Anti-Oppression Facilitation Workbook

Includes:
Final Research Report

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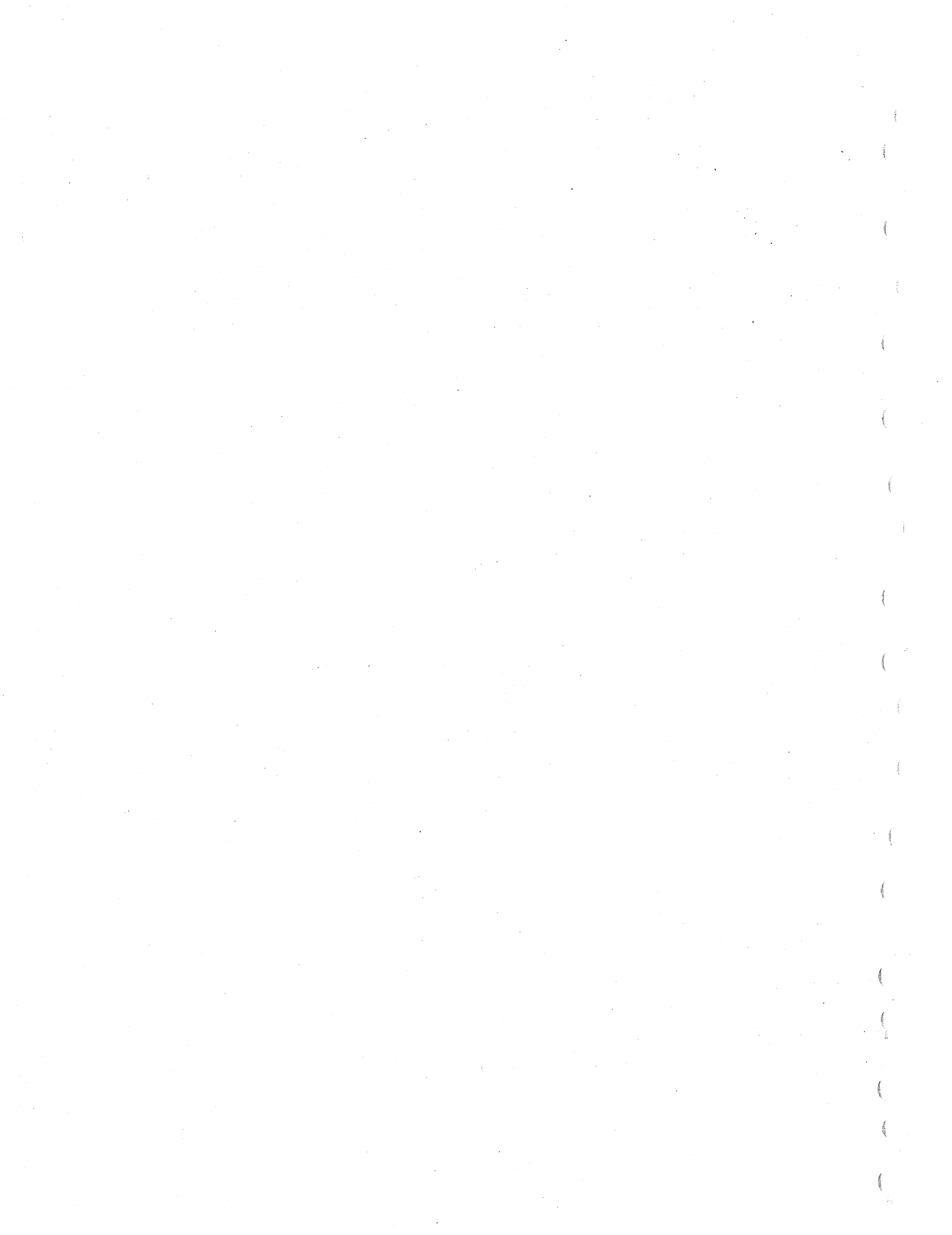
Abstract: This project is the result of a two-day workshop for people engaged in various forms of social activism. The workshop was designed with the purpose to familiarize participants with the principles of anti-oppression education, to train them to facilitate anti-oppression workshops, and to discuss and brainstorm strategies for incorporating anti-racism into everyday life and activism. This workbook is a resource for participating organizations with materials and sources for the construction of an anti-oppression workshop and the further pursuit of an understanding of anti-racist and anti-oppression theory.

Keywords: racism, oppression, workshop, activism, education, workbook, facilitation, theory



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Facilitation and Popular Education!

This section explains a little bit about popular education and its roots, as well as the way it shapes the role of the facilitator. It should lay out what the characteristics of popular education are, what the role of the facilitator is and some questions facilitators should ask themselves before going into a workshop.

Popular Education and Facilitation

Some Cultural Context

Most anti-oppression workshops given in North America follow the methodology used by the increasingly fashionable pedagogy of Popular Education, most famously laid out by Paulo Friere in his work, "Pedagogy of the Oppressed". Popular education was first thought up and used as a means by which to nurture political consciousness among the poor, disenfranchised and illiterate majority of the Peripheral World. This method of facilitation was used primarily in South and Central America, but was quickly adopted as a preferred facilitation tactic by educators in the Dominant World.

Popular education is an incredibly affective way to teach and to learn. The de-centralised and co-operative nature of the method makes it popular among people who are working for systemic change and looking to dialogue in a way that is non-hierarchical. Due to the fact that popular education was originally used in the communities of some of the world's most materially oppressed people, facilitators must be aware of a need for differences in approach when they use it in the classrooms and boardrooms of some of the world's most privileged.

There is no hard and fast rule for dealing with issues of conflict when they arise in anti-oppression workshops and it is likely true that it is impossible to create a completely safe space for any period of time in our world. Because of this, as educators and facilitators we must always be aware of the power dynamics that will invariably exist in our workshops. In order to create an open space for productive dialogue, and ensure that conflicts have a higher chance of being brought into the open and discussed during a workshop, we must keep ourselves and our participants alive to the cultural baggage we bring with us when we enter a workshop.

- ✓ What is the power dynamic between the person acting as facilitator and the group that make up the participants?
- ✓ What are the internal power dynamics between participants?
- ✓ Is everybody in the room aware that while they may belong to oppressed groups, they also have to power to oppress – others in the world as well as others in the room?
- ✓ How is oppression being discussed? Is there a "we" group being constituted? Who constitutes a "they"? Why?
- ✓ Whose narratives/stories are being privileged? Why?

By keeping an open line of communication about our privileges as well as our oppressions, we can challenge and change more about our behaviour in a workshop than we can if we take a less critical and less potentially conflictual approach – affirming everyone but challenging no one. Being aware of the issues listed above is always easier when we act as somebody else's watch-dog…but if as people working for change we cannot hold ourselves accountable for our own unasked-for privileges, revolutionary thought will be nothing more than the replacement of one ethno- and ego-centric ideology with another.

Researched from: "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" by Paulo Freire

Characteristics of Popular Education

Popular education is a non-hierarchical collective group process which seeks to place the beginning of education in the experiences of the learner. Unlike the traditional "banking" method of education where the teacher acts as the vehicle of knowledge, dispensing it to the students, there are no experts or final authority in the context of popular education. Participants and facilitator exist in a space to challenge and educate one another. Here are some common attributes of popular education facilitation:

- ✓ Everyone teachers and everyone learns
- ✓ The starting point is the common experiences of the learner
- ✓ Emphasis on participation
- ✓ Collective effort
- ✓ Involves and ongoing process
- ✓ Exists to help create change in the world and in our behaviour and thought patterns
- ✓ Stresses the creation of new knowledges
- ✓ Reflection
- ✓ Mistakes are encouraged, supported and addressed collectively
- ✓ There are clear goals
- ✓ There is no system of penalization
- ✓ There is no right answer, but there are common goals
- ✓ All experiences are valued and drawn upon
- ✓ New facts and insights are connected to what people already know
- ✓ People share and discuss; participants have input into how teaching and learning happens

In making popular education specifically relevant to social change, facilitators might consider some of the elements facilitators have tried to incorporate or address in the past:

- ✓ Critical examinations of power relations (not just differences) underpin discussion
- ✓ Acts to help people organize
- ✓ Links local experiences to global histories and realities
- ✓ Differences in identity and experience are acknowledged
- ✓ Encourages creative expression
- ✓ Openly addressed conflict
- ✓ Encourages healthy communities
- ✓ Focuses on addressing issues in local, interpersonal, structural and global contexts
- ✓ NOT neutral

Adapted From: Canadian Labour Congress "Instructor Training Course Manual" and "Educating for a Change" by Arnold, Burke et al.

The Role of an Effective Facilitator:

The role of the facilitator in popular education is very different from that of a teacher. The facilitator must be prepared to share leadership, to learn from participants and to help develop thoughts or ideas they may not agree with. The facilitator occupies a role which is very tricky – they are not a participant, but they are not more responsible, knowledgeable or authoritative than their participants. Here are some elements of effective facilitation which may help you position yourself as a facilitator:

Elements of Effective Facilitation *
Interactive
Fun
Provide motivation
Challenge fears and stereotypes
Personal reflection
Interest in others
Non judgemental
Pass-it-off approach to discussion
Build trust
Having an open mind
Be open to discussion
Remain open minded and encourage new/different things
Non-intimidating
Keeping speaker to agreed time, friendly, open demeanour
Facilitation as method of organization, not control
Good appropriate body language

Elements of an Effective Space *
Comfortable space
Open communication
Rules of presentation
Create an open space
Relate to participant's lives
Time for reflection
Encourage going out on a limb-trying something new
Create something together (art, learning chart, anything)
Research
Guidelines

* Adapted from the KWIC facilitation workshop template

ROLES & RESPONSIBILITIES OF A FACILITATOR

Task	Maintenance
1. **Initiating** Getting the group started on the task. Offering new suggestions, topics for discussion, plans, etc.	1. **Encouraging** Being friendly, responding to and building on suggestions made by others, showing acceptance and appreciation of others and their ideas.
2. **Asking for Information** Drawing out the resources of the group and identifying information which needs to be found elsewhere.	2. **Gatekeeping** Giving a quiet person a chance to join the discussion. (e.g. 'John was about to say something.'
3. **Giving Information** or facts or sharing relevant experiences.	3. **Setting Standards** 'Shall we agree that everybody speaks once and nobody speaks more than twice?' or 'Let's try to stick to the point and avoid discussing outside situations.'
4. **Asking for Opinions** Good decision-making depends on knowing what all members think and feel about a suggestion.	4. **Diagnosing Difficulties** 'I think we cannot make this decision until we get more information.' or 'Maybe some of us are afraid of the consequences of this decision.'
5. **Giving Opinions** Some do this too much and some too little. Sometimes a quick way to get all opinions needs to be found (e.g. straw votes).	5 **Expressing Personal and Group Feelings** 'I'm getting bored. This is a small point and we have spent half an hour on it.'
6 **Explaining** Giving practical examples to. make a point clear.	**Harmonising** Helping those in conflict to understand one another's views.
7 **Clarifying** Asking a question or repeating a point in different words to make it clear to all.	7. **Evaluating** Creating an opportunity for people to express feelings and reactions towards the working of the group.
8 **Summarizing** Stating briefly the main points made so far.	8. **Relieving Tension** By bringing it out into the open, putting a problem in a wider context, or making a well-timed joke.
9 **Checking Concensus** Seeing if everyone, especially silent members agree on a point.	
10 **Suggesting a Process for Decision-making** (See Chapter 7 for details on such processes.)	

What Do You Need to Know to Plan a Workshop?

Before you begin planning the actual substance of a workshop, there are certain things you will need to know. Although common sense and experience will give you a feel for this, the following questions may help you make sure you cover all your bases.

- ✓ You should never run a workshop as an isolated discussion on oppression. Is the organization you are planning on running the workshop for committed to doing a follow-up, with you or internally?
- ✓ Will they be able to deal with any potential fall-out from the workshop?
- ✓ Will you be able to build a follow-up into your program?
- ✓ Who are your potential participants?
- ✓ What do they want to get from the workshop?
- ✓ What are the goals of your sponsoring organization(s)?
- ✓ How closely do they match each other?
- ✓ How closely do they match your goals?
- ✓ What is your theme or topic?
- ✓ How does your theme relate to the work the organization does?
- ✓ How will you know if your objectives have been met?
- ✓ How will you know if the participants' goals have been met?
- ✓ How will you know if the organization's goals have been met?
- ✓ How many participants will there be?
- ✓ How long will the agenda be?
- ✓ Where will it be held?
- ✓ What resources will the organization be able to make available to you?
- ✓ What resources will you bring with you?

From: A Popular Education Handbook by Rick Arnold and Bev Bruke

Workshop Planning!

Ok, so now we all know a little more about popular education, facilitation and the role of a facilitator...how do these things shape the way we develop workshops? In this section I have included a few sheets that I have always found handy. Although there are problematic aspects to some of them (which are worth examining in terms of what attitudes we hope to bring into a workshop, as facilitators) they lay out the spiral model of the workshop very clearly. I have also included a blank workshop template which can be useful in structuring workshops.

Naming the Moment: Phases and Questions

The process of political analysis for action, or **naming the moment** moves through four phases:

PHASE 1 – Identifying Ourselves And Our Interests

Who are 'we' and how do we see the world?

How has our view been shaped by our race, gender, class, age, sector, religion, etc.?

How do we define our constituency? Are we of, with, or for the people most affected by the issue(s) we work on?

What do we believe about the current structure of Canada? about what it could be? about how we get there?

PHASE 2 – Naming The Issues/Struggles

What current issue/struggle is most critical to the interests of our group?

What are the opposing interests (contradictions) around the issue?

What are we fighting for in working on this issue - in the short-term and in the long-term?

What's the history of struggle on this issue? What have been the critical moments of the past?

PHASE 3 – Assessing The Forces

Who's with us and against us on this issue (in economic, political, and ideological terms)?

What are their short-term and long-term interests?

What are their expressed and their real interests?

What are the strengths and weaknesses of both sides?

What about the uncommitted?

What actors do we need more information about?

What's the overall balance of forces?

Who's winning and who's losing and why?

PHASE 4 – Planning For Action

How have the forces shifted from the past to the present? What future shifts can we anticipate?

What 'free space' do we have to move in?

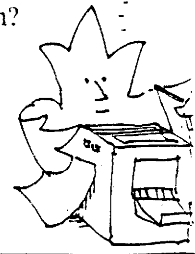
How do we build on our strengths and address our weaknesses?

Whom should we be forming alliances with? In the short-term and in the long-term?

What actions could we take?

What are the constraints and possibilities of each?

Who will do what and when?



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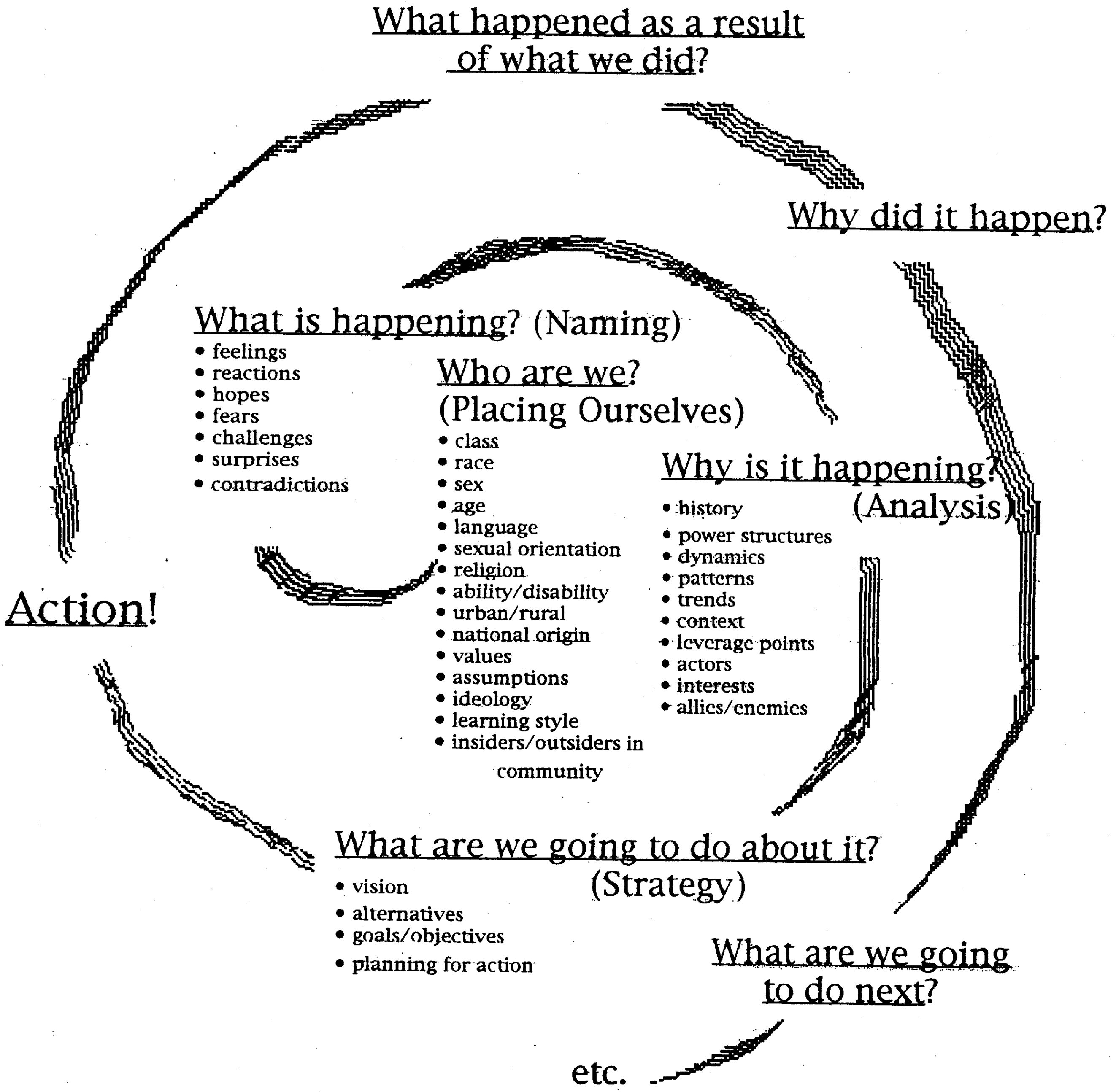
Taken from: Naming the Moment
Jesuit Centre for Justice

Action/Reflection Model (The Spiral Model)



Adapted from: The "Core Model" of learning, Centre for Christian Studies, Toronto, Ontario
CUSO Education Department, *Basics and Tools: A Collection of Popular Education Resources and Activities* (Ottawa: CUSO, 1988)
Arnold, Burke, James, Martin, Thomas, *Educating for a Change* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1991)

Session Plan

Spiral	Time:	Activity:	Facilitator(s):
Opening:		Check-in/Networking	
Part of the Spiral			
BREAK			
Part of the Spiral:			
BREAK			
Part of the Spiral:			
Closing:		Reflection:	

Journal Question for Previous Week:

Resources needed:

Taken from: Naming the Moment
Jesuit Centre for Justice

2.0 TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

2.1 ACCOUNTABILITY

Refers to the process whereby organizations and institutions as members of a diverse community are subject to the obligation to maintain a certain level of ethics and responsiveness and reporting regarding the quality, effectiveness and relevance of their service or practices and the method of delivery.

2.2 ACCULTURATION

The process whereby the culture, values and patterns of the majority are adopted by a person or an ethnic, social, religious, language or national group. This process can also involve absorbing aspects of minority cultures into the majority culture's pattern.

2.3 AGEISM

The cultural, institutional and individual set of practices and beliefs that assign different values to people according to their age, thereby resulting in differential treatment.

2.4 ANTI-CLASSISM AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC EQUITY

Akin to antiracism, the principles of anti-classism and socio-economic equity strive to ameliorate the effects of classism and discrimination based upon socioeconomic status. Specifically, anti-classism and socio-economic equity initiatives attempt to provide equality of outcome by removing barriers impeding access to goods and services for marginalized socioeconomic groups.

2.5 ANTI-OPPRESSION

Strategies, theories and actions that challenge socially and historically built inequalities and injustices that are ingrained in our systems and institutions by policies and practices that allow certain groups to dominate over other groups.

2.6 ANTI-RACISM

An active and consistent process of change to eliminate individual, institutional and systemic racism as well as the oppression and injustice

Taken from the "Diversity & Equity Policy" of the Peterborough Victoria Clarington Northumberland Catholic District School Board

racism causes.

2.7 ANTI-RACIST EDUCATION

A perspective that permeates all subject areas and school practices, aimed at the eradication of racism in all its various forms.

2.8 ANTISEMITISM

Latent or overt hostility or hatred directed towards individual Jews or the Jewish people (not to all Semitic peoples), leading to social, economic, institutional, religious, cultural or political discrimination. Antisemitism has also been expressed through individual acts of physical violence, vandalism, the organized destruction of entire communities and genocide.

2.9 ASSIMILATION

The full adoption by an individual or group of the culture, values and patterns of a different social, religious, linguistic or national group, resulting in the elimination of attitudinal and behavioural affiliations from the original cultural group. Can be voluntary or forced.

2.10 BARRIERS

Barriers are policies, procedures or practices that prevent equality of outcome. They can be both systemic and individual.

2.11 BIAS

An inaccurate, limited and fixed view of the world, or of a given situation, individuals or groups. A bias against or towards members of a particular racial, ethnic, cultural, or religious group can be expressed through speech, non-verbal behaviour and written and other media.

2.12 BIGOT

One stubbornly or intolerantly devoted to one's biased opinions and prejudices.

2.13 BONA FIDE OCCUPATIONAL REQUIREMENT

A workplace requirement that is directly related to a person's ability to perform a specific job.

4.14 CLASS

Relative social rank in terms of income, wealth, status and/or power.

4.15 CLASSISM

The cultural, institutional and individual set of practices and beliefs that assign value to people according to their socio-economic status, thereby resulting in differential treatment.

4.16 CULTURE

The mix of ideas, beliefs, values, behavioural norms, knowledge and traditions of a group of individuals who share a historical, geographic, religious, racial, linguistic, ethnic or social context, and who transmit, reinforce and modify those ideas and beliefs, passing them on from one generation to another. A culture is the total of everything an individual learns by being immersed in a particular context. It results in a set of expectations for appropriate behaviour in seemingly similar contexts.

4.17 DESIGNATED GROUPS

Social groups whose individual members have been denied equal access to employment, education, social services, housing, etc. because of membership in the group. The designated groups in Ontario are visible minorities, women, aboriginal peoples and persons with disabilities.

4.18 DISABILITY

Inborn or assigned characteristics of an individual that may prevent full participation in educational, social, economic, political, religious, institutional or formal activities of a group, or that may require accommodation to enable full participation. Visible disabilities are readily apparent and consequent discrimination or stigma may be more predicable than with invisible disabilities which are not immediately apparent. Persons with disabilities form one of the designated groups in employment equity programs. An important aspect of this definition is voluntary self-identification.

4.19 DISCRIMINATION

The denial of equal treatment, civil liberties and opportunity to individuals or groups with respect to education, accommodation, health care,

employment and access to services, goods and facilities. Behaviour that results from prejudiced attitudes by individuals or institiutions, resulting in unequal outcomes for persons who are perceived as different. Differential treatment that may occur on the basis of race, nationality, gender, age, religion, political or ethnic affiliation, sexual orientation, marital or family status, physical, developmental or mental disability. Includes the denial of cultural, economic, educational, political and/or social rights of members of non-dominant groups.

4.20 DIVERSITY

A term used to encompass all the various differences among people – including race, religion, gender, sexual orientation, disability, socio-economic status, etc. – and commonly used in the United States and increasingly in Canada to describe workplace programs aimed at reducing discrimination promoting equality of opportunity and outcome for all groups. Concern has been expressed by anti-racism and race relations practitioners that diversity programs may water down efforts to combat racism in all its forms.

4.21 EMPLOYMENT EQUITY

A program designed to remove systemic barriers to equality of outcome in employment by identifying and eliminating discriminatory policies and practices, remedying the effects of past discrimination, and ensuring appropriate representation of designated groups.

4.22 EQUITY

Equity refers to right of individuals to an equitable share of teh goods and services in society. In order to ensure equality of access and outcome, equity programs may treat groups differently when the situation in society precludes equal treatment. Equity programs are designed to identify and eliminate barriers to equality. Often, equity programs are more inclined to accept the priority of collective rights over individual rights.

4.23 ETHNICITY

The multiplicity of beliefs, behaviours and traditions held in common by a group of people bound by particular linguistic, historical, geographical, religious and/or racial homogeneity. Ethnic diversity is the variation of such groups and the presence of a number of ethnic groups within one society or nation. The word 'ethnic' is often used to denote non-dominant

or less powerful cultural identities in Canada.

4.24 FAITHISM

The cultural, institutional and individual set of practices and beliefs that assign different values to people according to their religion or creed, or their lack of religion or creed, thereby resulting in differential treatment on the basis of faith.

4.25 HARASSMENT

Persistent, on-going communication (in any form) of negative attitudes, beliefs or actions towards an individual or group, with the intention of placing that person(s) in a disparaging role. Harassment is manifested in name calling, jokes or slurs, graffiti, insults, threats, discourteous treatment, and written or physical abuse. Harassment may be subtle or overt.

4.26 HOMOPHOBIA

Disparaging or hostile attitude or negative bias towards gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender person(s). The fear and persecution of queer people, rooted in a desire to maintain the heterosexual social order.

4.27 HUMAN RIGHTS

Human rights affirm and protect the right of every individual to live and work without discrimination and harassment. Human Rights policies and legislation attempt to create a climate in which the dignity, worth and rights of all people are respected, regardless of age, ancestry, citizenship, colour, creed (faith), disability, ethnic origin, family status, gender, marital status, place of origin, race, sexual orientation or socio-economic status.

4.28 INCLUSIVE LANGUAGE

The deliberate selection of vocabulary that avoids accidental or implicit exclusion of particular groups and that avoids the use of false generic terms, usually with reference to gender.

4.29 INTOLERANCE

Bigotry or narrow mindedness which results in refusal to respect or acknowledge persons of different racial backgrounds.

4.30 ISLAMOPHOBIA

A term recently coined to refer to expressions of negative stereotypes, bias or acts of hostility towards individual Muslims or followers of Islam in general.

4.31 MARGINALIZATION

With reference to race and culture, the experience of persons who do not speak the majority group's language, cannot find work or gain access to social services and therefore, cannot become full and equal participating members of society. Refers also to the process of being "left out" of or silenced in a social group.

4.32 MINORITY GROUP

Refers to a group of people within a society that is either small in numbers or that has little or no access to social, economic, political or religious power.

4.33 MULTICULTURAL/MULTIRACIAL EDUCATION

A broad term which may refer to a set of structured learning activities and curricula designed to create and enhance understanding of and respect for cultural diversity. The term often connotes inclusion of racial, ethnic, religious, linguistic, national, international and political diversity, and is also inclusive of the culture, heritage, history, beliefs and values of the various peoples people within a pluralistic society.

4.34 OPPRESSION

The unilateral subjugation of one individual or group by a more powerful individual or group, using physical, psychological, social or economic threats or force, and frequently using an explicit ideology to sanction the oppression. Refers also to the injustices suffered by marginalized groups in their everyday interactions with members of the dominant group. The marginalized groups usually lack avenues to express reaction to disrespect, inequality, injustice and lack of response to their situation by individuals and institutions that can make improvements.

4.35 PEOPLE OF COLOUR

A term which applies to all people who are not seen as White by the dominant group, generally used by racialized groups as an alternative to the term visible minority. It emphasizes that skin colour is a key consideration in the "everyday" experiences of their lives. The term is an attempt to describe people with a more positive term than non-White or minority which frames them in the context of the dominant group.

4.36 PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES

Refers to persons who identify themselves as experiencing difficulties in carrying out the activities of daily living or experience disadvantage in employment, and who may require some accommodation, because of a long term or recurring physical or developmental condition (see Disability).

4.37 PREJUDICE

A state of mind; a set of attitudes held by one person or group about another, tending to cast the other in an inferior light, despite the absence of legitimate or sufficient evidence; means literally to "pre-judge"; considered irrational and very resistant to change, because concrete evidence that contradicts the prejudice is usually dismissed as exceptional. Frequently prejudices are not recognized as false or unsound assumptions or stereotypes, and, through repetition, become accepted as common sense notions. When backed with power, prejudice results in acts of discrimination and oppression against groups or individuals.

4.38 RACE

Race is a social category used to classify humankind according to common ancestry or descent and reliant upon differentiation by general physical characteristics such as a colour or skin and eyes, hair type, stature and facial features. There is no scientific evidence for race. It is socially constructed.

4.39 RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Racial discrimination is any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin, which nullifies or impairs the recognition, enjoyment or exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life.

4.40 RACIAL PROFILING

Any action undertaken for reasons of safety, security or public protection that relies on stereotypes about race, colour, ethnicity, ancestry, religion, or place of origin rather than on reasonable suspicion, to single out an individual for greater scrutiny or differential treatment. Profiling can occur because of a combination of the above factors, and age and/or gender can influence the experience of profiling. (OHRC).

4.41 RACIALIZATION

The process through with groups come to be designated as different, and on that basis subjected to differential and unequal treatment. In the present context, racialized groups include those who may experience differential treatment the basis of race, ethnicity, language, economics, religion, culture, politics, etc. That is, treated outside the norm and receiving unequal treatment based upon phenotypical features.

4.42 RACISM

A mix of prejudice and power leading to domination and exploitation of one group (the dominant or majority group) over another (the non-dominant, minority or racialized group). It asserts that the one group is supreme and superior while the other is inferior. Racism is any individual action, or institutional practice backed by institutional power, which subordinates people because of their colour or ethnicity.

4.43 RACIST

Refers to an individual, institution, or organization whose beliefs and/or actions imply (intentionally or unintentionally) that certain races have distinctive negative or inferior characteristics. Also refers to racial discrimination inherent in the policies, practices and procedures of institutions, corporations, and organizations which, though applied to everyone equally and may seem fair, result in exclusion or act as barriers to the advancement of marginalized groups, thereby perpetuating racism.

4.44 SEXISM

Sexism stems from a set of implicit or explicit beliefs, erroneous assumptions and actions based upon an ideology of inherent superiority of one gender over another and may be evident within organizational or institutional structures or programs, as well as within individual thought or behaviour patterns. Sexism is any act or institutional practice, backed by

institutional power which subordinates people because of gender. While, in principle, sexism may be practiced by either gender, most of our societal institutions are still the domain of men and usually the impact of sexism is experienced by women.

4.45 SEXUAL ORIENTATION

Sexual orientation is defined as feelings of attraction for the same sex, for the opposite sex or for both sexes, and does not require sexual activity or intimacy.

4.46 SOCIAL JUSTICE

A concept premised upon the belief that each individual and group within society is to be given equal opportunity, fairness, civil liberties and participation in the social, educational, economic, institutional and moral freedoms and responsibilities valued by the society.

4.47 STEREOTYPE

A fixed mental picture or image of a group of people, ascribing the same characteristic(s) to all members of the group, regardless of their individual differences. An over-generalization, in which the information or experience on which the image is based may be true for some of the individual group members, but not for all members. Stereotyping may be based upon misconceptions, incomplete information and/or false generalizations about race, age, ethnic, linguistic, geographical or natural groups, religions, social, marital or family status, physical, developmental or mental attributes, gender or sexual orientation.

4.48 SYSTEMIC DISCRIMINATION

The institutionalization of discrimination through policies and practices which may appear neutral on the surface but which have an exclusionary impact on particular groups, such that various minority groups are discriminated against, intentionally or unintentionally. This occurs in institutions and organizations where the policies, practices and procedures (e.g. employment systems - job requirements, hiring practices, promotion procedures, etc.) exclude and/or act as barriers to racialized groups. Systemic discrimination also is the result of some government laws and regulations.

4.49 VISIBLE MINORITY

Term used to describe non-dominant groups who are not White. Although it is a legal term widely used in human rights legislation and various policies, currently the terms racialized minority or people of colour are preferred by people labelled by others to be 'visible minorities'.

4.50 XENOPHOBIA

An unreasonable fear or hatred of foreigners or strangers, their cultures and their customs.

4.51 "SINS OF OMISSION"

In generic terms, the failure to speak out or act, thereby causing harm to individuals or groups by maintaining silence or lack of action. The term may also refer to the omission of minority groups from the media, educational or religious curricular materials and from cultural and political foci. The effects of "sins of omission" may be similar to the actual commission of blatantly hostile acts or even covert racist or sexist acts.

Activities!

In this section, I have tried to outline a few activities that I have always found useful in workshops. I have also attached any handout sheets you might need. The activities are arranged in a rough order, from phase one to four of the popular education spiral. I have not always used the activities for the phases that they are sorted under here – the activities are flexible to varying degrees, and can be used in more than one phase, or to combine phases if the workshop has a particularly limited time frame. Activities in "Phase Two" and "Phase Three" here are ones that I have used fairly interchangeably...once context is established in Phase Two, I sometimes use the same activity and facilitate a discussion to explore the issues further.

Suggested Phase One Activities (Naming and Placing Ourselves)

"Lifeboats" → *Source: "Naming the Moment" by: Jesuit Centre for Justice*

Description of Activity: The facilitator comes into the room and announces that there is a flood! She instructs the students to get up and form lifeboats of four to five people in order to survive. The lifeboats, however, can only consist of people with the same....eye colour! The facilitator can have them reform their lifeboats several times, trying things like colour of sweatshirt, style of shoes, and then things like gender and skin colour. The facilitator may then begin the workshop by welcoming the participants and making sure (both by asking participants and observing the set up of the room) whether everyone is comfortable, once everyone is seated again. The facilitator may also like to add that if the participants at any time need clarification on a topic, or have not understood something, that they should jump in and ask immediately.

Goal of Activity: To get participants moving around and energized, as well as to dispel some of the formality of the classroom atmosphere. The activity should also help to create a relaxed, informal environment, which will hopefully set the tone for future participation in the workshop. The facilitator may also wish to bring up the usage of categories like "skin colour" and "gender" among categories like "colour of eyes". She can ask whether the participants feel that those categories are similar in importance, and add that one of the aims of the workshop is help participants understand why certain categories are more problematic, or mean more to people than others.

Resources Needed: None, except participants and a facilitator.

Why This Activity: For the reasons already mentioned, this can be a wonderful way to start a workshop. It can be used with (done before or after) or instead of a traditional go-around.

Expected Outcome: "Lifeboats" should result in a more relaxed atmosphere, and prepare the group for physical and verbal participation in the coming activities.

"Name Game" → Source: "Naming the Moment" by: Jesuit Centre for Justice

Description of Activity: The facilitator should ensure all participants have a piece of scrap paper and a pen/pencil and then ask them to write three things (anything) that they "*are*" on one part of the paper. Once they are done, the facilitator will ask them to write three things they "*are not*" on another part of the paper. The facilitator should a lot time to complete both tasks based on time available in the workshop. While the participants are writing, the facilitator should divide the blackboard/presentation board into two halves: "Are" and "Are Not". When the participants are done, the facilitator will ask the group to call out some of their responses, recording them in the appropriate categories on the board as they go. [In a longer workshop, the facilitator could ask each participant to read out each of their responses]. The facilitator will then ask the participants which of the identities they feel is political. After some discussion, if the point has not already been raised, the facilitator will suggest that all the identities recorded are political in some way. She will then facilitate a discussion as to why and how this might be true, and what some of the implications of this idea may be.

Goal of Activity: This activity is designed to help participants situate themselves in a political context. It is also supposed to help the facilitator point out the ways in which our identities, or lack of active identification with certain groups are shaped by the existence of dominant norms.

Resources Needed: Blackboard or equivalent and writing utensils for participants.

Why This Activity: The "Name Game" is a good activity to use with participants who may already have some understanding of the connection between the abstract political world around them, and their more concrete personal lives. The game relies on discussion to clarify its point to participants, so it is also better for facilitators to use it with more mature groups, who will be able to stay on topic and draw the necessary connections. With the right dynamic between facilitator and participants, the activity helps the group understand and begin to accept responsibility for the way in which their position within the dominant construct shapes their political bias. It will help prepare the group for the later activities focusing on understanding the difference between interpersonal prejudice and structural oppression.

Expected Outcome: At the end of this exercise, the participants should have a basic idea of how they fit in to the political environment of our world, as well as a basic understanding of why every aspect of our lives, and our selves are at least in part constructed by the political environment in which we live.

"Power Flower" →Source: OPIRG Anti-Racism Handbook by: Emmy Pantin

Description of Activity: The facilitator hands out the "Power Flower" sheet to all participants. She asks them to fill in the outer ring of empty boxes, closest to the identifying categories with what they feel the dominant norm is. When they are done, she asks them to fill in the second row of empty boxes with what they believe themselves to be. When all the participants are finished, the facilitator will ask how many participants felt that they fit into the ideal they perceive to be the norm. The facilitator should also affirm, if the point is not raised independently, that no identity or form of identification is better than another, and what we see as constituting an enforced norm on the flower is a form of oppression – not because those identities exist at all, but because they exist as a dominant ideal.

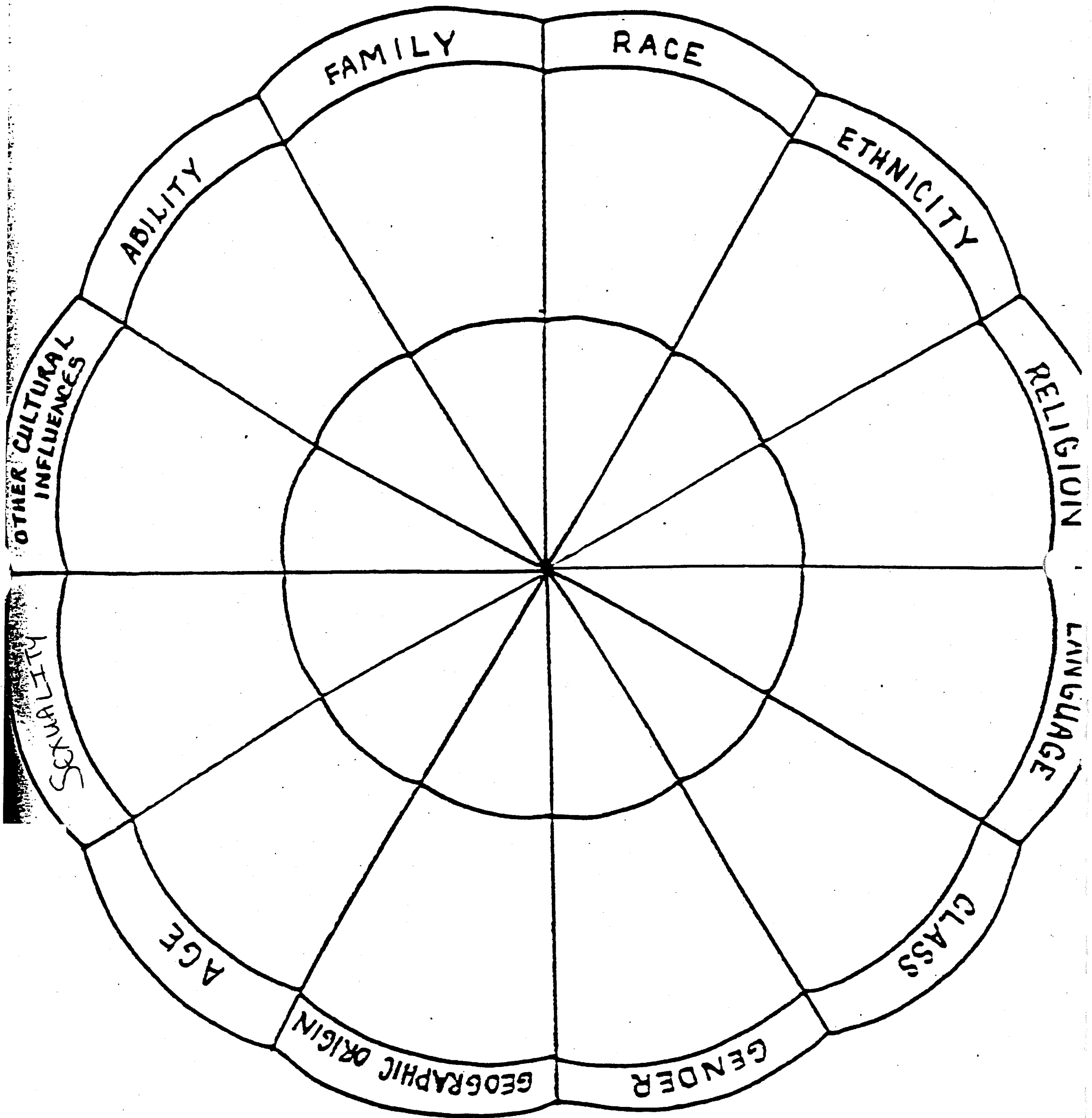
Goal of Activity: To help participants understand where they fit in the political context they believe to be the ideal of their society. The activity should help situate them within the power structures the workshop discusses, and prepare them for the next activity, in which they will discuss some of the hidden privileges that come with being able to identify with dominant groups.

