New Framings on Anti-Racism and Resistance

Volume 2 – Resistance and the New Futurity

Joanna Newton and Arezou Soltani (Eds.)

Foreword by George J. Sefa Dei

New Framings on Anti-Racism and Resistance

New Framings on Anti-Racism and Resistance

Volume 2 – Resistance and the New Futurity

Foreword by George J. Sefa Dei

Edited by

Joanna Newton and Arezou Soltani
University of Toronto, Canada

All chapters in this book have undergone peer review.

Cover image by Amanda Kali Bent

Printed on acid-free paper

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD

There are many questions that can be asked when interrogating anti-racism education. How do we respond to the continuing historical significance of race in education as broadly defined? This book sets out to theorize the connections between race, anti-racism, and Indigeneity, drawing on the broader implications for decolonization and education. Extending on some of the early theorizations on decolonization (see Fanon, 1963, 1967; wa Thiong'o & Mignolo, 2007), I will contend that part of the new framings of anti-racist practices of today must be geared towards developing a framework for decolonization (see Dei & Simmons, 2010). Decolonization is not possible without critical education that embraces Indigenous worldviews and counter philosophies of education. Decolonization must be tied to anti-racist education. The possibilities of decolonization connect to the question of identity and how we centre culture, body politics, history, and memory in counter knowledges. One reason why identity is important is that it is linked to politics of resistance and decolonization.

The pursuit of anti-racism education for anti-colonial and decolonial ends will look differently today than ever before. Despite past and ongoing anti-oppression struggles things have not changed much. The historical atrocities against Indigenous, racialized, colonized peoples are still ongoing. Mis-education, genocide, and the dispossession of Indigenous lands have left a painful legacy. As part of the colonial nation building project, there is a desire to erase Blackness and Indigeneity. To disrupt the everyday functionings of a society built on White supremacist assumptions and foundations, we need to look towards other knowledge(s) to dismantle this one-dimensional mindset. We must indeed be careful not to centre Whiteness in ways that may dislodge the saliency of other lives.

New framings of anti-racism cannot dismiss the 'permanence' of skin colour as a marker for social differences. A closer proximity to Whiteness and White identity is rewarded in society. To understand this feature of human society we must use a discursive prism that shifts from binaries. In Dei (2017a) I argue for a clear distinction between a 'Black-White binary' and a 'Black-White paradigm.' The 'Black-White binary' assigns fixed notions of skin colour racial identity, creating an oppositional division of two sides (Black and White). Our society is complex and therefore we need to move away from such binaries and simplistic readings. A 'Black-White paradigm' is simply a prism or lens of reading social relations and relations of power. It speaks to the relative importance of skin colour as constructed, and yet acknowledges the saliency of Blackness and body politics. This saliency of Blackness is at the root of anti-Black racism, and particularly the placing of Black and African bodies at the bottom of a racial hierarchy. The paradigm is significant for anti-racism and anti-oppression work, because it acknowledges the saliency of

race, skin colour, and anti-Black racism. As many have noted skin colour and anti-Blackness operate to fix peoples of African-descent in a state of permanent visibility, hypervigilance, and selective invisibility (Deliovsky & Kitossa, 2013). A social construction of Blackness (as transgressive and deviant), along with the imagined ideal Black/African phenotype, is deeply grounded in Western culture and upholds the 'Black-White paradigm,' as well as the "perceived Black physical formidability" (see Wilson, Hugenberg, & Rule, 2017; Deliovsky & Kitossa, 2013). Anti-Black racism has been a particularly negative reading, (re)action, and concrete response to Blackness and racism directed at the Black/African body. Such readings, responses, and practices are framed by racist thoughts (e.g., alleged sub-humanity of the Black/African subject and our supposed roots in a dark, uncivilized, deviant and criminal world, see also Dei, 1996; Benjamin, 2003). It is important to emphasize that the 'Black-White paradigm' is not a negation of the colonial impact of Indigenous peoples. It does not speak to a hierarchy of oppressions and neither does it efface the intersections of identities. It simply offers us a lens for reading race relations and the understandings of how a particular thinking process serves to structure and justify significant social relations, practices and histories in our communities (see also Smith, 2015; Johnson, 2003; Sexton, 2010, 2015).

Every day we have witnessed the ongoing struggles of racialized, colonized, and Indigenous communities in our institutions and workplaces. These struggles take form in anti-racism as radical decolonial resurgences. These struggles cannot be individualized nor made to stand apart from a collective challenge. The endeavours cannot also be about individual prejudices, biases, and discriminatory actions. They must be about institutional and systemic changes that draw from collective community resources and knowledges. These struggles must unmask power, privilege and dominance; they are enactments of Whiteness. It is for this reason that anti-racism teaching must embrace a radical pedagogy of decolonial praxis. Such a pedagogy must decenter Whiteness, especially when we consider the way racism is continually naturalized and normalized.

This book will be a part of the anti-racism journey by taking up some key questions: How do we build on the tenets of a critical anti-racist theory (CART) to inform anti-racist practice? How do we bring critical scholarship of race and anti-racism to understand ongoing manifestations of anti-Indigeneity, racisms, and Euro-modernity? How do we as educators link our teachings to broader questions of identity, representation, and imperial global power? How do critical studies on race and anti-racism help us to rethink and reframe new questions of educational futurity? How can we explain the 'post' in the 'post-racial' when racism is in vogue in the corridors of power everywhere around us?

New framings of anti-racism should inform readers the ways colonial and neo-colonial systems have sanctioned and continue to sanction Indigenous genocide, racialized violence, social deaths, and dispossession of Black/African and Indigenous peoples' lands and resource through systemic innocence, denials, and practices of erasures. We need anti-racism to interrogate nation state colonial citizenship,

to trouble the discursive myths and mythologies of 'White settler innocence' and imperial benevolence, and the ways the sovereignty of Indigenous communities and Black/African populations' humanity are continually stripped away. We need anti-racist epistemes to inform critical educational practice to question colonial settler subjectivity and the imbrication of anti-Blackness and anti-Indigeneity.

One way to do this is to acknowledge how education centres Eurocentricity on all learners. The 'universal learner' is often assumed not to have any race, ethnicity, gender, class, or sexuality. Many of us seem to have a problem with counter and oppositional discourses that challenge or subvert Blackness as a "badge of inferiority" and would want to diminish the fact that African "enslavement was truly a living death" (Asante, 1991, p. 176). When Afrocentric discourses affirm Blackness and Africanness it is countered as another version of Eurocentrism. So why is there a 'problem' when counter educational paradigms and approaches (e.g., Afrocentricity and Indigeneity) call specifically for centering the African/Black and Indigenous child? Can we perhaps trace this paradox or conundrum to the fact that the universal learner ends up being the archetype of the Euro-colonial body.

We are at a historical juncture where it is hard to meet many folks who will openly admit to extolling the virtues of racism. People are fully aware that to do so would invite legitimate and understandable charges of being racist. This contributes to what I have called the 'discomfort of speaking race.' So we may have folks who may be rightly deemed "closest" racists. We should call them out. Similarly, there is the hypocrisy of those who decry racism and yet hold in their inner thoughts very racist beliefs, occasionally embodying these thoughts for their advantage. If we are vigilant in the pursuit of anti-racism many of these hidden truths will soon be laid bare. We have no choice because racism is a form of colonial and imperial violence that denies dignity to all peoples. "New Framings on Anti-Racism: Resistance and the New Futurity" is a call to action. The authors of this collection seek to expose the different manifestations of racism in contemporary times.

REFERENCES

Asante, M. (1991). The afrocentric idea in education. *Journal of Negro Education, 60*(2), 170–180.

Benjamin, A. (2003). *The Black/Jamaican criminal: The making of ideology*. (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation). University of Toronto, Toronto.

Dei, G. J. S. (1996). *Anti-racism education: Theory and practice*. Halifax, NS: Fernwood Publishing.

Dei, G. J. S. (2017). *Reframing blackness anti-blackness and Black solidarities through anti-colonial and decolonial prisms*. New York, NY: Springer.

Dei, G. J. S., & Simmons, M. (Eds.). (2010). *Fanon and education: Thinking through pedagogical possibilities*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Deliovsky, K., & Kitossa, T. (2013). Beyond Black and White: When going beyond may take us out of bounds. *Journal of Black Studies*, *44*(2), 158–181.

Fanon, F. (1967). *Black skin, White masks.* New York, NY: Grove Press.

Fanon, F. (1963). *The wretched of the earth.* New York, NY: Grove Press.

Johnson, E. P. (2003). *Appropriating Blackness: Performance and the politics of authenticity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Mignolo, W. (2007). Delinking: The rhetoric of modernity, the logic of coloniality and the grammar of de-coloniality. *Cultural Studies, 21*(2–3), 449–514.

Sexton, J. (2010). Proprieties of coalition: Blacks, Asians, and the politics of policing. *Critical Sociology, 36*(1), 87–108.

Sexton, J. (2015). Unbearable Blackness. *Cultural Critique*, *90*(1), 159–178.

Smith, C. A. (2015). Blackness, citizenship, and the transnational vertigo of violence in the Americas. *American Anthropologist*, *117*(2), 384–387.

wa Thiong'o, N. (1986). *Decolonizing the mind: The politics of language in African literature*. Nairobi, Kenya: Heinemann.

Wilson, J. P., Hugenberg, K., & Rule, N. O. (2017). Racial bias in judgments of physical size and formidability: From size to threat. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 113*(1), 59–80.

George J. Sefa Dei
(Nana Adusei Sefa Tweneboah I)
Centre for Integrative Anti-Racism Studies Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
University of Toronto (OISE/UT)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The chapters collected in this edition communicate the lived experiences, struggles, and successes of students and educators engaged in anti-racism work. We would like to extend our thanks to the contributors. They share our passion for anti-racism education and are the next generation of community leaders who will build on past struggles and climb new heights in the pursuit of social justice and excellence in professional life and community service.

We would also like to thank Professor George J. Sefa Dei for entrusting this project in our care. Thank you for creating and fostering a space where we had the opportunity to learn from others, to engage in meaningful exchange, and to teach, listen, and explore in an environment of mutuality and solidarity.

As editors, we learned a great deal from this experience and were able to support each other in a way that highlighted the power of solidarity. We have a deep respect for each other's lived experiences and approaches to anti-racism education. We are grateful for each other's patience, kindness, and optimism.

From Arezou – I would like to thank Tyler for challenging me to see the complexity through which racism manifests, and for never letting me fall back on the black/white binary. To Kobra and Ali, thank you for setting me on this path.

From Joanna – A special thank you to my partner Simon who supports me in all that I do. To all of the 'other mothers' in my life: thank you for your wisdom and unwavering support. And to my parents: thank you to my father who is a constant source of encouragement, and finally to my mother for giving me pride in my racial identity and for always teaching me to fight for what is right and just.

INTRODUCTION

On-going processes of globalization and transnational migration, coupled with capitalist modernity, have exacerbated the continued significance of race. It is important for scholarship and research to come together to assist particularly disenfranchised groups as we articulate our social existence and collective destinies. Some of the questions that this volume seeks to address are: How do we build on the tenets of critical anti-racist theory? How do we use critical scholarship on race and anti-racism to counter conventional discourses of black/white binaries? And lastly, how do we account for the persistence of white supremacy in a context of racial hegemony?

This book is intended to generate important enquiries into the teaching and practice of anti-racism education, by way of working through conversations, contestations, and emotions as presented in a year-long course in, "Principles of Anti-Racism Education." Throughout the collection, contemporary educational issues are situated in personal/political conversations as voiced through pedagogues, practitioners, and scholars in order to present new insights on anti-racism praxis. Our aim is to demonstrate the resistance and futurity possible when students, educators, staff, administrators, policymakers, and community members engage in critical anti-racism education.

This book will build on existing scholarship by asking new questions that have implications for decolonial, futuristic praxis. We hope to move the discussion beyond schooling and education (broadly defined) and also ground our analysis in other institutional settings. This volume will foreground current debates on issues of immigration, racialization, anti-Blackness, anti-Indigeneity, and the violence of settler colonialism by pointing to new framings of anti-racism. It looks at the question of anti-racism and the politics of futurity as a re-imagining of community and social change. It is comprised of ten essays from scholars, activists, and educators dedicated to frameworks of anti-oppression.

Sandra Hudson, in "Indigenous and Black Solidarity in Practice: #BLMTOTentCity," discusses how the colonial nation-building project of Canada is built on falsehoods that further erase the historic and ongoing atrocities against Black and Indigenous peoples. Hudson draws from Black Lives Matter's 2016 occupation of Toronto Police Service Headquarters as an example demonstrating the actualization of Black and Indigenous solidarity in resurgent political movement building.

In "Racism in the Canadian Imagination," Arezou Soltani explores how Canada's erasure of racial oppression in its past and present imaginings is in tune with liberal traditions of nation-building. By embodying a politics of shame and utilizing the myth of the American Dream, Canada is able to present itself as a multiracial and multicultural plurality whilst keeping racism in the periphery.

INTRODUCTION

Celine Gibbons-Taylor in "So Mi Like It: An Analysis of Black Women's Sexual Subjectivities," provides a thought provoking engagement with Afro-Caribbean artists in subverting and challenging colonial, white supremacist, hetero-patriarchal norms that have been assigned to the bodies of Black women. Gibbons-Taylor demonstrates the resilience of Black women's subjectivity in interrogating the fixed imagery of hypersexualization and deviancy associated with the construction of Black womanhood. Here, we learn the different ways in which Black woman revalue and redefine their sexuality and gender, presenting a transformative politic that engages with anti-colonial, anti-racist, and Afro-futurist Black feminist teachings.

In "Anti-Black Racism, Resistance, and the Health and Well-Being of Black Bodies in Public Education," Joanna Newton draws on her lived experiences in education, and the lived experiences of her family and colleagues to explore how Black bodies in public education experience racism. Newton employs Critical Anti-Racism Theory (CART) to examine these experiences of anti-Black racism and the impacts they have on the health and well-being of Black bodies. Newton suggests that CART is an important theoretical tool for understanding the experiences of Black bodies in public education in order to transform educational spaces to ensure the health and well-being of Black bodies.

In "Interculturalism in Peru and Québec: A Functional Project?" María Roxana Escobar Ñañez provides a cross-cultural examination of interculturalism in both Peru and Québec as a way of interrogating dominant hegemonic discourses of multiculturalism. By situating the conversation in both Peru and Québec, Escobar Ñañez highlights the various ways in which governmental policies have used interculturalism to control culturally diverse populations. She presents critical interculturalism as a decolonizing and anti-racist project, whereas the state works to create a multi-centered society in which there is a plurality of knowledges, bodies, and identities respected within the state.

Lauren Katie Howard in her paper titled, "The Subversion of Whiteness and its Educational Implications for Critical Anti-Racist Frameworks," aims to move conversations of whiteness and white supremacy away from questions of privilege to a critical interrogation of the ongoing violence of Indigenous peoples through land theft and dispossession. Changing this dynamic requires direct intervention in disrupting the normal functioning of society built on white supremacist foundations. Howard provides an insightful analysis on breaking down black/white binaries by reimagining whiteness studies as a decolonizing practice that focuses its attention on settler colonialism.

In "Moving to and/with: Understanding the Construction of Race and Privilege" Marco Bertagnolio exposes the mechanisms through which white power and privilege operate in maintaining its hegemonic stronghold. Whiteness as a cultural value is so pervasive in society that it is both the obvious and hidden norm against which most things are measured. By embodying a decolonial mindset of "and/with," Bertagnolio shifts our focus away from dichotomous forms of thinking in order for white bodies to create alliances with racialized peoples and engage in anti-racism work.

Sabrine Jeanine Azraq in her piece, "Palestine: BDS as Refusal and Resistance in the Settler Colonial Academy," discusses the pivotal role the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement plays in dismantling the ongoing zionist settler-colonial project in the land of Palestine. This piece provides a pragmatic approach to the role that intellectuals, students, and academics can play in interrogating racism within the academy.

Through her own lived experiences, Christine McFarlane in "Anti-Racism and Decolonization in Education from an Indigenous Perspective," discusses the impact of colonization and racism on Indigenous peoples through processes of assimilation. McFarlane powerfully conveys the importance of anti-racism theory to decolonize Eurocentric models of education in order to centre Indigenous knowledges.

Lastly, Percy Konadu Yiadom in "Interrogating Child Labour from an Anti-Racism Prism," uses anti-racism theory as an entry point to address Western and non-Western perceptions of child labour in Africa. His aim is to highlight the contradictions and dilemmas that arise when addressing the issues of child labour in developing countries.

Combined, these collections of essays take up questions around new conceptual framings on race, white supremacy, and Indigeneity for the politics of educational and social futurity. We would also like to note that the thoughts of the contributors do not reflect those of the editors. We were entrusted to maintain the integrity of each chapter and to honour the voice of each contributor. At the heart of this volume is our abiding commitment to anti-racism praxis. It is our hope that this collection provides new theoretical directions and practical applications to anti-racism work.

SANDRA HUDSON

1. INDIGENOUS & BLACK SOLIDARITY IN PRACTICE: #BLMTOTENTCITY

ABSTRACT

Hudson discusses Black and Indigenous solidarity using Black Lives Matter's 2016 occupation of Toronto Police Services Headquarters as a point of analysis for future possibilities. The creation of this space was anti-colonial and was supported through solidarity built between Black and Indigenous community members. This chapter investigates the solidarity that was built between Black and Indigenous Torontonians through resistance action in relation to its historical location and contemporary considerations. Following a description of the occupation, this chapter examines the political relevance and anti-colonial principles embedded in the praxis action. It then discusses the necessity of an anti-colonial orientation in Black liberation struggles on this land, given the twin genocidal project of land dispossession and enslavement. Followed by a discussion on the ways in which contemporary discourses of multiculturalism act to destroy claims to land, self-determination, and liberation for both Indigenous and Black people living under Canadian colonialism. Hudson then considers possibilities for solidarity between Black and Indigenous people, and compares on-the-ground experiences to problematic theoretical discussions raised in the academy. This chapter will conclude with a discussion of potentialities for movement building between both communities.

Keywords: anti-racism, anti-Blackness, white supremacy, racism, decolonization, solidarities, Black futurisms, police violence, Black futurities, praxis, Blackness, police, social justice, state violence, violence, anti-violence, post-secondary education, academia, critical studies, critical anti-racism, direct action, logics of white supremacy, slaveability, multiculturalism, movement-building, Black liberation, liberation

INTRODUCTION

On Friday, March 21, 2016, Ontario's Special Investigations Unit (SIU) announced that no charges would be laid on the Toronto police officers involved in the homicide of Andrew Loku. The SIU had released a bare bones public report justifying their decision to safeguard the police officers responsible for the death of Andrew Loku

(Gennaro, 2016). In the weeks following, Black activists created a resistance strategy that moved Toronto's Black community, and sparked resistance actions across the country. As part of the resistance strategy, the activists erected an unprecedented "tent city" in front of the Toronto Police Headquarters; an encampment occupation that lasted over two weeks. The context under which this action takes place may come as a surprise to those who have been deceived by Canada's denial of racism, but the statistics reveal an anti-Black, racist landscape that Canada's very construction is meant to deny.

Though less than three per cent of the Canadian population is Black, they make up over 10 per cent of Canada's incarcerated population. In Toronto, the SIU has never recommended investigating a police officer for killing a Black person, though at least half of all people killed by the Toronto police since the 1980s are Black (Morgan & Bullen, 2015). These statistics are a result of a long historical connection between white supremacy and colonization which begins with the very history of policing in the colonies of the Americas. Never forget that the police were created for the purpose of capturing Black enslaved people who had liberated themselves. To add to the troubling statistics, there have been other incidences of police brutality where officers have killed Black civilians in suspicious circumstances, creating a potential for widespread Black mobilization within the City of Toronto.

The Black Lives Matter – Toronto coalition reimagined possibilities for creating an Africentric, transformative community where members were truly cared for and held through interdependence and revolutionary ideals of justice. The creation of this space was truly anti-colonial and sparked solidarity between Black and Indigenous community members, which is necessary for the possibility of creating transformative futures. Though the action was an occupation of space, the organizers of the demonstration were careful and deliberate in ensuring that the occupation did not recolonize land and render Indigenous communities invisible. The theoretical framework of organizers led to their understanding that colonization is reified through white supremacy and anti-Blackness.

Described crudely, colonization in a Canadian context is typically understood to be a process concerning the theft of land from Indigenous people to white settlers, including the strategies of genocide and cultural erasure employed by white settlers. But organizers also understood colonization as the process by which Black people have been removed from their lands and forced to work for settlers, including the strategies of genocide and cultural erasure levelled upon enslaved Black people. With this understanding, the praxis that culminated in Tent City prioritized Black and Indigenous solidarity in order to expose anti-Black murders by state forces. Thus, simultaneously raising the question of anti-Indigeneity by the state as an intertwined process. This chapter will investigate the solidarity that was built between Black and Indigenous Torontonians through resistance in relation to its historical location and contemporary considerations.

I will discuss Black and Indigenous solidarity using Toronto's Black Lives Matter March 2016 15-day occupation of Toronto Police Services Headquarters as an

example for future possibilities. Following a description of the occupation first called #TentCity and then established as #BlackCity, I will discuss the political relevance and anti-colonial principles embedded in the praxis. I will then discuss the necessity of an anti-colonial orientation in Black liberation struggles on this land, given the twin genocidal project of land dispossession and enslavement. I will then discuss the ways in which contemporary discourses of multiculturalism act to destroy claims to land, self-determination, and liberation for both Indigenous and Black people living under Canadian colonialism. Using the example of #BlackCity, I will then discuss possibilities for solidarity between Black and Indigenous people, and compare my personal on-the-ground experience to problematic theoretical discussions raised in the academy. This chapter will conclude with a discussion of the potential for movement building between both communities.

As the author of this chapter, I must disclose my own relationship to this resistance action. I am one of the co-founders of Black Lives Matter – Toronto, a Toronto-based chapter of the international #BlackLivesMatter movement. As a Black, Afrikan woman from a working-class background, I felt a strong sense of grief, anger, and isolation when I heard in September 2014 the news that Peel Police had murdered another Black man, Jermaine Carby in Brampton (CBC, 2014b). I was even more frustrated that the incident did not spark the ire in mainstream media that such an injustice should have. Just one month earlier, Michael Brown was murdered by police in Ferguson, Missouri (CBC, 2014a); his body lay visible in the street for over six hours. Canadian mass media treated this incident differently than that of Jermaine Carby's. It was far more heavily covered, discussed, and critiqued.[1] This is one of the methods that hegemonic powers use to create Canada as an "innocent," "post-racial" nation vis-à-vis the United States of America.

BLACK LIVES MATTER – TORONTO AND POLICE VIOLENCE: A BRIEF HISTORY

Black communities in Toronto have a long history of organizing against police brutality. In the late 1980s, following a spate of police killings of Black people, the Black Action Defense Committee (BADC) was created by community organizers to hold police accountable and mobilize Black communities against anti-Black policing. After several high-profile actions, BADC was successful in playing a significant role in the establishment of the SIU. Though a significant victory at the time, the SIU has been co-opted by forces with an interest in shielding police officers from being held accountable. Currently, the SIU is largely run by former police officers, and operates with little transparency or public accountability.

On August 9, 2014, Michael Brown was murdered by Officer Darren Wilson in Ferguson, Missouri. After months of protest, a Grand Jury was set to decide whether or not Darren Wilson would face criminal charges on November 24, 2014. Demonstrations and vigils were being planned in major cities across the United States following the decision (McClam, 2014). Known as an organizer in the

community with a particular interest in issues of racism and anti-Blackness, I was asked several times if I knew whether or not there would be solidarity vigils for Michael Brown in the city of Toronto. No one had asked me anything similar with respect to Jermaine Carby. I decided to organize a solidarity vigil with a double purpose of showing solidarity in the killing of Michael Brown and subverting the myth of Canadian racial innocence. With that action, Black Lives Matter – Toronto was born in November 2014.

#BlackLivesMatter is a movement that began in the United States after the acquittal of George Zimmerman, a Florida man who murdered a Black child, Trayvon Martin (Garza, n.d.). The movement draws from historical Black liberation movements, and differs in its reliance on social media and dedication to an anti-patriarchal, anti-heterosexist, and anti-cissexist frame. Women and transfolk are highly visible within this transfeminist iteration of a century long struggle for Black liberation. In the United States, the movement has been criticized for its nationalist tendencies and failure to imagine and enact a Black liberation struggle as one that is necessarily global. The inclusion of Black Lives Matter – Toronto was a direct challenge to this frame, and our contribution has been to advance issues of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism.

In joining our American counterparts, we found ourselves struck by the pervasive myth of anti-racism in Canada. Our contemporaries were at times surprised to learn that the progressive country they had always imagined north of the 49th parallel experienced many of the same white supremacist, anti-Black social issues that Black Americans struggle against. Such disbelief is not isolated to our contemporaries in the United States. Members of Black Lives Matter – Toronto have consistently had to contend with the disbelief that anti-Blackness in policing, education, migration, and health care are real and present issues.

In Canada, as in the United States, Black activists are often confronted with demands to prove the claims we make in respect to anti-Blackness. Whereas in the United States, statistics are readily available to quantify the ways in which anti-Black racism interrupts the lives of African people below the 49th parallel, such forms of evidence are scantily available in Canada. In fact, a major form in which anti-Blackness operates in colonized Canada is the active and passive refusal to collect and provide information. Despite calls throughout the years to collect race-based data with respect to education and policing, governments have consistently refused, while simultaneously challenging activists to prove their claims.

As Black people throughout colonized Canada can attest, there is no magic barrier at the 49th parallel that has evaporated anti-Blackness from the white supremacist society of the North. Despite pervasive cultural myths, the anti-Black genocidal history of the British Empire with respect to African people, continued and evolved in contemporary imperialist Canada in much the same way as it has in the contemporary American Empire. And though we lack the statistics and transparency that our kinfolk to the South often have access to, there are academics and community organizers that expose Canada's brand of anti-Blackness.

4

There is a long history of police violence against Black bodies in the city of Toronto. Despite years of protest and resistance from the Black community, the decision-makers in charge of addressing these issues have often avoided implementing scores of recommendations and submissions made by various groups, including BADC, the African Canadian Legal Clinic, the Ontario Human Rights Commission, and the Ontario Ombudsman (Law Union of Ontario, 2014; Urban Alliance on Race Relations, 2000; Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2003; Ontario Ombudsman, 2008; Ontario Ombudsman, 2014). In recent years, these issues have become underscored in the public realm with Black community resistance to carding and police brutality in policing. When Toronto Police murdered Andrew Loku, Black Lives Matter activists were told by Canadian Mental Health Association (CMHA) Executive Director Steve Lurie to trust in the process of Ontario's SIU. Lurie had seen video footage of the incident (which occurred in CMHA housing). His conclusion was that there was absolutely no way the SIU could do anything other than recommend that the officers involved be charged.

Over six months later, the SIU quietly released to the media the facts of their decision after business hours on a Friday night. They decided that the officers involved should not be charged. Shortly thereafter, Black Lives Matter – Toronto activists convened a meeting and decided that we would camp outside of Toronto City Hall and create a tent city. After the first few nights, heavy-handed police repression led to the action moving from Toronto's City Hall to Toronto's Police Headquarters. After the police attacked protesters and confiscated our tents, the action, originally intended to last 12 hours, became an indefinite expression of what a community could look like (Hudson & Diverlus, 2016).

Though the majority of the inhabitants of Black Lives Matter – Toronto's Tent City were Black, there was space made for allies of all stripes, and all inhabitants were supported and valued. Of our allied participants, the solidarity and support of Indigenous communities was key to our action. The organizers' ability to recognize the resistance action as a site of possibility was transformative.

FROM TIME: SETTLER COLONIALISM AS A SITE OF
BLACK & INDIGENOUS GENOCIDE IN CANADA

In order to fully appreciate the possibilities for transformative change through Black and Indigenous alliance, one should have an appreciation for the ways in which the white supremacist colonial history of this land enacted similar forms of violence on both Black people and in Indigenous communities. The British form of settler colonialism enacted brutal centuries-long genocide on Indigenous populations across the world. The "Dominion of Canada" was an active participant in these genocides, benefitting from the destruction of Indigenous societies from South America to West Africa.

To understand the ways in which settler colonialism enacted its destruction on African and Indigenous bodies in Canada, it is useful to invoke Andrea Smith's

concept of the Logics of White Supremacy (2010). For Smith, white supremacy operates with three logics: Disappearance, Slaveability, and Orientalism. To these concepts, I will add another logic for investigation: The logic of One True History.

Disappearance

With respect to communities Indigenous to the land, white supremacy had to enact a logic of disappearance (Smith, 2010). White colonizers needed to create a lasting logic of themselves as "native" to this land. This is a logic that persists today, despite its obvious impossibility. Presence and visibility of Indigenous communities challenge the white supremacist assertion that Canada is a white nation. Accordingly, Indigenous communities were made to "disappear." In addition to intentionally isolating reserve communities that diminished throughout the years, white colonizers created a racist understanding of Indigeneity predicated on primitivity that was dependent upon "blood purity". Under the Indian Act, only when children with Indigenous ancestry are born to Indigenous women are they recognized by the state as Indigenous. Over the years, miscegenation contributed to the gradual "disappearance" of Indigenous communities in the eyes of the British and the subsequent Canadian state. Through residential schools, these strategies of disappearance were amplified causing significant harm in Indigenous communities, resulting in cultural and literal genocide.

Slaveability

With respect to Black communities, the white supremacist colonizer needed to enact a logic of slaveability (Smith, 2010). There was colonial work that was seen as unfit for white colonizers, such as agriculture and housework. Despite Canada's cultural myth of innocence with respect to the international enslavement of Black people in white states, Canadians not only used the labour of enslaved Africans, but Canada was also built upon the profits the British empire gained through its use of free labour (Austin, 2010). Additionally, traders who took part in the trade of sugar, cotton, salt, and other plantation goods were all benefitting from and engaging in the enslavement of Africans and contributing to the logic of slaveability.

The logic of slaveability resulted in a different genocidal process than the logic of disappearance. Rather than relying on purity, the colonizer needed to multiply its labour supply. Instead of using racial purity as a marker of slaveability, the white supremacist logic enacted the "one drop" rule: so long as one had a veritable "drop" of African ancestry, one was unfit to be considered fully human. The result of such a process was to exclude African people from humanity in the eyes of the colonizer (Cooper, 2007). Enslavement was a permanent condition that literally stripped tens of millions of African people of their right to live. Watching our lives end became leisure. And even if one did survive, survival was equivalent to social death (Cooper, 2007).

Orientalism

The final white supremacist logic considered by Andrea Smith is that of Orientalism. The Orientalist logic imposes borders upon the earth as markers of innate human value, civility, and worth. Orientalism provides white supremacist colonizers with the logic necessary to declare themselves superior to all societies outside of white nations, giving them dominion over the world (Smith, 2010).

One True History

I add to Andrea Smith's three identified logics the additional white supremacist logic of One True History. Anti-Blackness, anti-Indigeneity, and other forms of racism persist in part because of the idea that there is one version of history that white people have exclusive dominion over. It is expressed through the Eurocentric dismissal of oral histories and the reliance of the written word as irrefutable truth. It is expressed through an almost scientific reliance on the "white encoders of history" to tell us "truths," even when we accept that there are obvious reasons as to why we should not rely on white supremacist historians to teach us African history. Despite what Canada has constructed for itself as myth, Brown (2008) makes it abundantly clear that Canada cannot escape the truth, once one digs below the superficial veneer:

> Daniel Defoe, writing in 1713 about the slave trade, plantation slavery, and the mercantile triangular trade among Great Britain, Africa, the West Indies, and the Americas, summed up the tangled web of total exploitation of Africa and Black people as follows: "No African trade, no Negroes, no sugar, no sugar islands, no islands no continents, no continent no trade: that is to say farewell to your American trade, your West Indian trade." (p. 385)

The logic of One True History results in the denial of Canadian enslavement, because officials responsible for census data did not include Africans in their accounts (Brown, 2008). Such logic also results in the history of the Underground Railroad in the public and contemporary imagination being dreadfully incomplete. Canada is mythologized into a promised land for escaped slaves because the history of Canada's enslaved population crossing the 49th parallel into the United States for freedom is unwritten. The first large-scale escapees of enslaved people that could be deemed as an "underground railroad" movement, journeyed from the Canadian towns of Amherstberg and Sandwich to Detroit. This piece of Canadian history is virtually unknown in Canadian popular consciousness (Cooper, 2007).

This movement of enslaved people was sparked by the brutalization of an African woman by a Canadian slave owner and is also virtually unknown, as are Canada's attempts to recover its lost "property" (Cooper, 2007). Canadian whiteness imagines borders representing a significant shift in principles, despite the colonial, imperialist history of Canada. It also mythologizes all Black people living in Canada as recent

immigrants, despite our presence on this land dating back to the 1600s. As stated by David Austin (2010):

> In other words, power, in this case state and corporate power, is facilitated and exercised through the production of truth, that is contrived narratives designed to maintain power, order and authority, and to make laws and produce wealth; truths by which we are judged, condemned, classified, determined in our undertakings, destined to a certain mode of living or dying. (p. 20)

The idea of One True History also allows the other logics to continue unchallenged, despite their obvious contradictions. In what whiteness wants to imagine as a post-colonial and post-racial present, the logics of disappearance and slaveability persist, despite liberal superficial rejections of the current manifestation of these social harms in popular consciousness. So the one-drop rule continues to define Blackness. It also leads to a situation where contemporary state leaders, such as former Prime Minister Stephen Harper, are able to absurdly claim without irony that Canada "has no history of colonialism" (Fontaine, 2006). As Wolfe (2006) states, "as opposed to enslaved people, whose reproduction augmented their owners' wealth, Indigenous people obstructed settlers' access to land, so their increase was counterproductive. In this way, the restrictive racial classification of Indians straightforwardly furthered the logic of elimination" (p. 388), and continues to further that logic today.

The implementation of the One True History also allows for a society in which white supremacy can continue without widespread challenge. If Black and Indigenous folks lack the ability to participate and advance politically and economically due to their own socio-economic status (Smith, 2010), then whiteness has no responsibility for its continued marginality and oppression. The One True History convinces society, including Black and Indigenous people that we are entitled to life, dignity, and "freedom" if we "do as we are told" and agree to surveillance and restricted social mobility.

A careful contemplation of these logics reveals a troubling notion: all people, even those who are not white, can be implicated in the logics of white supremacy. Whether white, Black, Indigenous, or non-Black racialized people, white supremacy's hegemonic status is dependent upon mass buy-in. Indigenous people can (and have, historically) contributed to the logic of slaveability, at their own peril. Black folks can (and have, historically) contributed to the logic of Indigenous disappearance, at their own peril. In order to truly tackle white supremacy, each of these pillars must be attacked without reinscribing or strengthening another pillar. A failure to do so runs the risk of turning racialized and Indigenous people against one another, thereby contributing to the logic of white supremacy while attempting to attack another. Bonita Lawrence and Zainab Amadahy (2009) commit this error when they attack the logic of disappearance, acknowledge the logic of slaveability, and contribute to the logic of One True History, which I will discuss in detail later.

MULTICULTURALISM AS AN ANTI-BLACK, ANTI-INDIGENOUS PRACTICE

Central to Canada's brand of white supremacist colonialism, and what differentiates it from the United States, is its reliance on multiculturalism. Heralded as a progressive concept, multiculturalism is lauded in Canada's cultural mythology as a harbinger of tolerance, equality, and social harmony. In fact, the very existence of Canada's Indigenous and Black populations are a destabilizing antitheses to this cultural lore. Far from a progressive bastion of justice, multiculturalism is in fact a shield against legitimate claims of justice for Black and Indigenous people.

As Walcott (2014) reveals, Canada's official Multiculturalism Policy enshrined in law by P. E. Trudeau in 1971 had nothing to do with racial equality or harmony between ethnicities. Rather, "the policy's intent was to manage the non-French and non-English peoples of the nation" (Walcott, 2014, p. 127) and to ensure that in a rapidly diversifying post-war population, the English and French ethnicities would be accepted as "native." Walcott (2014) discusses a cultural shift in discourse from identifying the English and French settlers as European races to differences in language. A discourse meant to designate white settlers as raceless and the "founders" of this land.

These "founders" have cleverly hidden a violent past with respect to interactions with other races through a Multiculturalism Policy that relies on a belief of benevolence. Such a belief requires one to ignore Canada's genocidal history with respect to Black and Indigenous communities, and additionally, its violent treatment towards Asian migrants. "Ultimately, the combination of positive, that is to say contrived, mythology and absented histories serves to marginalise, exclude, alienate and pathologise," says David Austin (2010, p. 23). It becomes clear that a policy of multiculturalism is hypocritical, and requires a history of ultimate and fatal anti-Blackness and anti-Indigeneity in order to exist. Walcott (2014) further identifies that, "from the very beginning…[Canada] had no intention of allowing those racialized as others to participate or shape what the nation might become" (p. 131). However, multiculturalism sells us a reality in which all those living above the 49th parallel should be able to equally participate in a democratic system. Black and Indigenous struggles for change are obfuscated from the mass social consciousness, and met with intransigence and victim-blaming.

What happens to Black and Indigenous people under a system of multiculturalism? The state attempts to control Indigenous people by using the legitimacy it gains through multiculturalism with the rest of the population by handing out "rights" while maintaining its white supremacist colonial status. As David Austin (2010) discusses, "'First Nations' collective rights and identities are at times acknowledged by the state in return for, as Glen Coulthard argues, tacit recognition and legitimisation of the state's authority – but only in so far as Indigenous claims to land and identity do not fundamentally threaten state-corporate interests" (p. 22).

Multiculturalism exists also as a specific appeal to non-Black racialized people. It is a promise that they can participate in the nation-state as equals *distinguished* from

dehumanized Black and Indigenous communities (Smith, 2010). It provides migrant communities with a proximity to whiteness that relies on anti-Blackness. Similar to the ways in which white supremacy can be employed to fracture the working class by allowing white blue-collar workers to assume superiority over their Black class brethren, so too can multiculturalism be employed to fracture non-Black racialized people in the struggle against white supremacy. In short, multiculturalism does not view racialized people as actors with agency. We exist as a force that threatens the mythology of white people as the legitimate source of power in this land, and as such, we must be controlled.

There is no group of racialized people more threatening to the state than Black and Indigenous people. Our very presence on this land, our history, and our contemporary predicaments exposes the myth of racial harmony, and multiculturalism is the myth employed to repress our power. It is beneficial, therefore, that we unite in our challenges to state violence against Black and Indigenous bodies.

BLACK LIBERATION & INDIGENOUS SOLIDARITY IN PRACTICE

The discussion above is a sampling of the theoretical underpinnings that informed the praxis of the Black Lives Matter – Toronto, Tent City project. I stress that these theoretical discussions are merely a sample; the action also operated with strong anti-patriarchal and anti-heterosexist principles, which were essential to its success and development. But for the purpose of discussing Black and Indigenous solidarity, I will leave the discussion of the theoretical frame intact.

As discussed by Trask (1991), resistance movements with small populations and border constrictions must build coalitions with other groups in order to be successful, and to effectively challenge the settler colonial genocidal state. As discussed above, the very existence of Black and Indigenous people destabilizes the Canadian state. An alliance, therefore, has powerful possibilities for movement-making and resistance actions. As our contemporary situation exists in Canada, the police brutality resistance, refreshed by the actions of Black Lives Matter – Toronto, was an ideal issue with which to create a coalition. The state targets Black and Indigenous bodies for policing, incarceration, and surveillance like no other bodies in existence on this land. Black and Indigenous populations are chronically overrepresented in prisons and in communities regularly under surveillance by police officers.

This is the context under which Black and Indigenous communities came together to create Black City. Quite frankly, there was no pre-established plan for a strong Indigenous presence in the action. As mentioned previously, the action was never expected to last more than 12 hours, but after we moved to Toronto Police Services and committed to staying as long as we could to demonstrate the power of our community, a solid and permanent Indigenous presence developed amongst our allied groups. The relationship that developed was one that would not have been possible without the theoretical framework that underpinned our actions.

When our Indigenous allies came to join us at the camp, a relationship that respected our specific histories developed. Through waking hours, a Mohawk Warrior Flag, an Iroquois Confederacy Flag, and a Two Row Wampum Flag was flown by an Indigenous ally; in their other hand, a photo of Andrew Loku. A space was carved out specifically for Indigenous members of Black City and Indigenous medicines were brought to the site every day. Indigenous communities entered in conversation with us so that we could establish a respectful process for using the space that we intended to honour in the ways that the traditional caretakers requested of us. Indigenous activists cleansed the space each day with sage and other sacred medicines and established expectations for ceremony and interactions with police officers should they arise. Similarly, upon entering the space, members from Indigenous communities respected our goals and our plans for using the space. We made clear that our community project would accept all allies, and that we had measures in place for interactions with the police for Black participants. Each day that we extended our action, we furthered dialogue with our Indigenous allies. Processes for food distribution, diverse spiritual practices, and health and healing were negotiated together. And our Indigenous allies always respected our decision-making and leadership. Once established, our partnership was very visible and intentional.

