also the structures to keep them in their positions.

In this chapter I will examine the "Education for All" (EFA) policy regime through the powerful concept of decolonization because it can provide the backstory to how these educational policies are linked to current social, political, and economic problems and their social exclusions, and also make visible the key locations where policy and practice can be shifted. EFA policy has an extensive reach in due, at least in part, because much of it is framed in the ideals of equity and justice. Who would argue against the equal inclusion of girls in education programs or the provision of adult literacy classes? However, despite these goals being celebrated by governments and civil society members in most parts of the world, achievement of the goals and the social justice they trumpet, is still far away. By approaching the policy from a decolonization perspective we see the limitations of much social justice in EFA literature and programming. Decolonization is a process of justice and transformation that, if it is to actually occur, will need to build on justice, compassion, and a relational creativity that is lacking in current public spheres (and quite likely in most private spheres). Because those in every society who are marginalized suffer daily humiliation, the beginning point for education as a decolonizing project must be that processes of colonization exist on every level from the personal to the transnational and therefore, the links between local and global policy knowledge, spaces and actors should be central to the analysis. I use decolonization as the overall frame for this work by drawing on a wealth of knowledge from writers such as Edward Said (1978; 1993) and Franz Fanon (1959/1965; 1963/2004) who described decolonizing as resistance to hegemony and a practice based on a critical consciousness of not only social class but history and geography. As Mudimbe (1988) points out the Enlightenment didn't result in a universal understanding of humanity but instead developed an insistent logic of what it is to be human and therefore, who is to be considered human. History reveals those who were deemed to be less human and non-human in the colonizing project. Dehumanization was the process that opened the possibility for the destructive economic, social and

political pieces of colonialism. The colonizers could not believe that power and knowledge could rest in the "non-human" as it did in the Europeans or they could not have even imagined a project as destructive to the bodies and communities of the people they encountered around the world (see Abdi, 2008) [1]. The kind of genocidal violence that was unleashed in this colonial project was so extensive that no wonder we struggle with its legacies today.

This chapter explores how decolonizing the knowledge, spaces, and participation in the public sphere can provide an important understanding of how many current conceptualizations and uses of social justice are problematic and provides an extended understanding of how education for social justice can be a generative, decolonizing project. Decolonization forces us to conceptualize the whole system and its structures through a historical, geographical, and epistemological lens that makes visible which people are de-citizenized and how this takes place, as well as shedding light on the structures and the discourses that hold the system in place. Colonialism has been the grout that holds the mosaic of global/ globalized oppressive relations in place, a grand project of patriarchy and capitalism. As David Smith argues, "capitalism is a distinctly Western phenomenon, arising out of the particular struggles of the Western tradition. These have been struggles over identity and authority, god and monarchy, rights and privilege, private property and community" (2009, p. 102). Each of these struggles describes issues of power and positioning within a hierarchy, and as the imperialist capitalist project grew and strengthened through colonialism, these contested hierarchies became imposed and embedded into every society they touched, requiring of citizens everywhere an obedience to a system of suffering and exclusion. While a full description of the history of capitalism is beyond the scope of this chapter, suffice it to say, the iron will of capitalism that serves the one goal of accumulation of capital has been widely analyzed and supported through examples from all parts of the world. Its legacies of poverty and environmental and social destruction are also extensively documented. This destructiveness can be seen in the diminished public sphere where the citizenry, trained to be obedient, have found few means for engagement or resistance that might shift the hegemony of the global capitalist project.

If we are to engage in projects of decolonization, the analysis of patriarchy's relationship to capitalism and colonialism must also be included if social justice is to satisfy its potential of creating inclusive public spaces where what is of common good can be identified and addressed. Patriarchy is defined by Gilligan and Richards:

> Patriarchy is an anthropological term denoting families or societies ruled by fathers. It sets up a hierarchy – a rule of priests – in which the priest, the *hieros,* is a father, *pater.* As an order of living, it elevates some men over other men and all men over women; within the family, it separates fathers

> from sons (the men from the boys) and places both women and children under a father's authority (italics in original). (2009, p. 22)

Gilligan and Richards continue with their argument of the impact of patriarchy on democracy through the historical analysis of Roman patriarchy, Christianity, and imperialism. They provide the example of the colonized Indian society:

> A patriarchally founded British imperialism thus enforced on Indian life a conception that led colonized Indian men, in their own abject status, to require and rationalize the more radically abject subordination of Indian women, whose goodness, identified as sexual purity, was idealized as self-sacrifice… The highly gendered honor codes of family life, not subject to state power but regulated by religious authorities, was a patriarchal legacy of the British to the Indians. (p. 252)

Key here is the idea that patriarchy, spread from public to private relationships, ensured an obedient citizenry through fear. As the Indian example shows, a hierarchy is maintained when it forms the basis of social relations and becomes enforced through social institutions such as the family and religion. Over time, these relations become so normalized (through regulations and common practices) that their source ceases to be questioned and what remains is fear and obedience. Like capitalism and colonialism, patriarchy requires and creates obedient citizens.

THE COLONIZER'S EDUCATION FOR JUSTICE

Education and educators have been central to this project and its triad of colonialism, capitalism, and patriarchy. Education systems are very effective ways to create obedient citizens through particular policies, curriculum, and teacher education programs. Mudimbe (1988) provides a helpful description of educators and missionaries who believed in their own goodness as civilizers while enacting the destructive economic and social project of the European empire-building through the conquest and conversion of African peoples' mind, bodies, and land:

> … of all these 'bearers of the African burden', the missionary was also, paradoxically, the best symbol of the colonial enterprise. He devoted himself sincerely to the ideals of colonialism: the expansion of Civilization, the dissemination of Christianity, and the advance of Progress. Pringle's 1820 vision sums it up nicely: 'Let us enter upon a new and nobler career of conquest. Let us subdue Savage Africa by justice, by kindness, by the talisman of Christian truth. Let us thus go forth, in the name and under the blessing of God, gradually to extend the moral influence… the territorial boundary also of our colony, until it shall become an Empire'.(Hammond & Jablow, 1977 in Mudimbe, 1998, p. 47)

Education policies coming from the colonial powers were highly effective in creating the deep changes in the social, political, and economic relations within colonized societies. Often touted as acts of justice with moral education goals, the education that was imposed in these societies was a package of the patriarchal fear, the capitalist suffering, and the colonizing rejection of the full humanity of anyone not fully embodying the European elite's image of superiority. The legacies of these education policies and practices have been longstanding, and the evidence is in many of the EFA policies we see currently circulating in policy circles. The rules by which the world plays are rules from the enclave of the elite. Such enclosure requires that policies (and therefore democracy) are reductive rather than generative. Education policy that is reductive has a long history of preparing teachers and students to take their place as obedient citizens.

EFA Policy and Social Justice

North (2008) frames the tensions in social justice education through three distinctions: how knowledge and action are linked; how the macro and micro are related; and how redistribution and recognition are engaged. These important aspects of social justice are helpful in evaluating the location and perhaps anticipating the kind of education that might emerge from a particular understanding of social justice. What is missing in this conceptualization is a discussion of the space (both geographical and temporal) of justice and the knowledges that are included in the conceptualization from its inception, its processes and its impacts. Justice and its social as well as material manifestations cannot be delinked from its place, its people, and the relations and processes that surround it.

While there are multiple discourses embedded within the policy and certainly in its implementation, I want to address some of the core discourses that are used by advocates of EFA as statements of social justice. From the outset of "Education for All" policy processes, it was clear that this was an area the government leaders from both international aid donor countries and recipients of this aid, international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), and local educators found appealing; after all, who would disagree with expanding education policies? As Phillip Jones (2007) argues, for 60 years multi-lateral agencies have pushed international leaders to support large scale education initiatives. Over this period there have been various shifts in the policy actors' commitments but overall, EFA policies were, and continue to be, promoted within elite circles and come with a long list of conditionalities including structural adjustment programs to satisfy International Financial Institutions, and short term thematic foci (for example, girls education or teacher training) to to conform to transnational INGOs. While education as a global agenda was "seen as the job of national governments supported by funding

and expertise from bilateral donors and international organizations" (Mundy, 2007, p. 3), it is clear that much of the failure to achieve EFA was due at least in part to "each OECD government [seeking] to use educational aid to promote its own unique political and economic interests" (2007, p. 5). Here we see a familiar colonizing story emerging. If we examine the policy through the decolonization lens, it is important to ask very particular questions of the foundational intentions and agendas of EFA policy. For example, whose education is described in the documents? Whose knowledge is included? What access do the recipients of this education have to the policy processes? Who is a visitor/ an outsider/ an outcast in the policy processes? What damage will participation in either the processes or the goals of the policy do to local citizens and their communities?

EFA has come to be seen as a corrective for a system of human and material relations gone awry (Chisholm, Bloch, & Fleisch, 2008). It is often linked to social justice through goals for poverty reduction; equity of access and inclusion of specific groups who have traditionally had less access to education, for example girls or children with disabilities as well as pastoral and nomadic communities, or migrant workers; and the provision of new technical skills to enable participation in the global economy (Kitamura, 2007; UNESCO 2005; UNESCO 2006; United Nations Millennium Project, 2005; World Bank, 2002). It is important to note that these are the groups whose social and economic livelihoods are outside what is needed for globalized capitalism and are in tension with the privileging of private ownership of property and production. Women's domestic and community work is viewed as unproductive by capitalists and therefore, part of the EFA policy would see a shift from these roles to having enough education to participate as productive members of the formal economy. Nomadic communities and seasonal migrant workers challenge many of the ideals and myths of capitalism with its focus on private ownership and property rights. Societies whose members move freely across places, unencumbered by goals of accumulation, and live according to seasons rather than clocks, are seen as deficient in their ontological and epistemological orientations. Education is touted as the way that these persons can be included in a grand "universal human project". There is little room for discussions about the colonial, capitalist and patriarchal agendas of this project and how these might impact targeted groups.

New discourses of consensus in the EFA policy regime mirror patterns and relations of colonialism. Terms currently being used to describe global education policy call for a "global compact" (Sperling, 2009); harmonization of policies across countries and regions (Mundy, 2007; UNESCO, 2006); utilizing global aid architecture to achieve EFA with donor countries leading policy processes and directions through their funding decisions (Mundy, 2010). Here what is important is the shift from policies that were being resisted (and non-involvement is a powerful resistance) as indicated in the lack of success of the 20-year EFA project,

to normative discourses that are fixed by the valorization of consensus that suggests an authority of universalism and Truth. That this authority exists outside the reach of most citizens who will be impacted by the policy is a colonial pattern being repeated. There is no place for policy knowledge that exists outside the engaged elites. The EFA policy is already predetermined by these elites and what is left for national and local actors is for them to implement and regulate. Here we see, again, the need for the obedient (colonized) citizen. Policy knowledge, spaces and actors are bordered in ways that support traditional colonial relations and the system that perpetuates the elites' positioning. While many claim it to be a social justice project, EFA policy is positioned to merely prop up the system rather than transform it to unleash the creative and generative possibilities of citizens working within their own cultural and geographic contexts.

We should be thorough and open in addressing the current legacies and acts of neo/colonization that elites visit on the marginalized. While it is currently in the self-interest of the elites of the world to maintain obedient citizens that support the global economic system, as we see with EFA policies, there are discourses of social justice being heard within the corridors of governments, corporations, and organizations. Again, considering knowledge, spaces and actors, these "talks" exist in an elite enclave, a product of a particular group that create their own enclosure to deliberate about justice (Deetz, 1992). As a result, we hear declarations of the need for justice delivered with great urgency for change but little for difference. Social justice within the elite bubble- this change with no difference – can never lead to any transformation of distribution, recognition, or participation usually named as the key components of a project of social justice. With limitations on the actors who are able to engage in the policy processes limiting the knowledges that are included along with a carefully guarded policy space created through these limits, social justice from the enclave sits tidily outside spaces where change can be either learned or practiced. Responding to issues of justice from the elite enclave is not a call for solidarity and deep democracy but rather, using discourses of individual capacity building and freedom, the so very familiar triad of capitalism, patriarchy and colonialism maintain their dehumanizing impact on those already marginalized.

The failure of EFA to achieve its timebound goals also needs a decolonization analysis. It is not enough to say this failure is a result of governments and global civil society not getting their message spread widely enough. If we move beyond seeing citizens as obedient, the failure may highlight local agency. From a perspective of colonization these processes should look familiar. Anti-colonial activists, early on in the struggle, were able to name the knowledge that would render colonialism impotent. Franz Fanon (1959/1965; 1963/2004) described African citizens as the leaders of a new humanity who could represent collective social strength against the individualism of Europeans. His description of the

power of African diversity and foundational epistemology of dignity was in stark contrast to the uniformity demanded by the colonizing Europeans. Fanon, like Monga (1996), describes the direct links between a rising apathy as a resistance to European uniformity and the hierarchy of the colonial project that made it impossible for any African person to participate in the public sphere as an emancipated citizen. EFA policy analysis that positions the recipients of education as capable agents and holders of knowledge that is key to their own development reveals the dangers of promoting a globalized, harmonized, education. The current framing of EFA as a social justice project requires that we ignore difference, making it a glossy kind of justice. In this, we are missing the bodies and voices of those who Fanon and Monga describe above. It is impossible to hear these voices without hearing their context and history. If social justice is to exist, it needs to be outside the elite enclave. This would require that a multiplicity of knowledges and solidarities, held together through relationships of engagement, be the foundation for policy processes and enactments.

Decolonizing Knowledge, Spaces, and Participation for Social Justice

As I have argued, historically, elites have taken discourses that might be considered justice oriented and manipulated them to keep particular people playing by the rules of colonialism, patriarchy, and capitalism. These rules were based on ideas of what constitutes a human worthy of the entitlements of citizenship. Odora Hoppers (2009a; 2009b) states that, in the case of the continent of Africa, the first step is decolonizing knowledge. This means developing, what she describes as cognitive indifference to the western model of knowledge creation and dissemination, and instead enabling " demands for compassion, an ontology of dignity , and the daring of the oppressor and the oppressed to even try to enter into the traditional relations of colonization" (opening remarks, Pretoria, 2010). This is based on her analysis of the current state of African epistemologies within the intellectual exchanges of world academy. She argues that

> the transition from bandit colonialism through the intricate systems of the modern triage society that is wired for Western cultural compliance requires more than just critique, or a prayer for the meek to inherit the earth. It requires a decisive consensus that the meek do not inherit the earth by their meekness alone – they need defenses of the mind and conceptual categories around which they can organise their thoughts and actions. (2009b, p.1)

How do we make visible the knowledge and experience which have been silenced, denounced, and undermined in the education policy field? What is the consequence of the absence of this policy knowledge if we know that democratic policy and therefore, endowed citizenship requires participation in the knowledge creation and

dissemination of policy knowledge by all actors who are impacted by the policy within policy spaces that are inclusive and non-coercive? Monga (1996) reminds us that the refusal of "global brain trusts" (p. 33) including the academy, international development agencies, and financial institutions, to approach African knowledge and its context with any kind of respect or rigour has been a key factor in the continuing marginalization and exploitation of so much of this diverse continent. However, as Monga continues, African people have in no way sat passively by and there is "internally, an agility of Africans and African regimes to re-invent themselves and create a political bricolage of opposition" (p. 150). Again, we can learn from the African context by acknowledging the wisdom of civil disobedience and what Monga describes as the way that African communities have survived the long history of slavery, colonialism, and institutional racism that assailed them. Civil society, as the organized social networks and movements that respond to the state and global institutions, demanded democratization through analysis of public discourses and finding ways of "collective indiscipline" (p. 11). The epistemology of resistance as an affirmation of dignity must be located within understandings of social justice and of social justice education.

EDUCATING AGAINST HUMILIATION AND PESSIMISM

If we leave social justice in the hands of the elites there is little likelihood that change will take place and the majority of the world's people will continue to live the humiliation of exclusion as well as the humiliation of inclusion. Here I mean to point out that processes of participation can perpetuate humiliation when they continue to misrecognize and silence people, their knowledges, and experiences. Forced inclusion, like exclusion, are dehumanizing and de-citizenizing when they perpetuate the ideal citizen as one who is obedient and agreeable, supporting the myths of harmony, compliance, and universal Enlightenment. While many people take this as reason enough for pessimism and abandonment of social justice projects , I suggest that such responses are part of the fear and anger produced to limit systemic and localized change. The obedient citizen should easily be discouraged, and see that change is not possible. In contrast, if we take the example of the millions of colonized citizens who have continued to resist through non-involvement as well as organized actions against the colonial system, we can see places where social justice changes can be generated.

On what, then, should we base our claims in these revised discourses of justice? Is there a way of mending the broken systems of the world by finding educational processes that shift centre-periphery knowledge locations and thereby create inclusive spaces for social, political and economic engagement? This requires that we wrestle with the exclusions created by the colonization, patriarchy, and capitalism triad by placing knowledges as multiple, historical, cultural and

dynamic/generative at the centre of social justice conceptualizations and processes. It is clear that processes of justice must be addressed (theoretically and pragmatically) at all levels. Therefore, it is helpful to distinguish the "path to social justice" as different from "the path of social justice", with the latter holding the possibility of achieving decolonization, the deep democractic project, that is needed to address the multitude of global and local issues and to position dignity as a foundation of human existence. Here it is important to see the processes of social justice rather than justice as merely an outcome or product. If education is to be a social justice project then there are ways to shift the policy processes and programs to reflect deepening democratization and social justice.

Decolonizing Knowledge for Policy and the Public Sphere

The first area to address is decolonizing knowledge so that it might build a more inclusive public sphere. Here the role of education is important in shifting the obedient citizen to the emancipated and engaged citizen. We can draw on understandings of the creativity of inclusiveness and the processes of generative complexity within dynamic, social systems. This understanding should be contrasted to the rigid hierarchies that have historically determined our understandings of policy processes. Scharmer's (2007) work in this area suggests that understanding the dynamic complexity of a social system helps us see how the causes and effects of social (and political) actions and relations should be seen as far apart in both space and time and therefore, analysis and attention to processes and relationality are important. With these dynamic processes, any system's social complexity requires that we recognize a plurality of worldviews, knowledges, and experiences that are held by the people involved in any justice issue or social problem. Scharmer addresses a third, critical complexity, generative complexity, which addresses the way in which events "unfold in unfamiliar and unpredictable ways" (p. 2). While many concepts of justice suggest that it is an endpoint requiring the uncovering or identification of a path to justice, understanding justice through this frame of complexity suggests that engaging in the processes of justice requires us to take a path *of* justice where change is understood as disruptive and unpredictable. Scharmer describes this as emerging complexity where "solutions to problems are unknown; the problem statement itself is unfolding; and who the key stakeholders are not always clear" (p.63). If this is the starting point for policy processes and educational practices, efforts will be directed at bringing together the people who hold different knowledges and can therefore, provide the insights into the dynamic and generative processes that are taking place. Rather than shut down these processes, they must be seen as the location of social justice and the efforts and struggles will be located here in trying to find ways to make these processes work in radically democratizing ways. These processes require engagement with

difference and diversity, and it is here, when comparing this with colonized policy processes, we see how to challenge the long history of obedient citizens created by the familiar triad of colonialism, patriarchy, and capitalism.

Decolonizing Policy Spaces

Decolonizing policy knowledges requires that we examine the spaces in which engagement with multiple knowledges takes place. As the analysis of EFA policy has shown us, the democratizing of knowledge and public spaces must be the foundation of social justice or we risk perpetuating the damaging relations of colonialism. Research is needed to identify how these spaces are best created given the burden of historical legacies and their current versions of decitizenization. Using a decolonizing analysis as a foundation, it is clear that these policy spaces must allow for a fully human participation which includes making room for dissenting voices and divergent knowledges. Participation in the public sphere should not require blind obedience and the destruction of diversity in an effort for harmonization. Processes are needed to deal directly and openly with conflict before it becomes violent as we have learned from colonialism, patriarchy and capitalism (Shultz, 2009). These spaces should be organized in ways that they resist the kinds of passive equality and obedient citizenship where justice is decided and provided by institutions rather than an active equality where citizens engage in the struggles of democracy by creating processes and places to deliberate and engage with multiple perspectives and knowledges.

CONCLUSION

The example of Education for All policy provides an important view of globalized policy processes and the problems of social justice that is located in the enclaves of the elite. Using a decolonization analysis, the patterns and connections of creating obedient citizens to support elite systems of colonialism, patriarchy, and capitalism become more evident and therefore, we can see areas where change is possible. This chapter is not a call to abandon social justice or social justice education, but it is a call to re-examine the location of social justice as an endpoint or product and to place it as the foundation of relationships and processes that form and maintain a fully democratized public sphere. Whether we are addressing issues that have a global or international reach, or localized issues and distributions, processes of social justice that open the public sphere to the generative complexity and creative potential of diversity should be seen as ways to address the significant challenges that we face today. The social, economic, political, and environmental/place-based goals of justice demand that we find processes that increase the range of actors and knowledges that participate in policy from inception to the implementation and

resolutions of policies. This democratization of knowledge, spaces, and participants can provide the path to addressing many of the urgent issues of our time. We need to watch for the legacies of colonialism with its supportive patriarchy and capitalism because these power discourses and processes continue to drive many international, national and local relations. Education policy has been a longstanding area of international engagement for social justice. It would be wise to begin by decolonizing the EFA policy processes to model new possibilities of having inclusive, democratized and democratizing public spheres created and sustained by active citizens. Education in such spheres will be, by extension, social justice education.

NOTES

[1] There are many excellent descriptions of this perspective from indigenous scholars in many countries but for a notable description with its links to education see Abdi, 2008.

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CHAPTER 4

NYERERE'S POSTCOLONIAL APPROACH TO EDUCATION

Julius Nyerere has had many detractors. He is, however, one of Africa's best known and most revered post-colonial figures. A devout Catholic, son of a village chief in Butiama (Northern Tanzania) and a former school teacher in a Catholic school, Julius Kambarage Nyerere (1922-1999) had an eventful life which saw him lead Tanganyika to independence in 1961, become its President and eventually become the first President of Tanzania following the unification of Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964.

Constantly projecting the image of someone who can lead by example, "Mwalimu" ("teacher" in Kiswahili), as Nyerere was called, remained at the helm of Tanzanian politics even following his retirement as President. He was, until 1990, head of *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* (party of revolution), the party which grew out of the 1977 merger between Tanganyikan National Union (TANU) and *Afro-Shirazi*, Zanzibar's ruling party. Tanzania eventually witnessed the transition, under Nyerere's successor as President, Ali Hassan Mwinyi, from a one party to a multiparty state. Many would regard Nyerere's project of socialism for the East African country to have failed in material terms, as did capitalist projects in other African countries, for that matter. "A bunch of countries [in Africa] were in economic shambles at the end of the 70s. They are not socialists" Nyerere reminds us in a transcribed 1996 interview with an American correspondent (Nyerere, 1996). There are those who openly expressed their reservations concerning the viability of his socialist project for Tanzania. His policies have been praised in certain quarters and decried in others, as one can gather from the different and contrasting appraisals of his work, appearing in the international press, following his death towards the end of 1999. Many are those, however, who recognise Nyerere's stature as a statesman and opinion leader. The country stood out, in comparison with other African countries, for its peaceful transition of power and for its lack of ethnic strife. He states,"Complete integration of the separate racial systems was introduced very soon after independence, and discrimination on the grounds of religion was brought to an end" (Nyerere, 1968, p. 270).

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At the time of his death, Mwalimu Nyerere had been playing a prominent role in the quest for a solution to the terrible tribal power conflicts in the Great Lakes region of East Africa [he acted as chief mediator in Burundi (Smith, 1999, p. 9) to avoid a communal catastrophe reminiscent of nearby Rwanda]. He was deeply involved in development politics, having chaired the South Commission and more recently the Intergovernmental South Centre (Smith, 1999, p. 9) in Geneva.

There are those who feel that his vision of Pan-Africanism remains unparalleled among African leaders.[1] During his presidency, Tanzania provided support and shelter for a host of African freedom fighters, including ANC activists and others combating Portuguese colonialism. Furthermore, Nyerere was one of the founding figures of the non-aligned movement. He was also instrumental in the overthrow of Idi Amin in Uganda.

He had his problems in the international scene. There were problems with Western countries which had led to foreign aid cutbacks. These consisted of: conflicts with the UK, following the latter's recognition of the unilateral Declaration of Independence by white settlers in Rhodesia; conflicts with West Germany following Tanzania's recognition of the DDR; conflicts with the USA following accusations by Tanzania of CIA involvement in the East-African country (Unsicker, 1986, p. 232). Nyerere's particular brand of socialism appeared to have incurred the wrath of several communists, especially those from the Eastern Bloc (Okoh, 1980, p. 52). Capitalism was obnoxious to Nyerere who is on record as having said, at one time, that he differed from Western socialists precisely on the grounds that they glorify capitalism as a mode of production that begets socialism (ibid).

His writings on development, socialism, literature (he translated Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* [*Juliasi Kaizari*] and the *Merchant of Venice* [*Mabepari wa Venisi*] into Kiswahili) , education, African liberation, intellectuals, non-alignment and a host of other subjects constitute an often cited corpus of post-colonial writing to come out of Africa.

One area in which Julius Nyerere is often cited is that of *Education* (see Samoff, 1990; Kassam, 1994; Smith, 1999) and this is hardly surprising given the importance he attached to this domain of social policy and practice in his writings and work as leader of Tanzania.

Nyerere's overarching political concept was that of *Ujamaa* (familyhood) which represents an attempt by a third world leader to apply socialism to the specific needs of an African community. *Ujamaa* represents an attempt by a third world leader to apply socialism to the specific needs of an African community. It rests on three basic tenets, expressed in his famous tract on education, "Education for self-reliance: equality and respect for human dignity; sharing of the resources which are produced by our efforts; work by everyone and exploitation by none" (Nyerere, 1968, p. 272). The Tanzanian African National Union (TANU) established these

basic ideals in the national ethic as well as in "The Arusha Declaration" (Nyerere, 1968, pp. 231–250), the latter being the declaration of policy which the country had to follow. Recently, Nyerere expounded on these Socialist values which he considered still pertinent in an age in which we are swamped by neo-liberalism and its concomitant ideology of the marketplace. According to the transcript of the 1996 interview, he stated:

> And those values are values of justice, a respect for human beings, a development which is people-centered, development where you care about people…you can say leave the development of a country to something called the market which has no heart at all since capitalism is completely ruthless…who is going to help the poor?… and the majority of the people in our countries are poor. Who is going to stand for them? Not the market. So I'm not regretting that I tried to build a country based on those principles. You will have to—whether you call them socialism or not--do you realize that what made--what gave capitalism a human face was the kind of values I was trying to sell in my country.

The Nigerian scholar, J.D. Okoh, states that the first principle in the Arusha Declaration, that of respect for human dignity, was stressed in view of the fact that "several decades of colonization had created in the African a deep-seated 'inferiority complex,' coupled with a crisis of identity" (Okoh, 1980, p. 54). Okoh refers to Nyerere's statement that it was once a compliment rather than an insult to refer to a person harbouring a European mentality as a "Black European," a statement which is reminiscent of Frantz Fanon's (1952) *Black skin, white masks*. This is typical of the colonial ideology which often involves, in Freire's terms, an internalisation of the image of the oppressor (Freire, 1970, pp. 32). Drawing from my experience as a native of a country (Malta) with a long history of direct colonization, I would submit that this often takes the form of pathetically *aping* the demeanour and other attributes (including spoken language) of the coloniser.

The second principle in the Arusha Declaration, stressing the need to share resources, suggests the idea of communitarianism that is at the heart of Ujamaa. Nyerere regarded this as an attempt to recuperate what he regarded to be the traditional African experience which was destroyed by the colonial powers through their notorious policy of "divide and rule." Okoh quotes him as having placed emphasis on recuperating a mindset that gives one the security deriving from one's sense of belonging to a "widely extended family" (Okoh, 1980, p. 52), even though the same author is quick to point out that many African scholars criticised Nyerere for romanticising pre-colonial African society. This notion of familyhood led many to regard his political credo as "Christian socialism."

His concept of grassroots democracy revolved around Ujamaa or, more appropriately, in this case, *Ujamaa Vijijni* (village familyhood) which entailed a

process of participatory democracy. Writing in *Freedom and Development*, a policy booklet published in, Nyerere says:

> …everyone must be allowed to speak freely, and everyone must be listened to. It does not matter how unpopular a man's ideas, or how mistaken the majority think him. It does not make any difference whether he is liked or disliked for his personal qualities. Every Tanzanian, every member of a community, every member of a District Council, every Member of Parliament, and so on, must have the freedom to speak without fear of intimidation - either inside or outside the meeting place. (*sic*) (Nyerere, 1974, pp.30, 31).

In a very important evaluative document, published ten years after the Arusha Declaration, Nyerere took political leaders to task for not listening to the people. He states:

> They find it much easier to TELL people what to do. Meetings are often monologues, without much, if any, time being devoted to discussion; and even then the speech is usually an exhortation to work hard rather than an explanation to do things better. (Nyerere, 1977, p. 29).

Moreover, in *Freedom and Development*, Nyerere states that people should not be forced into joining the 'Ujamaa Vijijni' and stresses that the concept is based on the post-Arusha Declaration understanding that what Tanzania needs "to develop is people, not things, and that people can only develop themselves" (Nyerere, 1974, p. 36).

The idea of a participatory communal being was in marked reaction to the very limited and elitist colonial education in place in Tanganyika and Zanzibar at the time of independence. In "Education for Self-reliance," Nyerere argues that colonial education "was based on the assumptions of a colonialist and capitalist society. It emphasised and encouraged the individualistic instincts of mankind, instead of his co-operative instincts (*sic*). It led to the possession of individual material wealth being the criterion of social merit and worth" (Nyerere, 1968, p. 269). The colonial educational provision was characterised by what Paulo Freire (1970, p. 151) would call "cultural invasion," a process which undermined traditional indigenous values. Nyerere further writes:

> Colonial education in this country was therefore not transmitting the values and knowledge of Tanzanian society from one generation to the next: it was a deliberate attempt to change those values and to replace traditional knowledge by the knowledge from a different society. It was thus a part of a deliberate attempt to effect a revolution in the society; to make it into a

> colonial society which accepted its status and which was an efficient adjunct to the governing power (1968, p. 270).

At the time of Tanganyika's independence, there were few people with the necessary qualifications to strengthen the administration of government. The country was impoverished and the educational infrastructure was largely underdeveloped. It was a major effort to provide universal primary education, let alone secondary education for all. In fact, secondary schooling was provided for only a select few. It is for this reason that Nyerere argued that primary schooling should not be conceived of as a preparation for secondary schooling, since the majority would not benefit from the latter. The situation was rendered problematic by the fact that private secondary schools existed alongside state schools. These schools allowed those who could afford to pay for their education the chance of benefiting from secondary schooling (see Bacchus, 1973). Furthermore, with regard to state schools, it is an acknowledged fact (practically a truism), substantiated by a huge corpus of sociological research, that any process of selection based on "meritocracy," in effect, favours those with the greatest amount of resources and congenial *cultural capital*. In Tanzania's case, these were the children of those "new elites" who, following independence, had obtained lucrative jobs in the civil service (ibid). This situation must have had a deleterious effect on any attempt to create an egalitarian society (ibid).

One of the major goals for Tanzania was the provision of universal primary education by the end of 1977. Pressure was placed on bureaucrats to expedite this process, the slogan being "we must run while others walk." As a result of this bold step, Tanzania witnessed a massive expansion in state education. Nyerere himself provides the following statistics:

> ….a tremendous jump in the number of children attending primary schools has been the result. In 1967 there were about 825,000 pupils in Tanzanian primary schools. In 1975 the comparable figure was 1, 532, 000 pupils, and the numbers will continue to rise rapidly for some years to come (1977, p. 8).

Nyerere also advocated an education which provided students with a sense of self-reliance, the focus being mainly on the development of an agrarian economy. It had to be an education characterised by the fusion of learning and producing, both processes taking place simultaneously. Each school had to develop its own means of subsistence. This concept is very much in keeping with the socialist tradition. One can cite as examples here: Marx's notion of a polytechnic education, as propounded in the Geneva Resolution of 1866 (see Castles and Wustenberg, 1979, cited in Livingstone, 1983, pp. 186–187); Paulo Freire's advocacy of a fusion between education and production in his advice to the PAIGC leadership in Guinea Bissau (see Letter 11 in Freire, 1978, pp. 99–120); the introduction, in Malta, under Dom Mintoff's socialist administration, of the student-worker, worker-student

and pupil worker schemes (5 ½ month period of study alternating with a 5 ½ month period of work) at sixth form and University levels (Baldacchino, 1999, pp. 207, 208; Mayo and Wain, 2000); the system in China under Mao which involved a 2-4-2-4 (two months working-four months studying-two months working-four months studying) process (Chu, 1980, p. 79). The following statement by Mao best anticipates the spirit of the education-work process which Nyerere advocated:

> Whoever wants to know a thing has no way of doing so except by coming into contact with it, that is by living (practising) in its environment (Mao, cited in Chu, 1980, p. 79).

The idea of school farms was developed in Tanzania: "every school should also be a farm; that the school community should consist of people who are both teachers and farmers, and pupils and farmers." (Nyerere, 1968, pp. 283). Nyerere also went so far as to stress that the pupils' welfare would depend on their farm's output very much the same way that the peasants' livelihood depends on the produce yielded by their land (ibid). Nyerere did not mince words:

> by this sort of practice, and by this combination of classroom work and farm work, our educated young people will learn to realize that if they farm well they can eat well and have better facilities in the dormitories, recreation rooms, and so on. If they work badly, then they themselves will suffer (1968, pp. 284–285).

He even encouraged experienced farmers and Agricultural officers to participate in the project:

> Life and farming will go on as we train. Indeed, by using good local farmers as supervisors and teachers of particular aspects of the work, and using the services of the Agricultural Officers and assistants, we shall be helping to break down the notion that only book learning is worthy of respect. This is an important element in our socialist development (1968, pp. 283, 284).

The school was no longer to be the exclusive domain of professionally formed teachers. In keeping with the idea of a productive community school, the entire community was to be regarded as a learning resource. This concept is quite in tune with the literature on community schools (Parson, 1990) and the more progressive literature on parental and other community members' involvement in the education of children. (Curtis et al, 1992; Mayo, 1994; Smyth, 1994). It is a literature which underlines the importance of people outside the teaching profession in having a say in the development of the school and in contributing to the education it provides. In this respect, it is a literature which raises an important question: who can effectively act as an educator within the community? (Smyth, 1994, p.135).

Nyerere maintained that it was absolutely vital that the schools and their pupils were to be integrated into village life: "The children must be made part of the community by having responsibilities to the community and having the community involved in school activities" (1968, p.287). He suggests that school work - terms, times, etc. - be organised in such a way that the children are allowed to participate, as family members, in the family farms, "or as junior members of the community on community farms" (ibid).

As far as school capital is concerned, Nyerere believed that school farms should derive no more assistance than would be available to an ordinary established cooperative farm where the work is supervised (Nyerere, 1968, p. 284). Through such means, the students could, according to Nyerere, learn the advantages of "co-operative endeavour" especially "….when outside capital is not available in any significant quantities" (ibid). Of course, the responsibility for upkeep was to be much stronger at secondary level than at primary level (Nyerere, 1968, p. 287). The problem, though, is that, according to a report published in the early seventies, secondary schools were the least affected by the move to introduce farming in the schools (Bacchus, 1973). The report stated that the majority of secondary schools still placed their greatest emphasis on formal academic studies (ibid). It also stated that, in primary schools, teachers with a very poor agricultural background placed the emphasis on physical work on the farm, at times to the detriment of the "educative" aspect of the experience (ibid). In order to ensure that the primary school children were old enough to engage in running the school-farm, the educational authorities in Tanzania raised the primary-school entry age "from 5 or 6 to 7 years" (Kassam, 1994, p. 252).