Resources Needed: Copies of "Power Flower" sheets for everyone, and writing utensils.

Why This Activity: The activity is visual, and allows participants to actively engage in identifying social norms (rather than being told what a social norm is) and in identifying themselves within the structure of norms. It gets across a fairly complex idea in a simple way without being condescending, and helps counteract backlash by having the participants themselves decide what constitutes normal, and where they stand in relation to it.

Expected Outcome: At the end of this activity, the participants should have a basic understanding of the existence of different identity groups, and the idea that some are more accepted, or expected to be more prevalent than others. This should open them up to the idea that favoured groups are often treated differently by the structures that govern us.

OUR SOCIAL AND CULTURAL IDENTITIES



Pantin, Emmy. *Anti-Racism Workbook: Structural Change for Grassroots Organizations*. Peterborough: OPIRG. 1999.

Suggested Phase Two Activities (What is Happening?)

"Body Definitions" → Source: Theatre of the Oppressed by: Augusto Boal

Description of Activity: The participants and facilitator should stand and form a circle in the room. Furniture should be moved, if necessary. The facilitator will ask the participants to turn and face outwards, so that they are not looking at one another. The facilitator will then call out a word (starting with things that are more concrete, such as "tree") and the participants will "sculpt" their bodies into a physical representation of the word, which they feel best defines it. The facilitator will ask them to turn to face each other when they are ready, and discuss the differences in their representation of the word. Are they representing different aspects of the thing or concept? How are their representations framed by experience? Which/ are there aspects that are more or less important? This process will be repeated for a number of words, including "racism", "sexism", and "anti-oppression".

Goal of Activity: The activity should be used with participants who may already have a basic understanding of words such as "racism". It should allow participants to newly understand the ways in which they perceive the definitions of key words used in anti-oppression practice, and everyday life. These words often have assumed meanings for people, which are not questioned in regular use of the word. Enacting the spirit of the idea the participants feel they are communicating, and having the chance to see and discuss the different representations and perceptions offered by other group members will help to illustrate the subjective and experiential nature of the ways in which we understand these concepts.

Resources Needed: Blackboard or equivalent (if the facilitator wished to record definitions and discussion as they go) and list of terms for facilitator's use.

Why This Activity: The use of the body, as well as the participant's creative subjectivities in the activity allows otherwise abstract concepts to be discussed and understood in a personal and experience-based manner. It allows for verbal discussion, while also making room for participants to communicate ideas to one another in a manner that does not call for absolute resolution of the subject matter.

Expected Outcome: At the end of the activity, the group should have some idea of how racism, sexism and other aspects of anti-oppression work may mean different things to different people because of the subjective and variable ways in which they are experienced.

Images of Power → Source: Games for Actors and Non-Actors by: Augusto Boal

Description of Activity: The facilitator should move all the participants to one side of the room. When half of the room is clear, the facilitator should ask the participants for a volunteer; the volunteer is to move into the other side of the room and assume a stance which somehow takes power, and freeze in the stance. Many people do sometime like standing upright, holding a pretend clipboard, or making themselves as large as possible and pulling a face. Then, one by one at first and then faster as they go on, the facilitator should send all the participants in, asking them to take power from one another in turn. They must find a stance to counter the ones already taken and seize power from the scene. The facilitator will then start tapping participants on the shoulder, indicating that they should return to their original place at the other side of the room. She should pull out the original volunteers first, so that they may have a chance to see what parts of the scene looked like. When all the participants are out of the scene again, the facilitator should ask them to reflect on what stances were able to take power. What constitutes a powerful aspect? How do they view power? And how can they learn to take and give power based on that knowledge? This can also be useful in discussing the way that power often moves in more complex ways than we are generally taught to recognize.

Goal of Activity: This activity is designed to make people aware of the way in which body language helps us retain or lose power. But it may also have structural implications: which sorts of power were more popular? Violence? Top-down authority? Did people work in groups? What was the power meant to be doing? It also paves the way for the role-play activity, as participants begin thinking about the agency they may have in certain matters, and how their actions can change situations.

Resources Needed: A space, and participants.

Why This Activity: This activity works well in a workshop setting, as it allows participants to be up and active. It is able to convey some relatively complex ideas about power in a short period of time, through experience, and it gets people up, moving around and ready to participate actively, making the role-play much easier to get involved in.

Expected Outcome: At the end of this activity, participants should have some idea of how they define power, and how different ideas of power interact with one another. They should also be ready to move around and participate in other activities. The hope is that this overview of power will help participants contextualise their understandings of other social issues (Example: what kind of power do we see operating in policy-making? In the police force?)

"Race Question Sheet" → Source: Expanding the Circle by: Anne Curry-Stevens

Description of Activity: The teacher or facilitator should hand out a copy of Anne Curry-Steven's Race Question Sheet to participants. Ask them to take 5-10 minutes (depending on time available) to fill in some answers to the questions on the sheet. Allow discussion among participants, and encourage them to write down speculations where they feel they do not know the answer. When the allotted time is up, or once all the participants have filled in their sheets, begin reading over the questions with the participants. Allow them time and space to relate what they think are the correct answers. Then read the answers from the answer sheet. Which ones did participants get right? Which ones were answered incorrectly? Ask participants what facts they were surprised to hear. Why were they surprised by them? What myths about Canadian society did the fact sheet question?

Goal of Activity: Using concrete examples, facts and statistics, the fact sheet attempts to back up the material from the workshops.

Resources Needed: Copies of the sheet.

Why This Activity: Although the question sheet is formatted like a school handout, it can be useful in stimulating discussion and backing up analysis of social issues made by participants. The design, however, might have an off-putting effect particularly among younger groups, so that should be born in mind.

Expected Outcome: At the end of this activity, participants should have a better idea of the ways in which the kinds of oppressions touched on in the workshops are historically rooted.

From "Expanding the Circle" by Anne Curry-Stevens (some changes made to wording)

What does 21st century racism look like?

• 23% of those living in Canada incorrectly believe that some races are genetically smarter than others.

• According to a survey, 15% of Toronto residents can be classified as non-racist, another 15% are openly racist; the remainder show various degrees of racial tolerance.

Today, in Canada, we live unequal lives.
Circle your answer to each question.

1. People of colour earn ____ less than White people.

8% 18% 28%

2. People of colour live in poverty ____ more frequently than White people.

50% 75% 100%

3. Child poverty for children of colour is ____ while the rate for all children is 26%.

35% 45% 55%

4. Those experiencing racism are ____ more likely to experience serious mental health problems than the general public.

50% 75% 100%

5. Aboriginal people are about ____ times more likely to commit suicide than the general population.

2 3 4

6. Aboriginal youth suicide rates are about ____ times higher than the general population.

3 4 6

7. If you are white, probably don't often think about being white. How many Black people think about their race at least once a day?

25% 50% 75%

8. In Toronto, White people get ____ job offers for every 1 offered to a Black person (when resumes and backgrounds are similar).

Same number   two   three

9. People of colour are less likely to have high paid, high status and unionized jobs. They are more likely to work in cleaning, food service and harvesting. Given their numbers, they should hold 11% of the jobs in law, education, police, fire fighting, airline pilots and controllers, carpentry and electrical trades, but in fact they hold ______% of such jobs.

8%   5%   2%

10. Despite employment equity in the federal public service, people of colour occupy only ___ of the jobs at the management level in the public service.

2%   4%   6%

Answers

1. 28%

2. 100% (twice as frequently – at a rate of 35.6% compared with 17.6% for White people.)

3. 45%

4. 100% (twice as frequently)

5. 3 times

6. 6 times

7. 50%

8. 3 job offers

9. 5% (or less) of these jobs

10. 4%

Citations:

1992 Survey by Elliot and Fleras as referenced in Estable, Alma, M. Meyer and G. Pon

(1997) Teach Me To Thunder: A training manual for anti-racism trainers. Ottawa: Canadian Labour Congress, Handout #16

Galabuzi, Grace-Edward (2001) Canada's Creeping Economic Apartheid. Toronto: CSJ Foundation for Research and Education, page 15

Galabuzi, p.16

Canadian Labour Congress (2003) Anti-Racism Integration Guide, Book 1: Getting Started. Ottawa: Canadian Labour Congress, p.14

Kirchheimer, Sid (2003) Racism should be a public health issue. British Medical Journal (2003) 326: 65-66

Downloaded from Health Canada's website on Aboriginal People on June 10, 2004 at http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/english/for_you/ aboriginals.html#9

Royal Commission on Aboriginal People (1995) Choosing Life: Special Report On Suicide Among Aboriginal People. Ottawa: Canada Communication Group Publishing, 1995. Cited in Reference 9.

Kirchheimer, p. 65

Henry & Ginsberg, quoted in Galabuzi, p.36

Galabuzi, p.53

Galabuzi, p.114

Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack Sheet → Source: "Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack" by: Peggy McIntosh

Description of Activity: The facilitator will hand out the checklist, "Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack", based on Peggy McIntosh's article of the same name. The participants and facilitator will take 5 minutes to read through the list together, and the participants will check off the applicable boxes as they go. The facilitator will then choose a few examples from the sheet and ask why being able to check the boxes is a privilege. She may also want to ask the group what struck them most about the list – what had they never considered a privilege? Do they consider it a privilege now? The group will then be asked to brainstorm definitions of white privilege based on the points made by the exercise.

** Attached is also a revised sheet for use with younger participants.

Goal of Activity: The activity is designed to make visible some of the unacknowledged invisible privileges of being white in our society. The understanding of the existence of white privilege is necessary for the eventual understanding that racism and oppression are systemic.

Resources Needed: Copies of modified "Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack" for everybody. Pens or pencils.

Why This Activity: As mentioned already, this activity provides an overview of 'invisible' white privilege in our society, without becoming too abstract. It creates an opportunity for the facilitator to tie the structural to the personal, challenging individuals to be able to see how much or how little of the privilege on the list is accessible to them and why. This list, however, does not address class issues. It is important for the facilitator to make room to discuss how race and class privilege sometimes intersect.

Expected Outcome: At the end of this activity, the participants should have a better understanding of the way structural influences shape what we can and cannot do.

Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack

- ☐ I can, if I wish, arrange to be in the company of people of my race most of the time
- ☐ When I am told about our national heritage or "civilization," I am shown that people of my colour made it what it is.
- ☐ I can swear, dress in second hand clothes or not answer letters without having people associate these choices to the bad morals, the poverty or the illiteracy of my race.
- ☐ I am never asked to speak for all the people of my racial group
- ☐ I can do well in a challenging situation without being called a credit to my race
- ☐ I can criticize the government and talk about how much I fear its policies and behaviour without being seen as a cultural outsider
- ☐ I can be pretty sure that if I ask to see "the person in charge" I will be facing a person of my race
- ☐ If a cop stops me, I can be sure I haven't been singled out because of my race
- ☐ I can go shopping alone most of the time, well assured that I won't be followed or harassed
- ☐ I can turn on the television or open to the front page of the paper and see people of my race widely represented
- ☐ I can easily buy posters, post cards, picture books, greeting cards, dolls, toys, magazines featuring people of my race
- ☐ I can go home from most meetings of organizations I am involved in feeling somewhat tied in rather than; isolated, out of place, outnumbered, not heard, held at a distance, or feared.
- ☐ If my day, week, or year is going badly, I need not ask of each negative episode or situation whether it has racial overtones.
- ☐ I can choose blemish cover or bandages in "flesh" tone that more or less match my skin
- ☐ I don't need to think about race and racism every day. I can choose when and where I want to respond to racism.

McIntosh, Peggy. "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack". Wellesley College Centre for Research on Women. 1988.

Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack (Revised)

- I can, if I wish, arrange to be in the company of people of my race most of the time.
- When I am told of my national heritage or "civilization", I am shown that people of my colour made it what it is.
- I can swear or dress in second hand clothes without having people associate these choices to the bad morals, the poverty or the illiteracy of my race.
- I can be pretty sure that if I ask to see "the person in charge" I will be facing a person of my race.
- If a cop stops me, I can be sure I haven't been singled out because of my race.
- I can go shopping alone most of the time and be assured that I won't be followed or harassed.
- I can turn on the television or open the newspaper and see people of my race widely represented.
- I can easily buy posters, post cards, picture books, greeting cards, dolls, toys, or magazines featuring people of my race.
- I can choose make-up or bandages in tones that match my skin colour.
- I don't need to think about race and racism every day. I can choose when and where I want to respond to racism.

"A History Lesson in Racism" Fact Sheet → Source: Expanding the Circle by: Anne Curry-Stevens

Description of Activity: The teacher or facilitator should hand out a copy of Anne Curry-Steven's "A History Lesson in Racism" to participants. Ask them to take 5-10 minutes (depending on time available, dynamics of class, etc) to read over the sheet. Once everyone has had a chance to look over the timeline, begin a facilitated discussion on the importance of the material. Discussion might be guided by questions like: how does the information on the sheet differ from/fill in areas of history we were not taught about in school? Why were we not taught about these things? Are they significant? Why? How do they impact the Canada we live in today?

Goal of Activity: Using concrete examples, facts and statistics, the fact sheet attempts to back up the material from the workshops. The timeline on the sheet can provide a good context for ongoing issues of structural and interpersonal racism in Canada.

Resources Needed: Copies of the sheet.

Why This Activity: Although the fact sheet is formatted like a school handout, it can be useful in stimulating discussion and backing up analysis of social issues made by participants. The design, however, might have an off-putting effect particularly among younger groups, so that should be born in mind.

Expected Outcome: At the end of this activity, participants should have a better idea of the ways in which the kinds of oppressions touched on in the workshops are historically rooted.

A History Lesson in Racism – by: Anne Curry-Stevens (from "Expanding the Circle)

The formation of Canada was based in laws and practices that have been racist. Read on to learn about our heritage.

- 1497 & on – Europeans land in North America and begin theft of First Nations land.
- 1600s – Native and African people enslaved for 200 years.
- 1797 – Slavery legally abolished in Canada, but continued until outlawed across the British Empire in 1832.
- 1857 – Gradual Civilization Act provides land and money to aboriginal men who give up their heritage; nothing provided to other Aboriginal peoples. In 1933, federal government gains right to force this assimilation without aboriginal consent.
- 1867 – Canada is born. Government gives 10 acres of land to whites and 1 to black citizens.
- 1876 – Indian Act introduced… all aspects of Native life under control of Canadian government. Aboriginal spirituality and ceremonies outlawed.
- 1876 to 1985 – An aboriginal woman and her children lose status when she marries a non-aboriginal man.
- 1867 to 1948 – People of colour denied access to immigrate to Canada, unless Canada needs their labour.
- 1879 to 1996 – Over 100 years of residential school system. Native children seized and force to assimilate. Abuse rampant. Names changed. Languages denied. Aboriginal children have needles stuck in their tongues if they speak their native language.
- 1885 – Chinese labourers brought in to build the railroad. Paid 1/4 the wages of white workers.
- 1902 – Royal Commission describes all Asians as "unfit for full citizenship… obnoxious to a free community and dangerous to the state."
- 1908 – Immigration status denied to people considered to be of "any race deemed unsuitable to the requirements of Canada."
- 1939 – Racism finally deemed illegal by Canada's highest court, overturning prior judgments.
- 1941 – Japanese Canadians imprisoned in concentration camps during World War II. Property seized. No compensation provided.
- 1948 – Asian Canadians gain the right to vote.
- 1951 – Canadian government re-allows aboriginal religious practices.
- 1960 – Native people gain the right to vote.
- 1964 – Ontario schools finally prohibit segregation of black students in public schools.
- 1965 – Last racially segregated school in Ontario is closed.
- 1967 – Race is formally withdrawn as a criteria immigrants seeking admission into Canada.
- 1990 – First black cabinet minister appointed in Ontario.
- 1996 – Last residential school for aboriginal children and youth in Canada is closed.

Citations:

Canadian Labour Congress (2003) Anti-Racism Integration Guide, Book 1: Getting Started. Ottawa: Canadian Labour Congress

Curry-Stevens, Ann (2003) An Educator's Guide for Changing the World: Methods, models and materials for anti-oppression and social justice workshops. Toronto: CSJ Foundation for Research and Education

Galabuzi, Grace-Edward (2001) Canada's Creeping Economic Apartheid. Toronto: CSJ Foundation for Research and Education.

"Race, Class, Gender and Disabilities and the Economic Divide" Fact Sheet → Source: An Educator's Guide to Changing the World by: Anne Curry-Stevens

Description of Activity: The teacher or facilitator should hand out a copy of Anne Curry-Steven's "Race, Class, Gender and Disabilities and the Economic Divide" to participants. Ask them to take 5-10 minutes (depending on time available) to fill in some answers to the questions on the sheet. Allow discussion among participants, and encourage them to write down speculations where they feel they do not know the answer. When the allotted time is up, or once all the participants have filled in their sheets, begin reading over the questions with the participants. Allow them time and space to relate what they think are the correct answers. Then read the answers from the answer sheet. Which ones did participants get right? Which ones were answered incorrectly? Ask participants what facts they were surprised to hear. Why were they surprised by them? What myths about Canadian society did the fact sheet question?

** Be aware that the statistics are slightly out of date, and that some of the questions are awkwardly worded. I have found this sheet to be a useful tool regardless, but some facilitators may not feel comfortable using it.

Goal of Activity: Using concrete examples, facts and statistics, the fact sheet attempts to back up the material from the workshops. The examples on the sheet are mostly specific to the GTA, but do paint a picture of Southern Ontarian social values and trends which can be made relevant to participants in Peterborough.

Resources Needed: Copies of the fact sheet for all participants, and a copy of the answer sheet for the facilitator. (Facilitators may wish to photocopy the answer sheet for participants as well)

Why This Activity: Although the fact sheet is formatted like a school handout, it can be useful in stimulating discussion and backing up analysis of social issues made by participants. The design, however, might have an off-putting effect particularly among younger groups, so that should be born in mind.

Expected Outcome: At the end of this activity, participants should have a better idea of the ways in which the kinds of oppressions touched on in the workshops affect and often help shape people's everyday lives.

An Educator's Guide to Changing the World

Handout 3: Race, Class, Gender and Disability and the Economic Divide

Source: Ann Curry-Stevens, Centre for Social Justice
Statistics drawn from Galabuzzi (2001), Curry-Stevens (2001), Hadley (2001), Human Rights Summer College (1992), Ornstein (2000), Raphael (2002), Canadian Race Relations Foundation (2000), Yalnizyan (1998), Ontario Coalition for Social Justice (2001)

1. What percentage of white people live below the poverty line in Toronto?

2. What percentage of people with African roots live below the poverty line? What percentage of Ghanians? Ethopian? Somalies? Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Sri Lankans and Tamils?

3. On average across Canada, the poverty rates are how much higher for racialized communities?

4. What percentage of employment agencies were willing to accept a discriminatory job order (eg. Someone with "front office appeal" or "fitting of the clients in this office," typically a euphemism for white)?

5. Is this a problem unique to Toronto or widespread across Canada?

6. Does racial segregation in communities happen in Toronto? Is it legal?

7. What is the official motto for the City of Toronto?

8. How far has women's liberation taken us?

9. OK – so the averages are bad. What about gains that some women have made? How many women make high incomes – or how much more likely are men to reach the top 20% of income earnings?

10. What is the best predictor of heart disease? Smoking? Obesity? Family history of heart disease?

11. Are girls with disabilities more or less likely to be sexually assaulted?

12. What is the national unemployment rate?

13. What is the unemployment rate for women with disabilities?

14. If the average workweek is 40 hours, how many hours would a disabled woman need to work to earn that of non-disabled workers? How many hours would disabled men need to work?

15. What racial group is most likely to be stopped by police in Toronto?

16. TRUE FALSE Low income people do not pay property tax.

17. TRUE FALSE Income tax cuts are important for low income earners.

18. TRUE FALSE Like any functioning democracy, the size of Canada's middle class is increasing.

19. TRUE FALSE Canadian society is class based.

20. TRUE FALSE People on welfare pay no tax.

21. We've just been through a record economic boom. We'd expect that this would translate into better incomes. What percentage of Canadian families are only marginally better off?

22. During recessions, we expect Canadians to have to make do with less money. How much less (as a percentage) does the top 40% of Canadian families make? How much less does the poorest 10% make? Next poorest 10%? Next poorest 10%? Middle income groups?

23. What is minimum wage in Ontario?

24. When was the last time minimum wage was increased?

25. What does this equal in terms of loss of income (since inflation has occurred)?

26. In Bracebridge, Maria is a single mother with two children who works 10 hours/day at minimum wage. Where does she live?

27. In Scarborough, Theresa is a breast cancer survivor who is tested 3 times less frequently than her doctor wants. Why?

Answer Sheet:

Race, Class, Gender and Disability and the Economic Divide

1. 11%

2. More than 50%; Ghanaians - 87%, Ethiopian - 70%, Somalis - 63% and Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Sri Lankans and Tamils – over half.

3. 100%, regardless of their family status (individuals or families).

4. 85%

5. Racialized groups make 28% less than white income earners – regardless of education or whether they were born in Canada or elsewhere.

6. Yes. Is it legal? Yes – the minimum income criteria allows landlords to deny accommodation to those who would pay more than 25% of their income in rent. Do you pay more than 25% of your income in rent?

7. "Diversity, Our Strength"

8. Not very far – women still earn less than 2/3 of men's incomes (61%) and many live in poverty – about 20% of women live in poverty. Specific groups of women are much harder hit. These include women of colour (37%) and aboriginal women (43%). Women aged 45-64 made only 51% of their male counterparts.

9. 150% - women are under-represented by almost a 3-fold factor in the op 20% of Canadian earners. Only 11% of women get into the top 20% (after-tax income of $32,367), whereas 29% of men access upper incomes.

10. No. Poverty and low income is the best predictor of heart disease. Why? Material deprivation creates heart burden, psychological stress damages the heart, and stress leads to tobacco use.

11. Twice as likely (16% of all disabled women are sexually assaulted.)

12. 7.5%

13. 74%

14. 134 hours. How many hours would disabled men need to work? 58 hours/week. The median employment income for a disabled woman is $8,360 (Canadian). The median employment income for a disabled man is $19,250. The national median is approximately $28,000/year.

15. Black youth are twice as likely to be stopped by police – fully 28% of them were stopped in a two-year period. Why? Many police think that black youths hang around in groups "because they are hiding something or up to mischief."

16. They pay their property tax through their rent – tenants across Ontario pay, on average, 2-3 times more tax than homeowners.

17. 83% of tax filers earning up to $10,000 pay no taxes. For those who pay, cuts of 20% equal a night at the movies. Tax cuts for wealthy Ontarians can result in huge benefits – the top 1/2 % gained over $15,000.

18. Over the last generation, the size of Canada's middle class fell from 60% to 44% of the population.

19. The richest 1% of Canadians own 25% of our wealth, the top 10% owns 53%, the top 60% owns 98% - leaving the bottom 40% owning 2% of the wealth, It is getting worse – the wealthiest 20% gained 38% more wealth over the last 15 years. The poorest 20% lost ground.

20. While they don't pay income tax, they still pay the same sales and property taxes as everyone else.

21. 60%

22. Less than 10%. How much less does the poorest 10% make? (86%) Next poorest 10%? (45%) Next poorest 10%? (21%) Middle income groups? (11% to 16%).

23. $6.85/hour, which is less than $14,000/year before tax.

24. 1995

25. More than 20%

26. In a motel room where they do the dishes in the bathtub and provide no privacy for children doing their homework.

27. She is disabled and can't afford the test fee of $15 for someone to come to her home.

"Newspaper Activity" Source → *Beyond Token Change: Breaking the Cycle of Oppression in Institutions* by: Anne Bishop

Description of Activity: Hand out copies of newspaper article to all participants and ask that they break into groups of 4-6. Post discussion questions (formulated beforehand) on board, or another place from which they will be in plain sight. Allow around 5 minutes for participants to read through the article, and 10 for discussion. Re-convene as a group, and go through discussion questions. The questions and articles will vary of course, but the important aspect of the activity is to allow participants to analyse a contemporary example of oppression in practice.

Goal of Activity: To aid participants in connecting the broader social issues to current events in the media, which should reflect larger strains of discourse important to Canada and the world. The article and questions should demonstrate a situation of oppression and encourage participants to analyse the power structures and power relations at work in the way the situation plays itself out, and is represented in the article.

Resources Needed: Copies of the article and discussion questions for all participants.

Why This Activity: This activity requires group discussion, which can be a very effective component of the workshop. It also allows participants time to apply some of the analysis perhaps already discussed in the workshop without the direct aid of the facilitator.

Expected Outcome: At the end of this activity, participants should have a better idea of how the power relations discussed in the workshop may play themselves out in situations which occur in the institutions or on the streets of our society.

Suggested Phase Three Activities (Why is it Happening?)

"Oppression Tree" (Modified): → Source: "Naming the Moment" by: Jesuit Centre for Justice (with some modifications)

Description of Activity: The facilitator draws a picture of a tree on the blackboard. The branches of the tree will be labelled "Our Experiences", the trunk "Legislation, Policy and Economics" and the roots "Ideology". [In the original, the roots are labelled "Economic", the trunk "Legislative" and the branches "Ideology"]. The facilitator will then invite the participants to share some examples of oppression they have observed or felt, or examples which they feel are prevalent in society. Those examples will be recorded in the branches part of the tree. The facilitator will then ask the participants to identify possible policy/legislative and economic factors which may have been contributing causes to the incident. Once some examples have been suggested and recorded, the facilitator will move on to the roots of the tree, and ask the group to identify aspects of governmental and societal ideology which may have contributed to the formation of the legislative and economic realities the group discussed. The facilitator will then start at the bottom of the tree, and identify a root ideology which might be prevalent in society, such as capitalism. The group will identify legislative and economic examples of that ideology, and end with suggesting possible incidents which may occur at an everyday interpersonal level which may be traced back to the ideology (perhaps making the connection between already stated experiences as well).

Goal of Activity: The activity is designed to help participants draw concrete links between their personal experiences with oppression, and the structural causes of those oppressions, through connecting their experiences to the larger structures in our society. The activity should also show the different ways in which these experiences are caused; e.g. institutionalized racism towards people of colour versus interpersonal racism sometimes directed towards "white" people. The process of connecting causes and their effects should show that the former is an aspect of the structure of the society we live in, while the latter is an attempt to gain power through the imitation of the power structures which oppress people. The difference between this activity as conducted with the older set of students compared to the teachers will lie in the experience of the activity itself. The experiences brought to the activity will likely vary with the group, but the basic mechanism is similar for both demographics: the activity works with people who already have some idea of the institutions which govern our lives, and who know something about the ways in which those institutions work.

Resources Needed: Blackboard or equivalent.

<u>Why This Activity:</u> This activity is discussion-based, and so provides a lot of room for participants to dissent, ask questions, and understand the idea being demonstrated by the facilitator through actively engaging in the process of defining the idea. The activity is also visual, which often helps people draw clearer connections between the situations being discussed.

<u>Expected Outcome:</u> Participants should have a better understanding of the difference between structural oppressions and interpersonal prejudice at the end of this activity.

Suggested Phase Four Activities (What can we do about it?)

"Role-Play" →Source: Games for Actors and Non Actors By: Augusto Boal

Description of Activity: The facilitator should divide the participants up into two groups. Each group will receive a description of a scenario involving an oppressive situation relevant to the participating group to be acted out (mostly improvisation). Once the members of the groups have chosen roles, one group will be asked to enact their scenario. Once they have played it through the first time, the facilitator will ask them to return to their original positions and act it out once more. This time, however, members of the observing group will be invited to "jump in" to the scene by yelling STOP at a moment that they feel was important. The individual who stopped the scene will then tap a member of the performing group on the shoulder. The chosen member will leave the scene and the new participant will take her or his place. The scene will continue from the moment the new participant yelled STOP, but this time, the new member may alter the pattern of events by dealing with the situations differently. The other members of the performing group should respond to her changes, playing along. Members of the audience may continue yelling STOP and altering the course of events until the scene has once again played itself out. The positions will then be reversed, and the other group(s) will perform their scenario(s).

Goal of Activity: This activity should allow the participants to consider how they might deal with oppressive situations when they arise in the course of their everyday lives. The role-playing aspect should help them understand not only how their actions may have the power to alter a situation, and what actions might be most appropriate but also what other resources or people are available for them to use to help them deal with a situation, should they need to. This can also be useful as a medium by which to brainstorm.

Resources Needed: Some space, willing participants and descriptions of scenarios.
Descriptions available on attached sheet

Why This Activity: This activity encourages participants to consider the various actions and reactions they may have or use when they find themselves somehow involved in an oppressive act taking place. Without having to respond on the spot to a real situation, participants may have the chance to explore possible avenues of action. The activity also requires movement, which is good for stimulating creativity and keeping people awake.

Expected Outcome: Participants should have a clearer idea of what they may do when they are confronted with an oppressive situation after this activity.

Scenario One: You are in a store. You are shopping, and you know the person working behind the counter as an acquaintance. There is music playing in the store, and it sounds vaguely Eastern. A customer in the store approaches the counter and demands that the clerk turn off the music, calling it "terrorist music". Your friend (the clerk) looks over at you and you both shrug. She turns the music off and the customer continues shopping.

Scenario Two: Your friend is involved with a man who encourages her to eat as little as possible because he is concerned she will get fat. How do you broach the subject with her?

Scenario Three: You are walking down George Street and notice several young men harassing a homeless man you know to have mental disabilities. When you tell them to stop and threaten to call the police, they say that they have already done so, and the police will be by any minute to arrest the homeless man. What can you do?

"Evaluation"→ Source: OPIRG Anti-Racism Handbook by: Emmy Pantin

Description of Activity: An evaluation sheet to be filled out by participants and used in the evaluation of the workshops.

Goal of Activity: To encourage participants to reflect on their workshop experience, as well as to provide the facilitator with constructive criticism and advice for the modification of workshops in the future.

Resources Needed: Evaluation sheet and participants.

Why This Activity: This commonly used evaluation sheet is simple, does not require too much time to fill out, and provides the facilitator with feedback for the workshop just conducted, as well as advice for the future.

Expected Outcome: New ideas and some encouragement for the facilitator, and an understanding of what was liked and disliked by the participants.

TAKING STOCK

(not to be confused with cattle rustling)

If I were running these sessions...

I LIKED...

and I...

A problem I had which was solved...

I DIDN'T LIKE ...

I would like to know more about...

I'll be able to follow up this session with...

FOR NEXT TIME...

Going Beyond!

In this section, I have made up a list of additional resources I would recommend to look to for more activities, facilitation guidelines, workshop tools and general ideas. The list also covers sources for further self-education on issues of oppression and privilege (with a focus on racism) if you decide to explore the topic more deeply yourself.

This section also includes excerpts from the six books I read to prepare a theoretical background for this workshop. Some of them are fairly dense, but they have all been extremely useful to me, and I hope they prove of some use to you as well. The excerpts are followed by an annotated bibliography.

Additional Resources

*** Please note that I have not read all of the resources listed – some of them have been on my list to read for a while, and others I came across while working on this manual. I believe that they are generally good sources, but I cannot guarantee that some of them may not be problematic.*

Facilitation and Workshop-Design:

The Educator's Guide to Changing the World (online – Anne Curry-Stevens)
Expanding the Circle (online – Anne Curry-Stevens)
OPIRG Anti-Racism Workbook
Naming the Moment (by: the Jesuit Centre for Justice)
Anti-Racism Education: Theory and Practice (George Sefa Dei)
Games for Actors and Non-Actors (Augusto Boal)
Pedagogy of the Oppressed (Paulo Freire)
Gender in Popular Education (edited by Shirley Walters & Linzi Manicom)
Dancing on Live Embers (Tina Lopes & Barb Thomas)
Becoming an Ally: Breaking the Cycle of Oppression in Individuals (Anne Bishop)
Beyond Token Change: Breaking the Cycle of Oppression in Institutions (Anne Bishop)
Learners Lives as Curriculum: Six Journeys to Immigrant Literacy (Gail Weinstein)
Starting With Women's Lives, Changing Today's Economy: A Facilitator's Guide to a Visual Workshop Methodology (Suzanne Deorge & Beverly Burke)
Wild Garden: Art, Education and the Culture of Resistance (dian marino)
A New Weave: Popular Education in Canada and Central America (Rick Arnold, Deborah Barndt & Beverly Burke)

Theory on Issues of Oppression:

Aversion and Desire: Muslim Women in the Diaspora (Shahnaz Khan)
Zina, Transnational Feminism, and the Moral Regulation of Pakistani Women (Shahnaz Khan)
The Dark Side of the Nation (Himani Bannerji)
Race, Space and the Law (Sherene Razack)
Orientalism (Edward Said)
Multiculturalism and the History of Canadian Diversity (Richard F. Day)
The Truth About Stories (Thomas King)
Night Spirits: The Story of the Relocation of the Sayisi Dene (Ila Bussidor & Ustun Bilgen-Reinhart)
Desiring Whiteness: A Lacanian Analysis of Race (Kalpana Seshadri-Crooks)
The Second Sex (Simone de Beauvior)
Locations of Culture (Homi K. Bhabha)
In Our Own Voices: Writings by Women in Low-Income Housing (edited by: Pat Schneider)
Trans-Gendered Warriors (Leslie Feinberg)
First, Do No Harm: Power, Oppression and Violence in Healthcare (edited by Nancy Diekelmann)

Nothing About Us, Without Us: Disability Oppression and Empowerment (James Charlton)
The Colour of Privilege: Three Blasphemies on Race and Feminism (Aida Hurtado)
Exotic Appetites: Ruminations of a Food Adventurer (Lisa Heldke)

Useful Websites

www.socialjustice.org
http://www.bonner.org/resources/modules/modules_pdf/BonCurFacilitation202.pdf
www.poped.org
http://www.arte-sana.com/training_topics.htm
http://www.nnirr.org/news/news_pub_archive.html
www.projectsouth.org
www.popednews.org
www.rabble.ca
http://adulted.about.com

Thinking Through

By: Himani Bannerji

Pages: 97 – 119 of the text

RE: TURNING THE GAZE [1]

An Act of Disassociation: The Private and the Public Self

> The native's challenge to the Colonial World is not a rational conformation of points of view. It is not a treatise on the universal, but the untidy affirmation of an original idea propounded as an absolute. The colonial world is a Manichean World. (Fanon, 1963)

Usually I write quickly. Usually I like writing. It's like fishing with a net, it's flung far, pulled in and gathered to a point, gathering me together into thoughts and images. This time, months of false starts, procrastinations, a nerveless dead centre. My mind turns its back on the project. I want to/have to and I don't want to/cannot forget/remember my years of teaching, being perhaps one of the oldest non-white women teachers in Ontario universities, on what has become trivialized and sanctified at the same time as the "mantra," or perhaps a hegemonic device for teaching a certain kind of feminist theory in the universities, namely "Gender, Race and Class."

What I want to write about finally is this not wanting to, of a persistent refusal by me, the writer, an Indian woman, to write about me, the Indian woman teacher, in a classroom at York University and in many public spaces for lectures. The private and the public parts of me refuse to connect in

a meaningful formulation, and actually simply even to recount. Being a "Black" woman in the classrooms of universities should have been an "empowering," "enriching" experience, but alas my stubborn mind even refuses to face that moment, that act of teaching, many years ago, continued for many years, 1975, 76, 77, 78, 79.... My gestures of communication, defiance, knowledge, submission, humility, rage — the complex totality of my politics on display, through these years. The only politics other than writing that I have done in a *systematic* way in my years of residence here.

But what constitutes my private and my public? What cut off the nerves that connect them, or obscured from the self, my particular self, the elemental constitutive relations between them? Why is remembering so hard, and doing so "natural," so necessary a gesture?

These questions flooded my mind for a few days after a friend had lovingly, congratulatingly pointed out the fact that out there, there were many women, non-white and white, to whom my "work" matters, who say this or that good thing about it, for example, that what I say influences how they think, or even make a film. That is, I am taken seriously, I exist in others' minds as a real political presence, standing for a certain type of feminism. In hours of despondency my friend was trying to connect me with my "achievements," helping me to take strength from what I built, to appropriate what I have alienated. I have heard similar "good" things from others and could never summon a response.

I tried seriously to "feel" what she said. But the nerve was dead again. What I came up with instead was an image, like Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, a splintered, public self, wandering the city, doing its work, growing as a perception "for others," echoing, projecting, developing what I daily inchoately think, feel, live and read. She takes away from "me." I do not grow in or through her. The fruits of my labour, my public personal, are not my satisfaction.

She does what has to be done and goes away. When the occasion vanishes she does too; she does not come "home" with me.

Why is this? I ask myself. My "acting" self, writing and teaching and talking self, is queried by my "being" self. Am I lying? Are these empty words? Do I not really have a politics and simply utter noises whose meaning comes only from some outer combinations of words and meaning? And I go over what I said/say, what I teach, what I write and read, and there is no duplicity. If these are not ***what*** I am, ***who*** I am, then I have no idea who I might be except an empty signifier. The content of my public utterances are also the reflexes, impulses, emotions of my private self. What is coded as patriarchal, or "racist" is felt/discernible, in the deepest emotional interchange. And yet, and yet, that "other" of my "self," my public "me" remains frozen in the public space where she was called forth by the occasion while I take the subway and go home....

A Body in a Space — Or the Social Relations of Production of "Knowledge" in the Universities and Classroom

> I think of my daughter. I grow afraid. I see designs against her deep-set into their concrete structures or embossed into their Education Act. The blue of the sky, the gold of the sun, become an Aryan-eyed blonde and her spiked heels dig into my bowels. Fear lurks in the trees and gives the leaves their sharp precision. I sit in the Queen's Park, in the shadow of King George the Fifth, I am under his horse's hooves! I realize what Karl Marx once meant by being subject to the violence of things — a violence, an oppression, so successfully realized that it has no separate life. It lives, no longer in itself, contained like a cop's dog tied to leash, but in us, multiplied by our million cells, in our retina, ear-

> drums, nostrils or goose flesh of the skin, lives this terror, at once an effect and cause. (Bannerji, 1982, 25)

The other night I tried to describe what is going on to two of my students in a course on "Race and Racism" that I am currently teaching. I tried to speak to them as thoughtfully and honestly as I can, trying to bring across the "essence," as it were, of this teaching experience. And what comes out of my mouth is not "pedagogic" or "conceptual"; I am recounting, I notice, about being a body in a space. And since it is *a* body, in *a* space, I am speaking particularly of my own non-white Indian woman's body, in a classroom where the other occupants are mostly white, and in a classroom in Canada. The space I occupy is the pit of an amphitheatre, a semicircle of faces and bodies occupying chairs which recede all the way to the ceiling. The room is high, fluorescent, a green board, a film screen that can be pulled down, a table, a desk, a lectern, sometimes a microphone. The hour is here, I am present, I am standing next to the table, they are waiting. Our class must begin. I am a non-white, five-foot-one woman. I am the teacher. They are the students. I must open my mouth, speak and grow to fill that room to the top. A hundred and fifty students will start taking notes. They will be restless and cause "discipline problems" if I cannot sufficiently command the space by holding their attention. I am surrounded by their eyes, their ears, their pencils, papers, reluctance, skepticism, incipient boredom, the preconceptions that they bring to the class. But I must teach them. The spacing of our bodies indicates that is my "job"; and their "job" is to be a "student body." These bodies, mine and theirs, are antithetically placed. They think I have power, all this space is for me to fill with voices and ideas. They are a *captive audience*, they *have to be* there, fulfil course requirements, get the grade they need to be successful. They think I will stand in their way of getting it,

I and my course material that they will have to get past, tackle, dominate in the name of "learning."