This partnership felt natural, but we must recognize that it is a partnership that must be intentional and continually renewed. Black communities can be anti-Indigenous, and Indigenous communities can be anti-Black. It is crucial for both our communities to resist the myths sold to us by the state, lest we end up tacitly supporting white supremacist logics. If Black communities buy into the logic of disappearance, white supremacist settler colonial logic is upheld within Blackness. If Indigenous communities buy into the logic of slaveability, white supremacist settler colonial logics are upheld within Indigeneity. If either community buys into the One True History logic, we are tacitly supporting white supremacist settler colonial logics at the cost of erasing our own shared histories. Showing the power of Indigenous people as essential caretakers, lawmakers, and spiritual leaders in Black City were anti-colonial and revolutionary acts that rendered the settler colonial state as impermanent. Both groups should be conscious of how white supremacist logics may permeate their thinking in order to actively resist such thought.

THE ACADEMIC PROBLEMATIC

Unfortunately, much of the discourse surrounding potentialities for Black and Indigenous solidarity in the Americas resides in the academy. I say "unfortunately" not because it is not an important site for imagining transformative possibilities. Rather, I mean to point out that it is crucial for such discourse to be shared and developed both within and outside the academy, through on-the-ground struggles; a praxis exercise. Current popular discourses within the academy contemplating decolonization with respect to Black communities are highly problematic, and

rely on white supremacist logics to create a narrative wherein Black presence and Black historical and present experience of genocide in the Americas is positioned as subordinate to Indigenous struggles (Churchill, 1983; Lawrence & Amadahy, 2009). As argued by Smith (2010), such problematic analyses fail to take into account the "intersecting logics of white supremacy":

> When Native struggles become isolated from other social-justice struggles, Indigenous peoples are not in a position to build the necessary political power to end colonialism and capitalism. Instead, they are set up to be in competition rather than in solidarity with other groups seeking recognition. This politics of recognition then presumes the continuance of the settler state that will arbitrate claims from competing groups. (p. 7)

Claims made by Lawrence and Dua (2005) and Lawrence and Amadahy (2009) in their discussions of Indigeneity and Blackness are anti-Black and are squarely in service of white supremacist logic. They rarely place blame or responsibility on whiteness, white supremacy, or colonization; instead they opt to critique and blame Black scholars. For many of their questionable claims, they could complete an analysis that places the responsibility on the shoulders of the colonizers. Shockingly, they almost entirely place blame on the shoulders of Black people struggling for liberation. In order to make such offensive claims they must use the White supremacist tool of anti-Blackness.

For example, Lawrence and Amadahy (2009) describe the movement of recently escaped or freed Black refugees[2] to Canada from what is now referred to as the Caribbean and the United States as a project of settlement. They do this without recognizing that Canada did not even exist in the way that it does now. This framing relies on the One True History of white supremacist logic. These lands were, by and large, colonized by Britain, America, Portugal, or France. It did not matter where the escaped Black refugees were heading – they were escaping enslavement and death only to be faced with it again under the rule of white colonization in every instance, unless they gained passage to Liberia and Sierra Leone. They were escaping across imaginary borders that had not yet been cemented in global consciousness as they have now become for many today. The authors chisel these borders onto their history in an anti-Black project of ascribing blame and a colonizing identity to Black people. Even if the borders had been drawn up throughout the history of slave escapes, why would one reference them in a decolonization practice? It only serves to recolonize the land and the people who have experienced the grave genocidal project of the colonizer in its imagining. From a decolonization paradigm, we must reject the very existence of these borders and see them for what they are: strategic constructions that benefit solely the white supremacist settler logic.

In another example, Lawrence and Amadahy (2009) describes immigration to Canada as white-only, completely erasing the history of enslavement on this land, and falling prey to the white supremacist logic of inherent slaveability. Black people were brought to Canada enslaved. There were no cotton fields and cane fields, but

then, as today, there was work to be done that white supremacy deemed unfit for white hands. This retelling of history is in the service of the colonizer – it absolves white people in Canada of their responsibility to Black people and denies the very simple truth that the wealth that was being amassed across the colonies from the enslavement of Black people and the dispossession of Indigenous lands was not hindered by imaginary lines. The cane fields of Jamaica benefited the fur traders of Canada. Academics and activists alike should not allow the colonization of the land to limit our contemporary critical analysis (Austin, 2010).

Another example that demonstrates the ways in which a competition between Black and Indigenous struggle is constructed by Amadahy and Lawrence (2009) is in their conclusion, "whatever emerges from relationship-building between Black and Indigenous communities should take place" (p. 131) within a fundamental framework of how Indigenous peoples relate to non-Indigenous peoples. This erases the importance of Black healing and Black frameworks for solidarity and attempts to establish power relations between the two diverse groups. From my own on-the-ground experience, I suggest that groups engaged in this coalition building between Black and Indigenous resistance movements should acknowledge that both groups have anti-white supremacist strategies for relationship-building, which can mutually strengthen a common struggle for decolonization and liberation.

In Sharma and Wright's (2009) critique of Lawrence and Dua (2005), they trace the idea of the settler-colonial category, including all non-Indigenous people, back to a pre-multicultural and neoliberal time and relate it to the popularity of racist "ideologies of incommensurable 'differences' among 'cultures'". They conclude by rejecting arguments put forth by Lawrence and Dua (2005) stating that "we are especially interested in liberatory strategies of critique and practice that do not reproduce the ruling strategies of colonial modernity, the colonial state and nationalisms, and that open up spaces for radical critique and resistance" (p. 128).

In academic discussions surrounding decolonization, it is crucial to involve discussions of the responsibilities white settlers have to both Black and Indigenous groups. In doing so, we can recognize how Indigenous and Black people have been manipulated by white supremacists in ways that are counter-productive to their respective struggles of liberation (Wigmore, 2011). We must be conscious not to reproduce these missteps, lest we continue to work in the service of white supremacy.

There are important questions that have been brought up through the academy, many of which have yet to be thoroughly theorized. For example, Lawrence and Amadahy (2009) question what relationships should be forged by people "forced to live on other peoples' lands" (p. 119) in order to resist colonial settler-hood in their contemplation of Black and Indigenous communities. If we are to recognize white supremacist logics, we should push this question further: what relationships should people, living and benefiting off of the capital generated for centuries by Black bodies, forge with Black communities in order to resist colonial settler-hood, white

13

supremacy, and capitalism? It is clear that Indigenous liberation struggles and Black liberation struggles are related and intertwined decolonization struggles. Andrea Smith's (2010) concept of white supremacist logic makes it clear that the struggle for Black and Indigenous freedom requires liberation for each group. The academy should be cautious to ensure that in discussing these concepts it is not reinscribing colonial relationships onto colonized bodies.

CONCLUSION & POTENTIALITIES FOR MOVEMENT BUILDING

Shortly after the close of Black Lives Matter – Toronto's Black City, a state of emergency was announced in the Northern Ontario First Nation of Attawapiskat (Forani, 2016). The community has been devastated by Canada's continued colonial project, leading to a spate of suicide attempts by youth as young as 9 years of age. The declaration of a state of emergency came as Black Lives Matter – Toronto was holding a private healing and debriefing session for participants of Black City. The Indigenous participants notified us, letting us know that they had been inspired by Black City, and may need our solidarity in the coming days. Sparked by the events of Attawapiskat, shortly thereafter, an Indigenous activist group called upon us to support another occupation action: #OccupyINAC (Da Silva, 2016). Toronto and Indigenous organizers in coalition with Black Lives Matter – Toronto, occupied the Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) office. Once again, our mutual solidarity was impossible to ignore. The presence in the media made it clear that Black activists would be using their own resources, contacts, and tools to benefit Indigenous communities.

During these actions, both groups acted with respect and solidarity for each other that leant to our ultimate success in mobilizing our respective communities and forcing power-holding decision makers to act. The potential for both groups to enact transformative change by continuing to work in coalition is boundless. We should roundly reject white supremacist logics that see us competing with each other for scraps at the bottom of the white supremacist lowerarchy. We should never forget that in some ways, we are the most dangerous groups to the white supremacist state structure. Our very existence proves its injustices and attacks its legitimacy. The possibilities stemming from our solidarity and coalition are nothing short of revolutionary.

The potential for decolonial, Africentric futurities inherent in the coalition between Black and Indigenous communities is exciting. White supremacy has historically attempted to prevent these communities from coming together and has benefitted from the genocide of these groups, as well as from the particular ways Black and Indigenous people have been implicated in particular logics of white supremacy. My hope is that strategies like the one taken through #BLMTOTentCity will open up possibilities to creating alternative futures that effectively and radically dismantles our white supremacist present.

NOTES

[1] Though I don't have a formal media analysis to justify this, a cursory search of terms in Canadian media will show the disparity that I refer to.

[2] I refer here to escaped enslaved people as refugees, as this most accurately describes their global location and predicament.

REFERENCES

Austin, D. (2010). Narratives of power: Historical mythologies in contemporary Quebec and Canada. *Race & Class, 52*(1), 19–32.

Brown, Y. (2008). Ghosts in the Canadian multicultural machine: A tale of the absent presence of Black people. *Journal of Black Studies, 38*(3), 374–387.

CBC. (2014a, August 19). Michael Brown shooting and Ferguson aftermath timeline. *CBC News.* Retrieved from http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/michael-brown-shooting-and-ferguson-aftermath-timeline-1.2740282

CBC. (2014b, September 25). Jermaine Carby ID'd as victim of Brampton police shooting. *CBC News.* Retrieved from http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/jermaine-carby-id-d-as-victim-of-brampton-police-shooting-1.2777349

Churchill, W. (1983). Marxism and the native American. In W. Churchill (Ed.), *Marxism and native Americans* (pp. 183–204). Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Cooper, A. (2000). The fluid frontier: Blacks and the detroit river region. *Canadian Review of American Studies, 30*(2), 129–150.

Cooper, A. (2007). Acts of resistance: Black men and women engage lavery in Upper Canada, 1793–1803. *Ontario History, 99*(1), 5–17.

Da Silva, C. (2016, April 13). Idle no more, Black lives matter protesters demand action on Attawapiskat suicide crisis. *CBC.* Retrieved from http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/protesters-occupy-indigenous-northern-affairs-office-1.3533662

Fontaine, T. (2016, April 22). What did Justin Trudeau say about Canada's history of colonialism? *CBC.* Retrieved from http://www.cbc.ca/news/aboriginal/trudeau-colonialism-comments-1.3549405

Forani, J. (2016, April 10). Attawapiskat in state of emergency following rash of suicide attempts. *The Toronto Star.* Retrieved from http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2016/04/10/attawapiskat-in-state-of-emergency-following-rash-of-suicides.html

Garza, A. (n.d.). Black lives matter herstory: The creation of a movement. *Black lives matter.* Retrieved from http://blacklivesmatter.com/herstory/

Gennaro, J. (2016, March 18). Investigation finds no grounds for criminal charges in fatal shooting of Andrew Loku. *Special Investigations Unit.* Retrieved from http://www.siu.on.ca/en/news_template.php?nrid=2578

Hudson, S., & Diverlus, R. (2016, March 21). *Toronto police attack peaceful Black lives matter – Toronto protestors.* Retrieved from http://www.newswire.ca/news-releases/toronto-police-attack-peaceful-black-lives-matter-toronto-protestors-573027871.html

Lawrence, B., & Amadahy, Z. (2009). Indigenous peoples and Black people in Canada: Settlers or Allies? In. A. Kempf (Ed.), *Breaching the colonial contract* (pp. 105–136). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.

Lawrence, B., & Dua, E. (2005). Decolonizing antiracism. *Social Justice, 32*(4), 120–143.

Law Union of Ontario. (2014). *Submission to Toronto police service board re: The CAPP report on police carding.* Toronto, ON: Law Union of Ontario. Retrieved from http://www.lawunion.ca/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/2014-12-15-LUO-Submission-to-TPSB-re-CAPP-FINAL.pdf

McClam, E. (2014, November 25). Ferguson Cop darren wilson not indicted in shooting of Michael Brown. *NBC News.* Retrieved from http://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/michael-brown-shooting/ferguson-cop-darren-wilson-not-indicted-shooting-michael-brown-n25539

Morgan, N. A., & Bullen, D. (2015). *Civil and political wrongs: The growing gap between international civil and political rights and African Canadian life.* Toronto, ON: African Canadian Legal Clinic.

Ontario Human Rights Commission. (2003). *The human cost of racial profiling*. Toronto, ON: Ontario Human Rights Commission   Retrieved from http://www.ohrc.on.ca/sites/default/files/attachments/Paying_the_price%3A_The_human_cost_of_racial_profiling.pdf,   http://www.ohrc.on.ca/en/news_centre/towards-new-ohrc-policy-racial-profiling

Ontario Ombudsman. (2008). *Oversight unseen. Marin, A.* Retrieved from http://www.siu.on.ca/pdfs/marin_report_2008.pdf

Ontario Ombudsman. (2011). *Oversight undermined. Marin, A.* Retrieved from http://www.siu.on.ca/pdfs/ombudsmans_report_2011_oversight_undermined.pdf

Sharma, N., & Wright, C. (2009). Decolonizing resistance, challenging colonial states. *Social Justice, 35*(3), 120–138.

Smith, A. (2010). Indigeneity, settler colonialism & White supremacy. *Global Dialogue, 12*(2), 1–14.

Trask, H. (1991). Coalition-building between natives and non-natives. *Stanford Law Review, 43*(6), 1197–1213.

Urban Alliance on Race Relations. (2000). *Saving lives: Alternatives to the use of lethal force by police*. Toronto, ON: Urban Alliance on Race Relations. Retrieved from https://urbanalliance.files.wordpress.com/2012/05/savinglivesreport.pdf

Walcott, R. (2014). The book of others (Book IV): Canadian multiculturalism, the state, and its political legacies. *Canadian Ethnic Studies, 46*(2), 127–132.

Wigmore, G. (2011). Before the railroad: From slavery to freedom in the Canadian-American Borderland. *Journal of American History, 98*(2), 437–454.

Wolfe, P. (2006). Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native. *Journal of Genocide Research, 8*(4), 387–409.

AREZOU SOLTANI

2. RACISM IN THE CANADIAN IMAGINATION

ABSTRACT

Soltani examines the strategies and tactics used in Canada's liberal democratic framework to normalize covert forms of racism. She begins by outlining the manifestations of covert racism in mainstream discourse by highlighting the main tenets of democratic racism. This will help illustrate how the myth of the American Dream is needed in popular discourse in order to maintain and legitimize democratic racism. She then examines how the discourse of individualism within the American Dream encourages an ahistorical and decontextualized account of the past. By condemning racism to individualizing acts, the state is able to perpetuate the narrative of a "few bad apples," reinforcing what Leonardo Zeus (2002) refers to as a pedagogy of amnesia. Soltani uses Sarah Ahmed's (2004) work on non-performativity to demonstrate Canada's guise of performing, a kind of *doing* of anti-racism work, when in fact, no fundamental changes are made. The aim of this chapter is to highlight the means through which Canada individualizes racism whilst perpetuating it systematically.

Keywords: democratic racism, American Dream, individualism, liberalism, covert racism, overt racism, multiculturalism,

INTRODUCTION

The truth about stories is that that's all we are. (Thomas King)[1]

Stories are how we choose to live with ourselves and with each other. Stories are how we make sense of our world and form the bedrock of all knowledge. In Canada, we have constructed a narrative of our country that makes us feel better when we sleep at night. An image where multiculturalism flourishes and everyone is accepted for their differences. Racialized people are brought up to believe that their feelings of alienation are unfounded, since we are told that we live in a multiracial democracy. My intention in this chapter is to uncover some of the myths that have sustained and reinforced this storytelling in Canada.

Before I proceed, a small caveat is needed. It is not my intention to deny, or to argue against the myriad of ways Canada openly and explicitly violates racialized people. Instead, I argue that overt racism is not the dominant mode of delivery in

popular discourse. This essay engages in an analysis that supports covert racism as more conducive to Canada's liberal democracy. The effective erasure of racism in popular discourse reinforces Canadian multiculturalism. Under the guise of democracy, racism becomes much more difficult to locate and expose. Racism is thus cloaked in a liberal tradition that helps mask its insidious nature.

I begin by outlining the manifestations of covert racism in mainstream discourse by highlighting the main tenets of democratic racism. This will help illustrate how the myth of the American Dream is needed in order to maintain and legitimize democratic racism. By deconstructing the myth of the American Dream, we begin to recognize systemic dimensions of racism as masked within a discourse of individualism, which encourages an ahistorical and decontextualized account of the past. By condemning racism to individualizing acts we are able to perpetuate the narrative of a "few bad apples" which reinforces what Leonardo Zeus (2002) refers to as a pedagogy of amnesia. We forget about what we have done and begin to see racism and genocide as outliers in our history. From here, I use Sarah Ahmed's (2004) work on non-performativity to demonstrate Canada's guise of *doing* anti-racism and social justice work, when in fact no fundamental changes are made. My aim is to demonstrate how Canada focuses its attention on individual racism, whilst perpetuating it systematically.

Lastly, I end with insights from Critical Anti Racism Theory (CART) to pose the following questions: How do we get people to reflect on their experiences in order to break the myth of multiculturalism? What are the possibilities of transformation if we are not prepared to uncover the ways we have internalized racism? My engagement with CART has led me to believe that self-reflection can serve as a valuable entry point in questioning cherished beliefs in the Canadian imagination. To begin, I would like to outline some of the principles of CART that will serve as a guide in this chapter.

A key element of CART is the significance of embodied knowledge (Dei, 2013). CART acknowledges the importance of the epistemic saliency of racialized people in examining social oppressions (Dei, 2013); the experiences of the oppressed need to be centred. The production of embodied knowledge is intrinsically linked to *feeling* the knowledge that accompanies the mindfulness of the oppressed. Accordingly, CART's emphasis on the embodied knowledge of the oppressed can help us interrogate the myth of multiculturalism by centering the experiences and knowledges of those who have been oppressed by the state.

Furthermore, embodied knowledge is also a way of locating one's own subject-position in the field of anti-racism work. As a racialized person living on Indigenous land I was not questioning how the psychology of coloniality shaped and encouraged my feelings of entitlement and superiority. CART encourages racialized people to question the politics of their location. How are we, as racialized people, implicated in a system that we condemn? It is not my intention to answer this question, but only to encourage people engaging in anti-racism work to turn the gaze inwards.

18

While this is essay is focused on exposing myths within Canada's liberal democratic framework, it is important to note that liberalism is a tradition that was grounded in legitimizing itself through the dehumanizing process of colonialism. By eliminating alternative ways of knowing, liberal myths are maintained, since the colonial episteme is adopted as truth. This is important, as it reveals that institutions like the academy will continue to reinforce liberal myths as long as other forms of knowledges do not begin to be looked at with validity. Therefore, this chapter is framed around an understanding that any attempt to critique liberalism must not lose sight of the rootedness of colonialism within the liberal democratic state.

MAINTAINING RACISM IN CANADA: THE POLITICS OF INDIVIDUALISM, HISTORICITY, AND SHAME

As a country, we want to think of ourselves as international peacekeepers and multicultural gatekeepers. Unlike America's melting pot narrative, Canada is presented as a mosaic where various cultures and races come to thrive. This representation is constructed in a discourse of multiculturalism, presenting us with a narrative that there is freedom and equality waiting for all, which is produced through Canada's commitment to democracy. Ultimately, we need to begin recognizing how our own belief systems have been shaped by the state, and one of the ways is by critically interrogating the stories that define the Canadian imagination. In order to do this, I will first map out the ideological terrain of democratic racism.

Frances Henry, Carol Tate, Winston Mattis, and Tim Rees (1998) argue that Canadians have developed an ideology in order to cope with contradictory feelings of racism and a strong commitment to democracy. Henry et al. (1998) define democratic racism as,

> an ideology in which two conflicting sets of values are made congruent to each other. Commitments to democratic principles such as justice, equality, and fairness conflict but coexist with attitudes and behaviours that include negative feelings about minority groups, differential treatment, and discrimination against them. (p. 23)

While the Canadian Government fosters a strong narrative around its commitment to democratic principles, it simultaneously downplays racial oppression. This prevents most Canadians from realizing that the contradiction exists in the first place. Distinguishing "democracy as governmental form" and "democracy as a way of life" can serve as a frame to the type of democracy that is continuously championed in Canadian popular discourse (Dei, Karumanchery, & Karumanchery-Luik, 2005, p. 108). A closer examination of liberalism reveals a privatized interpretation of democracy. As Dei et al. (2005) explains,

> socio-political policy and practice that pursue individual rights and self-interest speak to the underlying Utilitarian philosophy that society is best served by

addressing the interests of individuals. Regardless of the intentions behind this ideology, the result is a philosophy that engages the social world through the lens and language of market economy. A critical interrogation of this *privatized democratic mentality* reveals a complex discursive interplay that functionally portrays the market as both necessary and natural while painting emancipatory and social justice reforms as self-serving, inefficient and ultimately, the concern of special-interest groups. (p. 109)

Social relations become rooted in the normalization of the market economy. The market is no longer seen as one of many options to help organize the social, economic, and political dimensions of society. It is framed as the *only* method through which one can achieve prosperity. Merit is unscathed by racism, and is continually seen as an equal starting point. Since capitalism has built the myth of meritocracy within its notion of democracy, social justice is inherently seen as unequal and met with resistance. Furthermore, democratic capitalism effectively shuts down any way of conceptualizing alternative ways of living. The power of what Lee Ann Bell (2010) refers to as stock stories draws attention to the notion of equality built into the myth of the American Dream, which presents social mobility as an inalienable part of capitalism.

Bell (2010) defines stock stories as a "set of standard, typical or familiar stories held in reserve to explain racial dynamics in ways that support the status quo, like a supply of goods kept on the premises to be pulled out whenever the necessity calls for a ready response" (p. 29). A foundational stock story that defines the liberal tradition is the American Dream: the ability for racialized people to prosper with enough hard work, dedication, and commitment. In it we find the promise of meritocracy, equal opportunity, and individualism. The context and histories in which these stories operate in are important factors in determining how strongly the American Dream is internalized. Nevertheless, I argue that the American Dream is ubiquitous, in the fact that it is very much a part of the hegemony of neoliberal globalization. As Bell (2010) writes:

The centrality of this iconic stock story is evident in the frequency with which presidents and politicians invoke it in their speeches; its durability evident in the way it is so broadly embraced, even by those whose lives do not realize its promises…In fact, the least enfranchised are often the most faithful to its tenets, shown by their hard work and perseverance in the face of, often insurmountable, obstacles. (p. 37)

The equality espoused in the American Dream dismisses any mention of discrimination, prejudice, and racism. The difficulty in dismantling this narrative becomes even harder when individual successes are highlighted as universal. Hochschild (1995) argues that in America, the rise of the black middle class in positions of power and authority solidifies a story that anyone can reach the top, showing the American Dream as "universal, alluring, and efficacious" (Hochschild, 1994, p. 91).

Similar parallels can be drawn in a Canadian context. Many racialized people came to Canada because we were uprooted from our original lands due to the ambitions of British and American imperialism. The Canadian Government welcomed us with open arms since we were a great source of cheap labour that could contribute to the industrial growth of Canada. The Government's motivations for accepting large waves of 'third world' immigrants were not disclosed to the public, instead it masked its intentions behind a cloak of benevolence. Nonetheless, some of us have succeeded in obtaining middle class status. The cabinet of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has been heralded as one of Canada's most diverse in its history, with equal numbers of men and women, the first ever Muslim minister, the first Aboriginal justice minister, and the first northern fisheries Inuit minister. It is not my intention to take away from these achievements; I think symbolically they are significant, but as bell hooks (1992) writes: "It is also about transforming the image, creating alternatives, asking ourselves about what types of images subvert, pose critical alternatives, and transform our worldviews and move us away from dualistic thinking about good and bad" (p. 4).

To what extent then do we shut down conversations of alternative ways of living when racialized people are tokenistically represented as succeeding? Is our goal to push people on the margins into the centre or to transform the entire structuring of the relationship between the margin/centre? And by seeking recognition from the Canadian state, how are we, as racialized people, complicit in legitimizing the settler-colonial state? These questions will continue to be sidestepped if focus continues to be put on individual cases of success. By individualizing our relationships with each other and with society at large, the American Dream is able to maintain its hegemonic stronghold. Individual achievements are used to demonstrate success, while individual failures are used to illustrate lack of will or merit. In the next section, I argue that individualism is key in sustaining the operations of democratic racism.

Henry et al. (1998) define individual racism as involving "both the attitudes held by an individual and the overt behavior prompted by those attitudes. The attitudes are often obvious: extremely intolerant, bigoted individuals tend to be proud of their attitudes and articulate them overtly and publicly" (p. 52). In contrast, institutional racism is defined as "the policies, practices, and procedures of various institutions, which may, directly or indirectly, consciously or unwittingly, promote, sustain, or entrench differential advantage or privilege for people of certain races" (p. 56). Canada aims to draw a sharp distinction between the two, with a majority of its attention focusing on individual acts of racism. For example, after the 2015 Paris Attacks there was a sharp increase in Islamophobia across the country with a mosque being burned down in Peterborough, Ontario (CBC, 2015a) and various assaults against Muslim women (CBC, 2015b). At the same time, however, the Canadian Government has barely addressed the racial dimensions of Bill C-51 and C-24. Combined, these Bills have the power to limit free speech, violate Charter rights without due process, and strip people of their citizenship. Why do these Bills predominantly affect racialized people? Why did national security subscribe

to white national identity? By not discussing the racializing effects of these Bills, the systemic dimensions of racism were overlooked. When government legislation and institutional policy are masked in a discourse of national security (an effective discourse used in liberal democracies) racism is ignored. In order for racism to be a part of the system, it needs to conceal itself. The most effective way Canada does this is by focusing on the individual.

Ashley Doane (2014) explains the effects of individual racism in institutional policing practices in America:

> This individualization of racism means that it is generally viewed as the isolated acts of "ignorant" individuals or extremist "hate groups" on the fringes of society. Even seemingly institutional acts – for example, racial profiling by police – can be reduced to the actions of racist individuals. The near universal condemnation of these actions can then be taken as evidence of the fact that the United States has truly moved beyond race. If action is needed, it is more educational to address racial "ignorance." (p. 20)

When police brutality is individualized, there is also an opportunity to deny the racial motivations behind police assaults. For example, in the 2015 police shooting and death of Andrew Loku, Toronto police union president Mike McCormack denied racism playing a part in Loku's death, and instead focused on mental health as the primary issue (McCormack, 2015). In both scenarios, the police force absolves itself of any wrongdoing. There is no acknowledgement of the implicit bias associated with race and mental health or the lack of training in situations involving mental distress. Viewed in this context, Loku's inability to operate within the parameters of normalcy and his subsequent death become *his* fault. Therefore, essential to the operations of individual racism, and key to sustaining the American Dream, is a "blame the victim" mentality. As Hochschild (1995) writes:

> Members of a denigrated group are disproportionately likely to fail to achieve their goals; they are blamed as individuals (and perhaps blame themselves) for their failure; and they carry a further stigma as members of a nonvirtuous (thus appropriately denigrated) group. (p. 34)

By individualizing failure, Canada's liberal democracy overlooks examining the social conditions that bring about individual failures. It is also important to note that individualism, as prescribed by the American Dream, is grounded in the historical construction of nation building. In the next section, I reveal that Canada is able to maintain the myth of the American Dream by presenting an ahistorical and decontextualized account of racism in its recorded past.

Leonardo Zeus (2002) describes the problematic viewing of white supremacy as an outlier in American history:

> At best, the liberal discourse acknowledges white crimes against humanity as an ugly part of our past. In this pedagogy of amnesia, students are encouraged

to think of the 'founding fathers' as benign, national heroes who were products of their social milieu. Indeed, Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln, just to name two, lived in a time when slavery was legal. However, that Jefferson owned slaves and Lincoln rejected racial integration or equality seem to be peripheral to their development as leaders of the nation. That is, their participation in racist practices occupies the fringes of our historical memory inasmuch as neo-fascist organizations are constructed as fringe groups in society. (pp. 34–35)

Similar myths exist in Canada. John A. Macdonald, the first Prime Minister of Canada is praised as the father of Confederation and instrumental in constructing Canada's first national railroad; However, our collective understanding fails to centre MacDonald's dark legacy, which includes the implementation of the residential school system, the mistreatment of Chinese railroad workers, and the execution of Metis leader Louis Riel. John A. Macdonald becomes a national hero as part of an imagination that speaks to the goodwill of patriotic pride. When we purposefully omit or place racism as an outlier in our history, the state is able to maintain an untarnished record of national superiority.

This is further evident when we compare racism between Canada and the United States, which evokes a kind of cultural relativism that absolves Canada of any wrongdoing. This might explain why a lot of Canadians take pride in thinking that racism is not as bad in Canada as it is in the United States. I find this need for comparison overlooking a very pertinent question: why has America become our standard for social justice and equity work? Furthermore, if we do not historicize injustices committed by the state, we fail to acknowledge the role of white settler colonialism in constructing Canada's national identity, which further perpetuates the myths of democracy, freedom, and meritocracy in Canada's invocations of the American Dream. Therefore, there are two ways in which historical "amnesia" is maintained in Canada: by handpicking and crafting which facts and records are included in our collective understanding of the past and the incessant comparison to American politics. I will now spend some time exploring the discursive tools used by the state when it is confronted with its racist history. By examining Sarah Ahmed's (2004) politics of non-performativity we can see that Canada's approach to dealing with racism is rooted in maintaining racism.

Ahmed's (2004) articulation of non-performativity explains the preservation of institutional and systemic racism while the state pretends to do anti-racism work through a national embodiment of shame.

Those who witness the past injustice through feeling 'national shame' are aligned with each other as 'well meaning individuals'; if you feel shame, then you mean well. Shame 'makes' the nation in the witnessing of past injustice, a witnessing that involves feeling shame, as it exposes the failure of the nation to live up to its ideals. But this exposure is temporary, and becomes the ground for a narrative of national recovery. *By witnessing what is shameful about the*

past, the nation can 'live up to' the ideals that secure its identity or being in the present. In other words, our shame shows that *we mean well.* (p. 3)

Canadian Prime Ministers, both past and present, have conjured up feelings of national shame in formal apologies for past racist policies. In 2006, Stephen Harper made a long anticipated apology for the Chinese Immigration Act, which imposed a hefty head tax on Chinese immigrants in order to deter them from migrating to Canada (UBC Library). In 2016, Justin Trudeau gave a formal apology in the House of Commons for the Komagata Maru Incident, where in 1914 the Government denied a ship of 376 Indians to Canada (CBC, 2016). By apologizing for the past, Canada effectively avoids any acknowledgement of continued racist and discriminatory policies. Indeed, the utterance of shame is enough to expunge Canada of racial discrimination, which encourages social harmony and an image of benevolence by presenting a myth of national wrongdoings as a thing of the past. Utterances are therefore effective in portraying an image of *doing*, when in fact, little has been done to combat racism. Saying as doing is made stronger when these utterances are also extended to include non-actions as well.

In the context of America, Crenshaw (1997) contends that "[l]aw in its almost infinite flexibility can assist in legitimizing hierarchy simply by labeling the realm of social equal, declaring victory, and moving on" (as cited by Revilla, Wells, & Holmes, 2004, p. 288).

Crenshaw further maintains that the power of U.S. Supreme Court rulings presents the public with an image that issues of racism have been addressed (Revilla et al., 2004). Whether or not resources have been mobilized to implement the ruling becomes of little concern, the ruling *itself* becomes a type of doing. As Revilla et al. (2004) argue, "the court's decision in *Brown* sent a message to the public that discrimination was eliminated and therefore race was no longer a factor of oppression in the United States" (p. 288). The more power and authority an institution has, the more effective becomes the non-performativity of anti-racism. This is exemplified most recently in Canada's newly released 94 Calls to Action as part of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Similar to the *Brown* case in the U.S., by releasing reports and making public apologies, Canada is able to maintain a façade of doing anti-racism work. Is a TRC report an act of doing or does it perpetuate Ahmed's point of representing shame in the public eye in order to absolve the Canadian Government of any wrongdoing? My point is not to diminish the value of the TRC, but rather, to begin questioning if any real, substantive changes will be made in the communities that are continuously feeling the pain and suffering of white settler colonialism.

My aim has been to expose liberal myths that deny the centrality of racism in the construction of Canada. The primary concern for a liberal democracy like Canada is to maintain social cohesion through a harmonic representation of a multi-racial Canada. This national narrative becomes an important part of perpetuating the discourse of democratic racism. Dissent is absorbed in Canada since values of

individualism, meritocracy, and equal opportunity are represented in the American Dream as universal truths. The objective of the state is to perpetuate racism by making it increasingly covert, embedded in institutions, and invisible to most whites (Bonilla-Silva, 2014).

TURNING THE GAZE INWARDS: THE IMPORTANCE OF SELF-REFLECTION

I hope I have shed some light on the strategies deployed by the state in order to uphold and encourage the myth of the American Dream. By presenting a decontextualized account of the past and utilizing strategies of non-performativity, the state is able to maintain a national narrative that places racism in the periphery. Both are strategies used and encouraged in Canada, since any mention of systemic and institutional racism poses a serious threat to the longevity of Canada's liberal democracy. Henry et al. (1998) argue:

> While institutional racism is for many theorists the focus of attention–because the very real discrimination that people of colour face often emanates from institutions–these institutions consist of individuals who make the policies and implement the actions. Institutional and systemic racism is therefore the result of a series of interactions between the individuals who function within the system and the forces of the system itself. (p. 57)

While I acknowledge the importance of individuals taking ownership over a system that they might be in various ways helping to maintain and promote, I argue there is more needed than just individuals in various institutional capacities to help advocate for change in policy. If what we want is a paradigmatic shift in the way we approach life, we need grassroots movements that engage in building connections between various communities. Again, I do not believe it is enough for individuals in positions of power to push forward anti-racist policies. Of course, this is important, but we need to also turn our attention to the power of the collective to promote alternative ways of living and knowing that have been erased in the liberal democratic framework. Systematic transformation becomes the task of the collective and not the individual. What is needed to imagine the possibilities of the collective? What are some various pedagogical tools that can be used to help bridge the gap between communities? The futurity of the collective relies on the willingness of people to confront racism from within. Why it is that we do not listen when people from various communities shed light on the ways they have been affected by racism? Fanon's (1967) articulation of cognitive dissonance points us in the right direction:

> Sometimes people hold a core belief that is very strong. When they are presented with evidence that works against that belief, the new evidence cannot be accepted. It would create a feeling that is extremely uncomfortable, called cognitive dissonance. And because it is so important to protect the core belief,

> they will rationalize, ignore and even deny anything that doesn't fit in with the core belief. (as quoted by Speight, Hewitt, & Cook, 2016, p. 192)

Cognitive dissonance is one mechanism through which democratic racism is kept at bay. The state rationalizes racism by representing itself as a champion of democratic principles. Therefore, when contradictions are exposed in the system, people are not able to cope since they have been conditioned and socialized in a state that has presented itself as a gatekeeper of justice. Our current social imaginary is designed around an attempt to avoid these truths. Denial is how we can continue to believe in the American Dream.

Belief systems that have been strongly influenced by the liberal democratic framework allows people to redirect blame outwards. Failure to see oneself as part of a collective fuels feelings of individualism, perpetuating the alienation people feel towards each other. Liberal democracies thrive on this alienation since it allows us to continue remaining disconnected from each other. Therefore, when individuals are presented with evidence of racial injustices, they are not able to understand how they are implicated in a system that they condone, precisely because it is a world where each person cares about their own well-being. It is not enough to prove injustice, people must see how they themselves are being unjust. Accordingly, a commitment to anti-racism is about self-sacrifice. Solomon et al. (2005) demonstrate what happens when people are confronted with their own biases,

> an individual may in theory support the ideals of employment equity, however they may be unwilling to see it implemented. The implementation of employment equity initiatives often become couched in the language of 'reverse discrimination' and regarded as taking placements in teachers college and jobs away from qualified white candidates. (pp. 153–154)

To say that you are anti-racist and to actually do the work that is needed will require people to make sacrifices. As I have argued earlier however, tokenistic gestures will not bring about systemic change. In order for our sacrifices to count, we should foster a collective across different communities. There are real concerns about the hesitations some have of opening up their communities (see Trask, 1991). What is connected to our pains and sufferings as well as our fears and anxieties? Why do we maintain ignorance in light of evidence? These are questions that one needs to ask themselves if they are serious about anti-racism work. Self-reflection becomes key, because the study of anti-racism entails us to look within: to confront our ego, the image of ourselves that we have created, and to be challenged. Only by beginning to cope with the discomfort that such an exploration will create, can anti-racism work see the power of the collective.

NOTE

[1]   King, T. (2003). *The truth about stories*. Toronto, ON: House of Anansi Press.

REFERENCES

Ahmed, S. (2004). *The non-performativity of anti-racism*. Paper presented at the Centre LGS Colloquium, text and terrain: Legal studies in gender and sexuality. University of Kent, Canterbury, England.

bell, h. (1992). *Black looks: Race and representation*. Boston, MA: South End Press.

Bell, L. A. (2010). *Storytelling for social justice: Connecting narrative and the arts in antiracist teaching*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2014). The end of racism? Colorblind racism and popular media. In S. Nilsen & S. E. Turner (Eds.), *The colorblind screen: Television in post-racial America* (pp. 57–82). New York, NY: New York University Press.

CBC. (2015a, November 15). Peterborough mosque arson is suspected hate crime. *CBC News*. Retrieved from http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/mosque-peterborough-fire-1.3320013

CBC. (2015b, November 17). 'Frightening' attacks leave Ontario Muslims shaken. *CBC News*. Retrieved from http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/frightening-attacks-leave-ontario-muslims-shaken-1.3323107

CBC. (2016, May 18). Justin Trudeau apologizes in House for 1914 Komagata Maru incident. *CBC News*. Retrieved from http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/komagata-maru-live-apology-1.3587827

Dei, G. J. S. (2013). A prism of educational research and policy: Anti-racism and multiplex oppressions. In G. J. S. Dei & M. McDermott (Eds.), *Politics of anti-racism education: In search of strategies of transformative learning* (pp. 15–28). New York, NY: Springer.

Dei, G. J. S., Karumanchery, L. L., & Karumanchery-Luik, N. (2004). *Playing the race card: Exposing White power and privilege*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Doane, A. W. (2014). Shades of colorblindness: Rethinking racial ideology in the United States. In S. Nilsen & S. E. Turner (Eds.), *The colorblind screen: Television in post-racial America* (pp. 15–38). New York, NY: New York University Press.

Henry, F., Tator, C., Mattis, W., & Rees, T. (1998). *The colour of democracy: Racism in Canadian society* (2nd ed.). Toronto, ON: Nelson Thomson.

Hochschild, J. L. (1995). *Facing up to the American dream: Race, class, and the soul of the nation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Leonardo, Z. (2002). The souls of White folk: Critical pedagogy, whiteness studies, and globalization discourse. *Race, Ethnicity and Education, 5*(1), 29–50.

McCormack, M. (2016, March 30). Andrew Loku tragedy is not about race. *The Star*. Retrieved from https://www.thestar.com/opinion/commentary/2016/03/30/andrew-loku-tragedy-is-not-about-race.html

Revilla, A. T., Wells, A. S., & Holme, J. J. (2004). "We didn't see color": The salience of color blindness in desegregated schools. In M. Fine, L. Weis, L. P. Pruitt, & A. Burns (Eds.), *Off White: Readings on power, privilege, and resistance* (pp. 284–301). New York, NY: Routledge.

Speight, L. S., Hewitt, A. A., & Cook, R. H. (2016). Color-blind racial ideology and internalized racism among people of color. In H. A. Neville, M. E. Gallardo, & D. W. Sue (Eds.), *The myth of racial color blindness: Manifestations, dynamics, and impact* (pp. 191–205). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Solomon R. P., Portelli, J. P., Daniel, B., & Campbell, A. (2005). The discourse of denial: How White teacher candidates construct race, racism and 'White privilege.' *Race Ethnicity and Education, 8*(2), 147–169.

The Chinese Experience in British Columbia 1850–1950. *UBC Library*. Retrieved from http://www.library.ubc.ca/chineseinbc/headtax.html

Trask, H. (1991). Coalition-building between natives and non-natives. *Stanford Law Review, 43*(6), 1197–1213.

CELINE GIBBONS-TAYLOR

3. "SO MI LIKE IT"

An Analysis of Black Women's Sexual Subjectivities

ABSTRACT

Through an Afro-futurist, anti-colonial orientation, the aim of this chapter is to historicize and problematize the racist assumptions that have been associated with the sexuality and gender of Black women as they navigate through mainstream popular culture. Particularly, Gibbons-Taylor looks at the performances of Spice and Rihanna in order to re-center their sexual autonomy. She focuses on the production of a sexual subjectivity that challenges, complicates, and contends with the violent tropes that are inherent in the representation of Black womanhood as presented by these two artists. These spaces become sites of resistance and resilience whereby Black woman revalue, redefine, and reimagine themselves amidst the violent constructions that have historically delineated their subjugation—albeit the Mammy, Jezebel and Sapphire. These practices have come to constitute counter hegemonic ways of understanding how Black womanhood is lived and experienced.