Nyerere sought to provide an education which "de-colonised the mind" to use a very popular term in Africa reminiscent of Frantz Fanon, Ngugi Wa Thiong'o and the former Cape Verde President, Aristides Pereira (with respect to the last mentioned, see Freire, 1985, p.187). He states that the education provided must be "for liberation," acknowledging that a "liberated nation, in Africa or elsewhere, is not just a nation which has overcome alien occupation. That is an essential first part of liberation, but it is only the first. Liberation means more than that" (Nyerere, 1979c, p. 43) . The country, as Aristides Pereira underlined with respect to Cape Verde, might have been de-colonised but now the task is to de-colonise the mind. For Nyerere, this meant that Tanzania had to become a "self-reliant nation" while its people had to overcome feelings of inferiority and be able to use circumstances rather than be used by them (Nyerere, 1979c, p. 43). For Nyerere and others, however, such a decolonising or liberating process entails a valorisation of that which is indigenous. Kiswahili was established as the national language while educational institutions were to promote African culture. A firm believer in indigenous cultures, Nyerere states: "No longer do our children simply learn British and European history. Faster than would have been thought possible,

our University college[2] and other institutions are providing materials on the history of Africa and making these available to our teachers" (Nyerere, 1968, p. 271). National songs and dances found their place in the post-colonial Tanzanian curriculum. Civics lessons gave secondary school pupils some understanding of the aims of the young Tanzanian state (ibid). Furthermore, a national board was introduced to set and mark examinations (Samoff, 1990, p. 209), a postcolonial measure adopted by a number of other former British colonies (see Bray and Steward, 1998).

It is not only schools that had to forge a link with the community but also the University. In a speech inaugurating the University of Dar es Salaam on 29th August 1970, Nyerere wrote:

> When determining whether a particular subject should be offered, the university should therefore be asking itself: 'What contribution can a study of this subject make to Tanzania's future?'…..'What knowledge of, or from, our own society is relevant to this matter?' " (1979a, p.41).

The University was to provide materials for a genuinely post-colonial school curriculum, including materials in Kiswahili. While advocating the tailoring of University provision to the needs of the country, Nyerere still felt that the University must be allowed the freedom to experiment, to try out new courses and methods (1979a, p. 42). He argued that the staff must pose challenging questions to the students and the University must pose challenging questions to society at large (ibid).

As for students, Nyerere states:

> The peasants and workers of a nation feed, clothe, and house both the students and their teachers, they also provide all the educational facilities used - the books, test-tubes, machines and so on. The community provides these things because it expects to benefit - it is making an investment in people (1979a, p.39).

He even criticised the tendency among educated workers to place a price tag on themselves. In an address to the University of Liberia on 29th February 1968, Nyerere states: "Shall we, in other words, use the skills which society has enabled us to acquire, in order to hold that same society to ransom?" (1974, p. 7)

Of course, Nyerere, in a manner recalling Mao's reaction against Confucian principles and the Mandarin class, stressed that there should be no distinction between "educated' and 'uneducated," between "intellectual" and "manual" labour. One of the most popular pictures of the former President is that in which he is shown wielding an axe in a *shamba*, in the company of other toiling peasants. It would be naïve to ignore the obvious PR element involved here, the sort of ploy adopted by many politicians and, in particular, *populist* politicians ever so eager to

appear "close to the people" or , more appropriately, "the masses." It ought to be underlined, however, that farming was the activity to which Nyerere returned following his retirement from Tanzanian politics.

Like Freire and others, Nyerere warned against intellectuals and "experts" underestimating the knowledge of peasants and workers. He points to the fact that, in Tanganyika, thirty six million pounds were spent by colonialists on a Ground Nut scheme. It turned out to be an expensive failure since the "experts" underestimated the knowledge of local farmers, who they dismissed as illiterate, and so made their own decisions regarding rainfall regularity. They also assumed that it was simple indolence that made people reluctant to cut down all the trees when planting a *shamba*, "So large areas were cleared - and few nuts grew, but erosion began!" (Nyerere, 1974, p. 10).

One area which was given a tremendous boost in Tanzania during Nyerere's presidency was adult education. Nyerere is a respected figure in the global adult education movement. Professor Budd L. Hall, former secretary general of the *International Council for Adult Education* and former head of the Department of Research, Institute of Adult Education, Dar es Salaam, wrote recently:

> Among his many accomplishments was his role as the founding Honorary President of the International Council for Adult Education. He delivered the keynote address to the First World Assembly of Adult Education organized in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania in June of 1976. His vision created the national slogan for 1970 Adult Education Year, "Elimu Haina Mwiso"...Learning Never Ends… that was used on the commemorative cloth printed specially for the 1976 ICAE World Assembly.[3]

That Nyerere is often cited in adult education circles is not surprising given his country's achievement of "outstanding standards" (Bacchus and Torres, 1988, p. 322) in the area. Many of these achievements have been outlined in the literature (see for example, Hall, 1973a, 1973b, 1975; Hall & Kassam, 1972; Hall et al, 1972; Bhola, 1984; Unsicker, 1986; Sumra & Bwatwa, 1988; M. Mayo, 1997). As Unsicker (1986) reports in his detailed study of Tanzania's literacy campaign, it was stated in Tanzania's first five year development plan that "the nation cannot wait until the children have become educated for development to begin" (p. 231). As with the process of universal primary education, the feeling again was that "we must run while others walk." At the above mentioned ICAE World Assembly, Nyerere stated that adult education "incorporates anything which enlarges" people's "understanding , activates them, helps them to make their own decisions, and to implement those decisions for themselves" (Nyerere, 1979b, p. 51). One of the aims of adult education, as with all education, was to liberate the mind in a way that allows people to develop a strong sense of agency characterised by a belief in their ability to master circumstances. One of the major challenges for adult

education, according to Nyerere, was to combat what he perceived as a traditional sense of fatalism among Tanzanian people:

> The importance of adult education, both for our country and for every individual, cannot be over-emphasised. We are poor and backward, and too many of us just accept our present conditions as 'the will of God', and feel that we can do nothing about them. In many cases, therefore, the first objective of adult education must be to shake ourselves out of a resignation to the kind of life Tanzanian people have lived for centuries past (1979d, p.33).

The situation is similar to that described by Paulo Freire with respect to the oppressed of Brazil.

> They resort (stimulated by the oppressor) to magical explanations or a false view of God, to whom they fatalistically transfer the responsibility for their oppressed state……A Chilean priest of high intellectual and moral caliber visiting Recife in 1966 told me, 'When a Pernambucan colleague and I went to see several families living in shanties [*mocambos*] in indescribable poverty, I asked them how they could bear to live like that, and the answer was always the same, 'What can I do? It is the will of God and I must accept it' (Freire, 1970, p.163).

It appears most appropriate that, at some stage, reference is made to Freire's ideas when discussing Nyerere's educational speeches or writings. Nyerere and Freire admired each other's writings, with the former having read *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and the latter having been "so impressed by the writings of Nyerere" that he told the Tanzanian President, on his visit to the latter's home "on the outskirts of Dar es Salaam" in 1971, "that he would like to organize a series of seminars where his speeches could be discussed and analysed in depth" (Hall, 1998, p. 97). The similarities between Nyerere's ideas and Freire's appeared so strong to the Brazilian educator that "He asked President Nyerere to provide support for an educational centre in Tanzania based on the ideas of Freire and Nyerere," a proposal which never materialised; although Freire, together with Moacir Gadotti, eventually managed to establish the Instituto Paulo Freire in Sao Paulo in the latter stages of the Brazilian educator's life (Hall, 1998, p. 98). [4]

Arguably, the greatest similarity between Nyerere and Freire lies in their emphasis on listening to the learners and "building on" the knowledge that they possess. It was important for Freire that one does not remain at the same level of knowledge (Allman et al, 1998, p.11) and that the educator should be disposed to learn from the learner (Freire, 1970, p. 67; Freire, 1985, p. 177). With regard to the second point, Nyerere states:

> …every adult knows something about the subject he is interested in, even if he is not aware that he knows it. He may indeed know something which his teacher does not know. For example, the villagers will know what time of the year malaria is worse and what group of people - by age or residence or workplace – are most badly affected.(*sic*) (1979, p.53).

And yet, Michaela von Freyhold states, with respect to the Tanzanian literacy campaign, that these principles were not observed:

> After a visit by Paulo Freire to Tanzania, there were some discussions on whether it would be advisable to make the primers more 'problem-posing' and open. In the end this suggestion was turned down. The planners argued that: 'If we allow the peasants to criticize the advice of the extension agent, we undermine his authority.'(*sic*) Nor should there be any discussion of the choice of crops: 'If peasants begin to discuss whether they want to grow cotton or not they might decide against it, and if they produce no cotton where are we going to get our foreign exchange from?" (1979, p.166, cited in Unsicker, 1986, p. 241, 242).

Interesting strictures which raise the issue regarding the extent to which the imperatives of economic viability ran counter to the principles of a liberating education, a situation which was not unique to Tanzania (see Carnoy and Torres, 1990).

The immediate task, underlined by Nyerere, six years following the start of a much documented mass literacy campaign in Tanzania, is enabling adults to "acquire the tools of development - the literacy, the knowledge of health needs, the need for improved production, the need to improve dwelling places and the basic skills necessary to meet all these needs" (1979b, p.55).

Important landmarks in the development of adult education in Tanzania were of course the setting up of the Institute of Adult Education at the University of Dar es Salaam, including an impressive correspondence school (Bhola, 1984, p. 154), and Kivokoni college, the latter being developed on the lines of England's Ruskin College (M. Mayo, 1997, p. 65). Ruskin College, a residential college for workers which celebrated its centenary last year, fascinated Nyerere who "invited one of the younger Ruskin organizers, Joan Wicken, to work with him in Tanzania" (Hall, 1988, p. 96). She eventually became "President Nyerere's personal assistant and sometimes speech writer" (ibid, p.97) and, together with the President, founded Kivokoni College (p. 96). Kivokoni College focused on providing "political and ideological training of lower level government officials and party cadres in the regions" (Bhola, 1984, p.154). Other colleges of this type were subsequently created in other zones of the country (ibid). Of course, the extent to which this can be considered a genuine, critical political education or an exercise in partisan party indoctrination remains a moot point. Is there a fine line between the two?

The mass literacy campaign was a considerable success and won the UNESCO Literacy Award. Key figures like Freire were associated, in an advisory capacity, with the campaign, although Freire's involvement in this particular instance has been described as "peripheral" (Torres, 1982, p.87). The literacy programme went on for many years, sustained by the Ministry and other agencies, including the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (Mushi, 1994, p. 67). As with most literacy campaigns, many of the thousands of teachers employed were volunteers who, according to Unsicker (1986), were trained in workshops and were paid a small honorarium of thirty shillings per month (p. 239). However, there were also primary schoolteachers who acted as adult educators (Mushi, 1994, p.68). The usual problem in such instances, encountered also in other contexts (see Baldacchino & Mayo, 1995; Mayo & Wain, 2000), is that some of them replicate with adults the approaches they use with schoolchildren (Sumra & Bwatwa, 1988, p. 268; Mushi, 1994, p. 68). I also wonder, judging from my own experience as a former literacy coordinator in Malta, whether the use, as adult education centres, of primary schools (Mushi, 1994, pp. 67–68),which have not been restructured or built in such a way that they accommodate community members of different ages, contributed to this replication (see Mayo, 1994; Baldacchino & Mayo, 1995; 1997; Mayo & Wain, 2000). The process of mobilisation in Tanzania involved various media including primers and radio broadcasts in a country where radio provided, in the rural areas, the only means of technological communication. There were also post-literacy programmes involving the study of a number of subjects. Even prior to the 1970 literacy campaigns, there had been Scandinavian-influenced experiments based on folk education, often involving radio study groups in different rural areas (Unsicker, 1986, p. 234). Folk Development Colleges (FDCs), inspired by the Scandinavian (more specifically, Swedish) Folk High Schools, were also set up as residential colleges for those who had successfully been through the literacy programme and who were selected by their village communities to attend residential courses intended to be of benefit to the community at large (Bhola, 1984, p.154; M. Mayo, 1997, p.64). The FDCs programme "was launched in 1975" and has seen to the provision of "courses for village leaders (chairpersons, secretaries, bookkeepers, and village shop managers); leaders of women's organisations, household activities, and small scale industries; various groups engaged in implementing various self-reliance projects; and assistant field officers" (Sumra & Bwatwa, 1988, p. 264). These Folk Development Colleges have survived, judging from recent literature (Earth, 1998, p. 59).

All these developments placed Tanzania in the forefront of initiatives with regard to adult education in the 1970s. Certainly, many of the programmes depended to a large extent on foreign funding, a potentially contradictory situation,

given that self-reliance was the declared goal. This funding diminished in the 80s especially following the onset of neo-liberal policies brought into place by such institutions as the IMF and the World Bank with their "structural adjustment" programmes. There were disagreements between Tanzania and the IMF which were not resolved until 1986. These disagreements concerned the IMF's "insistence on sharp cuts in public spending," particularly "in the social services" and on "a substantial devaluation" (Samoff, 1990, p. 218). Tanzania has, since then, embarked on a path of development which can be regarded as a far cry from the policies that Nyerere advocated. There are those who would no doubt argue that his ideas were largely out of touch with a world governed by the imperatives of technological development and "competitivity." Others regard him to have been more of a philosopher king, confronting the logic of capitalist and neo-colonial development with alternative ideas rooted in indigenous forms of practice. There are those who underline the difficulties that confront a state such as Tanzania undergoing transition through nonrevolutionary means (Samoff, 1990, p. 268).

In his last days, Nyerere often stated that he always carried with him two books, the Bible and the Arusha Declaration.[5] This attests to Julius Kambarage Nyerere's lifelong commitment to Christian-Socialist principles.

NOTES

[1] I am indebted to Professor George Sefa Dei, from the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education/University of Toronto for this point.

[2] This was formerly a college of the University of East Africa. In 1970, it became the University of Dar es Salaam.

[3] Tribute to Nyerere, following Mwalimu's death in October 1999, written and circulated by Budd L. Hall on e mail.

[4] Nyerere and Freire, who were both ICAE Honorary Presidents, were to meet again, in Dar es Salaam, at this international organisation's first World Adult Education Assembly in 1976 where they were both invited speakers (Hall, 1998, pp. 98, 99).

[5] I am indebted to Dr Suleman Sumra, from the University of Dar es Salaam, for this piece of information - E Mail correspondence.

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CHAPTER 5

TAGORE AND EDUCATION: GAZING BEYOND THE COLONIAL CAGE

An attempt is made here to capture some aspects of Tagore's philosophy of education including those bearing on education in colonial India of his time. The outlooks he expounded on, led the educated classes of British India of his time to think and act outside the shackles of colonialism. Tagore's educational philosophy and practice is outlined by delineating its liberating influence in the evolution of educational thought in colonial India at that time (1861–1941). The four pillars of his concept of education were: nationalist traditions; syntheses of Western and Eastern strands of philosophy; science and rationality in approach; and an international and cosmopolitan outlook. The original way in which Tagore interwove these various strands to expound a system of free and creative enquiry that gazed beyond the shackles of colonialism in India was unique. His manner of liberating the mind and the people through this approach to education and learning is outlined.

New insights are provided in which it is shown that Tagore was an intellectual forerunner of both Paulo Freire's educational philosophy, and of education pertinent for the globalized, international and cosmopolitan world of today. A further most remarkable feature of his thought was absorbing tradition without dogma, cosmopolitanism without annihilating one's culture, a scientific outlook without using technology merely as a tool of production, humanistic creativity without denigrating science. A complex and immensely beautiful tapestry thus emerges that not only liberated people's minds in colonial India but has profound relevance for education today.

In order to understand Tagore's views on education, we begin with Tagore and his times.

TAGORE AND HIS TIMES

Rabindranath Tagore was born in 1861. This was a period of interesting changes in India and in the province of Bengal. The British Raj had taken over from the East

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India Company and was in the process of establishing its authority and writ in India. This was also the time that is referred to as the time of Indian Renaissance. At least three distinct revolutionary currents characterized this renaissance. From the religious revivalism that the Brahmo Samaj movement exemplified, in which Rabindranath's grandfather was a prominent leader to the political war of independence (also known as the Sepoy Mutiny 1857). Parallel revolutionary movements were sweeping across India (Cenkner 1976, Salkar, 1990). Calcutta, Rabindranath's family town, was the political, commercial and intellectual capital of India. The Calcutta University had been established, Bengali theatre was taking root and women's rights movement in India was in its infancy led by Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar (Salkar, 1990), an eminent scholar and social reformer in 19th century Bengal.. Even elsewhere in India, revivalist as well as reformist movements were taking root. For instance, there was the Arya Samaj movement in the Punjab. Similarly, the Prarthana Samaj movement was raging in Western and Southern India (Salkar, 1990). The formative years of Tagore, the first Asian Nobel laureate. were thus spent internalizing the struggle between the British Raj and the Indian renaissance. This was to have an influence on Tagore's worldview and philosophy of life and education.

One of the ways in which the colonial government managed India was through the mechanism of "divide and rule. An effective yet subtle way of doing this was to create a class of natives that was, according to Macaulay (1995), "Indian in blood and colour; but English in *talent*, in *opinion*, in *moral* and in *intellect*" [emphasis added]. In turn, the best way to form such a class that was attuned and subservient to the colonial interests was through an educational system that was highly selective and totally out of sync with Indian culture, history and intellect. The colonial government destroyed or discredited the local educational institutions and patterns either by design or by implementing policies that were oblivious of the local needs and traditions (Altbach, 1995). At the same time, the colonial educational system and institutions were not only inadequate, they also catered to the Macaulaian dream of producing a surrogate native elite and an administrative cadre that was more loyal than the king. As Altbach (1995, p. 453) notes, "In India, British educational elitism assumed the title of 'downward filtration'- a system by which a small group of Indians with a British style education supposedly spread enlightenment to the masses."[1] *

Owing to his father's influence, Tagore was profoundly affected by the Hindu renaissance that was taking place in many parts of India in an attempt to bring the teachings of ancient Hinduism in line with modern thinking and science. Like his father and Ram Mohan Roy, the foremost social reformer in Bengal, Tagore got attracted to the Brahmo Samaj movement in Bengal which critiqued the rituals, conventions and customs of.Hinduism. Tagore wanted, on the one hand, to maintain the essentials of Hindu teaching; on the other hand, to widen its social

dimensions. He not only rejected the caste system outright [although he was born a Brahmin, the highest caste]; he would not accept philosophical justifications for it (Narvane, 1977). The readings of the classical *Upanishads* had a strong influence on the development of his sense of universalism and multiple perspectives, but he was selective and approached the scriptures as a "renaissance Indian" (Cenkner, 1976, p.20).

Although he was educated at home and sent to England at the age of 17 for formal schooling, he did not finish his studies there. His brothers influenced Rabindranath's early childhood. His eldest brother was deeply involved in philosophy, music, poetry and mathematics. Another brother, Satyendranath was a multilingual person who published English translations from Bengali and Sanskrit. He was also the first Indian to enter the Indian Civil Service. A third brother encouraged Rabindranath by starting a journal called *Bharati* that was to provide young Rabindranath with an initial literary platform from which to operate and grow (Narvane, 1977; p. 15). From an early age, the young boy had an aptitude for poetry. According to Narvane, Rabindranath was hardly nine when he could arrange lines in a rhythmic fashion. By the time he was fourteen, he had already translated Macbeth from English to Bengali in blank verse. By this time he had also developed a penchant for reading anything and everything from Sanskrit and Bengali literature to books in history, mythology, legend, social and natural sciences in both his native Bengali and acquired English (Narvane, 1977). Thus, Rabindranath Tagore had the richest possible social and cultural capital for an Indian of his times.

TAGORE'S INTERNATIONALIST OUTLOOK

Tagore was one of the most traveled Indians of his time. In all, he made 17 trips abroad. His sojourns covered all continents except Australia where he was invited but could not go (Salkar, 1990, p. 8). Considering that the only means of travel abroad in those days was the steamship, this was no mean feat. This extensive travelling had three important implications for Tagore. Firstly, it broadened his worldview and enhanced his understanding about the positive as well as the negative side of the West. He assimilated the Western democratic ideas that were to form the basis of his notions of cosmopolitanism and the universal man in his 1919 visit to Britain and the United States. Secondly, foreign travels helped him establish contacts and make friends with a number of Western intellectuals and literary heavyweights. Tagore's list of contact reads like a Who's Who of the 19th century literary and intellectual circuit. It includes names such as W.B.Yeats, William Rothenstein, Ezra Pound, Count Herman Kayserling, Henri Bergson, Albert Einstein, Bertrand Russell, Bernard Shaw, Roman Rolland and many others. Contact with these and others helped Tagore develop an independent outlook and a

worldview that was patriotic and cosmopolitan at the same time. Thirdly, his travels and the contacts that he established in the West helped him raise money for his dream school (Tagore, 1917) and university, Visva Bharati at Shantiniketan. His friends and contacts also provided him with encouragement and intellectual support that he needed to establish these educational institutions.

From the age of nine when he composed the first of his poems, to the last weeks before his death when he dictated his last two poems, Tagore's literary life was most dynamic and varied. His literary accomplishments span all literary forms. He composed plays, poetry, dramas, novels, and philosophical and political essays. He was honored with the Nobel Prize in Literature in November 1913 for *Gitanjali*, the collection of his poems. As mentioned earlier, Tagore's literary work is itself a site of research in education. Tagore's work can provide excellent insights into the cultural, social and political life of Bengal and that of India. His literary work also provides a powerful social and political commentary on the plight of the poor, on the nationalist struggle in India, on colonialism and on what India has to offer to the rest of the world. Apart from his formal treatise on education, his literary work reflects his philosophy of education. We will examine Tagore's educational philosophy consisting of its roots in philosophical influences on Tagore, his views on and reaction to colonial education, the concept of space in Tagore's educational philosophy, and finally, his cosmopolitanism.

TAGORE'S CONCEPT OF EDUCATION

Tagore expounded on his philosophy in essays, novels, plays and poetry. He saw an intimate relationship between the philosophic, religious and aesthetic aspects of Indian tradition. He was an internationalist who wanted India to learn from the West but also urged it to rediscover its ties with Southeast and East Asia and to seek inspiration from parts of the world other than Europe. He was also a fervent nationalist and drew out the treasures of folk culture in music, painting and poetry. While he brought attention to India's glorious traditions and cultures, he was also a great critic of social practices and religious beliefs that were sanctioned by tradition and religious practices**.** To him, science was Europe's greatest "gift to mankind." Thus he combined nationalist roots in tradition with an internationalist outlook and scientific rationality.

The philosophical and intellectual inspirations and influences on Tagore came from Eastern as well as Western philosophical traditions. He despised superficial contrasts of Western materialism and Indian spiritualism. From the point of view of Eastern philosophies, the *Upanishads* and *Vedas* gave Tagore his ethical and religious inspirations, respectively (Narvane, 1977, pp. 30–31). Like his father, Tagore was inspired by the personality of Ram Mohan Roy and the Brahmo Samaj movement.[2] Ram Mohan Roy was from among the earliest critics of orthodox

Hinduism. He was especially critical of the traditional and the cultic customs of Hinduism and instead advocated a broadening of its humane and social justice dimensions (Cenkner, 1976; Salkar, 1990). His advocacy for synthesizing Eastern and Western traditions had a profound impact on young Tagore. Roy's successor, Keshab Chandra Sen, also left a deep impact on the young Tagore who imbibed the cosmopolitan ideals of Roy and Sen, and combined them with the spiritual guidance of his father. This provided Tagore the basis on which to proceed to study Western philosophy and to develop his own. It should be noted that these earlier influences were instrumental in differentiating Tagore's nationalist thinking from other nationalist thinkers such as Gandhi who laid more emphasis on the indigenous production and consumption of knowledge. This difference especially comes out in the educational philosophies of these two great thinkers.

Believing that education is the panacea for the ills of Indian society and the poverty of the Indian masses, Tagore started to look and reflect at the leading educational thoughts in the world. Unlike Gandhi and Sri Aurobindo Ghosh [a freedom fighter, philosopher and poet], Tagore did draw upon the Western educational philosophies but never followed any particular one. He almost always drew upon the best and synthesized in accordance with what he felt was needed for India. There are two Western philosophers of education with whom Tagore's educational thought is compared. These are Froebel and Rousseau. However, as Cenkner (1976, p. 45) rightly claims, "there is no evidence that he was directly influenced by Rousseau…"

Similarly, Sarkar (1961) has demonstrated that while there are points of convergence between the philosophical thoughts of Froebel and Tagore, it is not correct to argue that Tagore was a follower of Froebel. In fact, Sarkar (1961, pp. 36–37) argues that Froebel and Tagore arrived at their basic principles from entirely different routes. While the former got there via his spirituality, the latter took the route of revelation, experience and imagination. Secondly, while Froebel was more inclined towards intellectuality and religious sanctity, Tagore laid more emphasis on aesthetics and imagination and did not make any distinction between spiritual and secular life that to him "were or could be converted into continuous, interpreting realities" (Sarkar, 1961, p. 37). Thirdly, while God is central to Froebel's philosophy as an "abstract principle," central to Tagore is the concept of universal man or the supreme person.

TAGORE'S CRITIQUE OF COLONIAL EDUCATION

Tagore argued that the colonial education system was neither conducive to the formation of aesthetic senses nor to independent thinking. This system, according to Tagore, did not even attempt to establish the relationship between education and nature. As a result, colonial education was obsessed with reasoning but faculties of

imagination, aesthetics and emotions remained underdeveloped. This rendered the student (child) a mere receptor of prepared packages of knowledge. The system bulldozed heaps of knowledge on children without taking into consideration their likes and dislikes. It is left to the child to pick up information from this heap. Furthermore, the examination system was an even more unimaginative and repressive system that was used to test the moulding of the child. To Tagore, what this system of education ignored totally was the fact that the child had a soul and that she/he was full of potentialities (Salkar, 1990). The mechanical teaching methods were designed to inculcate utilitarian and material values. For Tagore, this was not the raison d'être of education. He believed that education should not be "the conscious process of filling but the subconscious process of absorption" (Taneja, 1983, p. 83) [see comparison with Freire below]. It should cultivate in the students the desire to acquire knowledge through independent initiative and effort and a quest to learn directly from nature through experiencing it. Only in this way can children use rather than just store knowledge. Only in this way can children develop curiosity and imagination, the two main aims of education.

Colonial education also sought to establish the superiority of the colonial knowledge over native knowledge. Local knowledge and the knowledge system were discredited methodically as traditional, archaic and thus irrational. The message was subtle yet overarching: that native knowledge does not have anything to say or offer to the West, that rationality is the sole domain of colonial knowledge. Colonial education did in fact produce a class of surrogates who helped the colonial administration in running India "with only a handful of colonial officers." There were, however, undesirable consequences of this educational policy that the colonial mind had not foreseen. On the one hand, it produced a native leadership that was well versed in the idiom (legal and intellectual) of its colonial masters. This class was later to use these skills to lead the disgruntled masses to freedom. On the other hand, the intellectual leadership rejected the colonial monopoly over the construction of meaning and reality. This leadership included people such as Swami Dayanand (1824–1883), Swami Vivekananda (1863–1902), Sri Aurobindo Ghosh (1872–1950), Gandhi (1869–1948) and Tagore (1861–1941). Whether the framework was religious as in the case of Swami Dayanand and Swami Vivekananda, or politico-national as in the case of Mohandas K. Gandhi, this leadership aimed to bring back the Indian voice in Indian political and intellectual life.[3] This was the historical context in which Tagore formed his worldview, internalized his influences and developed his intellectual framework.

Science and Rationality in Tagore's Philosophy of Liberation

Tagore believed that the dichotomy between reason and emotion was an artificial and an unrealistic one. He advocated an education that treated reason and emotion

at par. For him, emotions were educationally significant; thus, they should be properly guided and developed by the educational process (Salkar, 1990). Tagore has been sometimes criticized as having been against the teaching of science subjects. This is as removed from reality as could be. Tagore was very much aware of the importance of teaching science and the need for the development of technology in India. He believed that science and technology were important in removing ignorance and superstition, which is the cause of poverty. In this sense, scientific and rational thought were aspects of education that could help the masses look beyond the colonial cage. He believed that science and technology must be used to increase production for the country. However, he was also aware that science and technology had the potential to be used for purposes of exploitation. In the education process, science should not merely be a production tool nor should it be taught at the expense of spiritual development (without dogma). This was essentially what he warned against. He thus advised the Indian youth to "receive with alertness the gifts of science and technology" (quoted in Salkar, 1990, p. 20) because the questioning and enquiring methods of science liberate the mind.

Tagore and Language Teaching: Against the Colonizer's Agenda

Tagore was not against the English language per se. As in the case of science and technology, he urged caution. He was aware that English was essential for higher pursuits in the field of science but wanted teaching in the mother tongue in the early years. He believed that English, as medium of instruction, was superimposition of the colonizer's language that had the potential to lead to deformations of character which, by removing children from their roots and indigenous thinking, moulded them after an imitation of the colonial masters. To him, the English language facilitated the British rule and led to the cultural alienation of the Indians. He stressed that the mother tongue should be the medium of instruction at all levels and advocated extreme care in teaching English as a second language. He has eloquently and beautifully paraphrased this in one of his poems in his Nobel winning collection, *Gitanjali* (Tagore, 1966, p.10):

> Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high
> Where knowledge is free
> Where the world has not been broken up into fragments
> By narrow domestic walls
> Where words come out from the depth of truth
> Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection
> Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way
> Into the dreary desert sand of dead habit
> Where the mind is led forward by thee

Into ever-widening thought and action
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake

This poem is a clarion call for "education that liberates"!

While Tagore was extremely critical of the Western educational system, especially as implemented in India, he was also one of the greatest advocates of a cosmopolitan personality for the Indian student. To him, the unsuitability of a Western system of education did not mean that the Indian students should not be aware of other people's cultures, religions and intellectual and literary traditions. He encouraged his students to read world literature in order to understand how relationships with other people are established and conducted. He wanted education to also liberate Indians from the confines and webs of their own tradition and customs.

For instance, in Tagore's famous novel *The Home and the World,* Bimala the young wife of landlord Nikhil is enchanted with the seductive patriotism of her husband's friend Sandip and becomes an eager devotee of the *Swadeshi (*freedom*)* movement. She boycotts the foreign goods and raises the slogan of *Bande Matram* (hail motherland). Nikhil, the landlord, decries the emphasis on patriotic pride as "both morally dangerous and ultimately, subversive of some of the worthy goals patriotism sets out to serve - for example the goal of national unity in devotion to moral ideals of justice and equality" (Nussbaum, 1996, pp. 3–4). This is what Martha Nussbaum was later to articulate as *cosmopolitanism* (Nussbaum, 1996). However, the point that Nussbaum misses in Tagore's conceptualization is that Tagore did not preach cosmopolitanism and patriotism at the cost of either concept. He believed that it was possible to ground one's cosmopolitanism in one's patriotism. This is yet another theme that has been picked up by contemporary philosophers such as Anthony Kwame Apiah (1996). Tagore was being more than poetic when he said (quoted in Salkar, 1990, p. 8):

> The monsoon clouds generated on the banks of the Nile, fertilize the far distant shores of the Ganges, ideas may have to cross from the East to the Western shores to find welcome in men's hearts and fulfil their promise. East is East and West is West. God forbid that it should be otherwise-but the twain must meet in amity, peace and understanding, their meeting will be all the more fruitful because of their differences…

TAGORE AND PAOLO FREIRE

Although Tagore (1861) was born exactly 60 years before Freire (1921), education to both Tagore and Freire signified freedom: freedom from ignorance, prejudice, dogma, tyranny and poverty. To both, education could only happen when it brought about freedom from all these forms of oppression. Only such an education could nurture the child's abilities and self-expression. In effect, this meant that it is simply not enough to try to develop a child's intellectual abilities. The aim of Tagorean education was to develop the whole man [and woman] complete with faculties of reason as well as emotion. For Freire, *conscientization* was the aim of education; it was cultural action for freedom, an act of knowing, not memorization (Freire, 1993). Freire tried to get away from "banking education" in which "knowledge" is deposited, while Tagore wanted education to be a process of absorption, not a process of filling the child's mind with "knowledge" from the books. Similarly, both of them saw the importance of removing ignorance which was the cause of poverty and vulnerability. Tagore thought of education but declined formal schooling in his early years, and read instead, on his own, poetry and philosophy as well as science and astronomy. Both Tagore and Freire read Law - Freire became a lawyer but never practiced law while Tagore gave up his study of law at University College London to read Shakespeare. For both, it was essential to ground the process of education in the real life and milieu of the child. It is also necessary that connections between the child, her environment and the medium of expression be strengthened where they already exist and developed where they are absent.

Tagore thus emphasizes the teaching of not only subjects such as rural development but also subjects such as dance, music, dramatics, etc. As Tagore has put it,

> However great a scholar may be, if he has not educated his body, he has to live a life of dependence on others and in many ways he is an incomplete man. There is a close and inseparable connection between the faculties of mind and body…Handwork, music and arts are the spontaneous overflows of our deep nature and spiritual significance (in Taneja, 1983, p. 30).

Tagore believed in liberating the learner: "education is that which liberates." Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1993) is about the need to struggle for justice and equity within the educational system, and open, community-based and free learning space was imperative for the kind of educational system he envisioned. Similarly, for Tagore (sixty years before Freire), such learning space was conducive to imaginative learning based on emotions, love and knowledge for the

whole "man." His school at Shantiniketan, Bolpur was an attempt to create such a learning space. He envisaged that "the school should be a home and a temple in one where teaching should be a part of worshipful life (Cenkner, 1976, p. 56)." This, however, should not be understood as his desire to impart moral education or one based on any particular religious or ideological value system. Tagore's education was more spiritual rather than religious. Freire was a Christian socialist and, as a liberation theologist, he was preoccupied with bringing justice to the poor, the oppressed and the vulnerable. Tagore was a staunch believer in keeping religious dogma out of the schools and an equally staunch oppositionist of moral instruction being imparted by teachers. To him, religion was to be lived and not taught. His school at Shantiniketan was a reflection of this line of thinking. It was more than a school. It was a place of learning that was universal and international in spirit. Classes were held outdoors and there was a glass *mandir* (temple) for meditation. Hindu festivals were not celebrated. Instead, two long vacations and holidays for birthdays of Christ, Buddha, Mohammed, Chaitanya, Ram Mohan Roy and other great men were observed.

Tagore had a message for the world especially the Western world. The message simply stated that India also had something to say to the world and to itself. In this sense, India was a civilization, not merely a British colony. The message was also that India has its own educational and philosophical heritage to draw upon. He pointed out to a heritage that was based on *Topovanas* of *Rishis* of ancient India where education was primarily and basically a product of the interaction between the Guru (i.e. the teacher) and his disciples. This product was nurtured in an environment that was stimulating intellectually and was also grounded in the traditional Indian values.

Tagore as a Guru (teacher, mentor, guide)

Apart from the active communion between man and nature, the two other cardinal principles of Tagore's educational philosophy were freedom and joy for the child, and creative self-expression (Salkar, 1990, p.20).The role of teacher is central to Tagorean educational philosophy. The task of a Tagorean teacher is multifold. To begin with, Tagorean teacher is not oppressive. She does not pour down cauldrons of knowledge on students' heads hoping that some of it will be absorbed. Her task basically is to facilitate learning and to bring out the self-expression in children. Her task is to help students realize their own potential. She is not given the role of the sole proprietor or holder of knowledge and she does not interact with the children from a position of power. The Tagorean teacher also does not put between her and the students a wall of books or burden them with an overload of homework.

Tagore's students referred to him as *Gurudev* (the great teacher), and Guru was indeed the ideal of a teacher that Tagore had in mind for his school and indeed for Indian education at large. *Gurus*, in the traditional Indian educational (and social) system, were teachers who created spiritual as well as learning spaces that were conducive for transmission as well as production of knowledge. These spaces were not only inclusive but they were socially responsive spaces, too. These teachers shared the learning space with the students and also with the community.[4] For Tagore, this has the potential for an education and learning that is free, socially responsive and self exhilarating. Here, once again Tagore came up with an ideal that philosophers of education such as Parker Palmer started to explore almost a century later (see Palmer, 1983).

These were the ideals and the philosophy that became reality in the shape of Santiniketan. Tagore wanted Shantiniketan to be modelled as a self-governing republic. He wanted to revitalize the spirit of India by doing away with the dogma while maintaining the good traditional values. His dream school had open-air classes where children could realize harmony with nature, sunlight and air; where they could realize their potential through development of faculties of reason as well as emotions and aesthetics. His dream school was the one that aimed to eradicate poverty of mind and soul apart from material poverty. This was Shantiniketan, Tagore's dream.