> There is no need for arms, physical violence, material constraints. Just a gaze. (Foucault, 1980, 155)

The course material is about racism. We are going through books that critique socio-biological theories about "race," the political economy of slavery, colonialism and imperialism, we are discussing histories of pillages, plunders and conquests, we are watching classes forming in Canada and other "western countries," we are decoding images of bodies which are not "right," not "normal," grossly noticeable as "visible minorities." We are reading all this through class and gender. But my lecture and the readings are touching the edges of disbelief of many of these students, going against years of their living and institutional education. The method and the content are alien, and they hug the upper edge of the class as though getting away from the centre, from me from whom these sounds float up and spray the edges of their consciousness. But their disbelief, discomfort or downright anger, float down to me as well. They confront me. They look at me. Their look tells me volumes. They stop on the outer edges of my skin, they pick out my colour, height, clothes, and I am aware of this look, "the gaze" that both comes from and produces fixity. And I am teaching about bodies and how they are constructed into signs of differences tinged with inferiority. How histories, cultures, ideologies of Europe constructed a "European = White self," in relation to whom the "others," now called "people of colour," "visible minorities," "immigrants," "third world people," are "different," the inferiority of whose "difference" is signalled physically — materially, by skin colour, a nose shape, a mouth, a yellow star, leg irons, or other symbols of danger and domination. The "hottentot venus" tell it all. And while I am lecturing on "bodies" in history, in social

organization of relations and spaces, constructed by the gaze of power, I am actually projecting my own body forward through my words. I am in/scribing rather than erasing it. First I must draw attention to it, focus this gaze, let it develop me into a construct. Then I take this construct, this "South Asian" woman and break it up piece by piece. In every sense they are learning on my body. I am the teacher, my body is offered up to them to learn from, the room is an arena, a stage, an amphitheatre, I am an actor in a theatre of cruelty.

> The history which bears and determines us has the form of a war rather than that of a language: relations of power, not relations of meaning. (Foucault, 1980, 114)

The social relations of teaching and learning are relations of violence for us, those who are not white, who teach courses on "Gender, 'Race' and Class," to a "white" body of students in a "white" university. I want to hide from this gaze. I don't want to be fixed, pinned with a meaning. I hear comments about a Jamaican woman with 13 children being "related to rabbits or something." It hurts me, I don't want to have to prove the obvious to explain, argue, give examples, images from everyday life, from history, from apartheid, from concentration camps, from reserves. And my body from which all this information emanates, fixed, pinned and afraid, hiding from the gaze.

And I dissociate.

I dissociate from my own presence in the room. But I signify, symbolize, embody a construct and teach on it. But I would rather not, I am tied to a stake and would rather not be — a "Paki," a "visible minority woman," an "immigrant woman," a "they," an "other" — but be "I" among many. But this body, along with centuries of "knowing," of existential and historical racism, is my "teaching" presence and tool.

And I dissociate. My own voice rings in my ears, my anecdotes of the street feel hollow, I am offering up piece by piece my experience, body, intellect, so others can learn. Unless I am to die from this violence of the daily social relations of being a non-white, South Asian woman, in a white Ontario, Canada classroom — I have to dissociate. I hold a part of myself in reserve. All has not been offered up. A part is saved. That is mine. I step out of the half circle of the teaching space; here and there I meet "students." They say "You're great"; the teaching assistants say, "That was a good lecture." Some student wishes to speak after class, she is young, white and good natured. She is asking very basic questions, I can see that the course is working. But I, the "I" of me that has been preserved feels no connection with what is being said. But asks instead, "What has this to do with me?"

> An inspecting gaze, a gaze which each individual under its weight will end by interiorising, to the point that he [she] is his [her] own overseer, each individual thus exercising this surveillance over, and against himself [herself]. (Foucault, 1980, 115)

I finish quickly and leave. My own work, the fruits of my labour, are alienated from me. Someone took them. I gave them away. Social relations of alienation, violence. I am dissociated. In one sense I am schizophrenic. I am inauthentic. And that is what I teach about, embody, respond to the violent social relations, forms and images which create my division and self-removal. So, of course, that I am a "good" teacher, the impact I have on people is far away, dead or lost to me.

De-Colonization is a Violent Process: Anger, Authenticity and De-colonization

> ...de-colonization is always a violent phenomenon.
> (Fanon, 1963)

But there is another way to understand my distress, my dissociation. Fear of the gaze, my presence in the theatre of cruelty, the sacrifice of my body to a white pedagogic god, is not the entire story. I am an object. But also I am a subject. My dissociation has also much to do with that. My pedagogic choice to teach at all, in this country, and what I insistently teach about, have something to do with de-colonization of myself and others, my innermost need to fight patriarchal, imperialist racism. And existentially, with my anger, to make it visible for myself, for others, to make it political. It is a long-drawn, patient, stubborn, persistent anger transformed into curriculum, into lectures brought centre stage into the theatre cruelty. Every day a self dies, and a self gathers solidity. Every day an anger is shaped into a weapon through the hours, and every day its sharp edges are polished away by the rules of pedagogy. Every day I come home with somebody, and every day I leave somebody behind in the public space. But she does not perhaps just disappear at the end of the act. She is carried away in the eyes and mind of others, albeit frightening, the picture of Dorian Gray.

Teaching does not permit or perform anger, but real life, meanings, grievances and injustices are daily brought into the room where I teach, a real relation of violence obtains in the room itself. I am a real person who is angry at having to prove to real people grown accustomed to racism, that it has a history, political economy, culture, a daily existential dimension. Skeptical, brutal, shame-faced questions dart out at me; a white woman defends the killing of a Black young man, herself a part-time member of the police force, her husband implicated in the killing. I hear her, I see the stoney

faces of the Black students in the class, the uncomfortable body motions of some white students, I hear a few hisses. My body feels tense and hot, I want to shout at her, just plain scream — "you fucking racist idiot," "you killer" — but I cannot. The theatre of teaching, its script, does not permit me to do that. If I have to say it, I have to say it pedagogically; exact a teaching moment out of it. I must build up a body of opinions and explanations here, which will challenge and crush her racism. Carefully, cunningly, smoothly I create with comments and statements and debates an ambush for her racism. I begin to summon up previous police killings, the work of the police in general, I invoke Sophia Cook, I remind her of the essays on the state, the police and common sense racism...on and on. I am teaching. The point is coming across, the meaning of racism is becoming evident and wider; but in the meanwhile there is me, there is she. My anger seeking the release of name-calling, a slap across the face, not this mediated rage. Of course I dissociate. My work and I part company. I am aware of doing violence to myself by choosing this pedagogic path.

> I should not have to hope. I should not have to care, about the multiplying, white interpretations of me, of Black people. We should have an equal chance to express ourselves directly. (Jordan, 1989, 7)

And yet I chose to do this violence to myself. Because I choose to de-colonize, to teach anti-racism, not only for myself but for others as well. This slow, long, extended anger of a method, perspective, theories, ideology, instances, political economy and history — these hours of lectures, examinations and essays, are my spontaneity, my anger, formalized, expanded and contained, occasioned and stymied by the regulations of a white university. Subversion, protest, not revolutionary yet, or perhaps will never be. Yet a stream moving on its way, a little tributary to join what I

dream of — a real socialist revolution, feminist, antiracist, marxist, anti-imperialist. The voices, the logic, the politics of my students, who are also my fellow beings, may become a little clearer, more convinced. An anger motivates me. I work on the anger of others with reason, so that somehow it will take shape of a sustained politics, of strategy and goal.

Fanon said, legitimizing violence against violence, decolonization is a violent act. Daily I perform it with others.

> ...no matter what position she decides to take, she will sooner or later find herself driven into situations where she is made to feel she must choose from among three conflicting identities. Writer [teacher] of colour? Woman writer [teacher]? Or woman of colour? Which comes first? (Minh-ha, 1989, 6)

Yes, it distorts me or us. Because anger against the daily ordinary violence and anger of racism distorts us. But there is no out, no clean hands. Undoing history soils us, cuts us up. We are in the front line. Others are coming along with and behind us, someday we will be whole.

So, yes, I disassociate. The mediation of my anger cuts me into two. But here in my actual, immediate work of teaching, I am not silent. At least not that.

Silence and Fury: Time Among the Pedagogues

> Who will educate the educators? (Marx)

Where I am silenced then? By whom? And how? My existence is most powerless among those who are most supposed to be in the know. And there are stages of their knowledge and ways in which they wield the power of this. I have been both a student and a teacher for a long time. If I have felt dismissed and irrelevant among my student colleagues, and

the faculty, arguing in private reading courses about the legitimacy of the Third World armed struggles, with European professors sworn to violent pacifism, among my bosses/colleagues both male and female (I was a part-time instructor for nineteen years at Atkinson College), my denial and dismissal felt total. This was curious because I was among male marxists and female feminist professors, who were in some instances female marxists.

> What is the curriculum? What are the standards that only human life threatens to define and lower? (Jordan, 1989, 27)

There were the first few years of apprenticeship at a feminist course and teaching "concepts of male and female in western civilization." A teaching assistant, lecturing in the course when the necessity arose for one lecture on marxism and feminism. For this reason called by the course director, jokingly, "the male in residence"; marxism being a male sign, the concept of class a male social space, the worker a male. Curious I thought, this abdication by feminists of the role of women as producers, except in early matrilocal agricultural societies. Having proved that women created pottery, weaving, gathered and cultivated — we retreated into interior, into the home, into the psychology of a Jungian self, with intact masculine/feminine stereotypes — anima/animus — now added into "androgyny." We did "culture" without any notion of labour, we did the goddess.

And our goddesses were white, from Crete, from Robert Graves. Our goddesses never went to the east of Asia Minor. They were the foremothers of the white women whose lives and experiences we discussed, who were iconized in Virginia Woolf, Gertrude Stein and Vita Sackville-West. And through this act of omission racism and class lent no inflexion to white, bourgeois feminism. Non-white goddesses and non-white women were absent together and

working-class white women were their close companions. No one of the feminists I taught with, in those hay days of the discovery of patriarchy, thought that "race and class" mattered. And this "no one" was not me. It was "them," the shapers of courses and the destiny of something called Women's Studies, a little club of white women, otherwise kind to me, who never thought about my absence from their courses, along with non-white cultures (implying there were none, appropriating the Middle East as "western"). The shame and anger of the days when I sat among these women, being women together, tongue-tied, becoming smaller with my irrelevance. And a self-hatred growing inside me along with a firm resolve to fight growing as I walked home in the snowy evenings, through slushy streets. Their self-ness made them so unselfconscious. They never considered their ideas irrelevant, their lives marginal, because they so happily were the centre, the creators/subjects of their discourse. When I raised, as I did stubbornly, the importance of race and class I was told that these notions belonged to another realm of politics. "The personal was political," but the political never became personal. I continued to make a living in this and other courses, drawing on my knowledge of European history and literature I provided a token presence.

> These were two modes of consciousness that could not coexist with one another. (Smith, 1987, 7)

And I felt ashamed and silent. Of course I spoke and argued, created curriculum but I became two selves. "They" never touched my "private" self with which, with my own voice, I wrote poetry, short stories, spoke with those who held no power. In those days of happy, unself-conscious cultural racism, my white feminist colleague did not even know that she was being racist! I wonder if there is one female white academic left anymore in Ontario, with such ignorant innocence. These feisty white maidens have become middle-aged academics who are now anxious about being called "racist." So under-politicized they are still, that they don't yet know why they are questioned, when they *are* being racist.

> These are some of the forms in which silencing and exclusion of women have been practised, some have arisen inadvertently as a concomitant of [non-white] women's location in the world, some have been a process of active repression or strong social disapproval of the exercise by [non-white] women of a role of intellectual or political leadership; others have been the product of an organizational process. (Smith, 1987, 25)

My first attempt to discuss "race" with patriarchy was actually in shaping-up a course called "male-female relations," with a male marxist colleague. His "race" awareness came from the civil rights movement in the States, in which he participated. As he was quite forthright about racism, and anxious to learn feminism, and equally anxious not to seem racist, I was able to introduce the occasional text or idea that would point to the special situation of Black or non-white women. When Angela Davis's book came out and articles appeared in Britain and the United States the task became easier. In Toronto, however, we only had ephemeral, empirical untheorized material which we put out, such as an issue of *Fireweed* on "immigrant women." It was much used. A journal/magazine called *Connexions* in the US even reprinted our rather hasty, casually taped conversation that passed as the introduction.

There was no one to my knowledge, even in the late seventies, who taught feminist literature in the universities from an anti-racist standpoint other than myself. Outside the academia, white young women, some of whom were Trotskyists, through the late seventies and early eighties practised an all-white "class" feminism without any awareness of

"race" as a category of ruling or racism as an integral part of Canadian political economy. They evolved towards some control of print media but never considered "solidarity" or "sisterhood" (they straddled both concepts) with non-white women. They spoke about "the working-class women" in Canada and never considered their peculiar racist formation and oppression. The birth and development of the Canadian state and economy from a white settler colony never entered their writing or organizing. They wrote books about domestic labour, but they never wrote about domestic workers. They spoke of factory labour but their talk was devoid of racism towards non-white women or contained barest allusions to other workers. When they did wake up to "immigrant women" they expanded their horizons to Italian and Portuguese women. Subsequently, however, a few of these women went on to teach courses on "gender and class." Held to question by the non-white women's movement in the city, which had spilled over into the universities, these women woke up to the need of introducing the question of "race" and racism. Never, however, did they communicate with us, who were non-white women, some of who wrote, edited "issues" of magazines, organized and generally lived around them, who marched with them, or with me, who taught courses on "Gender, Race and Class." On the few occasions I encountered them, when I was being summoned to embody, illustrate "immigrant women" and eventually "women of colour," they were uneasy, withdrawn and even hostile. I felt surrounded, alone and in need for retreat.

In curriculum meetings, in designing courses white men and women automatically spoke about "theory" and marxism and feminism as their preserve. I was allowed to speak to an "issue," racism not being seen as a fundamental form of social organization of what is called "Canada" and thus not an entry point into social analysis. To this day I get invited to lecture on this "issue" of racism once or twice in courses on feminist or social theory. Not even feminist

theorists of the left seem to know how to build in this "issue" as an integral aspect of their theoretical/analytical enterprise. I still notice how I, and a few more of "us" who work at the university, have to teach these "issue" courses, or better still how our courses even when they have a highly theoretical organization are considered as being "issue" based. We continue to work in separate streams, white women and us engaged in producing different kinds of knowledges.

> I am white, English-speaking, a paid member of the Canadian intelligentsia. I have my place in this same organization of relations that generates the experience of the world of those I observed. Such considerations as these suggest yet other possibilities in the relationship [between white and native people of Canada]....
>
> Then a young native woman came down the tracks and, sitting beside us on the ground, cried and screamed at us in a language we did not understand. We had no idea what she was saying to us or why she was screaming at us — after all we were not driving the train; we were not in control.... We can only see what this might have been about if we shift from the immediate level of the relationship to the underlying historically determined structure of relations. (Smith, 1987, 113-4)

To this day I have never, with one solid exception, heard a white woman academic speak honestly about her own work, problems of change with respect to inner and outer racism. It is not surprising therefore that I disassociate when I am with them. I find it very hard to remember names and faces of white women I encounter on these occasions. The response on their side is mostly guilty silence or guilty confessions, need for encouragement or congratulations because they are finally able to see, belligerence for exclusion from our lives and experiences because they can see.

I once more disassociate from my performance. I don't want to speak any more than what I had to say in the meeting or my talk. I hate the bad faith of being "nice" about something as brutal. I would have welcomed a real questioning conversation. Instead I'm given platitudes, passive aggression and evasions. I have to be careful with the physical nature of my anger. So once more I disassociate. I don't care who is listening to what, what they carry away, mostly I concentrate on what I have to say — and leave the rest alone. Anger and repeated disappointment has taught me a depersonalization of myself and my audience. Rarely I meet a white woman who speaks from neither guilt nor patronage, who does not turn vicious and power tripping when pointed out in her racism, whose politics demands that "racism" be more than an add-on to the main agenda of feminism.

> Women's liberationists did not invite a wholistic analysis of women's status in society that would take into consideration the varied aspects of our experience. In their eagerness to promote the idea of Sisterhood, they ignored the complexity of women's experience. While claiming to liberate women from biological determinism, they denied women an existence out that determined by our sexuality. It did not serve the interest of the upper and middle class feminist to discuss race and class. (hooks, 1982, 190)

This issue of adding brings me back once more to the strictly academic enterprise of designing Curriculum for the classroom and criteria for the hiring of teachers. It has to be admitted that whatever anti-racist initiative I was initially encouraged or allowed to make came through teaching marxist courses or Women's Studies. It is under this project of "adding women" that I proposed to add "racism" and carried through one of the first courses at York University on "Immigrant Women in Canada." The course had two

parts, on where the women came from and why, and where they came to and how they responded to their new situation. By stating that the course covered Canadian immigration from the 1950s to the mid-80s, I was able to demonstrate the fact that class formation in Canada has always relied on race and ethnicity and the Canadian state conducted its politics on that basis. This social zoning and political economy of the subaltern classes in Canada, the segmentation of its labour market, its refugee policies, its human rights records were connected to Canada's white settler heritage and economic dependency on the US. The last part of the course dealt with issues of subjectivities and agencies, and spoke about "immigrant women's" own initiatives, their political organizing and cultural resistance. Of course we began by problematizing the notion of "immigrant women" itself, soon to be joined by "visible minority women" and "women of colour."

While designing this course I noticed how this category of "other women" was added on, because times were changing through agitation of non-white people, and I believe, because some faculty members saw them as "relevant" to their left perspective. But I also saw how I, an "immigrant woman," became invisible to them as such or lost my socio-cultural identity. Nothing was changed in the main frame of the perspectives and methods of Humanities and Social Sciences used thus far. Genderizing racism and using this to think about class as a part of re-thinking the methods of Social Science and Humanities yet to come. These courses were to be added as a "political" gesture. Both marxist males and females, members of the department, continued to hold a perspective of economistic political economy. They were content with a political arithmetic. And I felt intellectually cheated, politically negated and existentially invisible.

> The problem isn't to make third world women a topic within a feminist political economy, nor yet to invite third world women to speak in this zone of discourse. Of course they have already seized that initiative. The problem I am explicating is of a different kind; it is a problem of the concealed standpoint, the position in the relations of ruling that is taken for granted in how we speak and that bounds and constrains how a political economy of women can speak to [*sic*] women let alone third world women. It is a problem of the invisible centre that is concealed in the objectification of discourse, seeming to speak of the world dispassionately, objectively, as it is. For third world women, nothing is gained by being entered as a topic into the circumscriptions of white, male grounded or white female grounded discourse. The theoretical expansions of political economy introduced by white women remains, the standpoint within ruling is stably if invisibly present. Nothing will serve but the dissolution of objectified discourse, the decentring of standpoint and the discovery of another consciousness of society systematically developed from the standpoint of women of colour and exploring the relations of political economy or sociology from a ground in that experience. (Smith, 1989, 55)

Designing courses for new Women's Studies was a more complex problem. A thorough critique of gender or patriarchy was obviously the reason for the existence of the program. The general cast of the program was what could be called "white feminist." This decoded meant that a racist gender essentialism pervaded the atmosphere. A "Canada" was constructed where Native, Black, Chinese, South Asian, or Japanese people never existed as integral to its development or formation. But for the women's movement in the city of Toronto, arguments in the International Women's Day

Committee touched Atkinson's more responsive program. A new course was to be devised and it was to be devised by me. And on its own merit, within its own scope, appreciated; but also bracketed, not connected with other courses, themes carried or traced from one to the other. To my knowledge, other than introducing "racism" as a topic, or "women of colour" and Black women as added topics or a faint gesturing towards antiracist or "Black feminism," there was no discussion among the educators as to how to link the courses in the overall program. We never thought of exciting possibilities of reading feminist texts through the lens of gender, race and class. For example, if Kate Millet's classic text, *Sexual Politics* were to be rewritten or read inscribing "race"/"ethnicity," along with class, how phenomenally different a text or reading it would be. Or, for that matter, what the history of the British labour movement would look like if Sheila Rowbotham had another dimension to the picture of British working-class women, namely that they were Black and Asian. No reflexive, integrative analysis could be arrived at because in actual terms social power and social organization were not problematized.

> In contemporary works, like *The Remembered Gate: Origins of American Feminism* by Barbara Berg, *Herstory* by Jane Sochen, *Hidden from History* by Sheila Rowbothan [*sic*], *The Women's Movement* by Barbara Deckard, to name a few, the role black women played as advocates for women's rights in the 19th century is never mentioned. (hooks, 1982, 161)

Instead, in days spent in discussions about the common sense of racism, mostly with white women, and a white man or two, I heard from white people their concerns about "ghettoization" and "tokenization" of non-white people as teachers in the universities of Canada. But I, who was the "token," pointed out the inevitability of that phenomenon,

in the general absence of non-white faculty and the impossibility in any case of creating a ghetto with one or two dark skins. Arguments then rose to the issue of representation, testimonials put forward as to how this or that white woman learned about her non-white lover or friend's pain by "sharing" their thoughts or experiences, this was meant to advance claims about "knowing" how it feels to be in her shoes. But this necessary empathy of friendship stood in for "knowledge" and stood in the way of understanding the need for affirmative action in hiring. "Progressive" men and women saw nothing wrong with almost total absence of non-white people in post secondary teaching positions. The discussion gravitated instead to the question, "Why can't white people teach about racism, particularly if they have a good politics and social analysis?"

It amazed me that such people of "good politics" and social analysis could not see the fact that the exclusion of non-white people was not accidental, that the social organization of Canada actually expressed itself in the social organization/relations of the academic world and general production of knowledge as well. Nor were they so eager to represent those who cannot represent themselves, questioning the situation on the basis of denial of subjectivities and agencies of non-white people. They never for a moment questioned their own motives nor saw as marxists that a "good marxist analysis" includes praxis, recognizes the material, social relations and conditions of knowledge.

Sitting there with a rage inside me, feeling both intellectually and existentially thwarted, I realized again the perils of being alone in a political struggle. It was apparent again that we, non-white women, have to be there in large numbers to make our point. The problem, so tendentiously constructed as "Why can't whites teach *about* racism?" after all should be phrased as "Why aren't non-white people teaching at all in the university about racism or anything else?" Why do our children not go on in their intellectual

professional work in large numbers? Where do they go after their BAs? What do the faculty expect of them intellectually?

And sitting there, hearing claims about sharing "experience," having empathy, a nausea rose in me. Why do they, I thought, only talk about racism, as understanding us, doing good to "us?" Why don't they move from the experience of sharing our pain, to narrating the experience of afflicting it on us? Why do they not question their own cultures, childhoods, upbringings, and ask how they could live so "naturally" in this "white" environment, never noticing that fact until we brought it home to them? Where is their good marxist feminist analysis in their everyday living? I imagined a land of marxist feminist apartheid, run by these people like Plato's philosopher kings as our guardians speaking about us, without us. Of course all the right things are said about and for us, we live in a happy utopia of non-age, and never having the privilege of speaking for ourselves, making gains, making mistakes, learning from them, in short in not being agents of our own socialist revolution.

In the classroom of that "Gender, Race and Class" course some white women students cringed every time I mentioned slavery, racism and colonialism. They were affronted by the possibility of their consciousness being constructed through a white, male, middle-class culture. They could not or would not see that they had to question their common sense, knowledge apparatuses and politics. They complained about my smoking instead, with ten letters, extending from the university president's office to that of the janitors. They did not have the decency to talk to me once before they embarked on this move. They accused me of being "masculine" for teaching Marx and other male theorists, or having power over them because I lectured in the class and graded them, even though they accepted equally male Hegelian, Foucauldian, Derridian basis for post-modernist, post-marxist feminist theories and also knew that they were in an institution which runs on the very basis of competitive

evaluation. In every way they seemed threatened and made efforts to undermine or de-authenticate me. The worst was to have to sit through listening to their confessions of past and present racism coming to light. An aura of guilt emanated from these empathetic white women rather than questions, criticisms and politics. I felt suffocated and fled to those students in the class both Black and white, who had a less "feminine" feminism, who "masculinely" read theorists, argued with me for hours as to how exactly "gender, race, class" mediated the social organization of each of us. The victim posture of many white women with regard to their men was seriously jolted by non-white women pointing out the racism of white women and their feminist movement.

The world has not changed very much since the days of my "Gender, Race and Class" course. The denial, the nausea, the feeling of bad faith — of others not mine — the offering up of guilty confessions, the many ways of creating exclusion, an in-built thwarted sense of distrust, an arrogant claim to theory, these and much more are still with and around me. How can I not disassociate? How can I in any serious way appropriate or incorporate the creations of my labour when the social relations amidst which, through and for which I create them,. namely institutional and everyday practices of conceptual cultural racism, have pre-organized the conditions of my alienation and reification.

And yet, the last word in politics has not been said. Our options are limited, we can either engage or not engage in this struggle for de-colonization, for challenging various solid relations of power. If we do, the dualism, the manicheism of our world initially cuts us into two. If we don't there is no safe space to withdraw into, except a shadowy, confused, self-denying existence. But waging a struggle of anti-racist marxist feminism, might move us beyond a simplistic "Black/white" manichean politics into one where we think in terms of social relations and ideology, rather than

in myths and metaphors. As the formative relations between the public and the private become evident, my disassociation, my almost-schizophrenia might yield to a sense of a whole self — a little bruised perhaps at the end of the battle.

Notes

1. Thanks to Robert Gill who suggested the title. This article was previously published in *Resources for Feminist Research* vol. 20, no. 3/4 (Fall/Winter 1991): 5-11.

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Looking White People in the Eye

By: Sherene Razack

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Introduction:
Looking White People in the Eye

And then the occasion arose I had to meet the white man's eyes. An unfamiliar weight burdened me. A real world challenged me. In the white world the man of color encounters difficulties in the development of his bodily schema. Consciousness of the body is solely a negating activity. It is a third-person consciousness. The body is surrounded by an atmosphere of certain uncertainty ... And I was battered down by tom-toms, cannibalism, intellectual deficiency, fetishism, racial defects ... I took myself far off from my own presence ... What else could it be for me but an amputation, an excision, a hemorrhage that spattered my whole body with Black blood.

Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*

Innocence and Eye Contact

The essays in this book explore, in a variety of ways, what happens in classrooms and courtrooms when dominant groups encounter subordinate groups. In the much quoted passage above, Fanon describes this encounter as it occurs in colonialism, from the point of view of the colonized Black male subject. Fanon's description of the profound depersonalization that marks the colonial encounter compels us to pay attention to how relations among unequals are powerfully shaped by the histories and contemporary realities of oppression. Although the encounter between colonizer and colonized changes in historically specific ways, and is always highly gendered, it remains a moment when powerful narratives turn oppressed peoples into objects, to be held in contempt, or to be saved from their fates by more civilized beings.

I was drawn to Fanon,[1] whom many have called the founding father

of modern colonial critique,[2] to introduce this body of essays primarily because of a startling divergence between his views and those of many contemporary educators and legal practitioners on the issue of eye contact. Looking white people in the eye is an encounter for Fanon that is deeply psychically structured and sexualized, illuminating, as Homi Bhabha writes 'the madness of racism, the pleasure of pain, the agonistic fantasy of political power.' It is a moment when the 'white man's eyes break up the Black man's body and in that act of epistemic violence its own frame of reference is transgressed, its field of vision disturbed.'[3] The colonial encounter produces, in this way, both the colonizer whose eyes commit the act of violence, and the colonized who is erased by the colonial gaze. Both are depersonalized – the colonizer caught in a delirium of desiring what must not be desired, the colonized locked into showing that he is the human the colonizer says he is not: 'The Negro is not. Any more than the white man.'[4]

Asking 'What is the distinctive *force* of Fanon's vision?,' Homi Bhabha remarks that it is Fanon to whom we owe the insight that the madness of racism is the rule not the exception. It is the condition that *enables* the story of Western civil progress to be told, the bedrock upon which the emergence of bourgeois society is founded. Bhabha argues that Fanon's analysis of colonial depersonalization, written in a language of demand and desire, changes the direction of Western history and challenges 'the historicist idea of time as a progressive, ordered whole.' With Fanon's analysis, we are forced to confront the very meaning of the human subject, to question 'historical rationality, cultural cohesion, the autonomy of individual consciousness.' How can we explain colonial alienation, its violence, 'the febrile, phantasmic images of racial hatred that come to be absorbed and acted out in the wisdom of the West' without Fanon's psychoanalytic explanations of delirium, desire, and neurosis?[5]

Fanon's preoccupation with the look is not primarily a preoccupation with the white man in colonialism. As Stuart Hall points out, what preoccupies Fanon is 'the fact that the black man can only exist in relation to himself through the alienating presence of the white "Other."' He writes:

> The subject to which Fanon addresses himself is historically specific. It is not racism as a general phenomenon but racism in the colonial relation which he dissects. His task was to unpack its inner landscapes – *to consider the conditions for the production of a new kind of subject* [emphasis added].[6]

This book is similarly concerned with identifying the conditions for the

production of a new kind of subject. In opening with Fanon, I mean to emphasize that while this project begins with critically examining the extent to which relations between colonizers and the colonized are highly structured and overdetermined by racism, it ends, I hope, with a gendered version of Fanon's goal – the liberation of the woman of colour from herself, her release from the gaze and its consequences.

In this neocolonial age, in which the countries of the North still economically and militarily dominate those of the South and white supremacy remains securely in place, Fanon's description of the desire, delirium, and neurosis of the colonial encounter is still relevant. In her celebrated essay 'Eating the Other,' bell hooks echoes Fanon in her identification of 'those "nasty" unconscious fantasies and longings about contact with the Other embedded in the secret (and not so secret) deep structure of white supremacy."[7] Emphasizing the gendered dimensions of the colonial encounter (which Fanon did not sufficiently do), hooks explores the contemporary desire not to reject but to eat the Other – to transgress racial boundaries. As she comments:

> To make one's self vulnerable to the seduction of difference, to seek an encounter with the Other, does not require that one relinquish one's mainstream positionality. When race and ethnicity become commodified as resources for pleasure, the culture of specific groups, as well as the bodies of individuals, can be seen as constituting an alternative playground where members of dominating races, genders, sexual practices affirm their power-over in intimate relations with the Other.[8]

Thus the 'desire to make contact with those bodies deemed Other, with no apparent will to dominate, assuages the guilt of the past, even takes the form of a defiant gesture where one denies accountability and historical connections.'[9]

The desire for contact that underlies the commodification of otherness and contemporary preoccupation with difference takes a particularly gendered form. If, as hooks suggests, white men engage in sexual encounters with non-white women as a 'ritual of transcendence, a movement out into the world of difference,'[10] then for white women, contact with the non-white Other more often occurs with non-white women. For white women, contact with non-white women reinforces the imperial idea that white women are more liberated than their sisters in the South. The white woman as saviour of less fortunate women is, as Inderpal Grewal documents in *Home and Harem*, a narrative that is centuries old. Grewal examines how English feminists of the nineteenth century used

the image of victimized Indian women 'to position themselves as English citizens when the notion of "citizen" was itself gendered.'[11] Some contemporary feminists, Grewal continues, including feminists of colour, re-enact this imperial relation through positioning themselves as modern, free, and enlightened.[12]

Today, newspaper descriptions of female genital mutilation (FGM) performed on African women, actual film footage of an FGM operation in progress playing throughout the day on CNN television network, and media reports of the brutalities of 'Islamic' and Asian states towards women reinforce the notion of a barbaric South and, by contrast, a civilized North. In these scripts, a more generalized narrative of Western superiority, the media version of which Edward Said detailed in his book *Covering Islam*,[13] meets up with a Western feminist script just as it did in the case of English feminists a century ago. If African and Asian women are victims of their cultures, Western women can rush in to save them and, in so doing, can affirm their own positional superiority.

Scholars play pivotal roles in sustaining these old colonial formulas. For example, in many legal texts (which I detail in chapter 4), both feminist and non-feminist scholars have actively participated in reproducing the binary of the civilized and liberated Western woman and her oppressed Third World sister. In articles on women seeking asylum, immigrants from the South are depicted as carrying within them the seeds of barbarism that can take root and ultimately contaminate our shores, unless they are controlled.[14] Legal scholars have been busy contributing to this internal policing, devising policies and regulations to prevent the spread of barbaric practices brought by immigrants. One has only to think of the energy so many scholars and legal activists have poured into the legal proscription of FGM *in North America* (in comparison with the energy directed to antiracist strategies) to recognize a preoccupation with scripts of cultural inferiority and an affirmation of white female superiority.

Female genital mutilation and the wearing of the veil, the two archsymbols of Southern inferiority, undeniably oppress women. However, when these symbols are constructed as uncontested cultural practices and are oversimplified, and when they dominate the news and scholarship of the North, they function in similar ways to the tom toms and stories of racial defects (which continue to abound as well) in Fanon's description of the colonial encounter. That is, as markers of difference, they are stories that identify the bodies of Asian and African women, both in the

North and in the South, as bodies to be saved by benevolent and more civilized Europeans.

A message of Southern cultural inferiority and dysfunction is so widely disseminated that when we in the North see a veiled woman, we can only retrieve from our store of information that she is a victim of her patriarchal culture or religion. Few alternative images or more complex evaluations are possible. We find it difficult to compare the veil's restriction of women's movements to the wearing of high heels and tight skirts in the West.[15] Similarly, dangerous breast enlargement surgeries are seldom seen as comparable to female genital mutilation (as the language confirms), in part because Northern women are considered to choose these 'surgeries' while Southern women are thought to have their 'mutilations' inflicted upon them. In this way, we in the West are able, consciously or not, to congratulate ourselves on our good sense and ignore the oppression of women on our own turf. Not surprisingly, we seldom acknowledge African and Asian women's own strategies of resistance to oppressive practices. Typically, a Western legal scholar writing on female genital mutilation is then able to say: 'The practice of female genital mutilation is so ancient that it has become firmly ingrained into the cultural traditions of practising countries and has become almost impossible to eradicate.'[16] Inevitably, the conclusion is: 'Only a few women actually escape this predicament by fleeing from their homelands. United States asylum laws must serve as a refuge for those who escape.'[17]

The veil, images of FGM, and stories of Third World men's overall brutality towards women are merely a few contemporary examples of the othering and inferiorizing of people of colour in the North. Expressive of the desire and ambivalence so evoked by Fanon, these particular practices share the feature that enacts a sexism that is real and, simultaneously, enables racism and Northern hegemony. Focusing on women, these essays explore how the eyes of men and women of the dominant group see subordinate women in these complex, interlocking ways and consider the impact of this vision in the courtrooms and classrooms of the 1990s.

In stark contrast to understanding the encounters between dominant and subordinate groups as moments marked by ambivalence, desire, and the performance of domination, Crown attorney Rupert Ross (to take but one example) and the many legal practitioners and educators who endorse the views expressed in his popular book *Dancing with a Ghost* and its sequel *Returning to the Teachings* understand eye contact as simply an issue of managing diversity.[18] If one understood, Ross maintains, that in Aboriginal culture it is disrespectful to look figures of authority

in the eye, one could begin to overcome the gulf that lies between an Aboriginal defendant and a white judge or lawyer. Intending to avoid communication mishaps in the courtroom, Ross advises:

> The first step in coming to terms with people of another culture, then, is to acknowledge that we constantly *interpret* the words and acts of others, and that we do so subconsciously but always in conformity with the way which our culture has taught us is the 'proper' way. The second step involves trying to gain a conscious understanding of what those culture-specific rules might be.[19]

Equipped with the cultural rules of eye contact, all players can then proceed from a position of equality. According to Ross's conceptualization, the history of genocide and the relentless ongoing racism in Aboriginal peoples' lives do not affect *contemporary* relations between white and Aboriginal peoples, at least not to the extent that cultural differences do. A sensitivity to history merely produces a refined catalogue of cultural differences, for example, a detailed description of an Aboriginal healing circle, and the imperial relation remains undisturbed. Ross is still the anthropologist *cum* lawyer reporting on the characteristics of the Other and Aboriginal people remain merely different, rather than oppressed.

The title of this book,[20] *Looking White People in the Eye*, is meant to challenge the widely held view that relations between dominant and subordinate groups can be unmarked by histories of oppression, as so many cultural diversity theorists, educators, and legal practitioners presume. Without history and social context, each encounter between unequal groups becomes a fresh one, where the participants start from zero, as one human being to another, each innocent of the subordination of others. Problems of communication are mere technical glitches in this view, misunderstandings that arise because the parties are culturally, racially, physically, mentally, or sexually *different*. Educators and legal practitioners need only learn to navigate their way through these differences, differences viewed as unchanging essences, innate characteristics – the knowledge of which enables us to predict behaviour. In these essays, I contend the opposite. Encounters between dominant and subordinate groups cannot be 'managed' simply as pedagogical moments requiring cultural, racial, or gender sensitivity. Without an understanding of how responses to subordinate groups are socially organized to sustain existing power arrangements, we cannot hope either to communicate across social hierarchies or to work to eliminate them.

Increasingly, one sees the popularity of the cultural differences model

in education. For example, researchers exploring the schooling issues of Asian children in Canada, the United States and Britain often attribute both their school achievements and failures to Asian cultural values and practices.[21] If Asians do well in school, it is because of their cultural attachment to education; if they do badly, it is because of their failure to 'acculturate' in the 'host' society. Teachers are then advised to become familiar with various cultural practices so that they might intervene appropriately. As Christine Sleeter and others have documented,[22] the adoption of apparently helpful 'cross-cultural' strategies does little to ensure that white teachers will view their Asian and Black pupils as capable of the same level of achievement and range of desires as their white students. Further, teachers are not pressed to examine whether the behaviour that is called cultural, for example passivity with authority figures, is in fact a response to an alienating and racist environment.

In the adult education classroom, a similarly technical view of the problems of communication across differences has prevailed. Educators 'challenged by diversity' consider that they can address differences through a variety of pedagogical tricks that accommodate culturally different or gender-specific styles of learning. At its worst, the 'management of diversity,' as such undertakings are usually called, entails an appropriation and misuse of the cultural practices of subordinate groups. White discussion groups that use an Aboriginal talking stick to pass from speaker to speaker or those that begin with healing circles and Native drums are examples of this kind.[23] More benignly, replacing traditional lectures for a more appropriate participatory style is another practice thought to enable us to bridge the gulf that lies between dominant and subordinate groups. Again, it is not necessary in this approach to consider the veils and the racial defects that haunt the imagination of both the colonizer and the colonized and that mark the encounter between them, our best intentions notwithstanding.

