Revisiting The Great White North?

Reframing Whiteness, Privilege, and Identity in Education (Second Edition)

Darren E. Lund and Paul R. Carr (Eds.)

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TRANSGRESSIONS: CULTURAL STUDIES AND EDUCATION

Cultural studies provides an analytical toolbox for both making sense of educational practice and extending the insights of educational professionals into their labors. In this context *Transgressions: Cultural Studies and Education* provides a collection of books in the domain that specify this assertion. Crafted for an audience of teachers, teacher educators, scholars and students of cultural studies and others interested in cultural studies and pedagogy, the series documents both the possibilities of and the controversies surrounding the intersection of cultural studies and education. The editors and the authors of this series do not assume that the interaction of cultural studies and education devalues other types of knowledge and analytical forms. Rather the intersection of these knowledge disciplines offers a rejuvenating, optimistic, and positive perspective on education and educational institutions. Some might describe its contribution as democratic, emancipatory, and transformative. The editors and authors maintain that cultural studies helps free educators from sterile, monolithic analyses that have for too long undermined efforts to think of educational practices by providing other words, new languages, and fresh metaphors. Operating in an interdisciplinary cosmos, Transgressions: Cultural Studies and Education is dedicated to exploring the ways cultural studies enhances the study and practice of education. With this in mind the series focuses in a non-exclusive way on popular culture as well as other dimensions of cultural studies including social theory, social justice and positionality, cultural dimensions of technological innovation, new media and media literacy, new forms of oppression emerging in an electronic hyperreality, and postcolonial global concerns. With these concerns in mind cultural studies scholars often argue that the realm of popular culture is the most powerful educational force in contemporary culture. Indeed, in the twenty-first century this pedagogical dynamic is sweeping through the entire world. Educators, they believe, must understand these emerging realities in order to gain an important voice in the pedagogical conversation.

Without an understanding of cultural pedagogy's (education that takes place outside of formal schooling) role in the shaping of individual identity – youth identity in particular – the role educators play in the lives of their students will continue to fade. Why do so many of our students feel that life is incomprehensible and devoid of meaning? What does it mean, teachers wonder, when young people are unable to describe their moods, their affective affiliation to the society around them. Meanings provided young people by mainstream institutions often do little to help them deal with their affective complexity, their difficulty negotiating the rift between meaning and affect. School knowledge and educational expectations seem as anachronistic as a ditto machine, not that learning ways of rational thought and making sense of the world are unimportant.

But school knowledge and educational expectations often have little to offer students about making sense of the way they feel, the way their affective lives are shaped. In no way do we argue that analysis of the production of youth in an electronic mediated world demands some "touchy-feely" educational superficiality. What is needed in this context is a rigorous analysis of the interrelationship between pedagogy, popular culture, meaning making, and youth subjectivity. In an era marked by youth depression, violence, and suicide such insights become extremely important, even life saving. Pessimism about the future is the common sense of many contemporary youth with its concomitant feeling that no one can make a difference.

If affective production can be shaped to reflect these perspectives, then it can be reshaped to lay the groundwork for optimism, passionate commitment, and transformative educational and political activity. In these ways cultural studies adds a dimension to the work of education unfilled by any other sub-discipline. This is what Transgressions: Cultural Studies and Education seeks to produce—literature on these issues that makes a difference. It seeks to publish studies that help those who work with young people, those individuals involved in the disciplines that study children and youth, and young people themselves improve their lives in these bizarre times.

Revisiting The Great White North?

Reframing Whiteness, Privilege, and Identity in Education (Second Edition)

Edited by

Darren E. Lund
University of Calgary, Canada

and

Paul R. Carr
Université du Québec en Outaouais, Canada

Reviews of the first edition of
The Great White North? Exploring Whiteness, Privilege, and Identity in Education (2007, Sense Publishers)

I found this book as interesting, provocative, and productive as its cover blurbs promise. The editors have chosen a wide range of authors, most of whom are Canadian, who are able to speak knowledgeably about particular local situations, events, and structures, but who are also able to situate these in wider discourses (e.g., in the history of Western philosophy – see chapter by Lindo). This book should serve to alert researchers and teachers to undeniable examples of how racism has been experienced in a wide range of situations (from the perspectives of the colonized, but also from the perspectives of critically aware White people), and how the Whiteness discourse legitimates historical structures of privilege. Readers who are not Canadian should find the examples resonant with events with which they are more familiar. I see it as useful for researchers, graduate students, and teacher-education students in mounting a strong argument for recognizing that Whiteness has structured many contemporary institutions and that resistance to Whiteness discourse is a responsibility of all, especially those in education.

Kelleen Toohey
Faculty of Education, Simon Fraser University
International Migration & Integration, 9, 423–424. (2008).

The Great White North? constitutes an important contribution to the field, particularly for those who struggle with how to make Whiteness and its effects visible to our White students, our colleagues, and those who develop educational policies on equity and curriculum development. In this edited volume, Carr and Lund create an opportunity to extend the work relating to the pedagogy of anti-racism education. They do this by interrogating how educators' failure to engage in critical self-reflective practice runs the risk of their being complicit in perpetuating racist structures, including the institutionalization of White privilege. It is important to note that two of the contributors are community activists. Each chapter concludes with a set of questions for reflection. These will be useful for teachers practicing in a range of contexts from the university classroom to informal, community-based environments.

Evelyn Hamdon
Faculty of Education, University of Alberta
Alberta Journal of Educational Research, 54(4), 482-488. (2008).

Carr and Lund, both White Canadian antiracist scholars, have created a space for established and emerging scholars, approaching Whiteness from varied epistemic terrains, to articulate its tensions and its societal and institutional implications. The

strength of this volume lies in its exploration of the nuances of racial (and other) identities as they intersect the trump-card of White identity and how the complexities of anti-oppression theorizing and practice are taken up; specifically, Indegeneity, cultural, gender, and religious identities are explored vis-à-vis White identity, creating an effective overview of the vastness and richness of the intersections of White studies in Canada and beyond. This volume is a must read for educators and practitioners committed to anti-oppression work. Concluding each chapter are a series of critical questions, providing the reader with the opportunity to develop a heuristic for the task that Dei names as "how we can deconstruct White identity without falling into the easy slippage of acknowledging responsibility and complicity" (p. ix).

Maryam Nabavi
Faculty of Education, University of British Columbia
Multicultural Perspectives, *10*(4), 236. (2008)

By challenging all of us to broaden our perceptions and to examine and question the latent whiteness permeating the very pores of our social universe, Carr and Lund and those who have contributed to their work invite us to journey and live and teach differently. A Canadian work, theirs certainly has applicability and interest for readers both within and beyond Canada. This reviewer signals a tip of the hat to them for this worthwhile and timely contribution to antiracist literature. I invite you to read and ponder Carr and Lund's message and decide for yourself if it can help bring about constructive change in you, your ways of perceiving, and what and how you teach.

Peter Heffernan
Faculty of Education, University of Lethbridge
Notos: Journal of the Second Languages and Intercultural Council of the Alberta Teachers' Association, 8(1), 30-31. (2008)

BLURB FROM THE BACK COVER:

The Great White North? provides a timely and important mode of addressing and examining the contradictions of Whiteness, and also challenging its insinuation into the very pores of the Canadian social universe. While the context of the book is distinctly Canadian, there are urgent messages here on race and anti-racism for the international community. Carr and Lund have provided educators with a vibrant contribution to the critical anti-racist literature. This is a book that needs to be put on reading-lists across the disciplines!

Peter McLaren
Professor, Graduate School of Education and Information Studies
University of California at Los Angeles

Naming Whiteness and White identity is a political project as much as an intellectual engagement, and the co-editors of this collection must be commended for creating the space for such naming to take place in public and academic discourses. Is it noteworthy to acknowledge that both Paul and Darren are White, and that they are overseeing this work on Whiteness? I believe that it is, not because others cannot write about the subject with clarity and insight, as is clearly evident in the diverse range of contributors to this book. Rather, naming their positions as White allies embracing a rigorous conceptual and analytical discourse in the social justice field is an important signal that White society must also become intertwined in the entrenched racism that infuses every aspect of our society. As Paul and Darren correctly point out, race is still a pivotal concern for everything that happens in society, and especially in schools.

Excerpt from the Foreword by George J. Sefa Dei
Professor and Chair, Department of Sociology and Equity Studies
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto

Praise for
Revisiting The Great White North?
Reframing Whiteness, Privilege, and Identity in Education
(Second Edition)
Darren E. Lund & Paul R. Carr (Eds.)

Revisiting The Great White North? Reframing Whiteness, Privilege, and Identity in Education offers terrific grist for examining the persistence of Whiteness even as it shape-shifts. Chapters are comprehensive, theoretically rich, and anchored in personal experience. Authors' reflections on the seven years since publication of the first edition of this book complexify how we understand Whiteness, while simultaneously driving home the need not only to grapple with it, but to work against it.

Christine Sleeter, Professor Emerita California State University Monterey Bay

Our understanding of racial inequities in education will be impoverished unless we look deeply at White privilege, its variation in different contexts, and resistances to change. Such is the call in this important book by Lund, Carr, and colleagues, whose analyses within Canadian contexts, framed and re-framed for this captivating revised edition, will be useful to educators and scholars around the world. Read this book today.

Kevin Kumashiro, Dean, School of Education, University of San Francisco
President, National Association for Multicultural Education
Author of *Bad Teacher!: How Blaming Teachers Distorts the Bigger Picture*

Given the evolving but continuing contentious nature of Whiteness studies, it is particularly appropriate that Darren Lund and Paul Carr have given the contributors to their original 2007 text the opportunity to revisit, rethink, reconceptualize, and reframe their earlier work. The result is an interesting, invigorating, and unsettling group of chapters that challenge readers to also revisit and rethink their own ideas about Whiteness, privilege, and power. Situated in the Canadian context, this book nevertheless has important insights and lessons for all societies with a history of White hegemony and systemic racism in their institutions, especially in education, as well as the myths, practices, and traditions that help sustain racism and privilege. Teachers, administrators, policymakers, and researchers will all benefit from this critical work.

Sonia Nieto, Professor Emerita, Language, Literacy, and Culture
College of Education, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Lund and Carr bring together a superb collection of authors who collectively challenge readers to go beyond liberal platitudes about race. Sure we should celebrate diversity, but until educators confront the political, social and economic consequences of inequitably distributed privilege, the path towards equality and freedom will remain elusive. By immersing us in the discourse of Whiteness, the essays in this book illuminate that very path.

Joel Westheimer, University Research Chair & Professor, Faculty of Education University of Ottawa

This book reads like a complicated and impassioned conversation among spirited colleagues trying to make sense of the privilege and dominance of Whiteness in the "Great White North" of Canada. These authors excavate and expose the idea and practices of Whiteness as it is asserted, narrated, and embodied in multiple contexts. As a White scholar from what some of the authors call "our neighbor to the south," I was challenged to see here in the United States what White privilege bestows, and to consider how a raceless way of looking at the world deflects attention from social advantage. The unexamined attitude of what chapter author Lisa Comeau aptly calls White solipsism counts certain advantages as simply and predictably earned on a level playing field. This book shows that there is much more to consider about privilege and advantage in our multicultural but White dominated societies, in particular here in North America but elsewhere too. The second edition includes "reframing" chapters by the authors, as well as some new entries, that attest to the issues and challenges raised by a worldwide financial crisis and growing wealth gap in many societies to education for social justice and for critical dialogue about race, exclusion, and privilege.