The school became the basis for the emergence of an International University – Visva Bharati in 1921 - that he envisaged as the meeting point of the East and the West. Tagore wanted it to be the guiding centre of Indian studies and the focal point of Asian studies. It became a Central University in 1951 by the Statute of the Indian Parliament and remains a small residential liberal arts university.

Tagore: A Thinker Ahead of His Time

In an essay, "The Stream of Indian Civilization," (*Bharatvgarshe Ithihaser Dhara, 1906*) Tagore has two guiding principles: unity in diversity and continuity in the midst of change. Both resonate with contemporary themes of multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism as well as globalization. He saw several strengths in India's tradition: the ability to assimilate along with an acceptance of several paths leading to a common goal, and conviction in the convergence of basic values such as truth, beauty, goodness, love, freedom and tranquility (p.4). His ideas of independent thinking and experiential learning, which have become so popular today and are often attributed to other thinkers such as Freire, were basic to his own idea of the purpose of education. Like Franz Fanon, he thought much about the deformation of the mind brought about by colonial education. He was heralded during his lifetime and became known in the West after his Nobel Prize for literature in 1913. He received honorary doctorates from Universities such as Oxford. He was knighted

by the British colonial masters but returned his knighthood with an eloquent letter to the Viceroy after the massacre of innocent Indians by the British at Jalianawallabagh.

CONCLUSION

As Yeats (1913) said of Tagore, he was the product of "a whole people, a whole civilization, immeasurably strange to us," and yet "we have met our own image… or heard, perhaps for the first time in literature, our voice as in a dream." In this sense, Tagore was an educational philosopher far ahead of his times and most relevant to contemporary issues today.

NOTES

[1] Thomas Macaulay had written in his (in)famous 'Minutes on Indian Education', "To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of population" (See Macaulay 1995; p. 430).

[2] Founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, it was a religious movement to restore spiritual Hinduism without its rituals, superstitions, dogmas and socially exploitative structures.

[3] This is not to argue that this leadership was homogeneous or consensual. Their common point of convergence was to bring back the Indian voice to Indians' lives.

[4] Tagore wrote, "that this traditional relationship of masters and disciples is not a mere romantic fiction is proved by the relic we still possess of the indigenous system of education which has preserved its independence for centuries to be about to succumb at last to the hand of the foreign bureaucratic control. These *chatus-pathis* which is the Sanskrit name for the university have not the savor of the school about them. The students live in their master's home like the children of the house, without having to pay for their board and lodging or tuition. The teacher prosecutes his own study, living a life of simplicity, and helping the students in their lessons as a part of his life and not his profession (Tagore, 1961; p. 222)." With modification, Tagore wanted the spirit of this model of teaching for his school and for the Indian schools in general.

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CHAPTER **6**

DECOLONIZING DIASPORA: WHOSE TRADITONAL LAND ARE WE ON?

WHOSE TRADITIONAL LAND?

Let us begin at the beginning: if we take seriously anyone's responsibility to consider whose traditional land they dwell in, we might begin with ourselves. As I write, I am located on land that Indigenous[1] peoples have occupied and travelled since time immemorial and that they continue to occupy and travel now with peoples from many other nations. This particular space has come to be known as the traditional land of the Mississauga: at least those are the people whose signatures (Canada, 1891, p. 36) are represented on the several questionable treaties and illegal real estate deals that allowed the transfer of "ownership"[2] of the land (Schmalz, 1991, p. 125) [3] either directly to settlers or eventually to them through the government's acquisition. For many Indigenous peoples, the concept of land ownership is and was foreign to their ontologies: land is never owned. Rather it is a spiritual and material entity to be treasured and cared for as a relative for all those generations of beings who will follow.

When the final concession at the mouth of the Credit River near what is now called Toronto, Ontario, Canada was made, the remaining Mississauga people in this part of Southern Ontario were ironically "given" a piece of land that had, years before, been "sold" by their relatives to the British for the Six Nations people who were being rewarded for their support of the British in the war with the Thirteen Colonies.[4] (Canada 1891:22-25, Dickason, 1992, pp. 86–87) Additionally, the land was originally occupied by the Neutral, Petun, and the Wendat (Dickason 65, 70, 130, 434) who years earlier had been replaced by the Anishinaabe. This area was so rich in animal and plant life that, for generations, it has served as a land of plenty for the many peoples who travelled and lived here at different times of each year.[5] In EuroCanadian parlance, this land has a humid, continental climate, numerous rivers and tributaries running into the Great Lakes to the south and west

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and an annual precipitation of 83 centimeters. Long before it was disrupted by cities and sprawling suburbs, this land was and continues to be[6] a gathering place of Indigenous peoples with "complex histories of dwelling and travelling… Everyone's on the move and has been for centuries: dwelling-in-travel" (Clifford, 1997, p. 2). For this article, the lands under discussion lie primarily within the nations now called Canada and the United States of America. For those who care to make the connections, there are implications of this discussion for colonized lands and Indigenous peoples around the globe.

As a way of focusing this article, I consider the possibility of decolonizing discourses of diaspora, by asking the central question not only where people of the diaspora come *from*, but where have they come *to*? In North America, nations have been superimposed on Indigenous lands and peoples through colonization and domination. Taking this relationship seriously in the context of discourses of race, Indigeneity and diaspora interrupts business as usual and promises a richer analysis of one particular similarity amongst diasporic, as well as settler, groups in North America with possible implications beyond this context. In short, I ask each reader to respond to the question, "Whose traditional land are you on?" as a step in our long processes of decolonizing our countries and our lives. While part of the focus for this paper is on making a small contribution to theorizing diaspora, there are obvious implications for all people living in a colonized country. Drawing primarily on three pedagogical strategies and events arising from them, I take up some of the possibilities for theory-building that they suggest. Reflections on courses taught and texts from Toni Morrison's *Playing in the dark* to James Clifford's "Indigenous articulations" ground the discussion.

NIGGLINGS AND THEORIZING ABOUT DIASPORA

Over time, this essay has struggled onto the page in a respectful effort to question a particular aspect of theorizing diaspora and, through that question, to make a contribution to furthering thought in the area. Evolving directly from teaching events and arising from my conviction for such intervention in current theory-building, the hope remains that it will speak in good ways to those readers who are prepared to respond to the plea embedded in, and articulated through, the interrogation. The idea for the focus of the article originated with a niggling sensation, the perception of an absence in theorizing Diaspora, and a hesitation at pointing to that absence because of my limited work in the area. It has provided an opportunity for me to read critically in the area of diasporic studies as I tried to place my pedagogical observations within a deeper understanding of the significance of the theorizing that so many committed scholars have been thinking through and conceptualizing. This article exemplifies a form of grounded theory

building in that its impetus lies in everyday practice while the synthesis it attempts seeks to inform existing theorizing as well as pedagogical practices.

Following Clifford, I take up the notion of Diaspora as involving "a history of dispersal, myths/memories of the homeland, alienation in the host (bad host?) country, desire for eventual return, ongoing support of the homeland, and a collective identity importantly defined by this relationship" (1997, p. 247). Typically, such discourse begins with the Jews dispersed out of Palestine (following the Babylonian captivity) (Braziel and Mannur, 2003; Werbner, 2000, p. 12). A second commonly cited discursive instance of the word Diaspora (sometimes with the capital removed) is as an expression of the material reality of millions of West Africans captured and transported as slaves between 1502 and 1865 by White European exploiters (Brand, 2001; Mirzoeff, 2000). In its current expanding definition, Diaspora may be used to speak of any people who have (been) moved from a homeland, often cannot return to that homeland, and are living in a new and different space, sometimes within a group of people with similar histories, always with an attachment to that other place of origin (Clifford, 1997; Werbner, 2000). Indentured labourers serving capitalist expansion over the last two centuries; refugees from a range of civil wars often exacerbated by outside influences still related to the expansion of capital and global markets; and people seeking safe havens from a range of inhuman experiences in their countries of origin are only a few of those included in at least some current understandings of diasporic studies.

An edited collection published by Blackwell points to the contemporary importance of Diaspora Studies as twofold:

> First, diaspora forces us to rethink the rubric of nation and nationalism, whilerefiguring the relations of citizens and nation-states. Second, diaspora offers myriad, dislocated sites of contestation to the hegemonic, homogenizing forces of globalization (Brazial & Mannur, 2003, p. 7).

Ultimately and most poignantly, I seek discursive consideration in diasporic studies not only of people's movement or dispersal and the homeland from which they have come, but of the lands and histories of the people in the places where they arrive. I concur with Clifford that if diasporic theory is to "travel well" in First Nations contexts, "there needs to be a significant adaptation to a different map and history" (2001, p. 483). In relation to the Indigenous peoples of North America, keeping history and current issues visible, particularly land claims—as these reconfigurations and contestations develop—is paramount. It does seem to me that the tenets of Diaspora—particularly as they continue to shift and develop—deserve to be interrogated regarding their applicability for theorizing First Nations and Aboriginal situations.[7] This claim deserves investigation in another paper.

DECOLONIZING EDUCATION COURSES

Three pedagogical events led me to focus on this interrogation of the notion of Diaspora. The first is a student's story from a pre-service teacher education course; the second, central to the paper's argument, arose in a team teaching situation in a doctoral seminar; and the third event is expressed in a graduate student's work following a course called (de)colonizing research methods. All three events occurred in relation to courses I regularly teach. Each provides a focus for thinking through the theoretical constructs within which I organize my thoughts and my pedagogical work as a teacher/professor of Education. Foundations of Education was one of the required courses in our pre-service teacher education program: it typically encompasses disciplines such as history, philosophy and sociology and their relevance to education. We consider the history of education in Canada – which in previous iterations of the course most often began with schooling for the settlers' children; the sociology of education started with works such as Paul Willis's *Learning to labour* or Bowles and Gintis's *Schooling in capitalist society*; the philosophical focused on concepts and their meanings. Some professors use the course to introduce Freudian or other pet theories and their implications for pedagogy.

In my course for pre-service teachers, as in all my courses, I have come to insist that considerations of education and research in Canada begin by taking seriously the land and Indigenous peoples. I tell my keen students on their first day that the foundations of Canadian education are land and Aboriginal people. They listen dutifully and at first without question. We look to traditions and history. Acknowledging the first peoples of this land and their experiences of education can serve to lead the students to a clearer and deeper understanding of what was and is at stake in schools and the broader society today. While some students resist such considerations as passé, most find their understandings of schooling and the impact of the assimilationist policies practiced over the years into the present day deepen as they come to know the complex histories of schools and Aboriginal people. Land claims, the Indian Act, treaties, tuition agreements all become part of the discussions of schools in Canada. Student teachers become more prepared to take up the complexities of working with peoples from a range of histories and origins as they begin to see their relation to Aboriginal peoples – and some of the teachers are, of course, Aboriginal themselves. (A similar approach would serve well in other nations created through the process of colonization, particularly the intensive brand that accompanied the Industrial Revolution's unbridled greed for resources and labour in the quest for profit.)[8]

In the foundations class, the history (and pre-*written*-history) of education in Canada begins with traditional education embedded in the everyday lives of members of the varied Aboriginal cultures and nations across the continent. In traditional forms of education, children, their parents and grandparents engaged in

a lifetime of watching, learning and doing: no separation of any age group from this active participation in learning within the community occurred. Traditionally, in everyday practices, as their abilities develop, students, no matter what their age, begin doing what they are able to do. Whether it involves cleaning a fish or taking responsibility for a ceremony, learning is continuous. Commitment to lifelong learning—now a focus in theorizing and promoting adult education—is hardly a new concept in such contexts. Before contact with Europeans, there were no school buildings per se although, on occasion, people spent (and may continue to spend) time in isolation from others for particular ceremonies and practices. In many communities, these practices persist to one degree or another.

In research and graduate teaching that I did with First Nations women in British Columbia in the late 1990s, one of the students talked of ceremonies for young women reaching puberty, at which time they are removed from school for several days to spend time learning traditional ways with the older women. A non-Aboriginal graduate student in the same class, who had taught at the school being discussed, commented in amazement about having wondered where the young women in his village school went and only realizing at that moment what had been happening.

In North America, schooling—or what has been ethnocentrically called formal education—began as a relation between Europeans and Indigenous people. The initial efforts appeared fairly innocuous with missionaries selecting a "privileged" few students, usually boys, to participate in classes either on this continent or in Europe (Miller 1996:39).[9] Most of us know that schooling fairly quickly became a major tool for attempted assimilation of First Nations peoples into that cheap source of labour demanded by the marketplace mentality of the early colonizers of what we now call Canada.[10] Too frequently, these roots of contemporary schooling are conveniently forgotten along with the colonial mentality that continues to inform this studied amnesia. If mainstream teacher education can continue to forget about Indigenous peoples, there will be no more call for justice to be done for the 55 founding nations of this country – nations that may have been intentionally involved in the establishment of Canada or coerced, forced or tricked into compliance. What does this mean for people of the diaspora who find themselves living in Canada?

At one point in this course, a Black student who had come to Canada from Jamaica as a teenager spoke with me about what she had been learning about her own existence in Canada as the course unfolded. In our conversation, she began by describing her arrival in Canada, saying that almost the moment she went out into the streets, she found herself sinking into a major depression. In therapy, later in her life, she identified her first traumatic experiences of racism as the root cause. In Jamaica, of course, as a member of the majority, she did not experience this direct onslaught of racism. As she read and heard about First Nations experiences in the

class, she said she felt as if she were beginning to understand much more clearly the sets of colonial relations underpinning the racism she faced. Previously, she said, she had "always seen racism in Canada as a black and white thing." After reading Roxana Ng, Isabel Knockwood, and others and participating in class discussions, she began to see the complexity and depth of what she faced. Knockwood details her experiences of residential school and its continuing impact on the lives of herself, her family, and her friends. The assault on her Mi'kmaw spirituality, culture, and language are wounds still healing. She writes:

> Many years will have to pass before the damage inflicted by the Residential School can be healed. I am still dealing with the mentally, emotionally and spiritually damaged child of five…It makes no difference that government officials and some representatives of the Catholic church have apologized to Native people for the schools (Knockwood, 1992, p. 158).

For the student teacher, this work spoke not just to Knockwood and her family's need for healing themselves, but also to her own need to heal from the effects of historical and current experiences of racism. In addition, she found herself having to consider another dimension of her presence in Canada on the traditional lands of Aboriginal people. Ng writes convincingly of the racist and sexist roots that underpin the construction of Canada as a nation. This racism began in Canada with the interventions of Europeans convinced of their superiority[11] to Indigenous peoples.[12]

It is this notion of relations that Ng emphasizes in her considerations of race, class, and gender in Canada's transition to a nation. Building on Ng's analysis, the student came to see herself in relation not simply to "White" people in Toronto, but in relation to all non-Aboriginal peoples who always already live in relation to Indigenous peoples and their lands, whether they are conscious of this historical fact or not. This student, if one were to consider conventional diasporic studies, could be seen as one whose ancestors have already been twice displaced—once from a country of origin in Africa and a second time from Jamaica to Canada. The lessons she learned presented her with thoughts of a third displacement as she came to see her place in relation to the people whose traditional land the city of Toronto is built upon. The longing for (a) home becomes triply complicated for people in situations comparable to hers. However, it is by adding a consideration of the history of the place where she has ended up, particularly in relation to the displacement of Indigenous people for the formation of the nation of Canada, that she was able to reach a deeper understanding of the complexities of her own situation and location here. Through such recognition – or perhaps through coming to know a more complete truth for the first time – the healing Knockwood seeks becomes a possibility for others within a colonized country.

Beyond Binary Formulations

The second event was precipitated by Professor Warren Crichlow, my colleague in the Faculty of Education with whom I team-taught the seminar, Research and Issues in Language, Culture and Teaching, one of the two required courses students take in our doctoral program. Again, starting the class with considerations of land and Aboriginal people, I rather provocatively referred to two groups of people who currently live in Canada: those of Aboriginal ancestry and those of immigrant ancestry, more simply put, Aboriginal people and immigrants. For my purposes, positing this binary opposition was an effort to force a predetermined answer to the question I have since seen posed by Clifford, "How many generations does it take to become indigenous?" In my conversations with Warren, he gently pushed me to see that such binary formulations are far too reductive and disrespectful even for the sake of discussion.

I began to see how offensive and really unfair they are to people who came to this continent in ways which, while not unrelated to colonization—we cannot escape the endless march of capital across the globe—did not implicate them in the same ways as those who came with the clear intention of exploitation for profit. Many people came for better lives, to escape war and famine, to seek freedom, to start anew in a country that was advertised as *terra nullius*, empty land, there for the asking. They came through being enticed by those who were finding the First Nations labour force less than cooperative and who were seeking to occupy "Indian" lands as a way of claiming them and their resources while simultaneously developing a market for the goods Europe was producing. Tied to social Darwinism and its misguided notion of a hierarchy of the "races of man" was the conviction that First Nations people—Indians—were a vanishing race. Slavery and the slave trade, another of the evil practices that arose out of European notions of racial hierarchy and greed, forced many people to this continent. This Diaspora can hardly be collapsed with the situation of the people who forcibly took them from their homeland through what Dionne Brand has called the "door of no return." She writes,

> But to the door of no return which is illuminated in the consciousness of Blacks in the Diaspora there are no maps. This door is not mere physicality. It is a spiritual location. It is also perhaps a psychic destination. Since leaving was never voluntary, return was, and still may be, an intention, however deeply buried.
> There is as it says no way in; no return

In the course I taught with Warren, we read Toni Morrison's *Playing in the dark*, a provocative text that argues that what has been considered the canon of great American literature—i.e. that written primarily by White people—most often operates in a context where an Africanist presence serves to "ignite critical

moments of discovery or change or emphasis in literature not written by them." (Morrison, p. viii). In other words, the presence of African-Americans is essential to the narratives but even as the authors use their existence to advantage, they never openly acknowledge their presence as central to the very substance of the work from plot to characterization and context.

Here, I caution Canadian readers from excusing themselves from this discussion too quickly on the grounds that Morrison is examining American literature. While there may be nuances to the points being made, when one considers a Canadian context, there are enough resonances for them to be worth considering. While the formation of the United States has many distinctions from the formation of Canada, at least one thing exists in common. Both nations were created as an overlay to the many Indigenous nations whose lands became the basis of each country. While the canon of Canadian literature may acknowledge non-Whites more explicitly than those Morrison interrogates, all too often these characters also serve simply as foils for White epiphanies. They remain a shadowy presence or a presence fading to invisibility, too rarely being worthy of being the focus of critical analysis. That being said, the significance of slavery and the civil war in the United States do set up particular tensions different from Canada's, but still related to and informative to a critical view of Canadian history and its place in the literature. Morrison focuses on the diasporic (without naming it that) presence of slaves and then freed people as fundamental to the ways that White Americans have constructed themselves in their literature. Furthermore, she demonstrates with incisive clarity how literary critics have refused to engage seriously with this phenomenon. "The habit of ignoring race is understood to be graceful, even generous" (Morrison, 1992, p. 9). The Diaspora shall not be named.

As I considered theories of Diaspora and as I read and reread her text in writing this essay, I was struck by a number of things. First of all, as Warren had indicated, to divide the world of North America easily into immigrants and Aboriginal people is to do epistemic violence to many people who are now on this continent. Second, many aspects of Morrison's arguments give us new ways to think about the construction of White American literature in relation to Black America and its role in the development of the nation. But more perversely, I found myself wanting to take the critical model that Morrison establishes so eloquently and convincingly and turn it back on itself. I want to ask similar questions about the absent presence of Native Americans in the construction of America as the land of freedom from oppression, whether in the claims made by the original nation-builders or in those related to slavery and emancipation. My thoughts resonated with those of the teacher education student above who, for years, did not understand that the roots of Canada and its racism are based in Indigenous lands and peoples. Over the duration of the course, she came to understand her place in relation to indigeneity in Canada. Her personal journey took her to deeper understandings of the impact of

racialization on her own life and on the larger society including the harm done in the name of race. In contrast, a refusal by diaspora theorists to engage with indigeneity re-creates the invisibility of the peoples who first occupied the lands that now form these nations. The very construction of a diasporic discourse in the U.S. holds a certain irony when it fails to see the oppression of Native Americans as integral to the formation of both the nation and inextricably related to the many Diasporas now existing.

Further examination of some of the points Morrison makes shows their commensurability with considerations of the place of Indigenous peoples throughout what is now called North America. In some of the following quotations, I found myself expecting, and then often substituting the word *Indigenous* for the word *Africanist* or *African-American* and making good sense of the statements. In others, the claim held equally true for Indigenous–White relations and Black–White relations. As becomes quickly evident, her claims about literature have significant implications for discourses of Diaspora. While she is talking about American literature, she also focuses more generally on the ways that literary critics do not take up questions of race in their analyses. Herein lies another question for all readers of this essay: What questions do we ask or fail to ask in our own research that contributes to the erasure of racial "minorities"[13] from consciousness? I quote at length from her book in order to demonstrate how frequent are the possibilities for making direct comparisons between her argument and mine. I do not spend time explicating each quotation, but rather leave it to the reader to make the connections to his or her context. For me, the connections to my context were clear. She writes,

> Just as the formation of the nation necessitated coded language and purposeful restrictions to deal with the racial disingenuousness and moral frailty at its heart, so too did the literature…Through significant and underscored omissions, startling contradictions, heavily nuanced conflicts, through the way writers peopled their work with the signs and bodies of this presence—one can see that a real or fabricated Africanist [read Indigenous] presence was crucial to their sense of Americannness. And it shows (Morrison, 1992, p. 6, my emphasis).Urgently needed is the same kind of attention paid to the literature of the western country that has one of the most resilient Africanist [read First Nation/Native American] populations in the world—a population that has always had a curiously intimate and unhingingly separate existence within the dominant one (Morrison, 1992, p. 12, my emphasis).

Like thousands of avid but non-academic readers, some powerful literary critics in the United States have never read and are proud to say so, *any* African-American [read First Nation/Native American] text. It seems to have done them no harm,

presented them no discernible limitations in the scope of their work or influence (ibid, p. 13).

I began to see how the literature I revered, the literature I loathed, behaved in its encounter with racial ideology. American literature [read Canadian] could not help being shaped by that encounter (ibid, p.16). [I]mages of blinding whiteness seem to function as both antidote for and meditation on the shadow that is companion to this whiteness – a dark and abiding presence that moves the hearts and texts of American literature with fear and longing (ibid, p. 33).

Although the subtitle of Morrison's book is "Whiteness and the literary imagination," within the text, her focus on whiteness in relation almost exclusively to blackness misses the fundamental relation of both to indigeneity. Here, I turn her argument back on itself. Only at one point does she explicitly acknowledge an indigenous population and then almost immediately dismisses its significance. [A]bsolute power [is] called forth and played against and within a natural and mental landscape conceived as a "raw, half-savage world." Why is it seen as raw and savage? Because it is peopled with a nonwhite indigenous population? Perhaps. But certainly because there is ready to hand a bound and unfree, rebellious but serviceable, black population (ibid, p.45).

I write of this absence not to try to diminish in any way the deeply thoughtful, innovative, and theoretically impressive work that Morrison has done.[14] Rather, I want to make the point that, just as this text of hers does, to focus on the people of the Diasporas in North American (and other) contexts is too often to lose sight of the land and people of the place *to* which they are dispersed. In this blindness, the efforts at cultural genocide exemplified by residential schools and land grabs are reinscribed. As Morrison herself writes, similarly, by avoiding an overt discussion of slavery and "race" in America, "One could be released from a useless, binding, repulsive past into a kind of history-lessness, a blank page waiting to be inscribed" (ibid, p. 35). Settler Canadians, in their schools and in their everyday lack of consciousness, create the conditions that allow them the same possibility of forgetting their pasts and their relation to Indigenous peoples. While it may not be the intention of those who advocate getting on with the present and not spending time "dwelling" on the past, as is amply clear in the testimonials of those who have perpetrated racist acts and those who have felt their impact, intentions are not the determining factor in perpetuating racism and its discourses. Continued refusal to acknowledge the injustices committed historically and currently in the name of colonization and nation-building leads us to a state of blindness and denial. As scholars, these are not the usual places we aspire.

Decolonizing Autobiographies

The third pedagogical event I want to focus on brings us back to the university classroom for another consideration which spoke to me of the idea of decolonizing

diaspora, and a further move with the potential to inform all who currently dwell in colonized lands. First the context of this event: antiracist pedagogy is an effort to address issues of race and racism overtly in classrooms. Although it has the potential to engage students with coursework in intense ways, I have often found taking it up in teacher education classes cut discussion short. White students got defensive and students of colour got rightfully angry with them. Clearly, my approach could not get at the ways that people were making sense of their relations to one another and rather than create a forum for discussion, I was creating intransigence. As Stuart Hall wrote some years ago, "You can no longer conduct black [for my purposes, anti-racist] politics through a strategy of a simple set of reversals, putting in the place of the bad old essential white subject, the new essentially good black subject" (1996, p. 444). To take up the complexity of a politic and practice to address racism, I had to find another approach.

Reading Linda Tuhiwai Smith's text *Decolonizing methodologies* and Ania Loomba's *Colonialism/postcolonialism* with graduate classes, provided me some more interesting and productive ways to intervene in everyday understandings of race and racism. These works allowed me to build on some other ideas which have been central to my research and teaching. Taking for granted that reflexivity in research (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995)[15] and starting from one's own experience in education (Freire, 1971; Gore, 1993, p. 13)[16] are methodologically and pedagogically sound, I began working with students to have them construct what I call decolonizing autobiographies as their introduction to a graduate course in decolonizing research methods. Inextricably tied to this work is the consideration that the physically embodied and historically located self of the researcher is always an integral part of any research one conducts. While there are still some people who chose to hide their particular reasons for doing research, the possibility of impartiality and objectivity has been thoroughly interrogated and found wanting when one takes context into account. For example, it turns out that the person conducting research on protein transmitters has a mother who died of cancer and somewhere in her head is the notion that this research has the potential to play a part in helping people in her mother's situation.[17] As Clifford has commented, about the inclusion of what he calls "personal explorations….I include them in the belief that a degree of self-location is possible and valuable, particularly when it points beyond the individual toward ongoing webs of relationships" (1997, p. 12). I ask people to think first about their relation to the land they are on at that moment. Although for many people living there, it is much more than simply a physical space, it does exist as a material entity. I tell them a story about the land. I ask them to imagine a sophisticated archaeological machine which would allow us to see down through the layers of earth on which we currently stand. The traces of many footprints lie buried at various levels with recent ones evident on and near the surface of that land. Deeply buried, the first

human ones are those of Indigenous people—some are made recently; some longer ago than most of us can imagine. Since those first tracks were made, other sets of footprints have walked at different times on the same ground, layers upon layers upon layers. Through colonization, Diaspora, and immigration, feet of non-Indigenous peoples have stepped on traditional First Nations territories. In the layers, somewhere, our prints and perhaps those of our ancestors' are lying. Regardless, we are all here now walking around in relation to one another and to the land. To be in good relation, as Métis scholar Kathy Hodgson-Smith (1997) writes, requires us to know one another, to acknowledge our relation now and historically to each other, to all things living and nonliving, especially to the earth that sustains us physically, intellectually, emotionally and spiritually.

Based on less-than-systematic study, my impressions are that this approach of asking students to make explicit their own stories of coming to be in this First Nations territory is making a difference to deep considerations of social and historical relations within the students' contexts, be they research, teaching or studying. The conversations which follow are thoughtful and open. The pre-service student teacher from Jamaica written about above, in some ways, presented me with her decolonizing autobiography as a result of what she had read in class. In the doctoral seminar with Toni Morrison's work and Warren Crichlow's guidance, I moved a step further in my own understanding of my relation to this land. For this class, I made explicit what had been coming to the foreground for some as they read and thought through the meanings the texts had for them. Decolonizing autobiographies have become a part of most of my classes as we struggle to make sense of various aspects of education and teaching in Canada. For these classes, I use parts of my own decolonizing narrative as a model to introduce myself. Sometimes, I start with the canoe bay on the river bank of my childhood home. Here my father, born in England, parked the wood and canvas freight canoe that he used to pole us up the river on those amazing days when the water level was just right and the west coast rain had let up long enough for wet sunshine to light up the river. My father came to Canada from England at the age of eighteen after being expelled from Charterhouse where his grandfather was headmaster; my mother came from Seattle where I too was born as she left our Vancouver Island home to have her babies near her mother. My family taught me in ways that made me feel as if I always knew that that canoe bay was used by the Kwakwaka'wakw people in earlier times. I did not know how to express my questions about where they had gone, but I also accepted tacitly that the land was always already occupied. When I moved around the province and around the country, I made myself conscious of being in Musqueam, Secwepemc, Salish, Tsimshian and Anishinaape territories. Locating myself in relation to the relevant First Nation is fundamental to my self-definition as a non-Aboriginal person in Canada, in academe, as a researcher and teacher. None of these relations to Canada is simple: none of these considerations

allows me to escape from being fully implicated in the continuing colonizing narrative that supports this nation of Canada. But acknowledging this relation and tracing its roots through personal narrative and family history may be a first step in the long journey of possibility for decolonizing. I try to lead my students to some understandings arising out of this self-consciousness.

Following my story in which I touch on specific aspects of my life in what we now call Canada, my roots and my relations with Indigenous peoples in a variety of contexts, students then introduce themselves through their own stories. Some make connections to First Nations territories on which they live or have lived and some become aware of what they do not know. Their stories of being Indigenous or of coming to Canada—and their family's stories—are varied and they both historicize and complicate any notions of what it means to be part of a colonized country. What does it mean? For each person, the answer must be taken up in relation to their own coming to or being in this place. Again the simple binary distinctions of colonizer/colonized or Indigenous/immigrant fail to address the range of ways that people are a part of this country. We have stories of how we came to be here: we need to trace those stories and our place in the process of colonization—whether it is as entrepreneur, refugee, Indigenous person, adventurer, or any one of a myriad of possibilities. None of the players in these stories escapes the effects of colonization, but in each case, one takes the time to think through what these effects are and what their significance is. Resonating with current theorizing around Diaspora, I say again, there is nothing simple in any these stories. As Werbner writes of Diasporas,

> Although the experience of exile is, in the first instance, personal and individual, long term diasporas create collective literary genres, symbolic representations, historical narratives of loss and redemption, and practical forms of political alliance and lobbying that are uniquely theirs. They are embodied and perpetuated through communal celebrations and transnational economic and political connections that are often invisible to the wider society (2000, p. 17).

Through acknowledging family trajectories in the class, we have been able to prolong and deepen our discussions of race, colonization, Diaspora, class, gender and decolonization in ways that expand rather than shut down what we have to say to each other. We struggle to talk and listen to one another while never losing sight that no matter what the story, no matter how many generations of people of immigrant or diasporic ancestry have been here, beneath all our feet is land which has existed and does exist first of all in relation to Indigenous people.

This explication of decolonizing autobiographies brings us to the final pedagogical event I want to take up in this article. It arises with one student's engagement with a decolonizing autobiography. In the class, he began to

interrogate not only the diasporic routes—his father's family from China, through Guyana, and his mother from Ireland to Scotland—which took him to Kapuskasing, Ontario, Canada but he also interrogated his relation with and consciousness of (primarily a lack thereof) First Nations people in a town with an Anishinaabe name that means "bend in the river." He followed this trajectory through in a thorough analysis in his thesis and moved successfully to doctoral work. At the University of Louisiana in Baton Rouge, one of the first things he did was to identify a Native American community in the area. After searching the web, he chose this one primarily because their website indicated that the elders were francophone and he is fluently bilingual. He drove there and made some initial contacts that led very quickly to attendance at a band council meeting of the United Houma Nation.[18] His doctoral work, now published,[19] focused on the community, and he began contributing to their existing political struggles as he conducted his work. Having focused on his own decolonizing narrative, he was in a position to listen to and learn from others. In his response to an earlier version of this article, he wrote, "Not until being asked to consider my relationship to the land and the original people who live on it was I able to learn how to listen and therefore learn differently."[20] While his roots in Canada can be distinguished as diasporic, it is his current relationship to the land and Aboriginal peoples which has led him to deepening awareness of the meaning of his diasporic existence.

DECOLONIZING DIASPORA

These three pedagogical events and the courses I teach from which they arise have given me food for thought as I pondered the significance of the notion of diaspora. It remains my conviction that complicating understandings of Diaspora with considerations of lands and Indigenous peoples promises fuller, richer and more complex theory. Such a starting point provides a place for thinking through our relations to one another differently than if we ignore notions of Diaspora and complex comings to North America. I was doing just that in the doctoral class. Too often Diaspora theory ignores the presence of Indigenous peoples who were already in place when the first and the last diasporic peoples were forced or chose to come to a land. Continuing immigration in many countries augments the possibility of perpetuating ignorance as long as the nation fails to posit history in relation to the first peoples of the place. When will a citizenship exam ask whose traditional land one is moving on to as a way to begin to redress the attempted erasures of Indigenous people from the lands? And while it may be clear that every research in the area will not emphasize such a focus, in the same way that race, gender, and class analysis are addressed in some way in current critical scholarship, historicization of lands and the current place of Aboriginal people can come to be part of more thoughtful research. As J. Edward Chamberlin claims in

his recent book, *If this is your land, where are your stories?* it is time to reimagine "them and us," to move beyond simple binaries and complicate ways of thinking about people and places in all their complex relations with each other.

At this point, I return to the notion of Diaspora. Such a proposition—to maintain the visibility of the original peoples of a land—is not made lightly. The trauma of forced dispersal under any circumstances can fill the consciousness of those involved. But to ignore the trauma of those people who have been displaced here to make room, first for the colonizers and then for those who came after under all sorts of the other conditions—from slavery to starvation to war to straightforward immigration for the promise of a "new world"—is to perpetuate what Gayatri Spivak has called "epistemic violence." This violence is deeply ensconced in too much of our knowledge production, as is exemplified within university classrooms and on library shelves. To ignore their displacement is to reinscribe the erasure of Indigenous peoples from the lands and from the histories in ways similar to those of dominant colonizers. I reiterate the question with which we began: In diasporic theory, what does it mean to take seriously not only the land from which one comes, but the land and original people of the place where one arrives? As Werbner has pointed out in relation to current Armenian lobbies in the U.S.—following the establishment of the post-Soviet state of Armenia—"the contemporary Armenian diasporic political battle is a symbolic one: to inscribe Armenian suffering in the collective memory of a world community" (2000, p. 17). While struggles of Indigenous peoples in Canada and the USA are usually much more than a symbolic effort, inscribing the injustices they have experienced for the past 500 years—and their resilience—in the collective memory of North Americans and, preferably, the world is one way to acknowledge and begin to redress the horrors perpetrated and to reimagine all our relations.

NOTES

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NOTES

[1] As always, a comment on terminology related to Indigenous peoples is necessary. The appropriate words are all hot political topics with rapidly changing connotations. At this time, I use the word Indigenous to refer to all peoples who have an articulated spiritual and material connection to a land they and their ancestors have occupied since time immemorial. First Nations refers (now) to a limited Canadian subset of people who associate themselves with the national body, the Assembly of First Nations. Aboriginal is used somewhat exchangeably with Indigenous, with the meaning "out of the original people." Some authors have different interpretations and find the word somewhat offensive. Native American is a generic term for the Indigenous peoples of the United States of America. Specific names of Indigenous nations such as Anishinaabe or Secwepemc are most appropriate as they are the current anglicizations of the words the people have for themselves. They too are in flux. In this case, language is on the move….

[2] Throughout this section, I have used quotation marks to indicate concepts that really do not translate fully from various Aboriginal languages to English. While I realise that this may appear to be something of an obfuscation, it is actually intended to be a marker of the incommensurability of the concepts.

[3] Most scholars have argued that in the early surrenders the Indigenous people were not aware of the full impact of their land cessions. They correctly argue that the Indian cultural perspective considered the land much like the air we breathe—given to all, but not specifically "owned" by anyone.

[4] "For the 5,000 Iroquois refugees who congregated between the Genesee River and the Niagara, the British negotiated with the Mississauga, as they called the Ojibwa on the north shore of Lake Ontario, and purchased land along the Grand River in Upper Canada." (Dickason 1992:186-86)

[5] Interestingly, an Anishinaabe friend Mona Jones of Garden River First Nation referred to the area as a "breadbasket."

