

Critical Studies of Education 9

George J. Sefa Dei · Shukri Hilowle
Editors

Cartographies of Race and Social Difference

 Springer

Critical Studies of Education

Volume 9

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We live in an era where forms of education designed to win the consent of students, teachers, and the public to the inevitability of a neo-liberal, market-driven process of globalization are being developed around the world. In these hegemonic modes of pedagogy questions about issues of race, class, gender, sexuality, colonialism, religion, and other social dynamics are simply not asked. Indeed, questions about the social spaces where pedagogy takes place—in schools, media, corporate think tanks, etc.—are not raised. When these concerns are connected with queries such as the following, we begin to move into a serious study of pedagogy: What knowledge is of the most worth? Whose knowledge should be taught? What role does power play in the educational process? How are new media re-shaping as well as perpetuating what happens in education? How is knowledge produced in a corporatized politics of knowledge? What socio-political role do schools play in the twenty-first century? What is an educated person? What is intelligence? How important are socio-cultural contextual factors in shaping what goes on in education? Can schools be more than a tool of the new American (and its Western allies') twenty-first century empire? How do we educate well-informed, creative teachers? What roles should schools play in a democratic society? What roles should media play in a democratic society? Is education in a democratic society different than in a totalitarian society? What is a democratic society? How is globalization affecting education? How does our view of mind shape the way we think of education? How does affect and emotion shape the educational process? What are the forces that shape educational purpose in different societies? These, of course, are just a few examples of the questions that need to be asked in relation to our exploration of educational purpose. This series of books can help establish a renewed interest in such questions and their centrality in the larger study of education and the preparation of teachers and other educational professionals.

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Critical Studies of Education

ISBN 978-3-319-97075-2

ISBN 978-3-319-97076-9 (eBook)

<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-97076-9>

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018959851

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This Springer imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

We dedicate this book to all who are in the struggle for anti-colonial justice in the school system and for all those who are fighting to bring changes into the classroom and beyond.

Acknowledgements

George Dei wants to thank all his students who continue to be his best teachers. We thank the reviewers of the manuscript for their useful comments. We are also grateful to Sense/Brill for going ahead with this project.

We would also like to thank everyone who supported and contributed to this project. We owe everyone involved immense gratitude for all their support.

In solidarity,
George J. Sefa Dei and Shukri Hilowle

Introduction

There have been many books on race and so it is understandable to ask why another one? If the answer was so simple, we would have found a solution to the race problem that W. E. B. Du Bois (2003) aptly described as the problem of the twenty-first century. The race problem, unfortunately, seems to have no time restrictions or limits. It is as old as human history, and scholars, students and community workers are charged with the responsibility to continue to understand our societies and the changing meanings, significance and applications of race and difference through time. And, it is very opportune to speak of race now more so when we have US presidential leadership in the world that has used race as a punching bag to spill out alt-right conservatism, racial hatred and bigotry. But let us be under no illusion. The problem is global. It is not an American leadership problem. All over the world, the globalization of race and difference has meant that marginalized and minoritized groups have become likely scapegoats of everything wrong with the society. When voices of legitimate concerns are raised to draw attention to the dehumanization of lives and the sheer brutality of institutional force to dispense with bodies, we hear counter claims of individual responsibility, denial of White privilege and purposeful slogans of ‘All Lives Matter’ simply to counter legitimate calls ‘Black Lives Matter’. Of course, all lives matter, and it is without saying. We must ask why segments of our community find it necessary to remind us that their lives matter. The disposability of Black and Indigenous bodies cannot be dismissed lightly as illegitimate concerns, especially, in a society with a track record of questioning African, Black and Indigenous humanity and making us degenerate.

What this book sets out to do is to follow the intellectual tradition in the search for answers and solutions to raise new and emerging questions from ongoing cartographies of race and difference. In an era of right-wing nationalist rhetoric, White fear and anger, Black and Indigenous, racialized peoples’ pain, suffering and anger and the confluences of global racism, how do we begin to speak of race and difference to capture nuances and complexities of human social relations? How do we begin to understand the ways race complicates questions of Indigeneity to offer meanings for anti-racist and anticolonial practice? How do we understand the ongoing processes of empire-building informed by both the national imaginaries and the

conquest of ideas about citizenship, belonging and 'stranger in a homeland'? How is race and difference [re]framing cultures, identities, histories, social borders as well as the cartographies of space, community and nation? What role does the school system and education play in helping to [re]imagine new futurities? We believe these are some of the new questions to place on the table if a new book is to add to existing scholarship.