AG Rud, Distinguished Professor, College of Education Washington State University

It is heartening to see *The Great White North?* going into its second edition. This is one of the most timely and important works on Whiteness, critical race education and anti-racism to have come out of Canada. While the themes in the book are distinctly Canadian the message is universal. This book is a must-read for students, teachers and scholars interested in making Canada and the world a better and just place.

M. Ayaz Naseem, Graduate Program Director & Associate Professor of Education Concordia University

The Canadian multicultural mosaic is a powerful metaphor, one that shapes how many Canadians think about their identities. But this metaphor often masks ways in which racism and colonialism operate in society. The authors of *Revisiting The Great White North? Reframing Whiteness, Privilege, and Identity in Education*

challenge the benignancy of Whiteness from personal and sociological perspectives. Avoiding the pitfall of essentialism, these essays offer complex interrogations of race, oppression, identity, and racial consciousness, connected to place and co-relational relationships with others, and provoking questions on each page.

E. Wayne Ross, Professor, Faculty of Education University of British Columbia

The publication of this second edition of *The Great White North*, as tempo-analytically re-framing the original debates and propositions in the first edition, is an important event that occasions our appreciation with respect to its timeliness and immense relevance to actively re-conceptualize both our learning and pedagogical contexts for the urgently needed pragmatics of anti-racism education and its desirable attachments of onto-existential liberation. With all the original chapters realigned for this purpose, and with the addition of a new experiential perspective from an African-Quebecois academic, these critical interventions help us achieve the urgently needed deconstructions of Whiteness as extra-conceptual, extra-descriptive, extra-analytical, even extra-historical, and astonishingly, extra-cultural. To decompose such extra-logic assumptions and de-hegemonize our learning and instructional contexts, these enhanced disquisitions represent selectively liberating praxes that should be strategically deployed for our academic environments, in concerned schooling locations, and certainly across the Canadian public space.

Ali A. Abdi, Professor & Co-Director, Centre for Global Citizenship & Education Research
University of Alberta

Having taught race relations and multicultural issues for more than a decade I am extremely happy to see this important book go into its second edition. *Revisiting The Great White North? Reframing Whiteness, Privilege, and Identity in Education* discloses the true reality of race relations in Canada. The book demands a reflexive consideration from the reader to ponder upon what it means to be White in the Canadian context. This book is a must read for anyone under the misconception that race relations in Canada are any less problematic those in the U.S. or other racially charged contexts in the world.

Adeela Arshad-Ayaz, Assistant Professor, Department of Education
Concordia University

In *Revisiting The Great White North? Reframing Whiteness, Privilege, and Identity in Education*, Whiteness studies scholars write and speak in dialogue with the emergent movements of postcolonialism, critical race studies, critical pedagogy, and the Hegelian/Marxist tradition, with the understanding that White identity is always constructed relationally, and through the production of colonized minds and bodies.

The authors in this important volume are at the forefront of the critical re-thinking of Whiteness studies, across cultural settings, and with broad implications for how educators cross the borders that racism and colonialism have erected, and work to implement a genuinely democratic multicultural pedagogy.

Dennis Carlson, Professor, College of Education, Health & Society
Miami University

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GEORGE J. SEFA DEI

FOREWORD TO THE SECOND EDITION (2014)

In one of my recent graduate classes at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto (OISE/UT), the subject of the heavy might of Whiteness came up. The focus was on just how the sanctity and racial polity of Whiteness continues to weigh down heavily on contemporary society. Some of us wanted to signal equally the fragility, *emptiness*, falsity, dependency status, and the ontological nihilism of Whiteness. Understandably, there was a section of the class that wanted the gaze kept upon the heavy weight of Whiteness, its material and systemic consequences and, in fact, how Whiteness is consuming and consequential in its reach. The discussion increasingly intensified, leaving the "fact of Whiteness," as one we were called upon to revisit, in order to unearth this toll of Whiteness, and at the same time, the life forces it wakes to steal, in effect, through its amorphous definition.

The ambiguity inherent to Whiteness enters through the praxis of Others (as in those objectified) and further gains its momentum from the Others' life force. The logic follows that Whiteness works to *other* by way of race because it stems from pernicious otherness in its diffused epistemology. Thus, we must recognize the toll of Whiteness for both White dominant bodies and non-White bodies, and the produced dialectic of humanities through the colonial relationship, underpinning the colonizer and colonized. Frantz Fanon (1967) long ago made the point immeasurably clear when he named the structural and intimate violence effacing Whiteness as the imperialist colonial structure, erecting through the production of what he rightly termed "combat breathing." Combat breathing is at once the provocation and coercion of the Others' life force rising to meet the demands of Whiteness, and fight for its life. We must remember combat breathing as the colonizer's tool for the forbidding desire to establish Others in order for us to share the superfluous burden of Whiteness. In the moments of combat breathing, what is established are the means of subversion of the Others' life force, as a means for Whiteness' amorphous and, as such, irresponsible way of being. Whiteness as the dominant structure must be acknowledged as disparagingly hopeless. The evasive attempt to subdue the Others' life force, to which, in any event, materializes, but through the imaginings and distorted gaze of Whiteness, results in the consequent theft of the Other's force of life because, at once, the Other must resist and yet constitute the maddening ontological dilemma. Because Whiteness cannot labour the toll of its inability to create and, furthermore, destroy the Others' life force, for which it

depends on for its ontology, way of being, and, thus, the very problematic, it harbors and yet evades it, which brings us to our inquiry: the "accountability of Whiteness." We insist the unrelenting "un-accountability of Whiteness" must be accounted for in the anti-racist and anti-colonial struggles, which is why we must speak to the ontological "nihilism of Whiteness" and its rightful origin of otherness that it at once seeks to be and be rid of, while off-putting it onto the Other, through violence, undergirding the existential irrationality of racism.

The early schools of thought on Whiteness studies, namely, Whiteness as location and a form of identification (Frankenberg, 1993, 1997a, 1997b), the call for the abolition of Whiteness (Giroux, 1997a, 1997b), and the contemporary re-articulation of Whiteness (Kincheloe, Steinberg, Rodriguez, & Chennault, 1998; Roediger, 1999) continue to inform debates on Whiteness to this day. In many ways the current re-articulations speak to ideas of seduction, and desires, of fantasizing Whiteness. We question through what and to whose material, spiritual, and intellectual expense Whiteness hails through to define itself to embody form and, more importantly, to become a subject imbued for desire amidst its relativistic and destabilizing epistemology?

I have personally struggled to rethink the possibilities of Whiteness, particularly in the supreme reign and context of neoliberalism and the sway of corporate capital. It has not been easy. But I am not just speaking of how Whiteness is commodified, nor other aspects of the political economy of Whiteness. In fact, as much as I want to hold on to the possibilities for Whiteness in terms of what it allows us to trouble, resist, and work for change, it is Whiteness as a system of dominance, privilege, and oppression that tends to be over-determining in a context of neoliberalism and corporate capital. Whiteness is being produced and consumed with huge material costs and benefits to individuals and groups. Whiteness undergirds the politics and political economy of schooling education in the ways we produce what is considered valid knowledge, how we see "excellence," how we seek accountability measures, how the school curriculum should be taught, and what students are supposed to come out of school with, i.e., the merit badges of schooling.

Notwithstanding all this, I want us to hold onto the possibilities of Whiteness to engage the role of White bodies doing anti-racist work, in order to be mindful of the limitations of such race work. How do we use our positions of power and influence to do critical race and equity work? How can people privileged by a system work against it? Can dominant groups understand their Whiteness as it is denied? What does it take to do this work? Is there a material, emotional, physical and spiritual toll on bodies? How do such bodies come to terms with their bodily engagements in such work (see also Howard, 2009)? The concern is the theoretical and methodological pitfalls and lapses. Yet can we also ask about the strengths of progressive work done by White anti-racist workers as allies? For the racially oppressed, if there is a discomfort in asking this latter question, then we must ask why? The White/dominant/colonizer does not easily divest or rid him/herself of power and privilege. Power does not concede anything unless through force and resistance. If one is

granted power and privilege through history, identity, or culture, it is not easy to ask that they undo power and privilege through resistance. We could ask the privileged to take responsibility and seek accountability and ensure that they engage their power and privilege in ways that bring about social justice and productive change. But we must first recognize the default embedded in the contradiction the privilege of Whiteness occupies in relation to doing race work, without the conscientiousness of the racially oppressed and, furthermore, the divestment of White privilege.

The disembodiment of White privilege is a necessary prerequisite for allied White anti-racist scholarship and progressive contributions to the field of anti-racist and anti-colonial work. And as one student in the class noted, such work must be in connection to the deconstruction of the self in Whiteness, which must transpire from the self to the larger community, enveloped in the dominant structures of Whiteness (Delaney, 2012). Therefore, we must ensure our anti-racist scholarship is consolidated with anti-racist practice/systems/structures, so as to destabilize and finally subvert the colonial situation. There must, however, be caution for White dominant bodies and for non-White bodies in particular, suspicion for what Albert Memmi (1974) tells us is the White dominant's disposition toward myths/moral/ ideology/imaginings, produced in order to escape the all-too-consuming emptiness of Whiteness, again and again. We must continually acknowledge the ongoing process of destabilizing the privilege of Whiteness, which delineates the parameters of the constituents of, and progressive scholarship done by, White anti-racist scholars.

It is in this context that it is rightly argued that our knowledge of Whiteness must be complemented with the view of those who have been oppressed by Whiteness. There is a vital symbiotic connection or what I call a "co-relational relationship" between the oppressed/oppressor; non-White disadvantage/White privilege; and dominant/ subordinate. The oppressor needs the oppressed to understand their oppressive acts. This is a point Frantz Fanon long expressed. But the oppressor cannot claim to know about oppression any more than Whites/dominant can claim to know fully about Whiteness. Howard (2009) has posed the question: What does this mean for Whites doing critical anti-racist work? Why ask this question, one may wonder? As already noted, given that Whiteness is often denied through the dominant's claim of ignorance to their privilege, and/or such privilege being "invisible" to privilege, we must expect theoretical, philosophical, and methodological lapses in the dominant's ability to understand privilege, Whiteness, and oppression. You do not fully know what you claim not to possess, see, or benefit from. As Fanon (1969) prophetically foretold, we continue the colonial situation, a lie when we do not put Whiteness in its place, and as mentioned, this place is indeed distorted. We must begin with the undoing/subversion of Whiteness to speak to the mighty toll it continues to burden us with, in order to continue the necessary anti-racist struggle for colonial demise. This requires us to return the gaze that configures the "fact of Blackness" in myths of racial degeneracy back onto its imaginary emblem of Whiteness.