[6] There are many annual gatherings of Aboriginal peoples in the area including the Canadian Aboriginal Festival held in November of each year. Of course, many of the Indigenous peoples who gather for the festival do not know the stories of this particular place and what it has given to the people since their creation stories and those that follow tell how they first appeared here.

[7] For one such discussion, see Bonita Lawrence and Enakshi Dua. (2005). Decolonizing Antiracism. Social Justice Vol. 32, No. 4, pps. 120-143.

[8] See Ania Loomba (1998), 3 cf.

[9] James Miller (1996) posits the starting point of residential schools in Canada with the Récollets, an order of the Franciscans, in 1620.

[10] For examples of this work see Haig-Brown (1986); Johnston (1986); Furniss (1992); Knockwood (1992); Jaine (1993) ; Grant (1996); Miller (1996); Chrisjohn and Young (1997); Milloy (1999); Glavin and Former Students of St. Mary's (2002).

[11] Unfortunately, these attitudes persist to the present day particularly for those who feel they have a lot to lose if they recognize the debts owed and the immoral and illegal acts which have provided their secure lifestyles. See (or don't) Sir Albert Howard and Frances Widdowson (2008) Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. More importantly, read reviews by scholars such as Indigenous Governance Professor Taiaiake Alfred and Professor Charles Menzies at http://www.anthroblog.tadmcilwraith.com/2009/01/19/taiaiake-alfreds-review-of-widdowson-and-howards-disrobing/ Accessed February 11, 2009.

[12] It is important to note that there were Europeans who did not fit this characterization. Although they did not step outside the role of contributing to colonization through their particular presence in Indigenous territories, they recognized the richness of Aboriginal languages, the superior values in certain aspects of Indigenous cultural beliefs and practices as well as the injustice of the actions of many of the Europeans who were exploiting the resources and labour of the land and the First

peoples. For more details of some of these individuals, see Celia Haig-Brown and David Nock, eds. (2007). With Good Intentions: EuroCanadian and Aboriginal Relations in Colonial Canada. Vancouver: UBC Press.

[13] Of course, racial minorities is a term with limited currency as the so-called minorities far outnumber people of European ancestry globally and in the near future will outnumber them in many countries which perceive themselves as dominantly "White."

[14] This oversight is fully addressed in Morrison's novel Paradise (1997) with First Nation/Native Americans playing a complex and significant role in the construction of the tensions and characters of the story. It begins in a convent "where Arapaho girls once sat and learned to forget" (Morrison 1997: 4).

[15] Reflexivity insists that researchers take seriously and make explicit their relationship to their work and the people with whom they engage.

[16] Starting from one's own experience in education suggests that teachers take the time to come to know their students' lives and capabilities, to present themselves to the students, and build their lessons and work together around these relationships of knowing.

[17] This example is taken from a conversation with a friend who is the researcher to whom I refer.

[18] I am very grateful to Nicholas Ng-A-Fook for his permission to use this story and for his careful review of an earlier version of this paper.

[19] Nicholas Ng-a-Fook. (2007). An Indigenous Curriculum of Place: The United Houma Nation's Contentious Relationship with Louisiana's Educational Institutions. New York: Peter Lang.

[20] Nicholas Ng-A-Fook. Personal communication. November 2003.

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CHAPTER 7

FORTS, COLONIAL FRONTIER LOGICS, AND ABORIGINAL-CANADIAN RELATIONS: IMAGINING DECOLONIZING EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHIES IN CANADIAN CONTEXTS

The spirit and intent of this chapter is to explore possibilities for decolonizing Aboriginal-Canadian[1] relations in educational contexts, with a specific focus on curricular and pedagogical considerations. It is my view that the significance of colonialism, as a social, cultural, and educative force, has not yet been meaningfully contemplated in Canadian educational contexts. For the most part, the average Canadian citizen comprehends colonialism as something that happened elsewhere, like Africa or Asia, a long time ago.[2] This disposition is symptomatic of a deeply learned habit of disregarding the experiences and memories of Aboriginal peoples of Canada.[3] This habitual disregard of Aboriginal peoples stems from the colonial experience and is perpetuated in the present educational context as a curricular and pedagogical logic of naturalized separation based on the assumption of stark, and ultimately irreconcilable, differences (Donald, 2009a; 2009b). The overriding assumption at work in this logic is that Aboriginal peoples and Canadians inhabit separate realities. The intention is to deny relationality.

One does not need to look very hard to find examples of this disposition. Take the example of the Kétuskéno Declaration (*Nisitohtamohiwewin ohci Kétuskéno*) asserted by the people of the Beaver Lake Cree Nation in May 2008.[4] The Beaver Lake Cree Nation is situated in northeastern Alberta, a region of Canada where oil and gas exploration and exploitation has become intensified in the past decade. The Kétuskéno Declaration asserts the rights and responsibilities that the Beaver Lake people have to their traditional territories, which are also partially recognized through Treaty partnerships and Canadian constitutional commitments. The Declaration articulates the commitment of the Beaver Lake people to oppose any activities that damage the ecological integrity of their traditional territories on behalf of past and future generations of their people. This, of course, means that

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the members of Beaver Lake Cree Nation are directly opposed to the continuation of the destructive practices of oil and gas companies in their traditional lands—a controversial position to take in a part of Canada where colonial frontier mentalities persist.

Read, for example, a statement collected from a "man of the street" interview conducted in Lac La Biche, Alberta (a town near the Beaver Lake Cree Nation Reserve) regarding reaction to the Kétuskéno Declaration:

> As far as I'm concerned, they (the aboriginal people) were given the reserves," he said. "Now they want to take over the province. The ones on the reserves now weren't even here when those treaties were signed...They just want to see what they can get, but they don't survive off hunting the way they used to. This'll hurt them in the end (Babiak, 2009).

This statement articulates a powerful understanding of who the Beaver Lake Cree people are in relation to Canada and Canadians. Embedded within it is a pervasive commonsense logic, predicated on the experience of the open colonial frontier and the concept of *terra nullius*[5] (translated literally as "land belonging to no one"), which holds that market capitalist development is necessary and inevitable**.** The colonized, in this case the Beaver Lake Cree, are perceived to adhere to an outmoded way of living that is incommensurable with the new society that has been developed. They must adapt and conform to the values of the dominant society—assimilate—or suffer the consequences of choosing to be "outside" of it (Dussel, 1995, p. 64; Smith, 2003, pp. 495–496). Anyone who refuses this version of progress is assumed to be against freedom. So, as seen in the statement, the average "man on the street" regards the Kétuskéno Declaration as evidence that Aboriginal peoples cling to the past to their detriment. Treaties, and the rights and responsibilities associated with them, are perceived unambiguously as antiquated and irrelevant to the current Canadian context.

This example lays bare one of the central curricular and pedagogical challenges of decolonizing in the Canadian context: to overcome the powerful influence of colonial frontier logics and contest the assumption that the experiences and perspectives of aboriginal peoples in Canada are their own separate cultural preoccupations. Colonial frontier logics are those epistemological assumptions and presuppositions, derived from the colonial project of dividing the world according to racial and cultural categorizations, which serve to naturalize assumed divides and thus contribute to their social and institutional perpetuation. In settler societies with significant and influential Indigenous populations, such as Canada, the growing involvement and prominence of Indigenous peoples in the public affairs of the nation has made these separations untenable. Indigenous peoples are increasingly asserting notions of historical consciousness, citizenship, and nationhood that are informed by their place-based philosophies and ceremonial

practices in relation to their lands as they know them (Borrows, 2000; Stewart-Harawira, 2005; Turner, 2006; Nakata, 2007). These assertions contest colonial frontier logics by instead emphasizing the relationality and connectivity that comes from living together in a particular place for a long time. The implication here is that colonialism is a shared condition wherein colonizers and colonized come to know each other very well (Nandy, 1983; Fanon, 1966).

In this chapter, I consider the various tensions associated with colonial history in Canada as they are experienced today, and identify the ways in which Aboriginal-Canadian relations have been conceptualized according to logics that descend from colonial experiences and memories. A unifying assumption guiding this approach is that any meaningful consideration of decolonizing as an aspirational goal in the field of education must begin by "working backwards, carefully working out the lineages that brought current conditions into being. Only then can thoughts of 'what is to be done' be meaningful" (Smith, 2006, p. 83). Applied to the topic at issue in this chapter, this approach requires that the process of imagining decolonizing Aboriginal-Canadian relations begins with carefully tracing the colonial nature of those relations—in the past and today—and acknowledging that colonial frontier logics continue to have a tremendous influence on how the relationship is conceptualized. The possibility for decolonizing educational philosophies in Canada can only be realized through confrontation with contentious colonial legacies that continue to bedevil scholars and philosophers today.

Working backwards in these ways, then, I connect colonial frontier logics in Canadian contexts with the prominence of the fort to the Canadian national imaginary**.** The fort is a mythic symbol in Canada of high historical status that recapitulates the perceived civilizational frontier—a kind of cultural ditch—separating Aboriginal from Canadian. In Canada, the fort, as concept and organizing principle of Empire emanating from colonial processes, has taught, and continues to teach, a particular curricular and pedagogical message that reinforces these perceived divides**.** This pedagogy of the fort, as I call it, teaches that these divides are natural and necessary.

After uncovering the complex and mythic dynamics at work in the process of perpetuating the pedagogy of the fort, I dedicate the rest of the chapter to an exploration of certain Indigenous philosophies that trouble colonial frontier logics by emphasizing instead teachings based on a principle called ethical relationality. I present ethical relationality as a decolonizing philosophy inspired by *Kainai*[6] Elders that requires ecological imagination to be enacted and repeatedly renewed. This is a transactional form of imagination that asks us to see ourselves implicated in the lives of others not normally considered relatives. This ethic of connectivity has the potential to inspire a decolonizing movement of Aboriginal-Canadian relations in educational contexts.

FORTS AS MYTHIC SIGNS AT THE HEART OF THE STORY OF CANADIAN NATION AND NATIONALITY

> …it is clear that inherited landscape myths and memories share two common characteristics: their surprising endurance through the centuries and their power to shape institutions that we still live with. National identity…would lose much of its ferocious enchantment without the mystique of a particular landscape tradition: its topography mapped, elaborated and enriched as homeland (Schama, 1995, p. 15).

Fort Edmonton Park is a large historical interpretative site constructed along the banks of the North Saskatchewan River that had been designed to portray the growth of Edmonton, Alberta from fur trade fort to growing city. I spent a summer afternoon touring the site with my family. My memories of the place, derived from a childhood visit perhaps thirty years earlier, were focused on the impressive size of the pointed wooden stakes used to construct the exterior walls of the fort, as well as the height of the four corner towers. I remember peeking through the defensive slit holes of those corner towers and imagining what it was like for people to look at each through a tiny hole in a wall. I was conscious of these memories as we approached the open gates of the fort.

On our way, we encountered a small *Indian*[7] camp occupied by Aboriginal actors presumably playing their ancestors during the height of the fur trade era. There was a grandma making beaded jewelry, a mother sorting through berries, a father fixing snowshoes, some children playing, and a baby resting in a cradleboard propped up against a tipi. The tourists remained silent or spoke in whispers as they stood in the middle of the camp, and only occasionally did someone approach an actor to get a closer look or ask a question. Perhaps they, like me, felt as though they were intruding on the personal lives of this museum family.

We left the camp and entered the fort. While we were touring the numerous buildings, I overheard someone say, "The Indians are dancing outside." Curious, I followed them to a larger *Indian* camp constructed just beyond the walls of a different side of the fort. There were three tipis set up among the trees, two fires burning, some bannock and meat being cooked, singers sitting in a circle around their drum, and Aboriginal people in powwow regalia preparing to dance. Visitors touring the park had left the confines of the fort and were crowding into the limited space to view the activities that were going to take place. I stayed and watched too, mostly because I was fascinated by the problem of making sense of the contrasts arising from the experience of being outside, inside, and then once again outside the walls of the fort. What I had traversed was "a crude social and spatial dichotomy" (Payne and Taylor, 2003, p. 10). In this reconstructed site, the outside was clearly a rudimentary realm—an exhibit peopled by uncivilized *Indians*. Inside was a more industrious place where Other people laboured in the interests of

civilizing a country and building a nation. These civilizational myths on display at Fort Edmonton Park on that day are not unique to that place. Rather, they constitute dominant and recurring threads of Canadian history and what it has meant to be Canadian.[8]

By using the term *myth* in this case, I do not mean to argue that the historical reconstruction that I witnessed at Fort Edmonton Park is false. Nor am I suggesting that a conspiracy plot hatched by EuroCanadian historians attempting to exclude Aboriginal peoples from the official history of the country has duped us all. Instead, I believe that myths are actually truths about culture and conventional views of history that have both been heavily influenced by the stories of Canadian nation and nationality told in schools for many generations. These truth-myths are idealized versions of history that are simplified and made coherent when we select "particular events and institutions which seem to embody important cultural values and elevate them to the status of legend" (Francis, 1997, p. 11). Following the ideas of Roland Barthes, we can say that:

> Myth takes a purely cultural and historical object …and transforms it into a sign of universal value…it turns culture into nature. It is this duplicity of myth, a construct which represents itself as universal and natural, which characterizes its ideological function (in Allen, 2003, pp. 36–37).

This is how versions of history become idealized and mythologized. The important point here is that official versions of history, which begin as cultural and contextual interpretations of events, morph into hegemonic expressions of existing value structures and worldviews of the dominant groups in a society. One basic and foundational Canadian historical truth-myth is that forts were established and maintained in dangerous and wild places by courageous pioneers and adventurers who were working in the interests of building the nation and forging a nationality. In Canada, the wildness of the land and the *Indian* are similarly valued, but there is also much pride in the ways the land was civilized and how civilization was *brought* to the *Indians*. The fort, as a colonial artifact, recapitulates the development myth of the Canadian nation by symbolizing this civilizing process—transplanting a four-cornered version of European development into the heart of the wilderness.

For many generations, Canadians have been subtly taught to celebrate this civilizing process by paying tribute to the fur trading fort (Donald, 2009a). As part of this process, forts have been resurrected and maintained as mythic national symbols and are today ubiquitous structures on the geographical landscape of Canada. One cannot travel very far in Western Canada without encountering either a community that began as a fur trading post or fort, a town or city that still uses the official title of "Fort" in its current name, or an historic site of a Fort re-created as a museum. Forts have become so commonplace—naturalized geographic and

historic sites—that they are typically viewed as innocuous meeting places inscribed on the imagined topography of the mythic West.

Most forts were established at places already made significant by Aboriginal peoples and came to be considered meeting places where partnerships and alliances were fostered and renewed. Later, when the fur trade waned and European immigrants began to flood into western Canada, forts became administrative centers that facilitated the displacement of Aboriginal peoples from their traditional lands. Still later, forts were resurrected as museums and tourist attractions presumably celebrating an unquestioned version of Canadian history. The trouble with current representations of forts as museums and historic sites is that they adhere to the mythologized versions of the Canadian West that effectively cover over the many layers of historical interactions with Aboriginal peoples that brought the place into being, in the first place. I believe that these official versions of Canadian history, and the gradual process of covering over Aboriginal presence and participation, have had significant influence on accepted notions of Canadian citizenship and identity taught in schools—notions that have excluded the perspectives of Aboriginal peoples. This exclusion and covering over has also come to define the terms according to which Aboriginal peoples and Canadians speak to each other about history, memory, and society. Goldie (1995) provides significant insight on this:

> The white Canadian looks at the Indian. The Indian is Other and therefore alien. But the Indian is indigenous and therefore cannot be alien. So the Canadian must be alien. But how can the Canadian be alien within Canada?
>
> There are only two possible answers. The white culture can attempt to incorporate the other, specifically through beaded moccasins and names like Mohawk Motors, or with much more sophistication, through the novels of Rudy Wiebe. Conversely, the white culture may reject the indigene: 'This country really began with the arrival of the whites.' (p. 234)

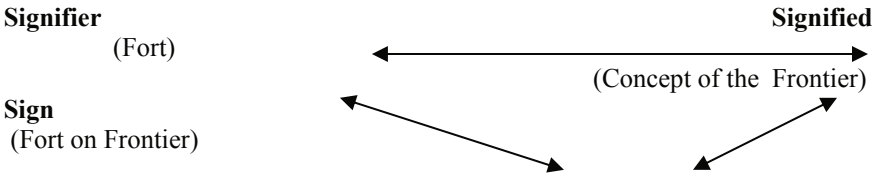
This tale of winners and losers can be reduced to a fairly simple equation denoting a prevalent and largely unquestioned "moral syntax" (McMurtry, 2002, pp. 52–54): *European Global Exploration = Trade = Settlement = Cultural Diffusion = Civilization = Progress = Freedom = Economic Prosperity = Development*. A negative corollary attached to this equation is that any opponents to this "moral syntax" are considered to be against civilization, freedom, economic prosperity, and development, and therefore perceived as enemies who remain locked outside the realm of this version of the good life. As seen in the "man on the street" statement quoted earlier, a prevalent assumption associated with these beliefs is that these enemies are outside the demarcations of what is considered civilized and modern at their own fault, and they will rightly and justly suffer the consequences

of opposing the powerful thrusts of modernization and development (Dussel, 1995, p. 64).

STRUCTURING AND CONCEPTUALIZING FORT AS MYTH

One important task of decolonizing involves the persistent questioning and denaturalization of colonial myths. The symbol of the fort on the mythological Canadian frontier is particularly fecund for this process because the current museum form embodies the spirit of "exhibitionary pedagogy" left over from the era of high colonial engagements (Willinsky, 1998, p. 85). The public can revisit the past at these recreated historic sites and pay homage to the foundational myths of the nation. My personal familiarity with forts-as-museums has fuelled my desire to problematize them as semiotic signs. Reflecting on multiple visits to forts as a tourist, I became aware that, like Barthes (1972), "I resented seeing Nature and History confused at every turn, and I wanted to track down, in the decorative display of what-goes-without-saying, the ideological abuse which, in my view, is hidden there" (p. 11).

Barthes, in *Mythologies* (1972), builds on the semiology of Saussure to articulate a semiological structure for myth as a way to "bring myth to order, to read it and therefore to provide the basis for a viable critique" (Allen, 2003, p. 45). Saussure imagined a science that would be able to read systematically all human sign systems other than those found in linguistic sign systems. For Saussure, a sign is the product of an arbitrary, conventionalized, and institutionalized relationship between a signifier and a signified (p. 40). The signifier and the signified, then, come together to produce the sign. In this semiotic structure, the signifier is the "acoustic or graphic element" and the signified is the "mental concept conventionally associated with it" (Rylance, 1994, p. 35). To demonstrate, consider this Barthesian first-order semiological system (Barthes, 1972, p. 115) applied to the fort:



In this example, the signifier of the fort connotes the typical visual or graphic portrayal of forts—how they are imagined. This imagined fort depends on prior experience with forts in that we know how they are supposed to look, in an archetypal way. In the context of Western Canada, this signifier "fort" conjures in

many minds the signified concept of the frontier. Forts and fortresses are built to assert sovereignty over an area or people, to physically separate insiders from outsiders, and to provide surveillance over a border area. Therefore, forts are typically built in these overlapping, contested, and emergent areas we call frontiers. Finally, when signifier and signified come together as sign, the predominant image conjured is this imagined fort situated at its *natural place* on the frontier. The fort and the frontier, then, have a deep semiotic and symbolic association.

Barthes' key contribution to our understandings of mythologies comes through his theoretical tracing of the ways in which first-order semiological systems get co-opted by second-order semiological or myth-producing systems.

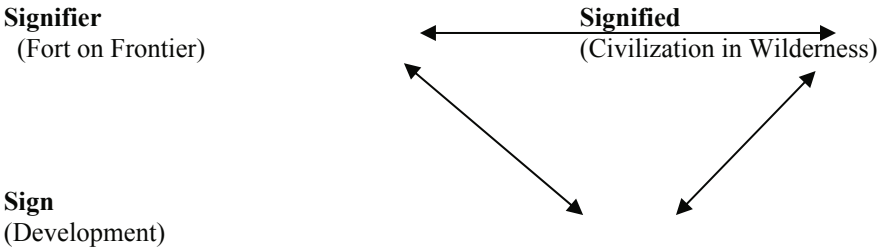
> Myth acts on already existent signs, whether they be written statements or texts, photographs, films, music, buildings, or garments… Mythology takes this sign and turns it into a signifier for a new signified, a new concept (Allen, 2003, pp. 42–43).

Myth, then, transforms first-order meanings into second-order meanings. This transformation occurs as a result of the function of myth as an appropriative force. The myths on which a society's values and institutions are founded weigh heavily on the consciousness of its citizens, thereby motivating them to interpret and assimilate signs and symbols in ways that ensure their alignment with the mythic stories supporting their society. The significance of signs and symbols is seen in how these can reinforce adherence to foundational myths. Thus, Barthes' second-order semiological system does not work to deny, ignore, misinform, or mislead. Instead, it co-opts the first-order sign to confirm the stories that the dominant society tells itself.

> Myth does not deny things, on the contrary, its function is to talk about them; simply, it purifies them, it makes them innocent, it gives them a natural and eternal justification, it gives them a clarity which is not that of an explanation but that of statement of fact (Barthes, 1972, p. 143).

Myth, as metalanguage, is shaped by a desire to speak about first-order signs and symbols in ways that enable it to transform history into nature (p. 129). However, Barthes reminds us that the first-order meaning is not completely forgotten. When criticism arises, myth can be withdrawn and attention can be shifted to the sign as simply an artifact in a literal or material sense. So, for example, one might argue that the fort is a symbol of colonialism deeply connected to foundational myths of Eurowestern society while another could respond that the fort is *just* a building constructed to meet the practical needs of people who lived in the past. This ability of the signifier of myth to operate on two levels makes it difficult to criticize. "This is precisely why myth is so important to the perpetuation and dissemination of bourgeois ideology" (Allen, 2003, p. 44).

Applying Barthes ideas to this example requires an articulation of the process through which a first-order sign is co-opted by a second-order myth-making semiological system. Recall that the previous diagram depicting a first-order semiological system produced a sign termed "Fort on Frontier.' In the process of transforming this sign into the domain of mythology, then, an adaptation of Barthes' second-order semiological system looks like this:



Barthes (1972) argues that myth raises the sign produced from the first-order semiological system (shown in the previous diagram) to a second-order level, turning that sign into a new signifier for a new signified and thus a new "mythologized" sign (pp. 114–115). This indicates that the myths of a society work on first-order signs by means of appropriation, adapting the original significance of the sign so that it agrees with the myths the society holds as natural and true. Consider, then, that the first-order sign "Fort on Frontier" conjures images of a typical fort established on a perceived frontier. In light of the developmental myth of the West, however, the sign "Fort on Frontier" acquires deeper mythological significance. This appropriated first-order sign, now as second-order signifier, becomes symbolic of the process through which wild lands were civilized through European exploration, takeover, and settlement. The signified "Civilization in Wilderness" locates the conceptual place that the fort occupies in the mythological landscape of the colonial imaginary. The myth of Civilization, serving as an organizing and rallying point for modernity, is posted on the terrain in the form of the fort. The "Fort on Frontier" signifies the material manifestation of this process. In this example, building a fort on contested lands is a sovereign act motivated by the myth of modernity—a myth founded on the belief that Eurocentric versions of progress and development bring benefits to all (Dussel, 1995, p. 64).

The key point here is that the fort, seen through the lens of myth, symbolizes, and is a sign, of the civilization and development of Canada. The image and place of the fort in Canadian history becomes naturalized and universally acknowledged as a sign of civilizing European influences in an area formerly controlled by uncivilized *Indians*. The fort, then, is a mythic sign that initiates, substantiates and, through its density, hides the teleological story of the development of the nation. These powerful myths and memories comprise the inherited landscape mapped in

the topography of homeland. They have long lasting influence through the centuries and shape the character of the institutions we choose to establish, maintain, and conventionalize (Schama, 1995, p. 15). These myths and memories, idealized as truths, become part of official programs of study and find expression in the form of curricular outcomes, goals, and objectives. Such curriculum common-sensibilities play themselves out in day-to-day pedagogical interactions between teachers and students.

THE PEDAGOGY[9] OF THE FORT

When I argue that the fort is a mythic sign that signifies colonial frontier thinking—the spatial, metaphorical, literal, developmental, and civilizational separateness of Aboriginal peoples and Canadians—I assume that unequal power relations, hegemony, and ideology are at work (Gramsci, 1971, pp. 233–238). Myth teaches us in symbolic syntax that the walls of the fort are impermeable. With reference to the specific context of colonial history in Canada, as it has been interpreted by historians for many years, forts teach that there is a necessary gulf separating the civilized from the uncivilized. Inside the fort were civilized and industrious people working in the interest of building a new nation from *terra nullius*. The uncivilized *Indians* living outside the walls of the fort were unable to comprehend the changes brought to their lands and quickly got in the way of this vision of progress. Thus, the historical significance of forts has been interpreted based on this assumption that the Christianizing and civilizing impetus justifying EuroCanadian settlement was an inevitable result of superior peoples asserting their rightful claim to virgin lands occupied by primitive peoples. This teleological vision, akin to the doctrine of Manifest Destiny, requires that all peoples and events encountered conform to meet the needs of the story being told of nation and nationality. That vision, in this case, is ongoing economic development and progressive improvements in quality of life perceived as derived from God-given license and universalized democratic principles.

The history of Canada has mostly been taught according to this teleological dream and the fort has become a mythic sign deeply embedded within this dream. This teleology has morphed into a national ideology that has shaped the institutions and conventions of Canadian society and operates according to an assumption of Aboriginal peoples as *outside* accepted versions of nation and nationality. More to the point, the high historical status given to the fort in Canadian history has been telescoped to the present context as a socio-spatial organizer of peoples and cultures that delimits *and* explains difference as irreconcilable. This, then, is the pedagogy of the fort (Donald, 2009a).

The mythic character of the fort teaches us a troubling version of human relationality that operationalizes itself as a drive to incorporate and overcome

difference. Fort pedagogy works according to an insistence that outsiders must be either incorporated—brought inside to become like the insiders—or excluded in order for progress and development to take place in the necessary ways. These fort teachings and their educational implications cannot be understood in isolation from the colonial takeover process and Eurowestern notions of civilization and development that descend from imperial capitalist ventures. The unquestioned authoritativeness of the mythic fort, as colonial organizing principle, teaches that Aboriginal peoples and their knowledge systems must be either assimilated or eliminated. The strange difference of Indigenousness is thus rendered incomprehensible to Canadian citizenship because it cannot be reconciled with the teleological dream of nation and nationality that has been propagated in schools for many generations (Donald, 2009b).

Schools and curricula in Canada are largely predicated on this fort pedagogy and have both served to enforce epistemological and social conformity to Eurowestern standards established and presumably held in common by *insiders*. *Outsiders* and their knowledges have been actively excluded from meaningful participation in Canadian public educational institutions. The purpose of the fort, like the university, school, classroom, or curriculum document, is received as an institutional *fait accompli* wherein significance and relevance is already decided. Possibilities for meaningful consideration of Aboriginal perspectives and knowledge systems in educational settings are discounted from the outset. This is why many educators today still view the idea of Aboriginal curriculum perspectives as a strange aberration that works at cross purposes—mixing insider notions of education with outsider cultural beliefs and practices (Donald, 2009b)**.**

Provincial educational jurisdictions across Canada have recently implemented curricular initiatives that focus on re-imagining the contributions that Aboriginal peoples, their experiences and memories, and their knowledge systems can make to Canadian society.[10] This challenge to re-imagine Aboriginal-Canadian relations requires an acknowledgement of Aboriginal presence and participation in the past, present, and future of the place now called Canada. Such acknowledgements suggest the possibility for movement toward renewed and decolonized relations. However, on what terms should this movement occur? In curricular terms, the tipis and costumes approach has been tried for many years, but leaves teachers and students with the unfortunate impression that the *Indians* have not done much since the buffalo were killed off. Attempts at the so-called *inclusion* of Aboriginal perspectives have usually meant that an anachronistic study of Aboriginal peoples is offered as a possibility in classrooms only if there is time and people are still interested. More recently, Aboriginal educators have forwarded curricular initiatives specifically designed for Aboriginal students that focus on the revitalization of Aboriginal cultures and languages. Despite some successes with

these initiatives, I note that colonial frontier logics are recapitulated in curricular forms, and a troubling form of civilizational separation is maintained. The prevailing curricular and pedagogical assumption at work here is that Aboriginal issues, perspectives, and knowledge systems are only relevant to Aboriginal students. What is needed is a decolonizing form of curriculum theorizing that troubles the pedagogy of the fort by reconceptualizing Aboriginal-Canadian relations in more ethically relational ways.

ETHICAL RELATIONALITY AS A DECOLONIZING PHILOSOPHY

If colonialism is indeed a shared condition, then decolonizing needs to be a shared endeavour. The process of decolonizing in Canada, on a broad scale and especially in educational contexts, can only occur when Aboriginal peoples and Canadians face each other across deeply learned divides, revisit and deconstruct their shared past, and engage carefully with the realization that their present and future is similarly tied together. What are required are curricular and pedagogical engagements that traverse the divides of the past and present. Such work must contest the denial of relationality by asserting that perceived civilizational frontiers are actually permeable and that perspectives on history, memory, and experience are connected and interreferential. The central challenge, then, is to pay closer attention to the multiple ways our human sense of living together is constructed through the minutiae of day-to-day events, through the stories and interactions which always are imbued with an organic principle of reciprocity, and hence ethical responsibility for a shared future. There is much at stake in working this out. After all, as *Kainai* Elder Andy Blackwater advises, our tipis are all held down by the same pegs now (Blood & Chambers, 2008).

So, in light of the divisiveness taught through colonial frontier logics and fort pedagogy, which curricular and pedagogical commitments offer the most hopeful possibilities for decolonizing Aboriginal-Canadian relations? My response to this challenge grows from my interactions with *Kainai* Elders who have repeatedly reminded me that teaching is a responsibility and an act of kindness viewed as movement towards connectivity and relationality. Through the reciprocal process of teaching and learning, we move closer together. This movement has resonances with ecological understandings of the world that are antithetical to the teleologics currently shaping the habits and priorities of *Homo Oeconomicus*.[11] Universalized market logics that seemingly justify intensified resource exploitation (as voiced by the "man on the street" in Lac La Biche) and voracious consumerism are indeed intimately connected to the violence—epistemic, institutional, and otherwise—that has been committed in accordance with fort pedagogy. It is the denial of connectivity that allows such violence and exploitation to continue. We require a

new or renewed ethical framework that clarifies the terms by which we can speak to each other on these pressing issues of shared concern.

Inspired by the teachings shared by *Kainai* Elders, I have conceptualized a decolonizing curricular and pedagogical principle called ethical relationality. Ethical relationality is an ecological understanding of human relationality that does not deny difference, but rather seeks to understand more deeply how our different histories and experiences position us in relation to each other. I use the term "ecological" in association with this concept of human relationality to draw attention to the complex interrelationships that comprise the world as it is understood in Blackfoot wisdom traditions. Ecology, in this case, does not refer to concerns about the natural environment[12] separate from the lives of humans. Rather, humans are seen as intimately enmeshed in webs of relationships with each other and with the other entities that inhabit the world. We depend on these relationships for our survival. This insight finds expression through philosophical emphasis on the need to honour and repeatedly renew our relations with those entities that give and sustain life.

Importantly, however, ecological relationality should not be interpreted as a universalized philosophy emphasizing "sameness" (Cooper, 2004, p. 25). This form of relationality is instead an ethical stance that requires attentiveness to the responsibilities that come with a declaration of being in relation. It means that there is something at stake in saying so beyond postmodernism, new age spiritualism, or "playing nice." So, for example, when the *Kainai* people explain their place in the world, they talk about how the Creator has gifted them with their land, language, culture, ceremonies, resources, stories, and knowledge systems and how their individual and collective responsibility is to honour these gifts by using them in their daily lives (Donald, 2003, p. 102). The *Kainai* people believe that all people have been similarly gifted by the Creator and that those gifts are specific to particular places in the world. A temporary balance is achieved when these place-based gifts are honoured and used by the people who were gifted them. This does not mean that peoples and cultures should be closed to each other and that sharing between them should be discouraged. There is recognition that there is value in visiting other places and learning from the people that live there. However, there is a clear understanding that the *Kainai* people have a deep relationship to their particular place in the world and they avoid making claims to sovereignty beyond that. They would never consider going to another place and telling the people there how to do things. Those that do so act with bad manners and forget their relations.

Thus, these philosophical principles emphasize that relationality is not just a simple recognition of shared humanity that looks to celebrate our sameness rather than difference. Rather, this form of relationality carefully attends to the particular historical, cultural, and social contexts from which a person or community

understands and interprets the world. It puts these considerations at the forefront of engagements across frontiers of difference. This concept of relationality instantiates an ethical imperative to acknowledge and honour the significance of the relationships we have with others, how our histories and experiences position us in relation to each other, and how our futures as people in the world are tied together. It is also an ethical imperative to see that, despite our varied place-based cultures and knowledge systems, we live in the world together with others and must constantly think and act with reference to these relationships. Any knowledge we gain about the world interweaves us more complexly with these relationships and gives us life.

Balance and reciprocity are key principles here. Balance, in this context, is understood in association with actions or movements taken with respect to relationships that give life. A temporary balance can be achieved when that which gives life is given life in return. One way to achieve balance in this way is to make respectful use of all the gifts that we have been given and then give back in some way. This specific form of relationality is based on the ethical imperative to acknowledge that all that we have been given and all that we are involves taking from our ecological relations—the air, the water, the sky, the sun, the moon, the stars, the earth, the animals, the language, the culture, the people, the past. Since we are enmeshed in these relationships, we are complicit in the taking and must also participate in the giving. By acting in reciprocal ways, we simultaneously take life and give life. Thus, balance and reciprocity in the world are constantly renewed or neglected based on the actions we take with respect to our relations. Things get out of balance when we forget our relations and act with disregard for them. This is why the Blackfoot term for reciprocity or making amends—*aatsimihka'ssin*—refers to the ethical imperative to act in a sacred way (Akayokaki, 2008). The philosophical emphasis here is on the Blackfoot concept *ainna'kootsiiyo'p* or mutual respect (Kumar, 2008). The unifying lesson taught through these Blackfoot concepts is that an ethical balance is temporarily achieved when we give and take with respectful acknowledgement of the relationships that we depend upon for our survival. Such action fosters the enactment of ethical relationality.

A commitment to ethical relationality is necessary to facilitate decolonizing processes in Canadian educational contexts because it encourages a dynamic balance between connectivity and the critical need to recognize and respect difference. The challenge here is to imagine how we are simultaneously different and related. A further challenge is to hold this paradox in tension without the need to resolve it and, in doing so, resist the logic of assimilation and elimination. At issue here is resistance to the very same "either/or" philosophical frameworks manifest in colonial frontier logics and fort pedagogy. The dutiful dedication of much academic thought to the theorization of stark difference has resulted in a

preoccupation with organizing knowledge according to irreconcilable polar opposites. However, dividing the world according to polar opposites can promote a very constrained way of thinking. When we must choose between one or the other, what is discounted is complex "simultaneity," or the possibility that a being (entity) or phenomenon can embody both extremes, and points in-between, all at the same time (Davis and Sumara, 2006, p. 153). The complex ways in which this simultaneity finds expression in the world belies the supposition of "either/or." Instead of fortifying oneself in a polarized position, the concept of simultaneity encourages us to imagine a synergy of the extremes.[13]

Argentine philosopher Enrique Dussel has called for a transmodern movement founded on the desire to transgress this "either/or" trap through the assertion of "a new way of living in relation to Others" (Goizueta, 2000, p. 189). Transmodernity, as described by Dussel (1993), is a project of liberation founded on the principle of "incorporative solidarity" that refers to the process through which established oppositional categorizations like primitive/civilized, colonizer/colonized, center/periphery, settler/Indigenous, Aboriginal/Canadian, and insider/outsider are recognized as intimately and mutually co-dependent, yet also ambiguous and contradictory, dualities that can be held in irresolvable tension (p. 76). Like Dussel (1995) and Turnbull (2005), I view the paradoxical tensions associated with complex relationality as potential generative sources of creativity that support the emergence of new knowledges and insights. However, this creative potentiality is latent and only emerges as organic when entities, worldviews, and knowledge systems perceived as oppositional are held together, side by side, and in relation to each other. When connections and differences are acknowledged simultaneously, then a relational tension arises based on how the entities, worldviews and knowledge systems are perceived to interface[14] with one another. The organic tension that arises from such contact is a necessary part of any meaningful movement towards decolonizing.