What makes the cultural differences approach so inadequate in various pedagogical moments is not so much that it is wrong, for people in reality are diverse and do have culturally specific practices that must be taken into account, but that its emphasis on cultural diversity too often descends, in a multicultural spiral, to a superficial reading of differences that makes power relations invisible and keeps dominant cultural norms in place. The strategy becomes inclusion and all too often what Chandra Mohanty has described as 'a harmonious, empty pluralism.'[24] Cultural sensitivity, to be acquired and practised by dominant groups, replaces, for example, any concrete attempt to diversify the teacher population. If

white teachers can learn the appropriate cultural rules, we need not hire Black teachers, and we need not address racism. More important, pluralistic models of inclusion assume that we have long ago banished the stereotypes from our heads. These models suggest that with a little practice and the right information, we can all be innocent subjects, standing outside hierarchical social relations, who are not accountable for the past or implicated in the present. It is not our ableism, racism, sexism, or heterosexism that gets in the way of communicating across differences, but *their* disability, *their* culture, *their* biology, or *their* lifestyle. In sum, the cultural differences approach reinforces an important epistemological cornerstone of imperialism: the colonized possess a series of knowable characteristics and can be studied, known, and managed accordingly by the colonizers whose own complicity remains masked.

In this book, I wish to challenge this position of innocence by asking questions about *how* relations of domination and subordination stubbornly regulate encounters in classrooms and courtrooms. My goal is to move towards accountability, a process that begins with a recognition that we are each implicated in systems of oppression that profoundly structure our understanding of one another. That is, we come to know and perform ourselves in ways that reproduce social hierarchies. Tracing our complicity in these systems requires that we shed notions of mastering differences, abandoning the idea that differences are pre-given, knowable and existing in a social and historical vacuum. Instead, we invest our energies in exploring the histories, social relations, and conditions that structure groups unequally in relation to one another and *that shape what can be known, thought, and said*. This does not mean that we abandon sensitivity, that we throw up our hands in despair at the complexity of it all, nor reduce this complexity to the lament so often heard that 'since I can never know what it feels like to be Black, I need not think about race.' Instead, we need to direct our efforts to the conditions of communication and knowledge production that prevail, calculating not only who can speak and how they are likely to be heard but also how we know what we know and the interest we protect through our knowing.

These pedagogical directions make it clear that education for social change is not so much about new information as it is about disrupting the hegemonic ways of seeing through which subjects make themselves dominant. When we go about the business of subjecting these dominant frames to scrutiny in the classroom or courtroom, we should be aware of how deeply connected these ways of seeing are to identity. To disrupt how a white judge views immigrants, for instance, as foreigners dependent on the generosity of Canadians, is to call into question the judge's own sense of superiority as a benevolent man or woman. The denial of racism that is so integral to white Canadian identity was collectively in evidence at the time of the 1996 Summer Olympics. A national outcry arose (on radio and television and in newspapers) in response to Black Canadian Olympic athlete Donovan Bailey's reported statement that Canadians were as racist as Americans and displayed their racism in their responses to the achievements of Canada's Black athletes. Believing that a central part of Canadian identity was tolerance, many white Canadians were outraged by the suggestion that Canadians might be otherwise. Stories of racism and genocide are profoundly shocking, as Coco Fusco reminds us, because they deeply upset the dominant group's notion of self.[25]

White as the Colour of Domination

In working on how histories of oppression regulate what happens in classrooms and courtrooms, I have concentrated on narratives about culture, race, and gender. This leads me to use a language of colour to describe the politics of domination and subordination. White, as my title indicates, is the colour of domination. Two things need to be said about this language. First, it wraps my arguments in a mantle of race even while, simultaneously, I attempt to theorize how racial subjects come into existence through gender hierarchies and vice versa. Second, it leaves the impression that colour is what matters most, even when I am describing the very different histories and regulatory processes that affect Aboriginal peoples (chapter 3), Asians, and Africans (chapter 4) and women with developmental disabilities (chapter 5). The use of this language is in keeping with my emphasis on the physicality of the encounter between powerful and powerless groups and on the importance of the visible in colonial encounters – who and what is seen and not seen.

It has been difficult to find a language that captures the simultaneity of systems of domination and the many ways in which they mutually constitute one another.[26] My emphasis on capitalism, patriarchy, and white supremacy reflects the sites I have chosen to explore and the analytical path I have travelled. This book represents a five-year attempt to complicate the meaning of gender. I wanted to find a language for describing hierarchical relations among women, relations that meant that a working-class woman, for instance, experienced gender oppression in a different way from a middle-class woman. Interrogating the essentialist

ıotion that all women are oppressed in the same way, I first tried to how that we do not come any closer to describing relations of domina- ion and subordination when we move beyond an essentialist approach o an additive model of oppression (racism plus sexism produces a doubly ıppressed woman). It tells us nothing, for example, about how systems ıf oppression work, how they sustain one another and how they come nto existence in and through one another, to conclude that a white voman is always better off than a Black woman. Developing the picture urther, by filling out the details so that we have a poor white woman nd a rich Black one, still keeps us in the abstract realm of multiplying ssences. Instead, it is vitally important to explore in a historical and ite-specific way the meaning of race, economic status, class, disability, exuality, and gender as they come together to structure women in dif- erent and shifting positions of power and privilege.

Pursuing the idea of interlocking systems of domination (with ample ıelp from Patricia Hill Collins, Trinh T. Minh-ha, and many others),[27] I ame to see that each system of oppression relied on the other to give it neaning, and that this interlocking effect could only be traced in histor- cally specific ways. For instance, in nineteenth-century Britain, the cult f domesticity, which restricted white women's activities to the private phere, not only structured male/female relations and the self-definition of ne middle class but also was an indispensable element in the imperial nterprise, enabling imperial powers such as Britain to utilize the capital f the middle class, among other things, to colonize others.[28] Elaborating n the imperial project, Ann Stoler has shown how in Dutch colonies, a European family life and bourgeois respectability became increasingly ed to notions of racial survival, imperial patriotism, and the political rategies of the colonial state.'[29] Stoler has carefully elaborated, for in- ance, the importance of the construct of the vulnerable white lady in eed of manly protection: 'A defense of community, morality, and white ıale power was achieved by increasing control over and consensus mong Europeans, by reaffirming the vulnerability of white women, the exual threat posed by native men, and by creating new sanctions to limit ıe liberties of both.'[30] This construct had great currency in the colonies nd in the metropolis where, in Victorian England as well as elsewhere ı Europe, it was an enduring plank in the doctrine of separate spheres nd, consequently, in the maintenance of patriarchy and class exploita- on.

For their part, European women, as Sara Suleri has written of Anglo- ıdian women[31] and Reina Lewis[32] of English women painters of the

nineteenth century, often viewed Other women through the lens of their own subordination, with historically specific and varying results. For example, Lewis writes of how the white women artists she studies under- stood themselves as simultaneously being beneficiaries of imperialism and inferior (owing to gender) in the world of European art. This dual consciousness, which Lewis reminds us cannot be separated from the actual material relations that enabled white women to displace gen- dered exploitation onto the colonial Other, resulted both in white women gaining their autonomy as cultural producers at the expense of the colonized Other and, contradictorily, in their uneven attachment to imperialism. These complex operations of hierarchies of gender and race point to contradictions and cracks in hegemonic systems and illustrate the central importance of understanding how various systems interlock to produce specific effects.

Analytical tools that consist of looking at how systems of oppression interlock differ in emphasis from those that stress intersectionality.[33] Interlocking systems need one another, and in tracing the complex ways in which they help to secure one another, we learn how women are pro- duced into positions that exist symbiotically but hierarchically. We begin to understand, for example, how domestic workers and professional women are produced so that neither exists without the other. First World policies of colonialism and neo-colonialism, which ultimately precipitated the debt crisis and the continuing impoverishment of the Third World and enabled the pursuit of middle-class respectability in the First World, were implemented in highly gendered ways. Cynthia Enloe vividly cap- tures this process:

> The 'debt crisis' is providing many middle-class women in Britain, Italy, Singa- pore, Canada, Kuwait and the United States with a new generation of domestic servants. When a woman from Mexico, Jamaica or the Philippines decides to emi- grate in order to make money as a domestic servant she is designing her own international debt politics. She is trying to cope with the loss of earning power and the rise in the cost of living at home by cleaning bathrooms in the countries of the bankers.[34]

More recently, Abigail Bakan and Daiva Stasiulis have demonstrated that women's work in the home cannot be fully understood without address- ing the differences in citizenship status among members of households. As they forcefully argue: 'The increasing demand for in-home child care in developed capitalist states and the similarly increasing but highly regu-

lated supply of Third World migrant women together work to structure and mediate citizenship rights across and within national boundaries.'[35]

By understanding the connections between systems of oppression, geographical regions and various groups of women, we might better come to see why it has been so difficult for each one of us to see our privilege at the same time as our penalty. An interlocking analysis reminds us of the ease with which we slip into positions of subordination (for example, the sexually vulnerable woman, the woman with sole responsibility for child care, or the woman without access to managerial positions) without seeing how this very subordinate location simultaneously reflects and upholds race and class privilege. In focusing on our subordination, and not on our privilege, and in failing to see the connections between them, we perform what Mary Louise Fellows and I call 'the race to innocence,'[36] a belief that we are uninvolved in subordinating others. More to the point, we fail to realize that we cannot undo our own marginality without simultaneously undoing all the systems of oppression.

An analysis of interlocking systems of oppression and a feminist political project that proceeds with a wary eye for complicity in these systems has increasingly guided the work presented here. For educators, there are important implications of maintaining a critical gaze through the tracing of relations of privilege and penalty. First and foremost, when we consider what it is that limits seeing, we begin with subject position and the assumption, as I have already noted, that power relations deeply shape encounters. Second, in attending to how positions of power are secured, that is through what mechanisms, we gain a sense of what is at stake when we attempt to raise critical consciousness. In understanding, for instance, how white supremacy is gendered, we begin to unravel the resistance we sometimes see in white feminist classrooms to complicating the meaning of gender by talking about how women are raced. Confronted with white racial superiority, white women can deny their dominance by retreating to a position of subordination – that is, since we are oppressed as women, we cannot be oppressors of women of colour. Finally, attention to interlocking systems of domination requires that we move beyond essences and educational responses related to mastering our knowledge of the subordinate groups, but not in order to claim that we are all just human beings. To move beyond essences, we have to do the work around how subjectivity is constituted and how systems of domination are reproduced.

I have not illustrated here the interconnectedness of all systems of

oppression nor shown how they operate at a wide number of sites. For example, I have barely explored race and sexuality. Given the sites I have chosen to work on, my analysis would have been immeasurably enriched had I examined, for example, in chapters 3 and 4, how a heterosexual norm shapes the refugee determination process or the legal determination of who has endured violence and who has not, and, further, how this norm intersects with the racialized and gendered norms I do discuss. For the most part, I have concentrated my efforts on how racist ideas are supported by certain essentialist notions of gender, and vice versa.

In chapter 5, I show how patriarchal and white supremacist ideas about violence against women combine with ableist notions of the meaning of disability to deny the violence in the lives of women with disabilities. In some ways, this small foray into an interrogation of ableism repeats the additive move of which I am deeply critical, namely that disability complicates or changes the stories of race, gender, and class that can be told in the courtroom. That is, I have tried to extend my analytical framework of race and gender through an examination of disability and not concentrated on how responses to disability itself are organized in ways that rely on race and gender hierarchies.

In the sites of law and education that I explore, the dominant group is clearly white, hence the title of this book. This hierarchy is evident in practice and in theory. Most educators in the school system, the university, and the informal sector are white, as are most judges, lawyers, and lawmakers. The theories in use in classrooms and courtrooms, for example theories about cultural diversity, are developed mostly by white theorists. This material fact does not exonerate those of us who are not white and who are also teaching and producing theory. I have not, however, directed my efforts to this subgroup, at the moment a very small percentage of the elites whose gazes I explore.

Like Mary Louise Pratt in her book *Imperial Eyes*, I have been preoccupied with the representational practices of Europeans, not only with the 'seeing man' – 'he whose imperial eyes passively look out and possess'[37] – but also with the seeing woman. Imperial eyes are clearly gendered. While it may be, as Reina Lewis argues, that the European woman's gaze in colonialism is less pejorative and less absolute owing to her own gender subordination,[38] one of my concerns in this book is how, in the context of feminist politics, the white female gaze often sustains rather than disrupts white supremacy, capitalism and patriarchy. Like Pratt, I am worried that in insufficiently exploring how white gazes are returned by subordinate groups,[39] I leave few openings to interrupt

the totalizing moment that Fanon so directly describes. How do we resist imperial eyes? I do not ask, as Rey Chow does in her important work, What does the ethnic eye see?[40] In this omission I am in danger of repeating what Edward Said has noticed about Joseph Conrad. Conrad, Said writes, can see 'the West's wicked power' but he is largely unable to imagine that the peoples of 'India, Africa, and South America also had lives and cultures with integrities not wholly controlled by the gringo imperialists and reformers of this world.'[41] I do not want to leave the impression that subordinate groups are simply erased by the violence of the white gaze. Rather, the question What do the eyes of the dominant group see when they encounter subordinate groups? is raised both to name the epistemic violence of this vision *and* to interrupt its consequences. These essays were written from the premise that these deeply organized responses of dominant groups to subordinate groups can be disrupted and that education, which others have called education for critical consciousness, is central to this process. If we can name the organizing frames, the conceptual formulas, the rhetorical devices that disguise and sustain elites, we can begin to develop responses that bring us closer to social justice. That is, we can each begin to stop performing ourselves as dominant as well as better calculate how to return the gaze.

Rights Thinking, Essential Woman, and the Culturalization of Differences

The essays in this book trace some of the constructs that *enable* the suppression of histories of oppression, constructs I encountered over the last fifteen years of trade union, community, and university teaching. In my involvement with predominantly white workers in union education classes on human rights issues, I wanted to know what stories or explanations the participants in my classes told themselves in order to believe that racism did not exist in Canada. Similarly, in their own minds, how did white male judges account for violence against women? As an educator, I did not view these as broad conceptual questions but rather as urgent pedagogical challenges. How do we disrupt claims of innocence and moves of superiority in the specific context of a human rights course, a graduate seminar, or a trial – in effect, how do we build critical consciousness and achieve social justice?

Like most educators working in the area of issues of social justice, I experienced an increasingly predictable set of responses that inhibited the development of critical consciousness and blocked the actions necessary to change the world. These responses can be summed up as a denial

of oppression. Thus, some of my white students would claim, for example, that there was no racism in Canada, that all immigrants had a hard time at first and later would enjoy better access to society's resources, or that Aboriginal people were killing each other before white men arrived. While some of these responses seemed simple enough to understand (and relatively archaic), others indicated that apparently progressive ideas were in fact *enabling* people to deny violence and oppression and their complicity in it.

In these essays, I trace three ideas or organizing constructs that most often enabled students to deny that oppression existed: rights thinking, essential woman, and the culturalization of differences. Each of these constructs masks relations of power and enables dominant groups to maintain their innocence, even while such constructs can simultaneously empower subordinate groups. I have arranged these essays in the order in which they were written so that the reader might trace some of the twists, turns, and reverses in my exploration of these constructs.

Beginning with rights thinking in chapter 1, I take up where I left off at the end of my first book *Canadian Feminism and the Law*[42] and ask, How do women speak about their realities in a court of law when the naming of those realities would force a confrontation over naming men, and white people, as oppressors? Underlying chapter 1 is the paradox of liberalism as articulated by David Goldberg:[43] race is irrelevant but all is race. That is to say, as Linda Alcoff has written in commenting on Goldberg's work, 'the universal sameness that was so important for the liberal self required a careful containment and taxonomy of difference. Where rights require sameness, difference must be either trivialized or contained in the Other across a firm and visible border.'[44] The problem that I explore is thus twofold: first, how can we talk about power and privilege using a concept – rights – that leaves no room for a discussion of histories of subordination? Rights thinking is based on the liberal notion that we are all individuals who contract with one another to live in a society where each of us would have the maximum in personal freedom. Starting from this premise, there then are no marginalized communities of people and no historical relations of power. Each man, and the prototype is male, makes himself anew. Second, when histories do enter the discussion, for instance when we examine how slavery and racism affected the freedom to engage in this contract, or when we consider how violence against women secured the freedom and autonomy of men, they implicate dominant groups and are thus strenuously resisted through the narrative that we are all just human beings.

One way in which critical educators and legal practitioners have worked with the paradoxes inherent in rights language is to counter the individualizing, dehistoricized features of rights thinking with stories of subordination. In chapter 2, reflecting on pedagogical moments in the courtroom as well as moments when human rights activists tried to thread their way through various histories of subordination in order to determine political action, I trace more specifically what is at stake for us when we are confronted with these stories of oppression. As Trinh insightfully suggests of these moments: 'The Man can't hear it the way she means it.'[45] How stories are heard and the voices we use to tell them are the two themes of this chapter. If we pay attention to the interpretive structures we use both to tell stories and to hear them, we quickly find ourselves having to thread our way through a number of relations at once. For example, in seeing ourselves as good human rights activists engaged in crucial issues of social justice, we can sometimes repeat an imperial civilizing move, and in so doing, fail to see how we oppress others. The challenge in radical education becomes how to build critical consciousness about how we, as subjects, position ourselves as innocent through the use of such markers of identity as the good activist.[46]

Such a challenge is overwhelming. How do we begin to theorize subjectivity and then to map the educational routes that would enable us to cut through the structures of dominance in which we are embedded? Generally, as chapters 3, 4, and 5 indicate, I have not found it useful to answer such questions in the abstract. Instead, I seek to explore the interpretive structures that limit what can be known, heard, and said in a court of law when the issue is violence against women. My choice of context originates in the relentless violence in women's lives, violence ranging from sexual violence in the home and on the street, to violence encountered in institutions, in employment, and in crossing borders. I felt strongly that a language restricted to what men do to women does not sufficiently account for the violence in the lives of Aboriginal women, women of colour, and women with disabilities. Indeed, it does not even account for the violence that white women suffer at the hands of white men. If the violence that all women encounter cannot be described with an analytical framework of gender abstracted from all other social relations, what language do we use to describe these various interlocking realities? Again, such a question remains impossibly abstract and must be pursued in the specific way suggested in chapter 2: What stories are told and how are they heard? How does gender interlock with race and disability to produce specific experiences of violence?

In cases of sexual violence involving Aboriginal women and immigrant women (chapter 3), the contexts of both the victims of violence and their attackers are often *culturalized*, that is, understood as cultural and frozen in time, rather than as dynamic, historical, and social. Cultural differences perform the same function as a more biological notion of race (for example, the idea that Black people have smaller brains) once did: they mark inferiority. A message of racial inferiority is now more likely to be coded in the language of culture rather than biology. What does it mean when a white judge takes the cultural contexts of Aboriginal men into account during a rape trial? It can mean, and it has, that the rapes are viewed as a kind of cultural practice: these people do these kind of things. In this instance, cultural difference, as inferiority, can be a mitigating factor in sentencing. Of course, the culturally different man has to fit this stereotype of primitive. In one of the cases discussed in chapter 3, the defendant could not manage to do so because he had bound his victim with a cord from a stereo, and was therefore clearly not primitive enough. These moments of overt inferiorizing of Aboriginal culture form one expression of the cultural approach. It is more common, however, to find in Canadian courts a relatively more refined version of cultural difference as pre-given and as a marker of inferiority. Canadian judges are now less inclined to rely on overt pronouncements about the inferiority of cultures (land claims disputes excepted – here overt inferiorizing is still *de rigueur*) and more interested in cloaking their opinions in a mantle of sensitivity to cultural differences. In such matters, the judge appears progressive and even anti-imperialist by displaying his or her familiarity with Aboriginal culture and history. A culturally sensitive judge might understand that colonization has wreaked havoc on Aboriginal communities, leaving a trail of alcohol abuse and a legacy of sexual abuse in residential schools. However, this history is not often taken into account to understand the victim – for example, to understand the impact that sexual assault would have on a woman for whom community is the only refuge against racism. More important, cultural considerations do not lead to an understanding of the current workings of white supremacy. A cultural differences approach is not a discussion of contemporary white/Aboriginal relations but a discussion of who Aboriginal people are. Colonization, when it is mentioned, achieves the status of a cultural characteristic, pre-given and involving only Aboriginal people, not white colonizers. We may know how colonization changed Aboriginal people, but do we know how it changed, and continues to change, white people?

Pursuing the process of culturalization in the refugee determination

process (chapter 4) has strengthened my conclusion that we cannot go beyond essential woman without understanding that women's realities are simultaneously shaped by patriarchy, capitalism, and white supremacy. Patriarchal violence, understood in the simple frame as what men do to women, eclipses racial and economic violence, and more important, obscures how they constitute each other and inhibit women's means of resistance. When women from the South flee domestic violence and seek asylum in the North, our refugee determination process has required that they frame their realities as though colonialism and neocolonialism do not affect them. In the refugee determination process, as in sexual assault trials, the language of culture replaces the language of domination.

In the North, we will only save those whose plights do not implicate us. Asylum seekers who cannot present themselves as the victims of unusually patriarchal and culturally dysfunctional cultures are not granted asylum in Canada. Tracking the ways in which a narrative about what men do to women combines with one about the North saving the South, I ask questions in chapter 4 about how we might go about speaking about patriarchal and colonial violence in the same breath. It seems clear that our potential to do so begins with giving up our claims to innocence, claims that enable us in the North to cast ourselves as saviours of Third World women. Instead, tracing complicity and accountability, we must ask: How are we each implicated in the violence?

Moving beyond victims and their saviours requires the same tracing of accountability when the issue is violence against women with disabilities. Few legal scholars have bothered to theorize disability at all, although disability rights activists have done so for some time now.[47] Most legal scholars appear to think that disability is simply a special issue and one that does not enable us to say anything about race, gender, class, or sexuality. This is perhaps the underlying logic of what I have been calling claims of innocence. On the one hand if we understand the realities of groups subordinate to us as different or special, we plunge into hierarchy: we become saviours of less fortunate peoples. On the other hand, if we start from the premise that non-disabled people are implicated in what happens to women with disabilities, we might stand a better chance of detecting when we are simply re-establishing our superiority by noticing difference. The question for us – those of us in a dominant group – always has to be, 'What do I gain from understanding something in this way?'

On those rare occasions when we non-disabled scholars have thought about disability, we have done so on the basis of pity. Relying on additive analysis (where disability plus gender equals double oppression), we have been content to describe the situation of women with disabilities as one of double vulnerability. With the concept of vulnerability, we successfully manage to see disability as a condition that is pre-given, a biological essence or even a social condition, but one that simply is. We privatize the condition of being disabled and do not ask questions about the social relations that transform a physical and mental situation into one of great vulnerability. As Martha Minow has also articulated, when difference is thought to reside in the person rather than in the social context, we are able to ignore our role in producing it.[48]

What is most needed is a theory of difference that accounts for the violence in the lives of women and our complicity in it. As I have discussed throughout these essays, relying on the notion of an essential woman, the idea that all women share a core of oppression on to which can then be grafted their differences, has enabled a masking of how systems of domination interlock and thus how we, as women, are implicated in one another's lives. Tracing complicity thus begins with a mapping of relations among women. We can then critically examine those constructs that homogenize our differences or package them as innate, decontextualized, and ahistorical.

This collection ends with some misgivings expressed in chapter 6. Like many educators, scholars, and activists of colour, I have run headlong into the perils of both essentialism and anti-essentialism. Most of this book is about the ways in which essentialist constructs mask relations of power. In searching for a language to describe multiple relations of power, and thus to uncover complicity in these relations, I have not, however, arrived at a foolproof strategy to raise critical consciousness or to identify effective antisubordination practices. It is not clear, for instance, that talking about culture in an essentialist way is always a bad thing. As Aboriginal peoples, and more recently African Canadians[49] have shown, when one is thought to have a dead, dying, or dysfunctional culture, emphasizing cultural values and practices is an important oppositional strategy. In the courtroom, too, it has sometimes been possible to introduce histories of domination through a frame of cultural difference. For example, during the trial of Donald Marshall, focusing on Mi'kmaq ways of knowing created an opportunity (but perhaps one that was not wide enough) to recall the destruction of the Mi'kmaq by white society and the continuing impact of this genocide.[50] Thus, at least one misgiving I have is that in arguing for a focus on domination, I may have not attended to alternative strategies grounded in specific contexts unlike those discussed here.

A second important misgiving is my fear that anti-essentialism has of late been wielded as a weapon to undermine the struggles of people of colour. The cry is growing stronger that calls for the hiring of faculty of colour, Afrocentric schools, Aboriginal Centres of learning and the Arts, South Asian festivals, writers of colour conferences represent dangerous separatist and particularist moves to discriminate against white people. It is sometimes difficult to counter such charges and at the same time pay heed to the interlocking nature of systems of oppression. When negotiating how to be heard, sometimes we must speak in a language that belies this interconnectedness. We will need to find ways to understand where strategy ends and reinstatement of domination begins. In this quest for tools for critical thinking, I have suggested that we keep our eye on domination, and that we do so in a context-specific way that recognizes the interdependency of systems of oppression. As a friend of mine often asks, Could we have racism without sexism, heterosexism, ableism, and capitalism? Whichever way the question is asked, I hope that these essays promote the answer as no. The systems of oppression that regulate our lives sustain one another but we do not always see this interdependency.

In an introduction of this sort, I leave the impression of a coherence and order to my thoughts that I did not experience at the time each chapter was written. The chapters reflect both the gaps and the continuities in my thinking as well as the many times I have had to double back and refashion the conceptual tools with which I worked. At the end of this body of work, which has stretched over five years, I am left with one central thought that I continue to pursue. The gist of what I propose in the areas of critical pedagogy and the sociology of law is captured in the concept of innocence. As long as we see ourselves as not implicated in relations of power, as innocent, we cannot begin to walk the path of social justice and to thread our way through the complexities of power relations. Ending with Fanon, as I began, I would say that when we are in a dominant group we must remember the power relations that regulate why those in subordinate groups would not want to look us in the eye. Our pedagogy must begin here if we are to 'turn the world upside down, to stake out the right to imagine another.'[51]

Against Race

By: Paul Gilroy

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OBSERVING "RACE"

Once the dimensions of the crisis of raciology have been fully appreciated, we can turn to the other principal aim of this opening chapter: to question and explore some of the tensions arising from a critical consideration of how "race" is beheld. This is intended to contribute to an account of how the signs and symbols of racial difference have become apparent. As you may anticipate, the "postracial" stance I have been trying to develop does not admit the integrity of any avowedly natural perceptual schemes. It does not concede the possibility that "race" could be seen spontaneously, unmediated by technical and social processes. There will be individual variation, but that is not "race." There is no raw, untrained perception dwelling in the body. The human sensorium has had to be educated to the appreciation of racial differences. When it comes to the visualization of discrete racial groups, a great deal of fine-tuning has been required.

This stage of the argument is underpinned by a desire to link the historical and critical study of raciologies and "racial" metaphysics to the new histories of visuality and perception that are being produced. It seeks to connect them with some timely critiques of absolute or integral ethnic identity and the genealogies of subjectivity with which it has been associated. Above all, I want to link the critical study of "race" with an equally critical understanding of the technoscientific means that have fostered and mediated particular relations with our racialized selves in the modern past. The founding *absurdity* of "race" as a principle of power, differentiation and classification must now remain persistently, obstinately in view. That initial move is, as I don't need to remind you, patently out of fashion. "Race"-entrenching pragmatism has been allied with the simplistic versions of racial phenomenology mistakenly attributed to Fanon by critics who seek a leak-proof ontology in his work. These developments have been complemented by the appeal of articulate but brittle traveling nationalisms firmly rooted in African-American circumstances, as well by cynicism and opportunism. These interlinked tendencies agree that the cold, corporeal fact of "race" cannot and should not be theorized out of sight in the very ways that I propose.

You are still feeling doubtful. Perhaps it will help to appreciate that aspects of "race" as it has been understood in the past are already being conjured away by new technologies of self and of species being, and that

use of those technologies, particularly in the medical field, has already precipitated significant political consequences. The old, modern representational economies that reproduced "race" subdermally and epidermally are today being transformed on one side by the scientific and technological changes that have followed the revolution in molecular biology, and on the other by a similarly profound transformation in the ways that bodies are imaged. Both have extensive ontological implications. Bodies are now routinely opened up to new forms of scrutiny by multidimensional medical imaging that uses ultrasound and electromagnetic radiation as well as light, natural and artificial. Have you, has your body, your child's body, ever been scanned? Do you recognize its changing optic density? If so, perhaps you could consider that development another compelling sign that we have begun to let the old visual signatures of "race" go. Having waved them farewell, we may do a better job of countering the injustices that they brought into being if we make a more consistent effort to de-nature and de-ontologize "race," thereby disaggregating raciologies.

This is not an easy option. It necessitates the reconstitution of antiracist hopes. In future, they will have to operate easily across the boundaries erected between text and discourse, spectacle and performance. They will have to move outside the angles of vision, the truth-seeking strategies, the moral and political choices that still offer too many hostages to the normative claims of raciology. This line of attack on racial observance demands frank reflection on the interest in reifying "race" that has repeatedly arisen in academic analysis—something that was not possible when the link between antiracist politics and interventionist scholarship was stronger and closer than it is today. Pursuing this path leads back to the hard work involved in identifying and exploring the political technologies that govern our relation to our selves, our humanity, and our species. As suggested, these tasks take us beyond the discourses and the semiotics of "race" into a confrontation with theories and histories of spectatorship and observation, visual apparatuses and optics. They ask us to rethink the development of a racial imaginary in ways that are more distant from the reasoned authority of logos and closely attuned to the different power of visual and visualizing technologies. The politics of "race" has relied upon [illegible]ordinated both.

[illegible] have already alluded to the profound transformations in the ways the [illegible] understood, experienced, and observed that followed the emer-

gence of molecular biology. The use of computers as modeling and imag-
ing technologies prosthetically extending sight onto nano-scales can be
linked to the impact of digital processing and other allied approaches to
the body that allow it to be seen and understood in new ways, principally
as code and information. We must be especially attentive to the ways in
which the body is being imaged in approaches to health and disease, which
have a paramount importance in the workings of contemporary culture.
These new ways of seeing, understanding, and relating to ourselves point
once again to the possibility that the time of "race" may be coming to a
close even while racisms appear to proliferate.

Michel Foucault's early work explored significant historical prece-
dents for the contemporary emergence of new fields of visibility that op-
erate on nano-scales. However, he is both an inspiring and a frustrating
guide to recent changes in seeing, observing, and knowing the racialized
body. For all his great historical insight into the problem of the individual
observer as a locus of knowledge, the formation of epistemologies with
novel investments in observation, and the shift "signaled by the passage
from geometrical optics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to
the physiological optics, which dominates both scientific and philosophi-
cal discussion of vision in the nineteenth century,"[43] he seems to have
been insufficiently attuned to the significance of protracted struggles over
the raciological disunity of mankind that attended the emergence of
biopolitics. The human and the infrahuman emerged together, and "race"
was the line between them.

Regrettably, Foucault was not really interested in the meaning of racial
differences or in the tests that they provided for eighteenth-century "nom-
ination of the visible" and other related attempts to "bring language as
close as possible to the observing gaze."[44] Although his analysis, which
witnesses the birth of biopower, seems ripe for a decisive confrontation
with the idea of "race," this never happens. To put it simply, he identified
the figure of man as both the pivot and the product of the new relationship
between words and things but then moved too swiftly toward a sense of
modern humanity as unified by its immiserating passage from sanguinity
to sexuality. He failed, for example, to consider how the idea that *Asiaticus*
luridus, *Americanus rubescus*, and *Afer niger* were less than human might
have affected this transformation and its epistemic correlates. Perhaps
was n[illegible] aunted, as I believe we should still be, by the famous image of

orangutan carrying off a Negro girl that provides the frontispiece for Linnaeus' *Genuine and Universal System of Natural History*. The central, inescapable problem in that famous picture is the suggested kinship between these sub- and infrahuman species rather than the fact that their conflictual interrelation is gendered and figured through the trope of rape. The picture's historic setting and the interpretative puzzle it presents point to the unresolved issue of how "race" interrelates with sex, gender, and sexuality—something that is further than ever from being settled and that defines a new and urgent need for future work. The picture's relation to that foundational text of raciology raises other uncomfortable matters: the characteristics of the new, post-Vesalian semiotics of the body, and the relationship between text and image in the performative constitution of "races" that was not one in which words were simply or consistently able to dominate the images—icons—that went far beyond any merely illustrative function.

The extensive debate as to whether Negroes should be accorded membership in the family of mankind (a group whose particularity was inaugurated, proved, produced, and celebrated by the transformed relationship between words and things that crystallized at the end of the eighteenth century) might have been more central to the formation and reproduction of modern scientific thinking than Foucault appreciated. I raise this, neither to pillory him nor to reopen discussion of how that process has been reconstructed by historians of science, but rather because his study of that fateful change in the workings of science and the production of truth is an important resource in our own situation, where comparable changes in the technologies of the body can be observed.

Nobody fills old skulls with lead shot these days. It bears repetition that the truths of racial difference are being sought by other means and produced by technologies that operate on other, less immediate scales. The semiosis of anthropology has been transformed several times since the high point of skull-filling activity. Here, we must acknowledge the impact of vernacular observational codes that have a tangential or ambivalent relationship to racial science proper. There are "one drop of blood" rules with their unsentimental disjunctions between insides and outsides, "pencil tests," and other shadowy technologies of alterity that purport to discover symptoms of degeneration in the special tones of pink and red to be found at the base of fingernails. However, with Kuhn's history and philosophy of

science in our book bags, we comprehend the contingencies of truth-seeking, the pressures of institutional location, the active power of language to shape inquiry, and the provisional status of all scientific enterprises.

Let me propose that the dismal orders of power and differentiation—defined by their persistent intention to make the mute body disclose and conform to the truths of its racial identity—can be roughly periodized. The critical notion of "epidermalization" bequeathed to our time by Frantz Fanon is valuable here. It was born from a philosopher-psychologist's phenomenological ambitions and their distinctive way of seeing as well as of understanding the importance of sight. It refers to a historically specific system for making bodies meaningful by endowing them with qualities of "color." It suggests a perceptual regime in which the racialized body is bounded and protected by its enclosing skin. The observer's gaze does not penetrate that membrane but rests upon it and, in doing so, receives the truths of racial difference from the other body. Whatever phrenology and physiognomy may have meant to Hegel, an enthusiastic reader of Lavater, the skull beneath the skin is now an irrelevancy. This is not the scale of comparative anatomy that arose in moving from natural history to the science of biology. The skin has no independent life. It is not a piece or component of the body but its fateful wrapping. Dermo-politics succeeded biopolitics. Both preceded nano-politics.[45]

Fanon's term "epidermalization" deserves a wider application than its firmly colonial origins would suggest. Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze and Christian M. Neugebauer have reminded us recently that Immanuel Kant's *Physische Geographie* said more than his contemporary celebrants like to admit about the distinctive attributes of tough Negro skin and the practical problems it presented to slave husbandry when pain had to be inflicted on stock with a split bamboo cane.[46] Like Hegel's well-known opinions on the aesthetic deficiencies and intellectual limitations of the Negro, these sentiments can be thought of as exemplifying epidermal thinking in its emergent forms. In an era in which colonial power had made epidermalizing into a dominant principle of political power, Fanon used the idea to index the estrangement from authentic human being and the body and being in the world that colonial social relations had wrought. For him epidermalized power violated the human body in its symmetrical, intersubjective, social humanity, in its species being: in its fragile relationship to other fragile bodies and in its connection to the redemptive potential dormant in the wholesome or perhaps suffering corporeality. What he glimpsed as a "real dialectic between (the) body and the world" might be re-articulated, in a less triumphal mode, as our being toward death.[47]

Fanon's notion supplies an interesting footnote to the whole history of racial sciences and the exclusive notions of color-coded humanity that they specified. How many skin colors are there? How exactly, scientifically, is skin shade supposed to correspond to the variety of "races"? You may recall that Buffon had counted thirty races of dogs. Linnaeus, Kant's ideal reader, thought that *Homo sapiens* included four varieties, whereas the other species that constituted the genus *Homo* had its own numerous subspecies, including *Homo troglodytes.* Kant identified four races of man: the white, the black, the Hun, and the Hindustani. All these raciologists dealt differently with the question of whether the variations they noted within races were as significant as the differences that might exist between them.

In the period since, these distinctively modern raciologies with their strong scientific flavors have joined hands with common-sense perception and made the external surface of the body the focus of their inquiring gaze. When the body becomes absolutely penetrable, and is refigured as the transient, epiphenomenon of coded invisible information, that aesthetic, that gaze, and that regime of power are irrecoverably over. The idea of epidermalization points toward one intermediate stage in a critical theory of body scales in the making of "race." Today skin is no longer privileged as the threshold of either identity or particularity. There are good reasons to suppose that the line between inside and out now falls elsewhere. The boundaries of "race" have moved across the threshold of the skin. They are cellular and molecular, not dermal. If "race" is to endure, it will be in a new form, estranged from the scales respectively associated with political anatomy and epidermalization.

We have been made more skeptical than ever about the status of easily visible differences and are now obliged to ask on what scale human sameness and human diversity are to be calibrated. Can a different sense of scale and scaling form a counterweight to the appeal of absolute particularity currently celebrated under the fading sign of "race"? Can it answer the seductions of self and kind projected onto the surface of the body but stubbornly repudiated inside it by the proliferation of invisible differences that produce catastrophic consequences where people are not what they seem to be? In the instability of scale that characterizes our time, how is

racialized and racializing identity being imagined? Is there still place for "race" on the new scale at which human life and human difference is contemplated? We can cut this long story short by posing the central question even more starkly. What does that long-lived trope "race" mean in the age of molecular biology?

We have seen that on their journey away from modernity's inaugural catastrophes, raciological ways of organizing and classifying the world have retained a special baggage of perspectival inclinations, perceptual habits, and scalar assumptions. Their anthropologies depended and still depend upon observations that cannot be wholly disassociated from the technological means that have both fostered and mediated them. This is where anatomical scale was first broken. Long ago, microscopes transformed what could be seen, but the latest technologies for observing on smaller and smaller scales changed the threshold of visibility and contributed to an enhanced sense of the power of the unseen and the unseeable. The eugenic ravings of Francis Crick, the Nobel–Prize–winning codiscoverer of DNA, demonstrate exactly how the change of scale involved in the founding of molecular biology and the redefinition of life in terms of information, messages, and code was recognized as having cataclysmic moral and political consequences.[48] Biopolitics laid the foundations for and was superseded by "nano-politics."

Skin, bone, and even blood are no longer the primary referents of racial discourse. If the modern episteme was constituted through processes that forsook the integrity of the whole body and moved inside the threshold of the skin to enumerate organs and describe their functional relationship to an organic totality, the situation today is very different. The same inward direction has been maintained and the momentum increased. Forget to tality: the aspiration to perceive and explain through recourse to the pow of the minute, the microscopic, and now the molecular has been consolidated. In a space beyond comparative anatomy and all dermo-political concerns, the body and its obvious, functional components no longer limit the scale upon which assessments of the unity and variation of species are to be made. The naked eye was long ago recognized insufficient to the tasks of evaluation and description demanded by the leaguered condition of everyday life and the popular eugenic answers manifold problems. It is more than technological changes that make was hi[illegible]rto invisible not only visible but also decisive.

Nuclear magnetic resonance spectroscopy (NMR), positron emission tomography (PET), and computerized tomography (CT) are several of the technical innovations in medical imaging that have transformed the relationship between the seen and the unseen. Whether it is the IBM logo being spelled out in atoms of xenon or a less specific dream of gaining control over the big world "by fiddling with the nanoscale entities of which it is composed," the movement is always in one direction: downward and inward. Our foundational question should be this: Where do these changes leave the idea of racial difference, particularly when it cannot be readily correlated with complex genetic variation? Current wisdom seems to suggest that up to six pairs of genes are implicated in the outcome of skin "color." They do not constitute a single switch.