Again, as Albert Memmi (1974) long ago expressed, "it is not easy for the [White dominant body] to escape mentally from [the concrete] situation" of

White domination, "to refuse its ideology while continuing to live with its actual relationships" (p. 64). The situation of the Whiteness lays its might in the structures of White domination so as to create the near impossible ontological dilemma for the dominant body, in which he or she no longer recognizes the oppressed, or he or she no longer recognizes oneself again (Fanon, 1969; Memmi, 1974). The repudiation of Whiteness cannot be left intact, for space to be left only for perpetual resistance to the inevitable reorganization of the colonial encounter, and thus the damaging co-relational relationship between the colonizer and the colonized body.

As we engage in these discussions I would also stress that we must consistently eschew essentialist and reductionist orientations. I do not say this lightly, especially since, as a student in my OISE/UT graduate class on Frantz Fanon (who prefers anonymity) noted, "I feel like we are constantly dichotomizing Blackness and Whiteness, colonized and colonizer—making it impossible to bring the two together." I know others may share such a feeling. As to why some may feel this way is not a question for me to address here. Suffice to say that the concepts of colour, especially Whiteness and Blackness, warrant refinement. They warrant an optical and linguistic decolonization, by which we mean for them to be situated in their rightful history, and so as to be returned respectfully to their cultural memories, dispossessed by the prisms of racism. We must break through the compulsive and pervasive mediations of racist exchanges. Racism has always collaborated intertextually with other powerful configurations within the political economy (e.g., class, gender, sexuality, and politics). Therefore, we must re-engage Fanon's concept of the Manichean divide, in order to depose the reckless direction of the political economy in place. This economy mediates knowledge exchanges between White dominant and non-White bodies that produce the dominant meta-narrative and subversion for an ongoing colonial co-relational relation, which can make it exclusively the Others' problem to labour, while already labouring the ignorance of Whiteness, White privilege, and accountability.

At the heart of racist practices/racisms in society is a supremacist thinking that must be read not in terms of beliefs but in how particular prisms/worldviews/senses undergird every part of society. We must be bold to link and talk of Whiteness as a thought system that rationalizes racist practice to bear its brunt upon the colonized body. Unless this denial and the so-called "invisibility of Whiteness" is properly dealt with in the anti-racist work, our practices may well end up affirming/entrenching/supporting the status quo. Such work can be suspect even when well intentioned.

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GEORGE J. SEFA DEI

FOREWORD (2007)

It is a pleasure to write the foreword for this book—which addresses in a direct and explicit way particular topics in anti-racism that have been hidden from view or seen to be secondary by most people—for a number of reasons. I have known Paul Carr since the beginning of his doctoral studies at OISE in the early 1990s, and am pleased that he has continued to interrogate "race" from a problematized vantage point, and also to bring forward a critical analysis of policymaking based on his own experience. I first came to know Darren Lund as an anti-racism scholar in the mid-1990s, when we engaged in a robust scholarly debate on African-centred schooling in the pages of a national academic journal, and have long been aware of his outstanding social justice work in schools and communities.

Over the course of the last two decades I have been involved in a number of projects dealing with anti-racism education, a concept that has consistently evolved over time. There are many scholars, including my colleagues and students and researchers that I have worked with, who recognize the intersectionality of race, class, gender, sexuality and other forms of difference. Many other scholars and colleagues across the country, some of whom are represented in this book, have continued to work toward inculcating a more critical, meaningful, and relevant formulation of anti-racism. I believe that race is a fundamental marker of lived experience in Canada, as well as internationally and, at the same time, like the others in this book, I feel that so many other factors contribute to how race manifests itself.

My own work in Canadian schools and the academy, in general, has pointed to the politics and denial of race and difference even as race and racism stare us in the face. As racialized/minoritized students articulate their concerns about racism I have also encountered the denial and silencing that many others have often embarked upon, not simply to protect their privileges, but to mask any sense of complicity and responsibility for social oppression. What I have found over time, and one reason this book is such a timely and necessary addition to the literature on racism and racialization, is that many of the people most imbued with its orchestration and manifestation, namely White people, maintain the power and privilege to ignore and dissociate themselves from the experiences of others who are more directly affected or marginalized by racism. It is destabilizing, troublesome, and problematic to hear White people vigorously refute the notion that there is racism in society. We see this in Canada in many ways, and in education we have long heard of the *de facto* policy of "colour-blindness." Many people of good will, however, have become engaged

in trying to make for a better society, but many others challenge the foundation and legacy of racism. The fact that most of the decision-makers are White, and that it is these people who control the funding, laws, programs, and policies, means that it is often an uphill battle just to get racism formally identified as a concern. Thus, a book on Whiteness, led by two academics who are White, is an important contribution to the discussion about how power works in society.

This book includes contributions from some well-known and critical theorists in the area of racism in this country—as well as some new voices in the field. The impressive range of approaches, methodologies, theoretical perspectives, and experiential vantage-points provides for a comprehensive and engaging text for students, researchers, and others interested in exploring how Whites are intensely implicated in perpetuating the racial project. I think the question of whether Whites should talk about race is "no brainer." As this book suggests, racism can best be addressed when everyone addresses their role in maintaining the *status quo*, even if difference is still considered to be a strategic consideration in how race manifests itself and is experienced. There is place at the anti-racism table for White scholars. For the dominant, the entry-point is the investigation of Whiteness and White identity.

There are many excellent chapters in this book addressing the specific concerns of those most marginalized by racism (i.e., Aboriginal peoples, Black/African Canadians, and other people from minoritized racial groups), and these works explore the myriad contradictions racialized peoples face in their quest for human dignity and rights. Until now, we have not seen a book within the Canadian context with such obvious relevance at the international level—one that effectively brings to light the curiously implausible contradictions of Whiteness. Paul and Darren's undertaking to gather such eloquent and thoughtful voices to fill this void provides an important catalyst for all people to reaffirm our engagement in living out equity and social justice, and toward an authentic and critical pluralism that surpasses the trivialized and romanticized versions of diversity and multiculturalism that seem limited to spicy food and coloured clothing on the dance floor. Racism is about maintaining White dominance and supremacy. It is about the power to produce and validate knowledge about particular experiences while subjugating other concerns.

In this regard, I would like to engage the dialogue with additional readings on Whiteness and White identity. I remember not long ago teaching a graduate class on the "Principles of Anti-racism" when a student asked why there was a focus on Whiteness and White identity in the course. It was not the usual concern about re-centring the dominant group's issues in anti-racist practice. In fact, what the student was alluding to was whether an anti-racist practice should today not be preoccupied foremost with the ways to empower racialized and minoritized bodies (spiritually, politically, and intellectually) to come to terms with our social oppression and, ultimately, to suggest ways to resist dominance.

Race is a powerful divide in contemporary society. Whiteness as a form of racialized identity helps frame much of the discourse and social practice. The universalism of

Eurocentric experience points to the bankrupt ways White racialized identities are held up as the norm to which everything else is measured and accounted for. The authority of Whiteness rests upon how, in everyday practice, the tropes of White supremacy scripts the lives of the oppressed and minoritized. In a racialized society to be White does not simply mean to be privileged. It also implies owning up to complicities and responsibilities for the maintenance of oppression. Consequently, it can be argued that there are limits to how we can deconstruct White identity without falling into the easy slippage of acknowledging responsibility and complicity.

White racial identity is about White privilege. Learning about Whiteness, and teaching about White identity and Whiteness are some of the many challenges facing anti-racist and dominant educators today. Discourses on race and anti-racism cannot avoid a discussion of White identities and white privilege. When we fail to do so we are merely reproducing the dominance of Whiteness. When certain bodies enter into our institutions they carry the institutional weight of Whiteness. These bodies can easily reproduce their dominance freely if they choose to use their positions to work for change. It is a choice that is often not afforded to all groups. Dyer (1997, p. 10) long ago observed that, in looking at Whiteness, the goal is to "dislodge it [Whiteness] from its centrality and authority, not to reinstate it." In order to dislodge Whiteness we must first understand the insidious ways it maintains dominance through the ideology of White supremacy. A supremacist ideology ensures that Whiteness guarantees racial privilege irrespective of gender, sexuality, and class. Consequently, Whiteness has become a system of dominance. In fact, Howard (2004) is correct in arguing that Whites cannot escape their implication and complicity in Whiteness in a White supremacist society. To claim otherwise negates or compromises the ability of Whites to do serious anti-racist work as "it espouses a gross misunderstanding of the structural and embedded nature of racism" (p. 8). Anti-racist Whites must clearly acknowledge and demonstrate the tensions and difficulties of their grappling with racism in order to gain credibility, and to solidify the ground for anti-racist coalition politics.

To my reading and experience, Whiteness is never invisible to those who daily live the effects of White dominance. Many Whites may see their Whiteness, and yet they are able to deny the dominance associated with it. This denial is not unconscious, nor is it accidental; I believe it is deliberate. Critical anti-racism maintains that we will only do away with racism when Whiteness no longer infers dominance and Whites acknowledge and work towards this end. In noting this I also agree that there are contradictory (and sometimes competing) meanings of Whiteness, as in the way Whites and subordinate groups understand contemporary Whiteness (e.g., the perception of Whiteness as anything but positive). As I have argued elsewhere (Dei, forthcoming), a critical study of Whiteness and White identity means bringing certain considerations to the fore of our anti-racist practice. For example, how individuals choose to inhabit their bodies (claiming a racial identity) ought to be distinguished from the concept of Whiteness as a system of domination conferring privilege upon White bodies at the expense of racial minorities. We must also look for what is

being gained when distinctions between White identity and Whiteness is vigorously maintained. And, at whose expense and to what intents and purposes do we uphold such distinctions? At times we make distinctions to absolve us on individual and collective responsibilities, and not simply for the sake of intellectual scholarship. Personal accountability, and collective responsibilities and complicities, cannot be avoided or skirted around by focussing on how White bodies are trapped by the system. Consequently, while we may be seduced into separating "White identity" and "Whiteness," there is a link that must not be denied. In fact, White identity and Whiteness work together allowing dominant groups to become immune to the system. We know that certain bodies have the privilege to opt out by default through inaction.

The idea of practice of "disembodied identity" (which, for the purpose of this essay, I would interpret as "Whiteness without bodies") can be problematic as it fails to uncover how race is embodied and how race, gender, class, and sexual politics intersect to create and maintain social differences. As alluded to, Whiteness cannot itself be essentialized, especially when embodied Whiteness intersects along gender, class, and sexual lines. As Deliovsky (2005) notes in articulating an "embodied femininity," White women do not have the same relationship, access, or subjective experience to Whiteness as their male counterparts. Notwithstanding these complications, however, it is also equally important to reiterate that there is a systemization and structuralization of dominance within social institutions that perpetuate White privilege and other forms of oppressions "inter-generationally" and/or through time and space, irrespective of class, gender, religious, language, and sexual differences, particularly among dominant groups. The structural dynamics of Whiteness work with broader socio-economic forces as well as within the institutional aspects of structure/society as evidenced in everyday discursive practices and social scripts/texts to place Whites in a "positional superiority" (Said, 1979) at the expense of "Others." Such "positional superiority" of Whites is also fed constantly by the ideological system based on White supremacy (see Deliovsky, 2005, p. 12).