Keywords: Afro-Caribbean women, sexuality, performance, Black womanhood, anti-colonialism

INTRODUCTION

Considering colonialism and trans-Atlantic slavery, which have attempted to usurp the autonomy of Black peoples, particularly Black women, we are presented with the task of redrawing the terrain in which Black womanhood has been constructed. Much of these negotiations between past and present constructions of Black womanhood come through artistic renderings of the body. Particularly when thinking about the contours of dance, as described by Judith Lynne Hanna (2010):

> [It is] purposeful, intentionally rhythmical, culturally patterned, nonverbal body movement communication in time and space, with effort, and each genre having its own criteria for excellence. Dance conveys meaning through the use of space, touch, proximity to another dancer or to an observer, nudity, stillness, and specific body postures and movements. (p. 213)

This entanglement of artistry and sexuality is quite compelling to me when I consider its intersections with race, class, and gender in conjunction with the problematic

discourses that surround dance and Black women's bodies. I often ask myself why is it when certain bodies (read: Black women) engage in this form of expression, their art and performance is condemned? Why is it not considered artistic, but instead configured as hypersexual, grotesque, and distasteful? As an Afro-Caribbean woman myself, I always question these assumptions as my understanding of Afro-Caribbean women's sexuality differs significantly, especially when thinking about dance and performance.

This chapter will examine the performances of two Afro-Caribbean women, Spice and Rihanna, to illustrate Black women's sexual subjectivity. I will focus on the ways in which the performances of these two artists present counter hegemonic ways to read and understand sexuality by forcing us to reconceptualize its embodiment and expression within a racist, hetero-patriarchal, and capitalist social order. It is crucial to ground this analysis within centuries of oppression that address whiteness, patriarchy, and Judeo-Christian respectability politics, as these systems continue to maintain violence against Black women. In doing so, we are able to ask new questions about the hypersexualization of Black women and their performances. But as Audre Lorde (1984) reminds us, we cannot use the master's tools to dismantle the master's house—even when the master's tools may very well be the only tools accessible to us. I say this because far too often, Black women's sexual practices are constructed as hypersexual yet there is a failure to properly situate these constructions within history and its relation to colonial logics. In addition, Black womanhood is often contrasted against white womanhood as the latter is projected as the standard (Hill Collins, 2002). What this juxtaposition does is furthers Black women's difference as our identity, and therefore sexuality, is inherently understood through a deviance/normality framework whereby our efforts are always concerned with legitimizing Black women's sexual "deviance."

Amidst historicizing these subjectivities, it is equally important to assert that Black women's resistance has existed for centuries and continues to exist within our communities. It would be inaccurate to assert that Rihanna and Spice present a completely new politics of subverting racist constructions of womanhood. Instead, I argue that they are innovative in their presentation of sexuality that challenges normative constructions of womanhood and Blackness. Ultimately, Black womanhood, and therefore sexuality, cannot be understood through white respectability politics or normative gender assumptions, especially when considering the work of intersectional theorists like Audre Lorde (1984) and Patricia Hill Collins (2002). These assumptions do not adequately consider how Black women's sexuality was constructed as antithetical to modernity and was used to elevate the status of white women as mothers of the new world order (Davis, 1983; Perry, 1997). Considering this, we must re-center these understandings of womanhood and Blackness in order to assess these negotiations in ways that move away from whiteness and respectability politics. Thus Spice and Rihanna's performances can produce counter hegemonic instances of sexuality/Black womanhood.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

It is important to ground this research in both colonial violence and histories of resistance to fully understand the counter hegemonic logics embedded within Spice and Rihanna's work. María Lugones (2007) provides a sound analysis of the ways in which gender has been socially constructed to legitimize and maintain colonialism. Implicit within these notions are hierarchical understandings about sexuality, race, and class that arise from the dichotomization of gender, which normalizes patriarchy while simultaneously subjugating women and people of colour (Lugones, 2007). In conjunction, Angela Davis' foundational work *Women, Race & Class* (1983) reveals the deleterious consequences of constructing race, gender, sexuality, and class as a means to legitimize colonial/capitalist expansion via the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Looking at the ways in which the work of these two scholars converge, it is important to centralize these historical processes within contemporary discourses around Black womanhood, because it is evident that the categories of Blackness and womanhood are socially constructed, as they were implemented as a means to maintain a hierarchical organization of society via gender and race (Lugones, 2007). The absence of this knowledge furthers the violence enacted on Black women; therefore, Lugones (2007) reminds us to acknowledge how systems of oppression function simultaneously. Omitting this very important connection means that Black womanhood will continue to be understood through this modern/colonial gender system that Lugones describes. Removing Black women's sexual subjectivity and resistance to sexual violence from the inner workings of colonialism simply maintains colonial, patriarchal, white supremacist logics that deem Black women "inherently" deviant.

As such, Lugones (2007) provides the theoretical underpinnings of Davis' (1983) genealogy of Black women's subjugation, despite being written almost two decades before what the colonial/modern gender system has instituted. This system of classification has both facilitated colonial expansion and maintains a world order that privileges Whites at the expense of racialized people. In terms of Black women, the violence enacted upon their bodies is contingent on the benefits it produces as it relates to the advancement of white supremacy, hetero-patriarchy, and capitalism. Angela Davis (1983) explains:

> Expediency governed the slaveholders' posture toward female slaves: when it was profitable to exploit them as if they were men, they were regarded, in effect, as genderless, but when they could be exploited, punished and repressed in ways suited only for women, they were locked into their exclusively female roles. (p. 7)

As expediency still governs the treatment of Black women, what is removed from the discussion are the ways in which these processes are so meticulously complex that Black women are often hypersexualized and simultaneously denied their womanhood as a means to validate their experience. Black women were only

understood as possessing femininity when sexual violence was enacted on them as a means of control or to (re)produce the enslaved class (Davis, 1983). Black women existed in a position of fluidity due to the needs of capitalism. Though this points to why these particular forms of violence could be so easily enacted on their bodies, the presence of this fluidity captures the fragility of raced, gendered, and sexualized categories.

For this reason, when we re-center the discourse on Black women's sexuality to one of agency and ingenuity, we reveal the ways in which Black women strategically reinscribe or subvert oppressive understandings of their sexuality, speaking to centuries of struggle, resistance and resilience led by our foremothers. When Black women unapologetically present a sexual politic like Spice and Rihanna, their resistances maintain an Afro-futurist logic deeply embedded within us that reaffirms our love, pains, and desires—essentially rewriting our narratives through creative, counter hegemonic texts.

In a similar application of the colonial/modern gender system, Patricia Hill Collins (2002) provides an apt discussion of Black women's subjugation when she explains how Black womanhood is constructed as antithetical to white womanhood; specifically, "Black 'whores' make 'white virgins' possible" (p. 201). The simultaneity of this virgin/whore dichotomy reveals how the colonial system both legitimizes white womanhood while defining respectable sexual subjectivities. As such, the imposition, intricacy, and depth of this process was naturalized so much so that it manifests in contemporary discourses around sexuality. For instance, these processes are prevalent in media representation of Black women whereby sexuality is a main feature in their character's identity or it often marks their character's main flaw. This is maintained through their romantic relationships, sexual prowess, and day-to-day interactions. Black women are not afforded the luxury of dynamic character traits; instead they succumb to the tropes of the Jezebel, Mammy or Sapphire (Ladson-Billings, 2009).

In addition, Black women bodies continue to be fetishized through their supposed hypersexuality and difference. Patricia Hill Collins (2002) discusses this as translating into how Black women endure symbolic violence in pornography: "African-American women are usually depicted in a situation of bondage and slavery, typically in a submissive posture, and often with two white men" (p. 197). These instances are both reminiscent of a Black woman's treatment during slavery and reinforces what Davis (1983) describes as expedient treatment. Again, it is evident that these colonial logics are deeply entrenched within the treatment of Black women in an attempt to remove their agency. Our supposed hypersexuality enables us to be sexually exploited symbolically because our sexuality has been configured through racist typographies across time. From trans-Atlantic slavery to the big screen, and stopping at every juncture in between, Black women are made to embody sexual abjection by virtue of their raced and sexed identity.

In spite of this valuable insight from Patricia Hill Collins, she provides little discussion of Black women's resistance to sexual violence in *The Sexual*

Politics of Black Womanhood (2002). It is crucial to acknowledge Black women's resistance to this contemporary mode of violence in order to fully understand the necessity of agency, otherwise Black women are configured as passive recipients of oppression when this is not the case. By situating struggles for self-actualization within history, we can release the transformative possibilities that are embedded within spaces. An example of this is Katherine McKittrick's (2010) analysis of South African sculptor Willie Bester's creative reincarnation of Sarah Baartman, which provides us with an invaluable theoretical model and praxis for articulating Black womanhood.

By employing Sylvia Wynter's concept of unsettling, McKittrick (2010) is able to "consider how creative works might intervene in, and nourish, our understandings of science" (p. 114), while problematizing past readings of Sarah Baartman's subjugation. This shifts the discussion away from racist biological discourses, revealing how Eurocentrism is central to contemporary constructions of Black womanhood. Therefore, in de-centering the colonial, Eurocentric, positivist logics that enable "figures such as Baartman [to be] historically tied to narratives of naturalism and primitivism—and viewed as naturally inferior—[whereby] our contemporary understandings of race, sex, and gender continue to posit this as the foremost way to conceptualize Black women" (McKittrick, 2010, p. 114), we begin to unveil new ways of understanding the body. Furthermore, when we not only acknowledge these systemic forms of oppression but also situate these realities in histories of resistance, we derive new possibilities of what Black womanhood can be. As these assumptions continue throughout history, it is important to foreground analyses like McKittrick's so that we continuously centralize Black women's resilience and agency amidst the ongoing violence of colonialism. Starting with the creative reproductions of sexuality that both Spice and Rihanna present, instead of their hypersexualized body, forces us to construct alternative meanings of Black womanhood that center agency and symbolic connections to history, place, ancestral knowledges, and resistance practices.

With respect to ancestral knowledges as resistance practices, Kariamu Welsh Asante (1994) complicates this discussion of oppression when reminding us of the value placed on a Black woman's body in traditional African dance. Welsh Asante (1994) discusses the ways in which traditional ways of knowing, via dance, challenges colonial logics of the West in that:

> [The body] was not an enemy, or sinful, nor born out of sin. In fact, the body was an affirmation of the life force since it was the body that facilitated all manifestations of the life itself. It was functional. (p. 17)

This understanding of the body presents a counter hegemonic rendering of the body's function and purpose in society and the greater cosmos according to Indigenous African teachings. Further, "women in African dance are expressed symbols of the natural and the supernatural and as such their bodies are instruments both rhythmically and visually… the female is an integrated, interrelated part of a cosmic

unity" (Welsh Asante, 1994, p. 16). Taking both of these excerpts in tandem, the reverence of the body through relationality to the universe enables us to ask new questions about Black womanhood. What would it mean if we were to centralize the teachings of traditional African dance within our contemporary discussions of Black womanhood?

Contemporary modes of dance in Black diasporic communities possess elements of traditional African dance practices like kinship/communality, freedom, and resistance. For instance, the ceremoniousness of dancehall speaks to *Kumina* which is rooted in Congolese traditions (Ryman, 2010); whereas dancing in Barbados during the time of enslavement "provided opportunities for the slaves, through the embodied movements of dance, to articulate their own histories and identities in a way that would remain strategically cloaked to slave masters, and, so many years later to us" (Harewood & Hunte, 2010, p. 267). As such, these ancestral knowledges and resistance practices present a counter hegemonic politic that unsettles the projection of primitivism by recentering community and survival. Embedded within Caribbean dance and performance is the articulation of selfhood and resistance amidst the unending violence of coloniality. Therefore, when Spice pays homage to 1990's dancehall styles, she is also speaking to a greater ancestral knowledge that sees and values the body in anti-colonial ways. Despite the contours, complexities, and atrocities of colonialism, our bodies are still able to elicit stories of freedom, resistance, pain, community and contention—whether blatant or not—that act to expostulate oppressive bodies of knowledge that have tried to maintain our difference and subjugation.

By extension, situating Black womanhood within these pre-colonial histories is crucial and any analysis of Black womanhood or Black women's sexuality that centers this knowledge enables us to decolonize sexuality, seeing as the imposition of Western thought disrupted the mechanics of this knowledge. Though there have existed other renderings of Black womanhood, particularly through the work of Oyèrónké Oyĕwùmí (1997) who asserts that "anasex-distinctions did not play any part, whether in the world of humans or in that of the gods" and they were understood as "distinctions without difference" (p. 140). These systems have violently penetrated Indigenous spaces, disrupting the knowledges, cosmologies, and teachings of Afro-diasporic peoples (Oyĕwùmí, 1997). Therefore, the colonial introduction of the racialized, hierarchical, gender binary proves to have both miscategorised and disrupted Indigenous African knowledges and traditions. However, as women were revered subjects within these societies before said understandings of femininity were hyper-sexualized through Welsh Asante's analysis, this relationality complicates rigid gender binaries. The imposition of this colonial/modern gender binary/racist logic (Lugones, 2007) severed both the metaphysical order and inner workings of pre-colonial African communities in order to facilitate colonial conquest of African knowledges, lands, and peoples. Restoring these knowledges would present transformative potentials for reimagining

the centrality of Black women in the understanding of community. It is with this understanding of the possibilities of Black women's performances that I would like to turn to Spice and Rihanna as I see both of these women subverting the hyper-sexualisation of Black womanhood.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

To understand how these aforementioned histories converge to facilitate the construction of Black womanhood across time, I employ a feminist, anti-racist, anti-colonial, intersectional approach. I find that these theories are not mutually exclusive; rather, they constitute a theoretical orientation that is dependent and informed by one another. Anti-colonial theory, for instance, cannot be employed without a feminist or anti-racist lens, as I understand it to reject socially constructed categories of identification that legitimize and therefore justify white, patriarchal, capitalistic, positivist enterprises and knowledge systems. Mary Louise Pratt (2004), reminds us that "anti-colonial thought is centered epistemologically on the receiving end of the diffusion [and attempts to] denaturalize and spell out that narrative" (p. 445). Through Pratt's understanding, we can see how colonialism interrupted the understanding of Black women's bodies and how this has been reproduced within the African diaspora, particularly within mainstream and popular media. Therefore, the discussion of African women's bodies within dance reveals the ways in which colonial gender/race impositions disrupt Indigenous knowledges, while at the same time highlighting the possibilities of decolonizing sexuality and moving towards an Afro-futurist temporality.

In thinking about Afro-futurity, Morris (2012) argues that there exists a symbiosis between Black feminist thought and Afrofuturism: "just as Afrofuturism underscores the centrality of Blacks to futurist knowledge and cultural production and resistance to tyranny, so does Black feminist thought contend that Black people's experience, knowledge, and culture are vitally important" (p. 153). Though Afrofuturism is described as "the production of Afrodiasporic science fiction in multiple art forms, from music to literature, comics to film" (Van Veen, 2013, p. 2), it could be argued that the mere disruption of colonial logics viewed through the performances of Spice and Rihanna can be seen as Afrofuturism. It is through reimagining Black womanhood, or at least contending and contesting these representations, that Spice and Rihanna could be said to be presenting a renewed sexual subjectivity. Mayer (2000) states that "Afrofuturist artists turn to Black history in order to recreate it in a markedly fantastic mode. Mixing up the imagery of the Middle Passage with contemporary experiences of displacement, migration, and alienation, they turn the project of recuperating the past into a futuristic venture" (p. 555). This is characteristic of the work that Spice and Rihanna are doing in these diasporic spaces, as they negotiate themes of sexuality and violence, re-valuing the body through subjugating and reinscribing the hegemonic gender order.

In addition to this, intersectionality, as presented in the work of a number of Black feminist scholars (Davis, 1983; Hill Collins, 1986, 2002; Crenshaw, 1991), is crucial to this analysis in that it considers the complex ways that various identities converge and shape one's own lived experience. Taking an intersectional approach, we can observe how respectability politics are raced, classed, and gendered when applied to Black women's sexuality. Michelle Smith (2014) positions respectability as an adherence to white behavioural standards. Though she discusses this in reference to police brutality, respectability politics are equally applicable to Black sexuality as well. When Black women are constructed as inherently deviant, the invisibilization of whiteness through its naturalization is evident (Castagna & Dei, 2000). Further, the juxtaposition of white womanhood to Black womanhood enabled white women to experience privilege through the notion that they would reproduce the "superior" race in spite of the sexism they faced (Castagna & Dei, 2000; Perry, 1997).

It is important to note that within employing an intersectional framework when reading these performances, race is still very much a salient feature in the construction of Black womanhood. It is through Blackness that the construct of race is operationalized on Black women's bodies as a means to subjugate them, while at the same time, delegitimizing their claim to womanhood. This colonial logic was necessary in both oppressing Black women while elevating the status of white women, furthering white supremacy (Castagna & Dei, 2000; Perry, 1997).

This colonial residue has persisted across time and space, rearing its ugly head in both the current mainstream music industry and politics of sexual respectability. Maria Castagna and George J. Sefa Dei (2000) illustrate how the imposition of scientific (biological determinism) and mystical (pseudo-religious) approaches to race, along with the role of Judeo-Christian standards of purity and rightful behaviour speaks to respectability politics within Black communities: "the role of the church in maintaining a race differentiation through definitions of 'un-Christian', 'savage and unholy practices' in European expansion was paramount during these periods" (p. 23). Currently, this acts as a means for our communities to police themselves by internalizing these systems of thought. An example of this is when Oyěwùmí (1997) discusses the role of Christianity in leading the reinterpretation of the Yoruba religious system in a male-based fashion by theologians and churchmen. This influence extended far beyond the church. Women were understood as the property of men and the reading of land rights through patriarchal notions of possession and distribution were taken away from the communal orientation of these communities (Oyěwùmí, 1997).

Similarly, Hafeez Baoku (2015) employs respectability politics after confronting his own misogynoir. In this commentary, Baoku (2015) concludes that:

> I believe the hope in moving forward and breaking the Jezebel brand on Black women is found in the Gospel. By affirming their identity in Christ, Black women can learn they are not simply sexual tools made to be exploited by the hands of selfish men. (para. 11)

Here we are presented with the supposed mutual exclusivity of sexuality and religiosity. Baoku (2015) casts Black women as passive recipients of capitalist constraints as they must "compromise their morals and values in order to survive" (2015, para. 8). The decision (whether forced in terms of financial necessity or voluntary) of Black women to enter spaces where they must, according to Baoku, make such *compromising* decisions where they use their bodies for capitalist gain, presents a Manichean understanding of sexual subjectivity that reserves sanctity only for those who do not make "compromising moral" decisions while reinforcing the same systemic violence that Black women are forced to contend with. Considering the aforementioned discussion of Black women's sexuality as it is situated within the legacies of colonialism and its convergences with respectability politics, what would it mean for Black women like Rihanna and Spice to assert a gender/sexual performance that grapples with the racist hypersexualization of Black womanhood through reinscribing, subverting and challenging the "white supremacist, capitalist, [hetero]patriarchal" (hooks, 1994) construction of their existence? How can the "vulgar" (Cooper, 1993) be used to center agency while creating ontological possibilities that challenge coloniality?

In dealing with these questions, it is interesting when we juxtapose this idea of respectability against dancehall music, a genre that emerges out of resistance to middle-class Jamaican attitudes and morals that complicates notions of respectability, suggesting how interrelated these constructs are (Cooper, 2004). As such, I will discuss how respectability politics function as both a religious and colonial imposition to regulate Black women's sexual subjectivity while simultaneously reinforcing their subjugation to articulate why sexual agency is a site of contestation (Walcott, 2001), but renewal and possibility (Barnes, 2006). In spite of these systems, Black women continue to be resilient as they constantly challenge these constructs.

METHODOLOGY AND DISCUSSION

Reading Rihanna and Spice's performances as transformative presents an alternative understanding of what has come to constitute the understanding of Caribbean women's sexuality. I will do this through a visual and discourse analysis of their performances in two of their most recent music videos; *Needle Eye* and *So Mi Like It* by Spice and *Work* and *Kiss It Better* by Rihanna.

Spice

Spice's *Needle Eye* video begins with a reference to the well-known Disney story of *Cinderella*. Spice, depicted as the underprivileged "tun down" sister who cannot dance and lacks the needle eye, is left home by her two stepsisters, who dressed in their bashy, colourful attire, are on their way to a party. Just as they leave, a distant voice appears claiming to be Spice's fairy Godmother. The fairy Godmother grants Spice her wish for an outfit to attend the needle eye competition. The scene quickly

37

changes to that of the needle eye competition/party scene and the song commences. With shots going back and forth between the party scene and choreography, Spice is surrounded by her dancers who showcase some of the latest dancehall moves. Through the entire video, Spice and her dancers are a central feature, which I would say is characteristic of her videos. At the end of the music video, the main man who Spice's sisters are vying attention for, finally approaches Spice as if to suggest it is she who possesses the needle eye. This scene can be read as either a central feature of the male gaze in that the man leaves with Spice, or a retaliation towards Spice's step-sisters as she pushes them away when leaving.

In this remake of Shabba Ranks' classic hit *Needle Eye*, Spice disrupts the common sexual script through the central role women play in her music video. Her performance speaks to an awareness that she is in control of her potential partner's desire. She could be read as an object of desire but that would suggest she lacks autonomy, which she does not. Her propositions within the song suggest a certain aggressiveness that is typically attributed to men; however, in thinking about colonialism, Black womanhood and manhood were sometimes conflated through the violent punishments Black women experienced during slavery. These punishments were often comparable to those experienced by their male counterparts. Yet they were contingent on the ideology that Black women were genderless beings, but only when it was beneficial for the slaveholder (Davis, 1983). As such, applying an idea of Black women's sexual abjectivity through their supposed aggression and readiness shows the complex ways hypersexuality can be maintained, but also offers a means of reclaiming desire and expressing sexual subjectivity.

In *So Mi Like it!* Spice pulls up in a red Mercedes to what looks like a hotel where a concierge meets her and opens her car door. She gets out and enters the hotel, whereby a well-dressed man notices her and follows her into the elevator. When the door closes, he looks over at Spice who then looks back at him, shrugs, and resumes looking at the elevator doors. The song commences. At this point, Spice and the man in the elevator began to dance with one another. There are flashes of other scenes, one of which is Spice dressed in leather attire, dancing with a whip in hand. In another scene the well-dressed man is shirtless and covered in chains with a belt around his neck, as if to connote he is Spice's property—somewhat reminiscent of BDSM. It is important to note the significance in controlling her sexuality in this way.

The juxtaposition of this BDSM imagery speaks to how we can understand Spice's music video as toying with the experiences Black women have endured historically. What is interesting is that throughout the music video, there are flashbacks to the initial elevator encounter where Spice keeps ignoring the man's interest. This may suggest that Spice is very much invested in her own sexual subjectivity. At the same time, the prioritization of an all women dance space ought to be acknowledged, as this highlights the utility and necessity of the erotic. The erotic, as Audre Lorde (1984) describes is "a resource within each of us that lies in a deeply female and spiritual plane, firmly rooted in the power of the unexpressed or unrecognized

feeling" (p. 53). This power is characteristic of the experiential/ancestral knowledges that exist deeply within contours of dancehall. The women in this video dance freely and uninhibited as their bodies become a vessel for centralizing pleasure, resistance, storytelling and reclamation; therefore, presenting a counter hegemonic valuation of the body in movement. But what does this symbolic act of reclamation and transgression mean? Perhaps it is through this reclamation of historical violence that Spice is able to subvert the incessant violence against Black women, or could this be a way to re-envision the conceptualization of pleasure? Interestingly enough, it becomes evident that this music video was simply the man's daydream of Spice.

Rihanna

Rihanna's two most recent videos highlights how sexual subjectivity is negotiated. First, in her video *Work,* dancehall iconography through dance and style of dress dominate the visual field. After arriving at the party venue, Real Jerk, the camera pans her entire body. For the majority of the video Rihanna dances in front of a mirror with frequent shots to other dancers. During the time spent dancing by herself, Rihanna's performance presents a high level of autonomy constrained only by the beat of the rhythm. When rapper Drake's verse starts, Rihanna dances in front of him while he does nothing more than stand and watch. The director of this music video, Toronto-born Director X, explains that "Reggae dancing is not necessarily a precursor to sex or a hook up of any kind…You're dancing with someone because you are dancing with someone" (Tanzer, 2016). This is indicative of a counter hegemonic Caribbean understanding of the relationship between sexuality and dance. This is displayed especially when talking about whining, as Drake's apparent enjoyment of Rihanna's dancing, and all others "coupled up" in the party are simply *enjoying* themselves. Another point of interest within the video is Rihanna's choice of necklace. The choker she wears has a circular attachment, very much reminiscent of BDSM paraphernalia or more loosely, a slave collar. This juxtaposition of pleasure and violence/pain speaks to how Rihanna grapples with her own experience of violence; meanwhile, it can act as a microcosm for the violence Black women have experienced as a whole (Fleetwood, 2012). If we were to only configure Rihanna's performance as simply an installation of violence, we decontextualize her experience. Sharon Holland (2012) reminds us:

> If we tie the Black female body to the inevitability of slavery's abusive sexual terrain so that every time we think of enslaved Black women and sex we think pain, not pleasure, then we also fail to acknowledge our own intellectual responsibility to take seriously how the transatlantic trade altered the very shape of sexuality in the Americas for everyone. (as cited by Fleetwood, 2012, p. 426)

Thus, we must always contextualize these performances within their own histories and the greater construction of Black women's sexuality, unlike analyses that maintain the

Eurocentric, colonial, and race/gender order that forgo systemic oppression. Similar to Spice's performance, Rihanna's play on themes of BDSM, desire, and pleasure complicate stereotypical notions of Black womanhood by showing its intricacies, negotiations, and expressions. In addition, these performances can be understood as transformative, as they problematize the attachment of hypersexuality to Black bodies. In drawing the connection between histories of oppression, resistance, and autonomy, we can reformulate understandings of desire that are predicated on the maintenance of white supremacy and patriarchy to elicit a textured understanding of sexual subjectivity.

Rihanna's other recent music video *Kiss It Better,* reveals the centrality of Rihanna's body as a site of pleasure. The video opens with a silhouette of Rihanna's pelvis covered in a silk garment as an electric guitar serenades the viewer. The scene shifts to her moving about in various outfits caressing her body. Accordingly, in the first verse of the song, Rihanna seems to be quarrelling with her partner which ends in intimacy. At the end of this verse, she sings "Hurting vibe, man, and it hurts inside when I look you in your eye" (Bhaske, Glass, Sinclair, & Fenty, 2016), which I would argue is both a direct confrontation of her pain (whether physical or emotional) and a metaphoric rendition of the act of reclaiming. Though her work may not be intentionally directed to the physical and symbolic violence that Black women have endured across time and space, it does provide an artistic representation/microcosm of it, given her own experiences of violence both personally and discursively. The intimate ambiance of the video could be simplistically read as sexual, however this diminishes Rihanna's performance as an articulation of sexual subjectivity.

Both Spice and Rihanna's performances express gender fluidity, subversion, and reinscription, which reveals the relationality embedded in sexuality and gender performances, and by employing "hypersexuality," it both reinscribes and subverts the gender binary. The difficulty in presenting a transformative counter-hegemonic reading of mainstream Afro-Caribbean music artists is due to the industry being situated in a masculinist, capitalist-driven space. The commodification of Blackness maintains that Black women's existence has been constructed as intrinsically profitable. In addition, the ways in which Black women's subjectivities are defined in relation to a paternalistic rendering of existence and the bravado and hypersexuality that is supposedly omnipresent, also furthers the construction of a deviant Black womanhood. Consideration is rarely given to the ways in which this correlates to the commercialization of mainstream Black culture, specifically music. It is no coincidence that when profit replaces resistance, and when affluent, male CEOs are in charge, that Black bodies become distorted through hypersexualization.

As such, what would it mean to conceptualize the self as a performative being—a vessel of performance, of corporeal movement, agility, elasticity and strength, all the while centralizing resistant mechanisms that disrupt middle-class respectability politics and colonial gender systems? What does it mean to understand Spice and

Rihanna as pillars of a transformative politic that engages with anti-colonial, anti-racist, and Afro-futurist Black feminist teachings? Considering these questions, Spice and Rihanna both speak to the ways in which:

> Writers and artists…have reiterated how Afrofuturism repurposes the future, mobilizing futurology as a discourse capable of mutating and changing future outcomes by reinterpreting the past—and its Eurocentric, colonized and imperialist narratives—so as to disrupt and thereby reinvent the unfolding conditions of the present. (Van Veen, 2013, p. 3)

Creative texts act as a means for us as Black women, and Black people in general, to create possibilities unconstrained from coloniality. For me, this means centralizing our existence, our pleasure and desires, however they are constructed, in order to disentangle the violence of the past and present so as to construct new futures. As Afrofuturism posits, the coming to terms with these two temporalities is what constitutes transformative possibilities (Mayer, 2000). In employing these alternative readings, Spice and Rihanna move from spectacle to subjectivity.

CONCLUSION

Through Afrofuturism, Black feminist thought, and anti-colonial/anti-racist theory, I present an analysis that offers a counter-reading of Afro-Caribbean women's sexual subjectivity as performed by Rihanna and Spice. As an examination of history points to the violent construction of Black womanhood, we are made aware of the violence enacted upon Black women so as to position white bodies as superior. The commodification of Black bodies within slavery and the "premiums" placed on Black women's reproduction, illustrates how these bodies were essential to colonial expansion (Davis, 1983; Ball, 2008). As a result, their continued subjugation was justified. This had deleterious effects on the construction of Black women's sexuality, which have trickled down to contemporary discourses about Black womanhood. Therefore, it is important to give recognition to the ways in which global systems of capitalism and neocolonialism operate to maintain the subjugation of Black bodies through mass commodification. Equally, we must also acknowledge the ways in which Black women, like Spice and Rihanna, blatantly disrupt white prisms of respectability and womanhood to contest mainstream idealizations of Blackness that are configured through the maintenance of white supremacy and patriarchy. Considering both Spice and Rihanna, their negotiations of sexuality are characteristic of sexual fluidity and assert a counter-hegemonic discourse that challenges violent, stereotypical notions of Black womanhood. As a result, we forge new ontological possibilities for theorizing Black sexuality.

For these reasons, alternative representations of Black women's sexuality are necessary if we aim to dismantle these violent constructions. Thus, historicizing Black womanhood does the work of beginning the process of decolonizing sexuality,

41

while exposing the fragility of white supremacy. Moving forward, it is important for Black people to control the power to define their bodies and experiences without the threat of white supremacist ideologies of sexual practices and performances.

REFERENCES

Ball, J. A. (2008). Communicating the logic and language of Black liberation. *The Journal of Pan African Studies, 2*(5), 20–44.

Baoku, H. (2015, October 23). Undressing Jezebel: The sexploitation of the Black woman. *Reformed African American Network.* Retrieved from https://www.raanetwork.org/exploitation-black-woman/

Barnes, N. (2006). *Cultural conundrums: Gender, race, nation & the making of Caribbean cultural politics.* Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.

Bhaske, J., Glass, J., Sinclair, T., & Fenty, R. (2016). *Kiss it better. On Anti* [CD]. New York, NY: Roc Nation.

Castagna, M., & Dei, G. J. S. (2000). An historical overview of the application of the race concept in social practice. In A. Calliste & G. J. S. Dei (Eds.), *Anti-racist feminism: Critical race and gender studies* (pp. 19–37). Halifax, NS: Fernwood Publishing.

Cooper, C. (1993). *Noises in the blood: Orality, gender and the 'vulgar' body of Jamaican popular culture.* London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

Cooper, C. (2004). *Sound clash: Jamaican dancehall culture at large.* New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review, 43*(6), 1241–1299.

Davis, A. Y. (1983). *Women, race & class.* New York, NY: Vintage Books.

Fleetwood, N. R. (2012). The case of Rihanna: Erotic violence and Black female desire. *African American Review, 45*(3), 419–435.

Hanna, J. L. (2010). Dance and sexuality: Many moves. *Journal of Sex Research*, *47*(2–3), 212–241.

Harewood, S., & Hunte, J. (2010). Dance in barbados. In S. Sloat (Ed.), *Making Caribbean dance: Continuity and creativity in island cultures* (pp. 265–282). Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida.

Hill Collins, P. (2002). The sexual politics of Black womanhood. In C. L. Williams & A. Stein (Eds.), *Sexuality and gender* (pp. 193–206). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

hooks, b. (1994). Gangsta culture – sexism and misogyny: Who will take the rap? In b. hooks (Ed.), *Outlaw culture: Resisting representations* (pp. 134–144). New York, NY: Routledge.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2009). "Who you callin' nappy headed?" A critical race theory look at the construction of Black women. *Race, Ethnicity and Education, 12*(1), 87–99.

Lorde, A. (1984). *Sister outsider: Essays & speeches by Audre Lorde.* New York, NY: Random House Inc.

Lugones, M. (2007). Heterosexualism and the colonial/modern gender system. *Hypatia, 22*(1), 189–219.

Mayer, R. (2000). "Africa as an alien future": The middle passage, afrofuturism, and postcolonial waterworlds. *American Studies, 45*(4), 555–566.

McKittrick, K. (2010). Science quarrels sculpture: The politics of reading Sarah Baartman. *Mosaic, 43*(2), 113–130.

Morris, S. M. (2012). Black girls are from the future: Afrofuturist feminism in Octavia Butler's Fledgling. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 40*(3–4), 146–166.

Oyěwùmí, O. (1997). *The invention of women: Making an African sense of western gender discourses.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Perry, A. (1997). "Fair ones of a purer caste": White women and colonialism in nineteenth-century British Columbia. *Feminist Studies, 23*(3), 501–524.

Pratt, M. L. (2004). The anticolonial past. *Modern Language Quarterly, 65*(3), 443–456.

Ryman, C. (2010). When Jamaica dances. In S. Sloat (Ed.), *Making Caribbean dance: Continuity and creativity in island cultures* (pp. 97–130). Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida.

Smith, M. (2014). Affect and respectability politics. *Theory & Event, 17*(3).

Tanzer, M. (2016, February 23). *Director X on what people are getting wrong about Rihanna's "work" video.* Retrieved from http://www.thefader.com/2016/02/23/director-x-rihanna-video-drake-wine

Van Veen, T. C. (2013). "Music is a plane of wisdom": Transmissions from the offworlds of Afrofuturism. *Dancecult: Journal of Electronic Dance Music Culture, 5*(2), 2–6.

Walcott, R. (2001). Caribbean pop culture in Canada: Or, the impossibility of belonging to the nation. *Small Axe, 9*, 123–139.

Welsh Asante, K. (1994). Images of women in African dance: Sexuality and sensuality as dual unity. *Sage, 8*(2), 16–19.

JOANNA NEWTON

4. ANTI-BLACK RACISM, RESISTANCE, AND THE HEALTH AND WELL-BEING OF BLACK BODIES IN PUBLIC EDUCATION

ABSTRACT

In educational spaces, Black educators, administrators, and learners are subject to oppression in the form of anti-Black racism. Experiences of racism, combined with other social and economic factors, have been proven to negatively impact the physical, emotional, and psychological health and well-being of African Canadians (see James et al., 2010). In this chapter, Newton employs Critical Anti-Racist Theory (CART) to explore anti-Black racism and its impact on the health and well-being of Black bodies in the field of public education. She draws on her lived experiences as a Black educator and on existing scholarship on anti-Black racism to discuss three processes which negatively impact the health and well-being of Black bodies in educational spaces: silencing; isolation; and tokenism. Newton then theorizes the transformation of educational spaces through anti-racist praxis and suggests policies and broader changes to address systemic anti-Black racism in public education, namely through: the creation of spaces for Black students, educators, and administrators to give voice to their experiences of anti-Black racism, breaking their isolation; the decentering of whiteness in the curriculum and classroom and creating space for Black voices, histories, and knowledges, which affirm Black identity; the creation of policies which hold educators and administrators accountable for anti-Black micro-aggressions; and the development of anti-racism training and professional development schemes in the public education system. Overall, this chapter suggests that CART must be central to understanding the experiences of Black bodies in public education and inform an anti-racist praxis capable of transforming educational spaces to ensure the health and well-being of Black bodies.

Keywords: Critical Anti-Racist Theory, anti-Black, health and well-being

INTRODUCTION

In educational spaces, Black educators, learners, and administrators are subject to oppression in the form of anti-Black racism. Experiences of racism, combined with other social and economic factors, have been proven to negatively impact the physical, emotional, and psychological health and well-being of African Canadians

(see James et al., 2010). The purpose of this chapter is to explore—through both existing scholarship and my lived experience as a Black educator—anti-Black racism and its potential impact on the health and well-being of Black bodies in the field of public education.

As a Black woman in public education, I occupy spaces that were once the exclusive preserve of white people, and in administration, disproportionately white men. Although the teaching profession has become more diverse and multiculturalism and inclusivity initiatives have been introduced into curriculums, white supremacy and anti-Black racism continues to permeate public education in Canada (see Turner, 2015). In this chapter, I ask: What are the impacts of racism on the health and well-being of Black bodies in these spaces? How do Black bodies respond to anti-Black racism in educational settings? And finally, how can Critical Anti-Racist Theory (CART) inform anti-racist struggles in public education, transform educational spaces, and thereby improve the health and well-being of Black educators, administrators, and students?

I have chosen to center this essay on the experiences of Black bodies, as opposed to racialized bodies, in acknowledgement of the historical and contemporary specificity of anti-Black racism. Furthermore, CART emphasizes embodiment/lived experience as engendered through particular identities (see Dei, 2013). I write from my location as a Black woman attempting to grapple with my lived experience of everyday and institutionalized anti-Black racism in education. I also write with an understanding of my racial identity as a site of resistance and that my commitment to anti-racist praxis is grounded in the desire to improve the lives of Black people in educational settings, including my own, and ultimately to challenge and transgress white supremacy.

I begin by exploring the intersections of anti-Black racism, work life, and health and well-being through the experiences of my mother, a Black nurse who suffered with racism-related stress, and how her experiences parallel my own. I then discuss the forms anti-Black racism takes in education and how racism is related to processes of silencing, isolation, and tokenism, which negatively impact the health and well-being of Black bodies in educational spaces. I then outline what needs to be done in order to ensure the well-being of Black bodies in educational spaces. I offer some possibilities for a "pedagogy of hope" (Freire, 1994) and the transformation of educational spaces through anti-racist praxis. To this end, I suggest some policies and broader changes to address systemic anti-Black racism in public education, namely through: the creation of spaces for Black students, educators, and administrators to give voice to their experiences of anti-Black racism, break their isolation; the decentering of whiteness in the curriculum and classroom and creating space for Black voices, histories, and knowledges, which affirm Black identity; the creation of policies which hold educators and administrators accountable for anti-Black micro-aggressions; and the development of anti-racism training and professional development schemes designed to bring about long-term transformation in the public education system.

Marx (1845) once said, "The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways. The point however, is to change it." My intention with this chapter is to draw on my own lived experiences as a Black woman, and more particularly a Black educator, and understand these experiences through the lens of CART. Theory informs my praxis as an anti-racist educator who hopes to not only interpret but also transform the spaces in which I work and my students learn.

ANTI-BLACK RACISM, WORK LIFE, AND HEALTH AND WELL-BEING

At a very young age, I became cognizant of what Fanon (1952) called "The Fact of Blackness". Whether at school, in the shopping mall, or on the street, I was acutely aware that my race—i.e. my Blackness—shaped my experiences of the world and how I was to navigate everyday life. Like Fanon, through the gaze of non-Black people, their comments and stares, and the way they responded to my presence, I became conscious of myself as a Black body.

Race, and the politics around it, also shaped my home life. I was raised in suburban Toronto by a white, sixth-generation Canadian father, and an immigrant, Black Jamaican mother. Race, was at the center of many a family discussion and indeed, argument. My racial identity as a Black woman was shaped by a mother who instilled in me a sense of Black pride, endowed me with an understanding of Black history, and despite my father's insistence that I was bi-racial, prepared me for a world that would read me as Black.

While I have always identified as Black, as a child many individuals insisted on identifying me as bi-racial or "mixed". Like my father, they understood my identification as Black as a denial of my Irish-Canadian heritage and thus a denial of my racial identity—even as an act of self-hatred. This tension between my mother's insistence on my Blackness and my father's own claim on my racial identity was a source of tension throughout my childhood. My mother's insistence on my Black identity was very much an attempt to prepare me for a world that would read me as Black. I understand now that her instilling in me a sense of pride in my racial identity was an attempt to inoculate me against the anti-Black racism I experienced and would experience. My experiences of racial oppression have never been due to my dual identity but to one specific aspect of my identity, my Blackness.

During high school, I became increasingly aware of the complexities of anti-Black racism, the way it is internalized, and the social and psychological legacies of colonialism in the Caribbean and broader African diaspora. For whatever reason, my mother did not provide me with a deep understanding of 'pigmentocracy' and intersection of class and race in Caribbean society. Nor did I understand how colonialism shaped how Black people of various complexions understood themselves, their identity, and self-worth in relation to one another. I became aware that I was the bearer of certain unearned privilege as a Black woman with a lighter complexion. I became cognizant of the reality of shadeism, or colourism, that pervades Black communities.