Several years ago Stephen Lawrence, a young black man, was brutally murdered by several young white men at a bus stop in South East London. His tragic death was but one fatality in a sequence of racial attacks that had been perpetrated in the same area. Two others, Rolan Adams and Rohit Duggal, had been killed in comparable circumstances, but it was the Lawrence murder that became a landmark in the politics of "race" in Britain.[49]

The whole story of political action around these and other similar deaths cannot be recapitulated here. For these limited purposes, it is enough to say that a small but dynamic movement grew up around these terrible tragedies and that the actions of the bereaved families and their various groups of supporters took place both inside and outside the formal institutions of government, publicity, and legislation. Tactical actions were intended to project anger, amplify grief, win support, change consciousness, and raise money for legal fees. Political initiatives included a demand for the justice that had been effectively denied when police, courts, and prosecutors refused to act with speed and diligence against the attackers. They also encompassed a demand for sympathy for the plight of the families in their loss and their sadness that has left a substantial mark on the life of our nation. These actions articulated a further sequence of supplementary demands: for recognition of the seriousness of the offense and for acknowledgment of the humanity of the victims and the distinctively unwholesome nature of the brutal offenses that had left them to die on the pavement while their blood drained away. A government-sponsored judicial inquiry into Lawrence's murder and the way the police and the criminal justice system had responded to it raised the disturbing

issue that "institutional racism" had conditioned the workings of Britain's government agencies.

Although most aspects of the forbiddingly complex case of Stephen Lawrence cannot be explored here, that does not mean they have been forgotten. There are also solid moral and political reasons why that bitter episode and the events that followed it should not be used as illustrative material on the way toward a more general and inevitably speculative argument about the nature of racial categories and the limits of racialized explanation. Nevertheless, that is what I wish to do.

The British National Party—an openly neo-fascist group—had been very active in the area where Stephen Lawrence was murdered. Their national headquarters was close to the spot where he died, and it was not surprising that the group's presence in the neighborhood and its possible role in legitimating white supremacist terror there became the focus of political activity directed toward the police and the local state. In the names of antifascism and antiracism, activists demanded that the party's well-fortified headquarters be shut down. There were tactical divisions within the campaign as to how this might be achieved. One group favored localized direct action, another preferred to pursue more familiar patterns of protest. Rather than march against the bunker, they chose to make their public demands in the central area of the city where government buildings are located and where the media would attend. Another, local demonstration was held outside the fortified building. This action was animated b[illegible] the suggestion that if the authorities were unable to move against th[illegible] group and their headquarters (which had become powerful symbols of th[illegible] malevolent forces of racism and fascism), antiracist demonstrators wou[illegible] do so. This demonstration, held on Saturday, October 16, 1993, pitte[illegible] large number of protesters against a considerable formation of police [illegible] riot gear that had been deployed to protect the neo-fascists from the w[illegible] of the antiracists.

The details of the violence that followed are interesting but not ess[illegible] tial to the points being explored here. As a result of the physical confr[illegible] tion between these groups, forty-one demonstrators were inj[illegible] Nineteen police officers were treated for their injuries, and four of th[illegible] spent the night in the hospital. Conflict over the behavior of the ma[illegible] erupted after the event. This was something more than the routine cycl[illegible] mutual denunciation. In particular, the police claimed that an[illegible]

marchers had singled out black officers and made them special targets for hostility and attack. One of these policemen, deployed by his superiors in defense of the rights of an organization that does not recognize him as belonging to the national community or upholding its laws, was Constable Leslie Turner. Turner said he had been attacked because he was black. He told the newspapers, "It was white demonstrators. There were no black people there that I could see. They singled me out as being a traitor." Whatever his thoughts to the contrary, it is possible that Officer Turner's plight might well have been worse if there had been larger numbers of black protesters around that day. On the scale of human suffering that ends with brutal murder, his experiences are slight, even trivial. His story of victimage may even have been fabricated to win new legitimacy for a dubious police operation. But I want to proceed as if, almost irrespective of what really happened, there was indeed a measure of truth in what he said about that demonstration. What if he *was* attacked as a traitor? What kind of traitor would he have been? What if he *was* assaulted by angry people on the basis that by being a black police officer he had somehow violated the political position that they imagined to match his uniformed black body? What is the currency of what are sometimes called "coconut," "choc-ice," or "oreo cookie" ontologies with their strict and pernicious divisions between "inside" and "outside"? What if the mob was not alive to the irony of his being deployed in defense of the local neo-Nazis? What if they, too, succumbed to the vicious logic of race-thinking?

I am telling this tale here in order to conjure up some of the substantive problems lodged in the way people conceptualize and act upon racial difference. If dedicated antiracist and antifascist activists remain wedded to the most basic mythologies and morphologies of racial difference, what chance do the rest of us have to escape its allure? If the brutal simplicity of racial typology remains alive even in the most deliberate and assertive of antifascist gestures, then perhaps critical, avowedly "anti-essentialist" intellectuals are asking too much when we inquire about the renunciation of "race," or when we aspire to polychromatic and multiethnic utopias in which the color of skin makes no more difference than the color of eyes or hair. It would probably be inappropriate to assume too much common ground between this readership and those anti-Nazi demonstrators. But it is not illegitimate to inquire into where professional and academic interests might resonate in this narrative. Have we, too, become complicit in

:he reification of racial difference? What has happened to the antiracist assumptions that governed our scholarly activities in previous times? Have they been beaten back by the gains of postbiological determinism, which is claiming the right to account for human behavior back from the social sciences? This argument should not be misunderstood. It seeks to initiate a period of reflection and clarification about our intellectual, ethical, and political projects in the critical scholarship of "races" and raciologies.

I am alive to all the ironies of my position. I understand that taking antipathy toward "race" beyond the unstable equilibrium represented by my liberal use of scare quotes might be viewed as a betrayal of those groups whose oppositional, legal, and even democratic claims have come to rest on identities and solidarities forged at great cost from the categories given to them by their oppressors. But to renounce "race" for analytical purposes is not to judge all appeals to it in the profane world of political cultures as formally equivalent. Less defensively, I think that our perilous predicament, in the midst of a political and technological sea-change that somehow strengthens ethnic absolutism and primordialism, demands a radical and dramatic response. This must step away from the pious ritual in which we always agree that "race" is invented but are then required to defer to its embeddedness in the world and to accept that the demand for justice requires us nevertheless innocently to enter the political arenas it helps to mark out.

Simply to raise these issues may be to violate a tacit scholarly agreement. The link between antiracist practice and intellectual work in this area is certainly not what it was twenty years ago, and yet there are precious few reflections on the changes signaled along the road that leads through municipal antiracism and beyond it into the barren terrain where work on "race" is overshadowed by privatized, corporate multiculturalism and cultures of simulation in which racial alterity has acquired an important commercial value. This just might be a suitable time to break the foundational oscillation between biology and culture, to open the closed circuit the analyses of what we used to call the New Racism have become. It will more fruitful in future to trace the history of racial metaphysics—or of a metaphysical raciology—as an underlying precondition for various sions of determinism: biological, nationalistic, cultural, and now, genomic

It has become commonplace to remark that, however noble, the of antiracism does not communicate any positive or affirmative

What, after all, are antiracists in favor of? What are we committed to and how does it connect with the necessary moment of negativity that defines our political hopes? There are difficulties in framing those objectives, utopian and otherwise. I see this as another small symptom of the larger, chronic condition involved in the crisis of "race" and attempts to escape it by refiguring humanism. The history of racism is a narrative in which the congruency of micro- and macrocosm has been disrupted at the point of their analogical intersection: the human body. The order of active differentiation that gets called "race" may be modernity's most pernicious signature. It articulates reason and unreason. It knits together science and superstition. Its specious ontologies are anything but spontaneous and natural. They should be awarded no immunity from prosecution amid the reveries of reflexivity and the comfortable forms of inertia induced by capitulation to the lazy essentialisms that postmodern sages inform us we cannot escape.

Culture and Imperialism

By: Edward Said

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III · TWO VISIONS IN *HEART OF DARKNESS*

Domination and inequities of power and wealth are perennia[illegible] facts of human society. But in today's global setting they are als[illegible] interpretable as having something to do with imperialism, [illegible] history, its new forms. The nations of contemporary Asia, La[illegible] America, and Africa are politically independent but in many w[illegible] are as dominated and dependent as they were when ruled dire[illegible] by European powers. On the one hand, this is the consequ[illegible] of self-inflicted wounds, critics like V. S. Naipaul are wont to [illegible] *they* (everyone knows that 'they' means coloureds, wogs, nig[illegible] are to blame for what 'they' are, and it's no use droni[illegible] about the legacy of imperialism. On the other hand, blami[illegible] Europeans sweepingly for the misfortunes of the present [illegible] much of an alternative. What we need to do is to look [illegible] matters as a network of interdependent histories that i[illegible] be inaccurate and senseless to repress, useful and interes[illegible] understand.

The point here is not complicated. If while sitting in [illegible] Paris, or New York you tell Arabs or Africans that they [illegible] to a basically sick or unregenerate culture, you are [illegible] convince them. Even if you prevail over them, they are [illegible] to concede to you your essential superiority or your [illegible] them despite your evident wealth and power. The his[illegible] stand-off is manifest throughout colonies where w[illegible] were once unchallenged but finally driven out. Co[illegible] triumphant natives soon enough found that they need[illegible] and that the idea of *total* independence was a natio[illegible] designed mainly for what Fanon calls the 'nationalis[illegible] who in turn often ran the new countries with a c[illegible] ative tyranny reminiscent of the departed masters[illegible]

And so in the late twentieth century the imperial cycle of the last century in some way replicates itself, although today there are really no big empty spaces, no expanding frontiers, no exciting new settlements to establish. We live in one global environment with a huge number of ecological, economic, social, and political pressures tearing at its only dimly perceived, basically uninterpreted and uncomprehended fabric. Anyone with even a vague consciousness of this whole is alarmed at how such remorselessly selfish and narrow interests—patriotism, chauvinism, ethnic, religious, and racial hatreds—can in fact lead to mass destructiveness. The world simply cannot afford this many more times.

One should not pretend that models for a harmonious world order are ready at hand, and it would be equally disingenuous to suppose that ideas of peace and community have much of a chance when power is moved to action by aggressive perceptions of 'vital national interests' or unlimited sovereignty. The United States' clash with Iraq and Iraq's aggression against Kuwait concerning [illegible] are obvious examples. The wonder of it is that the schooling [illegible] such relatively provincial thought and action is still prevalent, [illegible]checked, uncritically accepted, recurringly replicated in the edu[illegible] of generation after generation. We are all taught to venerate [illegible]nations and admire our traditions: we are taught to pursue [illegible] interests with toughness and in disregard for other societies. [illegible] and in my opinion appalling tribalism is fracturing [illegible], separating peoples, promoting greed, bloody conflict, [illegible]interesting assertions of minor ethnic or group particu[illegible] little time is spent not so much in 'learning about other [illegible]—the phrase has an inane vagueness to it—but in study[illegible] map of interactions, the actual and often productive traffic [illegible] on a day-by-day, and even minute-by-minute basis [illegible] states, societies, groups, identities.

[illegible] can hold this entire map in his or her head, which is [illegible] geography of empire and the many-sided imperial experi[illegible] created its fundamental texture should be considered [illegible] of a few salient configurations. Primarily, as we look [illegible] nineteenth century, we see that the drive toward [illegible] brought most of the earth under the domination [illegible] of powers. To get hold of part of what this means,

I propose to look at a specific set of rich cultural documents in which the interaction between Europe or America on the one hand and the imperialized world on the other is animated, informed, made explicit as an experience for both sides of the encounter. Yet before I do this, historically and systematically, it is a useful preparation to look at what still remains of imperialism in recent cultural discussion. This is the residuum of a dense, interesting history that is paradoxically global and local at the same time, and it is also a sign of how the imperial past lives on, arousing argument and counter-argument with surprising intensity. Because they are contemporary and easy at hand, these traces of the past in the present point the way to a study of the histories—the plural is used advisedly—created by empire, not just the stories of the white man and woman but also those of the non-whites whose lands and very being were at issue, even as their claims were denied or ignored.

One significant contemporary debate about the residue [illegible] imperialism—the matter of how 'natives' are represented in [illegible] Western media—illustrates the persistence of such interdep[illegible] dence and overlapping, not only in the debate's content but [illegible] form, not only in what is said but also in how it is said, by w[illegible] where, and for whom. This bears looking into, although it re[illegible] a self-discipline not easily come by, so well-developed, temp[illegible] and ready at hand are the confrontational strategies. In [illegible] well before *The Satanic Verses* appeared, Salman Rushdie [illegible] nosed the spate of films and articles about the British Raj, [illegible] ing the television series *The Jewel in the Crown* and Dav[illegible] film of *A Passage to India*. Rushdie noted that the [illegible] pressed into service by these affectionate recollections [illegible] rule in India coincided with the Falklands War, and that [illegible] of Raj revisionism, exemplified by the huge success [illegible] fictions, is the artistic counterpart to the rise of conse[illegible] ogies in modern Britain'. Commentators responded to [illegible] considered Rushdie's wailing and whining in public [illegible] to disregard his principal point. Rushdie was trying [illegible] a larger argument, which presumably should have [illegible] intellectuals for whom George Orwell's well-known [illegible] of the intellectual's place in society as being inside [illegible]

the whale no longer applied; modern reality in Rushdie's terms was actually 'whaleless, this world without quiet corners [in which] there can be no easy escapes from history, from hullabaloo, from terrible, unquiet fuss'.[27] But Rushdie's main point was *not* the point considered worth taking up and debating. Instead the main issue for contention was whether things in the Third World hadn't in fact declined after the colonies had been emancipated, and whether it might not be better on the whole to listen to the rare—luckily, I might add, extremely rare—Third World intellectuals who manfully ascribed most of their present barbarities, tyrannies, and degradations to their own native histories, histories that were pretty bad before colonialism and that reverted to that state after colonialism. Hence, ran *this* argument, better a ruthlessly honest V. S. Naipaul than an absurdly posturing Rushdie.

One could conclude from the emotions stirred up by Rushdie's own case, then and later, that many people in the West came to feel that enough was enough. After Vietnam and Iran—and note here that these labels are usually employed equally to evoke American domestic traumas (the student insurrections of the 1960s, the public anguish about the hostages in the 1970s) as much as international conflict and the 'loss' of Vietnam and Iran [illegible] radical nationalisms—after Vietnam and Iran, lines had to be defended. Western democracy had taken a beating, and even if [illegible] physical damage had been done abroad, there was a sense, as [illegible] Carter once rather oddly put it, of 'mutual destruction'. [illegible] feeling in turn led to Westerners rethinking the whole process [illegible] decolonization. Was it not true, ran their new evaluation, that [illegible] had given 'them' progress and modernization? Hadn't we [illegible] them with order and a kind of stability that they haven't [illegible] since to provide for themselves? Wasn't it an atrocious [illegible] trust to believe in their capacity for independence, for [illegible] to Bokassas and Amins, whose intellectual correlates [illegible] people like Rushdie? Shouldn't we have held on to the [illegible] kept the subject or inferior races in check, remained true [illegible] civilizational responsibilities?

[illegible] that what I have just reproduced is not entirely the [illegible] but perhaps a caricature. Nevertheless it bears an [illegible] resemblance to what many people who imagined

themselves speaking for the West said. There seemed little scepti-
cism that a monolithic 'West' in fact existed, any more than an
entire ex-colonial world described in one sweeping generalization
after another. The leap to essences and generalizations was
accompanied by appeals to an imagined history of Western
endowments and free hand-outs, followed by a reprehensible
sequence of ungrateful bitings of that grandly giving 'Western'
hand. 'Why don't they appreciate us, after what we did for
them?'[28]

How easily so much could be compressed into that simple
formula of unappreciated magnanimity! Dismissed or forgotten
were the ravaged colonial peoples who for centuries endured
summary justice, unending economic oppression, distortion of
their social and intimate lives, and a recourseless submission that
was the function of unchanging European superiority. Only to
keep in mind the millions of Africans who were supplied to the
slave trade is to acknowledge the unimaginable cost of maint[illegible]
ing that superiority. Yet dismissed most often are precisely [illegible]
infinite number of traces in the immensely detailed, violent hist[illegible]
of colonial intervention—minute by minute, hour by hour—[illegible]
lives of individuals and collectivities, on both sides of the colo[illegible]
divide.

The thing to be noticed about this kind of contempor[illegible]
course, which assumes the primacy and even the complete [illegible]
ity of the West, is how totalizing is its form, how all-envelop[illegible]
attitudes and gestures, how much it shuts out even as it [illegible]
compresses, and consolidates. We suddenly find ourselves [illegible]
ported backward in time to the late nineteenth century [illegible]

This imperial attitude is, I believe, beautifully capt[illegible]
complicated and rich narrative form of Conrad's gre[illegible]
Heart of Darkness, written between 1898 and 1899 [illegible]
hand, the narrator Marlow acknowledges the tragic [illegible]
of all speech—that 'it is impossible to convey the life-s[illegible]
any given epoch on one's existence—that which ma[illegible]
its meaning—its subtle and penetrating essence [illegible]
dream—alone'[29]—yet still manages to convey the [illegible]
of Kurtz's African experience through his own [illegible]
narrative of his voyage into the African interior [illegible]

This narrative in turn is connected directly with the redemptive
force, as well as the waste and horror, of Europe's mission in the
dark world. Whatever is lost or elided or even simply made up in
Marlow's immensely compelling recitation is compensated for in
the narrative's sheer historical momentum, the temporal forward
movement—with digressions, descriptions, exciting encounters,
and all. Within the narrative of how he journeyed to Kurtz's Inner
Station, whose source and authority he now becomes, Marlow
moves backward and forward materially in small and large spirals,
very much the way episodes in the course of his journey up-river
are then incorporated by the principal forward trajectory into
what he renders as 'the heart of Africa'.

Thus Marlow's encounter with the improbably white-suited
clerk in the middle of the jungle furnishes him with several digress-
ive paragraphs, as does his meeting later with the semi-crazed,
harlequin-like Russian who has been so affected by Kurtz's gifts.
Yet underlying Marlow's inconclusiveness, his evasions, his
arabesque meditations on his feelings and ideas, is the unrelenting
course of the journey itself, which, despite all the many obstacles,
is sustained through the jungle, through time, through hardship,
to the heart of it all, Kurtz's ivory-trading empire. Conrad wants
us to see how Kurtz's great looting adventure, Marlow's journey
up the river, and the narrative itself all share a common theme:
Europeans performing acts of imperial mastery and will in (or
[illegible]) Africa.

What makes Conrad different from the other colonial writers
[illegible] were his contemporaries is that, for reasons having partly to
[illegible] the colonialism that turned him, a Polish expatriate, into
[illegible] employee of the imperial system, he was so self-conscious
[illegible] what he did. Like most of his other tales, therefore, *Heart*
[illegible] cannot just be a straightforward recital of Marlow's
[illegible] it is also a dramatization of Marlow himself, the
[illegible] wanderer in colonial regions, telling his story to a group
[illegible] listeners at a particular time and in a specific place.
[illegible] group of people is drawn largely from the business
[illegible] Conrad's way of emphasizing the fact that during the
[illegible] business of empire, once an adventurous and often
[illegible] enterprise, had become the empire of business.

(Coincidentally we should note that at about the same time Hal-ford Mackinder, an explorer, geographer, and Liberal Imperialist, gave a series of lectures on imperialism at the London Institute of Bankers:[30] perhaps Conrad knew about this.) Although the almost oppressive force of Marlow's narrative leaves us with a quite accurate sense that there is no way out of the sovereign historical force of imperialism, and that it has the power of [illegible] system representing as well as speaking for everything within its dominion, Conrad shows us that what Marlow does is contingent, acted out for a set of like-minded British hearers, and limited to that situation.

Yet neither Conrad nor Marlow gives us a full view of wh[illegible] is *outside* the world-conquering attitudes embodied by Ku[illegible] Marlow, the circle of listeners on the deck of the *Nellie*, [illegible] Conrad. By that I mean that *Heart of Darkness* works so [illegible] tively because its politics and aesthetics are, so to speak, imp[illegible] ist, which in the closing years of the nineteenth century se[illegible] to be at the same time an aesthetic, politics, and even episte[illegible] inevitable and unavoidable. For if we cannot truly und[illegible] someone else's experience and if we must therefore depen[illegible] the assertive authority of the sort of power that Kurtz [illegible] a white man in the jungle or that Marlow, another wh[illegible] wields as narrator, there is no use looking for other, non[illegible] ist alternatives; the system has simply eliminated them [illegible] them unthinkable. The circularity, the perfect closure of [illegible] thing is not only aesthetically but also mentally unass[illegible]

Conrad is so self-conscious about situating Marlo[illegible] narrative moment that he allows us simultaneously to [illegible] all that imperialism, far from swallowing up its own [illegible] taking place in and was circumscribed by a large[illegible] just outside the tightly inclusive circle of European[illegible] of the *Nellie*. As yet, however, no one seemed [illegible] region, and so Conrad left it empty.

Conrad could probably never have used Ma[illegible] anything other than an imperialist world-view, [illegible] available for either Conrad or Marlow to see of [illegible] at the time. Independence was for whites and [illegible] lesser or subject peoples were to be ruled; scienc[illegible]

emanated from the West. True, Conrad scrupulously recorded the differences between the disgraces of Belgian and British colonial attitudes, but he could only imagine the world carved up into one or another Western sphere of dominion. But because Conrad also had an extraordinarily persistent residual sense of his own exilic marginality, he quite carefully (some would say maddeningly) qualified Marlow's narrative with the provisionality that came from standing at the very juncture of this world with another, unspecified but different. Conrad was certainly not a great imperialist entrepreneur like Cecil Rhodes or Frederick Lugard, even though he understood perfectly how for each of them, in Hannah Arendt's words, to enter 'the maelstrom of an unending process of expansion, he will, as it were, cease to be what he was and obey the laws of the process, identify himself with anonymous forces that he is supposed to serve in order to keep the whole process in motion, he will think of himself as mere function, and [illegible]ntually consider such functionality, such an incarnation of [illegible] dynamic trend, his highest possible achievement'.[31] Conrad's [illegible]lization is that if, like narrative, imperialism has monopolized [illegible] entire system of representation—which in the case of *Heart* [illegible] *Darkness* allowed it to speak for Africans as well as for Kurtz [illegible] the other adventurers, including Marlow and his audience—[illegible] self-consciousness as an outsider can allow you actively to [illegible]hend how the machine works, given that you and it are [illegible]mentally not in perfect synchrony or correspondence. Never [illegible] wholly incorporated and fully acculturated Englishman, [illegible] therefore preserved an ironic distance in each of his [illegible]

[illegible] form of Conrad's narrative has thus made it possible to [illegible] possible arguments, two visions, in the post-colonial [illegible] that succeeded his. One argument allows the old imperial [illegible] full scope to play itself out conventionally, to render [illegible] as official European or Western imperialism saw it, and [illegible] itself after World War Two. Westerners may have [illegible] their old colonies in Africa and Asia, but they [illegible] not only as markets but as locales on the ideological [illegible] they continued to rule morally and intellectually. [illegible] Zulu Tolstoy', as one American intellectual has

recently put it. The assertive sovereign inclusiveness of this argu-
ment courses through the words of those who speak today for
the West and for what the West did, as well as for what the rest
of the world is, was, and may be. The assertions of this discourse
exclude what has been represented as 'lost' by arguing that the
colonial world was in some ways ontologically speaking lost to
begin with, irredeemable, irrecusably inferior. Moreover, it
focuses not on what was shared in the colonial experience, but
on what must never be shared, namely the authority and rectitude
that come with greater power and development. Rhetorically, its
terms are the organization of political passions, to borrow from
Julien Benda's critique of modern intellectuals, terms which, he
was sensible enough to know, lead inevitably to mass slaughter,
and if not to literal mass slaughter then certainly to rhetorical
slaughter.

The second argument is considerably less objectionable. It [illegible]
itself as Conrad saw his own narratives, local to a time and pla[illegible]
neither unconditionally true nor unqualifiedly certain. As I [illegible]
said, Conrad does not give us the sense that he could imag[illegible]
fully realized alternative to imperialism: the natives he [illegible]
about in Africa, Asia, or America were incapable of indepe[illegible]
and because he seemed to imagine that European tutelage [illegible]
given, he could not foresee what would take place when [illegible]
to an end. But come to an end it would, if only because—[illegible]
human effort, like speech itself—it would have its mome[illegible]
it would have to pass. Since Conrad *dates* imperialism, [illegible]
contingency, records its illusions and tremendous viol[illegible]
waste (as in *Nostromo*), he permits his later readers to [illegible]
something other than an Africa carved up into dozens of [illegible]
colonies, even if, for his own part, he had little notio[illegible]
that Africa might be.

To return to the first line out of Conrad, the [illegible]
resurgent empire proves that the nineteenth-centu[illegible]
encounter continues today to draw lines and defe[illegible]
Strangely, it persists also in the enormously comple[illegible]
interesting interchange between former colonial [illegible]
between Britain and India, or between Fra[illegible]
Francophone countries of Africa. But these exchan[illegible]

overshadowed by the loud antagonisms of the polarized debate
of pro- and anti-imperialists, who speak stridently of national
destiny, overseas interests, neo-imperialism, and the like, drawing
like-minded people—aggressive Westerners and, ironically, those
non-Westerners for whom the new nationalist and resurgent
Ayatollahs speak—away from the other ongoing interchange.
Inside each regrettably constricted camp stand the blameless, the
just, the faithful, led by the omnicompetent, those who know the
truth about themselves and others; outside stands a miscellaneous
bunch of querulous intellectuals and wishy-washy sceptics who
go on complaining about the past to little effect.

An important ideological shift occurred during the 1970s and
1980s, accompanying this contraction of horizons in what I have
been calling the first of the two lines leading out of *Heart of
Darkness*. One can locate it, for instance, in the dramatic change
in emphasis and, quite literally, direction among thinkers noted
for their radicalism. The later Jean-François Lyotard and Michel
Foucault, eminent French philosophers who emerged during the
1960s as apostles of radicalism and intellectual insurgency,
describe a striking new lack of faith in what Lyotard calls the
great legitimizing narratives of emancipation and enlightenment.
Our age, he said in the 1980s, is post-modernist, concerned only
with local issues, not with history but with problems to be solved,
not with a grand reality but with games.[32] Foucault also turned
[illegible] attention away from the oppositional forces in modern society
[illegible]h he had studied for their undeterred resistance to exclusion
[illegible] confinement—delinquents, poets, outcasts, and the like—and
[illegible]ed that since power was everywhere it was probably better
[illegible]centrate on the local micro-physics of power that surround
[illegible]ividual. The self was therefore to be studied, cultivated,
[illegible] necessary, refashioned and constituted.[33] In both Lyotard
[illegible]ucault we find precisely the same trope employed to explain
[illegible]ppointment in the politics of liberation: narrative, which
[illegible] enabling beginning point and a vindicating goal, is no
[illegible]dequate for plotting the human trajectory in society. There
[illegible] to look forward to: we are stuck within our circle. And
[illegible] line is enclosed by a circle. After years of support for
[illegible] struggles in Algeria, Cuba, Vietnam, Palestine, Iran,

which came to represent for many Western intellectuals their deepest engagement in the politics and philosophy of anti-imperialist decolonization, a moment of exhaustion and disappointment was reached.[34] One began to hear and read how futile it was to support revolutions, how barbaric were the new regimes that came to power, how—this is an extreme case—decolonization had benefited 'world communism'.

Enter now terrorism and barbarism. Enter also the ex-colonial experts whose well-publicized message was: these colonial peoples deserve only colonialism or, since 'we' were foolish to pull out of Aden, Algeria, India, Indochina, and everywhere else, it might be a good idea to reinvade their territories. Enter also various experts and theoreticians of the relationship between liberation movements, terrorism, and the KGB. There was a resurgence of sympathy for what Jeane Kirkpatrick called authoritarian (as opposed to totalitarian) regimes who were Western allies. With the onset of Reaganism, Thatcherism, and their correlates, a new phase of history began.

However else it might have been historically understandable, peremptorily withdrawing 'the West' from its own experiences in the 'peripheral world' certainly was and is not an attractive [illegible] edifying activity for an intellectual today. It shuts out the possibility of knowledge and of discovery of what it means to [illegible] outside the whale. Let us return to Rushdie for another insight:

> We see that it can be as false to create a politics-free fic[illegible] universe as to create one in which nobody needs to [illegible] eat or hate or love or sleep. Outside the whale it [illegible] necessary, and even exhilarating, to grapple with the [illegible] problems created by the incorporation of political [illegible] because politics is by turns farce and tragedy, and [illegible] (e.g., Zia's Pakistan) both at once. Outside the whale [illegible] is obliged to accept that he (or she) is part of the [illegible] of the ocean, part of the storm, so that objectivity [illegible] great dream, like perfection, an unattainable goal [illegible] must struggle in spite of the impossibility of succe[illegible] the whale is the world of Samuel Beckett's famous [illegible] *can't go on, I'll go on.*[35]

The terms of Rushdie's description, while they borrow from Orwell, seem to me to resonate even more interestingly with Conrad. For here is the second consequence, the second line leading out of Conrad's narrative form; in its explicit references to the outside, it points to a perspective outside the basically imperialist representations provided by Marlow and his listeners. It is a profoundly secular perspective, and it is beholden neither to notions about historical destiny and the essentialism that destiny always seems to entail, nor to historical indifference and resignation. Being on the inside shuts out the full experience of imperialism, edits it and subordinates it to the dominance of one Eurocentric and totalizing view; this other perspective suggests the presence of a field without special historical privileges for one party.

I don't want to overinterpret Rushdie, or put ideas in his prose that he may not have intended. In this controversy with the local British media (before *The Satanic Verses* sent him into hiding), he claimed that he could not recognize the truth of his own experience in the popular media representations of India. Now I myself would go further and say that it is one of the virtues of such conjunctures of politics with culture and aesthetics that they permit the disclosure of a common ground obscured by the controversy itself. Perhaps it is especially hard for the combatants directly involved to see this common ground when they are fighting back more than reflecting. I can perfectly understand the anger that fuelled Rushdie's argument because like him I feel outnumbered and outorganized by a prevailing Western consensus that has come to regard the Third World as an atrocious nuisance, a culturally and politically inferior place. Whereas we write and speak as members of a small minority of marginal voices, our journalistic and academic critics belong to a wealthy system of interlocking informational and academic resources with newspapers, television networks, journals of opinion, and institutes at its disposal. Most of them have now taken up a strident chorus of rightward-tending damnation, in which they separate what is non-white, non-Western, and non-Judeo-Christian from the [illegible] designated Western ethos, then herd it all together [illegible] demeaning rubrics such as terrorist, marginal,

second-rate, or unimportant. To attack what is contained in these categories is to defend the Western spirit.

Let us return to Conrad and to what I have been referring to as the second, less imperialistically assertive possibility offered by *Heart of Darkness*. Recall once again that Conrad sets the story on the deck of a boat anchored in the Thames; as Marlow tells his story the sun sets, and by the end of the narrative the heart of darkness has reappeared in England; outside the group of Marlow's listeners lies an undefined and unclear world. Conrad sometimes seems to want to fold that world into the imperial metropolitan discourse represented by Marlow, but by virtue of his own dislocated subjectivity he resists the effort and succeeds in so doing, I have always believed, largely through formal devices. Conrad's self-consciously circular narrative forms draw attention to themselves as artificial constructions, encouraging us to se[illegible] the potential of a reality that seemed inaccessible to imperialis[illegible] just beyond its control, and that only well after Conrad's de[illegible] in 1924 acquired a substantial presence.

This needs more explanation. Despite their European [illegible] and mannerisms, Conrad's narrators are not average unre[illegible] witnesses of European imperialism. They do not simply [illegible] what goes on in the name of the imperial idea: they think [illegible] it a lot, they worry about it, they are actually quite anxious [illegible] whether they can make it seem like a routine thing. But [illegible] is. Conrad's way of demonstrating this discrepancy betw[illegible] orthodox and his own views of empire is to keep draw[illegible] tion to how ideas and values are constructed (and deco[illegible] through dislocations in the narrator's language. In add[illegible] recitations are meticulously staged: the narrator is [illegible] whose audience and the reason for their being together [illegible] of whose voice, the effect of what he says—are all imp[illegible] even insistent aspects of the story he tells. Marlow, fo[illegible] is never straightforward. He alternates between garrul[illegible] ning eloquence, and rarely resists making peculia[illegible] more peculiar by surprisingly misstating them, or [illegible] vague and contradictory. Thus, he says, a French [illegible] 'into a continent'; Kurtz's eloquence is enlight[illegible] fraudulent; and so on—his speech so full of these [illegible]

cies (well discussed by Ian Watt as 'delayed decoding'[36]) that the net effect is to leave his immediate audience as well as the reader with the acute sense that what he is presenting is not quite as it should be or appears to be.

Yet the whole point of what Kurtz and Marlow talk about is in fact imperial mastery, white Europeans *over* black Africans and their ivory, civilization *over* the primitive dark continent. By accentuating the discrepancy between the official 'idea' of empire and the remarkably disorienting actuality of Africa, Marlow unsettles the reader's sense not only of the very idea of empire but of something more basic, reality itself. For if Conrad can show that all human activity depends on controlling a radically unstable reality to which words approximate only by will or convention, the same is true of empire, of venerating the idea, and so forth. With Conrad, then, we are in a world being made and unmade more or less all the time. What appears stable and secure—the policeman at the corner, for instance—is only slightly more secure than the white men in the jungle, and requires the same continuous (but precarious) triumph over an all-pervading darkness, which by the end of the tale is shown to be the same in London and in Africa.

Conrad's genius allowed him to realize that the ever-present darkness could be colonized or illuminated—*Heart of Darkness* is full of references to the *mission civilisatrice*, to benevolent as well as cruel schemes to bring light to the dark places and peoples of this world by acts of will and deployments of power—but that [illegible] had to be acknowledged as independent. Kurtz and Marlow [illegible]ledge the darkness, the former as he is dying, the latter as [illegible] retrospectively on the meaning of Kurtz's final words. [illegible] and of course Conrad) are ahead of their time in under-[illegible] that what they call 'the darkness' has an autonomy of [illegible] and can reinvade and reclaim what imperialism had taken [illegible] But Marlow and Kurtz are also creatures of their [illegible] cannot take the next step, which would be to recognize [illegible] they saw, disablingly and disparagingly, as a non-[illegible] darkness' was in fact a non-European world *resisting* [illegible] so as one day to regain sovereignty and independence, [illegible] Conrad reductively says, to reestablish the darkness.

Conrad's tragic limitation is that even though he could see clearly that on one level imperialism was essentially pure dominance and land-grabbing, he could not then conclude that imperialism had to end so that 'natives' could lead lives free from European domination. As a creature of his time, Conrad could not grant the natives their freedom, despite his severe critique of the imperialism that enslaved them.

The cultural and ideological evidence that Conrad was wrong in his Eurocentric way is both impressive and rich. A whole movement, literature, and theory of resistance and response to empire exists—it is the subject of Chapter Three of this book—and in greatly disparate post-colonial regions one sees tremendously energetic efforts to engage with the metropolitan world in equal debate so as to testify to the diversity and differences of the non-European world and to its own agendas, priorities, and history. The purpose of this testimony is to inscribe, reinterpret, and expand the areas of engagement as well as the terrain contested with Europe. Some of this activity—for example, the work of two important and active Iranian intellectuals, Ali Shariati and Jalal Ali i-Ahmed, who by means of speeches, books, tapes, and pamphlets prepared the way for the Islamic Revolution—interpreted colonialism by asserting the absolute opposition of the native culture: the West is an enemy, a disease, an evil. In other instances, novelists like the Kenyan Ngugi and the Sudanese Tayib Salih appropriate for their fiction such great *topoi* of colonial [illegible] as the quest and the voyage into the unknown, claiming [illegible] for their own, post-colonial purposes. Salih's hero in *Season [illegible] Migration to the North* does (and is) the reverse of what [illegible] does (and is): the Black man journeys north into white [illegible]

Between classical nineteenth-century imperialism and [illegible] gave rise to in resistant native cultures, there is thus both [illegible] born confrontation and a crossing over in discussion, [illegible] back and forth, debate. Many of the most interesting post-[illegible] writers bear their past within them—as scars of [illegible] wounds, as instigation for different practices, as [illegible] revised visions of the past tending towards a new [illegible] urgently reinterpretable and redeployable experience[illegible] the formerly silent native speaks and acts on territory [illegible]

from the empire. One sees these aspects in Rushdie, Derek Walcott, Aimé Césaire, Chinua Achebe, Pablo Neruda, and Brian Friel. And now these writers can truly read the great colonial masterpieces, which not only misrepresented them but assumed they were unable to read and respond directly to what had been written about them, just as European ethnography presumed the natives' incapacity to intervene in scientific discourse about them. Let us try now to review this new situation more fully.

IV · DISCREPANT EXPERIENCES

and that Indian resistance to that power would inevitably struggle out from under British subjugation.

In reading *Kim* today we can watch a great artist in a sense blinded by his own insights about India, confusing the realities that he saw with such colour and ingenuity, with the notion that they were permanent and essential. Kipling takes from the novel form qualities that he tries to bend to this basically obfuscatory end. But it is surely a great artistic irony that he does not truly succeed in this obfuscation, and his attempt to use the novel for this purpose reaffirms his aesthetic integrity. *Kim* most assuredly is *not* a political tract. Kipling's choice of the novel form and of his character Kim O'Hara to engage profoundly with an India that he loved but could not properly have—this is what we should keep resolutely as the book's central meaning. Then we can read *Kim* as a great document of its historical moment and, too, an aesthetic milestone along the way to midnight August 14–15, 1947, a moment whose children have done so much to revise our sense of the past's richness and its enduring problems.

VI · THE NATIVE UNDER CONTROL

I have been trying, on the one hand, to focus on those aspects of an ongoing European culture that imperialism made use of as its successes accelerated and, on the other, to describe how it was that the imperial European would not or could not see that he or she was an imperialist and, ironically, how it was that the non-European in the same circumstances saw the European *only* as imperial. 'For the native,' Fanon says, such a European value as 'objectivity is always directed against him.'[156]

Even so, can one speak of imperialism as being so ingrained in nineteenth-century Europe as to have become indistinguishable from the culture as a whole? What is the meaning of a word like 'imperialist' when it is used for Kipling's jingoist work as well for his subtler literary work, or for his contemporaries Tennyson and Ruskin? Is every cultural artefact theoretically implicated?

Two answers propose themselves. No, we must say, such concepts as 'imperialism' have a generalized quality that masks with an unacceptable vagueness the interesting heterogeneity of Western metropolitan cultures. Discriminations must be made between one kind of cultural work and another when it comes to involvement in imperialism; so we can say, for example, that for all his illiberalism about India, John Stuart Mill was more complex and enlightened in his attitudes to the notion of empire than either Carlyle or Ruskin (Mill's behaviour in the Eyre case was principled, even retrospectively admirable). The same is true of Conrad and Kipling as artists compared with Buchan or Haggard. Yet the objection that culture should not be considered a part of imperialism can become a tactic to prevent one from seriously connecting the two. By looking at culture and imperialism carefully, we may discern various forms in the relationship, and we shall see that we can profitably draw connections that enrich and sharpen our reading of major cultural texts. The paradoxical point, of course, is that European culture was no less complex, rich, or interesting for having supported most aspects of the imperial experience.