Colonialism is deeply implicated in constructions of Africa, Europe, Americas, Blackness, Whiteness and Nativism. Colonialism is implicated in the racialization of identities, whether as Black, White, Asian, Muslim, Indigenous, etc. The connection between race and biology and the discourses of biological determinism have long been discredited. We can only go far to concede that the naturalization of our categories has been debunked by science. So why is race still relevant to write about? Race continues to have significance. In fact, there are those who still cling on to their idea of the biological inferiority of Black and other racialized peoples. So in a sense, as a matter of fact, notwithstanding the scientific evidence, race and biology continue to be intertwined. Claiming race does not place human bodies/groups into a primordial fixture or context is intellectually sound, but politics is another matter. As editors of this collection, we insist that the 'diversity, complexity, richness, hybridity and contingencies' of our identities and social-cultural lives do not in fact really contradict a political claim of the urgency of race as political construct nor 'metaphysics of difference' (see Zeleza 2006; p. 15). We invest our communities with history, intellectual agency and resistant politics. The entire project of European colonialism, imperialism and empire-building has not stand outside of White racism. In order to excise ourselves from racist, colonial and imperial project, we must have frank conversations on race and social difference. Race has always been an unspoken element and impediment. It has been a conceptual lens to infantilize the racialized 'Other'. Through a silencing and negation of race, radical scholarship is easily nullified by both the dominant and racialized bodies who uncritically discredit race.

As noted already, racism continues to be enduring on global society. Continuing manifestations of systemic racism, including anti-different racisms, anti-Black racism, racial profiling, anti-Indigeneity and racism against Indigenous peoples and the current spikes in acts of Islamophobia, xenophobia, as well as individual and institutional violence against peoples of Islamic/Muslim faith and of Arab heritage all over the world, should give us pause of deep concern. We are not in a post-racial world, and nothing is further from the truth. It is as if there is new ammunition today to insist on race as consequential. There are no 'alternative facts' on this one! If anything at all, we are in a very intensified racial space where it means much more than ever before how we claim identities for politics. While it is true not everything is simply about race, surely we can subject much of our world today to critical race analysis. Everything has a lot to do with race and 'race speak'. So when we claim we do not see race, we do so to our peril. However, we can bring a critical race lens that highlights how race intersects with class, gender, sexuality, language and religion. It is one thing to speak of these intersections; and it is another to claim because race is scientifically meaningless that we must discard the term. Similarly, the power

of showing how race is demarcated by difference only strengthens the reality of race in contemporary society. We have not, cannot and must not move beyond race if all what this means is a ploy a denial of race.

‘Moving beyond’ race is to acknowledge its saliency and the intersections, and acting to address the historic and systemic injustices perpetuated along the trajectories of race. If race persists today, it is because we have not done much to address the problem of racism, and the term will continue to be relevant and significant precisely because of our social and political inaction. A mere rhetorical silence and silencing of race does not cut it for those who are continually at the receiving end of race and racism and oppression. In fact, everything that has been said so far equally applies to other sites of difference: gender, class, disability, sexuality, language, religion, etc. So we must ask why the discomfort and resistance to speaking race! It is easy and seductive when one is privileged by race, class, gender, sexuality, etc. to deny what this site of difference has actually done for us. After all, claiming that innocence and invisibility are old-fashioned god’s tricks; in a society so much individualized that assumes we go as far as we can through hard work and individual merit, it is tough to acknowledge that something beyond self-efforts either holds us back or facilitates our social advancement. This is the conceit of Western liberalism which shows its contradictory face when it is pitted along the concept of globalization in scripting our lives.

Affirming the political and intellectual potency of race and its intersections with difference allows us to challenge the epistemic power of Whiteness, including its pre-eminence. It also allows us to call upon dominant bodies to acknowledge and interrogate their Euro-ancestry privilege. The dominant’s discomfort with race can be an attempt to hide their power and privilege. This is, in fact, one more reason to remind us of the continuing significance of the race concept. We are also able to interrogate the colonialist, Eurocentric and White supremacist traditions of education. Is it impossible for us to distinguish between colonial education and Eurocentric education? No, these are powerfully tied, and in both cases, as the situation with conventional schooling and education, curriculum simply works to normalize White privilege. Very long ago, we were instructed on how the curriculum was an ideological text through which certain knowledge secured the power to dominate other ideas (see Apple 1993; Apple and Weiss 1983). The curriculum is about a way of ordering school as well as society. The curriculum transmits knowledge to maintain social order. While usually silent on power relations, the curriculum nonetheless transmits knowledge about social relations, and such relations shape everyday practices of schooling and society

The cartographies of race are equally about social relations except it helps us to ask questions about power and who, what, when and why knowledge about social groups constructed.