The lived experiences of my mother, my experiences as a youth, and in my current profession, bring me to anti-racism work. My mother was a registered nurse who, like many of her peers, left Jamaica in her early twenties. She moved to England for formal schooling and then on to Canada for work and settlement. For young Black Caribbean women who were interested in a career in nursing, the Canadian state's demand for cheap, 'unskilled' immigrant labour provided an opportunity for them to make a living. Before the Trudeau government officially ended Canada's whites-only immigration policy, the Canadian state, in concert with the British government, facilitated the migration of Jamaican nurses to Canada (Samuels-Denis, York, & Barrett, 2013, pp. 70–71). However, far from being the Promised Land, these nurses faced many challenges when they arrived in Canada. As Samuels-Denis, York, and Barrett observes, for Black nurses "Nurses recalled experiences undergirded by racism, discrimination, hierarchical oppression and the constant imposed idea that they were not good enough" (2013, p. 74).

Though she is now retired, as I reflect on my mother's well-being and mental health. I remember her workplace as a constant source of racism-related stress. I recall her talking about racism and discrimination on the job, the anti-Black micro-aggressions or overt racism experienced at the hands of her patients, fellow nurses, or managers. I now understand that these experiences of racism took a serious toll on my mother and can help explain her stress levels, and later, her battles with mental health. Her experiences have led me to ponder the impacts of racism on the health and well-being of Black bodies within my own profession and beyond.

After a long career in nursing, my mother developed Alzheimer's Dementia. As my family and I long to understand this complex disease and watch her slowly slip away, I have contemplated the relationship between the racism she experienced and her mental health. According to the Fisher Centre for Alzheimer's Research (2013), studies have shown that in the area of dementia risks, there is a direct correlation between midlife stress and an increase in dementia. Is my mother's deteriorating mental health a product of years of stress related to racial oppression within school, the workplace, and everyday life in the UK and Canada? On a recent visit to an emergency department in a local Toronto hospital for my mothers care, I was greeted by a former colleague of my mothers who fondly remembered my mother in her early years of nursing. During this short visit the attending nurse recalled how my mother was an advocate for equity and how she would help guide, assist and navigate many young Black nurses that were new to the field and country. I asked the Nurse quickly about my mother's colleagues and she informed me that many of my mother's colleagues, all Black Caribbean nurses had some form of dementia. I can only help but wonder the toll on black bodies and their well-being.

I think back to the stories that my mother shared with me about growing up in colonial Jamaica in the 1940s and '50s, and then moving to England in the '60s before immigrating to Canada in the '70s. Her stories were always filled with adventure, nostalgia and hope, however the majority of her stories were tied to specific experiences as a Black body in these spaces. What I have garnered from

theses stories is that her Blackness dictated how she would be perceived, how non-Black folks would relate to her, and that anti-Black racism determined what resources—from housing to employment—she would have access to.

I can recall stories about patients not wanting her to care for them because she was Black and requesting a white nurse, doctors discrediting her credentials and ability because she was from "the colonies", or white Canadian-born nurses who were upset about the new wave of Black women entering "their" profession. One story that I remember particularly well, was about a patient who had injured his eyes and had to be bandaged during his care. After tending to this patient for a couple days she removed the bandages from his eyes and he said to my mother, "God, your Black and Ugly, I thought you were a beautiful white woman all this time, gosh your accent is deceiving". It was moments like this that dehumanized my mother and devalued her care and worth. There were also many stories of resistance and individual and collective struggles for justice, dignity, and equity. Her experiences, and those of many of her Black colleagues who would frequent our house for dinner, told a unique story about being a Black nurse in Canada: a story of resistance, resilience, and dignity in the face of oppression, exclusion, and marginalization. But resistance itself takes a toll on the body (see James et al., 2010). My mother's struggles against anti-Black racism, her willingness to call out the racism of white nurses, patients, and doctors, wore her down both mentally and physically.

Around the same time my mother retired from nursing, I entered the workforce as a teacher. My lived experiences as a Black body in my profession, mirror those of my mother. The struggles of my mother's generation resulted in anti-discrimination policies, human rights legislation, and cultural norms in which racism is expressed less overtly than in the past. However, given my own experiences, I question if these policies and norms have resulted in real change. This is not to underplay the individual and collective struggles of my community's elders. My critique is of institutions characterized by systemic racism, but unlike in my mother's time, these institutions now attempt to mask these realities with the liberal discourse of multiculturalism, equity, and inclusion.

Although progress has been made, anti-Black racism remains a cause of ill-health for Black people (James et al., 2010) and continues to exclude, oppress, and marginalize Black bodies. I worry about the mental health of Black educators, administrators, and students. Many Black educators confide in me and discuss their anxieties, frustrations, and stresses within the workplace; experiences that are tied up in the bodies they occupy and the racism they confront. Many Black educators have been in tears and emotionally distraught when confiding in me. I have heard from enough of my Black colleagues to know that these lived experiences are not isolated but common to Black educators i.e. that anti-Black racism is systemic and works to not only marginalize Black learners but also Black teachers and administrators (see Turner, 2015). These realities bump up against the denials and silences over race in public education. On a weekly basis, white colleagues tell me that racism does not exist and that they are colour blind. As Dei (2013, p. 8) has argued, "The

49

rhetoric of color blindness in schooling and education justifies the status quo of white privilege." This rhetoric, and the hierarchies of power and privilege it upholds, spurs me on to continue in my work as an educator committed to critical anti-racist praxis.

Furthermore, as a Black educator responsible for equity work in predominantly white spaces, I am constantly reminded of how non-Black teachers have internalized and attached negative meaning to my Blackness and the Blackness of my students and Black colleagues. This creates an interesting dynamic when presenting to white educators on race and racism, and on other sites of difference and oppression, such as gender, sexuality, class, disability, language, and religion. I have found that liberal approaches to equity and inclusivity are near hegemonic in educational institutions in Ontario. Liberal preoccupations with managing difference and learning multiculturalism do not go deep enough and work to perpetuate denials and silences over race and racism in education. Thus, my work in professional development in equity and inclusivity must seek to further incorporate CART to challenge systemic racism in its many manifestations.

Finally, I acknowledge that too often I push aside my lived experiences and do not share these experiences for fear of this knowledge being deemed subjective or non-academic. To inhibit the Black body and not speak about race is problematic (Dei & Lecture OISE, 2016). We must speak about our identities not only because they are constantly imposed but also because histories and struggles and resistance are an integral part of identity. In sum, in working closely with educators, I have come to understand and witness the acts of racism and oppression in our schools firsthand. In my eleven years as an educator I have been disheartened and distraught with the treatment of Black bodies and systemic anti-Blackness that pervades educational spaces. I worry that should anti-Black racism persist, the health and well being of Black educators, students, and administrators will continue be negatively impacted. I must summon the courage to speak about the experiences of racism and their impact.

ANTI-BLACK RACISM AND PUBLIC EDUCATION

Anti-Black racism takes on many forms in public education (see Dei, 2013; Turner 2015). Whether in an early years classroom or in a post-secondary setting, anti-Black racism exists and manifests itself in different ways. Whether as structural racism, micro-aggressions, or overt racist acts, it is important to understand how certain bodies are implicated in these processes and the effects that racism has on Black bodies. James et al. provides a clear picture of what Black students in particular encounter within educational spaces and how Black parents navigate anti-Blackness and experience stress because of it:

> The education system remains a source of enormous stress for these parents and their children. African Canadian students face a variety of barriers and obstacles in the education system, including the largely Eurocentric curriculum,

under-representation of Black teachers and principals, negative stereotyping of Black students, lower expectations of Black students, harsher punishment of Black students when conflict arises, and the persistence of racist incidents and name calling. Many parents see the education system as one that does little to nurture African Canadian students and support their learning. Parents expressed anger and frustration at the system's failure to meet their children's needs and, even worse, for increasing their health risks and reducing their life choice. (2010, p. 91)

Furthermore, anti-Black racism and its impacts are masked in public education through a variety of processes. As I mentioned above, as Dei (2013, p. 8) has argued, "the rhetoric of color blindness in schooling and education justifies the status quo of white privilege." And while the discourse of multiculturalism and inclusivity moves beyond colour blindness, through the recognition of difference, its focus on managing difference rather than addressing institutionalized racism, does little to challenge anti-Black racism and white supremacy. Building from both lived experience and critical race scholarship, the following section explores a variety of ways in which anti-Black racism is manifest in educational settings. I focus on those manifestations of anti-Black racism I have continually experienced in my career before relating these experiences back to the question of stress, health and well-being of the Black body.

Silencing

"You need to pick your battles", "Be careful how you respond. You don't want to make people mad or they will ruin your career" or "Why do you have to be so sensitive and make a big deal out it, they didn't really mean it". Too often, these statements have been said to me when I encounter different manifestations of anti-Black racism in my workplace. I have been conditioned over time to deflect, suppress and ignore the anti-Black racism I have experienced. For Black people, the fear of complaining about, and challenging, anti-Black racism exists across institutions, not only in the workplace. There is a fear that you might face backlash or punishment for doing so.

Many of my Black friends who have children have confided in me that they want to make a formal complaint about the racist treatment that their child experienced, but fear potential punishments that may affect their child's grades or daily treatment. And for Black teachers, Turner (2015) has describes a culture in which the voices of those who are Black or aware of issues of equity are silenced and "black listed" in public education in Ontario.

When Black students, parents, and educators seek avenues to voice their grievances, formal complaint systems are seldom in place, leaving only costly legal avenues. Many schools have accident report forms and health and safety report forms but do not have formal complaint systems for incidences of racism. Without these structures in place, racism can continue to further marginalize oppressed

groups and reinforce silencing. For those that do make formal requests, many times administrators attempt to "deescalate" by promising to take corrective action that typically individualizes experiences of discrimination while failing to address systemic racism.

Silencing is one form of oppression that is imposed on Black bodies. Many times Black people have to work twice as hard when trying to gain access to institutions that are dominated by whiteness. These individuals are faced with historical systems of oppression that include racist policies that have created systemic discrimination within the institution, thus limiting access. This colonial oppression that is embedded in the institution acts as a limiting and regulating force that Black bodies encounter on a daily basis. Ahmed (2012) describes this as a 'brick wall' that creates resistance between institutions and change. And when institutions do make efforts to make more equitable and inclusive workplaces, often through diversity initiatives, racialized bodies take on a very important and significant role for the institution. As these bodies enter the institution some can experience an increased vulnerability, which leaves them at risk and further marginalized. Many times this vulnerability can take the form of physical and mental violence and the silencing and suppressing of speech and actions (Ahmed, 2012).

Monture (2010) provides an example of silencing in post-secondary education, describing instances where, as an Aboriginal woman, she felt vulnerability and was silenced as a result. She explains how she encountered backlash from white colleagues when she spoke out against racism. However, she also speaks to the need to resist silencing:

> It has been suggested to me that speaking about issues of racialization in the academy is risky. Although I have indeed experienced the sharp edge of backlash, I speak to these issues because it is the only way to unmask and destabilize the power held over so many of us. And if I cannot hang on to the hope of transformative change, then I cannot continue to engage the university. (Monture, 2010, p. 26)

The concept of risk comes into play for Black people who must negotiate everyday racism by picking and choosing which battles to fight. White bodies never have to hide personal opinions and convictions because of risk. Black bodies face consequences like social isolation, verbal attacks from colleagues, reprimands, or potential termination; all are risks associated with fighting oppression within an institution (see Dei et al., 2013). Furthermore, professional mobility does not insulate one from these risks. According to Monture (2010), racialized bodies become institutionally bound; upwardly mobile racialized bodies may have more power in institutional settings but because of the body that you occupy, power and privilege is limited.

During my first years of teaching I made a number of observations: Why did none of the staff or senior leadership look like me? Why during our school's honour roll ceremonies were Black students not crossing the stage? Or why were student success programs and alternative education programs clearly divided along racial and socio-

economic lines? I questioned whether others saw these differences. Did I see these things because the students reflected my identity and the rest of the teaching staff did not? I would ask my non-Black co-workers whether they noticed these similarities too and heard a variety of responses like, "what do you expect" or "you're reading into things too much". I wondered who is whiteness invisible too? Who has the power to ignore this politic?

This example of dialoguing with white educators about racialized differences in student achievement, treatment, and access to resources, was a quick reminder to know my place and not to worry or question, thus silencing me. The comments and lack of caring and support takes a mental toll because the comment is not just injurious to the student but to myself as I have the same racial identity.

The act of silencing and the mental and physical toll that is experienced by racialized bodies within institutions is a lived reality. James and Mannette (2000) explore the challenges that Black students face when entering university institutions through 'access' programs and illustrate the relationship between anger at racism, silencing, and stress on the Black body. They write:

> In relating their experiences within the university, respondents reported that they were perceived as "access" because they were Black. This stereotyping and the resultant behaviors towards these students by both professors and peers contributed to the frustrations and sometimes anger that they felt in the university. Sometimes they would take actions and raise the issues that they perceived needed to be addressed, but they were usually dismissed as troublemakers. The idea of trouble is a key component in how access students are understood and perceived, regardless of what may or may not say or do. (ibid. 79)

Stories like this are very common for Black bodies that enter such spaces. Some individuals choose to be silent or are silenced because of fear of retaliation and lack of support. The institutional structures themselves restrict and place limitations on Black bodies and survivalist practices and coping mechanisms take over (see Turner, 2015). In spaces where only particular kinds of Blackness are accepted, playing the game of performing acceptable Blackness—i.e. Blackness that is not disruptive of white supremacy—becomes necessary to survive. In many spaces you will become isolated for not doing so, thus limiting your growth and success in the institution. The limitations that are placed on Black bodies ultimately limits one's authentic self as you constantly learn to internalize the impacts of racism and silence yourself.

In James et al.'s (2010) study of anti-Black racism and well-being in Canada, participants shared experiences of the limitations of authentic self and the mask they feel they must wear in order to fit into mainstream society. One participant in the study exclaimed: "I cannot be myself. I am not being who I want to be… You want to be who you are, but people won't let you. They feel they already know who you are just because you are Black. So we suppress ourselves to fit into the dominant society" (as qtd. in James et al., 2010, p. 65). Participants in this study commonly

referred to the pressure to assimilate into white Canadian society, "which makes it hard for them to relax or be fully themselves, which then weighs heavily on their sense of identity" (Ibid.).

Silencing can also be seen in the spaces that Black bodies choose not to occupy. Many times I would tell my students about community events I might have attended on the weekend, only for them to tell me "that's for white people," or "we don't go there; they don't want Black kids there." Over the years I have witnessed how my Black students police themselves within the city and self-regulate their access to spaces, thus limiting their experiences. This did not just manifest itself in the community but also within the school's extracurricular programs where students would not sign up for certain activities because they were not seen as being for them or they did not feel welcome. These brief anecdotes suggest the need to engage in structural hegemonic rupturing within our everyday lives, challenging the silencing, forced narratives, containment of Blackness, and sometimes our own complicity with white supremacy.

Isolation

Black bodies also experience isolation within the educational spaces and other institutions (see Turner, 2015). When functioning in either the school or the workplace, moments of isolation occur when white peers either isolate you or you draw away from others and isolate yourself for safety. In *Friends in Deed, Friendship Indeed?* Leckie (2012) describes how isolation occurs in the institution by looking at female allies and friendship in the academy. Leckie suggests that our work in the academy across race is broken (2012, p. 106). This brokenness does not allow for authentic relationships, collaborative practices, and belonging within the institution. Instead, isolation for racialized bodies become routine and normalized. Leckie provides several examples where she was targeted for being an ally and shares many observations based on the treatment of racialized bodies. She notes examples where racialized bodies are left out of meetings, projects, and discussions. One troubling example is when Leckie (2012, p. 106) reveals that some "white women claim participation in diversity efforts to promote their own institutional status while simultaneously keeping women of color at a distance… this maintenance of spatial distance can happen regardless of the institutional responsibilities or power that women of color hold."

Having a safe space to dialogue about experiences of isolation and share these realities is usually limited and discouraged and many times you are left alone as a racialized body in the institution to internalize and manage these oppressive systems. bell hooks refers to this as 'racial distancing' (hooks as qtd. in Leckie, 2012, p. 104). This is another example of how whiteness is enacted in the institution and how Black bodies experience self through the structures in the institution that create racial distance and thus isolation. Leckie suggests that "race is not named; however, it is important to create and maintain white bonds through exclusionary alliances.

These selective alliances create and maintain- unacknowledged- racial distance" (ibid.). Leckie refers to this systemic force as "an unspoken white solidarity" and this solidarity makes it difficult and sometimes impossible for Black bodies to trust and be fully included and valued within the institutional space (ibid.).

Another form of isolation that occurs within the institution for Black bodies can be a form of isolation from within the racialized group that you belong to. As your body enters spaces not dominated by racialized bodies some individuals who share your racial identity may question your racial authenticity and accuse you of being 'whitewashed', 'being better than' and a sense of 'othering' from within your own communities can occur. It is this feeling of being 'an outsider' that Harper (2004) discusses *Nomads, Pilgrims, Tourists: Women Teachers in the Canadian North*. Harper discusses the experiences of one Indigenous teacher starting a new teaching position in northern Ontario:

> Sometimes I feel kind of strange because I've lived on reserves most of my life and hung around with Native people all of my life. And then I come here and [am] labeled as 'teacher'. Here I'm hanging around with a lot of non-Native teachers. I don't mind, but sometimes it's kind of strange. You know, you're 'the teacher,' even though I'm Native. But I'm still not from the community. I'm still an outsider. But I am Native, you know what I mean? (2004, p. 209)

Harper's experience of not being seen as Indigenous but as a 'teacher' creates isolation from within the community and is an interesting burden because the lack of access to these institutions in the first place creates a sense of duality for the racialized body. So not only are you sometimes isolated from non- racialized members but also from those within your own community who see you as a traitor and potentially as one of the oppressors. However it is the history of colonial systems that have created this distrust, suspicion, and doubt. Once you are in the confines of the institution it becomes harder for Black bodies to pass certain agendas and fight for equity, inclusivity and anti-racist policies. Isolation is a major burden that Black bodies have to contend with in the institution and this takes on an added burden to one's already existing role as a Black educator.

Tokenism

Tokenism refers to the practice or policy of admitting an extremely small number of members of racial, ethnic, or gender groups to work, educational, or social spaces to give the impression of being inclusive, when in actuality these spaces remain characterized by forms of systemic oppression and exclusion (James and Manette, 2000). According to Ahmed (2007), as institutions create a variety of diversity policies and initiatives, many struggle to create policies and practices that are truly authentic and create meaningful change to pre-existing racist and sexist structures. Many of these institutions are confused with how to make positive inclusive and equitable strategies that embody the meaning and purpose of diversity work. Instead

many organizations produce diversity policies and projects that create tokenistic environments for racialized bodies. Ahmed describes this tokenism as a form of aesthetic or as she states the "Benetton model" of diversity, in which diversity becomes an aesthetic style or a way of "rebranding" an organization (ibid.).

More specifically, and perhaps given the widespread use of "business case" arguments for diversity within public and private sector organizations, "diversity has been identified as a management term. Diversity becomes something to be managed and valued as a human resource" (Ahmed, 2007, p. 53). Therefore, racialized bodies within the institution are reduced to a quota to fill. The act of tokenism once again adds to the burden through the diminishing a racialized person's competency and worth to simply skin colour. Organizations then pride themselves on being diverse by crediting the number of racialized bodies that they have employed, disregarding whether or not anti-racist initiatives are taking place within the institution (see Ahmed, 2007).

In my experiences in public education, Black bodies are used as visible markers of institutional success in reaching diversity and inclusion goals. This act shows how the institution produces experiences for Black bodies that become a normalized practice. These tokenistic acts do not move diversity work ahead but only hinder progress. The inclusion of Black bodies is important but it must go beyond tokenism and must address the systems in place that restrict Black bodies from entering the institution in the first place, including anti-Black racism in the education system and racial bias in hiring.

Tutti et al. (2009, pp. 65–66) describe the burden of tokenism racialized bodies must endure, including "feeling like they must be exemplars of their entire race and work twice as hard to get half as far; feel obligated to represent one's race or ethnicity on multiple committees that help the institution, but not necessarily the individual, and to mentor and advise many same-race students _ a huge hidden workload that goes unrewarded in the promotion and tenure system." This experience is similar to a 'glass ceiling' for Black bodies. Access is granted for a small percentage of Black bodies, nonetheless it is only until these bodies try to gain power or move up that the glass ceiling stops them. The ceiling is glass so that the institution gives the illusion that it is doing equity work. The tokenism restricts movement and limits your relationship with other non-racialized bodies within the system. In some instances you are used to fulfill and paint a picture of a diverse institution when in reality the institution is characterized by systemic racism.

Anti-Black Racism and the Social Determinants of Health

For Black bodies in educational spaces, experiences of anti-Black racism can result in stress and anxiety. James et al. (2010) have documented how experiences of racism, combined with other social and economic factors, affect the health and well-being of African Canadians across a range of institutional settings and in different cities across Canada. From my own experiences as a Black educator, I can relate to the

James et al.'s findings and connect this research back to the lived experiences of my mother. James et al. (2010, p. 132) argues that the heavy emotional impact of racism can result in chronic stress brought on by feelings of depression, panic, anxiety, and other psychiatric disorders. This research goes beyond just mental health impacts. As James et al. have found:

> Institutional racism, personally mediated racism, and internalized racism – and stress, anger, and despair, other research have made a connection between these emotions and risk factors for heart disease, stroke, and cancer, among other health conditions. As research findings indicate, racism is a fundamental cause of health disparities and is undoubtedly a major factor in the overall health of African Canadians. (2010, pp. 139–140)

One participant in their study mirrored my own feelings and emotions, he said, racism "is a constant struggle. The unbearable stress, unbearable treatment, forces you to doubt yourself, your abilities, your values. [Racism] puts doubt in your mind. I become angry and defenceless. I experience anxiety, frustration, and stress. Sometimes I lose my motivation and spirit to carry on" (2010, p. 131). The findings of James et al. echoes Turner's (2015) research on the impacts of anti-Black racism on Black teachers in Ontario and the disproportionate levels of stress experienced by Black educators.

TOWARDS A PEDAGOGY OF HOPE: TRANSFORMING EDUCATIONAL SPACES THROUGH ANTI-RACIST PRAXIS

The classroom of today cannot be a sanctuary free from discussions of race and social oppression. We must challenge the racist ideologies that filter through classroom teaching and curricular practices. We must critically examine the structures for educational delivery-structures for teaching, learning, and administration of education-to see how racism can be systemic and institutionalized within the setting (Dei, 2000, p. 9).

I had the honour of attending a class unlike no other in my educational career. It was my first educational experience in 34 years where the students in the class and the professor looked like me. Here was a space where we were to learn about the principles of CART and how to transform institutions with an anti-racist praxis. It was a space where my lived experiences mattered and where my epistemic knowledge could be counted as academic. A space where theory met action, where we met in community and where we learned from one another. It is here that I learnt how to transform my pedagogy and witness what CART looks like in practice. Our instructor created a learning experience that made us question, examine, and apply theory to our lived experiences, always connecting theory to praxis.

The class was incredibly diverse: mothers, activists, educators, all with a variety of different backgrounds and nationalities. Many of my fellow classmates were organizers with the Black Lives Matter movement, intelligent young women taking

the streets to demand justice and an end to the anti-Blackness that pervades our institutions and everyday life in Ontario. I was honoured to be in the presence of these students once a week. The lives of my classmates and their stories were inspirational and I was able to witness a new wave of anti-racist activism and leadership. The different work that was being done by individuals in the area of CART was rich and it was special to meet in a space where we could openly discuss our challenges and success and apply theory to our work.

One memorable event that I will never forget is when one of my classmates who was pregnant for the majority of the term, was able to bring her baby into the class to introduce her to us. That moment when she paraded her newborn baby around the class really solidified for me why this work is important and why we must collectively transform our society and dismantle white supremacy. It was moments like this where I was reminded that I need to be fearless in responding to anti-Black racism and that if anti-racist work is to transform institutions then I must be prepared to face the consequences of this work. This must be done so my classmates baby girl will not have to endure the same experiences that my mother and I have lived through. Paulo Freire summarizes the fearless attitude that I must exude. He states:

> [T]he more radical the person is, the more fully he or she enters into reality so that, knowing it better, he or she can transform it. This individual is not afraid to confront, to listen, to see the world unveiled. This person is not afraid to meet the people or to enter into a dialogue with them. This person does not consider himself or herself the proprietor of history or of all people, or the liberator of the oppressed; but he or she does commit himself or herself, within history, to fight at their side. (Freire, 2000, p. 132)

Using a "pedagogy of hope" is where I begin to understand how to transform educational spaces. I seek to use a pedagogy of discomfort where we learn from the pain and suffering and seek to change hearts and minds. In engaging with CART we can move beyond current neoliberal practices that pay lip service to equity and diversity while failing to confront institutionalized racism. Freire grounds my understanding of hope by moving me from a place of pain and hopelessness, and ill health, to one of hope and possibility. A place where the well-being and overall health of Black bodies will flourish.

Finding ways to combat anti-Black racism is important to breaking down the systemic and oppressive structures that plague educational institutions. Theory is essential to this work. However, as Dei (2000, p. 38) points out "theorizing about race does not certify anti-racist behavior/work. In truly progressive anti-racism work, practicality must acknowledge the limits of theory. It also implies developing a clear strategy to put theory into practice. Given the existence of oppressive social structure it may be daunting, but it is nonetheless a surmountable task."

As I reflect on my formal and informal educational experiences I look forward and consider what methods and tools from CART are essential to transforming educational spaces. Three specific areas of CART speak to my work as an educator and will

ground my anti-racist praxis. The first is the creation of spaces for Black students, educators, and administrators to voice their experiences of anti-Black racism; second, we must decenter whiteness in the curriculum and classroom and create space for Black voices, histories, and knowledges; relatedly, we must create anti-racism training and professional development schemes that will bring about long term transformation in the education system; and in the immediate term, we must develop policies which hold educators and administrators accountable for anti-Black micro-aggressions.

Creating Space for Voice

As a way of knowing, it is important that we center the experiences of the oppressed. Black voices must be present in doing anti-racism work. Spaces must be provided where open discussions with Black students and the institution can be had. In doing this we can insure that we navigate discussions that do not assume the voice of the community. Epistemic saliency is critical to transformation; subaltern voices cannot be absent and the stories must be documented and used as evidence. One way that this voice can be captured is by the collection of race-based statistics. The surveying must allow room for voice. Anti-racism work goes beyond collecting surface data but gets at the root of the problem associated with the data results.

According to Delpit (1988), "The voice component of CRT provides a way to communicate the experience and realities of the oppressed, a first step in understanding the complexities of racism and beginning a process of judicial redress. For example, the voice of people of color is required for a deep understanding of the educational system." Delpit (1988) argues that "one of the tragedies of the field of education is how the dialogue of people of color has been silenced" (as qtd. in Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 14).

Looking back on how my colleagues and students who would share their experiences of racism with me, and I with them, this experience validated the existence of anti-Black racism as real. When voices are silenced through self-regulation or externally, the cycle of oppression continues. According to Delgado and Barnes:

> Stories provide the necessary context for understanding, feeling, and interpreting. The ahistorical and a contextual nature of much law and other "science'" renders the voices of dispossessed and marginalized group members mute. In response, much of the scholarship of CRT focuses on the role of "voice" in bringing additional power to the legal discourses of racial justice. Indeed, Delgado (1990) argues that people of color speak with experiential knowledge about the fact that our society is deeply structured by racism. That structure gives their stories a common framework warranting the term "voice." Consequently, CART theorists are attempting to interject minority cultural viewpoints, derived from a common history of oppression, into their efforts to reconstruct a society crumbling under the burden of racial hegemony. (as qtd. in Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 14)

59

Yet it is one thing to allow voice, however it must be followed up with some form of action. School boards need to have advisory councils for issues dealing with race that include the voices of Black people and their lived experiences, and students need to be allowed to have spaces where they can share, report and understand these experiences. Many times students would tell me stories but could not articulate that what they were experiencing was anti-Black racism. White bodies need to bear witness to the experiences of Black bodies and understand how they are implicated in racism and benefit from privilege.

Decentering Whiteness and Training

How do we teach about the possibility of change? Schick and St. Denis suggest that:

> We need to offer … teachers and administrators opportunities to learn more about racism and how its effects, especially the ideology of and belief in the superiority of whiteness, shapes both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal members of society. In other words, instead of assuming and hoping that a focus on the positive through the celebration of culture will be enough to disrupt ideologies of racial superiority and inferiority, we might all benefit from an anti-racist education. By ignoring the production of racial identities, whiteness remains at once invisible and a marker of difference in a Canadian context. (2005, pp. 1084–1085)

Educational spaces must decenter whiteness. This begins with decolonizing spaces and one simple thing to do is to start educating all engaged in education about what colonization is and how it manifests itself in education. As Dei (2016) states, decolonization must implicate the colonizer and the colonized. White bodies need to have conversations about the understanding of power and privilege and how they enact it on Black bodies. A de-centering of whiteness must be done to the curriculum by moving away from Eurocentric models of education. Educators need to think about how whiteness is made visible in their classrooms. We must break hegemonic thinking and allow Black voices, histories and knowledge to be present in the classroom. Dei (2000, p. 37) describes what a de-centering of whiteness would look like: "It is about allowing every student to share in the center. An inclusive anti-racist educational practice is the pursuit of interactive and co-operative learning strategies that teach all learners critical thinking skills to question the status quo. To accomplish the task of centering all students, the school system's hegemony and dominance of whiteness must be rupture."

Towards New Policies

Dialogue and discussion is good but without it these groups must lobby governments to create programs and systems that remove these oppressive structures and it cannot resemble the broken diversity programs that already exist. Institutions must partake

in critical anti-racist educational programs that assist in teaching and unlearning past oppressive systems and practices. It must go beyond dialogue and into action. Educational spaces need to re-examine existing policies and create new policies that address the issue of anti-Black racism and provide accountability. Stricter policies against micro aggressions, and real tools to file complaints, with proper complaint systems and structures set in place. Annual anonymous surveys should be provided to students, teacher, and administrators that speak to the well-being of Black bodies and their lived experiences.

Ahmed (2012) points out that you have to become "insistent to go against the flow"; yet it needs to be more than this, a complete restructuring of power needs to occur and it might take government legislation to create this change. If Ahmed is correct, "An account of diversity as a phenomenological practice is an account of how racism is reproduced by receding from view, becoming an ordinary feature of institutional life" (2012, p. 182). Then we must break the routine and the ordinary by holding institutions accountable and place real consequences for violators. The successes of diversity work are hard to measure and assess. Instead stories of Black bodies must be documented and shared, institutions must be held accountable for their actions.

Safe spaces should be created for Black bodies. For example in the teachers' union a Black teachers caucus should be created where Black teachers can discuss issues and concerns and have a voice within the decision making process. Anti-Black racism will only continue to flourish if nothing is done to shake the system at its core. The fight should not have to come from racialized people alone, thus creating another added burden, but until structures are corrected, racialized bodies will have to be pioneers and those who are allies must take up this fight and go against the grain.

Concrete action must take place that systematically ruptures institutions. But what does this look like? How do we move beyond discussion to action and change? How can you rupture systems that you do not have power in? How can you reclaim power or gain access to it when the systems are setup to limit your access to power? According to Ahmed (2012) we need to create a space where we can talk about diversity and the work that it does. We must find strategies that can address the systemic barriers and oppressive structures that exist within the institution. It is clear that Black bodies have to find ways to support each other and to not be alone. Once this happens then discussions need to be had with those in positions of real power to create change within the institution.

Monture (2010) calls for a type of solidarity amongst these bodies, a space where stories and experiences can be shared and where community is built. She suggests that we need to find ways to challenge existing power structures. This is a good start, however, spaces need to be created with the oppressor and the oppressed in order to create meaningful dialogue, unlearning, and understanding. A power play has to be created where the power is in the hands of the racialized bodies. There has to be a willingness to learn and understand one another in an authentic and genuine way. It

cannot just be a patronizing act but a serious dialogue that creates action and change for a new understanding.

Ahmed (2012) argues for a similar approach to Monture in the sense that she agrees that spaces need to be created where we can talk about diversity and the work that it does and the bodies that it effects. However she uses a phenomenological approach that suggests change will come as a result of the experience within the institution. She states "they become conscious of "the brick wall," as that which keeps its place even when an official commitment to diversity has been given. Only the practical labor of "coming up against" the institution, allows this wall to become apparent. To those who do not come up against it, the wall does not appear- the institution is lived and experienced as being open, committed, and diverse" (Ahmed, 2012, p. 174).

So how do we expose the wall to those who don't see it or encounter the effects of it? The task is not a simple one and although many suggest dialogue, how does this dialogue become action. Ahmed claims:

> Doing diversity work is institutional work in the sense that it is an experience of encountering resistance and countering that resistance. Each new strategy or tactic for getting through the wall generates knowledge of what does or does not get across. Perhaps diversity workers aim to transform the wall into a table, turning the tangible object of institutional resistance into a tangible platform for institutional action. (2012, p. 175)

The concept of institutional action will be challenging as long as constructs of diversity work continue to produce the same limiting results. Until non-racialized bodies have an in-depth understanding of the effects of racism on racialized bodies, systems of power will not change. According to Ahmed (2007, p. 158): "White bodies are comfortable, *as they inhabit spaces that extend their shape*. The bodies and spaces 'point' towards each other, as a 'point' that is not seen as it is also 'the point' from which we see." It is time for non-racialized bodies to feel and understand the discomfort that is experienced by their racialized colleagues. Truth and an unlearning of racist practice and belief must be taught and limitations and rules must be created in order to limit and restrict power and abuses of power and privilege, ensuring accountability for oppression and institutional commitments to anti-racism.

CONCLUSION

Much more work is needed to combat anti-Black racism. The capturing of stories and experiences is integral to proving and acknowledging that anti-Black racism is alive and flourishing. However, anti-Black racism exists and hasn't gone away. What will stop it is continued pressuring by the Black community to advocate change. Black bodies didn't create this problem it was imposed on us. Now it is up to dominant bodies within education to listen, care, unlearn, and transform.

I have shown some of the impacts that racism has on Black bodies and the physical toll that it plays on their well-being. I have discussed potential solutions to address systemic anti-Black racism in educational spaces. As CART health advocates push for the inclusion of racism as a social determinant of health, many Black bodies are suffering in silence and don't have access to supports. One political request by many health care providers who use CART call for the following:

> One of those actions would be to ensure that racism becomes listed, and recognized, as a key social determinant of health. If attaining the highest standard of human health is a universal human right, then Canadian society as a whole needs to that that crucial step in recognizing the impact of racism on the health of racialized people. Indeed, only by formally identifying racism as a social determinant of health and well-being issues of Black and other racialized communities be seriously addressed. In turn policy makers need to be aware, at the very start, of the great diversity of African Canadian communities, a diversity that points to the need for policy rethinking on several fronts, including health, social services, education, and justice. (James et al., 2010, p. 131)

Black lives do matter and we must work together collectively to ensure that the emotional and psychological well-being of Blacks bodies are protected. Even though it is easy sometimes to be complacent in this work we must engage in this discourse. It's always a fight, but one thing that I have learned from this class is that it is important to not face that fight alone. Critical anti-racism work starts in community, you must surround yourself with your community and critical friends who can assist in the struggle. It is only through this community that spaces of well-being for Black bodies will exist. For a school term my *Principles of Anti-Racism Education* class was that safe space where I received healing, strength and hope. I will seek to foster environments like this in my future pedagogical practices.

REFERENCES

Ahmed, S. (2007). A phenomenology of whiteness. *Feminist Theory, 8*(2), 149–168.

Ahmed, S. (2012). *On being included: Racism and diversity in institutional life*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Dei, G. J. S. (2000). Towards an anti-racism discursive framework. In G. J. S. Dei & A. Calliste (Eds.), *Power, knowledge and anti-racism education: A critical reader* (pp. 23–39). Halifax, NS: Fernwood Publishing.

Dei, G. J. S. (2013). Reframing critical anti-racist theory (CART) for contemporary times. In G. J. S. Dei & M. Lordan (Eds.), *Contemporary issues in the sociology of race and ethnicity* (pp. 1–14). New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Dei, G. J. S., & Kempf, A. (2006). *Anti-colonialism and education: The politics of resistance*. Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers.

Dei, G. J. S., & Lordan, M. (2013). *Contemporary issues in the sociology of race and ethnicity: A critical reader*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Denis, V. S. (2007). Aboriginal education and anti-racist education: Building alliances across cultural and racial identity. *Canadian Journal of Education, 4*(30), 1068–1092.

Freire, P. (1994). *Pedagogy of hope: Reliving pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York, NY: Continuum.

Freire, P. (2000). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York, NY: Continuum.

Harper, H. (2004). Nomads, pilgrims, tourists: Women teachers in the Canadian North. *Gender and Education, 16*(2), 209–224.

James, E. C., & Mannette, J. (2000). Rethinking access: The challenge of living with difficult knowledge. In G. J. S. Dei & A. Calliste (Eds.), *Power, knowledge and anti-racism education: A critical reader* (pp. 73–90). Halifax, NS: Fernwood Publishing.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1998). Just what is critical race theory and what's it doing in a 'nice' field like education? *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 11*(1), 7–24.

Leckie, L. (2012). Friends in deed, friendship indeed? In K. L. Dace (Ed.), *Unlikely allies in the academy: Women of color and White women in conversation* (pp. 101–111). New York, NY: Routledge.

Marx, K., & Engels, F. (1968). *Eleven theses on Feuerbach, 1845 found in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels; selected works in one volume*. New York, NY: International Publishers Company, Incorporated.

Midlife Stress May Increase Dementia Risk. (n.d.). Retrieved March 18, 2016, from https://www.alzinfo.org/articles/midlife-stress-may-increase-dementia-risk/

Monture, P. (2010). Race, gender and the university: Strategies for survival. In S. Razack, M. Smith, & S. Thobani (Eds.), *States of race: Critical race feminism for the 21st century* (pp. 23–36). Toronto, ON: Between The Lines Press.

Samuels-Denis, J., & Barrett, D. (2012). The transformational influences of Jamaican nurses on the Canadian health care systems. In M. York (Ed.), *Jamaica in the Canadian experience: A multiculturalizing presence* (pp. 67–78). Halifax, NS: Fernwood Publishing.

Tuitt, F., Hanna, M., Martinez, L. M., del Carmen Salazar, M., & Griffin, R. (2009). Teaching in the line of fire: Faculty of color in the academy. *Thought and Action*, *65*, 65–74. Retrieved from http://www.nea.org/assets/docs/HE/TA09LineofFire.pdf

Turner, T. (2015). *Voices of Black educators: An experiential report*. Toronto, ON: Ontario Alliance of Black School Educators & Turner Consulting Group.

MARÍA ROXANA ESCOBAR ÑAÑEZ

5. INTERCULTURALISM IN PERU AND QUEBEC

A Functional Project?

ABSTRACT

This chapter seeks to understand and compare how interculturalism operates in Peru and Quebec. In the Peruvian context, interculturalism is focused on managing cultural diversity within Indigenous populations. In Quebec, interculturalism does not focus on Indigenous populations when creating policies regarding integration and reparation. Rather, it focuses on preserving settler cultures such as the Canadian Francophone culture. Escobar analyzes how interculturalism has taken the same path in both Quebec and Peru. Both initiatives began as educational projects; they were created as part of the identity policies of the nation/state. Interculturalism in this circumstance is functional for the nation/state and does not focus on changing the power dynamics between cultural populations. The chapter illustrates how Peruvian and Quebec interculturalism has shifted from what Juan Ansion (2004) and Catherine Walsh (2012) have called "interculturalism as a fact or relational interculturalism" to what Fidel Tubino (2005) has named "functional interculturalism." This will help to reveal how both projects take the same direction in order to manage cultural diversity, despite the fact that they are seeking justice and integration for very different populations. Finally, the chapter proposes the possibility of shifting from functional interculturalism to critical interculturalism.

Keywords: interculturalism, Peru, Quebec, Indigenous populations, education

INTRODUCTION

En América Latina, la interculturalidad es percibida como un problema estructural que apunta a un nuevo modelo societal, radicalmente democrático, que por lo mismo reclama un nuevo tipo de Estado nacional [In Latin America, interculturality is perceived as a structural problem that points to a new societal model, radically democratic, which therefore calls for a new type of national state]. (Tubino, 2005b, p. 83)

[p]olicies concerned to deal with diversity and integration are grouped in 'English' Canada (Canada outside Québec) under the rubric 'multiculturalism', whereas in Québec they are referred to as 'interculturalism'. (Taylor, 2012, p. 413)

I come from a Peruvian family with "todas las sangres" [every blood].[1] However, to be a Peruvian with access to a good education and with the possibility of choosing one's own path is something that most members in my family, and most Peruvians, do not have. This is due to our colonial history. In Peru, since Spanish colonization, whiteness has taken over all of the social, political, and economic institutions. Whiteness has become a project claimed by those who are not white, even when we know we will never get the same privileges or live the same life that white people have in our country. Symbolic whiteness is the starting point and the finishing line for most Peruvians who aim for a better life for themselves and for their children.

As like many Peruvian families, my family worked very hard so my brothers and I could have as much white privilege as we possibly could. That means, of course, growing up in a very racist environment. Coming from an Afro-Peruvian and *mestiza*[2] family seeking whiteness, I have been raised to believe that I should act like a rational, educated, well behaved person. Thus, my Spanish should be always impeccable, not like the Spanish of the Indigenous populations or the Afro-Peruvians,[3] and I should always seek for progress in my life, i.e., be better than most of my relatives and more like the white educated people who run the country.