This collection has come at an opportune time. It fills a gap in the Canadian literature on the ways Whiteness masquerades in our institutions and within Canadian mythologies. Naming Whiteness and White identity is a political project as much as an intellectual engagement, and the co-editors of this collection must be commended for creating the space for such naming to take place in public and academic discourses. To some, while Whiteness can be said to be an "unnamed," "unmarked," and yet "marked racial practice" (e.g., Frankenberg, 1993; Mercer, 1991, pp. 205-206), its material and symbolic consequences are all too real irrespective of the intersections of class, gender, and sexual differences. We know that throughout history the power and ideological privilege of Whiteness has allowed working-class Whites to associate themselves more with their oppressive middle-class counterparts than the working-class of colour (see the pioneering works of duBois, 1975; Cox, 1958). The reason is not far fetched to the critical scholar interested in the political economy of

race. Dyer (1997, p. 19), among many others, has also observed that Whiteness has proved more successful than class in bringing White people together across ethno/cultural boundaries, often against the best interest of working-class peoples. There is no contradiction here. In fact, Harris (1993) got it right in her careful, astute, and eye-opening analysis of "Whiteness as property."

In effect, what I am leading to is the fact that the anti-racist discursive framework articulates a link between race, identity, and representation in educational and political practice. In the context of an anti-racism discursive practice, "bodies matter." White identity has powerful currency in social settings. In fact, in anti-racist work, "bodies matter" when we come to think of the ways knowledges are read and encoded on different bodies and how learners engage in/with processes of schooling and education. But as noted by others, bodies matter in anti-racist work also because of the "rootedness [or, I would say "embeddedness"] of racist ideologies in bodies" (Howard, 2006). I cannot agree more when Howard (2006) contends that the White body is potentially prone to racism, and this profoundly complicates any engagement in critical anti-racist work. The White body itself gives rise to certain liabilities in any work that would be deemed "anti-racist." Yes, this liability is attached to the body. However, this does not mean White bodies cannot do anti-racist work. In fact, as I have repeatedly noted, the critical question today is not "Who can do anti-racist work?" but whether we are all prepared to face the risk and consequences of doing this work! And the risk and consequences are different for who the bodies are. Engaging self in anti-racist schooling and education work, and what it means to bring an embodied experience, as well as the consequences for this, are all crucial components to such work. Because White bodies are invested in systems of privilege, the importance of dominant groups questioning their self-appointed and racialized neutrality is always critical and transformative. For far too long we have witnessed how White society has conscripted and choreographed the idea of a fractured Black community that avoids taking responsibility.

In the context of bodies, and the politics of educational transformation, Doyle-Wood (2006) reiterates that "it is not a question of the color of the person but the color of the person's politics" is on the mark. This is precisely because of the kinds of damage that minoritized bodies can engender when their politics are socially conservative. At the same time, if we are speaking about bodies whose politics must be libratory and transformative in anti-racist ways to begin with, then we must acknowledge that it is crucial that such bodies must substantially (but not exclusively) be bodies of colour. There is a psychologically liberating aspect for students when, in this context, a Black or racially minoritized teacher is present, and experienced in positions of knowledge production and learning. At the same time, location is a critical factor when we are speaking about issues of race and power. A minoritized gaze, and the knowledge produced from that gaze and experience, is a different gaze than that of the dominant White, supposedly normative view. It provides an alternative paradigmatic way of seeing and knowing. To give a concrete

example, it should matter greatly who teaches what (e.g., race, anti-racism, Black Canadian Literature history, or Aboriginal knowledge). There is a powerful and symbolic reading of anti-racist work evoking Whiteness and different bodies.

Together, Darren and Paul have brought together a project that seeks to frame and foster debate, analysis and, most importantly, social change in relation to race, difference, and identity in society. Is it noteworthy to acknowledge that both Paul and Darren are White, and that they are overseeing this work on Whiteness? I believe that it is, not because others cannot write about the subject with clarity and insight, as is clearly evident in the diverse range of contributors to this book. Rather, naming their positions as White allies embracing a rigorous conceptual and analytical discourse in the social justice field is an important signal that White society must also become intertwined in the entrenched racism that infuses every aspect of our society. As Paul and Darren correctly point out, race is still a pivotal concern for everything that happens in society, and especially in schools. The beauty of this collection under the leadership of these two editors is that the engagement allows readers to bring healthy interpretations and contestations to critical anti-racist work.

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DARREN E. LUND & PAUL R. CARR

INTRODUCTION (2014)

Reframing Whiteness

In so many ways, not much has changed since we first published *The Great White North? Exploring Whiteness, Privilege and Identity in Education*, and yet, so much has changed. One of our contributors has passed away, our dear friend and colleague, Patrick Solomon. Most chapter authors have carried on with their academic work, many within the broad field of social justice work. Both of the editors have attained new positions and new duties, and taken on additional commitments both inside and outside of the academy. The topic of Whiteness remains contentious and contested, rarely evokes a neutral response, and we understood the difficulty for our authors of revisiting their chapters some six or so years later. We made the decision to retain the original chapters wherever possible, and include in this edition an opportunity for the authors to reframe their chapters in light of new understandings and experiences since its original publication. It has been a pleasure and an honour to reconnect with the good people who have made this book an award-winning bestseller in this field.

It was an honour to be recognized by our peers for the first edition of this book, with an *Award of Distinction* from the Canadian Race Relations Foundation (CRRF), and with the *2008 Publication Award* from the Canadian Association of Foundations of Education (CAFE). In the meantime, we have often been called upon to write and speak about the book and its related projects. Invitations for community and academic conferences and journal articles (e.g., Lund & Carr, 2010), and edited book chapters (e.g., Carr & Lund, 2009; Lund & Carr, 2012) have seen us talking about aspects of White privilege with a variety of professional, academic, and lay audiences. Appearances on regional and national radio broadcasts have included right-wing radio shows, local and national news stories, and phone-in questions from members of the public. Following the publication of a seemingly innocuous article about our book in a national newspaper (Church, 2007) covering a presentation about our research at a national conference, the reader responses were immediate and many of them vicious. In the first few hours alone, over 160 written items were posted to the newspaper's online "Comments" page, most expressing racist, xenophobic, or otherwise hateful viewpoints. It is no understatement to say that there remains a very high level of resistance to the very notion of White privilege, especially among White people.

Emotional responses to our ideas, and those of our contributors, have ranged from incredulous, to angry, to defensive, to curious, to bemused. People in the West and Global North remain immersed in Whiteness like fish in water. There remain dozens of embedded metaphors, analogies, images, and cultural icons that all speak to the sanctity, beauty, and the hypnotic predominance of the colour white in the Western world. Not merely the opposite of black, the colour white remains a signifier for global racial supremacy—good against evil, lightness versus darkness, and benevolence over malevolence—and symbolizes purity, cleanliness, kindness, serenity, and youthful innocence. White is associated with being the "good guy," the savior, and the empires of Europe and the UK as well as France, Spain and other Euro-colonizing forces, while Black is inexorably fused to colonial notions of the "bad guy," the villain, and the forbidding "dark continent" of Africa.

White supremacist groups have coalesced in North America, and continue to thrive and adapt around virulent hatred based on the false premise of biological superiority. Canada has long been a welcome home to the Ku Klux Klan and numerous other hate groups (Baergen, 2000; Kinsella, 2005; Pitsula, 2013). White supremacist propaganda has been used historically in a sophisticated manner to soften the message of xenophobia to reinforce White hegemony (Daniels, 1997). Slavery, colonialism of First Nations and other peoples, neo-colonialism, imperialism, and a host of other political, economic, and cultural strategic maneuvers and mindsets have all been buttressed by the grandiose conceptualization of the White man as morally enlightened (Dei & Kempf, 2006). Supported for centuries by the Christian religion and the drive to expand the Empire, White people have colonized and ravaged much of the planet. Willinsky (1998) reminds us that the racialized divisions of the past still shape our educational institutions, and that exposing privileges and inequities is part of what we owe our students. Further, he explains that students

> need to see that such divisions have long been part of the fabric and structure of the state, including the schools, and they need to appreciate that challenging the structuring of those differences requires equally public acts of refusing their original and intended meanings. (p. 5)

Rather than regarding this as a sensationalistic depiction of the legacy of a diverse group of people, one need only look at the history of indigenous peoples in North America (Carr, 2008; Churchill, 1998) to understand the present day privilege and power held by White people (Dei, Karumanchery, & Karumanchery-Luik, 2004; Fine, Weis, Powell Pruitt, & Burns, 2004; Lund, 2006a). Throughout the past few years, it has become evident that Whiteness cannot be separated from many other critical areas of inquiry, including neoliberalism, globalization, and democracy (see Carr, 2011).

The collection of writings originally assembled within *The Great White North?* speaks to the idea that Canada is an expansive country, richly diverse in its geography, shaped by the mesmerizing landscapes crafted by the Group of Seven artists in the early 1900s, with an undercurrent of the pioneer spirit defined in the literature of generations of great Canadian writers in the latter part of the twentieth century. One

feature that defines the Canadian experience is the complex, and often antagonistic, relationship it has had with the United States since before Confederation. A common sentiment that continues to bind Canadians together is the self-assured notion that Canada does not suffer from the same racial problems as in the US. We believe we are less segregated, less discriminatory, less racist, and less divided, and we often remind ourselves of Canada's status as the first nation to have its multicultural identity entrenched in its constitution. The Americans, on the other hand, reveal endless visible warts, including a long history of racial tensions and civil rights struggles, and we strive to convince ourselves that we Canadians have not followed their destiny (Lund, 2006c, 2012).

As educational researchers interested in the sociology of "race" and identity in education, the editors of this book have become aware of the intricate, systemic, and pervasive nature of racism in Canada. Many well-known antiracism scholars have taken up the work of acknowledging and documenting this racist past and present (e.g., Dei, Karumanchery, & Karumanchery-Luik, 2004; Fleras & Elliot, 2003; Henry & Tator, 2005; James, 2003; Trifonas, 2003). Starting with the first European contact with the Aboriginal peoples, through the existence of slavery in Canada—about which many Canadians have no information—to the undulating waves of immigration, through the razing of Africville in Halifax, to the internment of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War, through the experience of Jamaican-Canadians in Toronto and Haitian-Canadians in Montreal, the history of racism in Canada is as rich as it is shrouded with resistance and denial (Lund, 2006b). While there have been hundreds of studies on race relations and racism in Canada, there have been few, if any, scholarly works exclusively dedicated to exploring Whiteness in Canada.