Situating race in the analysis is about power and helps us to understand the ‘politics of knowledge’. This is indeed a time to write about race, a time when the sole global superpower is redefining its obligations to a world, when its leader is filled with ultra-right-wing racist ideology to pursue an isolationist agenda. President Trump is bent on building walls, putting executive orders in place to keep people out

of USA, a leader who quickly maligns his elected judges and take joy in deriding and castigating whole nations as prone to criminals ostensibly to appeal to and keep his core supporters happy. This is not nationalist populism. It is racist populism appealing to a White majority that put the President in power. We must call it for what it is. It is not anticolonial nationalism. It is to protect White privilege and supremacy in the world cloaked in national security rhetoric.

This book critically examines how race is constructed globally to intersect gender, class, sexuality, language ability and religion. The book answers some very important questions: how does anti-Black racism manifest itself within various contexts? Chapters in the book use the 'Black and White paradigm' as a lens for critical race analysis examining how, for example, the saliency of race and Blackness shape the 'post-colony', as well as the various 'post' colonial nations. The paradigm centres Whiteness as the lens of defining what is different. A closer proximity to Whiteness is rewarded, while the farther away to such Whiteness is punished (Dei 2017; Dei and Vasquez 2017; da Silva 2007; Smith 2010). The negative portrayal of difference is anchored in the sanctity of Whiteness. It is through such analysis that we can understand how historically colour has been a permanent marker of differentiation even though it has not been the only one.

This collection seeks to challenge the very notions of colonial differencing through a critical analysis of the transnational anti-Blackness, anti-Indigeneity, anti-Indianness and anti-difference in general. Some key questions the book examines include how do colour-blind racist ideologies reinforce White hegemonic practices? How does anti-Blackness play a role in ethnic conflict globally particularly in post-colonial nations? It is through these conversations and dialogue in the classroom that the book was created, given the current political shift in American and the rise of anti-Blackness, anti-Indigeneity, Islamophobia and xenophobia. The book critically examines White supremacy, racialization of gender, 'post-racial' false narratives and other contemporary issues surrounding race.

Dei (1966) discusses the saliency of race and how that is constantly denied or subsumed under other social divisions. While this book does not aim to undermine other barriers and social divisions including gender, sexuality, disability and other forms of marginalization, the goal is to use race as an entry point to examine the experience of Black, Indigenous and racialized peoples globally. The construction of race was centred on this belief that the Black body as a racialized Other was sub-human and biologically inferior to the White race. While this definition has been refuted, social dimensions of race continue to permeate society. The institutional barrier Black, Indigenous and racialized people face in education, and particularly in the judicial system, indicates that race is still a very important determinant of social positionality. So why has there been this denial to discuss race in society and even academia, where there has been this shift to subsume race under class and other social divisions. The book allows us to use race as an entry point to examine a wide range of issues including ethnic tensions in Afghanistan and anti-Black racism in South America, Japan and the Middle East.

Critical education must address racism alongside various other markers of difference. However, this can only be achieved when the saliency of race is acknowledged

and the experiences of racialized and Indigenous students are acknowledged. Contemporary race tensions stem from this need to deny racism in order to uphold and protect White hegemonic practices. In the Euro-Canadian/American context, we see how the national identity of Canada and the USA, for example, positions such nations as 'progressive' particularly in relation to America's continual oppression of Indigenous peoples and African Americans. This false narrative not only subsumes race and denies the ongoing anti-Blackness within many institutions. It also challenges any work that anti-racist groups do to improve the lives of all peoples. It is through the denial of racism that the continual oppression and marginalization of Black, Indigenous and other racialized peoples continue to operate.