However, those wishes that my family had for me were really difficult to achieve. It is because of that failure that now I am the person that I am. I studied my undergraduate and postgraduate studies in a white private school. However, I am not white, and in a white environment, I was always the mestiza girl who wanted to belong. It took me a few years to realize that my scholarship should be focused on understanding what happened in the history of my country that made whiteness and racism such important features in the life of most Peruvians. I wanted to study how Spanish colonization created such oppressive structures and how I can change them. More importantly, I began to work with anti-racist scholars that showed me that it was my responsibility as an educated woman to fight against injustices, not to reproduce them. Hence, interculturalism was the approach that I took to do anti-racist work. Since then, my scholarship, my family, and my history became my priorities. I want my kids to live in a country where they can learn from the past and look forward to the future.

As a Peruvian scholar of color, I am now thinking of ways to create new political and academic projects in order to achieve fair access to basic human rights in my country and in my region. Interculturalism, the framework used by Latin American countries to create public policies regarding their Indigenous populations has been for me the most interesting and realistic way of achieving justice in Latin America. However, in Peru, the project of interculturalism has not achieved all its purposes, and it has become a discourse inside state policies with no real desire for changing the unfair treatment of non-European descendant populations, i.e., the Andeans, Indigenous Amazonians, and Afro-Peruvians – these groups suffer in almost every part of their lives (Tubino, 2005b, p. 84).

Interculturalism has become a discourse that shows diversity as an asset for the state. Having intercultural policies gives the country some international currency with supranational agencies like UNESCO and the World Bank. This is because it seems like the government is invested in changing the discriminatory structures of Peruvian society. However, the Peruvian academy has a large group of scholars who are thinking through how to reverse this unwanted reality of interculturalism both in public policies as well as in our scholarship (Ansion, 2004; Belaunde y Espinosa, 2014; Valdiviezo, 2012; Valdiviezo, 2013; Tubino, n.d., 2005a, 2005b, 2009, 2015). Some of us are now overseas learning different frameworks in social justice education in order to bring to our country diverse tools to fight racism and social inequalities. Nevertheless, as in every colonized country, being a woman of color is not easy. My journey as an Afro-Peruvian scholar has been challenging because in Peru it is not common to see a woman like me in the academy. Thus, I am now in Canada not only to learn more, but also there are structural reasons for me to be here. I need to work harder than the majority of Peruvian scholars back home if I want to be taken seriously. As part of a minority population, my own life as an intercultural person has taught me a lot.

The idea for this chapter came after reading an article by Dei (2011) called, In Defense of Official Multiculturalism and Recognition of the Necessity of Critical Anti-Racism. For Dei,

> [w]hile interculturalism is different in that it acknowledges the centrality of Francophone or Anglophone culture depending on the social context and location for the discussion, it is ignorant of the racially driven power dynamics that legitimize the white, colonial "settler" narrative in Canada, a narrative within which Franco-Canadians are equally complicit. (2011, p. 16)

After reading Dei's article I began to wonder how interculturalism was managed in Québec. Moreover, I questioned myself about the possibility of an interculturalism that does not take into account Indigenous populations regarding policies of integration and reparation. Furthermore, what really surprised me was the notion of an interculturality focused on preserving a settler culture like the Francophone culture in Canada.

All these questions forced me to re-evaluate what I knew about interculturalism. I realized that an intercultural project is always produced as a historical and contextual response to the diversity of a nation. Moreover, I realized that both projects of interculturalism in Québec and Peru, although different, shared a lot of similarities. The most important features both these intercultural projects share are the following:

- They both began as educational projects.
- They were created as part of the identity policies of the nation/state.
- The territories of both projects are intercultural spaces, i.e., the province of Québec and the Peruvian state have been historically determined by the interrelationships within their population. Thus, interculturality is always relational.

- Interculturalism is functional for the nation/state. Hence, it is not focused on changing the power dynamics between different cultural populations.
- Interculturalism needs to be transformed into critical interculturalism.

This chapter seeks to show how Peruvian and Québec interculturalism has shifted from what Juan Ansion (2004) and Catherine Walsh (2012) have called *interculturalism as a fact* or *relational interculturalism* to what Fidel Tubino (Tubino, 2005a, 2005b) has named *functional interculturalism*. Clarification between the two will help the reader understand how both projects of interculturalism take the same direction in order to manage cultural diversity, despite the fact that Peru and Québec are seeking justice for very different populations: the Indigenous peoples in Peru and the migrant descendants in Québec. Following the scholarship of Catherine Walsh (2012) and Fidel Tubino (2005a 2009), this chapter will leave open the possibility of shifting from functional interculturalism to critical interculturalism. All these forms of interculturalism will be described in the next section. The structure of this investigation takes the following direction: in the first part, relational interculturalism, functional interculturalism, and critical interculturalism are explained. In the second part, the concept of interculturalism in Peru and Québec are described. Lastly, the theoretical foundation from part one and two will guide my examination of interculturalism in both regions.

WHAT IS INTERCULTURALISM?

Interculturalism or interculturality is a project focused on improving the social, political, and economic relationships between populations with different backgrounds in a nation. One of the major characteristics of interculturalism is that of integration and recognition of diversity. Interculturalism offers the possibility of creating new ways of participating in civil society, showing respect towards different religions and cultures. The major theorist for this framework in Latin America are Tubino (2009) and Walsh (2012). The project of interculturalism began in the 1970s in Québec-Canada and the 1980s in Latin America (Bouchard, 2015; Walsh, 2012; Tubino, 2005b). Education was the starting point of intercultural projects. In the case of European countries, the discourse of interculturality is related to the programs of alternative education for the migrant population of ex-colonies (Tubino, 2005). Thus, for the European countries, interculturalism and intercultural education is concerned on the integration of populations with different nationalities and different cultural backgrounds. Hence, the project of interculturality needs to resolve how to create an adequate atmosphere in which all cultural and religious differences can be respected in host societies.

Similarly, the project of interculturalism sought to establish a curriculum that integrated migrants and the children of migrants into the educational system[4] (Bouchard, 2015). In the early years, establishing a national language was considered one of the most import features for the integration of migrant populations into the

host country. Thus, for Bouchard (2011), interculturalism from the perspective of Québec is an original model. For the author, interculturalism is a model of integrating and managing ethnocultural diversity. The main components of Québec's interculturalism are: "promotion of the French language, emphasis on rights, respect for diversity, the fight against discrimination, the special attention given to the francophone majority culture, the recognition of ethnocultural minorities in a spirit of pluralism" (Bouchard, 2015, p. 29).

In Latin America, education was also important for intercultural demands. However, the demand for education had a different starting point. In Latin America, integration and providing an equitable education system came from Indigenous populations. Thus, the discourse of interculturality and its praxis emerged as a demand for bilingual education for Indigenous peoples in the continent (Tubino, 2005b). The project aimed to construct a just society in countries with diverse populations. The project of interculturalism seeks to design a country in which all the citizens can *convivir* together, i.e. live together in the same space by learning from each other's cultural, religious, and linguistic differences. Moreover, it highlights how our social relationships are a consequence of our interethnic, interlinguistic, and interreligious relations. Thus, no matter who we are in relation to the state, we are all intercultural. Hence, interculturalism is a consequence of intercultural dialogue. Although this project is an effective way to challenge current racist social structures in Latin American societies, it has failed in some of their objectives.

Due to the history of interculturalism in Latin America, different intercultural scholars have described three forms of interculturality in the region. For the purpose of this study, I believe that the first and second stages of interculturalism, as in Peru, are also present in Québec. The first approach is that of *interculturalidad de hecho*, interculturalism as a fact (Ansión, 2004) or *interculturalidad relacional*, relational interculturality (Walsh, 2009). A second conception of interculturalism is that of *interculturalidad funcional*, functional interculturality (Tubino, 2005a, 2005b). Finally, the last of these approaches is that of *interculturalidad crítica*, Critical interculturality (Walsh, 2009; Tubino, 2009).

Relational interculturality (Walsh, 2009) or interculturality as a fact (Ansión, 2004) defines interculturalism as a relationship: how people from different cultural backgrounds exchange practices, values, and cultural traditions in the same geographic areas. Thus, for Ansion (2004) interculturality *is a fact*, it can be understood as relationships that people do not necessarily want or seek, but are always influenced significantly by cultural traditions different from their own. Interculturalism *is a fact* because everybody has a cultural background, which is always relational to other cultural backgrounds. Accordingly, interculturalism is not a concept, but a way of behaving. However, this approach restricts interculturality to individual interactions, ignoring the political, social, and epistemic structures of society, which as Walsh (2012) claims, "position cultural difference in terms of superiority or inferiority" (p. 2).

69

Functional interculturality (Tubino, 2005a) is the second method of approaching interculturalism in Latin America. Interculturalism is a political project. It aims to include diversity and cultural differences within the established social structure. Moreover, it focuses on being the guiding principle of individual experiences and social and normative processes in society (Ansion, 2004). This approach to interculturalism seeks to build a more dialogical and democratic society, fostering tolerance and citizen coexistence as central pillars of policy-making. However, this approach does not challenge liberal policies in Latin American countries. Thus, interculturality has become *functional* in the current social system, because it is solely a well-intentioned discourse from the academy. For Tubino (2005a), "*Lo que abunda en nuestros días son los discursos sobre la interculturalidad. Pero no es lo mismo hablar de la interculturalidad que deliberar interculturalmente*" ["What abounds in the present time are discourses on interculturalism. Speaking of interculturality is not the same as deliberating in an intercultural manner"] (p. 7). Thus, interculturalism has become a functional tool for governments. It does not include different forms of deliberation or knowledge production in public discussions. It does not challenge the current social structures; it only includes the diversity of cultures in the neoliberal framework. Hence, interculturalism does not focus on reducing social asymmetries and inequalities; rather, it has been assimilated into the logic of the liberal state, functioning to reproduce its injustices. In that sense, functional interculturalism is focused on cultural diversity, ignoring that in order to understand how intercultural relationships work, "*La injusticia distributiva, las desigualdades económicas, las relaciones de poder y los desniveles culturales internos existentes*" ["It is important to realize the existence of distributive injustice, economic inequalities, and power relations"] (Tubino n.d., p. 5).

Critical interculturality is the third approach to interculturalism. Critical interculturality is an academic project that focuses on how to decolonize the colonial-racial structures of Latin America. It is not focused on recognizing diversity or differences among populations. Critical interculturality studies how diversity is a colonial construction that established who is white (or can be assumed to be white), and who is not. For Latin American countries, non-White populations are identified as Andeans, Indigenous Amazonians, and Afro-Descendants. Critical Interculturalism focuses on challenging the structures, conditions, and mechanisms of power that maintain inequality and discrimination toward racialized bodies. Critical interculturalism, as a decolonizing project, seeks to understand how colonialism and racism were central pillars in the construction of modern societies. Hence, critical interculturalism is an anti-racist project that recognizes that in order to change the current colonial structure, social changes need to focus on decolonizing colonial institutions that remain in the private sphere, as well as decolonizing the mind and soul of the population.

Moreover, critical interculturalism recognizes patriarchy as part of the colonization process. Critical interculturalism also uses a feminist approach (Walsh, 2012). Critical interculturalism can be understood as "*Una herramienta, un proceso y un*

proyecto que se construye desde la gente… hacia arriba") ["a tool, a process, and a project constructed by the people…to the top"] (Walsh, 2009, p. 9). Hence, critical interculturality is not like functional interculturality, which focuses on assimilating people into the existing colonial social structure. Tubino (2005a) points out, "*Deliberar interculturalmente en la vida pública a partir del reconocimiento de la diversidad es la esencia de las democracias…las democracias, o son interculturales o no son democracias*" ["The basis of democracy lies in the capacity to deliberate interculturally while recognizing diversity in the public sphere…if democracies are not intercultural, they are not democracies"] (p. 5).

A critical approach to interculturalism would help to reshape neoliberal democracies into intercultural democracies. Thus, like in any democratic project, a dialogue has to be designed. This *intercultural* dialogue can only be accomplished if the state rebuilds and decolonizes the public sphere. Hence, in order to achieve this goal, governments have the responsibility to reduce the cultural and linguistic asymmetries in society, and reshape how public deliberation has been performed in countries with cultural diversity. Furthermore, by decolonizing the public sphere, intercultural citizenship can be built (Tubino, 2009). This means creating a space in which the notion of dialogue should be decolonized. Dialogue, as we know it, implies that individuals participating need to have the capability of making rational statements in a particular order. In that sense, feelings and emotions are not part of dialogue, which automatically excludes most ways Indigenous populations create consensus. Public deliberations as rational deliberations are a form of colonization.

PERUVIAN AND QUÉBEC INTERCULTURALISM

I will now provide an overall description of interculturalism in Peru and Québec in two parts. First, the definition and history of each interculturalism will be introduced; second, an analysis of the policies and discourses of both types of interculturalism will be presented. In the Peruvian case, my argument will focus on information regarding interculturalism in the Peruvian Constitution (1993) and in The General Bill of Education (2013). For Québec's interculturalism, my analyses will concentrate on the Bouchard & Taylor report, "Building the Future a Time for Reconciliation" (2008) and Bouchard's proposal of interculturalism as integrative pluralism in his latest book, *Interculturalism, a view from Québec* (2015).

Peruvian Interculturalism

Due to Latin America's colonial history, the European crowns from Spain and Portugal created a political structure called the Viceroyalty. The main function of the Viceroyalties was to recreate the political and economic structures of the motherland in the colonies. Thus, since the 15th century, the states in Latin America have designed policies and laws in favour of the colonizers and their descendants, leaving Indigenous populations behind. Hence, interculturalism in Latin America

was a project aimed at changing the unjust reality of Indigenous peoples and their access to education (Walsh, 2012).

Interculturalism was seen as an appealing project in both the academy and in governmental policies. As Walsh (2009) affirms, interculturalism was presented in educational and constitutional reforms throughout Latin America. Before interculturalism, the diversity of the *Latino* countries was conceptualized either as *pluricultural* or *multicultural*; i.e., there was an acknowledgement of the multiple cultures living and sharing the same geographic area (Walsh, 2012) Thus, when interculturality emerged, it was designed to disrupt hegemonic notions of race in the colonized lands of Latin America, and to focus instead on incorporating the knowledges and practices of the intercultural populations into the public sphere. Originally, interculturalism was formed as part of the social and political protests of the Indigenous peoples of South America and Mexico, who fought for recognition and representation in state policies. By the end of the 1990s, the idea of interculturalism was adopted by governments, mostly as part of the recommendations of the United Nations. Hence, when interculturalism stopped being a discourse of grassroots politics, and instead, began to be adopted as a discourse of diversity through the state, the concept and goals of interculturalism began to change.

Despite the fact that interculturalism and intercultural education were claims from the bottom up, in Peru, interculturalism was established and designed by the state, and the results of the intercultural policies were not as expected. For the purposes of this chapter, I will analyze two official documents from the Peruvian state regarding interculturalism: the Peruvian Constitution (1993), and the Peruvian General Bill of Education (2013).

Interculturalism and diversity are mentioned in articles 2, 17, and 48 of the Peruvian Constitution[5] (1993). It states:

> *Artículo 2.- Toda persona tiene derecho: A su identidad* étnica *y cultural. El Estado reconoce y protege la pluralidad* étnica *y cultural de la Nación.* [Article 2. – All individuals have the right: To their ethnic and cultural identity. The state recognizes and protects the ethnic and cultural diversity of the Nation].

> *Artículo 17.- El Estado garantiza la erradicación del analfabetismo. Asimismo, fomenta la educación bilingüe e intercultural, según las características de cada zona. Preserva las diversas manifestaciones culturales y lingüísticas del País. Promueve la integración nacional.* [Article 17. – The State guarantees the eradication of illiteracy. The state also promotes bilingual and intercultural education according to the characteristics of each zone. The state preserves the diverse cultural and linguistic manifestations of the country. The state promotes national integration].

> *Artículo 48.- Son idiomas oficiales el castellano y, en las zonas donde predominen, también lo son el quechua, el aimara y las demás lenguas aborígenes, según la ley.* [Article 48. – The official languages are Spanish,

and, in the regions where they are predominate, Quechua, Aymara and other Indigenous languages.]

As this shows, in Peruvian Law, the existing cultural diversity of the country must be protected by the state. Furthermore, bilingual and intercultural education is part of the eradication of illiteracy. Moreover, Spanish continues to be the official language, except in regions where Quechua, Aymara, and other Indigenous languages are present. There are diverse problems regarding the approach of interculturalism in the Constitution. First, diversity is not always protected by the state. And when it is, it is focused on a more conservative approach to the concept of culture. Thus, what is protected by the state are cultural demonstrations regarding tourism, folklore manifestations, and gastronomy. Cultural features that need to be preserved in order to be more attractive for people overseas, as well as for Peruvians themselves.

Second, bilingual and intercultural schools are created not only as way for Indigenous populations to have access to education, but also as a way of tackling a bigger issue of illiteracy. Peru, as well as many other countries from the South, has been labeled as a third world country or as a developing country. These fixations are always established by rich countries in the North, which intends to maintain Western values. In the Peruvian case, the educational goal is to develop reading and writing skills in Spanish and in Indigenous languages. However, intercultural and bilingual schools never had a chance to deconstruct and change the way the current Peruvian educational system understands concepts of justice, solidarity, and education. As a result, bilingual and intercultural schools are just another part of the larger colonial educational system. As Valdiviezo (2012) points out:

> Intercultural policy in public education presents a site for the historic conflict between democratic ideologies based on principles of freedom, equality, and solidarity, and the Hispanic colonial ideology based on beliefs concerning European superiority and hierarchies among socio-cultural groups…I interpret the colonialism of state ideology as a system of beliefs that normalize structural inequalities among Peruvian cultural groups with African, Asian, European, Indigenous, and Middle Eastern roots. These beliefs have put European (especially Hispanic) cultures in a privileged position and have oppressed all other cultures for almost five centuries. (p. 11)

Finally, Spanish is the only official language recognized by the Peruvian Constitution. Even in regions where Quechua or Aymara are the predominant languages, they are not recognized as official languages. This is because there are no public services offered in other languages but Spanish. Hence, populations that do not speak Spanish continue to be the same populations that have no access to basic services, such as health care and education, even in bilingual and intercultural schools. *La Ley General de Educación* [The General Bill of Education] (2013) states:

Artículo 13°.- Educación Intercultural Bilingüe

La educación intercultural es para todos, se brinda teniendo en cuenta el enfoque de educación en la diversidad sociocultural, discapacidad, talento y superdotación. Promueve la valoración y enriquecimiento de la propia cultura y la lengua como un referente principal de los procesos pedagógicos, siendo las experiencias socioculturales de los estudiantes las que favorecen la afirmación de su propia cultura.

[Article 13.- The Bilingual and Intercultural Education

The bilingual and intercultural education is for everyone. It is given taking into account the approach of education in socio-cultural diversity, disability, talent and giftedness. The bilingual and intercultural education promotes appreciation and enrichment of the own culture and language as a main reference for the pedagogical processes. Student's socio-cultural experiences favor the affirmation of their own culture].

What does it mean that intercultural education is for everyone? Does it mean that other populations besides the bilingual Indigenous populations of Peru have intercultural education? The Article seems to indicate that interculturalism and intercultural education should be taught in all the educational settings of the country. If so, this would be such an amazing improvement for the Peruvian state. Endorsing interculturalism as a national policy would mean that the political, economic, and social structures of the country, and their policies, should also be intercultural.

Moreover, teaching intercultural education to the whole of Peru's population would be an acknowledgment that 'intercultural' populations are not the only people who should receive intercultural education. Interculturalism should be for everyone, because Peruvians need to be educated in an environment where we can learn to respect diverse cultures and values and learn about different knowledge productions in order to equally participate in public policy deliberations. Teaching interculturalism only to *cultural diverse* populations does not change racist relationships, which is the main reason for developing this kind of intercultural education. However, Article 13 of the General Bill of Education does not address how intercultural education will be designed for everyone. Once again, intercultural education is only focused on bilingual populations, the ones who are always outside of the educational system. Intercultural and bilingual education, according to the Bill, should generate and promote an appreciation and affirmation of one's culture and language. As it stands, intercultural education has failed in Peru.

Québec Interculturalism

In Québec, the history of interculturalism is different from Latin American. However, as I will show in the next part, the path that both projects of interculturalism have followed is similar and will probably have the same outcomes. Interculturality in

Québec began as a project in the 1990s due to the large wave of immigrants from the 1960s and 1970s. The notion, however, of interculturalism was already present as one of the changes of the Quiet Revolution.[6] As Bouchard (2015) states, it was "a redefinition of the French Canadian nation, now centered in Québec. As a corollary, the 'French Canadians' of Québec came to identify themselves as 'Québecois' and as the cultural majority in Québec, which then began seeing itself as a host society for immigrants" (p. 28).

For Charles Taylor (2012), interculturalism is the only way to explain cultural diversity in Québec. For Taylor, multiculturalism is a story from English Canada, which is focused on "a culture of interaction in which the normative citizen traced his/her ascent from the British Isles" (p. 416). According to the author, multiculturalism, following the "anglo-normative understanding" makes no real difference if one's name was Kowalski or Minelli (p. 417). Thus, culture is not distinguished from citizenship. Everyone is a citizen as long they are born in Canada. However, in Québec, the notion of cultural identity is very important. According to Taylor (2012), "demographically, in Québec upwards of 70 percent of the population is descended from the original francophone settlers. Secondly, their language, culture (and for a long time, religion) has been under powerful threat of assimilation" (p. 417). Hence, the concept of multiculturalism does not represent how culture and diversity are present in Québec. According to Bouchard and Taylor (2008) English Canada is less concerned with preserving a founding cultural tradition than it is with maintaining national cohesion.

French language, French culture, and immigrants seem to be the main reason for Québec's interculturalism. Thus, interculturalism seeks to preserve the host culture while integrating the immigrant's culture. Hence, interculturalism seeks to reconcile ethnocultural diversity with the continuity of the French-speaking core and the preservation of social cohesion. Furthermore, Bouchard and Taylor (2008) found that "by instituting French as the common public language, it establishes a framework in society for communication and exchange (p. 39), helping to solidify a Québec identity and a sense of belonging.

There are 11 proposals in the Bouchard and Taylor (2008) report that defines Québec interculturalism. Below is a summary of the proposals made in the report:

> We could say that Québec interculturalism (a) institutes French as the common language of intercultural relations; (b) cultivates a pluralistic orientation that is highly sensitive to the protection of rights; (c) preserves the creative tension between diversity and the continuity of the French-speaking core and the social link; (d) places special emphasis on integration; and (e) advocates interaction. (p. 39)

Interculturalism, according to the proposal and especially in the summary, is mostly focused on preserving French heritage, and at the same time, promotes being open to diversity, as long as French language and French culture continues to be cultivated. However, what is considered integration for Québec interculturalism? Can

interculturalism flourish in a public space where there is only one official language? Especially if part of the intercultural project is focused not only on preserving the official language, but also on disseminating it as much as possible.

With an approach like this, multilingualism does not have a chance to be a part of the project of interculturalism. There is a difference between being open to diversity and cultural interchange and being intercultural. For an intercultural project, it is crucial to admit that maintaining constructions such as *diversity* and *the other* would only maintain the current social, political, and economic structures of the nation. Interculturalism, as the word itself promotes, advocates for constructing a society based on the interrelationships between cultures, not the maintenance of one. However, according to proposal 9, a 'new subject' can and should be born without changing the culture of the majority. The need for creating a shared sense of belonging and cultural identity established by Québec's interculturalism is actually far from including *diverse populations*. According to Bouchard (2015), interculturalism in Québec should be understood as:

> A form of integrative pluralism, is a model based on a search for balance that attempts to find a middle ground between assimilation and segmentation and that, for this purpose, emphasizes integration, interactions, and promotion of shared culture with respect for rights and diversity. (p. 32)

A project of assimilation and segmentation is hardly an intercultural project. As a settler culture, Quebecois need to create a project in which integration is real, not an imposed cultural process. A nation open to accepting immigrants should also take into account the Indigenous population. It is very upsetting to see how interculturalism in Québec does not take into account the Indigenous population because they want to be treated as a nation and not as a minority. Working around an integration project that continues to divide people into categories of majority and minority makes interculturalism a tool of assimilation. Québec interculturalism cannot avoid the claims of the Indigenous population. Aboriginal peoples need to be included in the public sphere where their cultural heritage and values are a part of the official discourse. Québec is their land. There is no reason to ask the Aboriginal population to integrate into a society where they have to learn French to be part of a nation. A shared culture is a developing project, not a static one. Although Québec interculturalism is aware that cultural interaction and cultural change is inevitable, the policy-makers behind interculturality have chosen to design a project in which their culture is secure, and evade a conversation with people who want to disturb racist structures in the construction of their nation.

AMONG RELATIONAL, FUNCTIONAL AND CRITICAL INTERCULTURALISM

Both the Peruvian and Québec projects of interculturalism have shown how policies focused on minority populations as the basis for justice and integration has failed. Interculturalism should be for everybody, not just for the so-called cultural diverse

populations, or the so-called *others*. Liberal principles of pluralism cannot work in complex societies. Diversity fixes and creates hierarchies. A country or a nation that acknowledges diversity as part of their public policy maintains social, political, and economic asymmetries. Interculturalism, as it has been described in Peru and in Québec, has taken similar directions:

- Interculturality was always a fact. Cultural interchange has been a constant characteristic in both territories.
- Interculturalism began as a bilingual educational program in order to assimilate and integrate populations who did not speak and write in the official language of the nation/state.
- In both cases, the notion of interculturalism is functional to the nation/state. Thus, interculturalism is not necessarily focused on real integration. Hence, interculturalism is a discourse used by the nation/state to explain how they are going to manage diversity.

However, there are also differences between both forms of interculturalism:

- In the Peruvian case, interculturalism has functioned as a way to maintain white supremacy in the Peruvian state by managing Indigenous populations as intercultural populations. Being intercultural in Peru means that you are not a European descendant. It also means that the state needs to help you by giving you some recognition of your cultural values. Intercultural education dictates how culturally diverse populations are to create an identity.
- In Québec's case, interculturalism has been designed to maintain French cultural heritage. It is a cultural preservation project, not an integrational one. The project sees diversity as part of a problem that needs to be managed. Moreover, the discourse of interculturalism in Québec does not include the Indigenous population. A real project of integration needs to construct a different and more just society for all populations living in the same nation. Interculturalism is not interculturalism if it does not give Indigenous populations the voice that they deserve in constructing a real integrational society.
- In the Peruvian case, like in almost any other Latin American country, the focus of interculturalism is on the Indigenous populations. In the case of Québec, the focus is on integrating migrant populations in order to maintain French language and culture.

The approach of critical interculturalism can be extremely helpful in order to change the current discourses of interculturalism in Peru and Québec. A critical approach to interculturalism would help to reshape neoliberal democracies into becoming intercultural democracies. Thus, like in any democratic project, a dialogue has to be designed. This *intercultural* dialogue can only be accomplished if the state rebuilds and decolonizes the public sphere. In order to achieve this goal, governments have a responsibility to reduce the cultural and linguistic asymmetries present in society and to reshape how public deliberations are to be performed. Furthermore,

by decolonizing the public sphere, an intercultural citizenship can be built (Tubino, 2009). With this methodology, public policy is not the only area that is intercultural.

Critical interculturalism is not seeking for an admission of difference; its goal is to acknowledge difference and diversity as liberal constructions of assimilation and power. By realizing that difference and diversity are not problems to be resolved, but are assets in creating a more just society the structures of domination and discrimination will change. In that moment, we will all be proud of being different because of our cultural, linguistic, and religious heritage, but at the same time, we recognize our similarities because of interculturality. Critical interculturalism is a decolonizing and anti-racist project. Thus, it should seek to create a multi-centered society in which all knowledges, bodies, and identities are respected in a multiplicity of ways.

NOTES

[1] Juan Carlos Mariategui defined most Peruvians with having *every blood*. Meaning that all Peruvians have the same roots and that we all are mixed, i.e., we are *mestizos*. See: Arguedas, J.M (1968) *Todas las Sangres.*, p. 10.

[2] The project of mestizaje was mostly the same for all of Latin America. Part of the plan of the European people colonizing the Americas was to establish themselves in a new land which they saw as an empty and rich land in need of a capable authority to manage it. However, since the Indigenous population of the Americas was enormous and they were not conceived of as "savage" as the African people, a good way to improve the original population was by mixing them with the European and Criollos. The major reason for this drive to mix was to "improve" the Indigenous population by making them more white. Thus, the history of mestizaje is a history of whitening. In present times, a mestizo or a mestiza is someone who has mixed roots.

[3] The Spanish spoken by Andean, Indigenous Amazonian peoples and Afro-Peruvians is mixed with Indigenous languages. It is not considered a dialect, and is considered a non-official version of Spanish. For some Peruvians, especially those from the coast, the way in which someone talks Spanish is enough to establish how far away a person is from whiteness.

[4] The relationship with Indigenous populations in Québec is not part of the project of interculturalism. As Bouchard (2015) explains, the Indigenous populations seek for recognition as nations, not as cultural minorities. This is a very interesting way of seeing interculturalism, since it chooses with whom the integration of the project will be achieved with. This matter will be discussed in the third part of this chapter.

[5] The translations of the Peruvian official documents are taken from Valdiviezo, 2012, p. 32.

[6] "The Quiet Revolution generally refers to the political, institutional, and social reforms undertaken [in Québec] between 1960 and 1966" (Linteau et al., 1986, p. 307).

REFERENCES

Ansión, J. (2004). El reto de la interculturalidad. *Tarea, 60,* 24–29. Retrieved from http://tarea.org.pe/images/Tarea60_24_Juan_Ansion.pdf

Belaunde, L., & Espinosa, O. (2014). *¿Indigenismos, ciudadanías? Nuevas miradas.* Lima, Peru: Ministerio de Cultura.

Bouchard, G. (2011). What is interculturalism? *McGill Law Journal, 56*(2), 437–468.

Bouchard, G. (2015). *Interculturalism: A view from Québec* (H. Scott, Trans.). Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Bouchard, G., & Taylor, C. (2008). *Building the future: A time for reconciliation*. Québec, QC: Gouvernement du Québec. Retrieved from https://www.mce.gouv.qc.ca/publications/CCPARDC/rapport-final-integral-en.pdf

Congreso de la República del Perú. (1993). *Constitución Peruana*. Retrieved from http://www.congreso.gob.pe/Docs/files/CONSTITUTION_27_11_2012_ENG.pdf

Dei, G. J. S. (2011). Defense of official multiculturalism and recognition of the necessity of critical anti-Racism. *Canadian Issues*, *15*. Retrieved from http://royalroads.summon.serialssolutions.com/2.0.0/link/0/eLvHCXMwY2BQME4DtulTzI0MTA3MkszNDCySUiwtjA1BNywYplqAd3cjLiBBKs3dhBiYUvNEGeTcXEOcPXRhRWN8Sk5OPLDeBo1WGAP7K2IMLMCecao4A2saMIaANLDUFAeaIM7AEWEZHmoR6e0H4QrBuHrF4B1MeoUl4sBCGhzBusZ6BgB5kSc

Ministerio de Educación. (2013). *Ley general de la educación*. Retrieved from http://www2.congreso.gob.pe/sicr/cendocbib/con4_uibd.nsf/7978CEFD229EFE1505257A9A007083EA/$FILE/ley_sineace_2.pdf

Taylor, C. (2012). Interculturalism or multiculturalism? *Philosophy & Social Criticism, 38*(4–5), 413–423.

Tubino, F. (2005a). *La interculturalidad crítica como proyecto* ético-político. Encuentro continental de educadores agustinos. Lima, 24–28 de enero de 2005. Retrieved from http://oala.villanova.edu/congresos/educación/lima-ponen-02.html

Tubino, F. (2005b). La praxis de la interculturalidad en los Estados Nacionales Latinoamericanos. *Cuadernos Interculturales, 3*(5). Retrieved from http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=55200506

Tubino, F. (2009). No una sino muchas ciudadanías: Reflexión desde el Perú y América Latina. *Cuadernos Interculturales, 6*(1), 170–180.

Tubino, F. (2015). *La interculturalidad en cuestión*. Lima, Peru: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

Tubino, F. (n.d.). *Del interculturalismo funcional al interculturalismo crítico*. Retrieved from http://red.pucp.edu.pe/wp-content/uploads/biblioteca/inter_funcional.pdf

Valdiviezo, L. (2012). *Afro-Peruvian perspectives and critiques of intercultural education policy* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA. Retrieved from http://scholarworks.umass.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1601&context=open_access_dissertations

Walsh, C. (2009). *Interculturalidad crítica y educación intercultural*. Segundo Seminario Internacional de Investigación Educativa, Interculturalidad y Educación Intercultural. La Paz: Editorial III-CAB. Retrieved from http://www.uchile.cl/documentos/interculturalidad-critica-y-educacion-intercultural_110597_0_2405.pdf

Walsh, C. (2012). *Interculturalidad Crítica y (de)colonialidad. Ensayos desde Abya Yala*. Quito: Instituto Científico de Culturas Indígenas.

LAUREN KATIE HOWARD

6. THE SUBVERSION OF WHITENESS AND ITS EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS FOR CRITICAL ANTI-RACIST FRAMEWORKS

ABSTRACT

Is whiteness or the study of whiteness a viable and effective means of scholarly inquiry and educational debate? What does subverting or resisting whiteness entail? This chapter explores such questions and highlights various descriptions and understandings of whiteness that have circulated the academia and alternative educational contexts for the past decade or so. For some like Howard, whiteness is utilized as an entry point into critical discussions of entrenched racism, frameworks of critical anti-racism, and resistance. Nevertheless, this chapter argues that for whiteness to be utilized as an effective entry point that can lead to more meaningful discussions, and have potentially transformative implications for education, research, policy, and social change, it must delve into much deeper acknowledgments, understandings, and examinations of white supremacy and colonial capitalism in North America. It is necessary to name, address, resist, and combat entrenched and systematic forms of racism and white supremacist capitalist systems. However, many previous studies of whiteness have often overlooked, omitted, ignored, or excluded the necessity and importance of decolonization, and the acknowledgment that many of us stand upon various and different, yet violently stolen Indigenous lands. In questioning whether the study of whiteness is a useful tool of analysis and inquiry, and avoiding Black and white binaries, Howard argues that discussions of whiteness and whiteness studies must move beyond acknowledgments of privilege and focus attention upon entrenched and systematic structures of white supremacy, institutionalized racism, and colonization.

Keywords: whiteness, Critical Race Theory, settler colonialism, indigeneity, enslavement, education

INTRODUCTION

Many may argue that throughout the 21st century societies in North America have achieved equality and equity in regards to race, religion, and gender. For instance, the United States of America has seen its first Black president, while Canada is praised for its diversity and policies of multiculturalism and equality. Nevertheless,

streets, schools, and different sectors of Toronto, like many spaces throughout North America, are still continually experiencing acts of institutionalized and systematic racism, and continual effects of colonization. This chapter critically questions whiteness and white privilege: What does it mean for whiteness to be subverted or resisted through educational spheres? More importantly, what can be done about it? And what does it mean to unmask the coloniality of whiteness?

For many years scholars throughout the academia such as Paul R. Carr (2016), Kelly Maxwell (2004), Tim Wise (2011), Henry Giroux (1997), Sara Ahmed (2004), Ruth Frankenberg (2011) Aileen Moreton-Robinson (2015), Toni Morrison (2007), and Zeus Leonardo (2004) have written extensively about what whiteness means, its various forms and influences, and how to challenge it. Nevertheless, it remains embedded within our various educational systems, political, social, and economic institutions and structures of power. It is linked to notions of power and privilege, and remains inherently connected to macro level issues of war, neoliberalism, colonization, and the very foundation of Canada as a democratic country. Throughout this chapter the notion of the coloniality of whiteness is investigated as a means to achieve active ways to subvert and resist whiteness throughout educational settings.

PERSONAL IDENTIFICATION

As a child, I never uttered the word whiteness or white privilege, I was told either overtly or subtly by those in authority and in my own family not to see race, either on my own skin or that of classmates and peers, even though it was always around me, embedded within my own educational and personal experiences and choices. Now, as an adult, to be more precise, a twenty-four year old European British immigrant who is a permanent resident of Canada, I see race and whiteness everywhere: on the television screen, in magazines, throughout political campaigns, in daily conversations with people, and in our own democracy here in Canada. Kelly E. Maxwell (2004) in her article, "Deconstructing Whiteness: Discovering the Water," discusses the act of awakening in her own personal life. Maxwell (2004) deconstructs the prescribed Eurocentric knowledge she received during her lifetime, and defines this as an act of awakening and a struggle to define herself. This influences my own reflections in regards to the important process of unlearning or resisting such limited and one-sided understandings, to be open to multiple perspectives, and ultimately to deconstruct my own responsibilities in the violent and colonial police state of Canada and the United States of America.

Upon completing high school and beginning my post-secondary degree at Lakehead University in Orillia, I had always envisioned a career as an educator in a formal institution. This may have been the conscious and subconscious influence of my parents, both educators who taught in England for over twenty years. Nevertheless, I vividly remember sitting in a first year teaching course and feeling extremely uneasy and confused with what was being taught and how knowledge

was produced and prescribed onto certain bodies, either through race, class, or gender. What exactly was I going to be teaching children and young adults? How was I going to ensure that all students were critically acknowledged, engaged, and ultimately successful in my classroom? Did I truly believe in the history and the knowledge systems that were skewed throughout my own educational career? How truly one-sided, limiting, or hidden is the curriculum in Ontario? How entangled is education within this violent and damaging web of Eurocentrism, institutionalized racism, white supremacy, and colonization?

As questions and considerations like this did not stop or slow down, I decided to enter into an interdisciplinary program and enrolled in a course with my current boss Dr. Paul R. Carr titled 'sociology and race.' I was not quite sure what the class entailed or what I would learn, and despite the heavy burden that certain damaging sociological tools and practices place upon critical anti-racism, this was the first experience where I was critically forced to confront, name, and deconstruct racism, whiteness, white privilege, and white supremacy. At times, I would often hear conversations between students commenting that Dr. Carr was "crazy," that this class was not necessarily useful, or how uncomfortable the space made them feel. Yes, at times, the conversations we had in class often evoked feelings of discomfort, guilt, and responsibility. How could it not? As a class that was predominantly made up of white bodies, we were learning about the benefits and privileges we had often received throughout our many experiences and how we continue to reproduce whiteness and racism within our own lives. This course helped me recognize the necessity of critical anti-racism and led me to find appropriate methods to counter and resist racism, oppression, and colonization. I believe that if I ever truly wish to teach in a classroom, become an educator, or a mother, then it is vital that I recognize practical and substantial ways to effect critical change in my own life, community, research, and education.

In addition, I have also worked as a research assistant for Dr. Carr for the past few years and I have reviewed a vast amount of literature pertaining to education for democracy, whiteness studies, and how to engage in conversation with educators regarding race and racism. Nevertheless, throughout the past year as a student at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), I have often been left questioning the very foundation of democracy, including values of freedom and equality. How critical have my discussions about whiteness and racism actually been? How is democracy and freedom possible on stolen Indigenous lands that were built upon the backs of people of colour?

Sara Ahmed (2004) acknowledges that it cannot be simply assumed that whiteness studies and white bodies can provide the appropriate and necessary conditions for anti-racism. I recognize that I do not have the answers to white privilege, racism, and white supremacist systems of domination, control, and empire, simply because I identify as a white female body. In addition, despite good intentions, many bodies may actually recreate their own racial superiority (Ahmed, 2004; Leonardo, 2004). In addition, scholars such as George Dei (2006) and Kelly Maxwell (2004)

recognize that for white dominant bodies, the 'choice' to either engage with critical anti-racism is in and of itself a privilege. Nevertheless, I believe that for meaningful and transformative change to occur then I have to become a part of a lifelong process of decolonizing my own mind, crossing over differences, and challenging and resisting the oppressive and discriminatory practices of the colonial state. Sara Ahmed (2004) acknowledges an important question in regards to the production and reproduction of white supremacy: what does declaring one's bad feelings in regards to whiteness actually do and enact? This leads me to question how I can take the knowledge provided by critical anti-racism education and turn it into critical praxis in my own life and personal research. How can we, as educators and scholars, ensure that transformative change is happening, rather than reproducing whiteness and Eurocentrism?

There are a number of descriptions of whiteness explored throughout this chapter, but I wonder if there is still something missing from whiteness studies. Is engaging with whiteness and white supremacy only reproducing and influencing dominant systems of supremacy and power? If so, as scholars and educators what do we do about this? How can whiteness be resisted or subverted in educational spheres? What does it mean to unmask the coloniality of whiteness? By highlighting limits in my own knowledge, and drawing from various authors, it is my intention to move us away from Black and white binaries, and simple discussions of privileges and disadvantages, to more engaging and critical questions such as: how can power be shared equitably in education and larger social spheres? Is this possible on appropriated and stolen Indigenous land? This chapter contends that discussions of whiteness, white supremacy, and critical anti-racism theory have multiple centers, but nevertheless there needs to be recognition that the work is being done on stolen Indigenous lands, with a reminder that Indigenous peoples continue to resist and challenge the nation state with strength and dignity.