We decided to compile such a book examining the multiple perspectives and vantage points on Whiteness in order to challenge the current complacency in the Canadian state and nation, and particularly among educators, to address deep-seated inequities and injustices. This volume builds on a growing desire to examine Whiteness without reifying its centrality in the antiracism and other social justice movements. We have been, simultaneously, inspired by critical White scholars in the US who have undertaken critical self-examination of their own privileges as they take up the work of unlearning racism in their schools, communities, and faculties of education (e.g., Bush, 2005; Howard, 1999; Jensen, 2005; Lea & Helfand, 2004; McIntosh, 1988; McIntyre, 1997; Rodriquez & Villaverde, 2000; Sleeter, 2005; Sullivan, 2006). Questions emerge that seem self-evident and yet confound our work: Do most White people even know that they are White? Do they use their privilege to deny or ignore their racial identity and, simultaneously, infer inherent racial attributes to the "Other"? If White people do not know that they are White, how can those who are in positions of power, many of whom are White, effectively understand and challenge racism and unearned privilege?

We realize the oversimplification entailed in placing into one White category such heterogeneous ethnic, cultural, linguistic, religious, and other groups. Certainly,

there are myriad international examples of nuanced experiences of oppression and struggle within and across nations of White people. For example, Francophones have historical differences with Anglophones in Canada, the Catholics and the Protestants have been at loggerheads for years in Northern Ireland, the Hungarian minority has not had a favourable experience with the majority Romanian population, and the Basque population has been involved in a separatist movement in Spain for generations, with all of these conflicts, struggles, and complexities involving White people. It would seem extremely unusual, and perhaps even unacceptable to most people, to hear news anchors speak of "the White community" during a daily newscast in North America, yet we commonly refer to the "Black community," the "Asian community," the "West Indian community" and so on, as if these racialized groups can so easily be confined within a tightly defined and coded category of identity and social experience.

This second volume asks the question: What does Whiteness look like, in general, and in Canada, in particular? It also pushes contributors to consider how we can challenge, disrupt, and alter power and privilege relations imbued within the Whiteness project. The Canadian context is highly complex with the number and variety of exogamous relations and blending of peoples with complex and shifting ethnic, cultural, and racial identities. Almost infinite individual experiences make for a confusing notion of "race" in Canada; for example, two of the last three Governors General are women from racialized minority groups, coincidentally with each being a former journalist married to a White husband. Is it a coincidence that there has never been a non-White Supreme Court judge or Prime Minister? Who maintains the predominance of power in Cabinet, at the CBC/Radio-Canada, in boardrooms of the large corporations, the Senates of Canadian universities, and so on? Power does have a colour in Canada, despite official multiculturalism, making our nation appear superficially to be a harmonious society in which anyone can be successful with the right attitude and effort. The meritocratic myth has worked against racialized non-White people in Canada for hundreds of years. It is problematic that many White people so effortlessly invoke deficits in individual efforts as an explanation of underachievement by some racial minorities.

Despite recent significant gains for (mainly White) women in the workforce and political life, there still remains an important and visible privilege gap between Whites and non-Whites in Canada and elsewhere. Clearly, women as a group still face numerous barriers and challenges in society, and for non-White women the inequities are multiplied. The tumultuous rift and near dismantling of the *National Organization of Women* (NOW) in the 1980s is illustrative of the tension between White and non-White women. The latter did not see their needs being addressed, nor their voices being heard, through an organization dominated by middle-class White women, which eventually led to non-White women assuming leadership positions in the movement.

Are people generally overtly racist in Canada? While it is unlikely that blatant racist behavior is currently condoned or tolerated by most Canadians, there is

ample evidence that widespread systemic racism is a reality. Part of the problem in documenting trends is the absence of useful data collection. Many people resist indicating their racial origin on census forms, for a variety of reasons. People from racialized minority groups know that a chance at employment may later be tainted with the accusation that the employer simply wanted to "fill a quota." Playing the proverbial "race card" is perhaps most insidious when considering the trivialization and maligning of employment equity in Canada (Klassen & Cosgrove, 2002) and affirmative action in the US (Feagin & O'Brien, 2003). At some level, racial identity is obvious to everyone and, at the same time, is obscured by the false notion that human rights legislation, common decency, and religion all negate its existence, often culminating in the deleterious notion that we are all "colour-blind." Where people live, the positions they ultimately attain, who they may befriend, employ, and marry, the types of associations, clubs, and organizations they belong to, and other markers of social integration all may have a racialized component. Who most often attends private schools, private golf clubs, and private business circles, has traditionally depended on, among other things, unspoken racial categories. How people choose to understand their own implication in racism relates to privilege and power, and ultimately, Whiteness is shrouded with justifications and denials that allow people to avoid discussion of how oppression continues to benefit White people in Canada.

Therefore, we begin once again with the premise that "race" and racial identities are highly contested and problematic ideas for our consideration. Just as with politics and religion, these topics are not comfortably addressed openly in polite company. For this revised volume, we insist that Canadian society cannot be understood without stripping away the layers of the "race" onion. Clearly, social relations are infinitely more complex than race relations. The social construction and intersectionality of identity provide a medium in which Whiteness can be deconstructed and problematized. Whether we are speaking about sexual orientation, ability, religion, gender identity, cultural group membership, or some other aspect of our identities, the racial template always affects the power relations inherent between groups and individuals (McLaren, 2007).

The birth of this Whiteness project stems from a chance encounter of the co-editors at the *National Association for Multicultural Education* (NAME) conference in Atlanta in November of 2005. Sharing a table at lunch, we were both surprised to learn how much we have in common: We are two White males from Canada of about the same age who have been involved in antiracism education for a number of years. One is from Calgary (Darren), one from Toronto (Paul), and both have had a rich experience outside of the academic world—as a high school teacher (Darren) and as a government policy advisor (Paul). We enjoyed the talks, workshops, and especially the Freedom Ride, which traced the roots of the civil rights movement through Spellman and Morehouse Colleges, the Ebenezer Church, and the Martin Luther King Memorial Center. Against this poignant and moving backdrop we discussed the state of racism in Canada, and agreed that being White and not saying

so, or failing to strive to understand the ways in which it works to subjugate others, serves to undermine the antiracism movement.

We wished to produce a book with people from a range of cultural and racialized identities, and with a variety of perspectives on Whiteness, with the stated desire that each author problematize Whiteness through inquiry that was both personal and critical. We are aware of the highly contentious and discriminatory history facing a number of White immigrants over the years in Canada (e.g., those of Jewish, Italian, and Ukrainian origin) but we wanted to focus on the power and privilege of Whiteness in this volume. This requires changing the paradigm, forcing the issue of who really holds the power, and interrogating the Canadian identity.

One scholar wanted to revise her original piece for this volume, and of course we respected that request. We have also included one new piece, by Gina Thésée, who works and conducts research in the province of Québec.

The book remains unique in that each of the writers addresses his or her personal implication in Whiteness, and for all but the new one, a reframing of their original piece, seven years later. We strongly believe this enhances these accounts of rich, subjective, and politicized experiences of Whiteness. All of the authors of chapters making up the core of this collection are Canadians, with the exception of Brad Porfilio, who taught Canadian students across the border at a university in Buffalo, New York. We are pleased that we have representation from almost all of the provinces, contributing a range of pieces—theoretical, conceptual, and applied—that collectively represent a range of interdisciplinary perspectives.

OVERVIEW OF THE BOOK

There are five sections in the book, each containing three to five chapters. All of the chapters approach Whiteness and race from a critical vantage point, problematizing identity within the Canadian context, and also providing linkages to the international arena. We would like to emphasize that this book need not be discounted as only addressing Canadian issues; on the contrary, it relates to common concerns everywhere, and Carr has used the book in a doctoral course in the US when he taught there, receiving much support and appreciation from the students once they surmounted the initial shock that the book did, indeed, originate in Canada. Education is a central focus to this volume, and is approached from a broad perspective. The range of authors, in terms of racial identity, ethnic origin, gender, region, discipline, and experience builds on our belief that Whiteness is multi-faceted, complex, and permeates human experience in this society. For far too long, many White people have believed, or have been led to believe, that race and racism are concerns only of those who are directly affected by it as its targets, and we challenge that notion through the book. George Sefa Dei's wonderfully critical and engaging Foreword, both for this second edition, and for the first edition, helps set the tone for the entire volume.

The first section sees authors conceptualizing Whiteness. The chapters presented therein provide an array of examples and insights as to how White identity is

constructed and reinforced in Canada from the moment of birth. We need to understand how our own biographies and experiences shape and limit our identities and consciousness, and the path we must take to transform them. The barriers to teaching and learning are documented in this chapter, and the concept of power is underscored as being key to understanding how to achieve equity as well as, importantly, breaking the silence of Whiteness.

The second section is entitled "Whiteness and Second Peoples." As a society, we are so confident of the validity in the normative actions of White Christians that it will surely come as a jolt to some to hear of the colonizers of the First Nations as "Second Peoples." These chapters present important concepts of how we should deal with Whiteness once we have unearthed it, examining the place of both White people and non-White people in the struggle for social justice. This section opens the problematic of White people doing research on Whiteness and others, a common concern among antiracism workers: Who should be researching whom, and how? It can be painful to face White privilege and White guilt; and it can be frustrating to deal with issues related to Whiteness and White identity in a diverse nation such as Canada. Nevertheless, the quality of the relationship with disadvantaged groups depends on being vigilant about the many implications of positions of privilege.

The third section examines developing and de-constructing White identity, including the ability to be colour-blind and not colour-blind simultaneously as the hallmark of the achievement of a mature, anti-racist, White identity. There is never an endpoint to White racial identity development; the work continues as it transforms itself but, significantly, this work must be rendered visible. Attempting to achieve a more critical consciousness of lived and societal experiences through structured programs is one way of laying the groundwork for difficult, but necessary, conversations about race. Emphasizing that individuals and groups experience racism differently, the authors in this section warn against avoiding tackling race issues because of the illusion of colour-blindness, which deflects and denies the lived experiences of racial minorities.

The fourth section deals specifically with teaching, learning, and Whiteness. Ultimately, this analysis of Whiteness unearths and confirms the problem of over-generalizing about identity. Protecting and nourishing ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identity, as is the case for Francophones in Canada, is a complex enterprise, and the connection to Whiteness may, therefore, take on different shapes and forms. These chapters expose the deeply entrenched beliefs of White, middle-class university students, many of whom adhere to flawed beliefs about Canada as a pure meritocracy. The goal remains to implicate privileged students personally in an interrogation of their own roles in oppression.