The book makes the sociological connection between race and ethnicity. It is through a critical examination of the current political climate that we see how race continues to be a dominant social marker. Banton (1977) examines how classification continues to play role in society, while classification is being based on ethnicity. However, it is important to note that, as many scholars like bell hooks (1990) and Stuart Hall (1997), race is a signifier, and while ethnicity can be used to classify humans, race is a social construction that has material consequences for those who gain membership. Throughout human history, we have witnessed how the consolidation of Whiteness has occurred through the acceptance of Italians, Jewish, Irish and various other Eastern European nationalities into the broader category of the 'White'. Whiteness is just as much as a social construction as Blackness; the value and elevation of Whiteness was seen as desirable; hence, the acceptance of the White identity despite the cultural and linguistic difference amongst these various European ethnicities has reigned supreme.

It is important to ask who benefits from the denial of racism? Have we reached a post-racial destination, and can we move towards colour blindness. Contemporary discussions about race are centred on this idea of moving away from discussing race. However, statistics shows that Black, Indigenous and racialized students confront numerous schooling and educational challenges, racial profiling, police brutality and youth criminalization, disproportionate number of children in care and unemployment. We need academic discourses to support political action to disrupt the utopia view of society that has underserved marginalized populations

Situating the Chapters

The chapters in this book critically examine the role of race and ethnicity and the experiences of racialized bodies within and outside of formal education. Each chapter examines the saliency and centrality of race and the role of race globally. The chapters also examine the role of White supremacy and the proximity of Whiteness through the connection of Euro centrality and the ways it is reinforced through education. Contributors have developed their chapters through critical investigations of race and difference and the dialogues on race and ethnicity and how the respective experiences and social locations shape race knowledge production. These chapters

examine how race plays a role in shaping current political climates. The rise of alt-right dogma and the continued oppression of Black and Indigenous bodies point out the need to address how White supremacy functions in society. The book takes up four interrelated themes in the cartographies of race and difference anchoring power, privilege and White supremacy. The focus on Whiteness is not to centre Whiteness in anti-racist practice but an open realization that race speaks to dominance and power, and in a White-dominated world, we must acknowledge this fact to develop anti-racist resistance.

In Part I, the focus on White Supremacy is placed in the historical and contemporaneous context of problematic discourse of ‘post-racial’ and the genesis of racial prejudice. Contributors in the section highlight some basic questions: how do we begin to conceptualize White supremacy in everyday action/practice? In contemporary society, how is White supremacist logics playing itself out? And how can we broach history to understand White supremacist thought and racist action that is beyond simply a question of burning across? The chapters in this section offer useful pointers to help us address some of these questions. In the chapter ‘The Trump Effect: Debunking the False Narrative of “Post-Racial” America’, Shukri Hilowle examines both the history and contemporary discussions of racism in America and the historical roots of populism and the alternative right. It is noted that the rise of President Donald Trump was possible through his divisive anti-immigration, and Islamophobic campaign, which was supported by many Americans who found his platform appealing. Above all this chapter challenges the myth of the post-racial America, a false promise that was sold to Americans through the election of Barack Obama in 2008. This chapter centres a discussion of race and its role in contemporary American politics and the role of White supremacy. Elisha Lim’s excellent rendition on *Renounce or Perish* examines the theological history of racial prejudice which is a much needed addition to this collection. In her work, Lim uses a critical race analysis to examine the theological history of racial prejudice dating back to the Middle Ages. Lim examines how religious discourse has been used throughout history to reinforce racial prejudice. This chapter explores the history of Eurocentric ideas and the role of religious discourse rationalization of racial discrimination through focusing on three key principles: moral binaries, human hierarchies and phobic segregation.

Part II situates White supremacy in global contexts drawing on the powerful ‘Black-White paradigm’. The distinction of the ‘Black-White’ paradigm from a ‘Black-White binary’ informs a critical reading of how Whiteness and White supremacy emanate globally (see also Dei 2017). Contemporary framing of race, Whiteness and Blackness cannot dismiss the fact of a salience of skin colour as a powerful marker for social differentiation. A proximity to Whiteness and White identity is rewarded across different geographies and spaces (see also Silva 2007), while Blackness notwithstanding a positive affirmation of resistance and agency can simultaneously be read as deviant, criminal and transgressive. Clearly, to understand this feature of human society and to address racial tensions, we must use a discursive prism that shifts from binaries and dichotomous thinking to one of

connections and relations. And, yet no matter how hard we may try, Whiteness continues to be a yardstick for measuring anything else.

