

The Politics of Education

A Refusal to Live without Praxis

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And How Did You Get [Here]?

OF LATE, I HAVE BEEN ENACTING a refusal to explicitly position myself in my work. This refusal does not stem from a desired regression into positivist scientism, and the normative stance of white epistemologies (Teo, 2022), that significantly benefit the structural integrity of the concretized myth of white supremacy and by extension the category of the white. But rather, it stems from the emotional fatigue of positioning myself within the continued schema of the concretized myth of white supremacy. With that said, my work is political as is that of those who package their interest under the myth of a neutral stance of white normativity and an objectivity that is positioned outside of their privileged subjectivity, which is violently secured for them. I understand and appreciate that storytelling (in CRT for example) is an important part of countering white normativity and the continued demand of the concretized myth of white supremacy to present itself through its various institutional spaces as the only legitimate supplier of narrative(s). Of course, in the schema of white supremacy, whiteness continues its monopoly on the production of reality, through its control of the legal, political, social, and economic means of production, unleashing muted waves of structural violence, on a regular tempo against non-white people, in general, and more acutely against the category of the black.

This muted violence, for the most part, escaped my untrained eye. It was whiteness's intermittent use of conspicuous violence that got my attention. I witnessed the war on Iraq and the war on Afghanistan in real time; I was not learning it through a Canadian history textbook that is sanitized and carefully curated. For the first time, I was seeing the insatiability of whiteness and the impunity with which it was able to exercise its insatiable desire for the wealth of others. To be clear, the Iraq war was about resources and not weapons of mass destruction. I was shocked at the casual language of “shock and awe” and “war theater” and of “a lit-up sky.” I was angered to see white people—whiteness¹—kill, maim, and destroy whole societies while it demanded its own security and safety. I was also angered by the way whiteness framed issues.

People had answers for questions like “why do they hate us?,” but in an Orwellian (1984ish) time characterized by lapses in international law, secret police, rendition, and torture, no one dared say, “because you are insatiable thieves with a deep history of monstrosity against

humanity who doublespeak about morality and democracy.”² There was heavy silence and palpable fear of the U.S. Government (particularly if you lived in or in close proximity to it), laced with the kind of humor that is born out of such situations.³ My brother who lived in U.S. at the time would half jokingly interrupt our conversation or speak over me and say, “I love America Sir. God bless America and nowhere else!” Of course, he was talking to Big Brother who he feared was listening in.

Although colonial violence alters and drives the lives of so many of us, the violence of the two aforementioned wars didn’t drive me into the field of education; it steered me into political studies. It was contemplation over prosaic white supremacy that drove me into the field of education. In my undergraduate degree, I falsely understood power through the lens of political theory and practice. It took me some time to realize that education, particularly curriculum and pedagogy, is where the real power lies. That is, before a bomb is ever dropped (not that I want to drop one), before a drone is ever deployed, and before any computer program is ever written, it is built, deployed, and written inside education, through curriculum[and]pedagogy[and]schooling—as an amalgam. The real battleground is inside education. And whiteness knows and understands that, so it violently gatekeeps.

This gatekeeping should be understood as occurring through two streams of white supremacy—conspicuous white supremacy and prosaic white supremacy. Conspicuous white supremacy was/is overt, legal, and conspicuously violent (i.e., previous colonialism, as well as intermittent conspicuous violence of present [not post] colonialism). Conspicuous white supremacy can loosely be explored through the idea of high frequency soundwaves. High frequency soundwaves “are reflected back when they encounter thin objects ... don’t bend much around barriers ... can not endure over long distances and can quickly dissipate due to high energy levels” (Alison, 2021, n.p.).⁴ When whiteness deploys conspicuous violence either in previous colonialism or present (not post) colonialism, it is met either with sharp or gradual resistance. The violent act(s) itself produces a reaction. This reaction can have a range and is not predetermined. For example, if you were to forcefully push someone, the act of pushing, the force involved, would (potentially) make a person fall over; this falling over, could cause injury. The totality of the act could also cause sharp resistance, as in a counterforce that sends the original force back, or it could encounter a more gradual counterforce that could result in various forms of resistance. Resistances can come from different factions within and outside, and it usually begins with a discourse or resistance, spreading to other forms. And because the act is conspicuously violent, it surfaces as a transgression that is clear and visible, leaving traceable marks; that is, you can debate the politics behind the transgression, but the transgression is a clear action—a forceful push.

The rhetoric of conspicuous white supremacy is also conspicuous. Eve Tuck and Rubén Gaztambide-Fernández (2013) describe the role of schooling in the project of settler-colonialism through conspicuous white supremacy, meant to replace the Indigenous Peoples of the land through conspicuously violent means with the aim of erasing all traces of whiteness’s insatiable monstrosity, enthroning itself as the native (which is evidenced by the perplexity that washes over the category of the white when you insist that they tell you where they are really from). This assimilationist project described by Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández (2013) to “kill the Indian, save the man” (p. 76) directly informed curriculum, and curriculum directly informed the project as an intersection of systems—the macro (high level architecture of curriculum) intersecting with the mezzo (curriculum design) and the micro (curriculum delivery), with iterative cycles that will finally lead us to prosaic white supremacy.