UNDERSTANDINGS AND CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF WHITENESS

How has whiteness been described? I argue throughout this chapter that it is both important and necessary to recognize that being white is socially constructed and fabricated. It is a racial category and ultimately defined by describing what other racialized bodies are or are not. Carr (2016) describes whiteness as being everywhere, invading our educational and public institutions, political spheres, television screens, and so forth. It can be described as being ultimately tied to a system of benefits and privileges for dominant bodies while bestowing disadvantages of inequality and oppression for many racialized and marginalized bodies (Carr, 2016). David Owen (2007) has contextualized whiteness as continuously influencing racial oppression and acknowledges its saliency in North American society. Through liberal forms of democracy, freedom, and equality, whiteness serves to undermine certain values, and ultimately works to define a particular standpoint that shapes the understanding of white bodies of both their self and social world (Owen, 2007). Therefore, Owen

(2007) contends, and I must agree, that it is necessary to recognize that whiteness is ultimately a key socio-cultural mechanism that allows racial oppression to function and reproduce itself within one's consciousness and societal systems and institutions.

Peggy McIntosh (1998) has described white privilege as a kind of invisible backpack. McIntosh (1998) states that she "was taught to see racism only in individual acts of meanness not in invisible systems conferring dominance on my own [white] group" (p. 1). This can be interpreted to mean that acts of racism are viewed as individual problems, rather than institutionalized and systemic. McIntosh (1998) compiled a list of 50 privileges experienced through whiteness as a means to acknowledge and name racism. Although it is necessary and important to recognize and analyze such benefits and privileges for what they are and are not, Zeus Leonardo (2004) contends that in order for critical anti-racism to be achieved, we must go a step further in our analyses and come up with concrete and pragmatic steps of action. Leonardo (2004) states that "there is the cost here of downplaying the active role of whites who take resources from people of color all over the world, appropriate their labour, and construct policies that deny minorities' full participation in society" (p. 138). Simply focusing on the role of white privilege or describing whiteness as occurring unconsciously by white bodies obscures it as a subject of domination, agency, and responsibility. Therefore, in discussing and attempting to decenter whiteness, a critical exploration and examination upon the direct processes that secure white domination and the privileges associated with it are fundamental and necessary (Leonardo, 2004).

Owen (2007) defines the various manifestations of whiteness as natural, normal, and mainstream, which is ultimately why it is seen as transparent and invisible for some dominant bodies. Whiteness is grounded in the interests of those racialized as white, while influencing social practices and dispositions, individual consciousness, legal systems, and many other public spheres (Owen, 2007). Therefore, the systems of whiteness and white supremacy are embedded in the social, economic, educational, and political institutions of Canada. The systems of power within society that ultimately mask whiteness and ongoing forms of institutionalized racism and colonialization, specifically through educational spheres, need to be actively resisted and subverted as a means to achieve transformative educational experiences.

Whiteness is socially constructed, but like race, it remains very real for its lived experiences for white bodies. It has been extremely thought provoking to consider the work of Aileen Moreton-Robinson (2015), who describes whiteness as "a form of property that one possesses, invests in, and profits from" (p. 1). Whiteness is a social identity that works universally and discursively in pedagogy as particularly salient and invisible, however it is ultimately linked and connected to notions of power and domination (Moreton-Robinson, 2015). Therefore, once racism and white supremacy are named, the process of deconstructing and resisting these forms of oppression and violence can critically begin.

It is crucial to acknowledge that these different conceptualizations, which use Blackness as an epistemological possession to service what it is not, is utilized to

obscure the most complex ways in which whiteness functions and circulates through subjectivity and knowledge production (Moreton-Robinson, 2015). Moreton-Robinson (2015) contends that whiteness is imbued with a sense of belonging and ownership and ultimately tied to political and epistemological commitments to ideals of the universal, white liberal subject and democratic notions of freedom, liberty, and equality. In this context, the current relationship between the colonial settler state, Indigeneity, and anti-Blackness are outcomes of colonization and the establishment of 'democracy' and Eurocentric values of freedom and equality (Moreton-Robinson, 2015). This is quite staggering for some bodies to actively recognize and acknowledge that the very foundations of democracy and freedom are built upon stolen lands and stolen lives.

Whiteness has not focused on the appropriation of Indigenous peoples lands, and thus Indigeneity and Indigenous sovereignty remains marginalized within theories of race and whiteness (Moreton-Robinson, 2015). Many influential philosophers during the Enlightenment period, such as John Locke and Thomas Hobbes grounded theories of discrimination in white colonial betterement. They employed and developed their ideas about "the state of nature" by using Indigeneity as the ultimate example of "humanity living in its pure, unadulterated savage state" (Moreton-Robinson, 2015, p. 56). Thus, influential ideals such as this have operated discursively through theories regarding the "rights of man within the context of the rise of democracy" which ultimately relegated Indigenous people to a state of nature (Moreton-Robinson, 2015, p. 56). Using the example of the United States, Moreton-Robinson (2015) states that "Indigenous people are located outside of racism because the status of the United States as a former colony and its current mode of colonization are separated from its historical narrative as being the land of liberty, freedom, and equality" (p. 1). Freedom rests on the ability to wield power against Indigeneity in a continuing social, economic, political, and militarized assault (Moreton-Robinson, 2015). There continues to be academic and scholarly failure in whiteness studies to address the explicit colonization and continuing imperial position of nation states, and as long as the field of whiteness studies remains locked within the Black/white binary, the nation as a white possession will continue to operate discursively and invisibly within academic and educational knowledge production (Moreton-Robinson, 2015).

It is important to note that racism and whiteness continue to influence the present circumstances of our time. I very much agree with the notions put forth by David Owen (2007) that a limited and one sided history of North American culture obscures and masks the entrenched and deeply embedded effects of the past upon present circumstances and situations. Instead of emphasizing the process of appropriation, the discourse of white privilege centres the discussion on the advantages that whites receive. In depth understandings of the historical systems of white supremacy and colonization that still remain influential in today's society are necessary and critical in attempting to resist racism.

THE LIMITS OF OUR KNOWLEDGE

So how do we move forward and progress from a mere enlightenment critique? What is missing for us to achieve transformative social change? In reviewing an extensive amount of scholarly literature pertaining to whiteness studies, I agree with Aileen Moreton-Robinson (2015) that many writers are committed to an abolition of whiteness, through naming it, deconstructing it, resisting it, and betraying it. Nevertheless, it is extremely important to recognize the words of Mike Hill (2004) when he writes that "the contradictions surrounding whiteness studies remain one of the most salient and worthwhile features. The study of whiteness was never – and with hard work will never be – an unproblematically unified institutional force" (as cited in Moreton-Robinson, 2015, p. 47). As a result, debates surrounding the epistemological assumptions and approaches of whiteness studies continues to surface in academia and larger social life. Robyn Wiegman (1999) contends that describing whiteness as invisible and or universal underplays its contradictory nature and serves to work in the interest of white bodies, in which distancing and denial of white supremacy is allowed and accepted. In addition, Peter Kolchen (2002) contends that there is a lack of specificity in regards to historical discussions of whiteness, and by claiming that whiteness is everywhere, everything, or nothing, leads to questions of whether or not it is a useful tool of inquiry, interrogation, and explanation. Kolchen (2002) puts forth that the central question one must confront in evaluating whiteness studies is the saliency of whiteness as an explanation for exploitation and injustice, and the matter of context is significant in addressing such important questions. In studying whiteness, it is warned that many authors risk "losing sight of contextual variations and thereby undermining the very understandings of race and whiteness as socially constructed" (Kolchen, 2002, p. 160).

Audrey Thompson (2003) ultimately problematizes whiteness as natural and universal. Thompson (2003) critically acknowledges how to discuss whiteness academically without reproducing it. As dominant bodies, our own investments in whiteness are far less visible to us, we often write and talk as if racism and whiteness are problems that are easily solved through pedagogy (Thompson, 2003). This is not the case, conversations will not be simple, and it is also important to recognize that the work of the 'other' has often been colonized to enrich writing and enhance authority. Thompson (2003) contends that as scholars, it is necessary to read and conceptualize in new ways, to essentially "go beyond" the prescribed texts and understandings. For some, this may mean stepping out of comfortable spaces where the terms of engagement are controlled by dominant bodies (Thompson, 2003). Thompson (2003) contends that it is necessary for dominant bodies to make painful and necessary sacrifices, and to make meaningful progress towards 'giving things up.' This cannot simply entail choosing which privileges to keep and which privileges to give up. How can we depend on this, especially when this entails believing that people who benefit from whiteness will ultimately want to change it? What is necessary is asking

different questions such as, how can power be shared equitably? How can whiteness be resisted and subverted through educational means?

Toni Morrison (2015) has challenged the naturalization of whiteness by highlighting how the presence of Black bodies has historically shaped whiteness literature, ultimately challenging natural and neutral conceptions of whiteness in North American literature (as cited in Moreton-Robinson, 2015). Morrison (2015) argues "that 'Blackness' whether real or imagined services the social construction and application of whiteness in its various and influential forms" (as cited in Moreton-Robinson, 2015, p. 50). In regards to the work of Toni Morrison, Moreton-Robinson (2015) contends that this work creates an important space for conceptualizing how possessiveness operates within whiteness studies literature in order to "displace indigenous sovereignties and render them invisible" (p. 50).

In this context, it is extremely important to recognize that history matters. Jennifer Simpson (2003) argues that engaging with whiteness must begin with a willingness to engage with the interconnected and distinguished histories of cross-racial relationships. As white dominant bodies, we often attempt to remove ourselves from discussions of race; by placing ourselves beyond it, often dislocating oneself from white supremacy and as a means to create distance from historical narratives of racism and oppression (Simpson, 2003). Simpson (2003) contends that white bodies excuse racism as a form of ignorance or a passing mistake. Historically and presently, white bodies have significant conscious and subconscious feelings about race, and have made and continue to make, deliberate choices that are inextricably connected and tied to notions of superiority and racial inferiority (Simpson, 2003). In attempting to engage and deconstruct whiteness and white supremacy, racial agency and responsibility are critical and necessary (Simpson, 2003). As a society we need to acknowledge our own epistemological limits, what we have never really learned, and to engage with the significance of a history that has ultimately left white privilege unquestioned critically (Simpson, 2003).

One of the many problems of whiteness is that it refuses multiple points of knowing and being in this world (Thompson, 2004). George Dei (2006) acknowledges that the problem is not with color, but rather with the perceptions, interpretations, and judgments that society prescribes to color. Claims of innocence leave systems of oppression in place and intact, therefore it is necessary to subvert the interpretations that society places on such categorizations and to see, name, and challenge racism in our classrooms and not to deny or ignore it. Dei (2006) contends that the power of race talk resides in the making and experiencing of othered subjects. In discussing critical anti-racism, key questions of race and difference must be addressed (Dei, 2006). Therefore, it is necessary to recognize that the making of racialized subjects in relation to privileges and disadvantages are wrong and must be addressed (Dei, 2006).

It is necessary to uncover how Western cultivation scripts communities through fabrications of whiteness (Dei, 2006). Critical anti-racism has to challenge problematizing notions of fixed categorizations, to work with intersections of

difference, and to broach questions of power and privilege (Dei, 2006). Dei (2006) contends that whiteness must be viewed fundamentally as a system of dominance; however, it is the way in which we use our individual and collective identities that matter in regards to how we pursue and practice critical anti-racism. In regards to education, Dei (2006) acknowledges that in re-conceptualizing and imaging schooling it is necessary to consider the importance of communities. For critical anti-racism to be achieved in regards to education, it requires different stakeholders in our school systems to come together to discuss and engage with how to address the many social inequalities and challenges that remain (Dei, 2006). For a truly cultivating and transformative educational experience, learning has to be allowed to impact one's life and to provide necessary and important services and supports for wider communities (Dei, 2006). Rather than rewarding silence or ignorance and punishing those who speak out, education has to allow students to challenge, ask critical questions, and use acquired knowledges to effect important social and political change (Dei, 2006). It is vital that educational systems provide holistic opportunities for reflection upon every learner's experience, history, culture, and social reality (Dei, 2006).

Carr (2016) and other scholars recognize that ideas, words, expressions, and arguments that deconstruct whiteness are important, and that often times the process of unhooking oneself from whiteness is necessary, yet, a continual process. There remains a number of untold actions that demonstrate other ways to live, and that understanding white supremacy and critical anti-racism requires multiple entry points that are open to endless dialectical interrogations and processes of reflection (Carr, 2016). In addition, it is also important to continuously remind oneself that the debate can be easily obfuscated as simply the Black/white binary, however, unhooking from whiteness must include all dominant, racialized, and marginalized bodies (Carr, 2016). It has to be ensued that whiteness is framed and tackled in broad and systemic ways where openness to critical engagement is cultivated (Carr, 2016).

EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

I think that it is important to recognize that whiteness can and should be used as an entry point for some bodies into discussions of racism and critical anti-racism. Nevertheless, I do not believe that this is the end-point; it is just the beginning for some. By naming whiteness, what it means for some people and what it does not mean for others, can lead to larger discussions of white supremacy and institutionalized racism. Although conversations may evoke feelings of guilt, this should not divert from the necessary path of engaging with critical anti-racism. In order to move beyond feelings of guilt or dissonance to responsibility and action, the focus has to be shifted towards the systems and structures that are in place that ultimately allow and reproduce such currencies, privileges, racisms, and oppressions. Whiteness has often masked history, obfuscating agents of domination, and removing necessary actions from critical anti-racism discussions and practices. Therefore, such conversations

should uncover the limits of Western Eurocentric knowledge and be open to multiple ways of knowing and understanding. Leonardo (2004) contends that conversations surrounding white supremacy offer dominant and racialized bodies the opportunity to recognize and deconstruct whiteness, not as a mysterious accumulation of unlearned advantages, but rather as a central functioning aspect of white capitalist systems.

Kelly Maxwell (2004) contends that white bodies are only challenged to think about race once the opportunity is given to view racism and whiteness from various perspectives and understandings. Maxwell (2004) contends that many white bodies see themselves as without race, and highlights and reflects back upon her childhood and adolescence years to consider how previous teachers had never mentioned whiteness, and if they had, she questions whether or not she would have thought about race earlier in her life. As educators, the impact that one's identity has upon the classroom has to be identified and acknowledged (Maxwell, 2004). Opposing and resisting standard constructions of whiteness must begin with the self, and self-reflexivity has to be a continuous process while challenging racism (Maxwell, 2004). In addition, as the traditional teacher centered methods of education are structured around conceptions of whiteness and white supremacy, Maxwell (2004) contends that a learner-centered approach to teaching can possibly counteract this. Although whiteness is socially constructed, it is necessary to name it, discuss it, and to understand the institutionalization of racism. Rather than displacing race, dominant bodies have to take responsibility for their own learning, responsibilities, and life choices. Shifting from binary conceptualizations of privilege to the institutionalization of racism and white supremacy is difficult. Maxwell (2004) acknowledges the process of awakening may never be truly complete. Education should not be a system of benefits, privileges, deficit thinking, and limited opportunities. Therefore, it is necessary to attempt to build relationships across differences, and to actively work together to achieve transformative and empowering educational opportunities for all.

Dei (2006) argues that a rupturing of whiteness is crucial to any further subversion of Eurocentrism. It is necessary to look, question, and deconstruct how whiteness is produced and maintained throughout society, and attempting to deconstruct the saliency of race and skin color, an in-depth analysis of how oppression is constructed is required (Dei, 2006). It is necessary to critically recognize white privilege and understand its connection to larger social relations of power as a basic step towards understanding racism and other forms of oppression. If race is kept unnamed or invisible, it cannot be examined, diminished, or dismantled, therefore, it is critical that it is named and resisted by both educators and students (Dei, 2006). In addition, it is also necessary to recognize that our multiple positionalities ultimately frame our experiences, such that we have a complex and contradictory relationship with power, powerlessness, privilege, and oppression (Dei, 2006). Therefore, critical anti-racism must work with racial identity, as a form of agency and resistance, and the political, economic, and educational advantages of whiteness must be utilized to create a space of resistance that challenges domination. Rather than reciprocate the mindlessness of North American hegemonic education that dumbs down our embodied feelings

and tells us to ignore them, we should let our feelings lead to critical imaginations of praxis and alternative futures.

CONCLUSION

Throughout this article, I have attempted to highlight themes of whiteness studies in regards to education and critical anti-racism as an attempt to acknowledge and focus upon critical areas of praxis for education and research. How do we begin to critically engage dominant bodies in discussions of critical anti-racism in education? In an attempt to avoid hegemonic interpretations of universality and neutrality, what does it mean to decolonize our mind, body, spirit, and land? How do we ultimately move grounded theory to praxis?

This chapter disrupts neutral and normative understandings of whiteness and white privilege and ultimately connects them to institutionalized forms of racism and white supremacy in North America. Viewing whiteness as simply the Black/white binary is ultimately problematic where many bodies and communities, including many Indigenous communities and sovereignties are displaced and/or missed. There are multiple positionalities, approaches, and entry points into critical discussions of anti-racism, and it is necessary that such conversations are embarked upon and engaged with.

In educational settings it is necessary for racism and white supremacy not to avoid or disengage from necessary critical discussions. This entails continuously revisiting our knowledge base and to critically interrogate how race fits into larger discussions in order to reflect upon appropriate avenues to effect change. For some bodies, this may mean to work with their discomfort, to remain honest and humble, and to ask questions such as: What are our responsibilities at home, in our communities, and in our schools? And what does it mean to situate the body in knowledge production?

In regards to the school system, educators should use their agency to become examples of collaboration and cooperation with members of local communities and organizations (Dei, 2006). Dei (2006) contends that real justice will not be achieved until communities begin to heal in holistic and practical ways. In Canada, we have to think about ways to build solidarity across differences. It is vital that politically and educationally we recognize that many Indigenous and racialized communities continue to experience systemic forms of discrimination that limit access to basic needs of survival. It is necessary that laws are put in place politically to effect change, but we also need people to consciously act upon important issues (Dei, 2006). There needs to be new, empowered, and community based visions of education that are widened to include more voices (Dei, 2004). Critical anti-racism requires the saliency of racism to be addressed where a firm theoretical account of white racism will set the groundwork to better analyze the contemporary ideological, material, and social meanings of racism. (Dei, 2006). Nevertheless, it is necessary to move beyond theorization, and it may ultimately require a complete restructuring and reordering of education in order for it to become holistic and embodied by all students.

REFERENCES

Ahmed, S. (2004). Declarations of whiteness: The non-performativity of anti-racism. *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism, 7*(1), 104–126.

Carr, P. (2016). To right the blight without white is not too bright: Still seeking to understand the role of white people in a racialized world. In N. D. Hartlep & C. Hayes (Eds.), *Unhooking from Whiteness* (pp. 139–145). Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers.

Dei, G. J. S. (2006). We cannot be color-blind: Race, anti-racism, and the subversion of dominant thinking. In W. Ross & V. O. Pang (Eds.), *Race, ethnicity, and education* (pp. 25–42). Westport, CT: Praeger Publishing.

Frankenberg, R. (2001). The mirage of an unmarked Whiteness. In B. B. Rasmussen, E. Klinenberg, I. J. Nexica, M. Wray, & E. Klinenberg (Eds.), *The making and unmaking of Whitness* (pp. 72–96). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Giroux, H. (1997). Rewriting the discourse of racial identity: Towards a pedagogy and politics of Whiteness. *Harvard Educational Review*, *67*(2), 285–321.

Hill, M. (2004). *After whiteness: Unmaking an American majority*. New York, NY: NYU Press.

Kolchin, P. (2002). Whiteness studies: The new history of race in America. *The Journal of American History, 89*(1), 154–173.

Leonardo, Z. (2004). The color of supremacy: Beyond the discourse of 'White privilege.' *Educational Philosophy and Theory, 36*(2), 137–152.

Maxwell, K. (2004). Deconstructing whiteness: Discovering the water. *Counterpoints: Identifying Race and Transforming Whiteness in the Classroom, 273*, 153–168.

McIntosh, P. (1990). Unpacking the knapsack of White privilege. *Independent School*, *49*(2), 31–36.

Moreton-Robinson, A. (2015). *The White possessive: Property, power, and indigenous sovereignty*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Morrison, T. (2007). *Playing in the dark: Whiteness and the literary imagination*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Owen, D. S. (2007). Towards a critical theory of whiteness. *Philosophy & social criticism*, *33*(2), 203–222.

Simpson, J. S. (2003). *I have been waiting: Race and US higher education.* Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Thompson, A. (2003). Tiffany, friend of people of color: White investments in antiracism. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 16*(1), 7–29.

Weigman, R. (1999). Whiteness studies and the paradox of particularity. *Boundary Two, 16*(3), 115–150.

Wise, T. (2011). *White like me: Reflections on race from a privileged son*. Berkeley, CA: Soft Skull Press.

MARCO BERTAGNOLIO

7. MOVING TO AND/WITH

Understanding the Construction of Race and Privilege

ABSTRACT

Written by an author who identifies as privileged in society – white, male, and heterosexual, this chapter explores the issues of race, racism, white privilege, and white supremacy as they are socially constructed in society. This chapter also seeks to explore how whiteness shapes the lived realities of white bodies and non-white bodies. Starting with race, this chapter addresses and unpacks the notion that race is not biological, but constructed based on assumed biological differences. The social construction of race leads to lived realities of pain and punishment for non-white people. This chapter, however, works to reveal the invisibility of *white* as a racial category, while outing whiteness as part of a system of privileges that white people obtain simply for being white. This chapter exposes white privilege as a tool of white supremacy, a system reproduced on a daily basis by white bodies, to keep white bodies in power at the expense of non-white bodies. Bertagnolio ends with a discussion on how to move forward and the role white bodies play in doing anti-racism work, while finding solidarity with non-white people in order to enact change and bring justice to society.

Keywords: white privilege, race, racism, white supremacy, social construction, anti-racism

INTRODUCTION

One or the other? This or that? Black or white? The world we live in is split by a dichotomous barrier of bodies and persons based on a variety of identities, including race. Everyone falls exclusively within one category or the 'other'. Why do we need to make this decision to choose to put one category ahead of others, to consider one better than the other, not as good as the other. Why do we live in a constant state of anxiety where we fear one another? Are these feelings real or only constructed to feel as such? Why does it need to be black or white? Can we not move towards the more inclusive position of 'and/with' that brings people together in acceptance as opposed to the notion of division (Dei, 2000). Are we stuck in this dichotomous

battle that pits white bodies against non-white bodies, a battle that sets one group up for success in life and the other for a life of pain and punishment?

This investigation is broken down into four main sections: the first, '*What is Race?*' will explore the social construction of race and show that race is not a biological reality. This section will reveal that race is a social construct made by dominant groups to cement their superiority, further showing that white as a racial category is also socially constructed. While showing that race is only a social construct, I will also shed light upon the very real and physical consequences for persons who do not fit into the dominant normalized category of white. The second section, '*But I'm not a Racist*' will look at the ideologies of colorblindness and multiculturalism. I will reveal that while members of the dominant culture may not act in prejudiced ways, these ideologies do nothing to solve the problem of the deep seated systemic racism found in society, which maintains the privileged status quo for white bodies. This then leads into the third section '*What does it mean to be White*' which will investigate whiteness and will show how individuals and communities get to 'become' white. This topic will explore the fluidity of white as a race, which will further the discussion on race as a social construct. It will address the issue of white privilege; how white as a racial category has become invisible. As such, dominant groups are able to see themselves as 'normal' humans that deny and reproduce the existence of systematic racism in society.

Furthermore, this discussion on white privilege will work to unpack the benefits that white bodies receive simply for being white, as they work to also dominate, other, and oppress non-white bodies. This will lead me to connect white privilege as a tool used by white supremacy, a system built into the fabric of western society, that works to keep dominant white groups in power at the expense of non-white people around the world. Ending with a section titled *'Moving Forward,'* I discuss how we can move forward as educators, particularly as white bodies as we attempt to do anti-racism work and to find our unique role in working with non-white groups to achieve equity and justice.

My name is Marco Bertagnolio. I was born and raised in Toronto, Ontario by two Italian parents, one who emigrated to Canada, the other Canadian-born. I have very few ties to Italy and only know Canada as my home. I am a university educated teacher. I went to school where a majority of the staff and students looked like me. I can read, write, and speak English fluently. I have an invisible learning disability, but my body is physically able and therefore I pass as able-bodied. I am a heterosexual male and I am white. I am privileged and walk the world as such. The lens that I use to write this essay is one of privilege, as it is how I have come to see and understand the world. It is my hope that this essay may become a useful tool of knowledge and understanding for other privileged bodies who find themselves aware of the massive amount of inequality found in our society based on skin color racism and would like to work towards a more equitable and just society.

WHAT IS RACE?

What is race, and how real is it? Is it tangible, something we can grab onto with concrete knowledge or is it simply an ideology used to differentiate people? The correct answer is both. While there is a concreteness and tangibility to race, it is not in the sense of biological differences. "The idea that the human species consisted of a number of distinct 'races,' each exhibiting a set of discrete physical and cultural characteristics is therefore false, mistaken" (Miles et al., 1996, p. 25). The notion of race was originally constructed in a way that pitted physical differences between white and non-white people against each other. This, of course, was based on the assumption that they were biologically different. Yet as Mukhopadhyay, Moses and Henze (2014) further argue, "there are no biological races – that is, there are no visible biological traits that allow us to consistently and reliably subdivide the human species" (p. 15).

Some may argue that visible skin color differences between people must make us genetically different from each other. However, skin color is a product of pigmentation called melanin which is created by cells in the skin for all people. In fact, "skin color illustrates the short-term ability of the body to adjust to local conditions without genetic change" (Mukhopadhyay et al., 2014, p. 52). Skin color differences are a result of the historical and geographical locations of local people, which causes bodies to adapt and change over time while having an extremely minimal genetic impact. This shows that differences in skin color cannot be used to assume biological differences between white and non-white people.

While race has no fundamental biological basis, educators have tried to use biology as an explanation for the real-life differences of experiences between white and non-white bodies (Miles et al., 1996). Such an example is the book *The Bell Curve,* published in 1994 it attempts to show how intelligence is linked to both class and race, which tries to pin differences in intellectual and general lived realities in terms of socioeconomic status based on race as a biological category (Miles et al., 1996). *The Bell Curve* was essentially trying to state that race determines the level of a person's intelligence and that black or non-white bodies are less intelligent in comparison to a white body, which is deemed the most intelligent (Miles et al., 1996). Yet this does not take into account the social construction of race and the physical realities of racism, which can lead to poor academic achievement. As one college student, Rick, notes,

> the reason why the [white kids] always seemed smarter than the average black kid was that they had the computers, a desk to study at, tutors, and other things. It wasn't that they were smarter, it was just that they had a lot of things that I never knew about. It wasn't the racial differences that made them inherently smarter. In many cases, it was the economic class difference. (as cited in Garrod, Ward, Robinson, & Kilkenny, 1999, p. 221)

This economic and social class difference can be attributed to a person's race. While we know there is no tangibility to the biological construction of race, it is still a concept that has real power in the world.

> While social scientists know that there are no 'races,' they also know that things believed to exist (in this case 'races') have a real existence for those who believe in them and that actions consistent with the belief have real social consequences. In sum, because people believe that 'races' exist (i.e. because they utilize the idea of 'race' to comprehend their social world), social scientists need a *concept* of 'race'. (Miles et al., 1996, p. 26)

While having no biological reality, race is still a concept that is used in the social world to identify and categorize all bodies based on the color of their skin. In turn, this social construction comes with tangible and real-life consequences. Yet how did we end up with a concept of the social construction of race if there are no biological differences between white and non-white people? As explained by Halley, Eshleman and Vijaya (2010), "[r]acial categories exist because people and societies believe them to be true; they derive from psychological and societal processes, rather than from biological or evolutionary process" (p. 7). People believe that race as a concept is a distinguishing factor in society marking social differences because we have been educated to believe so.

History is written by the victors; and in the case of our world history, it has been written from a very white and Eurocentric point of view (Steinberg, 2005). As a result, the history, and by in large education as a whole, "functionally erased the values, epistemologies, and belief-systems that grounded the experiences and cultural practices of non-white peoples" (Steinberg, 2005, p. 17), leaving us with a dominant, Eurocentric view of the world and the people in it. As Bedard (2000) explains through the use of 'science' and Darwinism white bodies were socially constructed as racially superior to their non-white counterparts. Using assumed biological differences as points of differentiation or othering, race as a social category is therefore still viewed from a Eurocentric 'historical' perspective of colonialism, slavery, and capitalism (Bedard, 2000). The 'historical' narrative of non-white people being seen as less than human was used to justify land theft and enslavement. The consequences of which are still alive and well in society today, which is why race is real and racialized bodies have come to be socially constructed in such a negative light.

In relation to Rick's story mentioned above, and contradictory to *The Bell Curve,* "it is not 'race' that determines academic performance; rather, academic performance is determined by an interplay of social processes, one which is premised on the articulation of racism to effect and legitimate exclusion" (Miles et al., 1996, p. 32). This exclusion has been framed throughout the history of colonialism and slavery, a history that benefits some and punishes others (James, 2005). Race is thus a social construction and not based on biology; still this notion of physical difference continuously reappears as the "racialization of society distinguishes and subjects

social groups to different and equal treatment of the basis of supposedly biological, phenotypical and cultural characteristics" (Dei, 2000, p. 27). Assumed biological differences continue to have negative repercussions for non-white people; therefore, race is real as long racism persists.

While race has no biological grounding, the social construction of race has very real physical consequences for non-white people. "There are profound social problems that racialized immigrant communities confront daily in Canadian society, employment, education, housing, law, and the justice system" (Dei, 2011, p. 16). While the following data is based on the United States it still shows a clear representation as to how race is felt by non-white people. It is also not a stretch to articulate the realities of non-white people in Canada similarly to their American counterparts.

In the United States only "27% of Hispanics, 19.3% of African Americans, and [in comparison only] 12.4% of whites…have no health insurance" (Rothenberg, 1998, p. 188). In addition nearly one third of Native Americans, or "29.9%, are without health insurance coverage" (Halley et al., 2010, p. 82). Black infant mortality rates are more than double than they are for whites. Furthermore, life expectancy is significantly lower for black people in comparison to white people (Sklar, 1998). For Indigenous people life expectancy is in their forties (Sklar, 1998) and "infant mortality is seven times higher than the national average" (Sklar, 1998, p. 198). Many Indigenous and non-white peoples live in poverty in comparison to those who identify as white, and unemployment rates are doubled for those who are not part of the dominant group (Sklar, 1998). Non-white people cannot buy homes in white neighbourhoods because real estate agents avoid bringing them there, "and bank officers deny them mortgages and business loans readily granted to whites who are no more qualified than they are" (Johnson, 2006, p. 57). Women of color who are educated and working full-time still make less money than a white male who is a high school dropout (Rothenberg, 1998). This is not to say that women of color cannot be successful professionals in various fields, as there are many, but these cases may be the exception rather than the rule due to limitations put on women of color through racial discriminatory ideologies.

Perhaps the most telling reality of race and racism is that the 'history' of slavery is still alive and well. In the United States "a country whose constitution once defined Black slaves as worth three-fifths of a human being. Today, median Black per capita income is three fifths that of whites" (Sklar, 1998, p. 196). This shows that the work of black and non-white persons is not as valuable as the work of whites. More troubling is the taken for granted notion that is held by primarily dominant white groups, whether they recognize or not, that the worth of a black body from the time of enslavement is still being reproduced today.

This new system of slavery is reproduced within policing and correctional institutions. Black youth are consistently targeted by police for DWB (Driving While Black) and other random searches (Johnson, 2006). Black parents live in a

state of constant fear that a systemically racist police force will cause harm to their teenage sons (Johnson, 2006) and arrest them for stereotypical black crimes such as drug possession (Sklar, 1998). In reality, "more than three out of four drug users are white, but, Blacks and Latinos are much more likely to be arrested and convicted for drug offences and receive much harsher sentences. Almost 90 percent of those sentenced to state prison for drug possession in 1992 were Black and Latino" (Sklar, 1998, p. 197). There is an extreme over representation of non-white people in correctional facilities as "one out of three Black men in their twenties are either in jail, on probation, or on parole" (Sklar, 1998, p. 196). In Canada "Aboriginal people comprise a small percentage of the adult population, but account for over one-quarter (28%) of admissions to sentenced custody in 2011/2012" (Statistics Canada: Aboriginal Statistics at a Glance: 2nd Edition, 2015), which stands as a grotesque over representation of Indigenous people who are incarcerated in Canada. Additionally, prison labor is one of the largest growing industries in the United States, and states are increasing the budget for these 'correctional' facilities (Sklar, 1998). Prisons have become the plantations of the twenty-first century where cheap labour is exploited from inmates that are greatly overrepresented by black and non-white people.

Race is real. Race is experienced on an everyday basis by white and non-white people; yet, for one group it means power and privilege, and for the other, it means pain and suffering. For those non-white persons who live a life of racism it, "means living in a society that predisposes whites to see the worst in people of color and ignore the best" (Johnson, 2006, p. 57). To readers who identify as white, I must advise them to stop and think of the last time they saw a black person, what was the first thought that they processed? Was it based on fear and anxiety or any type of negative perception? If so, do you know why? The social construction of race has conditioned us to think negatively towards black and non-white people. If this is the case for all races, then how are we conditioned to see white bodies? What are the physical realities of race for those who are white?

"BUT I'M NOT RACIST"

Race is a social construct that has very real and negative consequences for those who are non-white. For some people who occupy a position in the dominant culture, and who understand that racism is real and is a terrible thing, they continue to claim that they are not racist and do not contribute to racist ideologies. Yet while they may not be prejudiced, there are still multiple ways that dominant white bodies contribute to the reproduction of systemic racism in society.

Many white people have the view that, "I don't care if a person is black, white, or purple, I treat them exactly the same; a person's just a person to me" (Omi & Winant, 1993, p. 5). This is what is referred to as colorblindness, and while it is nice in theory it is problematic in the sense that it makes no room for the different experiences people

have based on their skin color and social location. The notion of colorblindness is extremely prevalent in educational settings. As Dei (2000) writes:

> White teachers who state, 'I don't look at the race; I only see the child.' This colorblindness and/or racelessness is not a social equalizer, it is a 'racial act' and an 'enactment of White normativity and dominance. Indeed it masks and denies the existence of racism and provides an excuse for complacency or the outright dismantling of anti-racism programs and initiatives. (p. 26)

Differences amongst students must be acknowledged, to say that students are all the same accomplishes nothing. Each student comes with a different social and physical reality and way of being, particularly when it comes to race. The way a white student and a black student see and live in the world are two very different experiences. Educators must acknowledge these differences in order to help students be successful in the classroom and in life. Colorblindness does nothing but hide the problem of systemic racism in schools and society at large.

Furthermore, "the 'colorblind' worldview makes changes more difficult. If dominant-group members are relatively unaware of their group advantages, then it is even more difficult to see systemic racism facing people of color" (Doane, 2003, p. 93). Colorblindness therefore continues to be problematic as it works to not only erase the lived experiences that racialized minorities face, but it additionally works to erase any trace of privilege that white people gain from it.

Similar to colorblindness, notions of multiculturalism are also problematic in that it "fails to recognize the power that whites have over all other groups" (Halley et al., 2010, p. 64). Multiculturalism also works in direct opposition to the social construction of race and racism:

> While social constructionists think about race in terms of power, multiculturalists thinking tends to ignore or even deny the relevance of social power, often portraying every group as equal but different. For multiculturalists, the answer to social problems involves respect for each other and a celebration of our differences. In contrast to multiculturalism, social constructionists argue that we *should* be equal (and that all cultures are worthy of celebration); however when it comes to social power, we are not equal. (Halley et al., 2010, pp. 63–64)

This is very reflective of Canadian multiculturalism where we, as Canadians, pride ourselves on being open and accepting of different cultures, but do not question power structures and inequality amongst races in comparison to the dominant. Most of Canadian multiculturalism refers to food, clothing, music and 'ethnic festivals,' but does not address the issue of social power and inequality. James (2005) supports this notion by stating that multiculturalism does little in the way of making concrete changes to the education system, challenging systemic racism. James (2005) further notes that "curricula needs to integrate the knowledges, traditions and experiences of minoritized students if their diasporic complexities and lived realities are to be

truly engaged" (p. 46). Without making concrete changes to our education system that works to include different ways of knowing that guides the way students see the world, multiculturalism does little to enact social change.

While white individuals may not be prejudiced, we still participate in a system of racism. Katz (1978) goes on to describe how white bodies are complicit in racism: "Racism is not a desire to wake up every morning and lynch a black man from a tall tree. It is not engaging in vulgar epithets. These kinds of people are just fools. It is the day to day indignities, the subtle humiliations, that are so devastating. Racism is the assumption of superiority of one group over another, with all the gross arrogance that goes along with it" (p. 9). While white individuals may not think of themselves as superior, the social-construction of race as it applies to white bodies assumes superiority over all others. Therefore, making all white bodies implicated in the perpetuation of racism, while at the same time making them privileged.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO BE WHITE?

So far, I have focused primarily on the negative implications of race as a social construct on non-white bodies. Yet where are the white bodies? And what does it mean to be white? Race as a concept is Eurocentric in its origin, particularly stemming from the colonial era of France and Britain. Satzewich (1998) describes race as a descriptive tool used by the ruling class to describe those who did not have economic and political power by referencing biological, social and intellectual characteristics (p. 28). Racialization was applied to non-white people but also to white people from working class and other white immigrant communities (Satzewich, 1998).

The racialization of other white bodies continued "when the English colonized Ireland and incorporated it into the European state, they defined the Irish in terms similar to those used to describe the dark inhabitants of their other colonial acquisitions" (Bedard, 2000, pp. 46–47). In fact the Irish at one time were described as the 'Black' Irish, and held common stereotypes–lazy and violent–that are now pushed onto non-white bodies (Bedard, 2000). These stereotypes continue to ring true in Canadian society and are perpetuated through the media and reproduced by white bodies as a way to categorize, discipline, and discredit non-white people. Irish Catholics in particular faced oppression for centuries under English rule (Wilmot, 2005). The Irish, however, started the 'transformation' from 'otherness' to white through a process of changing religions from Catholicism to Protestantism, which aligned with the dominant British belief system (Halley et al., 2010). Interestingly "in the United States, Christian biblical sources were used to justify African slavery" (Mukhopadhyay et al., 2014, p. 135). The same religion that 'made' the Irish white was also used to keep black people enslaved. Yet we must also note the importance of the saliency of skin color racism, referring to the permanence of skin color, which aided the process of the Irish 'becoming' white (Dei, 2000). The

Irish were able to become white because physically they are white, whereas black, brown, Indigenous, and other non-white bodies are not afforded the same saliency and therefore can never become white.

This same process as to how the Irish 'became' white can also be applied to other ethnic groups which we now consider white, including Italians, Ukrainians, and Jews who were all seen as a race other than white for a time (Rubbin, 1998). Italians on occasion, taken for blacks in the Southern United States were lynched – a practice that was largely seen as normal by the dominant group (Rubbin, 1998). If Italians were seen as racialized others and were able to become white, could the same process not be applied to non-whites today so they can experience the same level of privilege that white people, including Italians, Ukrainians, Irish, and Jews enjoy today? "While Italian and Ukrainian Canadians did experience ethnically-based discrimination that deepened their class exploitation, they were allowed to migrate, whereas non-white workers faced severe restrictions to migration to the point of impossibility in most cases" (Wilmot, 2005, p. 87). What is important here is that while some ethnic groups like the Irish, Italians, Ukrainians, and Jews may not have been considered white there is still the notion of the saliency of skin color racism. This saliency allowed certain groups to assimilate into 'white' culture because they were physically able to pass as white, and then 'become' white, whereas it is harder for a black body to become white. Furthermore, the notion of European whiteness also plays an important role, as there is a currency that is attached to being European that allowed these groups to 'become' white, which bars other ethnic groups from doing the same. As such, while one individual may identify as Ukrainian and another identify as Brazilian, and while they both may physically be white, the Ukrainian is held in a higher position of social power due to their European ethnicity and therefore European whiteness.

Today, these European ethnic groups are recognized as white and benefit from white privilege. This history of 'becoming' white reinforces the ideology that race is socially constructed.

> Race is socially, not biologically, constructed, and thus fluid. In other words, we are not genetically raced but socially raced. This fluidity does not mean that anyone can switch races, like changing jobs or getting a new hairstyle. Race is not a matter of pure individual choice and whim. That race is socially constructed means that racial groups are themselves in a particular (albeit changing) culture and history. It is the shared culture and history that makes one a member (or not) of a racial group. (Halley et al., 2010, p. 82)

It is this fluidity that allowed some groups–Irish, Italians, Ukrainians, and Jews amongst others – to 'transcend' from 'othered' bodies into whiteness. Yet this continues to reaffirm the notion that race is social, made by humans, and therefore can be dismantled. To make this notion a reality, a greater understanding of white privilege and white supremacy is needed in order to be able to subvert dominant powers.