Globalization has come with an increased travelling of Whiteness to different geographies. The different geographies of Whiteness and Blackness have been consequential for our understanding of racism and oppression. The chapters in these sections are asking us to think through some deep question markers and delimits of Whiteness and White supremacy. Elisabeth Dennis' chapter 'Exploring the Model Minority: Deconstructing Whiteness Through the Asian Canadian Example' critically examines the 'model minority' status of Asian Canadians and the dominance of Eurocentric notions of race. This chapter examines the 'Black-White' paradigm that affords certain communities for their proximity to White privilege and Eurocentric supremacy. Dennis argues that Asian Canadians have been afforded privilege and upward mobility in a society that places their racial group as the model minority group. She further explores the implications of these ideas and how Asian Canadians are both constructed as examples but at the same time are excluded from mainstream White culture. Dennis main contention is that the construction of Asian Canadians as model citizens serves to further promote anti-Blackness and racist ideas surrounding upward mobility and the myth of meritocracy. It serves to blame certain communities for their failures instead of addressing systemic issues that have contributed to ongoing violence and racism in Canada.

The piece on *Born to Work: An In-Depth Inquiry on the Commodification of Indian Labour and Current Discourses of Migrant Labour Under the Kafala System* by Shirleen Datt explores forced labour and human trafficking rampant in the kafala system. The kafala system is used by several countries located in the Gulf including Qatar, Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates. Using an anti-racist and anticolonial framework, Datt explores the historical roots of the saliency of brown skin and the colonial history of using brown bodies for labour. She draws parallels between the British's Indian indentureship system and the contemporary issues surrounding the kafala system. She draws the reader to critically examine the ongoing issue of human trafficking through an anti-racist approach; the saliency of the brown skin and the disproportionate rates of brown bodies used for labour in the Gulf reinforce the racialization of brown bodies. The discussion is significant in pointing to the mechanics of the global migrant economy and the role it plays in the demand for low-paid labour seen in countries in the Gulf. Claude Deschamps' essay on *The Unbearable Lightness of Being Yellow: Whiteness and Its Legacy on Japan's Self-Image and Attitudes Toward the West* gives a historical account of Japanese people's desire for Whiteness. He uses a personal recount of his time spend in Japan as a personal encounter with Japanese culture. Deschamps argues that the desire for Whiteness stems from the history of racialization of Japanese people during the Meiji Era (1865–1912). He argues that global racial hierarchy created by the West has contributed to this fascination for Whiteness. The historical construction of race has played a significant role in contemporary desires for proximity to Whiteness. Deschamps uses a decolonial theoretical framework to disrupt these notions the desire for Whiteness in Japanese culture.

In her chapter on *Exporting Racism: Western Interventions and the Making of the Pashtun Cultural 'Others'*, Lailooma Wardak critically examines the history of ethnic tensions and conflict in Afghanistan through examining the history of colonial British rule and the long-lasting legacy of colonialism. Wardak argues that Western imperialism constructed Pashtuns as premodern and violent, and this is connected to contemporary discourses that continue to contribute to ethnic tensions in this region. The author notes that post-9/11 contemporary discourses contribute to the 'othering' of Pashtun identity. In examining the colonial history and racialized discourses, it is opined that the ongoing conflict in Afghanistan stems from the colonial history and Western intervention and the exclusion and 'othering' of Pashtun peoples. In her chapter on *Disempowered, Disenfranchised and Disengaged: Balochistan in Focus*, Mashail Imran examines the colonial and colonized dynamic relationship between the Pakistani state and Balochistan. The region of Balochistan and its people have been politically and socially excluded; this divide and rule policy has been introduced and adopted during British colonization of this region. The overall exploitation and extraction of resources from this region have contributed to the overall 'underdevelopment' of this region. This chapter is helpful in tracing colonial legacies of oppression and how it is linked to the internalization of these systems of domination. Imran argues that the internalization of these colonial attitudes has contributed to the 'othering' of the Baloch people. The militarization of this region also stems from the need to securitize and employ dominant narratives that construct the peoples of this region as violent and 'radical' allowing for further exclusion and oppression. The anti-Baloch sentiment aided by mainstream media has contributed to the ideological differences in this region and has contributed to widespread violence and ethnically motivated killing of Baloch people. Using ideas from Michel Foucault and Frantz Fanon, Imran argues that the depiction of the Baloch people as violent and radical ignores the social, political and ethnic marginalization and oppressions these people face in the region but instead follows colonial and dominant discourses of radicalization.