“Kill the Indian, save the man” can be reconstituted as, “kill the Indian, then, kill the Indian” as the concretized myth of white supremacy operates through a concrete visual economy of whiteness that can never really assimilate or integrate through synching. In the visual economy of the concretized myth of white supremacy, non-white people always surface and re-surface as they are disintegrated, before resurfacing through racial capitalism (Melamed, 2015; Robinson, 1983/2000) or multiculturalism (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013; Walcott, 2014), or some other mode. It is through prosaic white supremacy that non-white others surface through the flexibility of these modes. This is not so in conspicuous white supremacies’ previous colonial era.

Like a high frequency soundwave, conspicuous white supremacy is more rigid, particularly in its membrane formation. All non-Europeans constituted non-whites and were explicitly excluded. The category of the white was on the in/left-side of a rigid membrane for which only they could unproblematically be on the out/right side—as it was porous only for them. The high energy needed to sustain conspicuous white supremacy, the resistance it met, and the distance between the center and the peripheries, made conspicuous white supremacy untenable. Thus, curriculum [and] pedagogy and [schooling], along with other ancillaries of white supremacy would all migrate from de jure white supremacy to de facto white supremacy, from what David Theo Goldberg (2007) described as naturalist white supremacy to racial historicism, with a hope of returning to the former. Just as naturalist white supremacy and historic white supremacy are two sides of the same coin, so are conspicuous white supremacy and prosaic white supremacy. Let us further explore conspicuous white supremacy through frequency and soundwaves.

One of the most important features of conspicuous white supremacy was/is its unification of a disparate Europe (and later settler-colonies) under the manufactured category of white, against non-white Others as well as the production of a concrete visual economy of whiteness based on signs and symbols. White as a category and as a strategic identification has the potential to constrain all the competing intersections within European identities. This solidification would allow the many fractures within the category of the white to be read through one identification, when it transacts with non-white identities. Furthermore, because white supremacy is a strategic category rather than an identity, it can expand and contract strategically, admitting and (violently) expelling various identities according to proximity to whiteness that is specific to a particular time and a particular space (i.e., white placeholders in Latin America).

Lastly, the violent nature of conspicuous white supremacy, its devastating presence across the globe and its lengthy duration as well as the intensity with which it invaded and appropriated the lives and wealth of the global South, has left very deep wealth asymmetries between the global North and the global South that are difficult to overcome.

These asymmetries have been *maintained* through prosaic white supremacy. This form of white supremacy works to maintain the expansive gains made under conspicuous white supremacy in a multi-layered, complex, and nuanced manner, evasively producing similar results. It is said that low frequency noise is more likely to be experienced as vibrations rather than heard, “has longer wavelengths, can travel long distances, and has high endurance” (Alison, 2021, n.p.). If we explore the concretized myth of white supremacy through this frequency, we can see how the metastization of the concretized myth of white supremacy can be felt world over (i.e., the relationality of development and under-development, environmental degradation, high infant mortality rate, political instability, widespread poverty in the Global South and higher poverty rates for non-whites in the Global North), yet the issues are framed through corruption, economic underdevelopment, underachievement, and many other narratives. There are remedies offered, concessions made, new inclusions enacted, old exclusions reinforced,⁵ but a dialogue outside of

the framework of white supremacy (i.e., parallel world economies that exclude the West, new institutions that rival and delegitimize the IMF, World Bank, and UN) is *never* allowed. Glen Coulthard (2007) speaks to this point in addressing the politics of recognition in Canada.

Prosaic white supremacy works to maintain and, if possible, further expand the social and economic skin of the category of the white against non-whites, in strategic gradation. If conspicuous white supremacy had a rigid membrane, prosaic white supremacy has a selective, more flexible membrane that manages various non-white identities for its own stability. For illustration, white supremacy is anti-Asian racism, packaged through the liminal logic of the Asian threat—the yellow peril that must be contained and the model minority that must be simultaneously brought in to displace more “radical identities” and be contained, albeit in different ways (Chen & Buell, 2018).

The violence of and in prosaic white supremacy is muted by international and national institutional structures and can take on different forms. Curriculum, pedagogy, and schooling are maintained through prosaic white supremacy, delivered through a steady insidious tempo.

Collectively, we have become largely desensitized to prosaic white supremacy. And even non-white people, who the violence is acutely meted out against, have come to see the violence delivered through prosaic white supremacy as a normal part of life and a normal part of education (Patel, 2022), as a habitus (Bourdieu, 1994) that we inhabit through arriving and inheriting a white world, made white by colonialism (Ahmed, 2007), where, “whiteness is lived as background to experience” (p. 150).