Let us look at Conrad and Flaubert, writers who worked in the second half of the nineteenth century, the former concerned explicitly with imperialism, the latter implicitly involved with it. Despite their differences both writers similarly emphasize characters whose capacity for isolating and surrounding themselves in structures they create takes the same form as the colonizer at the centre of an empire he rules. Axel Heyst in *Victory* and St Antoine in *La Tentation*—late works, both—are withdrawn into a place where, like guardians of a magic totality, they incorporate a hostile world purged of its troubling resistances to their control of it. These solitary withdrawals have a long history in Conrad's fiction—Almayer, Kurtz at the Inner Station, Jim at Patusan, and most memorably Charles Gould in Sulaco; in Flaubert they recur with increasing intensity after *Madame Bovary*. Yet unlike Robinson Crusoe on his island, these modern versions of the imperialist who attempts self-redemption are doomed ironically to suffer interruption and distraction, as what they had tried to exclude from their island worlds penetrates anyway. The covert influence of imperial control in Flaubert's imagery of solitary imperiousness is striking when juxtaposed with Conrad's overt representations. Within the codes of European fiction, these interruptions of an

imperial project are realistic reminders that no one can in fact withdraw from the world into a private version of reality. The link back to Don Quixote is obvious, as is the continuity with institutional aspects of the novel form itself, where the aberrant individual is usually disciplined and punished in the interests of a corporate identity. In Conrad's overtly colonial settings, the disruptions are occasioned by Europeans, and they are enfolded within a narrative structure that is retrospectively resubmitted to European scrutiny for interpretation and questioning. One sees this in both the early *Lord Jim* and the later *Victory*: as the idealistic or withdrawn white man (Jim, Heyst) lives a life of somewhat Quixotic seclusion, his space is invaded by Mephistophelian emanations, adventurers whose subsequent malfeasance is examined retrospectively by a narrating white man.

Heart of Darkness is another example. Marlow's audience is English, and Marlow himself penetrates to Kurtz's private domain as an inquiring Western mind trying to make sense of an apocalyptic revelation. Most readings rightly call attention to Conrad's scepticism about the colonial enterprise, but they rarely remark that in telling the story of his African journey Marlow repeats and confirms Kurtz's action: restoring Africa to European hegemony by historicizing and narrating its strangeness. The savages, the wilderness, even the surface folly of popping shells into a vast continent—all these reaccentuate Marlow's need to place the colonies on the imperial map and under the overarching temporality of narratable history, no matter how complicated and circuitous the results.

Marlow's historical equivalents, to take two prominent examples, would be Sir Henry Maine and Sir Roderick Murchison, men celebrated for their massive cultural and scientific work—work unintelligible except in the imperial context. Maine's great study *Ancient Law* (1861) explores the structure of law in a primitive patriarchal society that accorded privilege to fixed 'status' and could not become modern until the transformation to a 'contractual' basis took place. Maine uncannily prefigures Foucault's history, in *Discipline and Punish*, of the shift in Europe from 'sovereign' to administrative surveillance. The difference is that for Maine the empire became a sort of laboratory for proving

his theory (Foucault treats the Benthamite Panopticon in use at European correctional facilities as the proof of his): appointed to the Viceroy's Council in India as legal member, Maine regarded his sojourn in the East as an 'extended field-trip'. He fought the Utilitarians on issues concerning the sweeping reform of Indian legislation (two hundred pieces of which he wrote), and interpreted his task as the identification and preservation of Indians who could be rescued from 'status' and, as carefully nurtured élites, brought over to the contractual basis of British policy. In *Village Communities* (1871) and later in his Rede Lectures, Maine outlined a theory amazingly like Marx's: that feudalism in India, challenged by British colonialism, was a necessary development; in time, he argued, a feudal lord would establish the basis for individual ownership and allow a prototype bourgeoisie to emerge.

The equally striking Roderick Murchison was a soldier turned geologist, geographer, and administrator of the Royal Geographical Society. As Robert Stafford points out in a gripping account of Murchison's life and career, given the man's military background, his peremptory conservatism, his inordinate self-confidence and will, his tremendous scientific and acquisitive zeal, it was inevitable that he approached his work as a geologist like an all-conquering army whose campaigns added power and global reach to the British empire.[157] Whether in Britain itself, Russia, Europe, or the Antipodes, Africa, or India, Murchison's work *was* empire. 'Travelling and colonizing are still as much the ruling passions of Englishmen as they were in the days of Raleigh and Drake,' he once said.[158]

Thus in his tales Conrad re-enacts the imperial gesture of pulling in virtually the entire world, and he represents its gains while stressing its irreducible ironies. His historicist vision overrides the other histories contained in the narrative sequence; its dynamic sanctions Africa, Kurtz, and Marlow—despite their radical eccentricity—as objects of a superior Western (but admittedly problematic) *constitutive* understanding. Yet, as I have said, much of Conrad's narrative is preoccupied with what eludes articulate expression—the jungle, the desperate natives, the great river, Africa's magnificent, ineffable dark life. On the second of the two

occasions when a native utters an intelligible word, he thrusts an 'insolent black head' through a doorway to announce Kurtz's death, as if only a European pretext could furnish an African with reason enough to speak coherently. Less the acknowledgement of an essential African difference, Marlow's narrative takes the African experience as further acknowledgement of Europe's world significance; Africa recedes in integral meaning, as if with Kurtz's passing it had once again become the blankness his imperial will had sought to overcome.

Conrad's readers of the time were not expected to ask about or concern themselves with what became of the natives. What mattered to them was how Marlow makes sense of everything, for without his deliberately fashioned narrative there is no history worth telling, no fiction worth entertaining, no authority worth consulting. This is a short step away from King Leopold's account of his International Congo Association, 'rendering lasting and disinterested services to the cause of progress',[159] and described by one admirer in 1885 as the 'noblest and most self-sacrificing scheme for African development that has ever been or ever will be attempted'.

Chinua Achebe's well-known criticism of Conrad (that he was a racist who totally dehumanized Africa's native population) does not go far enough in emphasizing what in Conrad's early fiction becomes more pronounced and explicit in the late works, like *Nostromo* and *Victory*, that do not deal with Africa.[160] In *Nostromo* the history of Costaguana is the merciless one of a white family with grandiose schemes and suicidal bent. Neither the local Indians nor the ruling-class Spaniards of Sulaco offer an alternative perspective: Conrad treats them with something of the same pitying contempt and exoticism he reserves for African Blacks and South East Asian peasants. In the end, Conrad's audience was European, and his fiction had the effect not of challenging but of confirming that fact and consolidating consciousness of it, even though paradoxically his own corrosive scepticism was thereby released. A similar dynamic appears in Flaubert.

Despite their fineness and reticulation, then, the inclusive cultural forms dealing with peripheral non-European settings are markedly ideological and selective (even repressive) so far as

'natives' are concerned, just as the picturesqueness of nineteenth-century colonial painting[161] is, despite its 'realism', ideological and repressive: it effectively silences the Other, it reconstitutes difference as identity, it rules over and represents domains figured by occupying powers, not by inactive inhabitants. The interesting question is what, if anything, resisted such directly imperial narratives as Conrad's? Was the consolidated vision of Europe unbroken? Or was it irresistible and unopposed within Europe?

European imperialism indeed developed European opposition—as A. P. Thornton, Porter, and Hobson demonstrate[162]—between the middle and the end of the century; certainly the Abolitionists, Anthony Trollope and Goldwin Smith, for example, were relatively honourable figures among many individual and group movements. Still, people like Froude, Dilke, and Seeley represented the overwhelmingly more powerful and successful pro-imperial culture.[163] Missionaries, although they often functioned as agents of one or another imperial power throughout the nineteenth century, were sometimes able to curb the worst colonial excesses, as Stephen Neill argues in *Colonialism and Christian Missions*.[164] It is also true that Europeans brought modern technological change—steam engines, telegraphs, and even education—to some of the natives, benefits that persisted beyond the colonial period, although not without negative aspects. But the startling purity of the imperial quest in *Heart of Darkness*—when Marlow acknowledges that he always felt a passion to fill in the great blank spaces on the map—remains the overwhelming reality, a constitutive reality, in the culture of imperialism. In its impulsive power the gesture recalls *actual* explorers and imperialists such as Rhodes, Murchison, and Stanley. There is no minimizing the discrepant power established by imperialism and prolonged in the colonial encounter. Conrad underscores that actuality not just in the content but also in the form of Kurtz's seventeen-page report to the Society for the Suppression of Savage Customs: the aim to civilize and bring light to dark places is both antithetical and logically equivalent to its effective end: the desire to 'exterminate the brutes' who may not be cooperative or may entertain ideas about resistance. In Sulaco, Gould is both the mine's patron *and* the man who plans to blow up the enterprise. No connectives are

necessary: the imperial vision enables the natives' life and death at the same time.

But of course the natives could not really *all* be made to disappear, and in fact they encroached more and more upon the imperial consciousness. And what follow are schemes for separating the natives—Africans, Malays, Arabs, Berbers, Indians, Nepalese, Javanese, Filipinos—from the white man on racial and religious grounds, then for reconstituting them as people requiring a European presence, whether a colonial implantation or a master discourse in which they could be fitted and put to work. Thus, on the one hand, one has Kipling's fiction positing the Indian as a creature clearly needing British tutelage, one aspect of which is a narrative that encircles and then assimilates India, since without Britain India would disappear into its own corruption and underdevelopment. (Kipling here repeats the well-known views of James and John Stuart Mill and other Utilitarians during their tenure at India House.[165])

Or, on the other hand, one has the shadowy discourse of colonial capitalism, with its roots in liberal free-trade policies (also deriving from evangelical literature), in which, for instance, the indolent native again figures as someone whose natural depravity and loose character necessitate a European overlord. We see this in the observations of colonial rulers like Galieni, Hubert Lyautey, Lord Cromer, Hugh Clifford, and John Bowring: 'His hands are large, and the toes of his feet pliant, being exercised in climbing trees, and divers other active functions . . . The impressions made upon him are transitory, and he retains a feeble memory of passing or past events. Ask him his age, he will not be able to answer: who were his ancestors? he neither knows nor cares . . . His master vice is idleness, which is his felicity. The labour that necessity demands he gives grudgingly.'[166] And we see it in the monographic rigours of scholarly colonial social scientists like the economic historian Clive Day, who in 1904 wrote, 'In practice it has been found impossible to secure the services of the native [Javanese] population by any appeal to an ambition to better themselves and raise their standard. Nothing less than immediate material enjoyment will stir them from their indolent routine'.[167] These descriptions commodified the natives and their labour and glossed over the

actual historical conditions, spiriting away the facts of drudgery and resistance.[168]

But these accounts also spirited away, occluded, and elided the real power of the observer, who for reasons guaranteed only by power and by its alliance with the spirit of World History, could pronounce on the reality of native peoples as from an invisible point of super-objective perspective, using the protocols and jargon of new sciences to displace 'the natives'' point of view. As Romila Thapar points out, for example,

> The history of India became one of the means of propagating those interests. Traditional Indian historical writing, with its emphasis on historical biographies and chronicles, was largely ignored. European writing on Indian history was an attempt to create a fresh historical tradition. The historiographical pattern of the Indian past which took shape during the colonial period in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was probably similar to the patterns which emerged in the histories of other colonial societies.[169]

Even oppositional thinkers like Marx and Engels were no less capable of such pronouncements than French and British governmental spokesmen; both political camps relied on colonial documents, the fully encoded discourse of Orientalism, for example, and Hegel's view of the Orient and Africa as static, despotic, and irrelevant to world history. When on September 17, 1857, Engels spoke of the Moors of Algeria as a 'timid race' because they were repressed but 'reserving nevertheless their cruelty and vindictiveness while in moral character they stand very low',[170] he was merely echoing French colonial doctrine. Conrad similarly used colonial accounts of lazy natives, much as Marx and Engels spun out their theories of Oriental and African ignorance and superstition. This is a second aspect of the wordless imperial wish; for if the obdurately material natives are transformed from subservient beings into inferior humanity, then the colonizer is similarly transformed into an invisible scribe, whose writing reports on the Other and at the same time insists on its scientific disinterestedness and (as Katherine George has noted[171]) the steady improvement

in the condition, character, and custom of primitives as a result of their contact with European civilization.[172]

At the apex of high imperialism early in this century, then, we have a conjunctural fusion between, on the one hand, the historicizing codes of discursive writing in Europe, positing a world universally available to trans-national impersonal scrutiny, and, on the other hand, a massively colonized world. The object of this consolidated vision is always either a victim or a highly constrained character, permanently threatened with severe punishment, despite his or her many virtues, services, or achievements, excluded ontologically for having few of the merits of the conquering, surveying, and civilizing outsider. For the colonizer the incorporative apparatus requires unremitting effort to maintain. For the victim, imperialism offers these alternatives: serve or be destroyed.

VII · CAMUS AND THE FRENCH IMPERIAL EXPERIENCE

Canada's Economic Apartheid

By: Grace-Edward Galabuzi

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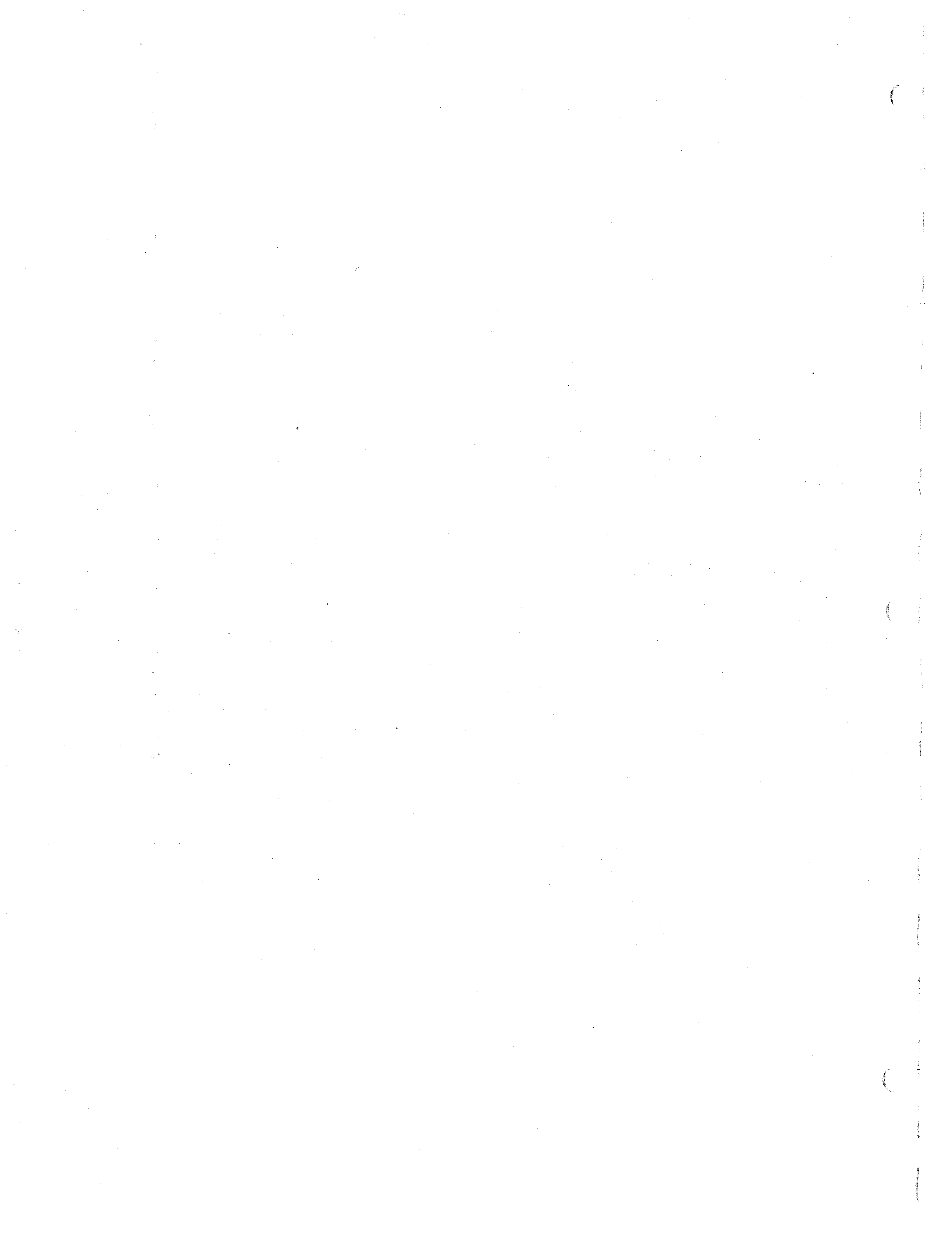

Introduction

The conventional explanations for the gap in economic performance between members of racialized and non-racialized groups focus on a number of factors that merit discussion here. Chief among them is perceived educational gap, which along with the labour-market information and adjustment gap, constitute an "immigrant lag." It has been generally held that immigrants take up to 10 years to adjust to labour market conditions outside the host country. Only then do they "catch up" to other workers. The immigration lag is also attributed to the perceived lower quality of human resource capital due to training and experience obtained in Canada.[1] More recently, as the social economic performance of immigrants has declined even after the 10-year period, there is recognition that economic restructuring is also an important consideration, especially when it is used to reinforce explanations that acknowledge other factors.[2] For instance, economic restructuring is said to create demand for new "soft" skills, such as communication, which racialized groups are said to lack and need as part of their adjustment to the Canadian labour market.[3] Much of the debate has been captured in reports and articles that contrast the earnings of immigrants over the last 25 years with the earnings of those in previous periods, as well as with the earnings of Canadian-born cohorts. Of significance to the debate is the coincidence of the change in immigration patterns over the 1975–1996 period—from mostly European sources to countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean—and the decline in the documented economic performance of immigrants. However, similar low performance patterns are observable among Canadian-born racialized group members. Invariably, though, as the countries in the global South have become the primary source of immigration to Canada—representing 75% of newcomers in the post-1980 era—the discussion of immigrant income differentials has tended to become racialized, focusing on such issues as the economic and social conditions of the source countries of racialized groups and suggesting the perceived diminished immigrant "quality" is the primary explanation for the differences in economic performance.[4]

Most mainstream explanations for the gap in economic performance emphasize three factors: the perceived gap in educational attainment between immigrants and the Canadian-born, the period of stay of immigrants in the country, and immigrants' lack of Canadian labour-market experience.[5] These arguments largely fall in a neo-classical tradition as variations of the human-capital approach, which, as discussed in Chapter 2, has more recently come under challenge by the structural barriers approach.[6] The arguments have been sustained despite documented evidence of racially discriminatory barriers in employment as provided in a number of reports and studies, including the Commission on Equality in Employment in 1984.[7] When introduced, discussion of racial discrimination in labour markets has tended to be presented as a separate and non-determinant variable disconnected from other factors, including economic change. The intersecting and mutually reinforcing nature of these factors has gone unexplored.

In this chapter, we suggest that a complex of factors combine to create the conditions of inequality described in the book. Racial discrimination, a social condition

that has been historically established in Canada, combines with other productivity-related variables to determine decision-making in the labour market. There is now ample research to show that only part of the racial or gender differentials in incomes can be attributed to productivity-related individual characteristics of the racialized group members. We would propose a research agenda informed by a holistic approach to the problem because there is a compelling need to review some of the commonly held notions about racialized immigrants' economic performance, given their impact on public policy.

The Immigration and Labour-Market Complex

As we observed earlier, Canadian labour-market policy has always been linked to Canadian immigration policy. It is little wonder that developments in immigration policy influence the debates about labour-market utilization of immigrants and those considered "outsiders." Peter Li (2003) has remarked that discourse and research on immigration is fairly contested. Historically, Canadian immigration policy and to a large extent the research related to it has focused on the question of "*Who gets in?*" This was the case whether the objective was meeting specific labour-market shortages, or counterbalancing low population growth with immigrant recruitment. But the answer to the question was predicated on the unsupported assumption that certain ethnic groups of immigrants are better able to integrate, assimilate, or contribute to Canadian society. Hence the racialized nature of the Canadian immigration system in historical context. Officially, until the 1960s, ethnicity and race were disproportionate determinants of how that question was answered, as well as the attendant question about the "quality of immigrants" and what contribution they could make or what threat they posed to the Canadian economy and society. Considerable intellectual and political capital was expended in seeking ways to limit access to Canada for certain ethnic groups with the mistaken view that they were less likely to assimilate and contribute to Canada, or that they would be a burden to society.

Box 6.1: *We are All Capable People* by Marina Jimenez

It is a great irony to many in the immigration field, and to newcomers themselves, a bitter joke. Canada has a shortage of skilled professionals, and yet thousands of internationally trained doctors, engineers, teachers and nurses are forced to deliver pizzas and drive taxis.

Some immigrants believe that this is intentional, that Canada wants them only for their genetic potential. They may sweep floors and clean offices, but their offspring will be intelligent and creative. Why else would the government accept them and then make it so very difficult to have their credentials recognized?

Citizenship and Immigration Canada bristles at such a suggestion, and advises immigrants to check the ministry's Website, which clearly warns newcomers there is no guarantee they will find work in their chosen profession.

Still, frustration is mounting: This week, a British-trained accountant and his bookkeeper wife launched a lawsuit against the federal government, alleging that they were misled by immigration officials who assured them they would find good jobs here. Instead, the couple—he is originally from Sri Lanka and she from Malaysia—have spent five years in Edmonton shovelling snow, cleaning toilets and borrowing money to support their teenaged son.

"What angers me is we are capable people. We have the credentials. We just can't get the jobs," complained Selladurai Premakumaran, who feels the government has shattered his hopes and dreams.

Last year, when Canada changed the way it selects immigrants, many were happy to see the end of the old system, which matched newcomers with worker shortages.

Critics had long complained that, by the time the physiotherapists and teachers arrived, those jobs had been filled and the labour shortages were in other fields.

Now, Canada chooses immigrants based not on their occupation, but on their education, skills and language abilities. Applicants must score 67 of a possible 100 points to be accepted. Ostensibly, being talented and smart should make them more employable.

But it isn't working out that way. Canada is recruiting the right kind of people, but they are stuck in a bottleneck, as the agencies and bodies that regulate the fields of medicine, engineering, teaching and nursing struggle to assess their qualifications.

"We have a disaster on our hands," says Joan Atlin, executive director of the Association of International Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario.

"There are thousands of un- and under-employed foreign professionals across the country. At the same time, we have a shortage of skilled professionals, especially in the health-care field. We don't so much have a doctor shortage as an assessment and licensing bottleneck."

About 1,300 doctors from more than 80 countries have joined the association she heads, but she estimates there are many more out there. Ontario alone may have as many as 4,000, most of them still trying to get their medical licences.

At the same time, there is a shortage of as many as 3,000 physicians across the country, especially in smaller communities in Alberta, British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Ontario (provinces that have been forced to recruit doctors from South Africa, whose medical training Canada considers acceptable).

A recent Statistics Canada study of 164,200 immigrants who arrived in 2000 and 2001 found that 70% had problems entering the labour force. Six in every 10 were forced to take jobs other than those they were trained to do. The two most common occupational groups for men were science (natural and applied) and management, but most wound up working in sales and service or processing and manufacturing.

As well as credentials, there is a problem with supply and demand.

Patrick Coady, with the British Columbia Internationally Trained Professionals Network, believes that far too many engineers are coming—as many as 60% of all those accepted each year. (In Ontario, from 1997 to 2001, nearly 40,000 immigrants listed engineering as their occupation.)

"When they arrive, the Engineering Council for Canada evaluates their credentials, which sets up the engineer to think there are opportunities here," Mr. Coady says. "Then they discover that each province has a body that regulates the industry. They need up to 18 months of Canadian work experience before they will get professional engineering status. And, there isn't a great need for consulting engineers. A lot of the infrastructure has already been built in this country."

Michael Wu, a geotechnical engineer from China, is a classic example of what's happening. Accepted as a landed immigrant last spring, he came here with his wife and child, leaving behind a relatively prosperous life in Beijing, and now works for $7 an hour in a Vancouver chocolate factory.

Back in Beijing, "I had a three-bedroom apartment and took taxis everywhere—the Chinese government sent me to build a stadium in St. Lucia," says Mr. Wu, who has a PhD. "Here, no-one will hire me. Many engineering companies think engineers make up false documents. They are suspicious of my qualifications. I never imagined I'd end up working in a factory. But I will keep trying. Every month I go to the Vancouver Geotechnical Society lecture."

Susan Scarlett of the Immigration Dèpartment points out that regulating the professions is a provincial, not federal, responsibility. "We advise people who are thinking of coming to Canada to prepare by really researching how their credentials will be assessed."

Ms. Atlin says that "Canada has been very slow to change. Our regulatory systems have not caught up with our immigration policies."

But some relief may be on the horizon because the issue has become such a political flashpoint.

A national task force is about to report to the deputy minister of health on the licensing of international medical graduates. And this month Denis Coderre, the federal Immigration Minister, announced that he wants to streamline the process of recognizing foreign credentials, and have provinces announce their inventory of needs so Ottawa can work to fill the shortages.

Source: *The Globe and Mail* (October 25, 2003), Focus Section, p. F9.

The tone of the debate is not always neutral or non-offensive, and some voices do arouse a xenophobic response.[8] Despite the ease with which immigrants are often impugned as a burden to Canada, the issue of the performance of the immigrants who are already here, as a basis for predicting future integration success, has always been largely secondary for policy-makers. More often, it has been raised as a way of blaming immigrants for the poor economy in periods of high unemployment when structural changes in the economy have led to significant job loss. Despite the paucity of research to resolve this debate one way or another, decision-makers have not been keen to do follow-up studies on newcomers—even those from the preferred skilled-immigrant categories—to confirm predictions of integration success. However, this has not stopped them from imposing new prohibitions on certain types of immigrants,

while their provincial colleagues countenance actions by provincially mandated regulatory bodies and by employers to deny them access to professions and trades. Ironically, the immigration process selects immigrants on the basis of skills they are prevented from using. What makes these seeming contradictions "acceptable" is that racially and ethnically based assumptions about the "human capital quality" of certain immigrant groups had taken on an official aura.

While officially this position changed with the advent of the point system in the 1960s, it remains very much an unspoken reality in immigration policy-making. This is clear from Conservative and Liberal governments' responses in the 1980s and 1990s to criticisms of too many "wrong" immigrants coming into Canada and to numerous reports pointing to new immigrants' socio-economic struggles as evidence of their having being poorly chosen.[9] The government's response has been to "tighten" the selection criteria by introducing a new selection system that seeks to "identify" the perfect "culturally attuned and appropriately skilled" immigrant. This response is objected to by many new immigrant groups who claim that it belies racist attitudes toward the predominantly racialized immigrants in the post-1980 era. A country built on working-class immigrant labour—some of it racialized—now largely eschews racialized working-class immigration.

In the past, in a more stable economy, the discriminatory impact of the selection process seemed inconsequential in terms of policy-making. The most affected immigrants were relatively small in number. And with a healthy job market, many racialized immigrants were able to overcome steep odds, and over time even outperform their Canadian-born cohorts. However, in the post-1980s period, patterns of inferior immigrant performance began to persist, although minimal attention was still paid to these workers' condition in the labour market. Governments, regulators, and employers did not blame the economic circumstances within the country—such as economic restructuring and a shift from Fordist mode of production to flexible modes, followed by two bouts of free-trade-induced structural adjustment and economic liberalization. Rather, governments simply accepted the charge by researchers and some anti-immigrant advocates that there were too many newcomers in the family class, a class previously favoured for its reproduction of the largely European immigration population. These immigrants, along with refugees, were said to diminish the quality of immigrant labour.

The Diminishing-Returns Approach

Led by the 1991 Economic Council of Canada report titled "Economic and Social Impacts of Immigration," what is known as the "diminishing-returns" approach became so prominent in the 1980s and early 1990s that it had significant impact on Canadian immigration policy, for instance leading to limits in refugee approvals and the priorization of the selection of independent-class immigrants.[10]

A renewed emphasis on the point system implied objective human-capital valuations of internationally obtained skills, leading to a shift from family class to independent class as the dominant immigrant class. However, the shift has not

resolved the issues identified. That is partly because little has been done to gauge how these policy changes and new expectations translate in the labour-market experiences of the new immigrants. The idea that if the country recruited "perfect" immigrants, these issues would disappear continued to compete for airtime with the claim that there were too many immigrants.

The voices of the people whose experiences are at the heart of the debate have been largely left out of the policy debate. That is, until relatively recently when immigrant community organizations have become more forceful in articulating the struggles new immigrants face. While a growing number of researchers has pointed to the discriminatory barriers in the labour market and the changing economy as key sources of immigrants' increasingly poor performance in the labour market—economic restructuring, deregulation, and globalization have led to fewer good jobs and more contingency work—governments' focus has remained on the "ineffectiveness" or "failure" of the selection system to identify high-quality candidates. This preoccupation with selection has persisted in the face of increased proportions of highly qualified immigrants who in turn have struggled to establish themselves economically (Akbari, 1989; Christofides and Swindinsky, 1994; Galabuzi, 2001; Li, 1998a; Lian and Matthews, 1998; Pendukar and Pendukar, 1998; Smith and Jackson, 2002; Ornstein, 2000).

Governments continue to largely ignore the impact of employment barriers on the successful integration of racialized immigrants in particular, and to insist on fine-tuning the selection system to minimize the chance of "low-quality" immigrants getting through. Yet in the real world, these preoccupations do not correlate to the experience of immigrants in the labour market. Highly qualified entrants from the independent class are struggling to navigate discriminatory barriers in much the same way that refugees and family-class immigrants are. These barriers in essence negate the value of human capital that is otherwise the basis for the selection of newcomers, leading to high levels of unemployment, low employment status, low incomes, and disproportionate representation of immigrants in low-income sectors and occupations. Finally, this all translates into high poverty rates for recent immigrants, a highly racialized category.

To make matters worse, the criminalization of immigration in the public discourse and, more recently, the national security concerns due to the threat of terrorism have helped nullify efforts to focus public policy attention on the inequalities immigrants face in the Canadian labour market. *"Who gets in?"* has been reinforced as the central immigration question. In the post-September 11 era, Canada's security concerns have overwhelmed questions relating to the immigrant experience in the Canadian society, especially those related to barriers to successful integration in the labour market. Yet post-immigration experiences require as much public policy attention as does appropriate immigrant selection. Research increasingly shows that post-selection state intervention is critical in ensuring successful integration in such areas as training, credential assessment, and bias-free employment practices.[11]

Challenges to the Diminishing-Returns Approach

As observed above, in the 1980s some researchers and policy advocates interpreted these observations as indicative of the diminishing quality of immigrants, arguing that there were flaws in the immigration system because of the high content of family-class immigrants and refugees. However, these observations persisted through the 1990s, when the independent skilled immigrant class became dominant. That class now represents over 60% of newcomers.[12]

There is now significant research challenging the logic of the diminishing-returns approach. The question of immigrant performance in the Canadian economy has begun to draw some interest, with a variety of studies and reports dealing with the economic performance of immigrants and their impact on the Canadian economy. Many of the studies examining immigrants' performance have focused on the relationship between immigration and income levels (Akbari, 1989; Anderson and Lynam, 1987; Baker and Benjamin, 1994; Bloom, Grenier, and Gunderson, 1995; Borjas, 1985; Boyd, 1984; Christofides and Swindinsky, 1994; Grant and Oertel, 1998; Li, 1988; Lian and Matthews, 1998; Pendukar and Pendukar, 1998). Many have found that there is a growing gap between the performance of the post-1980s immigrants, a highly racialized group, and their pre-1980s cohort. The historical trajectory shows immigrants catching up over a 10- to 12-year period, and in some cases surpassing the performance of native-born Canadians. Now, however, there is evidence of a growing disadvantage in income attainment.

Increasingly, studies are pointing to wage discrimination along racial lines as a key factor in immigrant income attainment. Over the last decade, a number of studies—including Li (1988); Akbari (1989); de Silva (1992); Christofides and Swidinsky (1994); Baker and Benjamin (1995); Gosine (2000); Hiebert (1997); Hou and Balakrishnan (1996); Ornstein (2000); Lian and Matthews (1998); Pendakur and Pendakur (1998); Harvey, Siu, and Reil (1999); Galabuzi (2001); and Smith and Jackson (2002)—have examined the income and occupational inequalities between recent immigrant populations and native-born cohorts.

Much of this research shows that recent immigrants, and more specifically racialized group immigrants, suffer lower earnings and occupational status than native-born Canadians after controlling for other factors such as age, education, language, and period of employment. They not only experience downward career mobility upon arrival, but also disproportionately occupy jobs in the lower echelons of the Canadian labour market for extended periods of time, unlike previous immigrants. They work disproportionately in domestic and janitorial jobs, the low-end service sector, and low-end manufacturing. The latter category includes light manufacturing and garment-working, often in piecemeal arrangements in the home; some have described this type of arrangement as the postmodern sweatshop.

Two thirds of racialized group members are immigrants, and racialized individuals make up 75% of the recent immigrant population. Research that disaggregates the two categories suggests similar trends. Ornstein's (2000) cross-ethnic report, based on 1996 Census data and examining ethno-racial socio-economic performance in Toronto,

looks at the inequality between immigrants and racialized groups on the one hand, and other Toronto residents on the other. It documented gaps in income as high as 50% for some recent immigrated racialized groups, and pointed in particular to the disadvantages faced by racialized women. Racialized group unemployment rates are three times those of European descendants; poverty levels are three to four times the CMA average. While European immigrants suffer some disadvantage, it is not as severe, except perhaps among Eastern Europeans from the most recent immigration period (under five years).

Much of this research suggests that institutional or structural barriers to opportunities explain a significant part of the income inequality. However, it may serve to respond to each of the key arguments presented by the human capital school.

The Educational Attainment Gap Argument

Let us begin with the perceived educational gap. The standard argument, as presented by DeVoretz and others,[13] is that, although the Canadian government's stated objective in adopting the points-based immigration policy in the 1960s was to increase the proportion of skilled immigrants admitted into the country, newcomers under the family and humanitarian classes continue to predominate over independent-class entrants. Because these immigrants are not assessed according to their potential labour-market performance in Canada, the de racialization of immigration policy resulted in the admission of immigrants with lower educational attainment than those who had come in the past, and lower educational attainment than Canadian-born people. The shift in migrant flows from European source countries to countries with lower than average skill levels is assumed to imply lower levels of skills among the racialized newcomers. As a result, the argument goes, not only have the new immigrants had difficulty adjusting to the Canadian economy, but also their poor performance and the economic performance gap are inevitable. These groups of recent immigrants have thus been held responsible for an overall decline in economic returns from immigration.[14]

The Period-of-Stay Argument

Secondly, it is suggested that racialized immigrants have been in the country for only a relatively short period of time and so should expect a lower-than-average level of economic performance. This is the "rites of passage" argument, often used in reference to other immigration waves and to what are claimed to be historical income gaps between Canadian-born population and immigrants in general. It is consistent with a long-held notion that difficulties associated with immigration and settlement (the entry effect) account for an economic lag between immigrants and Canadian-born people, irrespective of educational attainment. However, while newcomers have lower earnings than the Canadian-born at the beginning because of the "assimilation effect," the former see an improvement in their income corresponding to the length of stay, and effectively close the gap in 10 to 15 years. Earlier analysis of census data by Kuch and Haessel (1979), Richmond and Kalback (1980), Carliner (1981), and more recently

by Chiswick and Miller (1988) and Green and Green (1995), suggests that whatever earning differentials may occur at the beginning tend to disappear over time; in fact, immigrants end up outperforming their Canadian-born counterparts.[15] Others, such as Hiebert (1991), also suggest that the length of stay determines not just the level of performance but also the sector-to-sector mobility for immigrants, and so explains the concentrations in low-paid ghettos. Looking at ethnic and gender segmentation in the labour markets in Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal, he concludes that immigrants who have been in Canada longer are more evenly distributed across occupations and sectors than are the newly arrived. Hierbert is therefore able to attribute the overrepresentation of racialized groups in secondary or non-professional, low-skilled occupations, and low-income sectors almost exclusively to the period of stay in the country.[16]

The Quality of Human Capital Argument

Thirdly, Green and Green (1995), Stoffman (1993), Baker and Benjamin (1994), Wright and Maxim (1993), and DeVoretz and Fagnan (1990), among others, have argued that members of the racialized groups lack the "quality" of human capital, sometimes expressed as Canadian experience, that employers consider necessary to the performance of duties in the Canadian economy.[17] Risk-averse employers are said to be less comfortable hiring newcomers because they lack certain intangibles related to job performance. The assumption is that a prospective employee's recent immigration indicates reduced suitability for the job and lower projected productivity beyond what the resume or interview is able to uncover. Because of the assumed lack of familiarity with the Canadian labour market, institutions, and labour processes, immigrant job seekers are assumed to be less productive on average than their Canadian-born counterparts, regardless of education. Rather than go through the process of assessing each individual's competence or "human capital quality," employers attribute a level of relative productivity to those who fall within the newcomer class.[18] In essence, immigrant status and related race and ethnicity become proxies for "low quality of human capital," leading to hiring and promotion decisions that reflect "economic" considerations.

Myth Busting: Responses to Conventional Wisdom on Racialized Economic Performance Differentials

As suggested earlier, the literature on the economics of immigration has been dominated by research on the immigrant/Canadian-born earnings differentials and the earnings adjustments of immigrants. This research has attempted to document whether immigrants catch up and eventually overtake their Canadian-born counterparts in terms of earnings performance. Beginning with the work of Chiswick (1978) and Borjas (1985), the empirical literature has typically dealt with this question by estimating age-earnings profiles. The available literature provides a mixed picture of the earnings performance of immigrants relative to their Canadian-born counterparts. Under an older methodology, the standard answer was that, after 10

to 15 years, the average immigrant overtook his Canadian counterpart and thereafter earned more.[19] More recent evidence offers a dissenting view. For example, Bloom, Grenier, and Gunderson (1995), using data from the 1971, 1981, and 1986 Canadian censuses, found that recent immigrants experience less earnings growth, and, for all post-1970 immigrant cohorts, earnings "assimilation" does not occur; that is, their earnings may never catch up to those of the Canadian-born. Bloom et al. attribute this earnings collapse to declining immigrant human capital and the recession of the 1980s, which reduced the absorptive capacity of the labour market. They also attribute the decline to discrimination, a factor others have dismissed or ignored in the past. Frenette and Morissette's study (2003), which looked at immigrant earnings between 1980–2000, also concludes that increasingly there is no convergence with the Canadian-born population.[20]

Myth Busting No. 1: Race Does Still Matter

Numerous studies have come to the conclusion that race matters, and continues to influence Canadian government policy and determine access to the labour market. For instance, according to a study by Edward Herberg, five of the six highest groups in rankings based on post-secondary educational attainment are racialized groups, and yet they have not been able to translate these skills into compensation, leading to a negative gap between their income and that of non-racialized Canadians.[21]

But not everyone agrees, and those who disagree tend to have the power to influence public policy. Daniel Stoffman's (1993) critique of Canada's immigration implied that Canada's reliance on immigrants of colour had led to a decline in the quality of immigrants coming to Canada, and so called for major changes in the immigration policy. The changes called for aimed at tightening access to Canada for immigrants from the South and were imposed soon after.[22] Conrad Winn (1985), in his critique of the Abella Commission on Equality in Employment (1984), argued that there was no empirical support for the premise that Canada's labour market is immobile and that visible minorities cannot make economic progress in it without government intervention.[23] Similar arguments have been advanced by others, including Collacot (2002), Stoffman (2002), DeVoretz (1995), and Borjas (1994).

Clearly some of the arguments presented above call for myth busting. To begin, many of the studies in question ignore the fact that the development of the Canadian economy, and especially the incorporation of immigrant labour in the economy, has historically been racialized. Official government policies clearly suggest as much. That should be the context within which the debate on the nature and causes of the gap in economic performance is. The outcome of various racially motivated institutional and government policies has been the racial stratification of the Canadian economy.