The last section of the book deals with the institutional merit of Whiteness, building on the previous sections with chapters and dealing specifically with contentious educational issues related to identity and race. For school administrators and teachers, questioning their own predispositions and identities is a necessary component to understanding the educational experience of the students in their

school. There remains a need to focus on accountability in how contentious school-based situations and policy development are handled, emphasizing the inequitable power relations framing school codes and policies used to assert Whiteness.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

We feel honoured once again to have our good friend George Sefa Dei involved in the book for the intensely critical pedagogical perspectives he brings to his work, and to attend to some of the pitfalls encountered when researching and writing about Whiteness. In reading this revised volume, it is inevitable that some will still contest specific aspects of these analyses of how Whites are fully immersed in the swamp of inequitable power relations. As a living and vibrant field, the community of researchers need not speak with a single, consensual voice. We hope that the plurality of views put forward here, and the reframing of the original pieces, will foster deeper conversation and stimulate further activism in eradicating racism and other forms of oppression and inequity. The authors of each of these chapters critically examine diverse perspectives and contexts as well as the construction and application of societal and institutional practices that underpin inequitable power relations and disenfranchisement based on racial identity. Each chapter concludes with a series of Questions for Reflection to foster further analysis and self-critique in readers as they continue to interrogate Whiteness. The relevance and salience of this text, we believe, extends far beyond the Canadian context, and we hope those in other global settings will find abundant and poignant lessons for their own transformative work in education with a particular focus on promoting social justice. We are very open to continuing the debate, and to stimulating new forms of inquiry and critique, and we welcome any and all follow-up aimed at making Canada and the world better places.

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SECTION 1

CONCEPTUALIZING WHITENESS

KATHLEEN S. BERRY

EXPLORING THE AUTHORITY OF WHITENESS IN EDUCATION

An Auto-Ethnographic Journey

INTRODUCTION

Using certain archeological premises of Foucault, the task in this chapter is to examine, track, deconstruct, excavate, and critique the existence of Whiteness in informal and formalized educational locations. The purpose is to reveal how the power and privilege of Whiteness has been created, circulated, and sustained through a socio-historical process of hegemony that questions, if indeed, Canada is a location for racial diversity and pluralism at the individual, societal, institutional and national levels. To examine and expose hegemonic practices of systemic and epistemic racism in Canada, I author an auto-ethnographic text as a White, Canadian woman privileged mainly by my immersion in the invisible constructs of Whiteness. Through my auto-biography as an ethnographic, historical process (not linear or chronological) that constructs and locates me in several discourses and practices, I am able to disclose not only the authority of Whiteness in Canadian society but discuss how the very invisibility of Whiteness works to generate, circulate and maintain racism in Canadian society and its institutions. The spaces and times of the auto-ethnographic text show where Whiteness hides in ancestral and inherited grand narratives, such as Euro-centric history and rationality, Christianity, and Colonization, that have constituted modern, Western education.

METHODOLOGY

In a manner similar to *bricolage* (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004), I employ a mixture of analytical tools to dig and connect the personal to the political authority of Whiteness in Canada. The methodological *bricolage* includes elements of Foucault's archeological analysis (Frankenberg, 1993), auto-ethnography and axiology. In addition, the theoretical *bricolage*, taken mainly from the field of Critical Studies, is threaded throughout my auto-biography as interpretive discourses to further move the personal into the political. A criss-cross of these discourses attempts to prevent a simple chronological unraveling of a personal history. Instead, an archeological analysis of an auto-ethnographic text (Jones, 2005) surrounds the personal in the political, social, and economic powers of the time and space in which

the story takes place. I borrow from Carolyn Ellis' *The Ethnographic I* (2004) as a way to present and write autobiographical research.

I purposely selected certain excerpts from my autobiography that best expose the invisibility of Whiteness. Although not a disclosure of all the invisible locations of Whiteness in Canadian life, I use the selected excerpts to move the personal in and out of the individual level to indicate where Whiteness exists at its most seductive levels of concealment—the societal, institutional and Western civilizational levels.

Another researcher, Frankenberg (1993), to whose work on Whiteness I often turn for theoretical and pedagogical assistance, has generated a useful research process that helps me focus my thinking yet avoid a totalizing "grand narrative" that seeks unity, coherence, and closure. Frankenberg guides the researcher through: (a) an *examination* of products of Whiteness; (b) a *tracking* of whiteness as it moves into formal and institutional, political processes; (c) a *deconstruction* of ways whiteness marks literary, cinematic, and scholarly practices; (d) an *excavation* of the limit points of whiteness, enabling reflection on the disciplinary practices that reinforce race as a historically constructed system of differentiation, exclusion, and belonging; (e) a *critique* of white complicity with reproduction of racial domination along a continuum from conscious to unselfish conscious enlistment; and finally (f) an *articulation* of strategies/action for development of antiracist, activist, and [transformative] practices (p. 70). In the limited space of this chapter, I have only scratched the surface of these different areas.

Another area of the *bricolage* known as axiology (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004) is also threaded throughout my autobiographical texts. In education, for example, the cloak of Whiteness generated by Western rationality and European Imperialism are handmaidens to capitalistic driven economies that need individualism and competition for material goods as human capital and subject formation. In turn, these organizing "grand narratives" are intersected by other discourses such as Christianity, patriarchy, and heterosexuality that serve to privilege Whiteness. This criss-crossing of grand narratives and shifting contexts is known as axiology. I include axiology as an attempt to avoid essentializing, normalizing, generalizing, and abstracting locations of Whiteness from the lived world. In other words, the power and privilege of Whiteness does not apply in all contexts or to all people at all times; neither is power and privilege stable, constant, or unified. In the modern world, however, Whiteness acts as a dominant construct for assigning power and privilege in Canadian society and institutions.

EXPOSING WHITENESS

Patterson (in Frankenberg, 1997) defines Whiteness as:

the culture that the dominant peoples of the world possess; it was created socially and structurally by a society. Whiteness can be defined by several strong features including, capitalistic market society structure; belief in progress and

science, possession of modern concepts of family and societal group structures based on individualism, competition, social mobility, and belief in Eurocentric cultural, philosophical, and economic superiority. In a phrase, whiteness refers to ways of living that are discursive practices that were formed out of a culture associated with western European colonial expansion. (p. 104)

The difficulty of spotting Whiteness in educational arenas is that it is the invisible epistemological and ontological construct against which all others are compared and marginalized. Many of us are accustomed to studying about the oppression, silencing, and marginalization of other races without a critical awareness of the race that is camouflaged by White complicity and privilege. Dyer (1997) argues that, looking, with such passion and single-mindedness, at non-dominant groups has had the effect of reproducing the sense of oddness, differentness, exceptionality of these groups, the feeling that they are the departure from the norm. Meanwhile the norm [whiteness] has carried on as if it is the natural, inevitable, ordinary way of being human (p. 141).

Assumptions that White is right are packaged covertly in several locations of education. Teachers' subject formation, parents' desires, administrators' agendas, literary and subject area texts, curriculum artifacts, and government policies are all players in the circulation of Whiteness as authority.

The "grand narratives" of Western Enlightenment: namely, European imperialism and history; Christian spirituality, morals, and ethics; immigration; capitalism; individualism; the globalizing (Americanizing) of the world though modern technologies and media; and the compatible wars of positioning, discourse, and agency constitute a few of the organizing devices of modern education. At the time of conception, these frameworks provided the philosophical foundations that, in the context of their creation, structured modern society's systems of epistemology, subject formation, economics, politics, and public and private institutions. Since the structural frameworks of modern education were developed and circulated mainly by Western Europeans in the earlier part of modern life, these frameworks were established in order to unite, advance, support, control, and organize the population. The assumptions generated at conception were discursively producing Whiteness as power in many domains, from politics to education. In other words, as Daniels (1997) claims, "White supremacy is a central organizing principle of social life and systems… historically developed as institutional privilege and as ideological justification" (p. 11).

I grew up in a post-war, all white community in Maritime Canada but was told long ago stories, jokes, and rhymes (i.e., "enee, menee, minee, mo, catch a n___ by the toe") by friends and relatives, including the racist discourse that shaped my knowledge about the Other. I was read to or read stories of Other and of me-ness: *Huckleberry Finn, The Hardy Boys, Charlie Chan, Ann of Green Gables, Little Black Sambo, The Bobbsey Twins, Uncle Remus stories, The Five Chinese Brothers*, and would sneak peeks at the National Geographic pictures of "foreigners" while

visiting neighbours' cottages or hiding under the stairs at the public library. Some readings engaged my imagination with overtly recognizable racial characters but covertly, I realize now, identified with Whites, like Ann and the Bobbsey twins, both in terms of their privileges and their agency. I had to read *Uncle Tom's Cabin* because I inherited an antique salt dish from Gram Berry. It was from the Doctor Lincoln who tended to Harriet Beecher Stowe's children when they were sick. Gramp, a self-taught man, taught me to work hard; he had five jobs during the depression, one of which was for the Canadian National Railways. He pointed out the black conductors but I don't remember talking to them. Mi'kmaq women came to the door selling their hand-woven willow baskets, but I hear that warning "Don't let them in the house Roy, they'll steal everything we have" [at the time for me it was legitimized by a voice (Grandmother's) of authority, circulated and consented to by the society in which it was spoken as truth]. I watched ten-cent Saturday matinees of John Wayne's cavalry and cowboys, fighting for the rights of Whites against those damn Indians. If I was lucky and finished my homework, I got to stay up an extra half hour to listen on the radio to the Jack Benny Show. I still can hear the black butler's raspy voice. "Dad, why do negro [a discourse used then] people talk funny!" My mother took Dad's shirts to the Chinese laundry to have the collars starched and we ate at the Chinese restaurant on special occasions. There were only two or three Chinese families in town. I can't remember where they lived or if they went to school or church.

That was the extent of my early surface exposure to a racialized world and, if noted, it was mainly through symbolic texts such as conversations and books. It seems that I was very comfortable and safe in that world, unknowingly because I already was carving out a stake in Whiteness. There were some contradictions, an occasional resistance, and those were primarily because of a difference in gender, body, and class. There were few reasons to resist or loathe family knowledge, values, history, or activities. The family's position and positioning of me in Whiteness was compatible, in most cases, with the Canadian societal and civilizational knowledge and values of the times that still reverberate today. Racism and the privileging of Whiteness still echo throughout that community today, but the latter is made even more invisible by the assumptions that multiculturalism and anti-racist policies have eradicated racist discourse and practices. The invisibility of Whiteness has been pushed even further to the background and allows complicity with the privilege of Whiteness to continue. For example, recently in my community a neighbour (White), angry at another neighbour (White), said he called him everything but "White," implying all other races are inferior and stupid. When I mentioned that was a racist statement, he passed it off, saying "I'm not racist... I have a friend who is Black."

Family is the first location where we learn our position because of Whiteness. Although the contexts and discourses vary, Whiteness and its axis with gender and class, for example, are constantly present. The discourse of racism that I learned covertly and overtly from story-tellers, books, media, popular culture, and joke-tellers operates quite differently for me in my privileged status of Whiteness. The Other is delegated to a powerless, degrading position while I, as a naive but

privileged subject, have little need to question the inherent racism. I can laugh at the jokes; they work to confirm how I am superior at the expense of the constructed "Other" as inferior. The childhood of my auto-biography partially tracks the forces of Whiteness that were experienced as natural, neutral, and normal. The "lived experience of race emerges as a political taxonomy of the subject" (Phillip as cited in Hill, 1997, p. 330). In the case of Whiteness, it emerges as invisible power.