One possible way to imagine this organic tension in motion is through attentiveness to a form of simultaneity called "ethical space" by Cree scholar Willie Ermine (2007). Ermine understands ethics as "our basic capacity to know what harms or enhances the well-being of sentient creatures" (p. 195). Ethics concerns our basic humanity and our cherished notions of good, responsibility, duty, and obligation. Ethics constitutes the framework of cultural boundaries that we recognize and respect as part of our daily lives. For Ermine, ethical space is the area between two entities, the points of contact that entangle and enmesh. Imagine that the two entities are Aboriginal and Canadian. Ethical space is a space of possibility—it speaks in the language of possibility—but it can only be created when it is affirmed that there are two different entities, worldviews, and knowledge systems engaging. Once the existence of that other entity is affirmed, then ethical space emerges as a possibility. Thus, the idea of an "ethical space of engagement"

entertains the possibility of a meeting place. The space, as meeting place, offers a venue to stretch beyond the limits of our received allegiances, detach from the circumscriptive limits of colonial frontier logics and fort pedagogy, and enact an ethical theory of human relationality.

To do so, however, requires an ethical desire to defy colonial frontier logics and interface with those who are outside of one's own identifiable group. This requires ecological imagination or the ability to see oneself related to and implicated in the lives of others. It also requires a much more public form of memory founded on the possibility of a "transactional sphere" wherein relationality (beyond "biology, tribal traditions, or national histories") is realized via the "points of connection" arising from remembering together (Simon, 2000, p. 63) The curricular and pedagogical power of this transactional concept of public memory is eloquently articulated by Roger Simon (2000):

> …memory may become *transactional,* enacting a claim on us, providing accounts of the past that may wound or haunt—that may interrupt one's self-sufficiency by claiming attentiveness to an otherness that cannot be reduced to a version of our own stories. Such an interruption underscores the potential radical pedagogical authority of memory, in that it may make apparent the insufficiency of the present, its (and our own) incompleteness, the inadequacy of our experience, the requirement that we revise not only our own stories but the very presumptions that regulate their coherence and intelligibility. On such terms a transactive memory has the potential to expand that ensemble of people who count for us, who we encounter, not merely as strangers (perhaps deserving pity and compassion, but in the end having little or nothing to do with us), but as 'teachers,' people who in telling their stories change our own (p. 198).

In concert with this vision, then, as well as the commonly heard Aboriginal spiritual invocation "*All My Relations,*" I assert relationality as an ethical curricular and pedagogic position from which to interpret the conflictual cultural terrain wrought by the colonial processes in Canada and publicly engage with the tensions that arise there. Resisting the temptation to frame Aboriginal-Canadian relations according to colonial frontier logics is the first step towards decolonizing.

CONCLUSION

Ethical relationality describes a curricular and pedagogical vision for an historicized and decolonial reframing of Aboriginal-Canadian relations that places *Kainai* philosophies and wisdom traditions at the forefront as guiding ethical principles. Emphasis on Indigenous philosophies is necessary because, until quite recently, Canadians have generally practiced an *un*ethical form of relationality with

Aboriginal peoples directed towards benevolent incorporation within Canadian nationality and citizenship. Canadians have tried to bring *their Indians* in from the wilderness. This form of relationality is unethical, and rooted in colonial frontier logics and fort pedagogy, because it fails to support the organic continuance of Indigenous ways. It seeks to eliminate them. Ethical relationality, then, is an ecological curricular and pedagogical imperative that calls for more ethical understandings of Aboriginal-Canadian relations. Sustained attentiveness to Aboriginal-Canadian relations and willingness to hold differing philosophies and worldviews in tension creates the possibility for more meaningful talk on shared educational interests and initiatives. This organic tension provides potential apertures of creativity that can be simultaneously life-giving and life-sustaining for us all.

NOTES

[1] The different identity labels used in this chapter were chosen after much deliberation. The term 'Aboriginal' is meant to refer to all people living in Canada who are of Aboriginal descent and identify themselves as such. Since the term 'Aboriginal' has legal and constitutional connotations in the Canadian context, I use it when making general references to issues that include Canadians and Canadian society. I use the term 'Indigenous' when referring to peoples and communities around the world (including Aboriginal peoples living in the place now called Canada) who have lived in particular locations for a very long time and have a collective storied memory of the meaning and significance of their existence in that place. 'Canadian' is meant to denote those people living in Canada who are not Aboriginal, mostly Euro-Canadians, but also people from all over the world who have come to live in Canada. For the purposes of discussions like this, it is necessary to label different groups according to descent and genealogy, but I am also mindful of the ways that such labels are legacies of colonialism and separate and categorize people. In using these labels, I wish to acknowledge that people come from diverse contexts, and their experiences and frames of reference have much to do with how they participate in discussions such as the one being framed in this chapter. These contexts, experiences, and frames of reference often overlap. Aboriginal people can obviously also be considered Canadian, though being Canadian is often only a circumstantial concern. Indigenous connections to place and community are usually considered more important than allegiances to the Canadian nation.

[2] This generalization stems largely from work with preservice and practicing teachers in Alberta since 2003 and observations of Canadian cultural dispositions today. Evidence of this disposition was starkly revealed in a statement made by Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper at the G20 Summit in Pittsburgh on September 25, 2009 when he stated that Canada has "no history of colonialism" (Ljunggren, 2009). It is also informed by Mackey's (2002) notion of the *Canadian*-Canadian.

[3] See Barker (2009) for more on the persistence of imperial and colonial mentalities in Canada today.

[4] To view the declaration, visit the Beaver Lake Cree Nation website at: http://beaverlakecreenation.ca/

[5] "Perhaps the fundamental characteristic of imperial sovereignty is that *its space is always open*…The North American terrain can be imagined as empty only by ignoring the existence of the Native Americans—or really conceiving them as a different order of human being, as subhuman, part of the natural environment. Just as the land must be cleared of trees and rocks in order to farm

it, so too the terrain must be cleared of the native inhabitants" (Hardt and Negri, 2000, pp. 167; 169-170, italics in original).

[6] The *Kainai* people are members of the Blackfoot Confederacy. Their community, commonly referred to as the Blood Reserve, is located in southwestern Alberta.

[7] I use this term purposefully. My intent is to draw attention to the tensions associated with the use of the term *Indian* today. These tensions are deeply rooted in the colonial takeover processes inflicted on Aboriginal peoples which were largely informed by the idea of the Imaginary *Indian* as a generic social and cultural icon, frozen in time, and incapable of adjusting to change (Francis, 1992). Although the concept of *Indian* has been revealed as a misnomer disrespectful of Aboriginal history, tradition, and subjectivity, it still has surprisingly powerful cultural connotations in Canada today. I use *Indian* in this chapter to acknowledge these ongoing tensions salient at places like forts that have been recreated as museums.

[8] Peers (1995) has noted that virtually all major historic fur trade sites in Canada replicate this pattern of displaying Aboriginal peoples and Europeans on opposite sides of the palisades. "Interpretation at all reconstructions currently depicts a social and racial gulf between Europeans and Native peoples that denies the extraordinarily cross-cultural nature of the trade. Such separations reinforce the old dichotomy between the related concepts of European-civilization-history and Native-savagery-wilderness that is at the root of so much North American historical writing" (p. 108).

[9] I am aware that this phraseology suggests affiliations with Freirean notions of pedagogy now most closely associated with critical theory and emancipatory pedagogical methods. While the naming of fort pedagogy has been influenced by this work, it is not my intention to prescribe a method for overcoming colonial frontier logics, but rather to critically examine the stories and teachings of the fort as curricular and pedagogical concerns from the standpoint of an Aboriginal interpreter and relate these to stories told in school. Considered in this way, curriculum and pedagogy are enacted through the stories we tell children about the world and their place in it in relation to others. Curriculum and pedagogy are thus seen as united, one implies the other in terms of our relationships with the young.

[10] For some examples of these initiatives across subject areas and grades, consult programs of study accessible via these provincial education websites: Alberta (http://education.alberta.ca/teachers/program.aspx), British Columbia (http://www.bced.gov.bc.ca/irp/irp_sci.htm), Saskatchewan (http://www.education.gov.sk.ca/curr-rsces), and Manitoba (http://www.edu.gov.mb.ca/k12/cur/index.html).

[11] *Homo Oeconomicus* (Economic Human) is a suggested evolutionary stage of human development that theorizes human beings as primarily motivated by the individual pursuit of material wealth based on rational, opportunistic, and calculating propensities (Faber, Petersen & Schiller, 2002, p. 324).

[12] Davis (2004) points out that the term environment (>from O.Fr. *en*, to place inside + *viron,* circle) describes the separation and enclosure of natural settings from each other and the organisms that inhabit them, not the relationships and interconnections they have (p. 103). This tendency to conflate ecology with environmentalism likely stems with the extensive anthropocentric training we have received in schools to separate and differentiate ourselves as humans from the natural systems that we depend upon for our survival and prosperity. As we have seen, the pedagogy of the fort is a particularly virulent human form of this separation and differentiation that presents such divides as natural and necessary.

[13] This view resonates well with Cree and Blackfoot wisdom traditions that recognize dichotomies as the contradictory nature of existence and teach this through the so-called Trickster stories. Building on the teachings of these stories, old people speak of dualities like, say, good and evil, in terms of fluxic movement between the two extremes and acting to create a (temporary) balance. What this means is that nothing is inherently good or evil, right or wrong, open or closed, the same or different. The world is viewed as full of dynamically complex dichotomies that manifest themselves

in various forms contemporaneously. The important lesson derived from this realization is that one side of the binary does not operate in isolation and exclusion from the other. Both entities exist simultaneously and in relation to each other.

[14] This notion of interface is based on Nakata's (2002) notion of Cultural Interface. Nakata, an Australian Aboriginal scholar, is concerned with how Indigenous ways intersect with Eurowestern ways at the Cultural Interface:

> "This notion of the Cultural Interface as a place of constant tension and negotiation of different interests and systems of knowledge means that both must be reflected upon and interrogated. It is not simply about opposing the knowledges that compete and conflict with traditional ones. It is also about seeing what conditions the convergence of all these and of examining and interrogating all knowledge and practices associated with issues so that we take a responsible but self-interested course in relation to our future practice…so that our own corpus of knowledge, derived within our own historical trajectory and sets of interests, keeps expanding and responding to that which impacts our daily life and practice." (p. 286)

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CHAPTER 8

THE PROBLEM OF FEAR ENHANCING INACCURACIES OF REPRESENTATION: MUSLIM MALE YOUTHS AND WESTERN MEDIA

BACKGROUND

Our research team has been involved in an ongoing project with teachers in urban areas in Southern Ontario examining issues that relate to equity in school curriculum (Mogadime, 2005a)[1]. During the spring of 2006, our team observed a world issues high school educator, of South Asian Muslim descent, who teaches a Grade 12 university preparatory academic course. The class was comprised of largely immigrant students of diverse cultural, language and religious backgrounds. The curriculum was enacted as a site for critiquing world issues such as HIV/Aids in Africa, euthanasia and the elderly, cruelty to animals, overpopulation, war and peace in the Mid-East, etc. There we witnessed youths, some of whom were Muslim, engaged in critical dialogue in an environment that validated their opinions and challenged "common sense" assumptions about Muslim youth as "violent," "alienated" and disengaged from school and society. We interviewed one eighteen-year-old youth, Khalid Khan, whose border crossing identity contradicts essentialist notions about "all Muslim male youths" as the monolithic, jihad fundamentalists.

We became troubled by the barrage of newsprint and media that propagated stereotypes of Muslim youth on one hand while we were witnessing youth and the individual's notions of identity as fluid and changing within a global landscape with the other. As socially conscious researchers, we felt it necessary for us to respond by problematizing discourses that re-impose a "fixed" identity among Muslim youth especially as these incite fears of Muslim youth as "the dangerous other." Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) provides a useful lens to critique such

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questions as: How does the popular press reproduce problematic perceptions of Muslim youths? Whose interests do such fears serve? Whom do they harm? Why do the media insist Muslim youth (with its diversity across geographical spaces and nations) personify a monolithic identity? We used the descriptors: 'Muslim, youth and alienation' to conduct a database search of the popular press. Our intention was to come to an understanding of how these common descriptors used by the print media represent the text, talk and discourse that persuade popular thinking about Muslim male youths.

RESEARCHER LOCATIONALITY

Critical reflexivity in qualitative research methods demands that researchers identify why they have come to examine a particular issue or phenomenon. Moreover, it expects that one's research will attempt emancipatory ends in terms of those who are involved in their studies. We each come to the present critical discourse analysis (CDA) having professional backgrounds from interdisciplinary contexts. Alexis Scott's work on gender (and women's studies), Sherry Ramrattan Smith's (Aoki-Barrett, Peer, Ramrattan Smith & Rodriguez, 1999) on equity and social justice, and Dolana Mogadime's (2005a) school based research on equity integrate to produce a deep concern for the experiences of the marginalized in the school system. Further, our identities are complex and transcend cultural, monolithic racial boundaries. Previous research on CDA in relation to equity policies such as employment equity from international contexts (Mogadime, 2005b) meant we felt compelled as intellectuals to make a contribution to critiquing the problem of belief manipulation and the manufacturing of consent among the media in relation to Muslim youths who are male.

Theoretical framework: CDA and Critical Race Theory

Van Dijk (1993) insists that "a systematic discourse analysis of the genres or communicative events that play a role in the reproduction of racism, such as everyday conversations, novels, films, textbooks, lessons, laws….or any other discourse genre that may be about ethnic groups and ethnic relations"(p. 28) is of central importance. He describes such undertakings as interdisciplinary. In this paper, we are interested in the aspects highlighted by van Dijk that relate to the social, cultural and cognitive contexts embedded in news discourse. We pay particular attention to the social cognition, argumentation and belief manipulation that manufactures a monolithic interpretation of Muslim youth males.

Methodology for Gathering and Analyzing a Sample of Newsprint Coverage

We conducted a database search of current news using the "Lexus Nexus" university library search engine and the descriptors "Muslim and youth and alienation." The search produced 653 results. Among these were newsprint articles, commentary, letters, and editorial pieces. Further radio and television interviews that had been transcribed were also included. Out of these, 100 articles were randomly chosen. A sampling of the sources was then randomly chosen for content analysis. These articles were specifically read in order to identify recurring themes. Nine emerging themes (and myths) were identified about Muslims in the popular press, as follows:

- Muslims as "the dangerous other"
- The problem of "home-grown" Muslim terrorists
- Universities are recruiting grounds for terrorists/discrimination at school leads to alienation
- Mosques are recruiting grounds for terrorists
- Muslim community responsible for preventing extremism and/ or (parents/mosque/school)
- Muslims are a threat to the western way of life
- Muslim religion, not political or socioeconomic factors, cause extremism and terrorism
- Political or socioeconomic factors, cause extremism and terrorism
- Discrimination at school leads to alienation

These myths occurred within a background of historical events which have now been propagated as indications of the "clash of civilizations" between the Western world and Islamic world:

- Britain: The 'plot to blow up 10 U.S. – bound jetliners'; July 7, 2005 three young Muslim men (aged 18, 19, 22) along with 30 year old leader, detonate bombs on three London underground trains and a bus killing 52 and injuring over 700
- Canada: 'Arrests in an alleged terrorist plot involving five suspects younger than 18'
- USA: Muslim terrorists crash two hi-jacked commercial airliners into the World Trade Center, New York. A third hi-jacked airliner crashes into the Pentagon, while a fourth crashed in rural Pennsylvania on September 11, 2001.
- Spain: March 11, 2004, coordinated attacks on Madrid commuter transportation system leading to 191 deaths, 2050 injuries. Controversy around responsibility, though the Spanish judiciary assign blame on a loose group of Moroccan, Syrian and Algerian Muslims.

Examples of how themes were developed from the articles are seen in the table below.

Los Angeles Times (August 16, 2006) HEADLINE: The World; Seeds of Islamic Militancy Find Fertile Soil in Britain; Campuses, mosques and community centers are gateways for jihadists to reach alienated **youth**	Enemy within ("dangerous other")
Los Angeles Times (August 16, 2006) The large numbers of **Muslims** of South Asian descent plays a role in the amount of homegrown militants in this nation.	Threat of "home grown" Muslim terrorists
The Washington Times (August 16, 2006) Particularly Britain's university campuses are fertile recruiting grounds for terrorist cells. Among the 24 detained in the airline plot was a chemistry student at London Metropolitan University. Five of the suspects had been to bomb-making training grounds in Pakistan, where they had watched "martyrdom videos."	Universities are recruiting grounds for terrorists
The Washington Times August 16, 2006) If the terrorist plot involving young **Muslim** Britons to blow up nine airliners with liquid explosives were not enough to spark some rethinking here in Britain among the **Muslim** community about their own role and responsibilities, it is hard to see what would be.	Muslim community responsible for preventing extremism and/ or (parents/mosque/school)
The Ottawa Sun (August 12, 2006) Young Muslims seem to have been indoctrinated into believing that their religion is under threat. On the contrary, Western countries in general and Canada in particular are known to bend over backward to protect the rights of minorities.	Muslim religion, not political or socioeconomic factors, cause extremism and terrorism

- India: Mumbai train bombings July 11, 2006, coordinated bombing on Mumbai train system resulting in 209 deaths and 714 injuries, alleged perpetrators young members of Student Islamic Movement of India.
- France: Riots break out in suburbs throughout France in the summer of 2005. 'Alienated Muslim youth' are reported as perpetrators of much of the violence following the 'accidental deaths' of two teenaged Muslim boys who were allegedly hiding from racist police.

A data grid: 'Representation of young Muslim men in newsprint' was developed (see Table 1 in the appendices). It integrated the nine identified themes. We checked off the number of times the nine themes were present in each of the 100 articles. These processes provided a bigger picture of how the themes were or were not constant over the articles. Further, we used an interpretive lens to draw out the assumptions, hidden messages, and techniques of persuasion embedded in the articles with particular reference to the nine themes. These were constructed into a narrative analysis. Our intention was to develop an understanding of how the various articles, commentary, letters, etc. discuss the themes within particular contexts or in relation to the major historical events described above. This provides a nuanced understanding concerning the perception about Muslim youth and males that has become reproduced in the popular press, of which the 100 articles serve as an example.

FINDINGS: SURFACE LEVEL STATISTICS

We provide Tables 2 and 3, which can be found in Appendices, and which provide a clear visual showing the recurrence of themes throughout the one hundred articles that we randomly selected for analysis. Table 2 provides percentages of the recurrence of each of the nine themes found throughout the one hundred articles. Table 3 provides a deeper analysis granting a numerical breakdown of the appearance of articles that support or challenge each of the nine themes.

Sixty-two (62) percent of all one hundred articles analyzed were written by western authors, though twenty-one of the articles failed to indicate authorship and consequently leave a gap in our ability to determine a complete view of issues of authorship and assignment of the voice of authority. However, a pattern is clear: the majority of articles speaking on the subject of "Muslim youth alienation" are non-Muslim westerners, i.e. the elite. A much smaller percentage (17%) of the articles could be readily credited to Asian and/or Muslim authorship. On occasion, we found western authors granting Muslim voices an opportunity to be heard in their writing. At least 11 of the western authors quoted Muslim voices, or specifically drew from Muslim interpretations in their reporting (article #s 20, 27, 36, 41, 43, 49, 52-54, 59, 63). When elite authorship granted voice to Muslims, those Muslim individuals tended to be ideologically aligned with the views of the elite.

A staggering number of the articles contained the "Dangerous other" theme (96%), though not all of these presented an argument supporting the notion of Muslims as "the dangerous other." Some of the articles (27), while acknowledging the pervasive misrepresentation of Muslims, either challenged the perception or outrightly rejected it. "Muslims are a threat to the western way of life," emerged as the second most prevalent theme with 88 of the 100 articles touching on the

concept. Only 18 out of the 88 articles that incorporate the theme of Muslims as a threat to the western way of life challenged or rejected the theme, leaving 70% of all articles propagating the view that Muslims are a threat to the western way of life.

An elite discourse that we found evidenced in the statistical recurrence of the theme, is the notion that extremism and terrorism are inherent to practitioners of the Muslim faith. We developed the grid to assess the recurrence of the dialectical viewpoints assessing the causal factors for extremism and terrorism, and found that overwhelmingly the articles convey the idea that it is the Muslim religion itself that causes extremist terrorist ideology and action. Further, any other causal factors, such as political or socioeconomic influences, are challenged or out rightly rejected by 55 of the 60 articles where that possibility is addressed. Fifty-five of the 74 articles that explore Islam as the cause of terrorist ideology embrace and support the view that it is indeed the Muslim religion itself that is at fault, while only 21 of the articles offer any kind of counter to that message.

CDA AND VOICE OF AUTHORITY

CDA insists in critiquing assumptions about the authorial voice underlying what is rendered as common sense. For example, van Dijk (1993) discusses his findings from analysis of media discourses that belief manipulation occurs through the use of the voice of authority and the legitimization of particular points of view. Describing racial politics internationally, he argues that these views uphold the values and interests of elite in society and manufacture social consensus among the readership on a given social concern related to ethnicity and racial issues. Hence, we wanted to understand whose voice – Muslim voices or Western voices - were being heard or prorogated in the media as credible and legitimate. Media simplifies information for audiences to consume. The ways in which ethnic youth are framed by media often distorts many facets of their true identities projecting instead stereotypes and misinformed collective reconstructions. Media portrayal then leads to complex and challenging demands on education. As educators, we have a responsibility to present balanced views on issues. How do we educate against fear?

MUSLIM YOUTH AS THE DANGEROUS OTHER AND POTENTIAL "HOME-GROWN TERRORISTS"

There is a perception by Muslim youth that they are being targeted in the wake of post 9/11 (Shah, 2006; Environics-CBC, 2007). Maira (2004) noted that following September 11, 2001, race politics became more visible. Six weeks following 9/11, Congress passed the USA-PATRIOT Act of 2001 which stands for United and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and

Obstruct Terrorism Act. The Patriot Act provided new and extensive ways of surveillance and investigation relating to "domestic terrorism" (p. 219). Safety became the goal and polls indicated that 60% of the American public now favored racial profiling whereas prior to 9/11 80% of the American public were against using racial profiling in matters of safety. "As part of the domestic 'War on Terror,' at least 1200 and up to 3000 Muslim immigrant men were rounded up and detained in the aftermath of 9/11, without any criminal charges, some in high security prisons" (p. 220). The National Security Entry-Exit Registration System (NSEERS) was established in June 2002, and required "all male nationals over 16 years of age from 24 Muslim-majority countries, including Pakistan and Bangladesh as well as North Korea, to submit to photographing and fingerprinting at federal immigration facilities" (p. 220). These are some of the examples of political enforcements that have contributed to the heightened sense of vulnerability felt by Muslim communities.

The sentiment is similar in Canada. Tenszen (2006) writes that in the Niagara region in Ontario, Canada where he held random interviews with 16 local residents, "the belief shared by most is that terrorists will step forward from the growing ranks of Muslims entering Canada and kill people in this country" (p.38). According to Tenszen, Muslims are now the newly perceived enemy and "Muslim terrorism" appears to have replaced the hatred felt toward communists during the Cold War.

Voices of authority and the telling of stories

According to Ojo (2006), media industry elites often speak from a dominant perspective and this can lead to the "homogenization of the media landscapes" (p. 347) that becomes embedded with prejudices, stereotypes, and political ideologies that then influence populist thinking. Media also have a responsibility to counter negative stereotypes but this is not always done because of who has access to telling the stories. Ojo argues that ethnic media offer an alternative view to news and commentaries in mainstream media. Ethnic media attempt to reconstruct the identities of ethnic groups in an effort to balance how mainstream media frame them. The problem is that although ethnic newspapers fill a void, they are not often accessed by audiences outside of a specific group, and the work of presenting an alternative perspective is being done in isolation without influencing the mainstream population.

RELIGIOUS IDENTITY AND POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS

Frisina (2006) argues that there are two dominant frameworks about Islam in Italy, "one, that of 'security' in which Muslims become either 'presumed terrorists'

or 'moderate Muslims;' and another, namely 'cultural,' in which differences become glorified or more often feared and Muslims are given the role of the 'radical other'" (p. 2). There appears to be a trend that religion is a key aspect of one's identity – but only for Muslims at the present time. Laubscher and Powell (2003) remark that sometimes, courses they teach also examine religion as difference. In their words, "While this aspect is rarely addressed in the academic and research literature, the number of Muslim and Hindu students who have spoken to us with sadness and anger about the way many Christian and Jewish students have perceived and treated them since the September 11 attacks illustrates that religious identification can be a powerful mark of difference" (p. 207). This view is supported by Vincent (2003) who states that,

> identity configurations occur at individual, group, community, country orinternational levels, and the interplay with race, ethnicity, religion, and many other [categories] is a complex phenomenon. Identities keep changing as the nature of political and economic relationships changes between groups, communities and countries, and [have an] effect on participation in the public as well (p. 5).

Zine (2004) advocates autonomy of choice within religious identity negotiation by mapping out ways to connect identity and antiracism. Although her article focuses primarily on Muslim women, the concept of creating "a critical faith-centered space" allows for critique, discussion, and the potential to understand and live identities in pluralistic ways. This space can accommodate individual and group differences in terms of how religious identities are shaped, interpreted, and expressed.

Since 9/11, several relationships between groups, communities and countries have experienced changes. Wars have started and calls are being made to take sides. In George Bush's words, "either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists" (Bush, 2001 cited in Abu El-Haj, 2006, p. 25).

Education and Muslim youth

Stereotyping and misleading assumptions that are presented in the media can negatively affect the motivation and aspirations of these young learners. Shah (2006) argues that what are needed are educational leadership approaches that call for the community's values and beliefs to be "harmonized" (p. 226) with the leader's values and beliefs, and the school's values and beliefs. Shah calls for school leaders to examine issues related to "person/group identity" and "media projections" (p. 227).

Abu El-Haj (2006) argues for "addressing politics in the curriculum in such a way that complexity and disagreement can emerge" (p. 25). He emphasizes that

this involves political engagement in social justice issues and is very closely linked to "critical democratic education" (Giroux, 2002). Abu El-Haj calls for the collective identities of targeted youth to be accurately and visibly included in the curriculum, shifting the focus from cultural differences to more critical discussions about politics and power, and finding ways to make visible the diversity of practices, values, beliefs, and histories of the communities involved.

CONTRADICTIONS TO THE POPULARIZED MISREPRESENTATION OF MALE MUSLIM YOUTH

Our research in an urban Southern Ontarian high school contradicted many of the popularized media misrepresentations associated with male Muslim youth (Mogadime & Ramrattan Smith, 2007a, 2007b). In addition to conducting classroom observations of immigrant youths in urban settings, we interviewed eighteen-year-old Khalid Khan who self-identified as Muslim. The interview conducted in the school library lasted for one hour. Each researcher coded the data for themes and then, we met to compare our analyses. The following characteristics emerged from the data to re-create more authentic representations of young male Muslims who are striving toward becoming Canadian citizens. Khalid's narrative about the social worlds in which he lives, attends school and work demonstrated: the ability to adapt (comfort with boundary and border crossings); positive disposition towards life in Canada, approach to life and relationships; and leadership (responsibility and independence).

Ability to adapt – comfort with boundary and border crossings

Khalid Khan described how he adapted to several moves during his schooling in Canada including returning to Kuwait, his birthplace, with his family. He worked on O level exams (formalized examination at the high school level) while he was in Kuwait. At the age of 16, he negotiated with his family to return to Canada to continue his education on his own. He lived first with his uncle then moved into accommodations with high school friends. Four friends (including Khalid) had pooled resources and decided to create their own home when each of their parents made a decision to move out of the neighborhood. When asked to tell us about his home, he asked for clarification of *which home*. Home is several places to Khalid. Each *home* comes with different cultural capital. For example, Khalid uses different languages as needed for specific interactions, Urdu with his mother, Arabic with a friend, and English with siblings, for school, and work. His roommates are immigrant young men from several different countries, each speaking his own first language – Tamil, Somalian, and Arabic. In addition, they all speak English.

In an ethnographic study with South Asian immigrant youth based in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Maira (2004) discusses how "flexible citizenship" (p. 222) is a concept that can entail national affiliations such as "Indian" as well as linguistic identities such as Gujarati. For the youth in his study, transnational marriages and social connections were commonly found in their families. Yet the youth learned how to negotiate their religious affiliation to Islam while maintaining their allegiance to their American identity. This flexibility in understanding citizenship as described by Maira closely resembles the adaptability found in Khalid's narrative and for the young men in his class.

Disposition, approach to life, and relationships

At 18 years old, Khalid Khan is focused on reaching his goals to achieve success in his academic life as a university-bound high school student. At the forefront of his ambition is the vision to become a contributing member to Canadian society as a police officer. He articulated these positions in his thinking in many ways throughout the course of the interview. Khalid is a goal-driven individual striving to fulfill the ambition that precipitated his re-entry into Canada namely to pursue higher education and to "live a happy life" in his working life.

He is a highly motivated young man who demonstrates a refreshing zest for living and learning. He maintains true value for his cultural background and takes pride in possessing a solid knowledge of his family heritage. He describes positive aspects of the countries he has lived in and visited and takes pride in his connections to Kuwait and Pakistan. He enjoys having friends from diverse backgrounds (Arab, Sri Lankan, Tamil, Somalian, and Chinese) and is comfortable with difference and change. He enjoys the multicultural milieu openly admitting that he tries new things out, evaluates them, and then makes his decisions. Khalid values friendships of peers and teachers. He has developed ways to connect his interests outside of school with his educational goals. For example, he says he is not too interested in being a lawyer but sees the study of law as an area of interest that connects to one of his goals of working in police services. He also found a way to connect this long-term goal to his weekend employment as a security guard.

Maira (2004) describes a similar characteristic of the youth in his study – that is the ability to be comfortable with pluralism and friendships that cross ethnic and racial boundaries. He refers to this as "multicultural or polycultural citizenship" which is a way of living that expands the sense of one's community (p. 224). According to Maira, this does not mean that there are no "moments of tension"

(p. 224). Instead, this type of expanded community provides informal ways to discuss marginalization and exclusion in conjunction with a more inclusive view of citizenship. "These young immigrants simultaneously invoke a multiculturalist discourse of pluralist co-existence and a polyculturalist notion of boundary-

crossing, and affiliation, embedded in political experience but also in popular culture practices shared with youth of color" (p. 225).

Leadership – responsibility and independence

Khalid Khan asserts his opinions, demonstrates tenacity, and is developing sound leadership skills. He was able to convince his parents that he could be responsible enough to look after his younger brother in Canada and in fact "brought" his brother to Canada as he describes it. He negotiated friendships that were strong and supportive, moving him towards his educational goals. His ability to assess situations is evident in how he selects his roommates. In his words, "I looked for good, honest, nice people who were like-minded in their educational goals." When offered a part-time job with a private prestigious all Boys college school in Ontario, he considered the stereotypes associated with working in a private school, but found that "the students were nice" and decided that it was a good place to work. He has a mature attitude in decision-making such as knowing "when to party and when not to." He chooses not to stay out too late because of his weekend work.

His independence is evident in how he understands the influences of his parents on his Muslim religious affiliation. He recalls that he made an effort to learn more about Christianity and Judaism before making his own commitment to the Muslim faith. Even when a friend invited him to join the Muslim Student Association, he tried it out a few times prior to making the commitment of membership. Khalid Khan is one who is willing to voice his opinion based on his current knowledge, but also remains open to differing perspectives, pending evaluation.

Maira (2004) uses the term "dissenting citizenship" (p. 225) to describe how national sentiments and arguments can be opposed without excluding other aspects of citizenship commitments. In other words, the youth in his study were looking at the bigger picture of their lives in "economic, cultural, and political senses" (p. 227). This willingness to look beyond, to try to come to terms with, or build understanding of their lives demonstrates characteristics of responsibility and independence that is evident in Khalid's life.

Berry et al. (2006) studied over 5000 immigrant youth in 13 countries and found that youth who understood and integrated positive ethnic and national identities, used both languages (new and original), and had established friendship networks that included youth from both cultures, fared well in becoming acculturated in new homelands (cited in Berry, 2005, p. 707. In highlighting the Berry et al (2006) study, Toronto Star reporter, Keung (2009) reaffirms the notion that, "Youth need a strong sense of their heritage as well as close ties to their new country" (Berry in Keung, 2009, 3). Out of the larger international study, over 250 teens from Canada were included in the Berry et al study. The study recommends that governments invest in policies promoting pluralism, diversity and equity.

SUMMARY

Critical discourse analysis provides a way to examine popularized, commonsense notions regarding Muslim youth that can misrepresent them collectively. Research in a Southern Ontario urban high school with male Muslim youth indicates contradictions to the "terrorist," fear-based, generalized misrepresentation of these young people. Muslim youth in the study demonstrate characteristics and abilities to negotiate cultural and political borders. These young people contribute to their chosen homeland with expanded views on citizenship, and by their responsible and independent life choices.

NOTES

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Selected Examples of Current Newsprint

Australia

1. Canterbury Bankstown Express, Staff Reporter, " Lebanese Muslims fall behind others," May 2, 2006.
2. ABC Transcripts, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Leigh Sales, "More must be done to discourage radicalism: Islamic leader," May 10, 2006. Candada
3. The Toronto Star, Staff Reporter, "Time to challenge Muslim extremists," June 6, 2006.
4. Newstex Web Blogs, Greg Staples, "I'm clearly missing something," August 5, 2006.
5. The Toronto Sun, Gregory Bonnell, "Muslim parents fight radical ideas," June 12, 2006.
6. National Post, Sophie Walker, "British, Italian Leaders think veils should lift," October 18, 2006.
7. National Post, Stewart Bell, "Canadian among Islamists," October, 19, 2006. Denmark
8. The Financial Times Ltd., Staff Reporter, "Jobs and education 'the answer' to Muslim anger," May 17, 2006. England
9. Guardian Unlimited, Staff Reporter, " Police anti-terror efforts at all-time high," July 3, 2006.
10. Daily Mail, Ben Taylor, "Security bosses keep terror watch on 1,200 home grown fanatics," July 4, 2006.
11. The Daily Telegraph, John Steele, "Terror plots accelerating, warns police chief," July 4, 2006.
12. The Times, Dr. Mohammad Elmi, "We need imams who can speak to young Muslims in their own words," August 5, 2006.
13. The Evening Standard, Staff Reporter, "No meeting of Muslim minds," August 15, 2006.
14. The Times, Staff Reporter, "A thwarted plot," August 11, 2006.
15. the Evening Standard, Amar Singh, "Attacks on Muslims surging in wake of 7/7 bombings, says human rights group," July 5, 2006.
16. Daily Mail, Melanie Phillips, "Blame our Establishment for appeasing these extremists," July 5, 2006.
17. The Times, Ziauddin Sardar, "British, Muslim and angry," June 10, 2006.
18. The Guardian, Brian Whitaker, Issandr el-Amrani, Siraj Whab, Mark Summers, "Middle East crisis: Arab anger: Militants merge with mainstream: Hizbullah emerges as symbol of resistance: anger at Israel's actions unites Shias and Sunnis
19. UK Newsquest Regional Press, Staff Reporter, "Police chief warns of youth alienation," August 10, 2006.
20. Yorkshire Post, Abdul Barry Malik, "We must all unite against fanatics," July 5, 2006.