As discussed previously, many researchers have acknowledged the extent to which Canadian immigration policy is sensitive to socio-economic factors. The setting of annual targets often directly reflects the public mood about the economy and concerns relating to integration. Curiously, few account for the increased incidence of racial discrimination as a response by the host country to an influx of racialized group immigrants—incidences documented widely throughout Canadian

history, in sociological studies looking at immigrant integration and settlement, and more recently in studies looking at ethno-racial relations. A few studies raise the issue directly, including the public opinion surveys that test for attitudes toward immigrants. Akbari (1989) has argued that the increase in migration from the South is inevitably bound to raise "fears," and that the incidence of racial discrimination is likely to rise as a consequence of international migration, given the historical racialized context of Canadian society.[24] That effect may be reflected in the income inequality gap identified in studies by Feng and Balakrishnan (1996), Galabuzi (2001), Gosine (2000), Grant and Oertal (1998), Preston and Giles (1995), Pendukar and Pendukar (1998), and Ornstein (2000), among others.

Others studies that consider such variables as gender and specific ethnic differentials—cross-referenced with education and ethnicity, length of stay, and income and occupational status returns to education—show a discrimination effect (Harvey, Sui, and Keil, 1999; Boyd, 1992; Das Gupta, 1994; Hiebert, 1997; Hou and Balakrishnan, 1996; Kunz et al., 2001; Li, 1998; Preston and Giles, 1995; Reitz and Sklar, 1997; Wanner, 1998).

A study conducted by Galabuzi (2001) for the Centre for Social Justice analyzing Statistics Canada data on racialized and non-racialized immigrant incomes for the period 1996–1998 shows a growing income gap along racial lines.[25] With minor differences, a recent Canadian Centre for Social Development (CCSD) study also shows persistent income gaps between recent immigrants and the Canadian-born (Smith and Jackson, 2002). A study comparing racialized group members in the U.S. and Canada concluded that even native-born racialized group members in the U.S. are better rewarded than their counterparts in Canada. This is consistent with Canadian research focusing on racialized group members. Findings published in a Canadian Race Relations Foundation/Canadian Centre for Social Development study profiling racial differences in education, employment, and income (both immigrant and native-born) come to similar conclusions about the socio-economic status of racialized groups.

Henry and Ginsberg's 1984 study, which examined access to employment by evenly matching Black and White job seekers for entry positions in a number of established companies, shows that White applicants received three job offers for every offer a Black applicant received. In additional field-testing using phone interviews, many callers of South Asian or Caribbean heritage were screened out before they even received in-person interviews.[26]

A follow-up study titled *No Discrimination Here* (Billingsley and Musynski, 1985) found that discrimination was demonstrated in recruitment, promotional, and termination practices. The study documented the perceptions of employers and personnel managers, about a third of whom felt that racial minorities did not have the abilities Whites had, even without interviewing them.[27]

A number of these studies, using regression analysis, control for a range of factors such as sex, length of employment, age, level of education, field of study, occupation, period of stay in country, province of residence, census metropolitan area, place of birth (Canada or abroad), and mother tongue. Their findings suggest that racial

discrimination is a significant factor in income and occupational inequality. More recent studies focusing on recent immigrants have also reached similar findings (Baker and Benjamin, 1994; Grant and Oertel, 1998; Reitz, 2000; Smith and Jackson, 2002).

Increasingly, these studies show several trends. First, employment discrimination, income inequalities, and barriers to professions and trades are often cited to explain why racialized members are unable to translate educational attainment into commensurate income and occupational status. Second, they show that the association between ethnicity and immigrant performance has diminished, increasingly replaced by race as the key factor in predicting immigrant success in the labour market. There has been a corresponding shift toward studying race as a key variable in immigrant performance, given similar period of immigration, length of residence, and Canadian work experience. As Harvey, Siu, and Keil have suggested, "the race 'factor' appears to have implications on how severe, extensive and persistent immigrants' socio-economic disadvantage is" (1999). Many employers also use race to determine employability—a practice some researchers refer to as statistical discrimination and others as systemic discrimination.[28]

Apparently, as racialized nations become the dominant source of Canada's immigrants, race and its attendant socio-historical baggage have become a proxy for immigrant status. Negative assumptions associated with race are amplified further by the information gap created by the failure to appropriately assess internationally obtained qualifications. These two factors have become mutually, but negatively reinforcing when it comes to evaluating the human capital of immigrants and making labour-market decisions. The outcome is the devaluation of immigrant human capital, lower employment status, and differential access to employment and compensation.

The research shift toward race-based variables is informed by a growing awareness of racial discrimination in Canadian society, and by public policy responses such as multiculturalism, employment equity, and anti-racism programs. As well, increases in levels of immigration in the late 1980s and early 1990s (during periods of recession) sparked old questions about the absorptive capacity of an economy on the ropes, and about the ethnic makeup of the immigrant cohort. The research shift is also informed by findings of intra-group divergence in immigrant outcomes over time. For instance, immigrants who came to Canada before 1980 are performing better than their native-born Canadian counterparts, while the post-1981 group compares poorly; the latter group experiences higher unemployment rates, lower employment incomes, lower occupational status, and a higher incidence of low income or poverty. According to Lian and Matthews (1998), the ethnic vertical mosaic has metamorphosed into a "colour-coded" vertical mosaic.

Myth Busting No. 2: Educational Attainment of Immigrants Remains High

Claims about declining educational attainment and immigrant quality for recent immigration periods are found in many widely cited studies, necessitating a second look at the educational attainments of immigrant inflows into Canada. To start, these studies considered skills transfers of only those immigrants who declared

their intention to practice as professionals. The studies assume that non-professional immigrants have "lower human quality," and that their arrival suggests that Canada has admitted less-educated immigrants since the mid-1970s. More accurate studies on immigrant "quality" have analyzed the economic performance of an average immigrant on the basis of a broader educational attainment standard without specific regard to their status as professionals. This is particularly important because of the barriers that professionals face in accessing employment in their fields, and also because of the demands for flexibility in the 21st-century economy. I include here a recent study by Akbari (1999) as well as an earlier one by Bankey Tandon (1978).[29] Akbari's study deals with the educational attainment of new arrivals in Canada from 1956 to 1994, and Tandon's deals with the Ontario labour market in 1977. Both report a discrimination effect demonstrated by the gap in economic performance between non-racialized Canadians and racialized immigrants, educational attainment notwithstanding. Tandon also identifies variation among earnings of immigrants from different countries, and a gap between Canadian-born people and immigrants from some areas, such as Asia, Latin America, Southern Europe, and the West Indies. This gap is narrowed but not eliminated by length of residence.[30]

Akbari's study is instructive because he uses a range of data covering the period 1956–1994 and uses census data as well as immigrants' landing documents to analyze educational attainment over a longer period of time than do most other studies. The data are then compared with the educational attainment of the Canadian-born group. Overall data show that the percentages of new immigrants with only high school education or less have been falling over the period of analysis, while percentages of immigrants with university degrees have been rising. These trends refute the generally held view that changes in immigrant admission criteria after the mid-1960s resulted in more admissions under family and refugee class schemes, causing a decline in immigrant "quality" as measured by immigrants' educational attainment. The period immediately after the 1978 *Immigration Act*, which resulted in a rise in refugee-class immigrants, did cause a rise in the percentages of those who arrived with lower schooling and a fall in the percentage of those who held university degrees. However, these percentages have improved since the early 1980s.

Let us compare the above figures with those of native-born Canadians. This comparison is important for at least two reasons. First, some recent writers have drawn this comparison in a way that may misinterpret the data. For instance, Stoffman (1993) wrote, "In 1971, immigrants were three times as likely to have a higher education as native-born Canadians, but by 1986 that advantage had disappeared." This statement gives the impression that (a) recent immigrants are less likely to have an educational level higher than that of native-born Canadians and (b) recent immigrants are less educated than earlier immigrants. In fact, Stoffman is referring to a decline not in immigrants' absolute amount of education, but in the extent of their education relative to that of the Canadian-born.

A second reason for comparing the absolute educational levels of immigrant inflows at their time of entry with the educational attainment of native-born Canadians is that the non-use of previously acquired education status, for instance professional

qualifications, degrades, and immigrants cease to refer to it, especially if they are considered overqualified for the low-income jobs they are forced to seek for survival. However, these skills can be easily upgraded. According to Akbari, a 1951 Census publication (Statistics Canada, 1951) noted that among adults aged 35 and over who had arrived in Canada over the period 1946–1951, around 12.7% had 13 years or more schooling, while for the corresponding native-born population, this percentage was only 7.8%: "Thus, it would appear that the addition of immigrant residents of the 1946–51 period did not lower educational standards in Canada."[31] It is therefore important to establish that fact as a basis for evaluating which policy changes since the 1960s, which shifted the country-of-origin mix as well as the immigrant-class mix, adversely affected the "educational standards" in Canada.

Akbari used Census data on the educational attainments of native-born Canadians to compute percentages corresponding to those of immigrants in Table 6.1. These are reported for the Census years 1961, 1966, 1971, 1976, 1981, 1986, and 1991 in Table 6.2. For immigrants, these data are presented by their time of arrival, since they date back further (1956) than do the time-of-landing data. Furthermore, the immigrant data for the periods 1966–1968 and 1969–1970 are grouped into one interval (1966–1970); for the periods 1976–1978 and 1979–1980, data are grouped into one interval (1966–1980). This grouping eases comparison with data on the Canadian-born that are available for the Census years. It is observed that, over the entire period of analysis, immigrants arrived in Canada with higher educational levels than those of resident native-born Canadians. The percentages of immigrants arriving with high school education or less have always been lower than those of native-born Canadians, while the percentages of immigrants arriving with university degrees have always been higher.

The data indicate that, over time, the gap in the educational attainment levels of immigrants and Canadian-born has been narrowing. Some, for instance Stoffman (1993), misinterpret this narrowing of the gap in the case of university degree holders and suggest that recent immigrants are less educated than those who arrived in the past. However, data presented in Akbari's study clearly show that this narrowing of the gap is due not to a decline in the educational levels among immigrants, but to increasing education levels among Canadian-born people.

A comparison of immigrants' educational attainment data at the time of landing since the mid-1980s with the educational attainment of Canadian-born residents does not change the main conclusion obtained above. As the tables show, although the percentages of immigrants having only high school education or less at the time of landing since the mid-1980s have been remarkably similar to those of the Canadian-born, the percentages of university degree holders have been significantly higher for immigrants than for the Canadian-born.

In 1996, 53% of new entrants were either skilled immigrants (81%) or business-class immigrants (19%).[32] According to Statistics Canada data, immigrants are now more likely to have a university degree than Canadian-born people. Up to 34% of recent immigrants aged 25 to 44 had completed university, compared to 19% in the comparable Canadian-born population.[33] Moreover, beyond that group as a whole, the immigrant population is older and as such has a larger proportion in the working-

Table 6.1: Educational Levels among Immigrant Inflows to Canada

	High School or Less Education		University Degree (%)	
	By Period of Arrival (a)	By Period of Landing (b)	By Period of Arrival (a)	By Period of Landing (b)
1956–1965	89.3	NA	5.5	NA
1961–1968	79.3	NA	12.4	NA
1969–1970	70.2	NA	19.0	19.0
1971–1975	NA	NA	NA	17.3
1976–1978	47.6	NA	19.2	17.5
1979–1980*	55.1	62.5	15.9	12.3
1981–1985	47.4	56.4	20.6	15.8
1986–1990	NA	52.3	NA	19.0
1991–1994	NA	53.0	NA	20.3

* Note that the period immediately after the *Immigration Act* of 1978 resulted in a rise in refugee-class immigrants and caused a rise in the percentage of those with lower schooling. This has been the basis for a lot of speculation about immigrant quality. However, these percentages improved after 1980.

Source: Akbari (1999) data derived from Statistics Canada Census data: 1961, 1971, 1981, 1986, 1991, as well as landed-immigrant data from Citizenship and Immigration Canada. The difference between the two sets of flow figures is denoted by (a) and (b), where (a) represents data obtained from Census sources and (b) data from Citizenship and Immigration Canada. The objective is to have figures for periods not captured by one or the other source.[34]

Table 6.2: Educational Levels in the Canadian-Born Population, Aged 25 and Older

Period*	High School or Less Education (%)	University Degree (%)
1961	92.0	3.5
1966	91.1	4.7
1971	89.7	5.4
1976	69.1	7.5
1981	63.3	9.1
1986	56.3	10.5
1991	53.7	10.6

* See also R. Pendakur, *The Changing Role of Post-War Immigrants in Canada's Labour Force: An Examination across Four Census Periods*, Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1995.

Source: Akbari (1999). Data for 1961 are based on 1961 Canadian Population Census and are reported in Pendakur (1995). Data for 1966 are based on Statistics Canada (1966). Data for 1976 are based on the 1976 Canadian Population Census, as reported in Statistics Canada (1976). Data for 1971, 1981, 1986, and 1991 are based on the respective years' Canadian population censuses, micro data.

age group. A larger share of the working-age population and participation rates comparable to the Canadian-born group would suggest a larger-than-average share of income. But despite these characteristics, immigrants arriving since 1986 experience some of the highest poverty rates. This reality suggests that racial barriers are playing a major role in creating these conditions of poverty.[35]

Low Returns to Educational Attainments Due to Racialization

The problem with racialized groups and particularly racialized immigrants is not one of low quality of human capital, but rather of immigrants' failure to achieve equivalent return in their investment in education and skill acquisition. As we indicated earlier, not only is there a significant gap in the return in investment, but also racialized group members are outperforming the Canadian-born cohort in terms of their contribution to the growth of real GDP. That is partly because they are increasingly a key source of labour in the Canadian economy. But it is also because they maintain an educational attainment advantage. The educational attainment among racialized group members and immigrants improved in the 1990s.[36] Between 1991–2000, 76% of new immigrants had at least one type of internationally obtained credential.[37] Among immigrants in the country five years or less, the level of higher education was as high as 62% compared to 23% in the general population. As Table 6.3 shows, racialized group members make up a higher proportion of those with some university education (17.4%); bachelor's degrees (19.5%); degrees in medicine, dentistry, and veterinary science (23.3%); master's degrees (20.1%) and Ph.Ds (22.5%) than their proportion in the population (13.4%). Their levels of lower education—less than grade 9 (12.1%), grade 9–13 without certificate (11.1%), and grade 9–13 with certificate (11.3%)—all fall below their proportion in the population. They fall well below that proportion in the trade-certificate category(7.8%), likely because of the bias in the immigration process against working-class immigrants.

The educational advantage that racialized groups hold can also be demonstrated by the increase in the numbers of degree holders in medicine, dentistry, veterinary science, and Ph.Ds. As tables 6.4 and 6.5 show, the growth among racialized groups far outpaces the Canadian average (37.79% to 16.64% and 49.5% to 23.5%), suggesting that the advantage is sustained and growing.

Table 6.6 below shows a steady improvement in educational attainment among immigrants arriving from 1970 to 2001. While 22.5% of immigrants arriving in 1970 held university degrees and 26.1% had trades and college education, for a total of 48.4%, of those arriving in 1990, 40.7% had university degrees and 20.2% had trade and college education, for a total of 60.9%. That compares with the Canadian average of 22.2% with a university degree and 31.7% with a college and trade education, for a total of 53.4%. As the immigrant cohort has become more racialized, the immigration selection process has ensured that the group's educational attainment is greater than that of the Canadian-born group.

This educational advantage has not translated into a superior or even equivalent income position. There is a decline in income attainment over the last 10 years among

Table 6.3. Population Showing Representation by Highest Levels of Schooling Geography: Canada

Educational Attainment	Males		Females		Visible Minorities	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total—Highest Levels of Schooling	**11,626,700**	**48.6**	**12,274,500**	**51.4**	**3,041,650**	**12.7**
Less Than Grade 9	1,103,985	47.0	1,246,505	53.0	285,305	12.1
Grade 9–13 Without Secondary Certificate	2,558,290	49.9	2,568,120	50.1	567,665	11.1
Grade 9–13 With Secondary Certificate	1,520,080	45.1	1,847,820	54.9	379,235	11.3
Trades Certificate or Diploma	1,643,455	63.2	955,470	36.8	201,830	7.8
Some Other Non-university Without Certificate	714,270	46.5	823,350	53.5	186,210	12.1
Other Non-university With Trades or Certificate	1,166,035	40.1	1,742,155	59.9	287,855	9.9
Some University Without Univ. Cert./Degree	813,835	47.2	908,920	52.8	299,210	17.4
University Certificate, Degree or Diploma	2,106,840	49.1	2,182,230	50.9	834,350	19.5
University Cert./Diploma Below Bachelor Level	242,160	40.3	359,260	59.7	117,490	19.5
Bachelor's Degree(s)	1,150,585	47.7	1,260,890	52.3	471,415	19.5
Degree in Medicine, Dentistry, Veterinary ...	79,970	65.3	42,570	34.7	28,605	23.3
University Cert./Diploma Above Bachelor Level	180,660	47.2	202,295	52.8	59,055	15.4
Master's Degree(s)	359,520	56.0	282,535	44.0	128,790	20.1
Earned Doctorate	93,945	73.0	34,680	27.0	28,995	22.5

Source: Human Resources and Skills Development Canada. Based on 1996 and 2001 Census.

university-educated immigrants, for both the most recent as well as the 10-year resident, relative to a similarly educated Canadian population, which conversely had an increase of 7% in income over the same period.

Numerous studies have suggested that the failure to translate internationally obtained training into Canadian equivalency is due to barriers in the licensing and accreditation processes, employers' risk-averse attitudes toward internationally obtained skills and experience and demands for Canadian experience that are unrelated to the core competencies of the job. This characterization of the problem

Table 6.4. Degree in Medicine, Dentistry, Veterinary Science, Canada

	1996	2001	Percentage Change
Total Population	105,050	122,535	16.64
Male Population	73,790	79,970	8.38
Female Population	31,255	42,570	36.20
Visible Minority Population	20,760	28,605	37.79

Source: Human Resources and Skills Development Canada based on 1996 and 2001 Census.

Table 6.5. Doctorate, Canada

	1996	2001	Percentage Change
Total Population	103,860	128,625	23.5
Male Population	79,560	93,945	18.1
Female Population	24,300	34,680	42.7
Visible Minority Population	19,385	28,995	49.5

Source: Human Resources and Skills Development Canada based on 1996 and 2001 Census.

Educational attainment patterns are similarly high among the recent immigrant group.

Table 6.6: Post-secondary Education among Immigrants and Canadian-Born (%)

Group	University	College	Trades	Total
Immigrated since 1970	22.5	12.1	14.0	48.4
Immigrated since 1980	25.5	12.5	10.9	48.6
Immigrated since 1990	40.7	12.7	7.57	60.9
Total Canada, 2001	22.2	17.9	12.9	53.4

Source: Statistics Canada, *Education in Canada: Raising the Standard*, 2001 Census analysis series, March 11, 2003.

is consistent with the finding from the qualitative study done by Teelucksingh and Galabuzi (2005) focusing on key informants in the Canadian settlement sector. They conclude that this represents a form of anti-immigrant discrimination that adversely impacts access to employment for those in the immigrant class. Racialized immigrants face structural barriers to accreditation of their imported skills and job experience, and denial of access to trades and professions by provincially regulated licensing bodies.[38]

Myth Busting No.3: Discrimination in Employment, Not Human Capital, Explains Differences in Economic Performance

As discussed above, human-capital explanations suggest that gender and race differences in job placement arise from individual differences in productivity acquired through education, labour-force experience, and job tenure (Becker, 1957; Arrow, 1998). The assumption is that the labour market is relatively efficient at sorting individuals into jobs that are commensurate with human-capital characteristics. Human-capital explanations for gender and race wage inequality have a long history of providing useful insight into the job allocation process. We don't argue here that education, training, and experience are not linked to job requirements; the point to be made is that they are not the sole determinants of the differentials in economic performance, because they don't operate in a "free" market. Particularly in the case of race inequality in the labour process, race differences in human-capital acquisition reflect historical discrimination and class disadvantages, and provide a partial explanation for employment and income inequality.

In 1984, the Abella Commission on Equality in Employment stated that the differences in unemployment rates and incomes between racialized group members and other Canadians should be understood as "social indicators" of job discrimination and that, furthermore, such discrimination can be characterized as systemic.[39] The report led to the *Employment Equity Act* of 1986, one of whose goals was to remove inequalities in income and occupational status between racialized and non-racialized groups. Henry and Ginsberg's (1985) study, using an experimental technique called "correspondence testing," showed how one could measure the incidence of racial discrimination in employment in Toronto in 1984, and also proved the prevalence of such discrimination.[40]

Various other studies arrive at a similar conclusion, among them Gosine (2000); Hou and Balakrishnan (1996); Pendukar and Pendukar (1998); Harvey, Sui, and Keil (1999); Boyd (1992); Das Gupta (1994); Galabuzi (2001); Kunz et al. (2001); Li (1988); Preston and Giles (1995); Reitz and Sklar (1997); Wanner (1998); Anderson and Lynam (1987); Grant and Oertel (1998); Li (1988); Lian and Matthews, (1991). A number of these have attempted cross-sectional studies of racialized group and immigrants' incomes and the gender or specific ethnic differentials, using as variables education and ethnicity, length of stay, and income and occupational status returns to education. In all cases, they identify a residual effect that one can at least speculate to be a discriminatory factor. However, they do not discount the impact of some of the other factors such as change in the economy, immigration lag, and language. What is clear is that they do not attribute the same weight to low human-capital quality as do those from the diminishing-returns school.

Two studies are more specific about attributing discrimination as an important factor. Howland and Sakellariou's (1993) study of wage discrimination and the occupational segregation of racialized groups also found a significant discriminatory impact across occupations, one that was reflected in the wage differentials they encountered. While their examination indicates a divergence in the relative labour-market experience of the groups studied, they concluded that employment

discrimination explained wage differentials, although to relatively different degrees. The earnings gap was as high as 21% for Black men within the same occupation, though lower for Black, South East Asian, and South Asian women. But they observed that these differentials mask dramatic earnings differences across occupational categories. According to them, within-occupation pay differences for men appear to explain the greater part of the ethnic earnings gap. Within the intra-occupational differential, "wage discrimination" was consistently the largest component. For women, intra-occupational earnings differentials appear to explain the greater part of the ethnic earnings gap. Wage discrimination was the largest factor explaining the earnings disadvantage of South and South East Asian women. Differences in various characteristics determining the levels of occupation between White and Asian women played a significant role in the earnings disadvantage of these Asian women. They concluded that for all groups, policies aimed at reducing discrimination within occupational categories would be effective. For racialized women, it would appear that anti-discrimination policies should have a twofold thrust, first to reduce the within-occupation earnings discrimination, and second to provide training programs to extend the career ladders of ethnic minority women.[41]

Howland and Sakellariou's conclusions are consistent with the finding of Christofides and Swidinsky (1994), whose research suggests that productivity differentials alone do not account for the economic performance differential. With the help of Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) wage regression analysis, and using Employment and Immigration data from 1990 and Statistics Canada Labour Market Activity Survey (LMAS) data from 1989, they were able to demonstrate that "substantial portions of the observed differentials cannot be explained by productivity differences alone." According to Christofides and Swidinsky, these differences, including age, education, language, marital status, province, occupation, and weeks worked, account for less than 30% of the wage gap.[42] They attribute the unexplained residuals (70%) to labour-market discrimination and confirm that racialized group members were more likely, on average, to be paid less than other comparable employees.[43]

Based on the studies reviewed above, it is apparent that recent immigration is increasingly used as a proxy for race, colour, and place of origin in evaluating productivity in the Canadian labour market. The outcome is a convergence of the experiences of recent immigrants and other racialized group members in the labour market.

Myth Busting No. 4: Questions about Methodology

Lastly, the diminishing human capital quality arguments are susceptible to methodological flaws that call their reliability into question. The neo-classical approach that economists use to discuss differentials in the earnings of immigrants is based on assumptions of perfect competition in the labour market. Such assumptions are clearly not sustainable. The Canadian labour market is distorted by, among other factors, racism on the part of employers, as well as numerous barriers to access, which have been widely documented. Barriers such as narrow recruitment channels (for example, overreliance on word-of-mouth hiring that tends to reproduce the composition of the

workplace), subjective employment practices and procedures, biased testing, racial stereotyping in the interview processes (using race as proxy for evaluating future job performance) all reduce access to workplaces and mobility within them.[44] The other is denial because of the conflict between the ideals of quality and the reality of racism that Henry and Tator (2000b) have referred to as democratic racism.Yet analysts, economists, and researchers persistently ignore any causal attribution of systemic racial and gender discrimination, which is widely documented elsewhere, as a factor in the differences in income and economic performance. It is hard to believe that the persistence of racial discrimination in all aspects of Canadian life, which is the subject of government and civil society campaigns, would not translate into barriers to economic opportunity. How this fails to register for many doing research on the economic impacts of immigration may after all not be such a mystery, given the pervasiveness of racism in Canadian culture. A common explanation is the orientation of the economic discipline, although the proponents of these arguments are not exclusively economists.[45] While it is true that economic models that discern discrimination in employment on the basis of race or gender have not been the subject of much of the research in the area, there are research methods like the residual method, which has become widely used.[46] One is left with questions about the subjective nature of the choices that researchers make and the extent to which these choices are informed by the social environment of the researchers.

As well, the proponents of the mainstream arguments tend to rely on limited actual data to draw inferential conclusions, especially about immigrant income differentials. However, this methodological shortcoming does not prevent their work from disproportionately driving public policy. When these studies expressed concerns about the quality of immigrants to Canada, in the early 1990s, the government responded by shifting the focus away from family- and refugee-class immigrants, and toward independent-class and business-class immigrants. It is an argument's power of resonance with social attitudes, not its validity, that prevails. The early 1990s advocacy also led to a process of revamping the immigration legislation that has culminated in the recent tabling of Bill C-31 in Parliament. A key aim of the new legislation, as stated by the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, is to attract "the best and brightest" to Canada.[47]

Akbari (1999) zeroed in on the paucity of actual data with which studies support their conclusions about differentials in economic performance.[48] This is especially important given the extent to which competing explanations are dismissed out of hand on empirical grounds. Akbari has argued that many of the conclusions that suggest a decline in skills levels among post-1967 immigrants, the group with the most racialized members, are largely inferential. He points out that only two studies have actually analyzed relevant data to support the stated conclusions. One is Coulson and DeVoretz's (1994) study of the human capital (skills) content of immigrants who arrived in Canada during the periods 1967–1973, 1974–1979, and 1979–1987, looking at the intended occupations of immigrants at the time of entry and the corresponding levels of education.[49] The other is Green and Green's study (1995) of the occupational composition of immigration.[50]

Table 6.7: Refugees in Professional/Management Occupations in the Country of Origin and Occupations in Canada When Interviewed

Occupations in Country of Origin	Occupation in Canada
Accommodation services manager	Machine operator
Banking manager	Accounting clerk/Taxi driver
Computer systems analyst	Property administrator
Dentist	Welder
Economist	Truck driver
Editor	Sales assistant
Engineers	Labourer/Cleaner/Drafting technician/Dispatcher Delivery driver/Gas worker/Drywaller
Financial accountants	Foodservice /Cleaner/ Hairdresser/Courier/ Accounting clerk/Nursing aide/Mechanical assembler/Machine operator
Graphic artist	Sales clerk
Journalists	Labourers
Judge	Secretary
Land surveyor	Survey technician
Lawyer	Paralegal/Labourer
Librarian	Labourer/landscaping
Manufacturing manager	Labourer
Musician	Retail supervisor
Armed forces officer	Meat cutter/Mechanical assembly
Pharmacist	Health services aide
Registered nurses	Nursing assistants/Social service workers/Cleaner/ Sales clerk/Decorator/Food service
Retail/Sales manager	Labourer/Flight attendant/ Early childhood educator/ Tailor/Metal contractor/Purchasing agent
Scientist	Service station attendant
Social worker	Food server
Specialist physicians	Nursing aides/Cleaner/Medical lab technician
School teachers	Cleaner/Social service workers/Early childhood educator/Kitchen helper/Accounting clerk/Labourer
College lecturers	Customer service clerk/Electrical mechanic/Meat cutter/Welder
Veterinarian	Nursing aide

Source: H. Krahn, et al. "Educated and Underemployed: Refugee Integration into the Canadian Labour Market," *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 1, no. 1 (Winter 2000): 59–84.[51]

Coulson and DeVoretz's study concludes that the values of skills transfers to Canada have been declining since 1974, with the largest decline occurring over the 1979–1987 period. They attributed the decline to the 1978 *Immigration Act*, which further eased entry restrictions on family reunification and refugee classes. Coulson and DeVoretz's study used actual educational attainment data for each intended occupational group of immigrants who had arrived since 1978. Earlier immigrants listed educational attainment only as either a university degree or no degree held. For the pre-1978 arrivals, they made assumptions regarding the levels of university education attained, which made the accuracy of their conclusions open to question. Their conclusions also depended on the assumption that an immigrant's stated intention at the time of arrival to work in a particular occupation matched the educational qualifications normally required for that occupation in Canada, even though some might hold higher and others lower qualifications.

The Green and Green (1995) study covers similar ground. Green and Green found a negative trend in the inflow of professional immigrants into Canada. Assuming a high correlation between educational attainment and intended occupations, the study implies a corresponding decline in the educational trends of new immigrants in the post-1967 period. The Green and Green study also based its conclusion on the intended occupations reported by the immigrants at the time they acquired landed immigrant status. However, the authors were careful to note that the listed occupations may have been purposeful misrepresentations of actual intentions in order to get the required number of points for entry.[52]

Conclusion

It is clear that the conventional arguments advanced to explain the economic performance of racialized group members are inadequate. The argument about the low-quality human capital of racialized groups cannot fully explain their performance. Nor does the assumed lower educational attainment. The immigration lag has been growing longer and raises new questions. In the final analysis, Table 6.8 captures the key evidence. The answer may lie in the undervaluing and misallocation of racialized labour in the Canadian labour market.

Notes

1. A. Akbari, "Immigrant Quality in Canada: More Direct Evidence of Human Capital Content, 1956–1994," *International Migration Review* 3 (Spring 1999): 156–175; D. De Voretz, *Diminishing Returns: The Economics of Canada: Recent Immigration Policy* (Toronto: CD Howe Institute, 1995).
2. A. Brouwer, *Immigrants Need Not Apply* (Ottawa: Caledon Institute, 1999); G. Galabuzi, "Racializing the Division of Labour: Neo-Liberal Restructurings and Economic Segregation of Canada's Racialized Groups" 2004a.
3. Basran and Zong (1998); Bloom, Grenier, Gunderson (1995).
4. DeVoretz (1995); Collacott (2002); Stoffman (1993).

Feminist Methods in Social Research

By: Shulamit Reinharz

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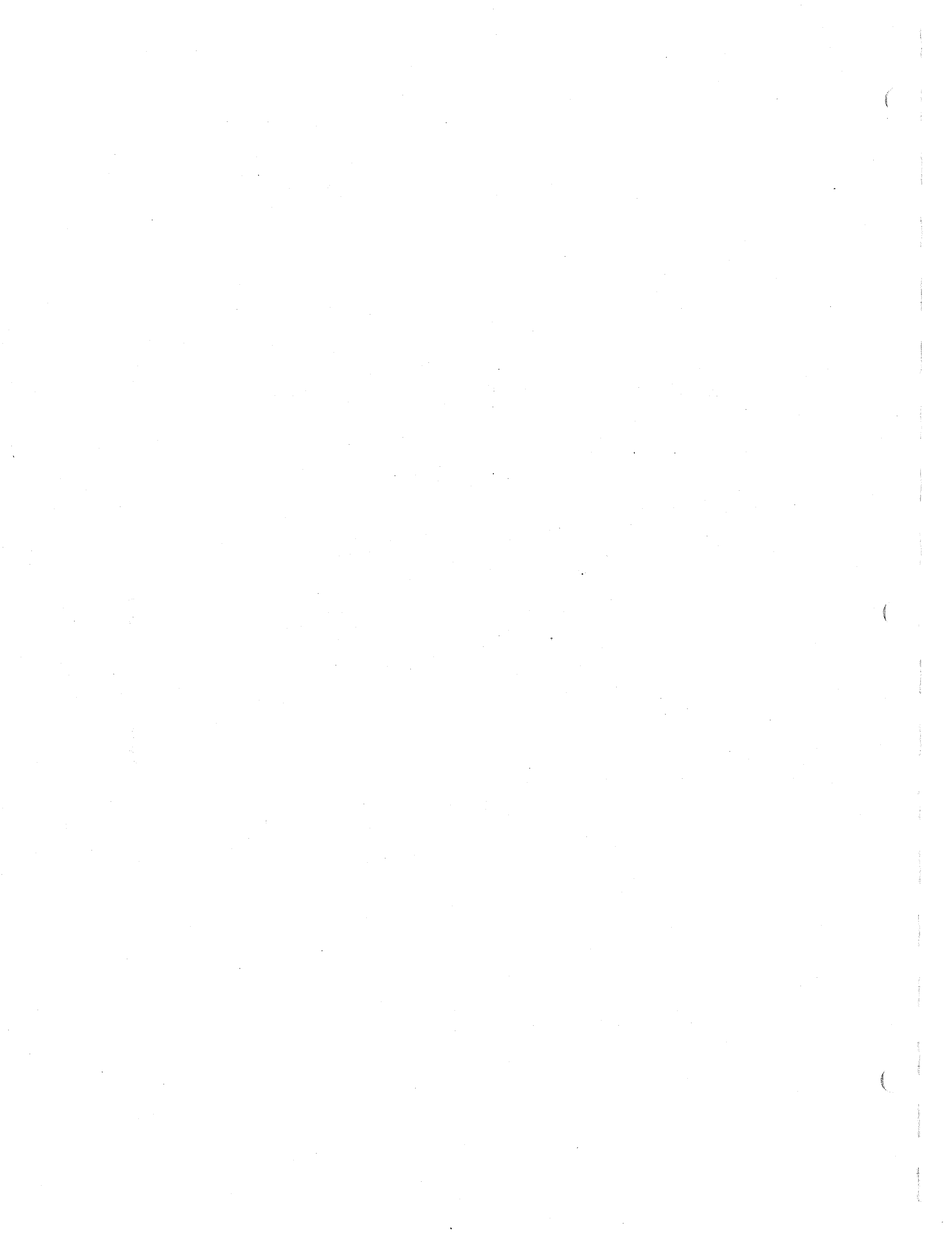

Forms of Feminist Change-Oriented Research

My search for feminist research with an explicit action connection revealed five types, each of which draws on *all* the techniques in the social sciences. The types are action research, participatory/collaborative research, prevalence and needs assessment, evaluation research, and demystification.

Action Research

Barbara Smail, Judith Whyte, and Alison Kelly define action research as research in which action and evaluation proceed simultaneously. They carried out an action study to "initiate and support school-based efforts to improve girls' attitudes to physical science and craft subjects, and to encourage more girls to study these subjects." They achieved this goal by a fluid approach that they constantly evaluated, rather than by a "traditional research project where the design is thought out at the beginning by the research team, implemented in a carefully controlled way in the schools, and finally evaluated." Their goal was to create changes that would stem from teacher preferences.

> [M]any of the interventions . . . arise from teachers' ideas developed during the course of the project. . . . If something does not seem to be working, it is dropped. Conversely we are prepared to capitalize on any fortuitously presented opportunity. Many variables are changing at once. This is not a neat experimental situation, but it does approximate to everyday life in a school. We hope to show that, under normal school conditions, teachers can bring about changes in girls' attitudes and achievements. Our main outcome measure is the proportion of girls choosing to study physical science and technology in fourth year in the action

> schools; if this proportion increases, relative to the control schools, we shall have succeeded.[34]

Feminist action research can be applied to a wide range of issues including pupil preferences and abuse of women in the family. German feminist scholar Maria Mies[35] presents an example of action research on the latter problem that simultaneously attempted to implement seven "principles of feminist methodology." Her project was based on a group formed to create change while studying itself doing so.

> A high visibility street action [in Cologne] drew people who were then interviewed regarding their experiences with and views on wife beating.[36] The resulting publicity led to the creation of a Women's House to aid victims of domestic abuse. A desire for transformative action and egalitarian participation guided consciousness-raising around the sociological and historical roots of male violence in the home through the development of life histories of the women who had been battered. The purpose was to empower the oppressed to come to understand and change their own oppressive realities.[37]

Patti Lather discussed a project by Jlana Hanmer and Sheila Saunders[38] in which forms of violence against women were studied through

> community-based, at-home interviewing with the purpose of feeding the information gained back to the community in order to "develop new forms of self-help and mutual aid among women." Research involvement led to an attempt to form a support group for survivors of violence and make referrals to women's crisis and safety services.[39]

These projects attempt directly to change people's behavior while gathering data in traditional or innovative ways. They intervene and study in a continuous series of feedback loops.

Participatory or Collaborative Research

In participatory or collaborative research the people studied *make decisions* about the study format and data analysis.[40] This model is designed to create social and individual change by altering the role relations of people involved in the project. The model can be limited to a slight modification of roles or expanded so that all participants have the combined researcher/subject role. In feminist participatory research, the distinction between the researcher(s) and those on whom the research is done disappears. To achieve an egalitarian relation, the researcher abandons control and adopts an approach of openness, reciprocity, mutual disclosure, and shared risk.[41] Differences in social status and background give way as shared decision-making and self-disclosure develop.

Feminist researchers who do this type of research use many different labels. Social psychologist Brinton Lykes, for example, calls feminist participatory research "passionate" or "engaged scholarship."[42] For the last several years she has been talking with Guatemalan Indian women refugees in Mexico. Her interest is learning how they develop their revolutionary consciousness (part of her

ongoing research in "self theory"), and assisting them in the development of their consciousness. She has found that engaged research requires changing numerous aspects of conventional research, including the selection of a sample, the design of instruments, and the use of informed consent. In the excerpt below, she discusses the selection of the sample:

> Together the [two] North American "researchers" have had ongoing involvement in and engagement with Guatemalans in the United States, Mexico and Guatemala for over 10 years. The identification of Guatemalans who might have been interested in collaborating in this project came out of this previous work and without this work the project would not have been possible. . . . "Subject selection" involved a process of articulating our interests to a number of different groups of Guatemalan women and continuing dialogue with those individuals or groups who expressed interest in the work and wanted to know more.

Brinton Lykes puts "subject selection" in quotes because the project actually relied on community decision making:

> The decisions about which particular women would be interviewed emerged out of continuing conversations among ourselves as researchers, our contact people (who work with or are members of the communities described above) and individual women in these communities. Participation in the project reflects therefore both an individual's decision to tell her story and a decision about how her participation contributes to and is shaped by her own and her community's current experiences. Hence, although the decisions were made by individual researchers and participants, they also quite clearly reflect the individual's and her community's and/or organization's interests.[43]

For Brinton Lykes, passionate research is communal rather than hierarchical. It develops egalitarian relations among the "researchers," the "subjects," and between the two groups.[44]

U.S. sociologist Francesca Cancian defines participatory research as

> an approach to producing knowledge through democratic, interactive relationships. Researchers work with community members to resolve problems identified by the community, and the process of research is intended to empower participants . . . the three core features of participatory research are: (1) political action and individual consciousness-raising . . ., (2) relationships are democratic and participants share in making decisions and acquiring skills, (3) the everyday life experience and feelings of participants are a major source of knowledge.

To illustrate this integration of action, sharing, and experiential knowledge, she described some participatory research projects in which she was engaged:

> My first experience . . . was to organize a group of ten academic women with children, to discuss the problems of combining career and family, and consider possible solutions. Our group met for two months and was only moderately successful in raising our consciousness and changing our situation. But we were very successful in producing rich, qualitative data on conflicts between home and work, sexism at the university, and ideological barriers to feminist political action. . . . Partly because of our emphasis on individual responsibility, the group did not move towards any collective action to resolve our problems, although I repeatedly

> urged the group to consider taking action and several proposals were discussed, including establishing a program for mentoring female graduate students, and getting the school to allocate a room for baby care. . . . While we did not engage in collective action, the group seemed to produce change on an individual level.