Part IV helps us to re-image race and to begin to subvert Eurocentric spaces and Whiteness as a system of dominance. We argue that in order to transform our present social conditions, we need new spaces. Such space must come with the re-imagining of race and a resistance to Eurocentric space. What are the possibilities of this happening? What will such re-imagining take? How do we begin to permanently dislodge Whiteness? What lessons of futurity can we draw upon? Andrea Vásquez Jiménez's chapter, *The Term and Discourse of "Hispanic" Is Racist: Anti-Black and Anti-Indigenous Resistance in Toronto, Ontario, Canada*, addresses how the discourse and term 'Hispanic', a term that is used by peoples of Latin America/Abya Yala, is rooted in anti-Indigeneity and anti-Blackness. Jiménez encourages the resistance of dominant hegemonic discourses that rooted in colonial histories and the erasure of these histories. The emergence of this movement to reject the term 'Hispanic' stems from Ontario provincial legislation of the 'Hispanic Heritage Month'. The author's paper recounts this process of resistance and the need to challenge Eurocentric narratives of peoples across Turtle Island. Through the support of the Toronto District School Board (TDSB), community organizations and commu-

nity members, the focus of this work draws on a critical examination of the systemic transformation in school boards. It also raises critical questions regarding the tokenistic nature of Hxstory/Heritage 'months' and the ways we can transform and educate rather than reinforce colonial legacies.

In her essay on *Racialization of Gender, Work and the Visible Minority Women at Workplace: With a Particular Focus on African Black Women in Canada*, Thoko Ngwenya examines the history and ongoing racialization of migrant workers and immigrants and the ongoing discrimination and racialization of Black women in the workforce. Canada's long history of racialization of work includes the exclusion of Chinese men during the development of the Canadian Pacific Railway, along with marginalization and exploitation of migrant workers from former colonial countries in Latin America, Asia and Africa. Ngwenya examines the racism that Black women undergo in the workplace; through examining the workforce, this chapter critically examines the gendered, racialization and classism found in the workplace and problematizes the false notion of meritocracy in the workplace.

Marycarmen Lara-Villanueva's chapter 'Reflections on Race, Whiteness and Multiculturalism' extends the discussion by reflecting on the discourse of multiculturalism and how it erases discussions surrounding racial privilege. Lara-Villanueva argues that the school system benefits White students far more than other racialized groups; this chapter examines the ways White supremacy and hegemony operate in school system in a subtle way. Multiculturalism obscures and conceals this process. Through using a critical race theory lens, this chapter focuses on Whiteness in school system and the ways educators are implicated in this process. The resistance to the dialogue of race and saliency of race only further reinforces the domination of White supremacy in schools. Cultural deficit thinking also contributed to the expansion of this racialization of students of colour and further normalizes Whiteness. In the final essay of this collection, John Castillo's *Re-imagining Africanized Bodies in Eurocentric Spaces* uses an anti-racist approach to examine race as a social construct. The author examines the intersections of re-imagining Africanized bodies in Eurocentric spaces. Specifically, Castillo re-imagines the position of Africanized bodies through reconstructing the representations of Africanized bodies in popular media. He refers to this as the Image Matrix, and in doing this, the author considers his own dual African-Caribbean identity and the trauma of colonial project that subjugates and dehumanizes the Black body. Through colonization, the boundaries of 'civilized' and 'uncivilized' along with 'logical' and 'illogical' were maintained through Eurocentric spaces. By situating his own experiences as an educator in secondary education and his identity as a Black male in the discussion, Castillo not only challenges the reading of identity but also how resistance and politics are integral to claims of identity.

In conclusion, we reiterate that race is real. The concept and idea of race have been permanent features in our human psyche, social memory and consciousness. By extension, racism has been deeply ingrained in our thought processes and action practice through a particular sociohistorical conditioning that has led to the internalization of oppression as a functioning component of everyday existence. Racial [and racist] ideologies have directly shaped the construction of our social categories,

as well as the ways institutions function and perform to serve human and social capital needs. The cartographies of race and difference reveal significant historical, ideological, psychological and social contexts within which race is taken up. Similarly, there are structural, systemic dimensions of racism that are best understood in the context of the cartographies of race and difference. There are existing power structures in society through which race functions to maintain its full effects when systemically paired with difference. Through cartographies of race and difference, we are able to identify the complex institutionalized power structures and social forces within which White privilege and White power rest, serving to empower dominant groups while at the same time disempowering marginalized and subordinate groups. It is in such everyday acts of resistance and refusal that the racially oppressed can reclaim and insist on our social, intellectual and political agency and redeem our humanity.

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