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Appendices
Table 1: DATA GRID
Emerging Themes (Myths about Muslims & Young Muslim Men)

Article Number	Western Author	Muslim/ Asian Author	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
1		√	√	√		√	√	√	√		√
2		√	√	√			√	√	√		
3	√		√	√	√			√	√		
4			√				√	√	√		
5		√	√			√	√	√	√		
6		√	√	√				√		√	
7	√		√	√				√	√	√	
8	√		√	√	√		√	√	√	√	
9	√		√				√	√			√
10	√		√	√				√	√		
11			√	√			√	√	√		
12	√										
13	√		√	√	√	√	√	√	√		
14	√		√	√			√	√	√		
15	√		√	√				√	√		
16	√		√	√	√			√	√	√	
17	√		√	√			√	√	√	√	
18		√	√	√			√	√	√		
19	√		√	√				√		√	
20	√		√	√				√			
21			√	√			√	√	√	√	
22	√		√	√		√	√	√	√	√	
23	√		√					√		√	
24	√		√	√			√	√	√	√	
25	√		√	√				√	√		
26	√		√	√			√	√	√	√	
27	√		√					√	√	√	
28	√		√		√	√		√		√	
29	√		√	√			√	√	√	√	
30		√		√				√	√		
31	√		√	√			√	√	√	√	√
32	√		√	√		√	√	√	√	√	√
33	√		√	√			√	√	√	√	√
34	√		√	√				√	√		
35			√					√		√	
36			√					√			
37		√	√					√	√		√
38			√	√				√	√	√	
39	√		√					√	√		
40	√		√	√	√		√	√		√	
41	√		√	√					√		
42	√										
43			√			√	√	√	√	√	
44	√		√					√			
45	√		√	√			√	√	√	√	
46	√		√	√				√	√		√
47	√		√					√	√	√	
48			√	√		√	√	√	√	√	
49	√		√			√	√	√		√	
50	√		√	√			√	√		√	

Table 1– Continued

Article Number	Western Author	Muslim/ Asian Author	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
51	√		√	√						√	
52			√	√				√	√	√	
53	√		√	√		√	√	√	√	√	
54			√	√		√	√	√	√		
55	√		√	√				√	√		
56	√		√	√			√	√	√	√	
57	√		√							√	
58			√	√							
59	√		√	√			√	√	√	√	
60			√						√	√	
61	√		√	√				√	√	√	
62	√		√	√				√	√	√	
63		√	√				√	√	√	√	
64			√	√			√	√	√	√	
65			√	√			√	√	√	√	
66		√					√	√	√		
67	√		√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	
68		√	√	√				√	√	√	
69	√	√						√	√	√	
70		√	√	√			√	√	√		
71	√		√	√		√	√	√	√		
72	√		√	√			√	√	√		
73		√	√	√		√	√	√	√	√	
74	√								√		
75			√					√			
76	√		√	√		√	√	√	√	√	
77			√	√					√	√	
78	√		√	√				√	√	√	
79			√	√				√	√	√	
80			√						√	√	
81							√		√	√	
82		√	√								
83	√									√	
84	√		√	√			√			√	
85			√	√				√	√	√	
86			√	√				√	√		
87			√	√				√	√	√	
88			√	√					√	√	
89	√	√	√				√	√	√		
90	√		√					√			
91		√	√					√			
92	√		√	√			√	√	√	√	
93			√				√	√	√	√	
94	√		√	√			√	√	√		
95			√							√	
96			√				√	√	√	√	
97	√		√								
98	√		√	√			√	√	√	√	
99		√	√					√	√	√	
100	√		√	√		√		√	√	√	

KEY

A = The dangerous other
B = Homegrown Muslim terrorist
C= Universities are recruiting grounds for terrorists
D= Mosques are recruiting grounds for terrorists
E = Muslim community responsible for preventing extremism
F = Muslims are a threat to the western way of life
G = Muslim Religion, not political or socioeconomic factors, cause extremism & terrorism
H = Political or Socioeconomic Factors, cause extremism & terrorism
I = Discrimination at school leads to alienation

Table 2: Recurrence of themes throughout 100 articles.

Recurrence Of Themes Througout 100 Articles								
The Dangerous Other	**Home-Grown Muslim Terrorists**	**Univer-sities are Recruiting Grounds for Terrorists**	**Mosques are Recruiting Grounds for Terrorists**	**Muslim Community is Responsible for Preventing Extremism**	**Muslim's are a Threat to the Western Way of Life**	**Muslim Religion, not political or socio-economic factors, cause extremism & terrorism**	**Political or Socioeconomic Factors, cause extremism & terrorism**	**Discrimination at school leads to alienation**
96/100 or 96%	65/100 or 65%	8/90 or 8%	17/100 or 17%	48/100 or 48%	88/100 or 88%	74/100 or 74%	60/100 or 60%	7/100 or 7%

Table 3: Recurrence of support or rejection of themes throughout 100 articles where theme appears.

Recurrence Of Support Or Rejection Of Themes Througout 100 Articles Where Theme Appears																	
The Dangerous Other		**Home-Grown Muslim Terrorists**		**Universities are Recruiting Grounds for Terrorists**		**Mosques are Recruiting Grounds for Terrorists**		**Muslim Community is Responsible for Preventing Extremism**		**Muslim's are a Threat to the Western Way of Life**		**Muslim Religion, not political or socio-economic factors, cause extremism & terrorism**		**Political or Socio-economic Factors, cause extremism & terrorism**		**Discrimination at school leads to alienation**	
% S	% C	% S	% C	% S	% C	% S	% C	% S	% C	% S	% C	% S	% C	% S	% C	% S	% C
69	**27**	**53**	**12**	**8**	**0**	**13**	**4**	**41**	**7**	**70**	**18**	**53**	**21**	**5**	**55**	**7**	**0**

Key (Table 2)

S= Supporting Theme
C= Challenging Theme

ALI A. ABDI

CHAPTER 9

CLASH OF DOMINANT DISCOURSES AND AFRICAN PHILOSOPHIES AND EPISTEMOLOGIES OF EDUCATION: ANTI-COLONIAL ANALYSES

INTRODUCTION

The main concerns of the philosophy of education usually look into issues that pertain to the rationale as well as the ways we educate people, the select learning methodologies we deploy to achieve such education, and the reasons the project of education is undertaken in the first place. As such, in all the locations where human societies manage their lives, interact with their ecologies and prepare the situation for future generations, the expansive presence of the fundamental questions of philosophy of education has to be naturally present. In their work, Ozmon and Craver (1998, p. 2) define "philosophy of education as the application of the fundamental principles of philosophy to the theory and work of education." With this understanding, philosophy of education should then be both general and specific to all locations of formal and informal platforms of learning. With the advent of colonialism, though, Western mainstream discourses assumed a situation where people who were being colonized were devoid of any viable philosophical pointers, and were, by extension deprived of any philosophies of education. Attached to these problematic assumptions was a situation where the development, the uses as well as any modifications to the philosophical were all gifted to Europeans and their progenitors.

If, as Alfred North Whitehead said, all philosophy is a footnote to Plato, should we then assume that those who are not either culturally, linguistically or historiographically attached to the Greek philosopher's world and intentions, would be located outside of the overall enterprise? Perhaps a simpler observation/question: with philosophy basically about and responsive to our critical and selectively systematic engagements with our social and physical realities, shouldn't all humans be accorded a portion of the philosophical pie? The thinking responses to such pointers might not too complicated to see, but, alas,

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that was not to be the case. Indeed, with the advent of the expansive colonial project and immediately prior to some of its most important undertakings, those in the European metropolises who should have known better, including some of the most prominent thinkers and philosophers including Hegel, Kant, Voltaire, Montesquieu and Hobbes, all immersed themselves, not in learning and scholarly relating to Africa and its peoples with some integrity, but in the shallow scribbling of so much misinformation about the continent. As Okot p'Bitek (1972) and V.Y. Mudimbe (1994) noted, the processes of de-philosophizing and in the process, de-epistemologizing Africa, was attached to the overall project of the descriptive construction of an 'ahistorical' place that was fit for colonization and that needed the civilizational interventions of 'caring and benevolent' Europe. The '*mission civilsatrice*' thesis has been extensively discredited (Said, 1993; Achebe, 2000), and we need not delve too much into it here, but the extensive de-naturalization of people's ontological locations and historical achievements to justify their existentialities and lands as worthy of colonization should be quite astonishing, and the enlisting of the colonizing entities' so-called 'best and brightest' hides, or actually clarifies the de-rationalization of human dispositions that continuously respond to the underside of tribal affiliations that once the blood enemy is constructed (in this case the colonized non-Europeans peoples of the world), the subsequent steps of de-personalized otherizations of the 'Other' and their attached dehumanizations of the new subject, seem to become routine.

In teaching Europeans about Africa (without a single line of qualification), Hegel (1965, p. 247) who may be described as the conscience of modern European philosophy, somehow fully knew that "[the old continent] was not interesting from the point of view of its own history… [And that] Africa was in a state of barbarism and savagery which was preventing it from being an integral part of civilization." Hegel, was of course, hardly the only prominent European thinker who was willing to, willy nilly, philosophize about Europe's relationship with the emerging *terra nullius*. Others including the so-called French thinkers and promoters of liberty and freedom were not either kinder to Africa. While a detailed foci may not warranted in this chapter, one can indeed, consult the works of the 'brilliant' and prolific François-Marie Arouet (more popularly known in his pen name of Voltaire) (1826), which emphasized the human differences that separate Africans from Europeans. Voltaire's observations were, of course, very bad guesswork, and some knowing from today's advanced genetic evidence would have helped him. As Michael Cook (2003) cogently noted, because the species-based differences between people wherever they are in the world is so sub-measure that separating humans from other humans on biologically non-tenable, race base (read racist) assumptions is tantamount to separating yourself from yourself, and in the process exercising racism against yourself. Voltaire's contemporary and another enlightenment thinker Charles-Luis de Secondat, popularly known as Montesquieu (1975, p. 332), seems to have gleefully anticipated Hegel's above stated musings,

and was somehow sure that "the greatest part of the people on the coast of Africa [were] savages and barbarians."

In the English aisles, Thomas Hobbes's well-known characterization of black peoples as naturally incapable of doing art and literature, was also a one-directional, galactically uniformed exhortation of not only denying Africans the right to think, philosophize and epistemically locate their situation, but as well, a hubristic carte blanche to apply all of this to the world of the latter, without a minimum of seeking to understand how people have lived over millennia, analyzed their contexts to fit their needs and expectations, and modified their resources and relationships to successfully survive in culturally and environmentally changing cosmologies that defined their capacities to mitigate risks, establish relevant knowledge systems and ways of undertaking these, and thus, philosophizing and re-philosophizing with intentions and outcomes that supported the possibilities of those lives and the lives that came after them. The European analysis of Africa as ahistorical, aphilosohical and by extension, lacking any viable philosophies of education is therefore, a massive *reductio ad absurdum* perspective that, as most of these are, disproves itself. But following Karl Marx's timeless line that the ideas of the dominant group are historico-actually the right ideas, the impact as well as the outcome of the colonizers' viewpoints have, nevertheless, been effective and exacting in justifying, it is worth repeating, the dehumanization as well as the *longue durée* mental colonization of Africans.

As a measured response (if as exacting as analytically possible) to some of these problematic assertions, especially as they relate to education, one major objective of this chapter will be to situate and critically analyze traditional, colonial and possible postcolonial systems of African education as these have been undertaken within the context of prevalent philosophies at the intersections of different and, at times, temporally detached epochs. Before I do any of that, though, let me attempt to briefly problematize the temporal as well as the spatial relevance of postcolonialism/postcoloniality as both action and condition. The praxis of postcolonialism cannot and should not be confined to any post-independence periodization that is specific to former colonies. In fact, the so-called Third World is still characterized by political, economic, educational and cultural manifestations that are essentially of colonial origins and representations. It is, therefore, worth noting Bogumil Jewsiewicki's (2000, p. 215) characterization of the case when he asked: "Who then could mediate the interpretation of the postcolonial better than the colonial?" It is indeed, with this in mind, therefore, that one needs to ascertain the extent to which postcolonial studies promotes a concerted effort to critically place the endurance of the extensities of colonialism and the historical as well as current diffusions of the overall colonial project, and via these, concretize the dispersed fragments of the collective imperial project, thus critically affirming that despite any physical and/or geographical movements in the case, the continuities (in different forms and attachments) of the dominant philosophical and epistemological projects, complemented by the new trends of Western institutional

recolonization of Africa (Saul, 1993; Leys, 1996; Abdi, 2006), are still of the here and now. Hence, the observational urgency of discursively and pragmatically recasting the educational and social development foundations of contemporary *vitae Africaines*. As such, at least one other crucial objective in re-searching and re-writing postcolonial epistemic locations and relationships is to critically situate the ongoing plunder and pillage of colonialism in the current socio-economic and political spaces of the children as well as the grandchildren of the directly colonized (one can just look at the vulgarly disparate global political and economic relations) with the central intention of bringing in, via informed and formatively persistent criticisms and analysis, new ways of lessening contemporary imperial profusions in all aspects of people's livelihood intersections. With this real categorization of the needed critical approaches to the postcolonial, I will now focus on the importance as well as the viability of pre-colonial African systems of education.

AFRICAN TRADITIONAL SYSTEMS OF LEARNING

By and large, education is either conveyed in formalized classroom situations (e.g. current dominant forms of learning), through random interactions (with occasional, unintended and dispersed linearities) with one's social and physical environment (informal education), or via short-term programs of training for specialized skills acquisition, which may be called non-formal education. In general terms, when we discuss education in the Western tradition, which is now spread all over the world, our descriptive emphasis is usually on formal education. It is, indeed, along the lines of these programs that a specific philosophy of education becomes paramount, mainly as the formulation and implementation of given learning and teaching systems. It is also with this in mind, and contrary to shaky biased arguments, that, while informal systems of learning were the dominant prospect in many pre-colonial African societies, the presence of formal provisions of education, always underlined by advanced programs of learning and achievement, were also established and functional long before the colonial project took its fateful residence in the continent from about the end of the 15th century to mid-20th century and beyond (Jackson, 1970; Diop, 1974, 1990; Rodney, 1982; Van Sertima, 1991). As indicated above, though, the formations as well as the organized impositions of colonial education on native populations were primary ways of achieving the psychological and cultural domination of Africans. This was, of course, complemented by the systematic, colonialist deriding of indigenous systems of learning as at best ineffective and rudimentary, or outright useless and unacceptable. Undoubtedly, As Julius Nyerere (1968), Tanzania's late President and one of Africa's main philosopher-statesmen, so cogently noted, the main points of colonizing were achieved via the destruction of the continent's indigenous forms of education and social development. Counter-narratively, one should be sure that traditional African ways of learning were fit for,

and expansively effective in the contexts for which they were designed for, and implemented, Julius Nyerere, in his oft-referenced essay, 'Education for Self-Reliance' (1968, p. 268) elaborates on these points:

> The educational systems in different kinds of societies in the world have been, and are, very different in organization and content. They are different because the societies providing the education are different, and because education, whether it be formal or informal, has a purpose. That purpose is to transmit from one generation to the next, the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of society, and to prepare the young people for their future membership of the society and their active participation in its maintenance and development.

Again, we should realize, especially as things have been historico-epistemologically constructed since those early times, the possible, indeed, convenient dismissal of such powerful and relevant systems of learning, as unorganized and habitually occurring societal interactions that take place in all places. Again, that is nothing more than an arbitrary presumption that assumes the right to misidentify the lives as well as the needs of others who, once they have been restricted to the problematic corner of the mainly fabricated occident-orient dichotomies (see Said, 1978), are rendered voiceless and subject to the pre-fabricated clusters of 'anthropologization' where the dominant intellectual and institutional protagonists, willy nilly, construct and reconstruct both the ontologies and the existentialities of the perennially subordinated. Needless to add that in re-writing the knowledge and learning foundations of the important stories we are engaging here, we need to affirm the proper understanding that these programs of inter-generational transfer of information and skills become were undertaken, not to be ideological about anything or impose unwarranted notions of education on people, but to effectively fulfill the communal promise of learning and well-being (see Bassey, 1999). In addition, when local ways of managing resources, or establishing territorial defense programs and related political and economic relations, were achieved through these informal programs of learning and teaching, simply dismissing them as natural happenstances that randomly take place, should constitute an observational offence that makes a mimicry of the practical and pressing needs of the communities that developed these educational programs. Beyond the main lessons of history, politics, defense and languages, therefore, traditional education also involved scientific and select technological programs that included the diagnosing as well as the curing of diseases in both people and animals, explaining the nature and the functions of the physical environment, and manufacturing with precise engineering practices that yielded specific tools that were of daily and specific occasions use. Semali (1999, p. 308) corroborates these points by saying that

> [African traditional systems of knowledge are] comprehensive bodies of knowledge that, beyond the historical, philosophical and literary components, also address such issues as "fishing techniques…. Post-harvest pest control programs…. [the science and] use of different herbs and plants to manage diseases…. [and] methods of food preservation and preserving.

Clearly, the 'right' philosophy of education in that setting should not have been formally described as idealism, realism, behaviorism, Marxism, or postmodernism. What it should have been was a community attached transformationalist construction of learning philosophies that was situationally capable of answering the big questions (what, how and why), and was, therefore, actually formalized to directly address the contemporary and tangible educational needs of concerned communities. As such, pre-colonial African philosophies of education were centered on the needs of African life which, before Eurocentricity became the only center, was blessed with the possibility of a multi-centric world.

Attached to the formations of these traditional systems of education were also the consciously understood and pragmatically evaluated schemes of social development exigencies of people. In addition, because the programs were not externally imposed, their outcomes should be in line with the social, educational, cultural, political, economic and technological needs and indeed, aspirations of concerned spaces of life. As such, one might be tempted to characterize these fully qualified pre-colonial philosophies of learning, with select narrative and heuristic possibilities, as existentio-educationally attachable to what we later described as pragmatic philosophies of education. It is based on this, that if we were to assign some credit to the formalized advancement of this trend of the educational philosophies tradition, we cannot and should not discount, the extensive contributions made by pre-colonial African societies. Needless to add that in intellectual and analytical fairness, we will also honor the claims of others, for we should actually adhere to the idea as well as the reality that all contemporary clusters or even fragmentary particles of knowledges, philosophies and ways of knowing have been collectively achieved by the combined efforts of peoples in different continents and corners of the world (see Harding, 1998, 2008). So we can welcome into fold, along with Africans and others, the original contributions of such latter-centuries thinkers of the pragmatic tradition as John Dewey, Paulo Freire, Julius Nyerere, Richard Rorty, to some extent, Pierre Bourdieu and Bertrand Russell. Needless to add, that this form of generous sharing should not be detached from the classic African social philosophy of *Ubunto*, which would urge us to see ourselves through the humanity as well as the achievement of others. As Dalene Swanson (2007) noted, "Ubuntu is recognized as the African philosophy of humanism, linking the individual to the collective through 'brotherhood' and 'sisterhood'. It makes a fundamental contribution to indigenous 'ways of knowing and being'."

Postcolonial Possibilities of Education

In attempting to explain and analyze current problems of African education and epistemologies, which are too numerous to be synoptically located here, one may not have any other alternative but to continually talk about colonial programs of education. Hence my previous point that postcolonial analysis is as much about colonial experiences and relationships as it is related to after-colonialism problems and prospects. That being as it should, though, the main point in the postcolonial African context, is that, *marka laga reebo* (sauf) Nyerere's limited and essentially experimental *Ujamaa* programs, no discernible philosophical, curricular, linguistic or other changes have been applied to the general design of colonial education. As Mayo (2001, p. 196) noted, Nyerere, "advocated an education which provided students, with a sense of self-reliance, the focus being mainly on the development of an agrarian economy."

In this specific case, Nyerere himself noted (1968, p. 270) that with independence, Tanzania "inherited a system of education which was in many aspects both inadequate and inappropriate for the new state." The point on inadequacy should especially be understandable, but so should be the problems of irrelevance. Colonial education was never constructed to respond to the interests of the colonized. Even the few natives that were presumably educated, the objective was both technically and philosophically to create a cadre of locales who were willing and ready to serve as a mediating buffer (re: the so-called interpreters), between the interests of the European metropolis and the 'illiterate'/'uneducated' colonized hundreds of millions. Thomas Macaulay (1995 [1935], p. 430) clarifies one central principle of British education in colonial India, when he says that "We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect." This was, undoubtedly, one potent philosophy of education that might have actually achieved its postcolonial intentions. As was to be expected, an important parcel of Macaulay's educational program in India, as was also the case in other parts of the British Empire, was the supremacy of the English language over all the local languages. As Macaulay (1995 [1935], pp. 428–429) put it so subjectively and so wrongly, the British had "to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother tongue."

Here, one can clearly see the perforce, advanced processes of de-'linguicization', where again, important components of the de-historicizing process that we saw above were taking place. As Ngugi wa Thiongo (1993, 1986) points out, a language is always more than a simple medium of communication and instruction. Beyond its mechanical and time-circled utilitarian implications, a language carries and sustains people's worldview; by imposing colonial language as the medium of education on Africans, therefore, colonizers have achieved so much more in the deductive programs of cultural imperialism (call it postcolonial

reality) where the European metropolis (London, New York, Paris) remains, up to the writing of this chapter, the cultural, educational, and technological center for the natives. And just like colonial times, these old and new centers are subjecting native minds to the cruelty of denigrating their thought systems and scholarly achievements, thus attaching ethnocentrically normalized deficiencies to everything African. The irony here is that even if the novel, the philosophical treatise, or a piece of literary criticism is fully displayed or deployed to depict African life and experiences, the local writer may have to still check with the reps of the center whether the concerned *oeuvre*, written about African life and experience by an African, makes any sense or has any educational merit. So troubling is this fact that Chinua Achebe (1989, p. 96) said this:

> Would it be truly invalid for a Nigerian writer seeing dissatisfaction in his society to write about it? I am being told, for Christ's sake, that before I write about a problem *that deals with the society that I was born in, grew up and learned my first lessons of life, values, relationships, sanctions, and expectations*, I must verify whether they have it too in New York, London and Paris (emphases mine).

In answering Achebe's question (with the intended metaphorical notations), the right answer should be, at least partially, yes. It is, indeed, the case that as colonized populations initially involuntarily but eventually voluntarily internalized the epochal schemes that have inscribed an onslaught of demerit points on all that their world stood for, the damage that has been done, has been extensively effective, and should be afflicting us for many more decades, if not centuries, to come. In estimated temporal locations, the dangerous psychological encircling should have been complete in conjunction with the appearance of Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967), and if there was any chance for the redemption of the native's psychosomatics, all points of possible escape and authentic reconstitutions of the subjective self, seem to have been sealed. In describing the general schemes of mental colonization, Nandy (1997, p. 170) observes:

This colonialism colonizes minds in addition to bodies and it releases forces within the colonized societies to alter their cultural priorities once and for all. In the process, it helps generalize the concept of the modern West from a geographical and temporal entity to a psychological category. The West is now everywhere, within the West and outside the West; in structures and in *minds with the most potent weapon that have collectively and gloriously achieved these for the West having been and still remaining to be colonial languages and colonial and postcolonial systems of education* (emphases mine).

With those realities, one might have justifiably believed that any possibilities for active anti-colonial project, at both the discursive and operational locations of education, were to be limited. As the few sparks of the anti-colonial writings we already saw testify to, though, the program of colonizing the native's mind did not

continue unchallenged. Among many others, Ngugi wa Thiongo's work demonstrates special urgency in both its tone and analytical thickness. In many instances, and in recasting the issues at hand, wa Thiongo and other cultural and linguistic anti-colonial reconstructionists first define the magnitude of the problems, and then use the weight of that description as a siren call to remedy the situation *sida ugu dhakhsaha badan* (as soon as possible). In two of his books entitled, *Decolonizing the mind: the politics of language in African literature* (1986), and *Remembering Africa* (2009), wa Thiongo discusses hoe the de-contextualizing of the natives' worldview and erasing their memories via a colonial languages and education whose perceptive implications and intra/interpersonal nuances were foreign to them, the colonial project has selectively alienated Africans from the center of their culture, from the authenticity of their lived contexts, and has de-patterned their mental confluences. In *Remembering Africa* (2009, pp. 14–15), he elaborates on what he terms 'linguifam' or the 'linguistic famine' that has befallen African languages during colonialism:

> Linguifam is to languages what famine is to people who speak them – linguistic deprivation, and ultimately starvation…. African languages, deprived of the food, water, light, and oxygen of thought, and of the constant conceptualization that facilitates forging of the new and renewal of the old – underwent low starvation, linguifam. Whereas before, there were robust languages – the languages spoken by those who built ancient Egypt, Timbuctoo [sic], Zimbabwe, Malindi, Mombasa and Mogadishu…. Slightly over a century and half of colonial contact with Europe turned [these languages] into graveyards over which now lie European linguistic plantations.

Beyond the clearly needed *tout court*, counter-offensive to the philosophical and historical assumptions and impositions of colonialism, with the urgent need to especially decolonize spaces of education and social development, there should be a number of practical recommendations including the reconstruction of not only the re-launching of African languages as media of instruction, but as well the creation of new discursive formations that speak about the experiences and current needs of the population. That of course, needs the extensive deconstructions of official Western discourses that are so dominant in almost all educational contexts including the linguistic and stylistic production of this chapter, which although being written by an African, its expressive and structural locations greatly obey the European tradition. But the utilitarian pragmatics of the educational and development stories and undertakings, after centuries of deformed epistemic constructions and re-arranged life systems, might not be discounted. That is, as we seek to remedy the colonial continuities of education and human progress, should delink Africa from anything learning contexts that are related to European ways of doing these and related systems of life. To answer this question, we may encounter

two camps, the purists who would say let us fully Africanize and do away with anything non-African, and those like myself who call for the 'relative Africanization' of philosophies and epistemologies (see Abdi, 2002) where, with respect to attendant educational platforms, we need not do away with what works for us from the conventionalized systems of education in these globally intermeshed, politico-economic and technological realities.

With a highly globalized world where most countries are not willing to separate from the established national boundaries and political and economic systems that are in place, what we have are a *post-facto* livelihood environments where any return to pre-colonial traditional ways of living should be considered a *non-sequitur*, and the critiques contained in this chapter, even if they are, as they should be, exacting in their observational and analytical intensity, are not a call for a return to the primordial order. Such pragmatism, though, should not minimize the need to seek inclusive remedies that clearly explain what caused the problems. Indeed, only a full, no nonsense diagnosis of the causes of the socio-cultural/educational and politico-economic ailments we see today, can lead to effective rehabilitative measures that ameliorate the prognosis of the case. In addition, the openness to a counter-a priori constructions of the changes being sought should not minimize the urgent need to create a quasi-level playing field where in order to take African education and its explanatory thought systems to the sphere of relevance, we start with the re-affirmation of the importance as well as the contemporary usefulness of indigenous knowledge systems and ways of knowing, complemented by an expansive re-evaluation of the most effective ways to thickly place African languages and cultural practices on all educational platforms. To commence doing at least some of these as quickly as possible, which should form the sine qua non of inclusive African social well-being, Dei (2000, p. 72) argued "for an approach to African development that is anchored in a retrieval, revitalization and restoration of the indigenous African sense of shared, sustainable, and just social values. In his understanding,

> Indigenousness refers to the traditional norms, social values and mental constructs that guide, organize and regulate African ways of living in and making sense of the world. Indigenous differ from conventional knowledges in their absence of imperial and colonial imposition.

On the main point of reviving African indigenous knowledges and systems of life management, one needs to ascertain that without some form of advancement in that domain, African education and philosophies of education will not be decolonized (Shizha, 2008), and as I have indicated few times, the prospects for overall learning, cultural and economic development will be, at best limited. Needless to add that such essentially non-isolationist model must be formulated and selectively implemented with the pretext, and within the parameters of local teaching and learning stations that are located in, and responsive to Africa's needs and

expectations. Again such call should not be construed as intending for separatist philosophies that are purely African and reject any infusions from non-colonialist and open minded contexts of new or old learning possibilities that provide useful and contextually adaptable notions and formulae that will epistemically enrich the lives of African learners. As such, the return to indigenous knowledge systems, philosophies of education and related task/achievement valuations discussed here will, *ipso facto*, be attached to current bodies of world knowledge, but with an uncompromising tendency to accord African systems of knowledge and methods of knowing as prominent a place as that which is already given to others.

Indeed, it should be via this inclusively humanist achievement where knowledges and epistemologies are deployed and used, not as creators of domination and subordination, and certainly not as ethnocentrically constituted blocks of European or Euro-American superiority, but as recognizing and understanding Africa's hitherto marginalized knowledge systems and philosophies of knowledge, without which the continent will not achieve the highly needed social well-being contexts it so desperately needs. In the past 50 or so years, development (also located here as social development or social well-being) in the Africa has been, without much ambiguity, few things: it has attracted extensive discussions and debates, but by and large, it became the most talked about concept with limited practical representations. It was on this critical understanding that the late Claude Ake (1996), who, as one of the continent's most astute academics, technically knew that the thing, regardless of the at times overwhelming rhetorical presence, and discounting how it was understood and theoretically constituted in Western capitals, was neither effectively formulated nor purposefully and pragmatically practiced in 'postcolonial' Africa. The main lesson we can learn from Ake and other observers should not be complicated; it should perhaps read like this: if we need new systems of education that are indigenously based and are, therefore, relevant to achieve development, then we must design these within the ontological, epistemological and by extension, educational boundaries of African cultures, needs and possibilities. And to achieve these, one needs to get the educational context right, i.e., with the right philosophy, and practically expansively responsive to the life pressures and aspirations that define the immediate existentialities of people.

The need for a discernible and by extension, programmable relationship between culture and development in the African context is also highlighted by Alexander Kwapong (1994) who emphasized the imperative of the here-and-now re-evaluation of new livelihood prospects that facilitate Africans extricating themselves from the problematic socio-economic and political arrangements that have been hitherto established, and that could be crossing over, without much modification, into the realities of the continent's coming generations. As he writes (pp. 152), "the cultural dimension is the basic framework within which long-term development must be built in postcolonial Africa." The long-awaited re-construction of viable programs of social development should also minimally

contain a shift in the thinking of analysts and policy makers where via the heavy overhauling of the philosophical and epistemological locations of African education, the new local agency-driven outcomes serve as buffer zones that protect people's lives from being relegated to the scrap heap of the *storia humana* and its fragmented liabilities that occasionally masquerade as progress. As such, the recasting of indigenous thought systems and their affirmation as capable of driving African education and development must be unconditionally spread across all spaces, and should adhere to the unshakeable belief that all societies can and should develop their own categories of aligning their needs with their understanding of their world. It is with this in mind that one should agree with the Ghanaian philosopher Kwasi Wiredu (2000, pp. 181–182) when he says that the

> Quest for knowledge [and development] of any type is a characteristically human endeavor. In the changes and chances of human history some people may come to be ahead of others at some particular time in some particular area of investigation, but there is nothing to indicate that such situations must be permanent, and there is also no reason why any form of genuine knowledge should be attributed to any peoples in a proprietary sense.

Before penning the above observations, Wiredu (1996) spoke about how people in Africa (or elsewhere in previously colonized spaces of life) should not expect from others to design for them and give them any schemes of social development, instead, they must themselves deploy their cultural and philosophical possibilities to achieve these. In addition, Eboussi-Boulaga (2000), in a discursively non-attachable context, noted how no condition of underdevelopment or contextual underachievement is factually specific to any group of people at any given time. *Marka meel kale laga eego* (looked from a different angle), says Eboussi-Boulaga, "what is called development can be interpreted as the non coordinated juxtaposition of different growth rhythms and the bouncing back or backlash of the most rapid with the slowest" (p. 211).

The preceding arguments, both in their theoretical and quasi-practical intentions, should represent some counter-hegemonic platforms that can illuminate other possibilities of educational and social explanations that escape the harshness of the colonially imposed and uni-epistemic Western perspective. In suggesting some notations on our way to more inclusive philosophical and social well-being plateaus, therefore, one might consider what Paul Wangoola (2000) calls *Mpambo* or African multiversity. As a multi-centric construct (as opposed to one-centric) in all its life possibilities, *Mpambo* actively opens up to ploy-knowledge understandings, deployment and uses. As such, it can sustain itself as a new strategic philosophical and learning block selectively frustrating, in the process, the continuing dominance of the disparaging and limiting colonial epistemologies, and thus returning the early and holistic composition of African ways of perceiving, learning, doing and achieving. But to be careful again, the holistic idea should not

disavow the select particularities of the African world, thus *Mpambo* would be "premised on the idea that knowledge and skills are concrete, as well as specific to particular ecological, cultural and historical settings" (Wangoola, 2000, p. 273).

It is, indeed, via this analytical and existential attachment to the global and the right to claim specific approaches of living, which have affirmed *la vita Africana* for millennia, that issues of identity, subjective affirmation and the individual/social agency to act upon one's will and intentions should not de-coupled form the African foundational philosophies and epistemologies of education. The need to secure the agency-informed authenticity of the subjective is crucial to achieve the right identity that sheds so much false assumptions that have been heaped upon it by the dominant forces of the past 500 or so years. Undoubtedly, Africa's verifiable presence in the philosophical, educational and development terrains of life requires Africans acquiring and sustaining the power to re-narrate their histories, reconstruct their cultures, recast the character as well as the elemental contents of their identity, and re-tell their contemporary needs and priorities.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have discussed how privileged and dominant philosophical discourses have expansively influenced, and actually shaped, especially in colonial and postcolonial Africa, the continent's learning thought systems and practical and programs of education. Coupled with this dominance was a plethora of false exhortations that described African spaces of learning and development as empty of any philosophical possibilities and by extension, philosophies of education. To counter these problematic assumptions, I have deployed a number of counter-hegemonic descriptive and analytical trends that, when viewed with non-exclusionist and open minded lenses, should affirm, once and for all, the practical, multi-locational presence of both the general philosophies and philosophies of education in historical and current Africa. Indeed, the emerging body of 'postcolonial' philosophy should challenge, *tout court*, the phantasmatic and continually demeaning assumptions about Africa and African thought systems from the still dominant European center. Without that being achieved, it will be difficult for African learning systems and relationship to be free from the socio-culturally delinking clusters of schooling that have not conducive to the social well-being and politico-economic development of people. In all, therefore, anti-colonial writings such as this one, should achieve, beyond the important corrective measures they introduce into historical and actual debates of the case, a tangible platform of thinking and learning reconstructions that, anew, initialize and pragmatize the need to do away with the non-tenable false claims about *el mundo Africano*, and instead emphasize the right sharing of epistemic credits that are, after the sun sets, a collective and essentially achievements of the human family. When such an outstanding humanist philosophy is practiced, then peoples such as

Africans, who have been marginalized in the aptly misnamed postcolonial contexts of our world, could harness something that re-directs the thinning social development prospects that have characterized that situation during and after colonialism, and into the ideologies of globalization.

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CHAPTER 10

GENDER EQUITY IN AFRICA'S INSTITUTIONS OF TERTIARY EDUCATION: BEYOND ACCESS AND REPRESENTATION

> As long as the proportion of women in African universities is less than 50 percent…the continent is underutilizing a corresponding proportion of its available human talent. There seems no intrinsic reason why Africa should continue to disadvantage itself through the exclusion of women… [T]he building of high-quality institutions will benefit from more deliberate and sustained attention to the promotion of women as scholars and scientists, than has prevailed in the past (Court 1991, 343–344).

INTRODUCTION

The analysis below attempts to extend the debate on African's women's participation in tertiary education beyond the persistent appeals for equal representation across the disciplines, and in the proportion of teaching and administrative staff. The analysis here focuses specifically on Sub-Saharan-Africa. Hence, the references and proposals made exclude the countries north of the Sahara such as Egypt, Morocco, and Algeria. The chapter begins with a brief review of the reasons advanced by those who advocate African women's access to and representation in tertiary education. It also takes a cursory look at African women's progress at this level, highlighting the barriers they face. The primary purpose here, however, it to explore the ideological content of African women's training, and the various ways it might be implicated in the struggle to achieve gender equity at the tertiary level. By 'ideological content', I refer to the gendered hierarchies in the administrative and academic structures of these institutions (which convey to students crucial information about the status quo), the environment in which learning takes place (which, in many ways, reflect the dynamics of social relations in the larger society), gaps in the curriculum

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(which leave many unanswered questions about contradictions between the prospects of training and the traditional expectations of roles and responsibilities). What individuals learn at primary and secondary schools, but especially in tertiary education, is not only limited to the curriculum content of academic and professional programs. In fact, much of the learning experiences, which shape an individual's world view and fashion them into full adults, are not contained in the formal curriculum. Rather, the dynamics of institutional life, the rules of social relations and the hierarchies they embed, prepare the individual for future challenges as full fledged adults.

Existing literature takes for granted what African men and women receive from tertiary training as merely assets that fetch economic, and especially for some men, political prizes. These prizes are monolithic in the sense that as learning packages they remain unchanged and therefore, have very little potential to transform those who 'purchase' them (Moshi, 1998; Okeke 2003). This chapter re-examines the content of what African women learn in tertiary education, not necessarily in terms of what the curriculum offers and how available options could be expanded, but mainly with regard to preparation women receive as a group generally subordinate to men. It probes the prospect for training that takes them beyond access to paid employment and the status of tokens in social governance, and intends to point out ways of equipping them with the knowledge and courage to transform society. In conclusion, the analysis highlights the role of African women researchers, teachers and administrators in tertiary education as initiators of this change.