101

To be or claim 'white' as a racial identity is to accept the privileges of whiteness. "Whiteness exists within a system of economic, political, cultural, psychological, emotional, and social advantages of dominant groups at the expense of racialized others" (Dei, 2000, p. 28). To be white also means to be invisible. White, as a racial category is so dominant that it is how normalcy is framed. For example, to ask a white person about their race, they might reply with English, Irish, Italian, Canadian and so on, without ever seeing themselves as white (Katz, 1998). "White people do not see themselves as white. This is a way of denying responsibility for perpetuating the racist system and being part of the problem" (Katz, 1978, p. 13). This has led to the invisibility of white as a racial category and the social construction of whiteness, which works as a way to simultaneously deny and reproduce racism in society. Part of the hidden reality of race for white people is that since white is considered normal, they do not see the ways in which the social structure is designed to benefit them.

As mentioned earlier, history is written by the victors and when it comes to history there is little scarcity of what whites have 'brought to the world' from science to art (Leonardo, 2004). "However, when it concerns domination, whites suddenly disappear, as if history were purely a positive sense of contribution" (Leonardo, 2004, p. 143). This perpetuates the invisibility of whiteness, the privileges associated with being white, and the denial of the existence of racism. If history favor white bodies, how can whites be responsible for anything negative in society?

Peggy McIntosh describes how the invisibility of whiteness is constructed for white people:

> [W]hites are carefully taught not to recognize white privilege … about which I was 'meant' to remain oblivious … My schooling gave me no training in seeing myself as an oppressor … I was taught to see myself as an individual whose moral state depended on her individual moral will … [A] pattern of assumptions that were passed on to me as a white person … I was taught to recognize racism only in individual acts of meanness by members of my group, never in invisible systems conferring racial dominance on my group from birth. (as cited in Leonardo, 2004, p. 143)

White privilege has been carefully woven into society. Through this invisible or unknowing theme of white puppets being controlled by a white puppet master, people act in certain ways as to 'punish' individual racist behaviour, but never acknowledging the problematic privileges of whiteness as *systemic*. Leonardo (2004) also reminds us that while McIntosh describes this invisibility in a very passive tone, white people are still implicit in creating this system, and need to be recognized as such.

What is this thing called privilege and how does it benefit white people? How are we implicit with how it reproduces racism? The privilege of being white can be described as follows:

[A]kin to walking down the street with money being put into your pant pocket without your knowledge. At the end of the day, we can imagine that whites have a generous purse without having worked for it.... [this] description is helpful because it captures an accurate portrayal of the unearned advantages that whites, by virtue of their race, have over people of color; in addition, it is symptomatic of the utter sense of oblivion that many whites engender toward their privilege. (Leonardo, 2004, p. 137)

White people gain advantages simply for being white, and because the culture of whiteness is normalized in society they often do not recognize the currency they carry. McIntosh (1988) goes on to further describe the notion of "white privilege as an invisible package of unearned assets that I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was "meant" to remain oblivious" (p. 16). She further notes that privilege is a system that works to overpower and oppress non-dominant groups based on a person's sex or race.

In her work, McIntosh goes on to write an extensive list of privileges people receive based on their sex and race, the privileges of being male and white. I have selected some of the privileges she identifies and will work to expose how whites are privileged at the expense of non-whites. "When I am told about our national heritage or about "civilization," I am shown that people of my color made it what it is" (McIntosh, 1988, p. 18). This is reproduced in education, as all students only learn history from a white Eurocentric perspective, which reproduces false narratives of Indigenous and non-white people having had nothing to do with contributing to Western civilization. A second privilege McIntosh (1988) identifies is the ability for whites to be able to "choose blemish covers or bandages in flesh color and have them more or less match my skin" (p. 21). This is perhaps the most telling sign that white people are favoured in society over non-whites, that 'flesh toned' bandages match the color of white bodies is simply stating the clear message that black and non-white bodies are not as valuable as white bodies.

How do we come to such a state that a white body has more power for simply being white? How does the invisibility of whiteness and privilege further affect the lives of non-white people around the world? As Leonardo (2004) discusses, it is problematic for white people to take an unknowing approach to the privileges they receive in society for simply being white.

As a result, the theme of privilege obscures the subject of domination, or the agent of actions, because the situation is described as happening almost without the knowledge of whites. It conjures up images of domination happening behind the backs of whites, rather than on the backs of people of color. The study of white privilege begins to take on an image of domination without agents. (Leonardo, 2004, p. 137)

This leads to a conversation of how white privilege is just an extension of white supremacy, which is deeply ingrained in Western society. The invisibility of

whiteness perpetuates the invisibility of white supremacy for those who do not wish to see it.

White supremacy uses privilege as a tool to help implement white hegemony that occupies everyday life through a process of domination that whites enact every day on non-white bodies (Leonardo, 2004). White supremacy begins with European colonialism where a sense of racial superiority was gained. "In their writings ... "reason" and "civilization" became almost synonymous with "white" people and northern-Europe, while "unreason" and "savagery" were conveniently located among non-whites, the "black," the "red" and the "yellow," outside Europe (Dei, 1999, p. 21). Colonialism was meant to dehumanize people of non-European origin so that Europeans could enact violence on those people, their land, and their culture, which is still represented today through white supremacy.

White supremacy is additionally "the backbone of the Canadian project of colonization and nation building... it is ultimately the source of both the ongoing brutal exclusion and subjugation of non-white people and an array of everyday structural privileges for whites... daily re-enacted across a broad array of institutions and social settings" (Wilmot, 2005, p. 22). This essentially states that white supremacy has been built into the very fabric of Canadian society. The system of white supremacy is problematic for many people, yet for those who are white we play a role in reproducing this system every day.

> Since all white folks benefit – whether actively or passively, whether by doing something or failing to do something – from the white supremacy fundamental to the organization of the capitalist political economy on which our society is based, since we are enrolled in the club, like it or not, we all have a social responsibility to challenge the notion of supremacy, both individually and collectively, and the resulting racism. (Wilmot, 2005, pp. 11–12)

Whites are all implicated in perpetuating white supremacy, regardless of how 'active' we may be in perpetuating prejudice ideologies. Being white in itself comes with a privilege white bodies may not have chosen but cannot deny.

MOVING FORWARD

While some white individuals may feel enlightened, there are many others who feel like they are being personally attacked (Leonardo, 2004). For Dei, the process of anti-racism looks to "reframe the question 'who' is Whiteness to ask 'how and why is Whiteness produced, maintained and elaborated upon in the social order'" (Dei, 2000, p. 28). To challenge and subvert whiteness is not an attack on white people as individual persons, but attacking the systemic issues of white privilege in a society that punishes those who do not fit into the dominant white group. We must also not forget that those who identify as white are also subject to oppression based on gender, class, sexuality and (dis)ability, amongst other markers of difference and as Dei (2000) notes "whiteness is not the universal experience of all Whites" (p. 29).

A second step would be to adopt anti-racism thinking which "explicitly names the issues of race and social difference as issues of power and equity" (Dei, 2000, p. 27). While anti-racism puts a focus on race, practitioners may find themselves wrestling with feminist and socialist ideologies; it is important to remember that we cannot be divided in a pursuit of justice (Dei, 2005). Racism and white supremacy are closely tied to capitalism, which is tied to patriarchy, amongst other forms of oppression. All forms of oppression intersect at one point or another–including but not limited to gender, race, class, sexuality, and (dis)ability. In order to subvert these ideologies – which are realities – we must not play oppression olympics, and instead, collectively resist overarching dominant groups. Where anti-racism makes its largest contribution is accepting and welcoming all differences, while also recognizing and working to fight against dominant groups and multiple forms of oppression.

In moving forward Wilmot (2005) recommends individuals and collectives working towards equality, challenge not only themselves but others around them in conversations about race, racism, and white supremacy. The process of "making whiteness visible is a critical step in thinking critically about race and addressing systematic inequality" (Halley et al., 2010, p. 6). In challenging themselves, white anti-racist workers cannot fail to see themselves as implicated in a system that privileges whites and punishes non-white people (Dei, 2000). The role of the white anti-racist practitioner is still an important one; "white audiences have had access to these traditions of criticism for over a century. As such, radical writings on the topic of white privilege are new to white audiences *who read mainly white authors*" (Leonardo, 2004, p. 142). Here, the role of the white body in anti-racism work is revealed. It is not to be at the front lines fighting for systemic change against white supremacy, but rather, working within the white community to subvert the dominance of whiteness. The goal here is to educate other white bodies who only see, read, or work with other white bodies, and provide them with a view of privilege that they may not have ever seen nor recognized before. As a critical friend or ally it is neither our goal nor our role to speak on behalf of those who are non-white, but to work within our own communities so together we can move forward. It is also important to remember that we, holding dominant positions in society, continue to educate ourselves as we attempt to move towards equality. To be humble, listen, and learn are equally as important as it is to speak out against inequality. Yet most importantly we cannot be passive and idly sit back as we live a taken for granted privileged life while others struggle.

This essay has discussed the notion of race, racism, and white privilege in an historical and contemporary sense in order to see how it is still reproduced in society today. Starting with unpacking the common misconception that race is biological and that people are genetically different along racial lines is simply not true. What is true is the social construction of race that uses physical differences amongst people, primarily skin color, to privilege bodies that are white and punish those that are black and non-white. This punishment comes in a variety of forms as the negative perception of non-whites results in poverty, poor quality of health, low

socioeconomic status, imprisonment, and on occasion, death. This was followed by a discussion on colorblindness and multiculturalism, two well-intentioned concepts implored by dominant groups to create equality. Yet, these two concepts make no real change in the systemic racism found in society. Not only do they not produce equity, but rather, they create a system that reproduces racism and maintains the privilege status quo for those who identify as white.

By addressing the issues of whiteness, white privilege, and white supremacy this essay attempts to show that race is a fluid category. For example, some Europeans such as the Irish, who were at one time not considered white, were able to 'become' white. This fluidity further cements race as a social construct. Furthermore, white as a racial category has become invisible. This norm is the golden standard in society, and as such, the white body has been made to be seen as one that can do no wrong. Any act of racism is the act of an individual and not of a system that privileges white people at the expense of non-white people. This privilege can be seen in everyday interactions in the social world that works to benefit whites for simply being white and oppress and dehumanize those who are not. Yet white privilege in itself is only an extension of white supremacy that has been woven into the very fabric of Canadian society. A system built to oppress all others who do not fit into the category of 'white.' This essay concludes with a discussion on how to move forward as white and non-white bodies work together for equity and justice, while still understating that white bodies are implicit in the creation and perpetuation of these systems. As Johnson (2001) states, "as long as we participate in social systems, we don't get to choose whether to be involved in the consequences they produce. We're involved simply through the fact that we're here. As such we can only choose *how* to be involved, whether to be just part of the problem, or also part of the solution" (p. 68).

REFERENCES

Bedard, G. (2000). Deconstructing whiteness: Pedagogical implications for anti-racism education. In A. M. Calliste & G. J. S. Dei (Eds.), *Power, knowledge and anti-racism education: A critical reader* (pp. 41–56). Halifax, NS: Fernwood Publishing.

Branscombe, N., Schmitt, M., & Schiffhauer, K. (2007). Racial attitudes in response to thoughts of White privilege. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 37*, 203–215.

Dei, G. J. S. (1999). The denial of difference: Reframing anti-racist praxis. *Race, Ethnicity and Education, 2*(1), 17–36.

Dei, G. J. S. (2000). Towards an anti-racism discursive framework. In G. J. S. Dei & A. M. Calliste (Eds.), *Power, knowledge and anti-racism education: A critical reader* (pp. 23–29). Halifax, NS: Fernwood Publishing.

Dei, G. J. S. (2005). Unmasking racism: A challenge for anti-racist educators in the 21st century. In L. L. Karumanchery (Ed.), *Engaging equity: New perspectives on anti-racist education* (pp. 135–148). Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises.

Dei, G. J. S. (2011). In defence of official multiculturalism and recognition of the necessity for critical anti-racist education. *Canadian Issues,* 15–19.

Doane, A. (2004) White-blindness: The dominant-group experience. In M. S. Kimmel & A. L. Ferber (Eds.), *Privilege: A reader* (pp. 81–95). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Garrod, A., Ward, J. V., Robinson, T. L., & Kilkenny, R. (Eds.). (1999). *Souls looking back: Life stories of growing up Black*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Halley, J. O. M., Eshleman, A., & Vijaya, R. M. (2010). *Seeing White: An introduction to White privilege and race*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

James, C. E. (2005). The ties that bind: Thinking through the praxis of multicultural and anti-racism education in Canadian contexts. In L. L. Karumanchery (Ed.), *Engaging equity: New perspectives on anti-racist education* (pp. 41–58). Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises.

Johnson, A. (2001). Privilege, power, difference, and us. In M. S. Kimmel & A. L. Ferber (Eds.), *Privilege: A reader* (pp. 59–68). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Johnson, A. G. (2006). *Privilege, power, and difference*. Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill.

Katz, J. H. (1978). *White awareness: Handbook for anti-racism training*. Norman, OH: University of Oklahoma Press.

Kirkup, K. (2016, September 17). 60% of first nations children on reserve live in poverty, institute says. *CBC News*. Retrieved from http://www.cbc.ca/news/aboriginal/institute-says-60-percent-fn-children-on-reserve-live-in-poverty-1.3585105

Leonardo, Z. (2004). The color of supremacy: Beyond the discourse of 'White privilege.' *Educational Philosophy and Theory, 36*(2), 137–152.

McIntosh, P. (1988). White privilege and male privilege. In M. S. Kimmel & A. L. Ferber (Eds.), *Privilege: A reader* (pp. 15–27). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Miles, R., & Torres, R. (1996). Does 'race' matter? Transatlantic perspectives on racism after 'race' relations. In V. Amit-Talai & C. Knowles (Eds.), *Resituating identities: The politics of race ethnicity, and culture* (pp. 24–46). Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press.

Mukhopadhyay, C. C., Moses, Y. T., & Henze, R. C. (2014). *How real is race? A sourcebook on race, culture, and biology* (2nd ed.). Lanham, MD: Altamira Press.

Omi, M., & Winant, H. (1993). On the theoretical concept of race. In C. McCarthy & W. Crichlow, G. Dimitriadis, & N. Dolby (Eds.), *Race identity and representation in education* (pp. 3–10). New York, NY: Routledge.

Rothenberg, P. S. (1998). The economics of race, class, and gender in the United States. In *Race, class, and gender in the United States: An integrated study* (pp. 188–189). New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.

Rubbin, L. (1998). Is this a White country or what? In P. S. Rothenberg (Ed.), *Race, class, and gender in the United States: An integrated study* (pp. 92–99). New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.

Satzewich, V. (1998). Race, racism and racialization: Contested concepts. In V. Satzewich (Ed.), *Racism and social inequality in Canada: Concepts, controversies, and strategies of resistance* (pp. 25–46). Toronto, ON: Thompson Educational Publishing.

Sklar, H. (1998). Imagine a country. In P. S. Rothenberg (Ed.), *Race, class, and gender in the United States: An integrated study* (pp. 192–201). New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.

Statistics Canada: Aboriginal statistics at a glance: 2nd Edition. (2015). *Aboriginal admittance into custody*. Retrieved from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-645-x/2015001/justice-eng.htm#a2

Steinberg, S. (2005). The dialectics of power: Understanding the functionality of White supremacy. In L. L. Karumanchery (Ed.), *Engaging equity: New perspectives on anti-racist education* (pp. 13–26). Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises.

Wilmot, S. (2005). *Taking responsibility, taking direction: White anti-racism in Canada*. Winnipeg, MB: Arbeiter Ring Publishing.

SABRINE JEANINE AZRAQ

8. PALESTINE

BDS as Refusal and Resistance in the Settler Colonial Academy

ABSTRACT

This chapter stems from queries by colleagues on how to use their affiliation within the academy to resist the zionist settler colonial hold on Palestine. With a case study on the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) Movement, this chapter provides an anti-colonial examination of Palestinian existence/resistance alongside forms of refusal that scholars and affiliates of the academy can employ in solidarity with Palestinians in their struggle for liberation and self-determination.

Keywords: Palestine, anti-colonial, anti-zionist, BDS, anti-racist, settler colonialism

I feel a particular type of dissonance in pursuing anti-colonial and anti-racist work within a colonial and racist institution. I learn of processes of decolonization in an academy built on the backs of Indigenous peoples on unceded lands. I learn of justice in an unjust academy and theorize about colonialism in classrooms built on colonialism's benediction. As the proud daughter of two uprooted Palestinians, I search for home in scholarly works made accessible by an institution gravely complicit in deeming home an inaccessible phenomenon for Palestinians. The dissonance serves as a necessary reminder that as scholars within the academy, we are not immune to interrogation. We cannot effectively examine society without uncomfortably examining our roles within it. I write this chapter for scholars in search of pragmatic anti-colonial and anti-zionist approaches to use their affiliation within the academy to resist the zionist settler colonial hold on Palestine. With a case study on the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) Movement, this chapter provides an anti-colonial examination of Palestinian existence/resistance alongside forms of refusal that scholars and affiliates of the academy can employ in solidarity with Palestinians in their struggle for liberation and self-determination.

Thanks to zionism, Palestine is "home" to Indigenous Palestinians and foreign zionists, anti-colonial resistance and colonial violence, and attainable Palestinian dreams and impermanent zionist realities. It is "home" to the longest military occupation of modern times (Said, 2007) and to conquest since at least 330 BCE (Thomas, 2007). "Home" is in quotations to highlight the settler's sense of "home" on colonized lands at the expense of a sense of unbelonging (Moreton-Robinson,

2003) and "unhomeliness" (Bhabha, 1992) for Indigenous peoples. Since "settler colonialism destroys to replace" (Wolfe, 2006, p. 388), colonizers create "home" on Indigenous lands by attempting to destroy "home" for Indigenous peoples. The colonizer's sense of "home" is thus legitimated through the delegitimization of "home" for the colonized.

I define zionism as a nationalistic (Elkins, 2005) political movement derivative of western settler colonialism and white supremacy that works to erase (Said, 1978; Massad, 2006), racialize (Abu-Lakan, 2004; Bakan, 2005), and vilify (Abunimah, 2014) Palestinians. Theodor Herzl (1941)—the founding father of zionism—summated this settler colonial logic in *Old-New Land* where he wrote, "If I wish to substitute a new building for an old one, I must demolish before I construct" (p. 38). Zionism works to destruct "home" for Palestinians in order to replace it with "home" for zionists through militaristic force and exclusionary policies. Since its political inception, zionism represents the refusal to admit, and the consequent denial of a Palestinian presence in Palestine. The zionist regime—in coming into formal existence in 1948—resulted in the ongoing eradication of Palestinian knowledges and villages and infrastructure (Said, 1979). Palestine, as a distinct land for an identifiable Palestinian people is perceived as uncertain and "questionable" (Said, 1979, p. 5). This is not a reflection of historical geographic uncertainty, rather, it is rooted in the ongoing Euro-zionist need to validate itself through invalidating a historically-situated Palestinian presence in Palestine. In other words, Palestine is perceived as unstable because the zionist regime can only be rooted in the violent uprooting of Palestinians.

Zionism has turned Palestine into a highly contested concept. In *The Palestine Question*, Edward Said (1978) demonstrates that the very pronouncement of the word Palestine is seen by Palestinians and those rooted in anti-colonial and anti-zionist thought to be a gesture of positive assertion. On the other hand, it is not uncommon for zionists to refer to Palestinians as either Arabs or "so-called Palestinians" at best (Said, 1979). Uttering the word Palestine is seen as a political act because it brings into existence a reality that the zionist regime tries heavily to invalidate. This is similar to the erasure of Indigenous names from lands and places that they have been connected to for generations. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) in *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous peoples,* writes of Indigenous children in settler colonial schools being forced to remember and validate colonial names and forget or invalidate their original names. These colonial names were then used on official maps and books, which further aimed to erase Indigenous existence on the land and connections to the land.

Mentioning Palestine has become what J. L Austin calls a *performative utterance.* In *How To Do Things With Words* (1963), Austin defines an utterance as performative when "the issuing of the utterance is the performing of an action" (p. 6). In other words, an utterance is performative when the act of uttering is deemed an act in and of itself. Distinct from statements that work to describe something—performative statements—in uttering them, actually perform what is being said. Lorenzo Veracini

(2013) asserts, settler colonialism relies on a sense of amnesia and is "characterized by a persistent drive to supersede the conditions of its operation," (p. 3); thus making its violent processes of erasure seem natural, permanent, and inevitable (Tuck & Yang, 2014). To utter Palestine is to perform its existence and refuse the erasure of Indigenous knowledges. It is an anti-colonial affirmation that counters Euro-zionist claims. As Said (1979) informs us, "to call the place Palestine….is already an act of political will" (p. 10). The word Palestine—when uttered—is not a mere description of reality, but an anti-colonial political act that reaffirms a Palestinian reality undergoing violent figurative and literal erasure. Today Palestine exists as "a political and human experience, and an act of sustained popular will" (Said, 1979, p. 5), publicly acknowledging Palestine—its people, history, and contemporary existence, is a method of affirming Palestinian Indigeneity.

I employ a politics of refusal (Tuck & Yang, 2014; Tuck, 2010; Simpson, 2014) as a method of engaging Palestinian practices of resistance and self-determination within the academy. Refusal works within a framework of desire-based research and is theorized as "not just a 'no,' but as a type of investigation into 'what you need to know and what I refuse to write in'" (Yang & Tuck, 2014, p. 223; Simpson, 2007, p. 72). Here refusal is employed as a framework, method, and a generative stance to highlight methodological and practical tools scholars can employ within the academy in the fight for justice in Palestine.

The BDS movement refuses to normalize zionist settler colonialism in Palestine and is a "strategy of resistance and cross-border solidarity [that] is intimately connected with a challenge to the hegemonic place of zionism in western ideology" (Abu-Laban & Bakan, 2000, p. 29). Abu-Laban and Bakan (2009) refer to Charles Mills' (1997) notion of the racial contract to contextualize the ways Indigenous peoples on Turtle Island and Palestine are classified as racialized and stateless. Mills (1997) explains that white supremacy is an "unnamed political system that has made the modern world what it is today" (p. 24) and is embedded in western ideology. BDS is a Palestinian-led movement that counters the hegemonic discourses of white supremacy that portray the zionist regime as progressive. It is rooted in raising awareness of, and challenging zionist colonial violence by refusing the normalization of our complicity, and is thus "flexible in its application and adaptation" (Abu-Laban & Bakan, 2009, p. 43). Abu-Laban and Bakan (2009) state that supporting BDS can "serve as a challenge to a particular element of western elite hegemony in the form of the ideology of zionism." Furthermore, BDS "contests a post-second world war hegemonic construction of state ideology, in which zionism plays a central role and serves to enforce a racial contract that hides the apartheid-like character of the state of Israel" (p. 16). The zionist hold in the academy is seen in the lack of an anti-colonial and anti-zionist discourse on Palestine. This is rooted in ideologies of orientalism, anti-Muslim sentiment, settler colonialism, zionism, and white supremacy that construct Palestinians as non-existent, void of history, culture and land (Said, 2004). Abu-Laban and Bakan (2009) write:

[BDS] has been hampered, we maintain, by an international racial contract which, since 1948, has assigned a common interest between the state of Israel and powerful international political allies, while absenting the Palestinians as both 'nonwhite' and stateless. The unique role of Zionism as an ideology that lays claim to anti-racist ideological space as a response to anti-Semitism in the history of Europe, the US and Canada, while at the same time advancing racialized interests of colonial expansion in the Middle East, renders the ideological terrain of the BDS movement in the West complex. (pp. 32–33)

With that being said, BDS is an organized anti-racist and transnational movement of civil society actors from Turtle Island to Palestine that intensified after the three-week zionist attack on Gaza, Palestine in 2008/2009. It operates within a context of anti-colonialism, anti-racism, and anti-neoliberalism. BDS is well connected with a new generation of politicized Arabs and Muslims in the post-9/11 climate and the Arab spring uprisings (Abu-Laban, 2004; Bakan, 2005). The BDS movement focuses on resisting zionist settler colonialism that denies Palestinian rights. These rights include our right of return, right to mobility, right to education, right to self-determination, right to our land, right to keep our homes and infrastructure free from militarized settler colonial destruction, right to administer our own economy, and the right to resist zionist settler colonial invasion of our homeland. It works to expose and refuse zionist brutality against Palestinians. The BDS movement posits that the zionist regime must recognize the inalienable Palestinian right to self-determination by:

1. Ending its occupation and colonization of all Arab lands and dismantling the Wall
2. Recognizing the fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality; and
3. Respecting, protecting and promoting the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN resolution 194. (https://bdsmovement.net/call)

Here I interrogate academic freedom and academic responsibility within an investigative framework of Palestinian solidarity with in the academy. I argue that notions of academic freedom are used to hinder Palestinians from academic freedom, access to education, and our basic right to self-determination, and as scholars within the academy it is our academic responsibility to adhere to the BDS Movement. For far too long academics have used the right to freedom of expression to deny people their right to freedom of expression. The irony of the concept of academic freedom lies in how it is used to justify the perpetual unfreedom of others.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) examines the dangers of academic freedom as it promotes autonomous independence without accountability. She argues that academic freedom "protects a discipline from the 'outside,' enabling communities of scholars to distance themselves from others and, in the more extreme forms,

to absolve themselves of responsibility for what occurs in other branches of their discipline, in the academy and in the world" (Smith, 1999, p. 67). Within a settler colonial neoliberalized academy, highly competitive individualistic research fosters an environment where relevancy and quantity are stressed upon, and responsibility and ethical morality are absolved. This is apparent in the ways arguments defending academic freedom are used to refuse others of their academic freedom.

George Sefa Dei's analysis of academic freedom and his call for academic responsibility is useful here. In his article, "The African Scholar in the Western Academy," Dei (2014b) analyzed the notion of claiming rights in academic and colonial settings, stating that these rights are "conceptualized as property of dominant bodies" (p. 169). This is most apparent when we see dominant bodies in the academy use arguments defending the right to freedom of expression and the right to academic freedom as a means to further conceal the unfreedoms and non-freedoms of others. In his piece, "Decolonizing the University Curriculum," Dei (2015) calls to question institutionalized definitions of academic freedom that fall short of holding academics responsible for what they do with said freedoms. He asserts that, "there is no [academic] freedom without matching responsibilities and an ethically conscious engagement in this freedom" (Dei, 2015, p. 42). He defines academic responsibility as "the need to make education more relevant to the diverse communities and institutions they serve" (Dei, 2015, p. 31).

Smith's (1999) call for scholars to recognize the effects and limits of their research can be included as a form of academic responsibility. When we speak of academic freedom, why is the consistent denial of academic freedom for Palestinian students and scholars under a violent, settler colonial zionist regime routinely ignored? This is illustrated by Cary Nelson, the Jubilee Professor of Liberal Arts and Sciences and Professor of English at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, who employs academic freedom to defend zionist academic institutions, while simultaneously ignoring how these very institutions impede on Palestinian academic freedom and Palestinian educational infrastructure. For Nelson and a plethora of legislators and university administrators, scholars who consciously refuse to associate with zionist universities in adherence to the Palestinian call for BDS are in violation of the principles of academic freedom. Yet, these very proponents of academic freedom do not protest the violation of academic freedom Palestinians routinely endure under zionist control. Amjad Barham (2009), leader of the Palestinian Federation of Unions of University Professors and Employees (PFUUPE) asked the University and College Union (UCU) Congress:

> Is upholding the academic freedom of Israeli academics a loftier aim than upholding the freedom of an entire people being strangled by an illegal occupation? Do Palestinian universities somehow fall outside the purview of the 'universal' principle of academic freedom? Israeli academics who argue for the protection of their access to international academic networks, grants, visiting professorships, fellowships and other benefits of the academic system,

have paid scant attention to the total denial of the most basic freedoms to Palestinians, academics or otherwise.

Some detractors of the BDS movement claim that BDS opposes academic freedom and open exchange so vigorously defended by academics in settler colonial academies, including on Turtle Island and within the zionist regime. I must make note here that, as Dei (2014a) foresees, it is settlers or dominant bodies that view academic freedom as innately theirs while violently erasing Palestinian scholars and students from the conversation. Dozens of university presidents within the settler colonial academy have condemned BDS and many have stated that BDS violated the universal principle of academic freedom as a means of justification (Kapitan, 2013). After the American Studies Association (ASA) endorsed BDS, some university administrators who condemned this as a breach of academic freedom decided to cut ties with the ASA (Jacobson, 2013). It is ironic that the university administrators who opposed the ASA's decision to adhere to BDS on the basis that it hindered the free exchange of ideas, cut ties with the ASA and thus hindered the free exchange of ideas. Some states introduced legislation to counter it with definitions of academic freedom that selectively left out the unfreedoms of Palestinian students and scholars.

A special issue of the *American Association of University Professors (AAUP) Journal of Academic Freedom* was published where scholars asserted that academic freedom is a "manipulative political double standard and ideological cover for the complicity of Israeli universities in the occupation" (Dawson & Mullen, 2015, p. 16). The zionist regime regularly denies Palestinians our basic rights as human beings, including the right to open exchange and academic freedom. Moreover, Joan W. Scott (2013), the Harold F. Linder Professor in the School of Social Science at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, wrote an article in the *Journal of Academic Freedom* titled, "Changing My Mind about the Boycott". In her article she posed: "What did it mean, I wondered, to oppose the boycott campaign in the name of Israeli academic freedom, when the Israeli state regularly denied academic freedom to critics of the state, the occupation, or, indeed, of Zionism, and when the blacklisting of its critics is the regular tool used by state authorities against its own academic institutions?" (p. 2). Scott (2013) highlights that the zionist military impedes on "Palestinians' access to university education, freedom of assembly, and the right to free speech" (p. 2). She continues, "it is because we believe so strongly in principles of academic freedom that a strategic boycott of the state that so abuses it makes sense right now" (p. 3). Palestinian students and academics are forced to go through humiliating and precarious zionist checkpoints, interrogations, and border crossings in attempt to get to school. Palestinian students in zionist and Palestinian universities and schools experience racist policies and physical and psychological violence (USACBI.org).

George Dei (2015) states that, "there is nothing 'free' about freedom! [Academic] Freedom is fought for and is maintained at the expense of the non-freedoms and the cumulative unfreedom of others" (p. 42). BDS is one method to hold the

zionist regime accountable and to reclaim Palestinian freedoms. As Dei (2014b, 2015) makes clear, we cannot speak of academic freedom without speaking of our academic responsibilities. As scholars within an academy that is horrendously complicit in perpetuating unending militaristic violence and settler colonial erasure, it is our academic responsibility to push for BDS in our respective institutions and personal lives.

Rima Najjar Kapitan (2015), a civil rights attorney and the president of Kapitan Law Office, in her article "Climbing Down from the Ivory Tower: Double Standards and the Use of Academic Boycotts to Achieve Social and Economic Justice," distinguishes between academic freedom and academic entitlement and asserts that the academic freedom to boycott must be included in notions of academic freedom. We are obliged to work together to ensure the freedom of students and scholars who choose to endorse BDS. We have the right to disassociate ourselves from zionist institutions until Palestinian freedom and self-determination is acknowledged. When notions of universal academic freedom are used to hinder the academic freedom of others, the academic entitlement of dominant bodies supersedes their academic responsibility and limits the academic and nonacademic freedoms of others. Kapitan (2015) asserts that academic freedom "must be flexible enough to allow professors to use expressive disassociation (example, BDS) to bring about education, social and political change" (p. 2). Kapitan (2015) states that,

> It is not a violation of anyone's 'academic freedom' if American institutions freely choose to disassociate from Israeli universities until they cease reinforcing Israeli apartheid...So, with respect to many of the demands of the boycott movement, academic freedom is not implicated at all. (p. 137)

We must give attention to the ways in which the academy is gravely complicit in perpetuating the non-freedoms of Palestinians, and we must consider the political context of our scholarly locations when considering false universal notions of academic freedom. For whom is this freedom for? And is it a freedom that avoids responsibility? To speak of academic freedom without acknowledging how settler colonial universities from Turtle Island to Palestine work to deny people their right to academic freedom is to speak from a location of privilege within a violent academy. The settler colonial academy is deeply complicit with militarization and racial dispossession on Turtle Island and Palestine (Maira, 2015), and thus our affiliation within the academy means we are implicated as well. It is our academic responsibility to adhere to BDS on an individual, interpersonal, and institutional level. If we truly believe in the principles of academic freedom for all people and if we are to fulfil our academic responsibility, we must strongly take up BDS in order to pressure the zionist regime to stop denying Palestinians our basic freedoms. As Sunaina Maira (2015), a professor of Asian American Studies at the University of California, Davis states, this is more than just about passing BDS resolutions, this is about changing the discourse about Palestine in the academy; "that is, we have been waging a war of position, not just a war of maneuver" (p. 83). As scholars

within an academy that works to prolong and normalize Palestinian unfreedom, our solidarity with Palestinians must be stronger than our fear of alienation or discomfort when endorsing BDS. When we recognize the very real violence and alienation Palestinians face under the zionist regime, we will be less likely to succumb to counterarguments, maintaining that an affirmation of Palestinian freedom will somehow cause divisiveness and alienation. As students and scholars within this settler colonial academy, we must understand that the academy is on the frontlines in the struggle for Palestinian freedom and self-determination. Ashley Dawson and Bill V. Mullen (2015) state that "it is urgent that scholars and students around the world boycott Israeli universities" (p. 1) and endorse BDS fully and publicly.

Students and scholars on campuses across Turtle Island work to make visible the effects of the zionist settler colonial project in Palestine, disassociate from institutions that benefit from this project, and take part in the BDS movement. In "Canada," at least 12 student unions and associations have endorsed the BDS movement; including Ryerson's Students' Union in 2014, the York Federation of Students in 2013, and Concordia's University Student Union in 2014. At the University of Toronto, the Graduate Students' Union (2012), the Mississauga Students' Union (2013), and the Scarborough Campus Students' Union (2013) have all endorsed the BDS call. The University of Toronto Graduate Students' Union developed a BDS Ad Hoc Committee in response to BDS and has since created a tri-campus campaign (UofT Divest) to demand the University of Toronto to divest from companies that are complicit in the zionist regime's violation of human rights. The Ontario branch of the Canadian Federation of Students representing over 300,000 university students unanimously passed a BDS motion in 2014 and university workers in the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) representing 200,000 government and other sector workers joined the BDS movement in 2009. In 2008, Faculty for Palestine (F4P) was formed in Toronto out of a sense of seriousness to break the silence among faculty and to support Palestine solidarity groups on campuses. F4P consists of over 500 faculty members of all ranks from over 40 universities and 15 colleges across "Canada." The Coalition Against Israeli Apartheid (CAIA) formed in 2006 as a Canadian coalition in support of the BDS movement. Queers against Israeli Apartheid (QuAIA) was formed in 2008 in Toronto to combat Israel's pinkwashing campaigns. Most Palestine solidarity groups remain largely in isolation organizing on their particular campus, in spite of broad coalition groups such as QuAIA, CAIA, and F4P. Currently, several Palestine solidarity groups are campaigning for the implementation of BDS on their respective campuses across "Canada." These successes are continuing to gain momentum in the academy as the BDS movement proves to be a venue for intellectuals to voice their solidarity with Palestinians by joining the Palestinian call in affirming Palestinian self-determination and justice.

As scholars it is part of our academic responsibility to affirm Indigenous knowledges and modes of resistance. We must use our positions within the academy

to actively resist settler colonial projects from Turtle Island to Palestine. In this chapter, refusal is a generative stance and an anti-colonial tool rooted in Indigenous, and particularly Palestinian methodology. Scholars can employ refusals to critically address their complicities and better stand in solidarity with Indigenous peoples. The grassroots BDS Movement is one form of Indigenous refusal that will continue to rise despite racist pressures to suppress it. Palestinian refusals can be understood within a wider politics of anti-colonial, anti-racist, and anti-zionist solidarity and resistance. Scholars searching for methods to use their affiliation within the academy responsibly should consider publicly endorsing BDS and other methods of Indigenous refusals to affirm Indigenous knowledges, resistance, and self-determination.

REFERENCES

Austin, J. L. (1962). *How to do things with words*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press.

Bakan, A. B., & Abu-Laban, Y. (2009). Palestinian resistance and international solidarity: The BDS campaign. *Race & Class, 51*(1), 29–54.

Barham, A. (2009, June 2). *PACBI-address to the UCU congress by Amjad Barham, President, the Palestinian Federation of Unions of University Professors and Employees* (PFUUPE). Retrieved from http://www.pacbi.org/etemplate.php?id=1026

Connect with the Palestinian Students' Campaign for Academic Boycott of Israel (PSCABI) | US Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel. (n.d.). Retrieved from http://www.usacbi.org/connect-with-the-palestinian-students-campaign-for-academic-and-cultural-boycott-of-israel-pscabi/

Dawson, A., & Mullen B. V. (2015). Introduction. In A. Dawson & B. V. Mullen (Ed.), *Against apartheid: The case for boycotting Israeli universities* (pp. 1–17). Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books.

Dei, G. J. S. (2014a). Personal reflections on anti-racism education for a global context. *Encounters/Encuentros/Rencontres on Education*, *15,* 239–249.

Dei, G. J. S. (2014b). The African scholar in the western academy. *Journal of Black Studies, 45*(3), 167–179.

Dei, G. J. S. (2015). Decolonizing the university: The challenges and possibilities of inclusive education. *Socialist Studies/*Études *Socialistes, 11*(1), 23–61.

Jacobson, W. A. (2014). *University statements rejecting academic boycott of Israel*. Retrieved from http://legalinsurrection.com/2013/12/indiana-wash-u-st-louis-gwu-northwestern-cornell-reject-academic-boycott-of-israel/

Kapitan, R. N. (2015). Climbing down from the ivory tower: Double standards and the use of academic boycotts to achieve social and economic justice. In A. Dawson & B. V. Mullen (Ed.), *Against apartheid: The case for boycotting Israeli Universities* (pp. 81–92). Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books.

Maira, S. (2015). The ghosts that haunt us: USACBI and the settler university. In A. Dawson & B. V. Mullen (Eds.), *Against apartheid: The case for boycotting Israeli Universities* (pp. 81–92). Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books.

Nelson, C. (2014). *The problem with Judith Butler: The political philosophy of the movement to boycott Israel – Los Angeles Review of Books*. Retrieved from https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/problem-judith-butler-political-philosophy-movement-boycott-israel/

Palestinian Civil Society Call for BDS. (2016). Retrieved from https://bdsmovement.net/call

Reports and Resources | US Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel. (n.d.). Retrieved November 18, 2016, from http://www.usacbi.org/reports-and-resources/

Scott, J. W. (2013). *Changing my mind about the boycott*. Retrieved from https://www.aaup.org/sites/default/files/files/JAF/2013 JAF/Scott.pdf

Simpson, A. (2014). *Political life across the borders of settler states Mohawk interruptus*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Simpson, A. (2007). On the logic of discernment. *American Quarterly, 59*(2), 479–491.

Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. London, UK: Zed Books.

Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2014). R-words: refusing research. In D. Paris & M. T. Winn (Eds.), *Humanizing research: Decolonizing qualitative inquiry with youth and communities* (pp. 223–247). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Veracini, L. (2011). Introducing: Settler colonial studies. *Settler Colonial Studies, 1*(1), 1–12.

CHRISTINE MCFARLANE

9. ANTI-RACISM AND DECOLONIZATION IN EDUCATION FROM AN INDIGENOUS PERSPECTIVE

ABSTRACT

In Anti-racism and Decolonization from an Indigenous Perspective McFarlane brings forth the legacy of forced assimilative education for Indigenous peoples. From her own personal experiences, and support from Indigenous research, McFarlane discusses how colonization and racism have played a large role in Indigenous peoples' lives, and questions how anti-racism and decolonization can work when colonization is still ongoing and based on ideologies of Eurocentrism and racism. In practice, Eurocentrism and racism are intertwined: they reinforce superiority by stating that European languages, knowledge systems, and cultures are superior, scientific, and civilized. It is with this ideas in mind that McFarlane deconstructs and analyzes how anti-racism and decolonization works within academic institutions, especially when Indigenous knowledges are still relegated as inferior.

Keywords: anti-racism, decolonization, indigenous, academic institutions

LOCATING THE SELF

As an Anishnaabe kwe and a student in academia, racism and colonization have played a huge role in my life. As a racialized person, I confront racism every day, not only because of the colour of my skin, but also because of who I am – an Indigenous woman. Though my post-secondary education is something that I have had to fight for, it can also be considered a privilege because I have received government funding to attend school, whereas there are a lot of Indigenous people like myself who cannot receive funding to obtain a post-secondary education due to rules, regulations, and criteria set in place by the Department of Indigenous and Northern Affairs.

I study in an educational system that mainly caters to a non-Indigenous curriculum, while my people continue to fight to get Indigenous curricula introduced into the system. We are still largely misrepresented and used as stereotypes. Stereotypes such as "All Indians are drunken Indians," "All Indians are on welfare," or "All Indians go to school for free." Since the time of contact, Indigenous people have suffered from colonialist and assimilationist policies because our culture, traditions, and languages were all considered inferior to that of European Canadians.

I am the first in my biological family to enter the post-secondary system and to pursue a Master's degree. In the past, education was largely used as an assimilationist tool to eradicate the ways of my people. My biological mother and most of her family are residential school survivors. I remember my mom's aunt telling me that as children they were herded like cattle onto the back of a truck and driven away to a school that was far from their homes. What a memory to have. It tears me up inside knowing that residential schools existed and that my family was hurt by that system. To this day, much of my biological family fight with addiction and mental health issues because of what happened to them in those schools.