She then described an instance of "individual level" change in which a graduate student

> raised the issue of male faculty interrupting female graduate students. . . . Her dramatic statement broke the official silence on sexism in our program and produced an immediate (if temporary) reduction in male faculty interrupting others. Nora told me later that the group had helped to give her the courage to speak out.

This participatory research project had a similar effect on the researcher: "I noticed that I was less fearful of senior male colleagues after discussing my fears with the group; I became less ingratiating and more comradely towards them, and they seemed to treat me with more respect." A sense of personal change pervaded the members of the group:

> In the questionnaire that I gave to all members after the group ended, half the members said that the group had changed their behavior. . . . Turning to the results of the group from the perspective of producing knowledge for social science, the discussions produced rich data on the daily lives and conflicts of women graduate students and faculty with children. . . . New findings also emerged because of the discussion format and/or the possibility of action. In particular, discussions of whether to take action revealed how internalized oppression works, i.e., how fear, self-blame, and an ideology of individual achievement maintain the status quo.

Her "second experiment in participatory research" had a similar goal of empowering women. In this project, she worked with her secretary, Linda Clelland, and organized

> a group of women at the university—primarily secretaries—to discuss problems at home and at work. Linda and I co-led the group. . . . After four meetings during which we discussed pressures at home and irritations in working with faculty, we began to take some action to resolve problems at work.[45]

Like Francesca Cancian, psychologist Reesa Vaughter advocates "a participatory model in which the constituents of science (the public) and research subjects become part of the scientific enterprise."[46] But some feminist scholars believe that nonprofessionals have a role only in the *initial* stages. For example, psychologist Barbara Wallston wrote that nonprofessionals can formulate hypotheses but they should have little further responsibility. An example of this approach is a project of sociologist Laurel Richardson concerning female sales clerks. Marcia Segal describes this project as follows:

> To begin her research she approached a clerk she regarded as especially competent in a clothing store in which she (L.R.) is a regular customer. She sought the clerk's reaction to the proposed study and solicited from her ideas on what would be important to know if one were really to understand the occupation and also on

> what she (the clerk) thought a sociologist might investigate that *would be useful to her and other clerks*. Eventually, this study of sales clerking as an occupation [included] the collection of quantifiable data with a structured questionnaire, but the initial steps involved allowing the research subject to help formulate the re-search.[47]

In participatory projects, the researcher invites members of the setting to join in creating the study. Nancy Avery and Estelle Disch circulated a flier for BASTA (Boston Associates to Stop Therapy Abuse) asking therapy clients who have b abused to suggest topics of study:

> We are working on our research design and would like input from clients as to what you think we ought to study. If you have been sexually involved with a therapist or human service provider, and would like to talk with a member of the research team about your experience and about what you think the study should focus on, please call . . . who will match you with an interviewer you don't know. . . . If you would like to make input into the research design in writing, please send ideas to BASTA! Anonymous input is welcome. Input from professionals is also welcome.

Marcia Segal organized a feminist collaborative project that adds a layer complexity. Her project based on Jewish women in Louisville, Kentucky, was

> part of a long-term multi-study effort to specify some aspects of the relationship between gender and ethnicity. . . . The organization [that sponsored it] was interested in knowing the demographic and social characteristics of the population it served and wished to assess programmatic needs. [She] was careful to maintain control over the technical aspects of data collection and analysis, but in other senses the project was a collective effort. [She] was an insider in the population [she] studied.

The description of her methods explains this collaboration:

> The mailed questionnaire used to gather the bulk of the data was developed in stages. First a group of sociologists and social service personnel, all part of the community being studied, met and composed a list of general areas of life to be investigated. An open meeting was called to which any woman wishing to serve on the committee under whose auspices the study was conducted was invited. Those who attended discussed the topic areas, questioned their utility, eliminated some and added others.
>
> The professionals met several times to draft questions. During these sessions I also presented blocks of questions from previous studies which I thought might serve our purposes and provide a means to compare our data with that of others. When a complete draft questionnaire was prepared, a large number of copies was made and a second open meeting held. This time efforts were made to include women who were not initially interested in the project. These women completed the draft questionnaire as if they were research respondents, but also provided verbal and written criticism of it.
>
> A second draft was prepared. This draft was distributed to a small random sample of the target population for the standard pretest of an instrument and its instructions. After a final set of revisions, actual data collection was undertaken.[48]

In other cases, collaboration is more extensive than the shared piloting of questionnaires. Patti Lather offers the example of a study sponsored by the "Women's Economic Development Project, part of the Institute for Community Education and Training in Hilton Head, South Carolina":

> Low-income women were trained to research their own economic circumstances in order to understand and change them. The participatory research design involved eleven low-income and underemployed women working as community researchers on a one-year study of the economic circumstances of 3000 low-income women in thirteen South Carolina counties. Information was gathered to do the following: 1. raise the consciousness of women regarding the sources of their economic circumstances; 2. promote community-based leadership within the state; 3. set up an active network of rural low-income women in South Carolina; 4. support new and pending state legislation centering on women and work, and on educational issues.

She also describes a complex, long-term project of her own in which students interviewed each other about an introductory women's studies course, then developed a survey and group interviews about the readings, and interviewed previous students. Among other results, she found that *studying* the course changed students' attitudes *toward* the course.[49]

In some instances, a project does not begin as an exercise in collaboration, but in the midst of the work, the researcher discovers the necessity of reducing the distance between herself and those studied.

> Tetreault [. . .] began her evaluation study of a four-week N.E.H. funded faculty development seminar on integrating perspectives and materials on women into general studies courses using a traditional research design. She found herself experimenting with a "new paradigm of research methodologies and procedures" [. . .] as she realized the need for the participation of the researched in cross-checking the coding of syllabi and interviews. An unexpected reciprocity developed which helped place confidence in the usefulness of the Feminist Phase Theory Evaluation Model to analyze pre- and post-seminar interviews and syllabi.

According to Patti Lather, research can emancipate participants when certain research approaches are taken. The most effective emancipatory approaches are interactive interviews in which researchers self-disclose; multiple, sequential interviews; group interviews; negotiation of the interpretations; and dealing with false-consciousness in ways that go beyond dismissing resistance. In her words,

> the research process is a powerful place to go for praxis to the extent we can formulate research designs that change people by encouraging self-reflection and a deeper understanding of their situations in the world.[50]

In participatory research, participants make decisions rather than function as passive subjects. Liz Stanley and Sue Wise cite the "interaction methodology"[51] of Nancy Kleiber and Linda Light as an example of this approach. The purpose of that study was to do research on the basis of feminist principles, particularly breaking down power differences between "researched" and "researcher":

> Their research was carried out on, within, and for, the Vancouver Women's Health Collective and not from the traditional research vantage point outside the group

> studied. What they describe as their "interactive methodology" is, as it stands, not more nor less than a traditional battery of research techniques. However, they attempt to use these techniques and methods in a new way, so that "the researched" becomes much more a part of the research process. In attempting to do this the people who were the "objects" of the research helped to choose methods, to decide what should be focused on within the research, and were involved in the interpretation of results and the use of these in changing the operation of the Health Collective. . . . this research was truly "interactive," because the Collective was always in a state of change, to a large extent because of the ongoing application of the research findings.
>
> This approach [involved] . . . the sharing out of power, the ownership of information by everyone rather than just the researchers, and the rejection of traditional interpretations of "objectivity." However . . . this rejection of objectivity, so-defined, doesn't mean that "basic standards" of research aren't conformed to. The *type* of research methods used in Kleiber and Light's work are very traditional, so for us what is particularly interesting about it is the part played by "the researched" rather than its "methodology" as such. A consequence of this new role of the researched was that the research results became interpreted as for them. This research insists that the primary recipients and users of feminist research should be the people who are its subjects rather than the researchers.[52]

This is an example of research methods defined as feminist by virtue of the roles of and benefits to the participants rather than the techniques used.

Prevalence and Needs Assessment

"Needs assessment" or "prevalence assessment" research seeks to determine the absolute or relative number of people with a particular experience or need. Needs assessment research usually relies on surveys to ascertain how widespread the problem or need is.[53] Catharine MacKinnon's groundbreaking legal work on sexual harassment builds on prevalence studies conducted with a variety of methods. She credits the "pioneering survey by Working Women United Institute" and draws on numerous other surveys that have documented the existence and pervasiveness of men's harassment of women at work. The initial survey she cites found that

> out of a sample of 55 food service workers and 100 women who attended a meeting on sexual harassment, from five to seven of every ten women reported experiencing sexual harassment in some form at some time in their work lives. Ninety-two percent of the total sample thought it a serious problem. In a [similar] study of all women employed at the United Nations, 49 percent said that sexual pressure currently existed on their jobs. During the first eight months of 1976, the Division of Human Rights of the State of New York received approximately 45 complaints from women alleging sexual harassment on the job. Of 9000 women who responded voluntarily to a questionnaire in *Redbook* Magazine, "How do you handle sex on the job?" nine out of ten reported experiences of sexual harassment. . . . Using the *Redbook* questionnaire, a naval officer found 81 percent of a sample of women on a navy base and in a nearby town reported employment-related sexual harassment in some form.

In her words, the pervasiveness of harassment, as indicated by these figures, reveals that the problem is structural:

> Even extrapolating conservatively, given that nine out of ten American women work outside the home some time in their lives and that in April 1974, 45 percent of American women sixteen and over, or 35 million women, were employed in the labor force, it is clear that a lot of women are potentially affected. As the problem begins to appear structural rather than individual, *Redbook*'s conclusion that "the problem is not epidemic; it is pandemic—an everyday, everywhere occurrence" does not seem incredible.[54]

Julie Campbell, Irma Levine, and Jane Page describe an attempt at needs assessment research that dealt with menopausal women. They argue that needs assessment research can have a change-outcome simply by disrupting the status quo. To achieve this effect, however, researchers must overcome the reluctance of study participants to question powerful norms.

> In 1972 several of the middle-aged women serving on the University of Washington (Seattle) YWCA's board of directors suggested that the organization consider investigating health problems related to older women. . . . It was agreed that the central health question for women in middle age was menopause, so the Ad Hoc Committee on Menopause was formed. The committee decided first to gather information from women who had already experienced menopause. They compiled a questionnaire to be answered anonymously, and proceeded to distribute it to elderly women. The committee members approached groups of women in retirement homes and various senior citizen clubs, but these women were reluctant to answer such personal questions; most refused altogether. Questionnaires were also sent at random to a number of women's groups. The response to this effort was meager; 70 out of 1000 were returned.

Some groups of women were more amenable to discussing menopause than others, a fact that researchers did not realize until they advertised their project broadly:

> The project received some unexpected newspaper publicity. A syndicated column, "Women Alone," appearing in newspapers across the country included a report about the Ad Hoc Committee's efforts to gather information on menopause. With that, the YWCA was inundated with requests for the questionnaire. . . . Many of the requests . . . were accompanied by personal letters describing the physical and emotional difficulties women were experiencing. Two themes were repeated time after time: These women had felt patronized, if not ignored, by their doctors, and they felt isolated and embarrassed about discussing their difficulties. The Ad Hoc Committee realized that it had hit a nerve, that hundreds of women throughout the country needed information about menopause. Of the 1,200 questionnaires sent out, over 700 were returned.

As women answer inquiries about their experience, researchers frequently have to redefine the issue. In this case, the project was redefined from the physical or medical dimensions of menopause, to a broader complex of social, emotional, and economic changes concurrent with menopause.

> Two of the committee members interviewed doctors in the Seattle area. They found wide differences of opinion among them about both menopausal symptoms

> and their treatment. By this time the Ad Hoc Committee on Menopause had decided to become a permanent group. It broadened its name to Women in Midstream, or WIM (combining the ideas of "mid-life" and "mainstream") because it had learned during the physical transition of menopause, women often confront other problems as well, with emotional, social and economic causes. WIM's programs encompass two major functions: dissemination of information and counseling/support for women.[55]

In some instances, needs assessment research mobilizes people to set up organizations to respond to the needs that have been identified, measured, and redefined. In this case, the Ad Hoc Committee on Menopause became Women in Midstream.

Needs assessments also provide information that can be used later to prevent certain problems. A dramatic example is the set of public forums organized in 1980 and 1981 by the Michigan Department of Mental Health to define the mental health problems and needs of Michigan women and their prevention. Instead of relying on a conventional survey approach or interviewing experts, the Women's Task Force of the Department of Mental Health conducted a series of ten widely advertised speak-outs[56] throughout the state. Anyone wishing to make a presentation was invited to do so. In these well-attended forums, speakers, audience, and Task Force members were all able to listen to the testimony.[57] In the words of one organizer, psychologist Carol Mowbray:

> Among the topics which the forums address are: life stages and stressful life events, including single parenting, abortion, divorce and widowhood; sexist bias in treatment and diagnosis, inappropriate practices in admission and discharge; use of psychotropic medications; health problems mislabeled as psychiatric; victims of violence; rural women; minority women; ex-offenders, etc. . . . The format uses a key-informant approach: presentations by several individuals who have recognized expertise or experience with the issue. Presentations are followed by discussion with WTF members and audience comments. . . . To our knowledge, this is the first time in the nation that such an extensive examination of women's mental health treatment and problems has been carried out in this manner.[58]

In 1982 the Women's Task Force published its report of recommendations drawn from these public forums, concluding that women experienced support groups as more helpful than psychotherapy. It therefore urged that the state mental health office adopt a policy of assisting women in establishing such groups rather than encouraging them to undergo psychotherapy[59] or institutionalization. By diverting state resources away from ineffective, potentially harmful treatment, this needs assessment project played an important prevention role.

In speak-outs and tribunals,[60] large groups of women join to give public testimony about a particular issue.[61] In the process, those present learn about experiences of women similar to themselves and are likely to deepen their self-understandings and be moved to action. Frequently, the proceedings of a speak-out are published, so that the voices of the typically unheard can be heard. In many instances, organizers of speak-outs notify the press and inform policy makers about problems of concern to women. Susan Brownmiller states that her desire to write

about rape was sparked by a speak-out[62] in which women revealed their rape experiences.

> personal testimony . . . opened up the subject of rape from a woman's point of view for the first time in history. . . . at The New York Radical Feminist Speak-Out on Rape, January 24, 1971; The New York Radical Feminist Conference on Rape, April 17, 1971; and the joint New York Radical Feminist-National Black Feminist Organization Speak-Out on Rape and Sexual Abuse, August 25, 1974.[63]

Because the speakers hear one another, they can readily join one another for action. The new knowledge created on the spot can be used rapidly to work for prevention.

Speak-outs and consciousness-raising are more likely to be considered techniques of activism than ways of gathering or presenting data. But in my view, they clearly are research devices if their results are made available for public scrutiny. The following excerpt from a conference about the concerns of older women used a speak-out to inform women and gather information. Immediately following the conference, a successful activist organization was founded:

> "Growing Numbers, Growing Force" opened with the participants giving the opening address in the form of a Speakout. Laurie Shields, who chaired the session, had asked many of the women to come to the conference and explain what they wanted it to accomplish. One by one, they told of the problems in their communities and the issues that concerned them.
>
> Jane Molson, Los Angeles, California: I came prepared with a seven minute speech. That's how long it took to outline all the hassles I have had with Social Security and with employment. I had to go back to the job market at 63. I had to take reduced Social Security benefits because it was absolutely necessary in order to eat. I am a spokeswoman for Older Women for Economic Independence which is part of the Wages for Housework campaign. We are launching a national Social Security Wage for Housework campaign."[64]

The transcript of a speak-out in Boston in 1986 on the topic of middle-aged female caregivers conveys this same potential for assessing needs. In the transcript, three themes are evident: women discovering their own experience as they speak, women identifying with each other as they listen, and the potentially politicizing impact of both processes.[65]

Evaluation Research

The purpose of "evaluation research" is to evaluate the effectiveness of different types of actions in meeting needs or solving problems. It is used to evaluate individual and organizational behavior, and to evaluate evaluation research itself.[66] For example, Pauline Bart and Patricia O'Brien evaluated the effectiveness of different forms of individual behavior to determine which strategies enabled women to stop a rape in progress. Their intention was to generate

> data-based advice . . . that could be given to schools, hospitals, police, courts, or individuals, stating how rape could be avoided. This lack of data left unanswered the question of "What do I do if someone tries to rape me?" This book

was written to help women answer that question. . . . This book is based on an analysis of 94 interviews with women 18 or older who had been attacked and avoided being raped ($n = 51$) or had been raped ($n = 43$) in the two years prior to the interview.[67]

Mainstream and feminist organizations or settings frequently solicit evaluation to improve their own practice and create an action blueprint other women can follow.[68] For example, Linda Valli assessed a high school internship program that teaches girls how to become clerical workers. She demonstrated that contradictions inherent in the curriculum mystified the teacher and her students:

Many of the jobs the students filled were so routinized and specialized that they were already overqualified for them before they completed high school. That lack of correspondence between skill level and job requirements created a feeling of dissatisfaction that resulted in low-quality work, requests for changes, and/or a marginalization of wage labor identity.[69]

She also demonstrated that the curriculum could be modified to eliminate these contradictions and provide a more coherent education for the students.

Another form of evaluation research is self-study. Guides such as *The Institutional Self-Study Guide* offered by the Washington-based Project on the Status and Education of Women enable groups to assess problems in their own institutions. In this case, the focus is the degree of sex equity in a particular university.[70] In her study, sociologist Pamela Roby evaluated the effectiveness of a *role*. Structured interviews with 35 union stewards showed her that

stewards significantly influence women's employment conditions by enforcing and extending the contracts. In addition, stewards' recruiting new members, communicating with members, and organizing members for strike action strengthens unions in collective bargaining for wages, benefits, and working conditions. Finally, service as a steward affects the employment of many of those who so serve by providing training in leadership skills and being a step toward higher level positions in unions, companies and government agencies.[71]

For this reason, women should be encouraged to take the steward role.

Sociologist Lenore Weitzman's study of the impact of a groundbreaking public *policy*—the California no-fault divorce law[72]—and Susan Estrich's study of the effectiveness of judicial policy concerning rape,[73] both of which evaluated specific policies, behaviors, and organizations did a great deal for the feminist movement.[74] For example, because Weitzman found that "the major economic result of the divorce law revolution is the systematic impoverishment of divorced women and their children," she proposed "reforms based on fairness, equity, and equality-of-results"[75] in the final chapter of her book. These reforms are currently being examined, and in some cases adopted, on a state-by-state basis.

Feminist evaluation research is sensitive to the danger of sexist bias creeping into the very process of evaluation, particularly in the form of sexist concepts and inappropriate comparisons. In her paper on this topic, Linda Kamens argues that "the present program evaluation philosophy is inadequate from a feminist perspective" because "evaluation, as it is typically done, involves utilizing the stated

goals or purposes of the program as the criteria for the evaluation. . . . The evaluation generally does not question the program goals or procedures'' or define their side-effects.[76] In her view, feminist program evaluation requires that the evaluator and program recipient articulate their values. She urges the evaluator to introduce the concept of justice, and to attend to the process, not only the content, of the evaluated program. Joan Poliner Shapiro and Beth Reed created a model of evaluation to meet these requirements. Using the term ''Illuminative Evaluation,'' they described their work as evaluators of the first and second national Summer Institutes in Women's Studies.[77] Their evaluation focused on the *process* of working in the Institute, not only on the *results* of participation.

Demystification

In the *demystification* framework, researchers believe that the very act of obtaining knowledge creates the potential for change because the paucity of research about certain groups accentuates and perpetuates their powerlessness. Researchers on women's employment note that ''there is little data . . . on Hispanic or Native American women, or on the employment situation of other groups such as disabled or lesbian women.'' Because the needs and opinions of these groups are not known, their views have less influence on the conditions under which they live. Thus, the study of certain groups is political because it demystifies. Feminist research ''raises consciousness'' when those in power are taken aback by the audacity of a feminist research project, especially if the very questions asked challenge vested interests. As Christine Bose and Glenna Spitze put it: ''The development of a research and policy agenda to meet women's employment-related needs is a political act in and of itself.''[78]

Another vivid example of demystifying research threatening vested interests is the addendum to Mary Louise Ho's study of the patriarchal ideology underpinning ''agony columns'' in three popular women's magazines in Britain. Shortly after she presented her research at a conference, the following incident occurred:

> I was happily enjoying my beer and the company of a friend, when one of the conference organizers approached me with the warning that the *Daily Mail* wanted to speak with me. I had barely got out the question ''What do they want?'' when I was set upon by two unpleasant and very aggressive men. One of them was shoving copies of *Woman* and *Woman's Own* at me and demanding that I answer the letters on the problem pages! The other was insisting he should take my photograph and wanted to know what I was so afraid of. They then showed me a list of quotations which, I was very surprised to discover, were identical to the paper I had just given. I couldn't remember any journalists at my talk, no doubt they simply got hold of a spare copy (all papers were publically available) . . .
>
> [A] couple of people . . . helped to divert attention from me which gave me time to piece together enough of the situation to realize that I should tell these idiots to piss off. I refused to make any comments or have my photograph taken. They kept on persisting until they felt sure I wouldn't comply, then they had a drink at the bar and mixed with other delegates who probably thought they were British Sociological Association members (they wore no identification).
>
> The next day there was a smear job of my paper on page 3 of the *Daily Mail.*

> This set off a cascade of media researchers from radio and press to Granada TV who tried to contact me for comment. The urge to do something about the ridiculous article really plagued me. But being completely inexperienced with the media and having heard enough horror about what they can do to women (never mind feminists and sociologists!), I decided that it wouldn't be doing myself or the women's movement any good to take them up. The media pursuit followed me back to York where it eventually died out.
>
> As I never had a chance to "set the record straight," I thought I could make a very brief reply to the *Daily Mail* article here (to make it any longer would be taking them too seriously). As I explained in a latter to the agony columnists, I am not attacking them as people or accusing them of giving the "wrong" advice. What I am doing is looking at how the ideas and presumptions (ideologies) communicated by these agony columns manifest and attempt to reinforce patriarchy. Any two people could argue until eternity about whether an answer was "right" or "wrong"—but that is a completely different issue. All things considered, I am glad to have had the experience for what it has taught me. My deepest sympathies to all women who have been exploited by the media; no doubt many have suffered much worse.[79]

Clearly, the interests of the newspapers were threatened by the success of her research in demystifying the underlying ideology.

Kathy Ferguson's study of bureaucracy similarly discusses knowledge-creation-as-praxis:

> By exposing the contradictions and manipulations contained within a bureaucratic society, one can demystify the theory and practice of that society. Since the organizational society is maintained in part by creating and perpetuating the appropriate ideology, one that both reflects and distorts the reality it describes, a different form of understanding is in some ways also a form of action. . . . I do believe that political theory can be transformative, can help us to live well, if it is used to rethink our lives, reshape our possibilities, and resist the official definition of reality.[80]

She uses the word "demystification" to mean the change in consciousness that occurs among the relatively powerless when they consider their situation in a new light.

The Boston Women's Health Book Collective has demystified women's health issues and has had an empowering impact on a wide variety of women. In the following excerpt from *Our Bodies, Ourselves,* collective members describe their process of action research:

> It began (1969) in a small discussion group on "women and their bodies" which was part of a women's conference held in Boston in the spring of 1969, one of the first gatherings of women meeting specifically to talk with other women. For many of us it was the very first time we had joined together with other women to talk and think about our lives and what we could do about them. Before the conference was over, some of us decided to keep on meeting as a group to continue the discussion, and so we did.

The lack of information about their bodies prompted them to try to create change.

> We decided on a summer project—to research those topics which we felt were particularly pertinent to learning about our bodies, to discuss in the group what we had learned, then to write papers individually or in groups of two or three, and finally to present the results in the fall as a course for women on women and their bodies.

The process of demystification started with self-education.

> As we developed the course, we realized more and more that we really were capable of collecting, understanding, and evaluating medical information. Together we evaluated our reading of books and journals, our talks with doctors and friends who were medical students. We found we could discuss, question and argue with each other in a new spirit of cooperation rather than competition. We were equally struck by how important it was for us to be able to open up with one another and share our feelings about our bodies. The process of talking was as crucial as the facts themselves . . . .
>
> When we gave the course we met in any available free space we could get—in day schools, in nursery schools, in churches, in our homes. We wanted the course to stimulate the same kind of talking and sharing that we who had prepared the course had experienced. We had something to say, but we had a lot to learn as well; we did not want a traditional teacher-student relationship. At the end of ten to twelve sessions—which roughly covered the material in the current book—we found that many women felt both eager and competent to get together in small groups and share what they had learned with other women. We saw it as a never-ending process always involving more and more women.

The initial efforts to share their information with other women was part of a process of demystifying an ever-widening audience of women.

> Our first publication of *Our Bodies, Ourselves* helped spark many women to explore the health issues more important to them. Since then, women throughout this country and the world have generated such a wealth of information and resources—research papers, books, health groups and centers, newsletters and journals—that this time around we turned to them for help in rewriting the book. . . . The thousands of women who contact us in person, in letters and by phone have opened up whole new subjects and issues for revisions: "I looked in your book for a discussion of in vitro fertilization and couldn't find it." "You've got to include the experiences of differently-abled [disabled] women next time." "This is what happened to me when I got PID; tell other women about it so they will be forewarned and know how to get the right kind of treatment." "Could you please say more about lesbians and medical care?"[81]

A measure of their success was the demands they received from other women to incorporate material into their book about which they had not been aware.[82]

Egyptian feminist Nawal El Saadawi gives a parallel example of the cry for help elicited by social research. After her book *Woman and Sex* appeared, there was an "avalanche of letters, telephone calls and visits from young and old, men and women . . . most of them asking for a way out of problems, most of them friendly or desperate, and a few, very few, menacing."[83] All of these people were reacting to her making public problems they had suffered in private. The desire to create social change through research is also evident in a study by U.S. sociologist

Alice Rossi[84] who surveyed 2000 people at the first national women's conference in Houston, Texas in November 1977. Her purposes were to collect data about the current feminist movement for future historians, to study the impact of the conference on participants, and to recruit women into mainstream politics. In addition, her study addressed basic research questions in social psychology and political sociology.

Finally, some people cooperate as research "subjects" because they believe that information about their experience will demystify the problem for others. Israeli sociologist Lea Shamgar-Handelman described this common hope of people who choose to participate in research, in her case war-widows. Widows she interviewed wanted to avoid wasting their painful experiences, mistakes, successes, and knowledge. "'I am telling you my story,' said one, 'with the hope that others will be able to learn from it.'"[85] Feminist researchers who hear such statements assume the responsibility of trying to fulfill people's expectations.

Changing the Researcher

Although changing the researcher is not a common intention in feminist research, it is a common consequence. In *On Becoming a Social Scientist*[86] I suggested that learning should occur on three levels in any research project: the levels of person, problem, and method. By this I meant that the researcher would learn about herself, about the subject matter under study, and about how to conduct research. Many feminist researchers report being profoundly changed by what they learn about themselves. Changes may involve completely reconceptualizing a phenomenon and completely revising one's worldview. As Del Martin wrote:

> A year ago I knew that wife-beating was a problem in some marriages. But I had no idea of the prevalence of marital violence, nor of its tacit acceptance as a part of life in so many families. Information on the subject was not readily accessible. When I spoke to people about my projected book on battered wives, they swiftly changed the subject or twisted it around to a safer, more socially acceptable topic—child abuse. Men put up their guard at the mention of battered wives, though a few feigned mild curiosity to cover their embarrassment. Women, too, were reticent about discussing the issue. Many, however, when they were later able to talk to me privately, revealed that they were or had been battered wives. To my amazement I learned that "some of my best friends" are among those who had experienced violence at one time or another in their intimate relationships with men. They spilled out their stories as if they had waited for years to find someone who would listen and take them seriously.

Recognizing the prevalence and secrecy of wife-beating and people's inability to even listen to her study, she carefully specifies actions that can reduce this form of torture.

> Working on this book was a consciousness-raising experience for me. . . . I have been swamped with letters and phone calls from people who are concerned about family violence and want to know what to do, how to start a refuge for battered

> wives, and where to obtain funding. I have no magic answer or blueprint. My advice is to start at the local level; form coalitions and task forces; research applicable state laws and city ordinances; investigate policies and procedures of law enforcement (police, district attorney, and the courts); gather statistics from every conceivable source; canvass emergency housing and note admission policies; determine what services are already available and which need to be established; draw up proposals based on that information; make funding agencies aware of the need; lobby for remedial legislation at every level of government; demand a re-ordering of priorities in government and foundation spending; and don't stop until all necessary programs are realized.[87]

The changes researchers undergo can lead to harsh recognition of their own shortcomings. Billie Dziech and Linda Weiner poignantly conclude their book, *The Lecherous Professor,* with this description of their personal change:

> To write a book about harassment is to discover with shock how easily individuals and institutions delude themselves. The process brought us face to face with our own irresponsibility and the irresolution of our colleagues. We began to wonder why we had ignored so much and taken so long to speak out about what we had seen and heard. To write a book about harassment is to realize that the morality of an entire profession can be tested by its response to a single issue. Most of all, it is to hope that the test proves successful and that our words, however belated, will somehow make a difference.[88]

Not all research projects end with self-criticism. Some feminist researchers discover, instead, that their research has sustained their lives. Judith Fetterley writes:

> My book is for me more than an academic matter, more than an act of literary criticism, more than a possible text for courses on women in American literature, more even than the source of dialogue; it is an act of survival. . . . I see my book as a self-defense survival manual for the woman reader lost in "the masculine wilderness of the American novel." At its best, feminist criticism is a political act, whose aim is not simply to interpret the world but to change it by changing the consciousness of those who read and their relation to what they read.[89]

Perhaps the expectation that our research will provoke self-criticism or provide a means for survival is too demanding, a topic I return to in the conclusion where I discuss "the great demands" of feminist research. Perhaps we can only hope that our research will clarify our vision and improve our decisions. Lydia O'Donnell is a case in point of a researcher who began her project thinking of women as oppressed "victims and captives of their domestic work" and then changed her mind while listening to the way women experienced motherhood, homemaking, and community involvement, and giving birth to her own first child.

> The women . . . forced me to reassess many of my original biases and rethink what it means to be a woman in modern times. They made me realize the deep satisfactions of mothering as well as the stresses, and they helped me appreciate that children are young only for a short time and that the years women spend child rearing can provide pleasures and rewards which are difficult to incorporate

> in any formal cost-benefit analysis of the tradeoffs between employment and family life.[90]

The voices of feminist scholars engaged in different forms of action research thus include the individual who honestly assesses what she has learned about herself. By including this perspective, I find a strong connection between the activism of feminist action research, and the self-reflexive nature of much feminist research that does not label itself as activist. For this reason, although a chapter on action research is useful in stressing change-oriented forms, it would be misleading if it suggested that other forms of feminist research are static. To the extent that feminism is change-oriented by definition, all feminist research has action components.

Bannerji, Himani. ***Thinking Through: Essays on Feminism, Marxism and Anti-Racism.*** **Toronto: Women's Press, 1995.**

Himani Bannerji's collection of essays in *Thinking Through* are well put-together examinations of race, gender and class in their myriad intersections within identity, activism and academics. Through the lens of an anti-racist Marxist feminist, Bannerji engages with these issues, attempting not to collapse the tension inherent in discussions of exclusion and identity by advocating for a utopian fully-inclusive present. She argues that in order to avoid trivializing issues of identity and identity politics, academics and activists working for change must actively engage with them, free of the assumption that identity is necessarily negative. The substance and form of her essays span from the strictly academic to ground her theory, to essays employing emotion and anger to make more subtle points. Bannerji reads and deconstructs this anger, and the often indifferent refusal to hear or understand that ignites it, both as an emotional aspect of an individual in an oppressive society, and as a larger element of the power which constitutes that oppressive society. Her essay, "Re: Turning the Gaze", focuses specifically on this issue though its analysis, and the conclusions she draws from her own experiences are evident in the other works collected here.

In her more academically styled essays, Bannerji discusses identity and the necessity of identity politics (and of academic attention to identity politics) from a Marxist position. She ties feminism and anti-racism into Marxist ideology to analyse oppressive or un-self-conscious tendencies within these discourses, and to deconstruct and understand where identity politics came from and why it is so popular in marginalized communities as a means of resistance. Bannerji's discussion is important and fairly unique because it takes place outside of post-modernism and cultural theory, from the perspective of a theorist of Marxist thought. Bannerji maintains that identity is not a simple or ready-made solution to the problem of historical colonial and dominating violence, but, quoting Fanon's famous phrase that neither colonialism nor de-colonization would be without violence, she asserts that identity politics and its line of fault are spaces with great revolutionary potential. The idea is consistent with one of the underlying tones of all her essays in this collection; naming, speaking, acting is important because one cannot simply wander away from slavery and colonization.

Galabuzi, Grace-Edward. *Canada's Economic Apartheid: The Social Exclusion of Racialized Groups in the New Century.* Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2006.

Canada's Economic Apartheid is an incredibly useful book for anyone doing social justice work in Canada, and particularly around Toronto. This resource contains almost as many numbers and graphs as it does text, which does not make it the most thrilling read, but does flesh out the theoretical arguments being made in books like Bannerji's and Razack's. Galabuzi uses statistics to expose the incredibly racialized nature of poverty in Canada, beginning with an explanation of new and old problems plaguing Canada's socially and economically marginalized communities, and setting the stage for such a divide to occur. He positions himself carefully, dedicating chapter two to a discussion of race and racialization theory, linking the ways in which he views the discussion of race and class. Galabuzi's discussion on the history of social exclusion in Canada contextualizes the statistics he uses to discuss contemporary problems within a system of structural racism and classism. He systematically myth-busts both the traditional excuses for poverty and its raced nature offered by the right, and some of the more outdated or confused discourses of the left, using facts, figures and careful explanation. Surprisingly, there are elements of classism, particularly in the texts Galabuzi uses to elucidate unrelated arguments, which are not always overtly addressed. This is a significant problem, but it arises perhaps because Galabuzi pays more attention to economics and statistics through most of the book than he does to theoretical discourse analysis. I make this statement not to excuse him from his neglect, but to reinforce that this text is most useful as a companion piece to a work of critical race and class theory.

Galabuzi's work has been used by Anne Curry-Stevens and the Centre for Social Justice to produce several useful workshop tools for facilitators concerned with anti-oppression.

Gilroy, Paul. *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture Beyond the Colour Line.* Cambridge: Harvard U Press, 2000.

Paul Gilroy opens his argument in this text with an analysis of evolving scientific ideas of race. He introduces his argument for an ideology he calls "radical humanism" by carefully deconstructing the myth of the scientific existence of race. He explores older ideas of race in science, and links those ideas to corresponding social discourses which he describes as being based on those ideas. His argument for the mythical nature of race is

solid and thoroughly explained, but is not always methodical or clear. While making some very interesting connections between scientific discourse and the social construction of race, Gilroy fails to acknowledge that race within social discourse is not always tied to the truth of facts coming from the world of science.

Gilroy extends his argument from this foundation to critique identity, most particularly as an emotional and intellectual environment in which fascism is able to thrive. He cites, among other examples, the terrible massacres between the Hutus and the Tutsis, and uses Adolf Hitler and his Nazis as a recurring icon for the evils of absolute identity. His main argument is that the differences that galvanize these identity groups to cause such destruction can and must be overcome by the sameness we share as human beings. However, there continues to be little engagement with the issue of power in his work. Gilroy also does not challenge the idea that difference is necessarily dangerous or negative.

Despite the areas in which this work might be more holistic, Gilroy makes some very interesting and unique points throughout the text. His analysis of identity and consumerism is incisive and his attention to scientific discourse provides his investigation of race with dimensions not usually found in other works of political or cultural study.

Razack, Sherene. *Looking White People in the Eye*. Toronto: U of T Press, 2001.

Sherene Razack's begins with an explanation of her title, and introduces the analysis she uses throughout the text. The metaphor her title invokes so startlingly is also called up throughout the text, helping to contextualise her points within a framework which uses both academic analysis and raw emotional reaction to the social realities people of colour encounter in the West. Setting up her deconstruction of racialized power dynamics in Canada, Razack makes a point that is mirrored in many other works of race theory – that the Other is meant to be silent, docile and passive. The acts of looking, speaking, engaging or revolting are ideally meant to be beyond their ability, and so the starting point for all resistance must be active engagement of some kind.

Broadly speaking, Razack takes on issues of race within our education and legal systems within this text. She does so by specifically acknowledging that issues of race are rarely issues only of race, and that race intersects with class, gender, ability and sexuality in almost all of its formulations. More specifically, Razack uses her critique of

the manner in which multi-layered oppression is often simplified in order to collapse the tension in one way or another and make action more readily decided upon to expose the ways in which doing so has caused seemingly progressive moves on the part of the State, as well as by activists, to become oppressive. She uses several examples to illustrate this point, including the culturalization of racism in courtrooms and classrooms, the epistemic privileging of groups viewed to be 'more oppressed' than others, and several of the contradictions and discursive failings of rights talk which turns issues of privilege and oppression into discussions of justice.

Razack's work in this book is incredibly useful for anyone involved in educating for change. Her analysis of power in the classroom and the administration is illuminating, and her other critiques can be linked to or used in educating for change.

Reinharz, Shulamit. *Feminist Methods in Social Research*. New York: Oxford U Press, 1992.

Shulamit Reinharz opens her text with a personal account of her own discovery of feminist methods in social research. She began seriously working in the area when she realized that very little effort had been made to amalgamate feminist research practices into a decisive methodology, which would be able to reflect the values of feminist thought, theory and action.

Reinharz's chapters cover interview research, survey and statistical research, experimental, cross-cultural, and action research. She also explores feminist oral history, content analysis, case studies and ethnography. Her work explores research from a feminist perspective in a way that attempts not to totalise the field and assume goals of researchers, but that does map out what may or may not constitute feminist research methods. She describes feminist research as being a means of mapping out women's ways of knowing, which are diverse and varied. The attitude behind this approach is part of the base ideology Rienharz advocates for feminist research – methods (and she discusses many possible methods) should be open, co-operative and work to create a two-way flow of affect between the researcher and the subject/object of their research. Reinharz explains the significance of the study and use of feminist research techniques as being a practical way to fight patriarchy – a means by which researchers can produce their own knowledge and create feminist histories and sources of reference.

Said, Edward. *Culture and Imperialism.* London: Vintage Press, 1994.

Edward Said's *Culture and Imperialism* is a critique of the too-often ignored issue of race and racism in Western literature and literary critique, from within the discipline. Writing as a literary critic, Said uses several key texts as well as his own social, political and literary analysis to expose the image of the Other embedded within the discourses of Western art and social thought. His exercise is not a purely theoretical one, limited to the world of literary critique – Said makes important connections between broader social discourse, literature, and the way both of these elements have and do work to shape literary criticism into a field that is too often blind to race, colonialism and imperialism. His argument is nuanced and multi-faceted, but does not necessarily require an intimate understanding of the texts he discusses to be comprehensible or useful.

Said begins his argument by differentiating between the definitions of the words "colonialism" and "imperialism". He points out that the words are often conflated with one another, and that recognizing the difference in their meanings lends a new and integral dimension to the politics of racial domination. Said makes his arguments often with the use of analogies and anecdotes, making his points easier to understand for those not versed in literary theory.

Culture and Imperialism makes very important connections between material reality, economic politics, power as an abstraction and the world of literature and literary criticism. He approaches these elements with a holistic understanding of their interconnection and interdependency that makes his work complicated and multi-layered, but not inaccessible. Despite some unclear references to a 'human' that is not explained, Said avoids totalizing discourses with surprising consistency. He challenges Western cultural imperialism without devaluing the totality of Western culture, and is careful to acknowledge that resistance to these destructive discourses exist within Western society. Any part of this work is useful to deepening a facilitator's understanding of racism in some of its most insidious and invisible forms.