How this and other constructs of power and oppression positions me in relation to my practices, materials, and students is the key to being a critical pedagogue. I know and experience the same constructs of racism today mainly by the blindness to White privilege. When attempts to raise the assumptions underlying White privilege, the Maritime communities in which I live are predominantly White raced. Unlike the large metropolitan and urban areas of Canada, resistance to complicity with Whiteness is not always fore-fronted when the majority of the population lives off the benefits of Euro-centric society and structures. Nothing is served by denial, guilt, or blame except continuing to uphold current power structures, to which I either contribute or resist in the entangled web of cultural hegemony. How do we examine the very fabric we created? Is this really transformative pedagogy (Ellsworth, 1989)?

Whiteness as invisible coincides with postmodern and post-structural notions of erasure. Derived from Derrida's methods of deconstruction, erasure is the removal of truths and knowledge garnered from the margins or the silenced. Used mainly as a deconstruction of text, erasure is applicable to the multiple locations of Whiteness in education. The question of how Black, how White, how yellow, how grey, how red has always seemed to disappear into the great Canadian national, rather than racial, identity; that is, it has been erased by the discourse of Canada's cultural mosaic and liberal multicultural discourse. Race is left unchallenged when consumed by the seductive discourse of the benefits and existence of "how lucky we are to be Canadian," or "there's no other place I'd rather be," "we've got the second highest quality of life." But we forget, erased by assimilation, that racial differences become over-powered by national identity; that is "White" as the norm, the standard. For example, the removal of the Lord's Prayer occurred in public schools as a supposed removal of religion in schools. However, nationalism still exists to erase the presence of racism, which becomes collapsed in discourse such as "Oh Canada."

The subject formation of teachers as a location of Whiteness is cultivated beyond the family and individual levels into the broader societal levels. The process continues: Also mingled in my cultural mosaic were four Jewish kids (sometimes we played street ball together but never had sleepovers, and a dozen Catholic friends (we had sleepovers). With no Jewish troop available, Janet joined our Anglican girl guides; the Catholics wouldn't let any Jewish girls join their troop. Church Street had four Protestant churches, where every Sunday, some friends were United, some friends were Baptist, some were Anglican, and the friends from the "other side of the tracks" were Salvation Army. The class distinctions were clearly marked both within and between churches by what "big names" belonged to what church, the amounts in the church funds, and who wore what on Sundays. I memorized the

Anglican catechism so I could win a trophy, read the Bible so I wouldn't go to hell, and was taught that Jesus drove the Jews from the temple for money-lending. I believed in Jesus as a "real" man, so much so that I wanted to be an Anglican nun until, in training, I was told by the Reverend that church law said women couldn't be ordained. Catholic friends had to go to confession every Friday before they could go to the Young Men's Christian Association dances. The Y. M. C. A. had a swimming pool, dances, lots of money, and a huge building. The Y. W. C. A. only had ballet, tap, and a small, donated building down the street. Girls went to the YMCA but boys never went to the YWCA. Homophobic discourse was learned in jive joints and jokes; "Are you going to Alice's party?" "Alice who?" "Alice in Wonderland, all fairies are invited." This was told without any realization that gay and lesbian friends and family members were standing there; they only existed in jokes and the silence about homosexuality.

The host of cultural constructions that guides my positionality through Whiteness materializes further in the preceding second section of my auto-biographical narrative. Beyond the family, my privileged positioning by Whiteness was furthered by the expectations, rituals, clubs, rules, and standards established by participation in societal and institutional activities such as Girl Guides, Young Men's Christian Association, Protestant churches, community sports, and dating. The process of shaping constructions of gender, class, religion, relationships, sexuality, and how I am positioned in them are apparent. Where Whiteness locates me in privilege is not so obvious.

My Baptist and Anglican upbringing telescoped my knowledge, beliefs, and identity to read the world as a White Christian, including relationships and how I teach. In most incidences, my Christian history was compatible with the Christian foundations of Western education. Although I mentally and bodily left those institutions in 1962 (a reverse conversion!) because of their denial of feminism, I know that even today I still approach my daily life steered, in part, by Christian principles. Sometimes I recognize its tenets in my actions and decisions, such as "turn the other cheek," "save the children," or my Good Samaritanism for those "less fortunate." I remember now that, although we all played together, there were definite visible boundaries between Protestants, Catholics, and Jewish children as well as an absence of other religions. What was also being established were the invisible boundaries that empowered Protestant Christians over all others; that is to say a positioning of privilege by a "White" Euro-centric, state-initiated religion (Anglican) formalized by the institution of church.

My taken-for-granted thinking and actions are indicative of larger unexplored systems of Whiteness, such as Western rationality and Christianity. These grand narratives continue to circulate among educational history, ideas and artifacts, further institutionalizing Whiteness. Since a major mainstay of Christianity is conversion, not just in spirituality but in policy and principle, cultural differences of the converted are soon contaminated and consumed by the world of Whiteness, masquerading as saviours, deliverers from evil (a binary construct), redeemers, rescuers, and

forgivers. With the bible as the guiding-light and European colonizers as the sailors, Christianity positioned the colonized as savages, ignorant, and uncivilized; in other words, inferior. These initial teachings became formalized in educational sites such as churches and schools. Christianity became invisible in the defining processes of colonization and emerged as a signifier of Whiteness, "a conversion to civility, social mobility, economic security, and cultural refinement" (Babb, 1998, p. 12).

In my childhood, going to the Protestant churches was another source of values, morals, and ethics, but it was also a silent source of knowledge about gender, class, and race, and an agent for positioning me in Whiteness and racial privilege. For my parents, school and church were connected to privileges, especially the Anglican church with its British, middle/upper class ambiance. Although public school policy denounces Christian teachings as part of the school curriculum, I sense, like Dyer (1997), that "its ways of thinking and feeling are none the less still constitutive of both European culture and consciousness [and educational institutions] and the colonies and ex-colonies (notably the USA) [and Canada] that it has spawned" (p. 15).

Finally, my auto-biographical narrative moves further into formalized education, including high school, university, and teacher education. In school, Dick and Jane were my first readers. I could dramatize "Look, look, look" so well that I got As on my report card. "This girl shows promise" was stated, now in retrospect, because of my complicity with text. My identity was confirmed by these readers; I related to Jane and I had a really nice Mom and Dad just like her and—some days—brothers like Dick. My Mom and Dad talked about how when Dad gets a promotion, we will be able to get a bigger house just like Dick and Jane. Even today, I have a copy of my grade four readers and the social studies textbooks from which I learned about how my Protestant relatives of long ago were driven out of Europe and came to fight for land from the Indians, but peacefully, and for freedom from religious persecution, by either Catholics or other Protestants. I learned how the ancestors of our town's nearby Acadian French communities wouldn't leave the country to make way for the British to access Lower Canada. In 1776 their families were split up and sent in many directions especially to the French territory of Louisiana. I was taught at home and school to believe that my relatives and textbooks were right and the French were wrong. If I challenged or disagreed, I would fail the provincial exams. In 1966, my English grandmother was horrified I dated a French boy and a "Catholic to boot"! I believed that my relatives were wrong but the societal pressure for a Protestant, English-speaking girl to not marry a French Catholic boy decided our relationship so we parted. The textbooks in high school, even today I can see the covers—history, math, geometry, literature anthologies, science, physics, music, art—but none for gym classes.

Whiteness existed between the covers; Greek battles fought against everyone so we could have a democracy; all the adventures of colonization—sword fights and sailing ships—to conquer and rescue "backward" people. Not only were the heroes male but White. In World War I and II, where all my British ancestors and Canadian relatives appeared on the pages as the good guys while the bad guys were everyone else from those "other" countries. Whiteness entered my knowledge and

values through Greek math—Pythagoras' theorems and base ten numbers; British poets and authors, the scientific revolutions of Galileo, Copernicus, Newton, and Einstein, and Madame Curie; the art of Rembrandt, Picasso, Van Gogh, and Monet; the history and music of Chopin, Beethoven, Bach, and Handel. And when I hear this knowledge in the classrooms of 2006, I know Whiteness is still being circulated. If I learned anything about Eastern culture and history it was either because Europeans or Americans invented it (Said, 1978), discovered it, conquered it, or wrote about it. In teachers' college and university, I learned more about White supremacy, not consciously, but covertly in the theories of Locke, Rousseau, Dewey, objective lesson planning, (confirming scientific rationality) behaviour management, (confirming grand narrative of big business' need to control, manage human capital) and standardized (whose?) testing.

Schools are major sites for the discursive practices found throughout my auto-biographical narrative. Confirmation of Whiteness as dominant structures that creates epistemological, ontological privilege is confirmed in reading series such as Dick and Jane at the early level and social studies textbooks to the high school texts of geography, history, and literature. When Boyko (1998) reviewed the content of textbooks prior to the 1980s, he found the development of Canada was essentially of Ontario and Quebec and the French and English people, a reproducing of a Euro-centric history that invisibly privileges Whiteness. So over the decades since the 1940s of my childhood, it appears Whiteness continues to hegemonically superimpose its power.

Teacher education is another location for the perpetuation of the Whiteness of Western Enlightenment through foundation courses based on the ideologies of Kant, Locke, Rousseau and other western European philosophers who, in the case of Locke, very specifically states the superiority of the White race (Eze, 1997). Their thoughts are the major foundations that underpin the content and practices of education. Furthermore, these constructs that shape educational theory and practice are among the social forces that influence language, knowledge and ideology around the notion of the European Enlightenment. Compatible with the Enlightenment, today's teacher education programs still pay homage to the principles and structures of knowledge such as subject disciplines, objective outcomes, and standardized testing/courses. Even mathematics is based on Greek and Roman perceptions of the world. Time, measurement, angles, geometry and arithmetic, with its base ten configurations, are created out of the need for early Western rationality to manage, control, unify, shape, and govern a diverse population with its plurality of nation states, languages, cultural knowledge, and values. Cultural groups who construct time, place, organize family and spiritual centres, and build connecting artifacts such as tunnels and bridges did so without Western rationality. When asked to consent and conform to a different consciousness, however, the Other is positioned on the fringes of power or silenced. Those students with a Non-Eurocentric ancestry sit before me as they are forced to consent to time and space configurations that were created and enforced by Western rationality.

One of the prime influences shaping the dominance of Whiteness is the philosophical roots of Western thought. As a system built on the ideas and practices of early European philosophy, the Western Enlightenment created a history of traditions that empowered the dominance of White, middle-class, Christian, male, heterosexual culture evolving out of scientific rationalization, binary oppositions, objective consciousness and the rise of modern life. These elements of Western European Enlightenment have saturated our present-day educational system to the point that Whiteness lies invisibly dormant in the recesses of modern education as a set of neutral, taken-for-granted, hegemonic practices (Latouche, 1996). In so doing, education has structured a set of cultural practices that have, to date, advantaged White, middle-class, Christian, male, European-descent knowledge, values, traditions and so forth. The question becomes where do these practices fit in education? The philosophical foundations are "linked to unfolding relations of dominance" (Frankenberg, 1993, p. 6) which not only systematically privilege those with cultural and historical membership, but position everyone in relation to standards of Whiteness as the norm. Exposing and examining Whiteness, however, is not meant to "reconfirm the centrality, normalcy and authority of whiteness but to recognise the power and privilege thus preventing its continuance… its power to include and exclude" (Dyer, 1997, p. 10). Education is both a breeding-ground for the logic of Whiteness and the sets of structuring devices that circulate and maintain the *status quo*. In other words, Canadian education maintains unequal relations and contributes to social injustices, locally, and nationally.