REEXAMINING THE GROUNDS FOR AFRICAN WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN TERTIARY EDUCATION

In most of Africa, formal education was never instituted with a view to creating a learning environment where both men and women could equally pursue knowledge. In Anglophone West Africa, formal education below the tertiary level developed with different agendas and, in many cases, separate facilities for boys and girls. Similarly, African institutions of tertiary education, especially universities, were designed by colonial authorities (with pressure from indigenous male elite) to prepare African men as future leaders of their countries (Court, 1991; UNESCO, 1993; Nwauwa, 1994). In contrast, African women's education was geared towards their roles as wives and mothers in the emerging elite circles, and therefore, training at the tertiary level was not considered a necessary step (Bujra, 1983). The perception of tertiary education as an instrument for African women's social mobility was sown and sharpened only with the advent of the global women's movement in the early 1970s. This movement gave birth to the Women's Decade (1975-1985) sponsored by the United Nations, and subsequently unleashed an array of policy measures aimed at improving women's lives, especially in the developing world. In Africa, especially, social debates promoted education as a

crucial prerequisite for uplifting the status of women. Over time, these debates increasingly highlighted women's educational attainment as a development issue (Kelly 1991, Sutton 2001). Most scholars and policymakers now share the view that education is a basic precondition for improving women's status and positioning them as equal partners with men in nation building (World Bank, 1998; UNESCO, 2004; Kevane 2004).

Whether or not women should at present pursue formal training at the primary and the secondary levels, is no longer a matter of public debate. Lower fertility rates, healthier children, and tertiary economic earnings are only a few of the established reasons why women's access to formal education at these levels cannot be negotiated (Petrides, 1998; Schultz 2002). Arguments for women's access to tertiary education, however, have yet to garner comparable conviction. Tertiary education for women, we are told, is training over and above what they need for their primary role in the family. In addition, public expenditure on tertiary education cuts into available funding for the lower levels, which command tertiary social returns. Besides, women are not likely to be as gainfully employed as men, especially with the dwindling prospects of tertiary education in the developing world - all of these reasons add up to lower returns that might not be worth the trouble of providing women with the opportunity (Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, 1985; World Bank, 1994).

Regardless of the concerns mentioned above, the case for women's access to tertiary education is eloquently argued by ardent advocates. For one thing, they point out, the potential benefits to individual women, especially in Africa where gender-related adversities (e.g., feminization of poverty, maternal and infant mortality) tend to be most pronounced, cannot be overemphasized. For another, research findings clearly show that compared to men, women's improved economic well-being has a greater positive impact on their families, children and the society (Bowman and Anderson 1982; Barrera, 1990).

Beyond the personal benefits accruing to individual women, advocates argue, African women's training provides a potential reserve of human expertise that cannot be left untapped if the continent is to build the necessary capacity for a renaissance. Tertiary institutions of learning hold the prospect for capacity building, especially in an era where advances in information technology, as global development torch bearers, now herald innovations for economic growth and human welfare (Petrides, 1998; Dunne and Sayed, 2002). The historical disadvantage suffered by African women in formal education and paid work created a man's world; a patriarchal hierarchy that easily excludes women from the potential sites where the possibilities for such innovations could be explored (Petrides, 1998; Rao, 1991). If the challenge is to create a world that celebrates the diverse visions of its inhabitants, and harnesses their talents towards the task of transforming society, then African women cannot stand at the margins,

watching men as they march on. African women's full participation in tertiary education should also be designed to recognize their potential as nation builders. As noted earlier, tertiary education in most of postcolonial Africa has been the training ground for new elites who will hold the reigns of public decision making, control national resources, and shape political and social practices. Although tertiary training does not necessarily guarantee any African woman a slot in the corridors of power, it provides them with, at the least, the prerequisites for entrance (Hayward, 1997).

Gender equity in formal training, many scholars agree, also has a direct effect on economic growth. In a review of macro indicators of global trends, Paul Schultz (2002) at the Center for Economic Growth, Yale University, concludes:

> [Regions of the world] which have equalized their educational achievements for men and women in the last several decades have on the average grown faster…East Asia has increased the schooling of women much faster than that of men, closing a historically pronounced gender gap… Africa… provided schooling mainly to males, although women were heavily engaged in the subsistence and market economies, and therefore should have had as much to gain from schooling as did men (p. 12).

Women's participation in social governance has also been highlighted as one area where any society could reap, in large measure, the benefits of women's education. Existing evidence suggest that, compared to men in similar positions, women who hold public office or senior positions in the civil service often channel much of their efforts towards reshaping existing policies to improve conditions of life for the general population. For instance, studies of trends and experiences of some advanced industrial countries suggest that "women prefer that social spending be tertiary and more oriented toward the well-being of children; more social spending on local infrastructure, schooling, and antipoverty programs is good for economic growth; thus empowering women in the political process leads to larger allocations toward growth-enhancing government expenditures" (Kevane, 2004, p.1–2). Such policies may be perceived as socially oriented in outlook with little capacity for producing wealth, but given their impact on the well-being of specific groups within the society, experts argue, they actually promote economic growth. Women's participation in social governance could also greatly improve the conduct of public decision-making. A strongly worded World Bank publication, explains, for instance, that "greater women's rights and more equal participation in public life by women and men are associated with cleaner business and government and better governance. Where the influence of women in public life is greater, the level of corruption is lower …women can be an effective force for rule of law and good governance (World Bank, 2001, p.12–13). As leaders and decision makers in government, women, the publication argues, are not likely to succumb to

often taken-for-granted attitudes which encourage bribery and the abuse of power in office. As things have been and continue to be in Africa, [and undoubtedly in many other locations of the world], ,women are grossly marginalized in formal politics, with the majority often invited as cheerleaders and the tiny minority tokenized as ornaments that showcase the benevolence of regimes which are inherently patriarchal (Mama, 1995, Aubrey, 2001). African women's pursuit of tertiary training, advocates unanimously agree, needs to be promoted not simply because of the personal benefits which accrue to recipients. Women's full participation as 'the other half,' is equally beneficial to society as a necessary ingredient for economic growth.

AFRICAN WOMEN IN TERTIARY EDUCATION: PROGRESS AND BARRIERS

Statistics on Higher education in Africa must be interpreted with caution. The dearth of information, especially on gender distribution means that, in many cases, these statistics are based on a much fewer number of countries than the total (UNESCO, 2004). Based on available data, women's enrolment in tertiary education around the globe recorded a phenomenal increase over the past three decades (1970-2000), especially in the 1980s when the impact of one decade of a global effort to mobilize women, became increasingly evident. As figure 1 below reveals, women's enrolment in tertiary education between 1980 and 1996 almost doubled. Africa and the Sub-Saharan region, in particular, registered the highest rates of increase, surpassing the rates for both Europe and the world total. This substantial increase was largely the result of pressure by the international community on African governments to accord a high priority than ever before to tertiary education (Sutton, 2001). From 1996, however, the sharp increases across the regions, including Africa began to taper off, a trend that was not unconnected with the global economic downturn which started in Africa.

More recent data on male and female participation in tertiary education suggest that the impressive growth in African women's enrolment in the 1980s and 1990s narrowed significantly the substantial gap between male and female access. Table 1 below shows the gross enrolment ratios (GER) at the tertiary level between 1999 and 2001 in selected African countries. The GER is the proportion of individuals between eighteen and twenty-four years of age who are enrolled in a tertiary institution. Obviously, the male and female GERs succinctly depict the tiny proportion of individuals of both sexes who make it to tertiary education. But the progress made by women at this level is also evident. The female GERs in some of the countries represented below appear to closely follow the ratio of males. The general picture, however, clearly show that men are still ahead.

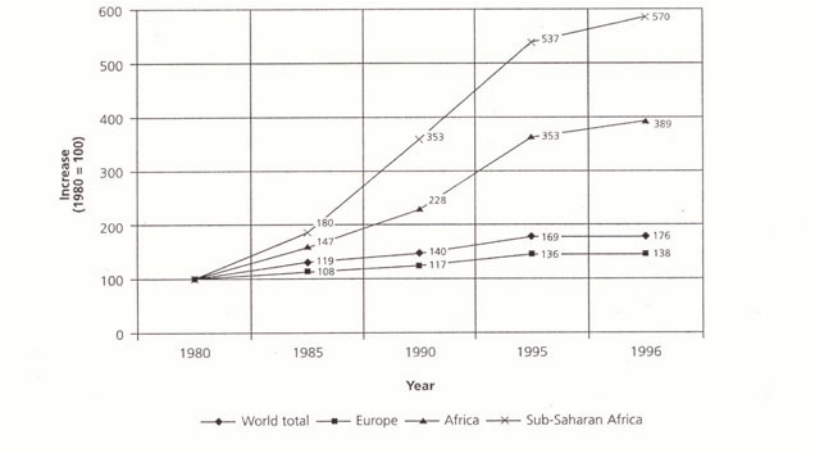

Figure1. Rates of Female Enrolment in Tertiary Education 1980 – 1996

Source: UNESCO (1998). World Year Book on Education (Washington: UNESCO). In M. Dunne and Y. Sayed, "Transformation and Equity: Women in Tertiary Education in Sub-Saharan Africa." ISEA, 30 (1): 50.

Table1. Tertiary Gross Enrolment Ratios in Selected African Countries, 1998–2001 (%)

Country	Year					
	1998-1999		1999 - 2000		2000 – 2001	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Botswana	4	3	5	3	5	4
Burundi	1	1	2	1	2	1
Ghana	4	1	4	1	5	2
Kenya	2	1	4	2	3	3
Swaziland	6	5	5	5	6	5
Uganda	3	1	4	2	4	2
Zambia	3	2	…	…	3	2

... No Data Available
Source: Compiled from UNESCO: http://stats.uis.unesco.org/

Current data was not readily available to analyze the GERs presented above in terms of women's representation in academic and professional programs. But available statistics show that African women's participation in tertiary education is, for the most part, confined to the fields of Education, arts and humanities, with

much lower representations in the science–oriented disciplines. Although women's participation in tertiary education has grown in leaps and bounds, the general picture still indicates a well defined line of segregation that women are yet to cross (Kelly, 1991; Sutton, 2001; Mama, 2003).

Some scholars and policy makers often trace the barriers to African women's progress in tertiary education right back to their access to the lower levels. Women's participation in tertiary education primarily depends on the numbers who enter primary education and make it to secondary education as potential candidates (Court, 1991; Hayward, 1997). Moreover, the chances of these potential candidates making it to tertiary education rest substantially on the aspirations society and those who support their training help them build. In order to nurture this aspiration, both the female children and their parents "must ultimately perceive that there are rewards for girls who persist into tertiary levels of education" (Sutton, 2001, p. 393). African female children face numerous barriers that discourage them from even taking their first steps into formal education. How far they proceed in the system, and the career ambitions they nurture, are largely determined by how well society steadies these first steps.

Presently, the majority of African families still rely significantly on the services provided by young girls as siblings of male children, young relatives and house-maids. Boys are perceived as future heads of households and therefore, these families are also more likely to invest in boys' education than girls,' especially when public funding does not adequately subsidize their own budget for sponsoring both sexes. In an environment where cultural dictates and social beliefs set fundamental boundaries for the level and kind of education women should receive, economic hardship further reinforces already existing barriers to women's progress. The learning environment women find themselves in curriculum content, and the quality of preparation they receive especially for careers in the sciences, could often be traced back to existing constructions of gender roles and parental attitudes toward female education (Rathgeber, 1991; Bloch, Beoku-Betts and Tabachnick, 1998). These limitations already shape women's potential prospects in tertiary education even before they graduate from secondary school. These limitations strongly control women's access and reinforce their segregation from men at the tertiary level. The attendant pressures increase attrition rates and dampen the aspirations of many. Often, the pressure to reconcile career aspirations with social expectations regarding women's legitimate roles constrain both employment opportunities and prospects for professional advancement in paid work (Petrides, 2001; Mama, 2003).

The major emphasis, scholars and policy makers agree, should be placed on creating easier and expanded access that channels women into a diversity of disciplines. Although tertiary education attracts significant subsidy through public funding and, in many cases, foreign aid, individual recipients still need substantial

financial layout to cover the cost of their training. Therefore, measures aimed at expanding access cannot overlook women's already disadvantaged position. Such measures should recognize both men and women as full participants in the various programs provided with special consideration given to criteria for access, curriculum content, and course delivery.

African women's poor representation as academics, researchers, and administrators in tertiary education, advocates argue, also undermines present efforts to boost women's participation. Presently, women constitute a small minority, kept at the lower ranks of teaching and administration and segregated in similar fashion as the female student body (Sall, 2000; Dunne and Sayed, 2002). Table 2 below shows the total number of female academic staff in selected African countries between 2000 and 2002.

Table 2. Female Academic Staff in Africa's Tertiary Institutions, 2000–2002

Country	Year			
	2000-2001		2001-2002	
	Male/Female	% Female	Male/Female	%Female
Burundi	507	9	608	10
Eritrea	255	12	255	12
Ethiopia	3232	8	3313	8
Ghana	3501	12	…	…
Liberia	**772	**16	…	…
Sierra Leone	1165	15	**1198	**15
Uganda	4062	19	**4908	**18
Uganda	4062	19	4908	18

***UNESCO Institute of Statistics Estimates… No Data Available*
UNESCO (2004) Global Education Digest, 2004: Comparing Statistics across the World. UNESCO Institute of Statistics (UIS), New York. p. 100–103

Obviously, women are poorly represented in the teaching staff of Africa's tertiary institutions. But the rates of participation shown above do not even capture the dismal proportion of women academics in science, engineering and other male preserves. African women's marginal status in academia makes them vulnerable targets in a patriarchal arrangement with a clearly defined hierarchy. Decline in public funding and political interventions by the state, among other factors, have created tensions between African governments and tertiary education institutions. These tensions limit academic freedom, create divisions within the staff, and also help to nurture a hostile environment for student unrest. When women work in exclusion for the most part, as academics and researchers, in such an environment, their own academic freedom is curtailed even further. Given their dismal representation in the senior ranks of tertiary education staff, African women are not in any way, equipped to push for policy changes that boost women's access to,

and representation at this level. Moreover, female students have few role models and mentors that would provide useful advice through shared experience.

BEYOND ACCESS AND REPRESENTATION: THE IDEOLOGICAL WOMEN'S TRAINING

It seems that most scholars in the field identify African women's access to and representation across the disciplines as students, teachers, researchers and administrators as the two major underpinning ingredients for achieving gender equity in tertiary education. But many of these scholars would agree that increased access does not necessarily guarantee a wider representation, and mere increases in number and representation, even if achievable, would not necessarily guarantee gender equity at this level. Equal access and representation in the academic programs and administrative cadres of tertiary education does not necessarily amount to gender equity. African institutions of tertiary education may need more than massive increases in female bodies in order to precipitate the desired social climate that should transform their structures and programs to fully include women. Even as scholars and policymakers push for African women's access and representation in tertiary education, it is also important to recognize that social transformation is a gradual process. But perhaps, the most challenging aspect of this process is *challenging* the system, itself, and people within it, to reexamine the status quo. Such seemingly small, but persistent steps may be needed in order to amass the pool of much-needed supporters and channel these increases in numbers into a purposive change.

Scholarly debates on gender equity in tertiary education often proceed with little attention paid to the ideological content of what is learnt. Public policies that seek to improve women's participation equally focus on ways to increase their access to tertiary institutions and spread this enrolment across a wider range of disciplines. Not much is done about the content of training that prepares men and women for life as adults, and its implications for the struggle to achieve gender equity. The challenge gender equity presents, it seems, is mainly a question of getting more women into the institutions and ensuring that they get a full bite of all the portions. Advocates of African women's full participation at this level expect a dramatic change for the best with the desired enrolment increases in engineering, physics, and computer science; with women's equal representation in the tertiary echelons of administration. But a succinct review of women's progress in tertiary education, suggest a word of caution. For much of the developing world, including Africa, Lisa Perides (2001) observes, for instance, how "the entry of women of into tertiary education did not produce societal transformation with regard to the changing roles of women. …while the numbers of women receiving tertiary education have dramatically improved, those who have argued that such education would be a panacea for the equality of women have been greatly disappointed" (p. 408).

Although Petrides and other critics argue for a wider distribution of female enrolments in tertiary education programs, they also recognize the traditional barriers that sustain a narrow access, compelling women to confine themselves to existing boundaries. Breaking these barriers requires not only deliberate action to place more women in specific programs, but also a change in the ideological content of this training – a social climate that enables women to challenge the status quo as part of the preparation for life after training.

At present, the decision to pursue tertiary education (including the field of study to embrace and how far to spread her wings, career wise) present a serious dilemma to even the ambitious African woman. In a preface to a publication on the subject, Lobi Moshi (1998), a prominent African social activist, elegantly captures this problem:

> There is the assumption that formal education is the ultimate liberator of women in Africa. However, we need to bear in mind that much of what is taught in formal education is like a double-edged-sword – for the most part it is foreign and sometimes has affected societal values for the worse. Although formal education can be used to raise women from the shackles of poverty and inequality, it can also make the same women victims of continuous criticism for abandoning cultural and traditional values (xi).

Women all over the world confront the dilemma of fitting educational and career ambitions into social roles. But the African context presents some unique challenges because of the contradictions in the relations of gender introduced by colonization and capitalist expansion. The problem for the African woman who aspires to acquire tertiary education credentials, Moshi argues, lies in her inability to deftly manage these contradictions:

> So far, African women have not been able to do so, let alone define their goals for liberation through education. They allow traditional values to coexist with values acquired through formal education, despite their awareness of the contradictions that are clearly reflected in the contrast between what they say about parity and quality of women's education and what they do that in effect reinforces stereotypical views of women's lives (p. xi).

It is safe to argue that the architects of tertiary education in Africa do not recognize the dilemmas Moshi identifies as crucial matters men and women must wrestle with as part of the learning package. Administrators and teachers at this level, it seems, channel men and women into specific areas of specialization and watch them go through their programs with little attention paid to the dynamics of gender relations in which they are mired. Women, in particular, are left to wrestle with a fundamentally subordinate status, seeking out coping strategies

rather than social spaces for enquiry that enables them contest existing dictates. Achieving gender equity in Africa's tertiary education institutions is not simply a matter of boosting enrolment to fill the gaping holes of women's dismal representation. This training should transform the female recipients along with their male counterparts, into agents of change in society. If African tertiary education institutions maintain their patriarchal set-up, running their administrations and delivering their programs without any challenge, it is unlikely that a significant number of the graduates they produce would do more with their training than getting a good job.

African women's limited representation in tertiary education certainly impacts greatly on the life of these institutions as social spaces where learning must invite persistent inquiry that sustains ardent contestations of 'the-way-it-is.' The ideological content of tertiary education in Africa at present limits individual vision, and leaves little room, even for the ambitious female student, researcher or teacher, to challenge the status quo. Succinct analysts of international education, Mairead Dunne and Yusuf Sayed (2002) argue that African women's near-exclusion in this case makes it difficult for them "to change the male-dominated culture and modus operandi of the university. In such contexts, it is unlikely that any significant change to the courses and services offered … [would take] place" (p. 58). Without an inclusive shift in gender representation, Dunne and Sayed insist, current efforts at improving gender equity in tertiary education are merely "suggestive of a limited 'transformation' with minimal institutional response to new student groups who might expect limited change to the form and content of the curriculum on offer" (p. 62).

A CHALLENGE TO AFRICAN FEMALE ACADEMICS AND ADMINISTRATORS

The challenge of achieving gender African institutions of tertiary must begin with gradual steps which harness the contributions of any available hand or agency. This is not a task that should rest solely on the shoulders of one obvious social group – women. As David Court (1991) argued at the beginning of this chapter, African universities and the larger society has much to gain by including women in the task of producing knowledge. The contributions of men as scholars, researchers, community and national leaders, policymakers, and social activists, are certainly needed to move the struggle for gender equity in tertiary education forward. Moreover, the policies and financial assistance of governments, and national and international agencies, are also undeniably crucial to making any progress in this struggle. With the status quo firmly set in place in Africa's institutions of tertiary learning, women and men would have to *collude* at some point to effect fundamental change.

But the challenge of transforming Africa's tertiary institutions to embrace gender equity, daunting as it is, needs to be nurtured by the female minority - teachers, researchers, and administrators within and outside the continent. This is the group best positioned to mobilize, and if necessary, co-opt other groups to join this struggle. The challenge to female academics in African institutions, in particular, should not overlook the hostile environment they work in. Compared to African female academics in Europe and North America, they face, in many cases, a vulnerable status in which they are kept, and that is used as a strong weapon against any attempts to challenge the rules and stand out as mentors and role models, who are prepared to initiate change. Female academics in Africa are usually afraid to speak out; to demand change through their scholarship. Like other highly educated women outside the institutional setting, they are, at best, prepared to accept the way 'it-is', refining their coping strategies overtime to deflect any possible confrontations with the malestream authority. The few who take on the challenge of making a difference, often stand alone with little room to maneuver (Tamale and Oloka-Onyango, 1997; Sall, 2000; Mama 2003).

The situation certainly calls for close working arrangements among women working in African tertiary institutions. Regardless of differences in areas of specialization, these female professionals must find ways to support one another. It is also important that female academics at 'home' and those 'abroad' work together to establish and nurture partnerships to sustain their scholarship and strengthen their place in academia. Indeed, the rise of Women's Studies as a discipline and an interdisciplinary field of study, has drawn women, and in some cases men, into the struggle for gender equity, challenging their scholarship and personal politics. Admittedly, Women's Studies programs and the kinds of scholarship it sponsors are yet to gain a legitimate status in most regions of the developing world, including Africa (Sutton, 2002; Petrides, 2001). But even the little presence Women's Studies programs now commands the ground it has gained with the support of national governments, international development agencies and foreign universities, and with that, the situation could be effectively exploited to challenge the ideological content of tertiary training. . As the renowned Nigerian scholar and social activist Ayesha Imam (1997) asserts in her introduction to *Engendering African Social Sciences*, the task for those who challenge the gender biases and other social inequalities inherent in contemporary African societies, is not simply to develop knowledge, "but is also necessarily and simultaneously profoundly a political struggle over power and resources"(p. 2). Regardless of our local, our teaching and scholarship as African female academics, we cannot avoid questions that may not sit well with certain groups, establishments and power houses. Regardless of our area of specialty, our personal politics as role models and mentors to both male and female students should convey where we stand in

relation to the existing status quo and the little we are doing to subvert it. As Patricia McFadden said, African female writers who adopt this stance, despite the risks involved, could make a great in the difference in the struggle to transform tertiary education in Africa (1999):

> When women write from a positionality that is built through solidarity and inclusiveness, they conjure up new intellectual products; treasures, which, if acknowledged and accepted become an important part of the stock of intellectual and cultural products in their respective societies…Their thoughts and words can become key ingredients in the transformation of the notions of democracy, equality, dignity and citizenship from the narrow, masculinist confines which have excluded women, into broad-based, more inclusive and more sustainable vehicles of social justice and fairness…. , They break new grounds in terms of the realization of essentially different and more empowering relationships with men.

There is a need for more of such female academics who have a strong conviction that change must happen and be matched with the zeal to pursue it - by challenging their colleagues and students (male and female and alike) to reexamine the status. Both the content of what men and women learn in tertiary education and environment in which this learning takes place need to undergo some fundamental changes. The entire package of tertiary training should be designed to equip both men and women with the knowledge and courage to change society, incorporate in them their responsibilities as equal partners in effecting this change. For women, in particular, this training, should not merely provide them with coping strategies to protect their enviable status, but must instill in them the intellectual capacity and political fortitude to grapple with their status. It is within such an inclusive vision that we can define tertiary education as an asset that offers women the same benefits as men.

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CHAPTER 11

ARE WE THERE YET? THEORIZING A DECOLONIZING SCIENCE EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

INTRODUCTION

The debate regarding the relationship between science and development, and the role of indigenous knowledges in Africa is very controversial. Arguments for or against the use of indigenous knowledge in science or regarding indigenous sciences are informed by what is perceived as the appropriateness or inappropriateness of indigenous perspectives and epistemologies in science education and development. Those scholars who are rooted in Eurocentric definitions of science and development do not authenticate indigenous sciences nor do they see any validation of the sciences or knowledges in bringing about "modernization" and scientific enlightenment. While the United Nations is encouraging and promoting a paradigm shift concerning the importance of indigenous knowledges or sciences in development and in its application in schools, more work still needs to be done to decolonize science education and teachers in the face of persistent forces of Westernization or Americanization which continues to perpetuate and reinforce Eurocentric definitions and meanings of science. To achieve decolonization in African science classes, we need to approach education from an antiracist and anti-colonial perspective. Colonial and racial perspectives on Africa misconstrued Africa as a continent without science. Correcting the historical record by presenting the Afro roots of scientific knowledge has now generated a few decades of vitriolic debate (Scully, 2006).

Science education in African educational institutions is deeply rooted in colonial and neocolonial discourses that marginalize and vilify indigenous cultures and the people's sciences which express the people's experiential realities. It is colonial because it maintains colonial assumptions that science is a modernist or western

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epistemological and ontological representation. Relativist approaches to science construction are ignored and science is defined as devoid of multicultural realities. From a positivist perspective, it is a unilogic reality centred on the "superiority" of western thinking and worldviews. Africa is rich in life experiences, which for thousands of years have been the bedrock of indigenous African knowledge construction. For this reason, Harding (1994, p. 310) pushes towards the possibility of a de-centred global science in which "there would be many culturally distinctive scientific traditions that share some common elements with modern Western science." Unfortunately, science education is based on "modern" Western science ignoring cultural hybridity which can result in cultural transformation (Shizha, 2008a).

Throughout Africa, indigenous Africans have been the creators of knowledge and users of the knowledge that has helped them and their communities to live in harmony and to provide for themselves and their livestock. The architectural designs of the Great Zimbabwe and the Great Pyramids attest to the scientific acumen in African indigenous science systems. Regrettably, African scholars pay little attention to the scientific principles that involve indigenous African scientific knowledge, which is often treated as archaeological and common sense knowledge. Modernist perspectives on science portray knowledge universalism that neglects differences of definitions and perceptions (Beck, 1999). The interface between indigenous knowledge and globalization should rewrite educational practices for indigenous people around the world. This chapter explores way and means of decolonizing science education in Africa, and discusses social and cognitive significance for a decolonizing paradigm and how it may benefit the African student and the African community.

THE COLONIZING SCIENCE AND SCIENCE EDUCATION

The discourse on scientific knowledge in postcolonial Africa is a problematic and contested field, which raises many social and cognitive questions. Science is embedded in politics of knowledge power. Whose science or whose knowledge is regarded as authentic and worth of validation? Who determines what is conceptualized as "universal science?" The answers lie in relativism, the social construction of knowledge, a theoretical position that colonial Africa extremely ignored. In colonial Africa, European settlers and their education system viewed science as a privileged field of study whose knowledge was beyond the comprehension of ordinary people (Shizha, 2008b). Scientific knowledge was popularly viewed as inaccessible to those without formal training. Science was presented as white-privileged elitist knowledge requiring intellect and as such could only be mastered through colonially organized academic structures. This view has been and is still partly being perpetuated in Africa where what counts as

"knowledge" is a legacy of the white-privileged knowledge, which universalizes Western science as the means to modernity and socio-economic development. Central to school science are canonical concepts in scientific knowledge that are regarded elitist and the cult of genius, philosophical idealism, the counter-position of theory and practice, and Eurocentrism (Scully, 2006). Eurocentric science led to formulations of science education that was based on misconceptions and misrepresentations of African indigenous sciences as irrational and common sense (Shizha, 2005). African science curricula do not adequately respect or acknowledge the role of indigenous science in education and development. Curricula perpetuate contradictions between the socially constructed knowledge portraying African world views and realities, and the publicly valorized Western science.

The knowledge that children bring to school is personally, socially and culturally constructed and undoubtedly influences their social and cognitive abilities. However, science education fails to promote the dignity of difference that is found not only in African societies but in the global society. Concerning the importance of education, David Orr (1991) argued that it is not education that will save us, but education of a certain kind. Arguably, it is not education that will enslave African students and Africans, in general, but education of a certain type. The big question is, "What kind of education will lead to social development and empowerment in Africa?" The answer is rooted in a science curriculum that contains Africa's narratives of its nations fostered through the decolonization of science in African schools. Africa's development lies in deconstructing and redefining the structures and systems of knowledge (Shizha, 2005), transforming and reshaping the teaching of science.

The idea of formal science education leading to economic and technological developments may be seen as a recent phenomenon (Abdi & Guo, 2008). However, prior to the appearance of colonizing European science, African indigenous knowledges were the cornerstone of development. Social and economic development was framed within indigenous rights to utilize land and the entire natural environment as communities with equal rights and shared responsibilities. While indigenous education, which was informally structured, was actually 'the right education for development' in most societies in Africa, Asia, Latin America and other colonized spaces of the world, the introduction of European schooling relegated and marginalized a people's education and science that was reclassified as a non-viable and irrational entity that was to be rescinded from the productive aspect of life (Rodney, 1982). European schooling and its attendant science curriculum created inner imperialism and colonialism (Rust, 1991) that threatened the identity and self perceptions of African students. Science has become an individual-centred project that lacks the collectiveness of African knowledge constructs (Shizha, 2008a). African indigenous science is depicted not as the work

of an individual superstar but as a social activity by emphasizing the collective nature of the production of scientific knowledge. Science education in African education institutions should be closely linked to the developmental needs of the majority of the people and not to an elitist commercial enterprise that dehumanizes learning experiences.

Indigenous knowledge in the global context

The global context of knowledge construction and dissemination has acted as a vehicle for Eurocentric and Americanized science education in Africa. While von Liebenstein (2000) observes that a new dimension in the knowledge for development debate is the growing interest in the relevance of indigenous knowledge for sustainable development, the onslaught on indigenous sciences continues. Although social and economic development is no longer the exclusive domain of Western science and technology or global knowledge, indigenous knowledges face an onslaught from this so-called "modern scientific knowledge" whose purported “superiority” is driven by globalization. As a consequence, indigenous knowledge is sometimes dismissed as unsystematic, and incapable of meeting the productivity needs of the modern world. Historically, its oral, rural and "powerless" nature made indigenous knowledge largely absent from the global science arena. Von Liebenstein (2000) concludes that the dismissal of indigenous knowledge as unsystematic may explain why Western science and technology still dominate development thinking and practice in less developed nations.

Bhola (2002) observes that globalization is both old and new. It is old in being continuous with the age-old processes of colonization, decolonization and neocolonization. Colonization “universalized” and “internationalized” the Western concept of knowledge and science, while at the same time marginalizing and demonizing non-Western knowledge systems. The same Western knowledge and “scientific” forms were perpetuated after decolonization and have been maintained to this day. Bhola (2002) further contends that globalization is new in that electronic technologies have condensed time and space to create a postmodernist consciousness that has accelerated political, economic, social and cultural processes. Indigenous knowledge and ways of thinking are facing a cultural onslaught from electronic technologies that reify and mystify Western cultural realities. This cultural onslaught is resulting from continued cultural imperialism, which is being perpetuated and recreated by global processes. According to Dei (2002, p.167), “knowledge resides in the body and cultural memory; however, it is the Euro-centric gaze that has influenced and shaped what to see and not to see, what is [in]valid and [il]legitimate.” Globalization has tended to validate and legitimate Western knowledge forms while marginalizing indigenous knowledge systems.

It is ironic that African intelligentsia, academics, and policy makers are themselves purveyors and promoters of the so-called global knowledge. Some of them (including me) attained their education and obtained their higher degrees from Western universities. These scholars are "Westernized" Africans who have internalized the values, norms, and developmental concepts of the West which they, in turn, attempt to implement in their non-Western countries. Africans need to redefine their place on the globe. This means redefining education and development so that they reflect African thinking, vision and realities. New definitions of science education and development will build confidence and capabilities in the indigenous elite to be able to determine the role and possibilities of indigenous knowledge and its cultural heritage in science education and technological advancement. As von Liebenstein (2000) concludes, indigenous knowledge is part of the "knowledge for development" debate; social and economic development is no longer the exclusive domain of Western knowledge.

THE DIALECTIC CONNECTION BETWEEN SCIENCE EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

In contemporary Africa, education and development are rooted in a historical, hegemonic and cultural imperialist perspective. They are age-old processes of colonization and the so-called Enlightenment based on positivist and modernist sensibilities. According to Bhola (2002), in less developed societies Western political, economic, social and cultural processes have accelerated and intensified even after decolonization and political emancipation. These Western processes are used to define, determine and judge the pace and level of development in Africa. Conceptions and models of science and technical education that were imposed by colonial regimes are perpetuated and reinforced by current independent African states in collaboration with western international and multicorporations such as the World Bank whose educational policies are being constantly reproduced in the name of guided development. African countries are blindly buying into the concepts of education and development defined in the West, promoted by international development agencies, and supported by their own "Westernized" governing elite. As a consequence, what the continent has to show in the way of educational outcomes and development efforts, since decades of independence, are huge national debts and poverty.

In many countries, servicing the debt takes half of the national revenue (UNDP, 1999), leading to poverty, diseases, hunger and malnutrition, high rates of school dropouts and unemployment. According to Africa Action (2005), Africa is the most impoverished region in the world today but it subsidizes the wealthy economies of the world through a net transfer of wealth in the form of payments for illegitimate debts, and more money flows out of Africa each year in the form of debt service payments, than goes into Africa in the form of aid. Over the past three decades,

African governments have already repaid more than they have borrowed. This money could have been channelled towards educational programmes that focus on elevating indigenous sciences that could lead to sustainable development focussed on alleviating poverty among Africa's people.

Unfortunately, politicians do not fully realize the necessity of creating an education system that leads to sustainable development as indicated by their failure to guide science education out of a culturally alienating and dominating system. Arguably, politicians and academics are situated in an intellectually colonized mindset (Shizha, 2009). Policy makers should invent a vision and a program of development that is a product of an African imagination, rooted in the values of African peoples, not exclusively but essentially, using African resources - human, material, and spiritual (Bhola, 2002). This development would be measured, not by the rate of economic growth in a nation's Gross Domestic Product (GDP), but by success in eradicating poverty from the continent's homes and communities.

The school, as a formal educational institution in Africa, continues to devalue, negate, and omit other forms of indigenous knowledge in its curriculum. Even within today's "inclusionary" science, if ever it is practiced at all, indigenous knowledges have been recast as valued *local* knowledge, something which renders it parochial and, therefore, of limited applicability (Shizha, 2009). The negation of indigenous knowledges does not promote "science for all" in Africa. Dei (2000) questions these devaluations, negations and omissions that have been long characteristic of schooling and school knowledge, especially, the near total absence of teaching non-European science. These omissions have led to failure and meaningless forms of developmental projects that have not made life easier for local people in their communities. Science for all provides and encourages "science for daily living" that is used by indigenous Africans in their daily lives (George, 1995). Education for development will therefore have to be reinvented and redefined to take on the social and cultural realities of the local sciences into account. This means, that which counts and passes as school science, has to take on a different meaning. Rather than defining science from a positivist perspective, school knowledge, according to Abdi (2002, p. 13), should be involved in the "'re-locating' of all cultures, backgrounds and even expectations for the noble purpose of community needs and development." The purpose of this type of inclusive science is to represent new possibilities for empowering the marginalized, thus giving them control of their lives. Learning school science requires some students to cross boundaries between the cultural context of their home, family and community and the cultural context of positive science (Aikenhead & Jegede, 1999).