Today I fight for an education; I fight to know my culture, my traditions, and language because I want generations behind me to know that education is our right, just like anyone else. It is not something that should be feared. I fight because I no longer want to be the sole Anishnaabe kwe sitting in a university classroom fighting for my voice to be heard. As a writer, in my personal life, I write about what is close to me; I write what I feel passionate about. I write stories about healing for newspapers like Anishinabek News and the First Nations House Magazine. In these publications, I write about the positive things my people are doing. I do this because I am tired of hearing only the negative reports about my people. We are a strong and resilient people who deserve much better than what we have received.

COLONIZATION

According to Goulet and Goulet (2014) in, *Teaching Each Other: Nehinuw Concepts and Indigenous Pedagogies,* "[c]olonization affected and continues to affect, Indigenous people economically, politically, socially, emotionally and spiritually. The loss of territory and land, and the depletion of resources such as buffalo and fish, wiped out the economic base of Indigenous societies, causing death and poverty" (p. 39). With colonization, the governing and decision making processes of Indigenous peoples were suppressed, often by military force, then replaced with a European model of governance where most decision making took place outside the community, and authority was externally imposed. Colonial relationships continue to be marked by the abuse of power, with one side imposing its history and denigrating the others' ways of being, thinking, and doing. The practices, beliefs, and actions of Indigenous peoples were viewed through a Eurocentric lens, measured and judged by using European values and norms.

I wonder how it made my people and my ancestors feel when they could not practice their traditions and ways of life without being punished. I know that even now I fight to learn my culture and traditions. I only speak a bit of my language as a result of learning it in my undergraduate studies. My biological mother never speaks the language with me, even though sometimes I really wish she would. It was through resistance and perseverance that some of our traditional practices of spirituality and healing were carried on, but much knowledge and self-reliance was lost through colonization.

ONGOING RACISM

Goulet and Goulet (2014) further argue, "racism is a social construct existing in societal and institutional structure" (p. 39) and that it is also an internalized condition. Racism affects individual belief systems. The turmoil that is caused by colonization can be reflected in personal and social problems of community and its peoples. With this, comes intergenerational trauma in Indigenous communities because the ills of the past are often passed down from one generation to the next. When racism is embedded in our society, everyone hurts because it occurs on many levels and in many forms. The Indian Act of Canada is an example of a racist law that is imposed on Indigenous peoples because some people have status and others do not, due to the establishment and continued dictates of the Indian Act itself.

Personal racism takes on a whole new level of experience when it occurs in interpersonal contexts. I remember as a teenager being the only Indigenous student in the town and foster home that I lived in and the high school that I attended. I was a brown face in a sea of white faces, and racism was rampant when it came to how I was seen and treated. I remember one day, while in high school, I was walking down the street from my foster home at lunchtime, when a girl who did not like me gathered around me with her friends. I was terrified, as the group of predominantly white girls who were bigger than me, started to circle around me. Though I was saved at the last minute by my foster mother driving by, I still hate to think about what could have happened if I had not been picked up and driven the rest of the way to school that day.

Today one of the most pervasive forms of racism is institutionalized. The failure of the school system to meet the needs of Indigenous students is an example of institutional racism. Goulet and Goulet (2014) state that "there are many factors that lead to this failure, such as the chronic, systemic underfunding of First Nations schools, teacher beliefs and expectations, and discriminatory practices" (p. 41). The teaching staff in Canadian public schools remain predominantly white and middle class, and this can be problematic if the teacher does not see beyond their own unearned opportunities that comes from being white in our society. "Many Euro-Canadian teachers are not prepared to examine their white racial identity and the privilege that confirms their position of power in our society, or acknowledge the effects of our colonial history on Indigenous peoples" (Goulet & Goulet, 2014, p. 41). Without acknowledging our colonial past and present and the ongoing racism that is infused into our education system, it is easier to put the blame on Indigenous students and their families rather than look at the curriculum and the education system that contributes to the dropout rates and lack of success amongst Indigenous students.

ASSIMILATIVE EDUCATION

Battiste (2013) positions the experiences of immigrants in relation to assimilative education differently to that of Indigenous peoples. She argues: "Immigrants,

including refugees, make their way to Canada knowing that they will have to learn a particular culture. For some, the choice of living in a culturally similar community or having a school that guides them along the way helps them make this transition" (Battiste, 2013, p. 24). I also believe that the willingness of some immigrants to assimilate is different from what Indigenous peoples in Canada experience. By being a part of a treaty system and subject to residential school legislation, Indigenous peoples in Canada from the time of contact have endured a tenuous relationship with the Canadian Government and Crown. According to John W. Friesen and Virginia Lyons Friesen, "it is sometimes confusing to readers unfamiliar with Native history to decipher the legal complexities of such phenomena as Indian Treaties, the Indian Act, and the ownership of Indian reserves" (2005, p. 17). Although treaties were agreements about the surrendering of Indigenous lands, there were other provisions concerning our right to education based on our own knowledge systems. Battiste (2013) also states that it is crucial to understand that "the central concepts of the Aboriginal and treaty right to education were an enriched education of First Nations that supplemented the learning system that is integral to the transmitting of knowledge, identity, and life skills to First Nations children" (p. 24). Instead, the education that Indigenous peoples received was based on a Western curriculum and not of their own worldview.

As a result of the forced assimilative education practices of Canada, Indigenous peoples have yet to receive the enriched education promised in their treaty agreements. Indigenous peoples throughout Canada are feeling the tensions created by a Eurocentric education system that has taught them to distrust their Indigenous knowledge systems, the wisdom of their elders, and their own inner learning spirit. "Neither the assimilative path of residential schools and day schools in the first half of the last century, nor the integrative approaches of the second half of the century in Canada have succeeded in nurturing many Aboriginal students beyond high school. Most consider education an ongoing failure" (Battiste, 2013, p. 25).

CONTINUAL CHANGES IN EDUCATION

Educational institutions in Canada are continually feeling pressure from Indigenous peoples to make education accessible and relevant. With the rise of Indigenous populations, especially in the Northern Territories and Prairie Provinces, educators are aware of the need to generate a more diverse population of trained workers, as they seek to address the diversity that exists in the increasing population of young people. As diversity is recognized, so are questions about the processes of being more inclusive, tolerant, and respectful.

An important research project by Susan Dion, Krista Johnson, and Carla M. Rice (2010) titled, *Decolonizing Our Schools: Aboriginal Education in the Toronto District School Boards (TDSB),* demonstrates the importance of an education worthy of "our children and our ancestors" (p. v) in a large and diverse urban context. Her research confirmed what Indigenous parents, educators, and students already knew:

Institutions of formal schooling, including the Toronto District School Board (TDSB) are failing to provide Aboriginal students with the educational environment and experiences they require to achieve success. Students in urban settings face particular problems since they may not be recognized as Aboriginal or if recognized at all, they may be expected to have access to and be willing to share cultural knowledge. Furthermore they may not see themselves represented in the curriculum or the teaching population and are encouraged to attend school in spite of this. (Dion et al., 2010, p. v)

It is not only students who face challenges in urban settings, school board administrators, teachers, and other Board employees are also encountering similar challenges. These challenges include:

Recognizing Aboriginal student populations. Delivering programs when students are frequently dispersed across a range of schools. Lacking the requisite knowledge for teaching Aboriginal subject material. Engaging families and communities who may be understandably resistant to formal education. (Dion et al., 2010, p. vi)

This research, which was conducted with over 200 students, parents, teachers, community members, and administrators, generated four key findings:

1. The Board must recognize the importance of understanding and responding to Aboriginal students' learning needs.
2. The meaningful and appropriate incorporation of Indigenous issues across the curriculum must be supported by providing in-service professional development for teaching staff.
3. Schools and learning environments must be transformed in order to decolonize and indigenize learning spaces.
4. Aboriginal education must be prioritized across the Board, especially by establishing and maintaining internal and external partnerships. (Dion et al., 2010, p. vi)

This is what it should mean when it comes to an Indigenous conceptualization of inclusive schooling and education. When it comes to representation, recognizing all Indigenous students is not necessarily going to happen in a diverse school because not all students will self-identify. Knowledge representation should include multiple cultures, histories, and experiences to emphasize the complexities of intermixing and cross-cultural exchange. When it comes to deliverance, programs should be inclusive of everyone. If you really want to be inclusive, let the curriculum involve every colour of the Medicine Wheel – red, yellow, white, and black. This is what Indigenous people call "All My Relations." Lack of requisite knowledge requires Indigenous sensitivity training and this is important because when there is a lack of knowledge, racism, stereotypes, and biases creep in. School and learning

environments should have an engagement with people from all walks of life within the student population.

Today, the Truth and Reconciliation Committees Calls to Action on Education (2015) outlines clearly how changes can be made for a more positive working relationship that benefits both Indigenous and non-Indigenous students in the education system. It is important to note that at the core of building relationships with Indigenous peoples is understanding the distinction embedded in treaties and later agreements. These treaties and later agreements framed the relationship of Indigenous peoples with the Canadian Government and Crown. This is least understood in Canada because most Canadians today still view Indigenous peoples as first settlers and not as Indigenous. Seeing Indigenous peoples differently from what they really are, causes problems when it comes to dealing with Indigenous matters in Canada. Non-Indigenous Canadians only see what is on the surface, they do not see the history behind Indigenous peoples and their distinct status (in distinct civilizations). This causes angst and anger that comes to the surface when treaties and Indigenous rights are asserted.

DECOLONIZATION AND ANTI-RACISM:

In the article *"Decolonizing Antiracism"* Lawrence and Dua (2005) call on postcolonial and anti-racism theorists to begin to take the process of Indigenous decolonization seriously. From my own lived experience with racism, I agree with Lawrence and Dua (2005) when they state that "it is difficult not to conclude that there is something deeply wrong with the manner in which, in our own lands, antiracism does not begin with, and reflect the totality of Native peoples lived experiences – that is, with the genocide that established and maintains all of the settler states within the Americas" (p. 121). One of the arguments they make is that "because of the intensity of genocidal policies that Indigenous people have faced and continue to face, a common error on the part of antiracist and postcolonial theorists is to assume that genocide has been virtually complete" (Lawrence & Dua, 2005, p. 123). As a result, programs for anti-racism have not made way to establish a working relationship with Indigenous peoples to address the very issues that affect them.

It is my argument that genocide – outright cultural genocide is still happening with Indigenous people today, and I agree with Lawrence and Dua (2005) when they make the argument that Indians become unreal figures in the storytelling of settler nations. It is just recently in light of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada that the Honourable Murray Sinclair said "I think as commissioners we have concluded that cultural genocide is probably the best description of what went on here. But more importantly, if anybody tried to do this today, they would easily be subject to prosecution under the genocide convention" (Tasker, 2015). Sinclair further states, "the evidence is mounting that the Government did try to eliminate the culture and language of Indigenous people for well over a hundred years. And

they did it by forcibly removing children from their families and placing them within institutions that were cultural indoctrination centres. That appears to us to fall within the definition of genocide under the UN convention" (Tasker, 2015).

I would cite the Sixties Scoop, as a genocidal policy that the Canadian Government used against the Indigenous people of Canada. The term refers to the practice of taking Aboriginal children from their families and placing them in foster homes. As a survivor of this genocidal policy, I was removed from my culture, traditions, and language and placed in a non-Native home in the early 1970's. While there, I was physically and emotionally abused, and then given back to the Children's Aid Society at the age of ten because my adoption broke down. I grew up in various foster homes and it was not until I was away from my adoptive family that I was able to learn about my culture and traditions. I learned my language not from my own biological mother, but from classes I took in my undergraduate years at the University of Toronto.

As Indigenous peoples, we are relegated to the past in school curriculum. Anti-racism and decolonization needs to focus on where we are as a people today. As Lawrence and Dua, (2005) maintain:

> Being consigned to a mythic past or the 'dustbin of history' means being precluded from changing and existing as real people in the present. It also means being denied even the possibility of regenerating nationhood. If Indigenous nationhood is seen as something of the past, the present becomes a site in which Indigenous peoples are reduced to small groups of racially and culturally defined and marginalized individuals drowning in a sea of settlers-who needn't be taken seriously. (p. 124)

We are a distinct people with a strong sense of culture, traditions, and nationhood. For decolonization to work, there needs to be a focus on the positive events that are unfolding in Indigenous communities in order to assist in decolonizing mainstream, stereotypical thinking about Indigenous peoples.

DECOLONIZATION AND EDUCATION

Education regarding the process of ongoing colonization and the impacts on Indigenous people are important because events and policies that happened in the past, can provide insights into processes of domination and resistance in the present (Merry, 1991; Watson, 2009). This means that events and policies of the past affect the social dynamics and attitudes that exist in society today. If we are to truly decolonize our academic spaces, then we must be able to accept all viewpoints and paradigms, and this includes Indigenous epistemologies. Often in Western university systems, researchers are required to link their findings back to established disciplines within the academic community. This often causes difficulties for Indigenous researchers hoping to set their research within a research paradigm that is conducive to their ontology. Therefore, when Indigenous researchers define their

methodological framework, most often they are required to do so within Western paradigms. Forcing Indigenous researchers to fit their approach within Western paradigms ignores the principle that all research paradigms have a specific cultural foundation. Indigenous scholars maintain that valid research involving Indigenous peoples must be based in research paradigms that are similar with Indigenous realities and ways of knowing (Dumbrill & Green, 2008). Furthermore, we need to put these ideas into action because without action none of the ideas are liberating. This stage, according to Indigenous scholars, requires moving beyond a critique of Eurocentrism to restructuring how services and the academy currently work. Moving beyond critique is crucial because simply critiquing European dominance is by nature another exercise in Eurocentrism. (Dumbrill & Green, 2008; Lawrence & Dua, 2005).

How do we put these ideas into action? For instance, Lawrence and Dua (2005) argue that giving one week token attention to Indigenous peoples or forming relationships with those from marginalized groups will not be enough to develop a critical multi-centric academy. The action that is needed is far-reaching; those from the dominant culture need to move over and make space for other ways of knowing (Bennett, Zubrzycki, & Bacon, 2011; Dumbrill & Green, 2008).

Making space includes inviting expert members of other groups, such as Elders to teach in the academy and really recognizing Indigenous knowledge (Lawrence & Dua, 2005). This means having people teach even if they do not have doctoral degrees, recognizing and appreciating non-text based materials, including different academic standards; and at the very least, creating more courses on Indigenous knowledges so that students can have choices to select from.

CONCLUSION

In the article *"Changing the subject in teacher education: Centering Indigenous, diasporic, and settler-colonial relations"* Martin Cannon (2013) states that "[i]n Canada, it is routine to think about colonization as having little, if anything, to do with non-Indigenous peoples. As such, it is typically Indigenous scholars, teachers and populations who are left to explain the impact of colonization and residential schooling in our communities, and the history of oppressive legislation" (p. 21). For myself, I would say that largely my success as an Anishinaabe kwe and a student in the academia comes from a power within. A dream that I have had since I started my academic journey is that I would put all my effort into my studies, excel, and be proud of myself for it, whilst being humble since I have had several supporters along the way.

In Anishnaabe worldview, we do not operate from a sense of power, we operate within a worldview that not only includes ALL OUR RELATIONS, but also the Seven Grandfather Teachings – Love, Respect, Bravery, Honesty, Humility, Wisdom and Truth. In order for anti-racism and decolonization to work in academia, we all must be inclusive of the diverse communities that comprise our schools and be cognizant

of how each community works within academia. Learning and understanding the truth will lead to 'reconciliation' and this can be done by inclusion, understanding, and respect between Indigenous peoples and settlers. We cannot just assume that the Eurocentric way of teaching and knowing will work for everyone.

REFERENCES

Battiste, M. M. (2013). *Decolonizing education: Nourishing the learning spirit.* Saskatoon, SK: Purich Publishing Ltd.

Bennett, B., Zubrzycki, J., & Bacon, V. (2011). What do we know? The experiences of social workers working alongside aboriginal people. *Australian Social Work*, *64*(1), 20–37.

Cannon, M. J. (2012). Changing the subject in teacher education: Centering indigenous, diasporic, and settler colonial relations. *Cultural and Pedagogical Inquiry, 4*(2), 21–37.

Dion, S., Johnson, D., & Rice, K. (2010). *Decolonizing our schools: Aboriginal education in the Toronto district school board.* Toronto, ON: York University.

Dumbrill, G. C., & Green, J. (2008). Indigenous knowledge in the social work academy. *Social Work Education, 27*(5), 489–503.

Friesen, J. W., & Friesen V. L. (2005). *First nations in the twentieth century: Contemporary educational Frontiers*. Calgary, AB: Brush Education.

Goulet, L., & Goulet, K. (2014). *Teaching each other: Nehinuw concepts and indigenous pedagogies.* Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.

Lawrence, B., & Dua, E. (2005). Decolonizing antiracism. *Social Justice, 32*(4), 120–143.

Merry, S. E. (1991). Law and colonialism. *Law and Society Review, 25(4*), 889–922.

Tasker, J. P. (2015, May 29). Residential schools findings point to 'cultural genocide,' commission chair says. *CBC News* . Retrieved from http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/residential-schools-findings-point-to-cultural-genocide-commission-chair-says-1.3093580

Watson, I. (2009). Aboriginality and the violence of colonization. *Borderlands E-Journal: New Spaces in the Humanities, 8*(1), 1–8.

PERCY K. YIADOM

10. INTERROGATING CHILD LABOUR FROM AN ANTI-RACISM PRISM

ABSTRACT

Child labour is pervasive and has been escalating over the last decade. The International Labour Organization (ILO) estimates that there are approximately 250 million working children between the ages of 5 and 14, of which at least 120 million are involved in full time work that are both hazardous and exploitative. Driven by public outrage, and the adoption of the ILO's 1999 convention C182, the exploitation of child labour has received increasing attention, and efforts to combat this phenomenon has gained momentum, yet solutions remain elusive. Using the theoretical prism of anti-racism, this chapter intends to explore the complex factors that force children into unsuitable forms of work and to examine effective interventions suited to unique socio-cultural and economic environments. This chapter argues that the absence of an international definition on child labour makes it hard to prevent. Child labour is a problem that links with larger complications concerning labour markets and economic development and therefore should not be addressed alone.

Keywords: child labour, International Labour Organization (ILO), developing countries, anti-racism, anti-colonialism, indigeneity

INTRODUCTION

The International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 182 defines child labour as all children below 18 years of age who engage in harmful occupations or work activities in the labour market or in their own households (ILO, 2002). This definition encompasses: all children undertaking work in the labour market or in households that interfere with primary education; all children under 15 years of age in full time employment; and all children under 13 years of age in part time work. Child labour is therefore defined not by the activity, but rather by the effects these activities have on children. It is therefore broadly defined as any activity that negatively impacts children. In 2002, the ILO estimated that 171 million children aged 5–17 were believed to work in hazardous situations or conditions. The ILO estimates that Asia has the highest incidences of child labour, involving 152.5 million children, followed by Africa with 80 million children, and Latin America with 17.5 million (Palley, 2002).

A theoretical anti-racism lens will be used throughout this chapter as a tool to highlight some of the Western conceptions regarding child labour. I will use anti-racism as a theoretical lens to connect to larger frameworks of Indigeneity and anti-colonialism. Each of these concepts can be used as tools to effect change regarding Western perceptions of the use of child labour.

This chapter intends to address two key critical questions: One, what are the factors that force children to engage in early employment? And two, why are some children able to avoid early employment that are considered harmful and hazardous despite being in similar socio-economic circumstances? The remainder of this chapter is divided into four sections: the first section addresses problems with child labour; the second section uses anti-racism, Indigeneity, and anti-colonialism as conceptual frameworks to help understand child labour; section three discusses and draws conclusions on various sub-themes; and in the last section I provide recommendations on the way to move forward based on the literature reviewed.

VARIOUS CONCEPTIONS OF CHILD LABOUR

Siddiqi and Patrinos (1995) contend that there are problems with the current solutions proposed to abolishing child labour, because there is no international agreement on the definition of child labour. The Western conception of child labour is built around the notion of hazardous working conditions and the negative impact it has on children. However, in developing countries where child labour is more prevalent, people conceive the phenomenon differently, citing differences in developmental stages. This argument maintains that developed countries relied extensively on child labour when they were at a similar stage economically. Collins (1983) therefore argues that until there is a global agreement, which can isolate cases of child labour, it will be very hard to abolish.

By using an anti-racism lens, I intend to critically discuss these two divergent global perceptions. To begin, I will highlight the Western understanding of child labour as working in hazardous conditions and the negative effects this has on a child's welfare. I intend to interrogate the conventional or Western conception of child labour. I pose two main questions to form the basis of my arguments: One, do all children work in hazardous conditions? And two, does working negatively affect a child's schooling?

Living in poverty is one contributing factor as to why children work. Many children work to ensure the survival of their families. Though children are not well paid, they are a major contributor to family income in developing countries (Bequele & Boyden, 1991). The reality of children working to support themselves and their families makes the whole concept of child labour very complicated and worth debating. In 2000, UNICEF surveyed children working in 36 developing countries and the results indicated that while nearly 70% of children in these countries were engaged in some form of work, less than 3% worked in the formal wage labour market (UNICEF, 2000). Can we still consider children helping their families to

meet family income as child labour? Is child labour defined by the kinds of jobs children perform or the wages they receive? How do we define hazardous conditions and exploitative wages? What is considered hazardous in the West can be considered ordinary working conditions in other parts of world.

For example, it is a normal practice in most parts of Africa for children to work for wages to support themselves and their families (Oduro, 2012). Also the exploitative wages that these children receive can be viewed differently considering the cost of living in developing nations, as well as the relevance of these wages for the families of these children. Considering the economic and social value of these contributions to the families of these children, how can we consider their activities as egregious? Many children may have to work in order to attend school; therefore abolishing child labour may only hinder their education.

Syed, Mirza, Sultana, and Rana (1991) maintain that some children are often prompted to work by their parents to help the family, including supporting their siblings in their educational endeavours. In some developing countries parents give birth to children based on a cost-benefit perspective, therefore in these developing countries children tend to be of economic value. As a result, they become desirable assets for their poor parents. Due to poverty, some parents in some developing countries assign different roles to their children under a practice called "specialization" so that the older children can work to support their younger siblings to receive an education (Singh & Schuh, 1986). How vicious is it if older children work to support their younger siblings to acquire an education knowing that there is no other external support for these families?

Complicating the issue further is the fact that different countries have different labour laws; thereby creating different standards regarding the age children can work, as well as the kinds of work appropriate for each age category. In many countries such as Costa Rica, Thailand, Sri-Lanka, and many other developing countries, the minimum working age is lower than the minimum required age of compulsory education. This gives children access to employment before they have even completed the minimum amount of schooling required by law, thereby creating inconsistencies in legislation (Siddiqi & Patrinos, 1995). Additionally, different countries not only have different minimum age work restrictions, but also have varying regulations on the type of work children can engage in. Some scholars believe that work can help a child in terms of socialization, in building self-esteem, and for training purposes (Collins, 1983). Hence, while the dangers of child labour portrayed by Western newspapers are real and important, we must be careful not to extrapolate these conditions to the typical working child helping to meet the needs of their families (Edmonds, 2008).

Having presented the above arguments, I also believe that the importance of children's education should never be underestimated. However, education and employment for children should not be viewed as mutually exclusive. While I have nothing against children learning a trade and helping their families run family businesses, I also believe that children should never be coerced into jobs that violate

their human rights. For extremely poor households, child labour seems quite rational since it broadens the base of income sources (Anker & Melkas, 1995). However, the existence of poverty does not justify placing children in hard labour that jeopardizes their well-being. No society can make the transition to stability unless children are given hope, dignity, and respect (Rena, 2004).

ANTI-RACISM, INDIGENEITY, AND ANTI-COLONIALISM AS CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS FOR UNDERSTANDING CHILD LABOUR

I intend to interrogate the conventional understanding of child labour through an anti-racism lens. Anti-racism helps us understand the ideas that support and justify practices which treats some people based on their skin color as superior and more deserving, while treating other people as inferior and less deserving (Lee, 2004). When looking through an anti-racist lens, we are able to see how the skin color, shade, texture of hair, and the shape of one's eyes influence the opportunities we have in life, the rights we enjoy, the access we have to resources, and the representation and respect we receive (Lee, 2003). An anti-racism lens will allow me to see how power has been used by the Western world to complicate the perception of child labour. This lens will also give me the opportunity to uncover how the use of power by individuals, communities, and institutions has brought the current situation of child labour about. An anti-racism lens therefore emerges as an ideal tool to explore child labour, due to the notion that anti-racism as a concept can be used as a tool to effect change (Dei, 2000a). An anti-racism framework asks us to recognize the individual and collective responsibility of utilizing multiple positions and differential locations of power, privilege and social disadvantage to work for change (Dei, 2000b).

Race is used to include, exclude, superiorize, and inferiorize people, and defines who has access to public resources, social goods, and benefits (Omi & Winant, 1994; Henry et al., 1995). This implies that the power of race can never be overlooked. Race dominates our personal lives and manifests itself in our speech and daily activities. Race also determines our economic prospects, permeates our politics, and mediates every aspect of our lives (Morrison & Bourguignon, 1992). Racism cannot be discussed without mentioning colonialism because the two are inter-connected (Harding, 1991). Child labour can therefore be interrogated from anti-racism and anti-colonial lens due to its potentials to effect change by providing an understanding that was developed from the lived experiences of the oppressed. With this lens, we can resist knowledges or identities that are imposing and controlling (Dei, 2006). It is evident that child labour and other social problems are colonial legacies. The irony of the situation is that the oppressors have turned themselves into saviours by trying to help solve the problems that they themselves have created in the first place. However, they are doing so through victim blaming, which to some extent infuriates the developing world.

Similar to Dei (2006), I also believe that child labour can also be conceived from Indigenous perspectives, since anti-racism, anti-colonialism and Indigeneity are

related concepts, and are tools to effect change (Dei, 2006). Indigenous conceptions about child labour might provide some clarity about what indeed constitutes child labour. Additionally, anti-colonialism works with the notion of Indigeneity which may be defined as knowledge consciousness arising locally and in association with long-term occupancy of a place (Dei, 2006). Such consciousness emerges from an awareness of the intellectual agency of local subjects, as well as from their capacity to articulate their condition in terms of their own geography, history, culture, language and spirituality. The knowledge produced can be used to challenge, rupture, and resist colonial and imperial relations of domination. This knowledge can also help to resuscitate oneself and one's community from mental bondage (Dei, 2000c). Colonization resulted in the legacy of cultural genocide, Indigenous land dispossession, violence, enslavement, racial subordination, segregation, and displacement (Dei, 2000a). Dei (2006) further argues that there is nothing "post" about colonialism; there has never been, and there will never be, as long as our social relations are marked by relations of power and domination structured along the lines of race and other forms of difference. Based on this knowledge, how can child labour and other social problems be solved without addressing oppression and domination?

As noted earlier, one of the most notable causes of child labour is poverty, and poverty is due to the colonial legacy of inferiorizing the other (Brady, Verba, & Schlozman, 1995). It is believed that child labour is viewed differently in traditional societies than from Western societies. What is considered abuse in the West is conceived as ordinary ways of living in traditional societies of other nations. Some scholars on child labour contend that the problem is not child labour itself but the conditions under which it operates (Bequele & Boyden, 1991). Nonetheless, I believe that irrespective of working conditions, children should never be deprived of their basic needs.

RECOMMENDATIONS BASED ON LITERATURES REVIEWED

According to Syed et al. (1991) children work for a variety of reasons. The most prevalent reason is poverty. Based on this knowledge, I propose the following recommendations as possible measures to address the problem of child labour. To begin, I will recommend changes to the international labour standard. Child labour is a problem that links with wider problems concerning labour markets and economic development (ILO, 2002).

Child labour is very prevalent in poor countries, with Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia recording the highest incidences of working children. Therefore, there is a need to tackle the low economic development of these regions first, before tackling child labour (Patel, 2007). Different countries also have different minimum age work restrictions, along with varying regulations depending on the kind of work children are engaged in. Therefore, what is perceived to be child labour in some countries is considered common practice for children in other countries (Anker

& Melkas, 1995). This notion not only makes international calls to abandon child labour hollow, but also less effective and ambiguous. Some scholars also maintain that some parents in some developing countries welcome their children's help, and therefore these parents will rarely or voluntarily put their children into hazardous working conditions. Therefore, in some developing countries with extremely poor households, child labour seems quite rational irrespective of how complicated the perception can be (Anker & Melkas, 1995).

The Canadian Child and Family Services Act (CFSA) defines every individual under the age of 16 as a minor, and it is mandatory for minors to receive a high school education. However, their counterparts in Costa Rica, Thailand, and Sri-Lanka can begin working even before they begin school (Syed et al., 1991). The most pressing question that remains unanswered is how can the international community, notably the United Nations, override the labour laws of sovereign countries?

The ILO needs to come up with a universally agreed upon definition of who is considered a child and the kind of work appropriate for each age category. As well, the ILO needs to promote economic development in countries with the highest incidences of child labour. It has also been said that most children work because their parents cannot afford to educate them. Other children also work to support themselves or other family members in receiving an education (Collins, 1983). Free universal education for all individuals considered children might be an effective tool. The provisions of free basic services notably education and health care can help ameliorate child labour. The leading international actors in the fight against child labour should follow the initiative of Uruguay's free educational policy or Mexico's initiative of paying children stipends to attend school. These measure help alleviate financial burdens placed on parents. According to Bequelle and Boyden (1991), most international legislation concerning child labour is in the formal sector, making it extremely difficult to monitor the informal rural sector. Most working children engage in illegal activities including illegal mining, drug trafficking, and prostitution. No accurate data exists for these illegal activities, thereby making it difficult to monitor.

I support Dei's (2000) assertion that colonialism is a never-ending process even after countries receive political independence and sovereignty. How sovereign and independent are we if we cannot formulate and implement our own national policies? Neo-liberalism has plagued the national policies of most developing countries. Foreign loans are premised upon projects benefitting the donors. Developing countries are forced to adopt certain policies from donor countries before loans are approved. The national policies of these recipient countries are dominated and shaped by foreign organizations, agencies, and governments (Edmonds, 2008). I believe that there will be more of a collective national effort in combating social problems if people are given the resources to manage their own affairs. It is believed that those countries, which have lost their culture and identity through colonization, have been persistently subjected to subordination, linguistic colonization, and

cultural genocide, and are in need for systemic rupturing to effect changes in negative perceptions (Dei, 2000a).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

I believe that child labour is a question of political economy, and it is also about how Western conceptions are imposed on developing countries. It resonates with the conception of the dominant and their attempts to define what is right, acceptable, and valid. At this juncture, it is obvious that the global challenge on combating child labour remains daunting, and the problem of child labour seems more complicated than imagined. While I agree with the view that there is no justification for placing children in working conditions that jeopardizes their safety, I also find issue with the international conceptions of child labour as well as the global initiatives to combat this problem. Echoing assertions from Rena (2004), who indicates that poverty does not in any way justify the abuse of children; it is also a fact that the rapid elimination of child labour is beyond the capacity of many countries. However, the most intolerable forms of child labour must be minimized, if not completely eliminated.

As a child protection worker, the welfare and well-being of children has always been my primary concern. Children are considered innocent and defenseless. It is therefore the responsibility and obligation of every adult to protect children (CFSA Section 37). However, how can this responsibility be met without the required resources? How can children be effectively protected without knowing who indeed is a child? How would countries practicing child labour abide by the international calls to abandon the practice, knowing that the very countries leading this fight, committed similar offences when they were at an earlier stage of their economic development? If America and Britain used child labour during the industrial era, how can developing countries in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia not do the same thing? Through colonization, the oppressors have inferiorized the oppressed. Colonial institutions delegitimize and deprive the 'other' of any meaningful recognition and acceptance (Brady et al., 1995). How can one solve a domestic problem from the outside? And how do you expect cooperation from bodies whose culture you repeatedly subjugate?

This chapter has addressed some questions raised in relation to child labour and has also provided some recommendations as to how to address the problem of child labour. It is believed that child labour appears to be more pervasive these days and calls to combat it seem ambiguous. However, with effective changes in international labour laws and standards and new economic policies benefiting the poor, I believe the fight against child labour can one day be won.

I believe that there needs to be a hegemonic rupturing in existing structures and institutions for changes in perceptions to occur. It is only when this happens that the voices of the oppressed will be heard. I hope that an anti-racism lens as a conceptual tool can provide insight or a platform to address the problem of child labour, and also provide more direction to promote more studies on this topic.

REFERENCES

Bequele, A., & Boyden, J. (1991). Working children: Current trends and policy responses. *International Labour Review, 127*(2), 153–172.

Brady, H. E., Verba, S., & Schlozman, K. L. (1995). *Voice and equality: Civic voluntarism in American politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Child and Family Services Act R.S.O. 1990, c. C.11. *Ontario.ca*. Retrieved from https://www.ontario.ca/laws/statute/90c11

Collins, J. L. (1983). Fertility determinants in a high Andes community. *Population and Development Review, 9*(1), 61–75.

Dei, G. J. S. (2000a). African development: The relevance and implications of "Indigenousness." In G. J. S. Dei, B. L. Hall, & D. G. Rosenberg (Eds.), *Indigenous knowledge in global contexts: Multiple readings of our world* (pp. 102–119). Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Dei, G. J. S. (2000b). Recasting anti-racism and the axis of difference: Beyond the question of theory. *Race, Gender, & Class, 7*(2), 39–56.

Dei, G. J. S. (2000c). The role of indigenous knowledge in the academy. *International Journal of Inclusive Education, 4*(2), 111–132.

Dei, G. J. S. (2006). Introduction: Mapping the terrain – towards a new politics of resistance. In G. J. S. Dei & A. Kempf (Eds.), *Anti-colonialism and education*: *The politics of resistance* (pp. 1–23) Rotterdam, Netherlands: Sense Publishers.

Edmonds, E. V. (2008). Child labour. In T. P Schultz & J. Stauss (Eds.), *Handbook of development economics* (Vol. 4, pp. 3607–3709). Amsterdam: Elsevier, North-Holland.

Harding, S. (1991). *Whose science? Whose knowledge? Thinking from women's lives*. New York, NY: Cornell University Press.

International Labour Organization. (2002). *Decent work and the informal economy*. Geneva: International Labour Office. Retrieved from https://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/relm/ilc/ilc90/pdf/rep-vi.pdf

Lee, E. (2003, November). How can I teach students who come from a culture different from my own and of which I have little knowledge? *Questions to Enid Lee-Mining the Gold*. Retrieved from https://www.enidlee.com/s/multicultural-anti-racist.pdf

Lee, E. (2004, February). What do you mean when you say "teaching beyond the standards?" (Part 2). *Questions to Enid Lee; Mining the Gold, February, 2004*. Retrieved from https://www.ednet.ns.ca/docs/realitycheckfinalreportforweb.pdf

Melkas, H., & Anker, R. (1997). Occupational segregation by sex in Nordic countries: An empirical investigation. *International Labour Review, 136*(3), 136–341.

Morrison, C., & Bourguignon, F. (1992). Inequality among world citizens: 1820–1992. *The American Economic Review, 92*(4), 727–744.

Oduro, G. Y. (2012). 'Children of the street': Sexual Citizenship and the unprotected lives of Ghanaian Street Youth. *Comparative Education*, *48*(1), 41–56.

Omi, M., & Winant, H. (1994). *Racial formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s* (2nd Ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.

Palley, T. I. (2002). Endogenous money: What it is and why it matters. *Metroeconomica, 53*(2), 152–180.

Patel, R. (2007). *Hindu women's property rights in rural India: Law, labour and culture in action*. Hampshire, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Patrinos, H. A., & Psacharopoulos, G. (1995). Educational performance and child labor in Paraguay. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *15*(1), 47–60.

Rena, L. (2004). Towards anthropology of disciplinarity. *Critical Matrix*, *15*, 60.

Siddiqi, F., & Patrinos, A. H. (1995). *Child labor: Issues, causes, and interventions*. Human Capital Development and Operation Policy HCO Working Papers. World Bank.

Singh, R., & Schuh, E. (1986). *The economic contribution of farm children and the survival, protection and integrated development in the 1990's*. Santa Fe de Bogota: Human Development Report, 1994, UNDP, Delhi, India: Oxford University Press.

Syed, K. A., Mirza, A., Sultana, R., & Rana. I. (1991). Child labor: Socioeconomic consequences. *Pakistan and Gulf Economist, 10*, 36–39.

United Nations Children's Fund, UNICEF. (2000). *The state of the world's children.* New York, NY: UNICEF. Retrieved from https://www.unicef.org/sowc/archive/ENGLISH/The%20State%20of%20the%20World%27s%20Children%202000.pdf

ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

EDITORS

Joanna Newton holds a B.A. (Hons.) in Political Science and History from York University, a B.Ed. from OISE/UT, and a M.Ed. in Leadership, Higher and Adult Education, OISE/UT. As an educator and equity consultant, Joanna is committed to dismantling the barriers that inhibit the full development of her students' and peers' capabilities. This requires constant attention to issues of equity and diversity, professional development in anti-oppression and anti-racism education, and the creation of a supportive and dynamic learning community for both staff and students.

Arezou Soltani is a Ph.D. student in the Social Justice Education Department at OISE/UT. She is interested in understanding how racialized peoples have internalized their oppression in order to build a critical praxis of insurgent political imaginings.

FOREWORD

George J. Sefa Dei is a renowned educator, researcher, writer, and community worker. He is a Professor of Social Justice Education and Director of the Centre for Integrative Anti-Racism Studies at OISE/UT. In June of 2007, he was installed as a traditional Chief in Ghana, the Gyaasehene of the town of Asokore, Ghana. His stool name is Nana Adusei Sefa Tweneboah.

AUTHORS

Sabrine Jeanine Azraq is the daughter of two uprooted Palestinians. Her only goal is to re-root them in a free Palestine.

Marco Bertagnolio is an educator with a B.A. (Hons.) in Sociology with a minor in Geography from Wilfrid Laurier University. He obtained his Bachelor of Professional Studies in Education through Niagara University and is a certified intermediate/senior educator through the Ontario College of Teachers. Most recently he has completed his M.Ed. specializing in Social Justice Education from OISE/UT. His areas of academic interest include disability studies, equity in education, social justice theories and initiatives. He brings socially progressive ideologies to his work with youth to breach different ways of thinking, learning, and living in the world.

María Roxana Escobar Ñañez is a feminist Peruvian scholar that holds a B.A. in Philosophy, an M.A. in Political Science, and a M.Ed. in Social Justice Education. Currently, she is a Ph.D. student in the Geography Department at the UT. Her

research touches on interculturalism, decolonialism, Black feminist thought, Black identity politics in the Global South, and political ecological frameworks. She is also involved in feminist grassroots organizations in Peru and Canada.

Celine Gibbons-Taylor is a M.A. candidate in the Gender Studies Department at Queen's University. Her work, grounded in anti-colonial and Black feminist theory, is interdisciplinary and looks at the formulation, negotiation, and nuances of gender, sexuality, and identity amongst Afro-Caribbeans through popular cultural mediums in the Black diaspora. Her current research maps the resistance of Afro-Caribbeans through an interrogation of the (im)possibilities of Caribana. This is taken alongside its geopolitical specificities as a diasporic cultural product to conceptualize what meanings can emerge for the Afro-Caribbean community.

Lauren Katie Howard has always envisioned becoming an educator, however, while enrolled at Lakehead University, it became more difficult to see how important issues of social justice such as anti-racism, anti-colonialism, whiteness, neoliberalism, and feminism could be challenged and deconstructed within strict, limited, and controlled classrooms. She began looking for different avenues and pathways to learn more about education, specifically social justice education and worked as a research assistant for the global research project 'Democracy, Political Literacy, and Transformative Education' for a number of years before attending OISE/UT and obtaining her M.A. in Social Justice Education.

Sandra Hudson is a Black liberation scholar and grassroots activist. She holds a B.A. (Hons.) in Sociology and Political Science, and is completing an M.A. in Social Justice Education at the OISE/UT. Hudson is the founder of Black Lives Matter – Toronto and co-founder of the Black Liberation Collective – Canada. She was named the 30th most influential person in Toronto in 2016 by Toronto Life Magazine, one of 100 Black women to watch by Canada International Black Women, and her organizations have won several awards for their work. Sandra is resolutely committed to building a new future where all Black people can thrive.

Christine McFarlane is a published writer featured in Growing Up Girl-Voices from Marginalized Spaces, Yellow Medicine Review, Native Literatures: Generations, poetry published in xxx ndn, by the Aboriginal Writer's Collective of Manitoba, Native Literatures: Generations, the Survivor Chronicles and Red Claw Press. She writes for First Nations news outlets, Anishinabek News, First Nations House magazine, and she has written for New Tribe Magazine and Windspeaker. She loves to write about First Nations focused issues. She holds a B.A. (Hons.) in Aboriginal Studies and a M.Ed. in Social Justice Education from OISE/UT.

Percy Konadu Yiadom is originally from Ghana in West Africa. He is a social worker with more than 15 years of working experience. Percy currently works for

the Children's Aid Society of the Region of Peel as a child protection officer. He has a B.A. (Hons.) from the University of Ghana and a MSW from the University of Windsor. He is currently in his second year of doctoral studies in the Social Justice Education Department at OISE/UT. His areas of interest include child welfare, social justice, anti-colonial, and Indigenous studies.