The over-abundant standardization of educational systems by a dominant way of knowing, organizing, and being, such as the Enlightenment and its legitimation by hegemonic practices, including the predominance of Whiteness as neutral and invisible racism, extinguishes any postmodern wish for plurality, diversity, and creativity. Plurality as a postmodern construct demands the eradication of standardization/ standards. This move to plurality is diminished if not eliminated, in the constructs of Enlightenment projects. Just as oppositional binaries and Euro-centrism have defined rationality, scientific objectivity, and the separation of mind (as cognitive, biological), body (as object), and spirituality (as metaphysical waste), so to as modern education. The public (ignited by the likes of publishers, government interests, and media) and educational professionals (fuelled by fears of loss of power, control and Whiteness) whine about diminishing "standards," the need for "standards," plus more and earlier "standardized" testing. What, in fact, is happening is a need to maintain control over the privileges that come with a society based on Whiteness, which is similar to what Claude Steele (1999) found upon his return to a small liberal-arts school. What he mainly heard from the African-American students of the 1990s was, like his visits thirty years ago, "the curriculum was too white, they heard too little black music, they were ignored in class, and too often they felt slighted by faculty members and other students" (p. 44). In other words, racial integration still means assimilation into the "standards" designated by Whiteness. In 2006, Canadian education is not without the same invisible privileging of Whiteness.

History, as presented in modern times, is actually the history of White privilege and power. It was not until the rise of the Greek and Roman states and the expansion of Europe through colonization and imperialism, as Rodriguez (in Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1998, p. 61) points out, that "in the convergence of colonialism, capitalism, and subject formation," that Whiteness became a major signifier of power. To legitimize the creation of Greek and Roman states, European colonization and the supremacy of colonial imperialism, the racialized Other was born, a self-justification for Whiteness to emerge as an overarching ideology. Before that time, borders existed but they were based mainly on tribal, linguistic, religious, or ethnic divisions. Not only did the beginnings of Euro-modern times establish racial categories as border capital but it also established a Eurocentric culture of Whiteness that shaped a modern history of the East/Oriental (Said, 1987). To legitimize Western ideology and expansion, history is told/written/portrayed in such a way that continues to hide White imperialism while simultaneously circulating and maintaining its superiority, a similar set of discourses and practices initiated by Bush's war. In this "us" against "them" or "they" need "us" war of positioning, the historical consciousness is shaped as a judgment on the past in the name of a present truth (most often the legitimized truths of Whiteness, in addition to male, Christian, heterosexual, and so on). Counter-memory suggests "that the process of remembering can be a practice which transforms history... [that] combats our current modes of truth and justice, helping us to understand and change the present by placing it in a new relation to the past (p. 75). For my racialized memory, there was no call for counter-memory at the individual, societal or institutional levels. Even my memories positioned me in the privileges of Whiteness.

Memory and erasure are key points to include in the dominance of Whiteness as a history of imperialism and colonialism. As a person of European ancestry with limited, if any, interracial background other than White, I easily identified with the history lessons taught throughout my schooling, by my relatives, and by the racial sameness of my White community activities. My historical memory is informed by the great stories of heroes and their beginnings in Greek and Roman Empires, European nationalism, world wars, and Canadian contributions to the rise of Euro-American power. How my historical memory is shaped is more evident and trackable. Why it was shaped around these stories and erased certain other stories was, and still is, less obvious. Only in retrospect, though is the privilege of Whiteness made visible in my autobiography.

However, totalizing the privilege of Whiteness is as dangerous as ignoring its invisibility. This is where axiology draws in the multitude of contexts and experiences that shift the privilege of Whiteness. In other words, I am not always privileged as the politics of difference move me to the margins. Somewhere throughout all the social, historical shaping of who I am and how I read the world is the major event that initiated me into the politics of difference. Messages and signifiers of a difference that was not acceptable seeped into my life at the same levels of racism and exclusion that Scheurick (1997) mentions: individual, institutional, societal, and

civilizational. I learned the politics of difference, like the racial Other, at a very early age: my fourth birthday looking out the window of an "isolation" ward of the hospital. I had contacted polio and, in those days before the 1956 salk vaccine, isolation (today it's called exclusion) was played out daily at all levels. Today, at the end of the glorious modern age, difference of any kind, still is put in the "isolation wards" of society or excluded from institutional regulations. I live in practice what for many is sometimes only theories of difference. At the individual level, parents pulling their children off the street when my mother and I walked down the street my interior monologue asking, "Why us Mom?" Parents, like the McManuses, who came to take my parents for a drive and deliver winter coats in spite of the quarantine sign on the apartment door. There was no socialized medicine so medical care was a handshake and good will by Dr. Cox and several nurses. Institutional locations I tried to enter were very clear on the regulations but individual interpretations and political implications for the institution varied in their degrees of inclusion based on a difference from the *normal*. The regulations and attitudes that prevented or allowed entrance into institutional structures were manifested, both overtly and covertly, at the individual or societal levels. In some cases it might have been my gender; my lack of middle-class articulation, educational qualifications or related work experience; or, quite simply, my appearance. It was clear to me that it was "the physical disability," as the applications for work and universities claimed. When refused entrance and interviews, my parents secretly (they thought) argued with employers and teacher college deans that I was not "crippled."

Although the word has changed to physically handicapped, physical disability, and differently-abled, it still acts in many ways as a totalizing discourse. Individuals and institutions trope physical disability with the images and facts that everything else must as well (e.g., intellect, interest, abilities, integrity, passion, ethics, and so on.) Interviews for teaching jobs, if I got one (the application asked if I had any physical disabilities), were mixed. Nuns said outright: "No, not in our school because of your arm" (in that context, I thought not being Catholic was a disability) or, that for special education school, "we think because of your arm you don't have the emotional stability to handle these types of children." I learned to lie, cheat, deceive, self-loathe, wear long sleeve puffy blouses and short skirts. It worked in many cases. I lied on that certain line on the application form, kept silent when the manager asked why, with a teachers' college education, I wanted a bank job. I cheated on the air stewardess application about my physical body, was accepted but was caught when I had to jump out of the simulator to rescue simulated passengers; a few drowned. I accepted my first teaching job on an isolated Northern Canadian armed forces base. There were very few applicants so I had a chance after several rejections (based on the continued categorization and discursive practices of physical disability) in the "big city" of Montreal.

The politics of difference thread their way through my auto-biography at several levels from individual and institutional to societal. A difference from the status quo and the discursive practices of essentializing and normalizing the body has served

individual, society and institutional practices throughout many aspects of Canadian life. Borders of many kinds have prevented a difference from entering the mainstream for a variety of reasons, and I can guess it is because they are a threat to the established structures that maintain privilege. My major, visible difference disrupted knowledge, values, and structures that were in place, historically, and socially. That difference caused contradictions that challenged democratic participation, Christian charity, inclusive education, and community institutions. In my case, my difference pushed me to the margins of society and educational institutions. Those lessons I learned were not taught explicitly but discursively. Although privileged by Whiteness, at one level, for other reasons, I was not always privileged in Canadian society and institutions.

THE GREAT WHITE NORTH?

Through an auto-ethnographic journey, I have attempted to expose the invisibility and privileges of Whiteness assigned to many people that pass through the discourses and practices of Canadian life, especially that of education. The socio-historical passage through individual, societal and institutional levels of Canadian life opens doors for many based on the discourses, history and constructs of Whiteness. As discussed, however, it is not a matter of anger and guilt to expose the authority of Whiteness in Canada, but an awareness of where it exists as an invisible marker of privilege. To do so interrupts the assumptions that Canada is a multi-cultural society with equity, inclusion, and social justice for all.

As my autobiographical journey continues, I teach courses on Whiteness and introduce readings on the topic in other critical studies courses. Former students, like Mia and Ruby (pseudonyms), remember how annoyed they were initially when confronted with their Whiteness and its privileging of the raced subject in Canadian society. They, however, said that the course readings and discussions "opened their eyes about their contribution to [complicity] racism mainly by their lack of awareness of the role Whiteness plays" in the continuance of racism without the exposure of Whiteness in their everyday activities and practices, especially in their teaching. Ruby talks about "how schools in Atlantic Canada pay lip service to the cultural knowledge and values of Others [than Whiteness]." Mia remembers her rage at the beginning of the course, "thinking I was non-racist but then realized I took-for-granted my privilege [in Canadian society] by my complicity with Whiteness."

When I interviewed Mia and Ruby, they echoed what many researchers have found to be the initial response when students of any age are awakened to the privileging of Whiteness: anger, guilt and blame. But Mia wanted me to know that she attempted to change how she taught her elementary grade students to read a text for the privileges assigned by Whiteness, "very hard and dangerous." She elaborated further on how "we (White teachers in Atlantic Canada) have to start with ourselves even though it hurts too much at first."

Ruby expressed similar beginnings of anger and guilt as Mia. Ruby did try to evoke sensitivity to issues of privilege and marginalization based on a raced society.

She phoned a local newspaper reporter to alert her to how she had failed to decentre from her position of White privilege when reporting on the birth of the first New Year babies in the province. Ruby pointed out how the reporter positioned the White family as agents and superior, and devalued the birth of the child to an Aboriginal family by her discourse and erasure of the father (who was present at the birth). Ruby said she continues to follow the columns of the reporter, and has seen no evidence of her insensitivity to the privileging of Whiteness.

Until the invisible structuring devices, discourses and authority of Whiteness in Canadian society are exposed, the nation will continue to contribute to the circulation and maintenance of racism. The myths of multiculturalism, antiracism and the Canadian mosaic will continue to hide the privileges of Whiteness until the focus is shifted. At the same time, however, exposing and examining constructions of Whiteness is not meant to "reconfirm the centrality, normalcy and authority of Whiteness but to recognize the power and privilege thus preventing its continuance... its power to include and exclude" (Dyer, 1997, p 10).

QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION

1. In what ways did/has Whiteness entered your life in Canada as either privilege and/or oppression?
2. In what times, materials, and spaces of your teaching moments does Whiteness hide and continue to circulate and maintain power and privilege?
3. What are the limits of the privileges of Whiteness in your daily life?
4. In what ways, and in what locations do individuals of non-Eurocentric ancestry, read Whiteness?
5. In what ways can you and your students/clients/family work to articulate and transform the authority of Whiteness at the individual, societal, community, and institutional levels of the local and national levels of Canada?

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