Science has to be meaningful and relevant to be of any significant value to the society in which it is generated. Nyerere (1968), commenting on the need for *Education for Self-Reliance* in Tanzania, pointed out that for education to be

meaningful, it should not over-value book learning but foster values that make students understand why they are doing certain things. In other words, science education has to be relevant and not isolate its participants from the society it is preparing them for. Nyerere was advocating for a science education that was embedded in the cultural values of communities, which stimulated the use of local knowledge and technologies. Learning about the cosmos and the movement of birds, and the whistling of the wind was important for planning development projects. Education for development is reflected in the activities generated within communities. Members of local communities should be able to benefit from an education system that takes into account the relevance of local knowledge, and provide space for designing and implementing development projects that emerge from priority problems identified within the community. Elitist science takes place in specialized laboratories far away from the people. The consumption of such knowledge is meant for a collective of "specialists" who may not have the interests of people at heart but their own special interests. When schools focus on elitist science, they are creating a class of elites who are not people-centred in their scientific explorations. A people's science is meaningful education and it is people-centred and community-centred. A cultural mismatch, between the values and philosophy of Western science (particularly as these are typically exemplified in the classroom) and the values and philosophy held by many indigenous African people and communities, makes the issue of increasing African participation in science and technology a particularly thorny one (Shizha, 2009).

Gorjestani (2000) observes that considerable progress has been made in promoting indigenous knowledge and that indigenous science is increasingly becoming part of the development agenda, and that national initiatives and policies are emerging, yet some substantial challenges remain. Unfortunately, in the case of Africa, indigenous sciences are still being resisted by the elite who lead most science and technology programmes utilized in community development. According to Grande, there are powerfully persuasive systemic borders or boundaries that delineate the authenticity of space and scientific knowledge and this discourse on "authenticity is underwritten by "'essentialist' theories of identity" (2007, p. 92) and are validated and perpetuated by the Eurocentricity of the dominant social system. What is required to alter and transform this worldview is to Africanize the schooling process and the school curriculum so that it reflects the African indigenous episteme and epistemologies through a decolonizing and antiracist paradigm.

Decolonizing science education

One of the greatest needs of our time is the growth and widespread dissemination of a true historical perspective in science. Misconceptions about the origin of

science as Eurocentric need debunking and rupturing. The process of decolonization of science and science education can place science into a multicultural space that respects cultural perspectives on scientific knowledge. Decolonization is a process that questions colonial situations and their aftermath (Shizha, forthcoming). Linda Smith (1999), a Maori researcher, advocates decolonizing research projects that recover marginalized cultural knowledge, practices, and identity. Decolonization is "a social and political process aimed at undoing the multi-faceted impacts of the colonial project and re-establishing strong contemporary indigenous nations and institutions based on traditional values, philosophies and knowledge" (Smith, 1999, p. 19). African indigenous knowledges, especially science, have been colonized for centuries and continue to be colonized in formal education. Colonization of indigenous sciences has actually disenchanted and disenfranchised African children through the teaching of dominant science projects that are irrelevant to most indigenous people in Africa. Science education for Africa is defined from the Western ecumenical perspective that regards "credentialization and accreditation [as] the *sine qua non* for employment and economic liquidity" (Abdi & Guo, 2008, p. 5). Accreditation validates and commercializes Western science, while undermining space-situated indigenous perspectives. Epistemologist Harding argues that knowledge claims are always socially situated rather than universalistic (in Nabobo-Baba, 2008). By situating indigenous African science in their natural environment and applying indigenous sciences and understandings as the basis for inquiry and investigation, science education opens the possibility of dramatically extending and recognizing the knowledge base of Africa. The importance of indigenizing school science as a valid means of understanding the natural world is a significant means of improving the achievement levels and representation of African students. Current scientific practices in education fail to situate knowledge creation in indigenous spaces, fail to link science education to everyday life experiences, and fail to stimulate the scientific imagination of African students. Space or place determines individual experiences of knowing, thus Greenwood (2009) describes places as pedagogical because they shape our experiences of learning and becoming. Knowledge of place and its context improves chances for "school success." What is known about school science is that it is not created within African spaces or places; therefore, it is non-contextual. It does not reflect the indigenous knower's situation and perspective. School science is ideologically and externally positioned from the "knower" and the communities that are supposed to be beneficiaries. Place-consciousness provides a frame of reference from which one can identify, and potentially resist, the colonizing practices of schooling as a function of the larger culture and its political economy (Greenwood, 2009).

According to Smith (1999) and Loomba (1998), the process of decolonising embodies how notions of authenticity and interpretations of pre-colonization

intersect with colonization. Africa is facing development challenges and this could be a result of its colonized science education that does not fully reflect Africa's social and cultural realities. The underrepresentation of indigenous world views and cultural representations is high in science. This underrepresentation defies an ethical goodness of equal and fair representation. It undervalues and denigrates the value and validity of indigenous sciences thus creating an ethical problem of equity and sociality. DePass (2008) portrays the formal schools as having mediated the colonial imagination that fosters a world view that creates negative concepts of the self, community and culture. Africa is a continent of disease, poverty and all other related hardships because of the colonial imagination that haunts scientific educational practices that allude that indigenous sciences are incongruent with modernity and economic development. The negativity that has accumulated within the African psyche harbours fears of experimenting with their indigenous sciences as the philosophical basis for science education in the academia. In the process, we perpetuate the colonial schooling dependency leading Freire (1985) to suggest that we need to develop a critical consciousness that has the ability to liberate us from colonial hegemonic practices. Negative effects of colonization remain a key element in the science education that is practised in African schools.

AFROCENTRIC SCIENCE CURRICULUM AND DECOLONIZATION OF SCIENCE EDUCATION

The subject of decolonization is being discussed among colonized and formerly colonized people all over the world today. In Africa, decolonization is no longer centered on political emancipation of political freedoms, but mental decolonization involving changes in the educational curriculum, especially the science curriculum. When it comes to science education, the question is: Should African science education be Africanized or should it continue being Eurocentric/Western and modernist. If Africa were to decide on the latter paradigm, it would have chosen to entrench itself in colonial discourses of advantage and disadvantage, a position of domination and subordination. What Africa needs is disengagement from unproductive science discourses that are not doing much to develop African societies and communities. Africa should adopt indigenous African ways of being that are rooted in place, land, and community; to survive and resist the placelessness of schooling and all of its violent erasures and enclosures (Greenwood, 2009). The erasure of the indigenous commemorations and of indigenous presence in science, and the enclosure of everyone's experience is what Griffiths (2006) calls "the deforestation of the human mind" (p. 25).

An Afrocentric science curriculum is the gateway to decolonizing science education in African schools. An Afrocentric curriculum is based on a critique of school knowledge that has historically been Eurocentric. For example, we can challenge the Enlightenment theory that impresses that "civilization" and

"modernity" started in Europe, but that other nations and cultures (for example, the Egyptians) had great civilizations that pre-dated their Western counterparts (Shizha, 2005). Challenging such Eurocentrism speaks to the cultural and political imperative to resist Eurocentric curriculum. Africanizing science involves making schooling and science curricula culturally sensitive to the needs and aspirations of the African people. Generally, it entails bringing African indigenous realities into science education. Abdi (2002, p. 21) says, "central to [Africanization] is to assume, exceptionally and when necessary, a tendency to indigenize both the production and use of knowledge so [that] these fit African needs, belief systems, and expectations for community development." Abdi, however, advocates for a relative Africanization of knowledge, which does not have to be entirely based on concepts, constructs, theories, experiments and laws that are purely produced by Africans or that are only applicable in African life systems. He advocates for the upholding of a multiculturalism of knowledge that does not necessarily exclude and alienate other forms of knowledge. Mataire (1998, p. 8, citing Henning Molberr), writes about Africanization of knowledge:

> We are all part of this process and share the challenge of decolonizing and decolorizing the minds (including our own), moving towards a genuine common humanity based on dignity and self-respect of others and us. Such an achievement will finally result in an expression of self-respect, confidence and self-consciousness.

Decolonization and decolorization are strategies for countering and deconstructing Euro-centric ideological domination and hegemony in African schools. Schools should take cognizance of the societies in which they are located and the knowledge systems that exist in those societies. Educational policy makers should avoid misguided *educational* ideas that are based on illusions of certainty of knowledge. Those who plan and design educational curricula need to mentally and psychologically detach and disconnect themselves from former Euro-centric educational notions whose power structures were based on imperfect knowledge of indigenous African human resourcefulness and the colonial educationists' inability to contribute insights or knowledge from *alternative* resources. As Mungazi (1996, p. 37) asserts, "To understand the African philosophical concepts is to appreciate the character of the African society itself." Education systems and developmental activities should be implemented using African philosophies in order for them to benefit the people. The Chinese, Russians and Japanese have successfully responded to their schooling needs using non-Western knowledge systems to develop their countries. A schooling system that is responsive to the cultural needs and values of the society becomes responsible and accountable for the success of its students and the developmental needs of the local people who constitute a powerful sector on which the school depends for its success (Mudimbe, 1988).

Appropriately designed educational programs need to be reflective of the cultural and historical backgrounds of the people, their desires and aspirations. The school should reflect the social life and experiences of the students, their homes and communities. Rodney (1982, p. 239) aptly describes this relationship when he states:

> The following features of indigenous African education can be considered outstanding: its close links with social life, both in a material and spiritual sense; its collective nature; its many sidedness and its progressive development in conformity with the successive stages of physical, emotional, and mental development of the child. There was no separation of the education and the productive activity.

Thus, schooling should emulate what traditional education was capable of achieving, bringing social life and the welfare of society into the classroom to make education socially and culturally relevant. Teaching and learning of science should be relevant and easily identifiable with the life experiences of the students and their community life. Science should not be understood as an abstract phenomenon that begins and ends inside the classroom walls. It should be linked to students' lives and meet their aspirations and their parents' desires for improving the quality of their lives and social conditions. Mudimbe and Appiah (1993) argue that there is a hugely oversimplified contrast between an experimental, skeptical science and an unexperimental, "dogmatic" traditional mode of thought. Mudimbe (1988) believes that the value-laden assumption that equates science to Western knowledge constructs deviates from addressing inclusivity, equity and the qualitative value of justice in contemporary African education.

Discussing schooling in postcolonial South Africa, Abdi (2002) states that learners should be capable of seeing a place for themselves, for their cultures, for their languages in science and technology. In light of this, policy makers and political leaders must make a concerted effort to formulate and implement culturally sensitive and fully inclusive remedial programs that contain African scientific worldviews and ways of knowing. An inclusive science curriculum should lead to a transformed society. Dei (1998, p. 512) sees the Africanization of knowledge as leading to a transformative African education in which

> [The community] must find ways to tap the cultural resource knowledge of local peoples. Such knowledge was the hallmark of traditional indigenous African education which promoted learning among youth through community-and-home-based educational strategies.

Abdi (2002) describes the African philosophy that Dei advocates as holistic and that it has always been the basis of African cognitive styles and methods of explaining, comprehending and relating perceived information. A holistic science

curriculum could be implemented in schools so that the indigenous knowledge integrated in it could be used at the local level by communities as the basis for decisions pertaining to food security, human and animal health, natural resource management and other vital activities. In this way, indigenous knowledge as a component of school knowledge would be a key element of the social capital of the local people and would constitute their main asset in their efforts to achieve control of their own lives. For these reasons, Gorjestani (2000) suggests that the potential contribution of indigenous knowledge to locally managed sustainable and cost effective survival strategies should be promoted in the development process. Brody, Tomkiewicz and Graves, cited in Dillon (2002), concluded in their study of visitors' learning in an informal setting context in Yellowstone National Park in the USA that informal educational programs must take into consideration the personal existing conceptions of people and their socially-constructed meanings. Ignoring local needs and opinion and lack of respect for the ways of others leads to tensions and resistance, and offensive interference in their lives (Sillitoe, 1998). Abdi (2001) cites the example of apartheid South Africa where tension and resistance were experienced because the education system did not value the experiences, social beliefs and value systems of black South Africans. Tension can be reduced, if people tolerate and accept the existence of difference and diversity.

SUMMARY

This chapter has sought to present an anticolonial project that evolves from centuries of colonialism's efforts to methodically eradicate indigenous ways of seeing and interacting with the natural world. The colonial project which was meant to subjugate and suppress indigenous people's historical commemorations can be replaced by an incorporation of indigenous sciences and western sciences in science education in Africa. This process of Africanization or of applying Afrocentric science can be successful if African scientists can reclaim their rightful place by elevating and recognizing the importance of indigenous ways of knowing and applying them in their science curriculum. In Africa, the academy was created as the epicenter of colonial hegemony, indoctrination and mental colonization. Conversely, it can be reconstituted as the centre for an anticolonial scientific project that focuses on decolonizing science education. Decolonizing science education includes, but is not limited to, reclaiming, rethinking, reconstituting, rewriting and validating the indigenous knowledges, and repositioning the knowledges as integral parts of the science academy in schools, colleges and universities where teaching and learning reinforce hegemonic and oppressive paradigms which allocate differential social locations to western and indigenous knowledges (Shizha, forthcoming). Decolonizing the mind is the gateway to decolonizing science education in Africa. As African educators, academics and

scientist, our minds are chained and trapped in Eurocentric biases and we are struggling to break free. A colonized mind regurgitating a colonized science education lacks the African consciousness to free African development from the shackles and enslavement of Western paradigms. African development requires indigenous African sciences and knowledges embedded in the African environmental and cultural commemorations, indigenous values, worldviews and social conditions.

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CHAPTER 12

CRITICAL CURRICULUM RENEWAL IN AFRICA: THE CHARACTER OF SCHOOL MATHEMATICS IN UGANDA

INTRODUCTION

Uganda suffered a turbulent political history and is challenged by socio-economic diversity. Its school system was inherited from Britain. The government in partnership with bilateral and multilateral agencies is currently expanding the system through programs such as privatization. But most of these programs are focusing on improved access and management of education. Minimal development of curriculum is taking place. Thus it is crucial to examine the character of the Ugandan school curriculum, taking the case of school mathematics - a subject that, besides Languages, is allocated a high mean percentage total of instructional time in the world (Benavot, 2006). This examination of the struggles, successes, and failures of school mathematics education is put into the context of the country's education generally, the context of country's history and the context of mathematics education in a globalized world. The methodology utilizes document research techniques of Ugandan curriculum documents. The examination draws attention to how complex relationships between historical, socio-economic and political contexts shape school curricula. The character of school mathematics education in Uganda exemplifies curricula in several developing countries whose development has for a long time been marginalized by economic and political decisions.

The paper is organized into six major sections: Introduction, framework, methodology, results and discussion, concluding remarks, and recommendations.

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FRAMEWORK

Recognizing that the struggles, successes and failures of the Ugandan school mathematics curriculum might have much in common with issues of indigenous and marginalized populations in developed countries such as Canada and New Zealand, we frame our analysis with critical emancipatory discourses. We combine our teaching, learning, curriculum and material writing experience in a developing and in developed countries (Uganda, Britain and Canada), as we examine a country's curriculum in the context of accelerated globalization.

Critical emancipatory scholars assert that mathematics is not culture, politics, and ideology free. In the case of Africa, Woolman (2001) observes that African countries have made significant advances in Africanizing their curricula but issues such as low school completion rates and unemployment of school graduates remain and other issues such as integration of health education (Mutonyi, Nielsen & Nashon, 2007) have emerged. Kanu (2003) asserts that:

> Education itself in the former colonies occurs within an overlay of discourses that move in the interstices of the colonial and the colonized. The rapid movements and collision of peoples and media images across the world have further disrupted the traditional isomorphism between self, place, and culture. … discourses about curriculum reform are themselves driven by nostalgia for a past in which Europe and Africa are imagined without what McCarthy and Dimitriades (2000) call 'the noise of their modern tensions, contradictions and conflicts' (p. 195). These debates refuse the radical hybridity that is the reality of today's major metropolitan societies everywhere. (p. 77)

In Africa, former colonies face: (a) tensions among the early commitment by many of the leaders to challenge colonial education, the recent attraction to expand education as a key condition to economic development, and the growing need to pay attention to education quality; (b) contradictions between national and global influences, and between school culture and the cultures of many ethnic communities; (c) conflicting priorities of the plural education policy actors including non-government organizations; (d) tensions that arise as a result of recent rapid socio-economic, cultural and language displacements; and (e) contradictions that are due to continued dependencies on institutions located in the west, and to the transnational provision of education (Akala, 2006; Benakot, 2006; Crossley, Chisholm, & Holmes, 2005; Fuller & Heyneman, 1989; Montero-Sieburth, 1992). These tensions ought not to be ignored.

Specific to school mathematics, El Sawi (1978) highlighted the problems of mathematics education in Africa thirty years ago as: rapid changes in society, effect of political changes, poor education planning focus, and limited economic resources. Five years later, Quinn (1983) made recommendations for Ugandan mathematics education: diversify courses; broaden mathematics education beyond

preparation for further study; reform teaching methods; produce more materials locally; strengthen in-service teacher training; improve pre-service education towards courses that explore how to teach; and support mathematics departments in schools.

METHODOLOGY

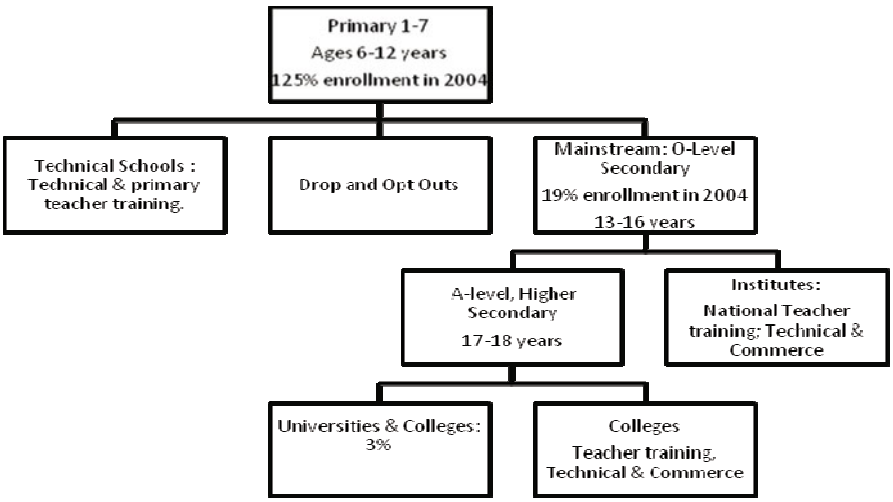
The reported curriculum analysis is based on a document research of Ugandan curriculum documents and policy documents concerning primary and secondary school curricula. Curriculum scholars assert that examination of curricula, both as programs of study and broadly as implemented and evaluated curricula, is at the core of curriculum development (Valverde, 2004). Before we report the results of the analysis, allow us to offer a background around the Ugandan school and school mathematics structure, curriculum design and teacher education.

Background on Ugandan school General school structure

The current Ugandan school structure remains the same as it was prior to independence. It is (2-)7-4-2-3 year system: As shown in Figure 1 at the same level as lower secondary schools (ordinary level) are technical schools offering crafts and skills. Parallel to upper secondary schools (advanced level/pre-university) are technical institutes offering vocational courses, and primary teacher training colleges. Parallel to universities are national colleges of business studies and commerce, technical colleges and national teachers' colleges that train primary and lower secondary school teachers (Bitamazire, 2005). Universalisation of elementary (primary) school education during the 1990's boosted enrollment in elementary schools to over 100% as older children and adults returned to elementary schools. Even though secondary and tertiary education is growing, enrollment is lower than 20% after elementary school.

Competitive examinations for entrance to secondary grades, as evidenced in educational frameworks of the colonial era (Benavot, 2006; Quinn, 1986), persist. Ugandan examinations serve two purposes: certification and qualification. Achievement at a level in core subjects such as mathematics and English is key to students' further educational opportunities.

Figure 1. The structure of Ugandan education.



School mathematics structure

Most students learn mathematics in a second language. Mathematics is compulsory until the end of lower secondary, the third level in Figure 1. Until recently, the language of instruction at all levels is English. Now in nonmetropolitan regions, English may be used beginning in Grade 4. Mathematics is notorious for having the highest student failure rate in national exams of about 50% at the lower secondary level (Kaahwa, 1999; Quinn, 1983). The majority among upper secondary students does not take mathematics and sciences. Mathematics enrollment declines even more sharply among girls and in schools for less privileged students (Opolot-Okurut, 2005). The Ugandan government akin to the South African government (Chisholm, 2005), nonetheless, considers enhanced teaching of science and mathematics to be necessary for its development and integration in the global world. This is evident in: (a) policy documents such as the 1992 White Paper on Education; (b) task forces appointed to research mathematics teaching such as the 1997 Uganda National Council for Science and Technology, UNCST; (c) efforts of higher

education institutions in Uganda to pro-actively support science, mathematics and technology education. (For instance, Makerere University, MUK has assigned bigger percentages of funding to Science and Mathematics-based courses); and (d) government attempts to support mathematics and science education through affirmative action and bilateral professional development programs. (For example, the country's current president - in the late 1980's - proposed to remunerate science and mathematics teachers more than their counter parts. This affirmative action motivated many students including one of the authors to take mathematics at upper secondary school. Because it was contested by scholars from the humanities and social sciences, this action was never implemented.) Many characteristics of school mathematics education in Uganda appear to arise from this emphasis on mathematics and science.

Curriculum design

Even after decentralization of social service provision to district local governments in 1997 (Nsibambi, 1998; Namukasa & Buye, 2007), curriculum planning and development remained centralized. Three body corporations at the Ministry of Education and Sports (MOES) are responsible for the curriculum: Uganda National Examination Boards (UNEB) for examination, National Curriculum Development Center (NCDC) for curriculum design, and the National Council of Higher Education (NCHE) for higher education.

UNEB, founded in 1980 after the collapse of the East African (Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania) examination council, is responsible for national assessment (Bukenya, 2005). UNEB develops the examination syllabus that it revises in a period of about five years, with recent revisions in 2006 for lower secondary and in 2003 for upper secondary.

NCDC, established in 1974, designs appropriate subject specific curricula and support materials, and advises government on curriculum issues. Most recent revisions of the primary school teaching curriculum were done in 1999; the lower secondary mathematics teaching syllabus in 1991, and work on revising the curriculum for upper secondary began in the late 1990's but progress was limited due to many resource factors (Kaahwa, 2006). Clearly the intended curriculum lags behind the evaluated curriculum; consequently, the latter is the mother document from which teaching and learning syllabi are drawn.

Universities and tertiary institutions influence the Ugandan school mathematics curriculum in indirect but significant ways. NCHE, established in 2001, regulates operations of Universities and tertiary institutions. University professors, members of NCHE, often provide leadership and act as consulting personnel to UNEB and NCDC. Makerere University hosts, and its members provide leadership to the Uganda Mathematical Society. Professors are usually called upon, say,

by publishers to head textbook writing teams. Despite the fact that only 3% of the students enroll into tertiary institutions, the central role of NCHE members in the design of curriculum resources might result in mathematics provision being mainly construed as preparation for university courses.

The only major overall curriculum and pedagogy change that involved curriculum writing, teaching methods, training and materials in the last 40 years came with the introduction of modern mathematics through two projects in the 1960s and 1970s: the American School Mathematics Study Group (SMSG, also referred to as Entebbe Mathematics), and the British School Mathematics Project (SMP). The projects were piloted in schools. Workshops were held for teachers and tutors. The projects later involved writing of textbooks and of teaching syllabi, experimenting curriculum and evaluating effectiveness of the materials (Mmari, 1980). In the early 1970s, SMP was adopted by the Uganda Education Ministry as the official (compulsory) secondary syllabus and teaching approach.

Teachers and teacher education

In taking curriculum, in the wider sense of "the whole learning and teaching experience," one has to address teaching methods, teacher training, and teaching materials. Okurut-Opolot (2005) has written on teacher education and its centrality to school mathematics in Uganda. Secondary teachers are trained in universities whereas primary teachers are still trained in colleges. Opportunities exist for primary teachers to upgrade to obtain university degrees. Historically, SMSG influenced teaching mainly through its work in primary teachers colleges and SMP through training of teacher trainers. SMP recommended participatory teaching methods and group work. More recently two bilateral projects from 1989 and throughout the 1990s held independent in-service education and training (INSET) workshops for National Teacher College tutors and secondary teachers. In 2004, the ministry of education together with the Japanese government started another INSET program, Science and Mathematics Teachers' project, SESEMAT. SESEMAT, in ways that appear to be conscious of the very limited impact of many INSET programs (Ramatlapana, 2009), is aimed at institutionalizing INSET and developing a teacher training curriculum. Unfortunately, not many professional development opportunities exist beyond these short terms, one-off, donor-funded programs.

Ugandan teachers participate in writing and grading examinations as well as publishing teaching materials and have some limited representation on NCDC curriculum writing panels. These, together with the limited INSET workshops, are the only relatively wide form of teacher professional development. Little or no central effort to re-train teachers or to alter teacher training exists. Like other systems in Africa, the Ugandan mathematics teacher education system is,

unfortunately, plagued with numerous limitations ranging from enrollment of weak teacher candidates in science and mathematics subjects, isolation of teacher colleges and inadequate coverage of content (Adler, Kazima, Mwakapenda, Nyabanyaba, & Xolo, 2007). Other limitations include low retention rates, loss of highly skilled teachers to the AIDS pandemic, movement of teachers to more lucrative or higher income but not necessarily elite jobs, and emigration of teachers to other countries (Opolot-Okurut, Mwanamoiza, & Opyene-Eluk, 2008). Ostensibly, Ugandan teachers, as do school administrators and parents, centrally influence the implementation of Ugandan mathematics curriculum through day-to-day teaching and learning activities. For instance, teachers locally organize themselves in schools or across schools to write teaching syllabi and materials, as well as to organize inter-school seminars for students.

It goes without saying that the negative factors (e.g., the very limited professional development opportunities), when coupled with positive factors (e.g., the high value placed on mathematics achievement), define Ugandan school mathematics in complex ways.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Curriculum document analyses Philosophy, pedagogy and content of Ugandan mathematics

Against this background, we proceed to share results based on our analyses. We reviewed and analyzed the content of four documents: NCDC (1999) for primary, NCDC (1991) for lower secondary; and UNEB (2005) for lower secondary and UNEB (2003) for upper secondary schools. The unavailability of some Ugandan programs of study that have not been revised for a while prevented us from doing a complete analysis. Excerpts that capture the philosophy, pedagogy and content as depicted in the rest of the curriculum documents were selected and examined. Table 1 in the endnotes is a sample collection of excerpts from the curriculum documents, *Philosophy, pedagogy, and content of Ugandan mathematics*

Excerpts from Table 1 show a rigorous curriculum that does not only emphasize *traditional* computational skills but also *modern* affective and process factors such as enjoyment and beauty of mathematics. Conspicuously, there was an absence of the use of current *international reform* related terminology such as outcome-based, socially-constructed and student-centered learning as evident, say, in the recent South African and Namibian curriculum documents (Umulasi, 2008). This marks characteristic 1 of the Ugandan mathematics curriculum: It is a curriculum that, as depicted in the syllabi, remains uninfluenced by recent international trends in mathematics education.

Examination Syllabus Analyses

The Ugandan examination syllabi listed content and gave examination guidelines, more or less along the lines of the Old British GCE rather than the new Caribbean CXC. GCE is the ancestor of UNEB and CXC. CXC, in contrast to UNEB, has undergone successive substantial revisions. By not offering elaborations on content the way CXC does, the UNEB examination guidelines ignore the substance of their influence on how school subjects are taught. Ernest (1984) would classify the Ugandan mathematics examination syllabus as a traditional public examination syllabus. UNEB examination guidelines do not include an explicit statement to discourage teachers to use them as anything more than a brief outline of what is examined. Table 1 is a collection of excerpts from the curriculum documents.

Table 2 in the endnotes is an outline of the contents of the current examination syllabi. At the primary level there was one common mathematics course. At the lower secondary level, as is the case with Zambia and Ghana (Umulasi, 2008), there were two courses: *ordinary mathematics* - a course for all students, and *additional mathematics* - an elective course for students gifted in mathematics and who plan to take mathematics at A-level. At upper secondary, there were two elective courses: *subsidiary mathematics* - a course that prepares students for less mathematics, intensive science and technology courses such as medicine at the university; and *principal mathematics* - a preparation course for mathematics intensive courses such as engineering. The upper secondary syllabus used to, and in principle still, included *further mathematics* - a course for mathematically precocious learners.

This late differentiation of mathematics courses only at upper secondary level was another central character of Ugandan secondary mathematics curriculum, perhaps one that derives from the fact that originally secondary education, in its elite form was designed for the top 10% that excelled in primary school. This is characteristic 2: Ugandan school mathematics is purely essentialist rather than discretionary in lower grades.

That up to now there is no basic competence mathematics course for college-bound students or for work place and personal finance math, and that many students do not pass their upper secondary mathematics likely means that a majority high school graduates are illiterate in formal mathematics (Vithal & Volmik, 2005). This evinces characteristic 3: A majority of above-average high school students graduate or drop out of school with little understanding of school mathematics.

Although Table 2 gives a picture of a single syllabus, the picture prior to the current examination syllabus, i.e., two decades ago, was fuzzier. There were varied examinable syllabi at upper secondary: Cambridge Syllabus A, British Parr and Durrell Syllabus B, British SMP, Syllabus C and Modern Mathematics Syllabus S. Ohuche (1978) observed that Syllabus B in Nigeria consisted of the same topics

(arithmetic, algebra, Euclidean geometry and trigonometry) as Syllabus A with only one additional topic, coordinate geometry. Quinn (1983) described the still current, integrated Ugandan curriculum as a mixture of British and American modern mathematics, and traditional British mathematics. The British modern syllabus considered increasing students' enjoyment (see focus on enjoyment in Row 1, Table1) whereas the American, understanding of concepts (see focus on interpreting and analyzing in Row 2, Table 1) (Quinn, 1983; Warmsley, 2003).

In secondary school, UNEB (2003, 2005) split each of the mathematics examinations into two compulsory examination papers. At A-level, these papers were according to area of mathematics covered: pure mathematics, Paper 1 and applied mathematics, Paper 2. This differentiation of mathematics examination papers together with the availability of two courses—ordinary and additional mathematics—at O-level might be interpreted as differentiation of mathematics study based on students' needs and abilities. Quite the contrary, all mathematics candidates took both applied and pure mathematics papers, and students who opt for additional also take ordinary mathematics. Additional mathematics was identical to subsidiary mathematics offered at upper secondary. This offering of an upper level course at a lower level is an interesting example of a curriculum that pushes down upper level curricula (Warmsley, 2003). It is also an example of early specialization. Herein lies characteristic 4: Ugandan mathematics is not for all students, it is differentiated only along the lines of the mathematically-gifted.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The document analysis in this chapter outlined the four characteristics of Ugandan school mathematics:

1. it largely remains uninfluenced by recent international trends in mathematics education;

2. it is purely essentialist rather than discretionary in lower grades;

3. its structure leaves a majority of above-average high school students with little mathematics understanding; and

4. it is only differentiated along lines of gifted students at upper school levels and shows signs of early specialization.

Elsewhere, we analyzed Ugandan school mathematics textbooks (Namukasa et al., 2010). The textbook analysis confirmed the above characteristics and added three broad characteristics:

5. it is mainly esoteric, intellectually-oriented and formal;

6. its teaching practice is dominated by written, national examinations; and
7. it is presented in a way foreign to learners and uses minimal local and current contexts.

Our curricular analysis suggests that many of the problems El Sawi identified still persist and very few of Quinn's recommendations have been considered. Political, educational and socio-economic tensions faced by Uganda as a developing African country have adversely affected its school mathematics curriculum.

The formal nature of mathematics is the only positive character of the system, and is a strong motivation for Ugandan gifted students. The outdated adaptations of foreign curricula are appalling. AIDS epidemic, political instabilities and civil wars, not to mention corruption statistics, create new health, social justice, environment and ethics issues to be addressed by school curricula. There are various African ethno-mathematics contexts that wait to be tapped into so as to enrich school mathematics. These include, but are not limited, to geometry of weaving and basketry, numerations systems of different tribes, games, and homestead constructions (Gerdes, 1998; Zaslavsky, 1973, Eglash, 1999). Consider the case where powers of ten such as 10,000 have special names in many Bantu tribal languages and the rest of the numbers are enumerated in a base ten system. This naming could be adopted when teaching numeration especially of big numbers, as the case in Japan shows (Reys et al., 1996), to facilitate mental computations.

Different countries have different content emphases but it appears in terms of pedagogy, most of them are recently in favor of making mathematics more accessible and meaningful to more students. Increasingly, more Ugandan teachers and students are exposed to international school mathematics practices as a result of travel (including return of Ugandans from Diaspora), and due to a growing number of international schools and of new communication technologies. As shown by the analyses, Uganda mathematics urgently needs revision to reflect the cultural needs, values and contexts of the Ugandan society.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Countries, such as those in the Caribbean with equally constrained financial resources as Uganda, appear to have substantially developed their mathematics curriculum: access, quality and relevance of curriculum, teacher engagement, response to globalization, and language issues (Berry, J., Poonwassie, & Berry D. B, 1999). Ugandan mathematics curriculum needs to be reformed along these lines as well as along the lines of equity, and basic numeracy development. A review of recent reforms in developed countries that are addressing issues shared with African countries, such as indigenous mathematics in New Zealand,

and mathematics for English learners in Canada might be a good place for the NCDC to begin its considerations towards reforming Ugandan curricula.

In terms of bilateral and multilateral educational policies, a balance needs to be struck between development projects, and educational curriculum and research projects. Countries such as Chile are taking up the challenge of addressing quality of educational resources as distinct from expansion of enrollments (Valverde, 2004). Third spaces beyond numerical expansion and management of education projects ought to be explored as well.

Isolated reforms by examination bodies, by short term internationally funded projects and by commercial textbook publishers do not go as far as would reform efforts that are organized by overarching frameworks and that span one aspect and one agent of the education system. Also pressing is the need for policy makers to put in place basic structures such as teacher organizations at both national and district levels. Such organizations would facilitate curriculum and professional development activities. Teacher training and teaching could be given more support as well. Ten years ago, the government established District Teacher centers (DTCs). DTCs infrastructure and personnel could be boosted to host professional development forums.

From a globalized post-colonial perspective, this study of the successes and failures of an African postcolonial mathematics curriculum is relevant to mathematics education of indigenous and underrepresented populations in developed countries such as Canada. The study raises awareness of the neglect of central elements of curriculum broadly defined to include instructional materials, pedagogical practices, community involvement, actual classroom experiences and teacher education.

Table 1. Philosophy, Pedagogy, and Content of Ugandan Mathematics.

Philosophy	Students should Enjoy mathematics and have Less fear of mathematics (NCDC, 1999); mathematics for Further study and work (NCDC, 1991, 1999). Students Experience and Do mathematics (NCDC, 1990): "Apart from being treated as a subject of its own, mathematics should be related to any subject involving analysis and reasoning." (p. 106, UNEB, 2005). "Integration of subjects …Approximation and Estimation should be part and parcel of the mathematics lesson …." (p. iv, NCDC, 1990/1992). A student should be capable of presenting information in diagrammatic, tabular and graphic form (UNEB, 2003).
Pedagogy techniques	Learner centered approach (NCDC, 1990); Discovery learning and Active involvement; Understanding concepts (UNEB, 2003); Practical Solving Problems (NCDC, 1999; UNEB, 2003; UNEB, 2005). Multiple written Representations (UNEB, 2005); Confidence, satisfaction, beauty and mathematics (NCDC, 1990; UNEB, 2003; UNEB, 2005). Practical methods at Primary level; Knowledge skills, understanding, and expression at Lower secondary; and Modeling, presenting, interpreting and analyzing at Upper secondary (NCDC, 1999; UNEB, 2003; UNEB, 2005). Cooperation and working together (NCDC, 1990; NCDC 1999)
Content	Manipulative and Computational skills; Evidence of some *new/ modern mathematics* topics such as: Probability and statistics, patterns and sets (UNEB, 2005). Approximation, Estimations, Mental math are also emphasized (NCDC, 1990)

Table 2. Mathematics Topics at Different School Levels.

Primary	**O-level, lower secondary**		**A-level, Upper secondary**	
Primary Math (core)	**Ordinary Mathematics (core)**	**Additional Mathematics (elective)**	**Principal mathematics (elective)**	**A-level Subsidiary mathematics**
Set concepts	Numerical concepts	Pure mathematics	Pure	Pure mathematics
Numeration Systems & Place Value	Algebra	Vectors and Matrices	Applied Mathematics	Vectors and Matrices
Operation On Numbers	Set theory extensions	Mechanics		Mechanics
Number Patterns And Sequences	Vectors and Matrices	Statistics, which includes probability		Statistics, which includes probability
Fractions,	Miscellaneous applications including probability and statistics			
Graphs And Interpretation Of Information				
Geometry				
Integers				
Measures				
Algebra				

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