One of my earliest memories of myself is of me packing a schoolbag with books I could not yet read. My parents would ask me, “Where are you going?” and I would answer “to university.”⁶ Born to new money parents in Somalia, who acquired their wealth shortly prior to my birth, the first seven years of life were marked by privilege in a continent that is synonymous with poverty due to the violent and intense appropriation of its resources and the perpetual violence against its social, economic, and political infrastructure by the category of the white through previous and present colonialism.⁷ Imbued with agency and in a rich environment with structural supports, I thrived. It was only after coming to Canada that I experienced poverty in its different forms. That I left the continent of Africa⁸ as a wealthy child only to experience poverty in its various forms in Canada will be read by most people as an oxymoron. I spent most of my schooling in Canada oscillating between the violent constructs of the exceptional and the unruly problem. While the violence of the unruly problem is more apparent, the violence of the exception as in the intellectually exceptional is not.

Frantz Fanon (1967/1986), in *Black Skin White Masks* states,

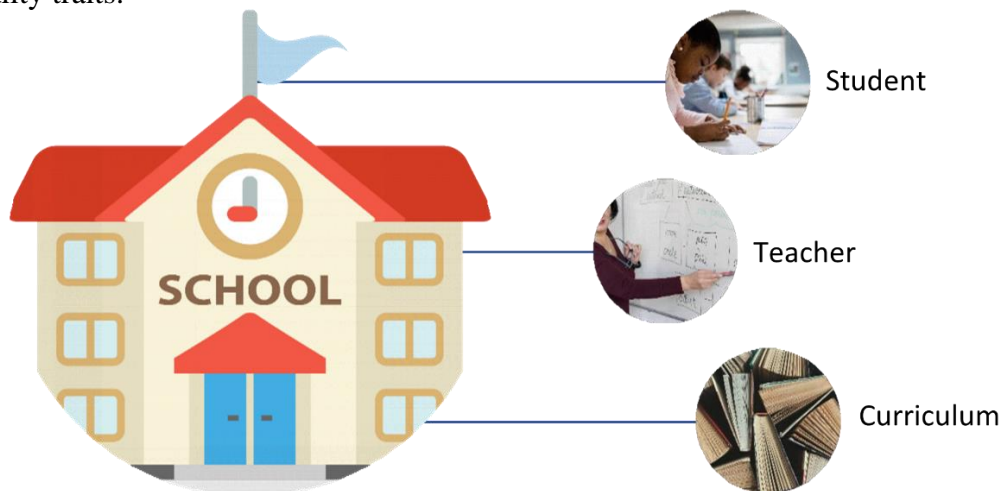
The time had long since passed when a Negro priest was an occasion for wonder. We had physicians, professors, statesmen. Yes, but something out of the ordinary still clung to such cases. “We have a Senegalese history teacher. He is quite bright. Our doctor is colored. He is very gentle.” (p. 89)

In each case there is a but, as in, “we have a Senegalese history teacher,” but he is quite bright; or “our doctor is colored,” but he is very gentle. The “but” is a bridge narrative that allows the category of the white, which has a perverse relationship with the truth, to manage its false and contradictory narratives that help sustain the concretized myth of white supremacy. Toni Morrison (1992) argued that whiteness circulates contradictory narratives with impunity.

The myth of black inferiority is a central narrative that helps to moor whiteness's production of the hierarchies of races. So, when students from the category of the black walk into a classroom, which by architectural design can only be a white space (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2015), and do intellectual circles around their white peers, it results in cognitive dissonance.

Whiteness recovers from this disorientation in a few ways, and it puts various mechanisms in place to thwart this threat.⁹ Here, whiteness labels these students as exceptional and, hence, an exception (Abdulle, 2019). This move allows whiteness to repatriate positive characteristics, such as smartness, from the category of the black, back into whiteness as its legitimate space, while simultaneously positioning any success of the category of the black as proof that the system works and that, logically, the *problem* lies with the category of the black as a group (notice the implosion). Now we are ushered back into the narratives of black students as a problem. The violence of the system, including the violence of curriculum and pedagogy towards non-white people, as systemic and intentional, sits outside of any analytical framework, even whilst violence is the central analysis. This is partly accomplished by the starting point, what Sarah Ahmed (2007) calls, orientations—that provides for the category of the white (and differently for non-whites). This orientation is possible by always including non-white people as excludable (a term borrowed from Tanya Titchkosky, 2008), through a silencing that refuses to acknowledge (Brown & Au, 2014; Morris, 2015¹⁰).

Sharon Todd (2001), in her article, “‘Bringing More than I Contain’: Ethics, Curriculum and the Pedagogical Demand for Altered Egos,” illustrates this silencing. Utilizing the work of the French-Jewish ethics philosopher Emmanuel Levinas, the Greek-French philosopher and psychoanalyst Cornelius Castoriadis, and Melanie Klein, the Austrian-British psychoanalyst, Todd, asks, what if the very act of learning “enacts an ontological or a metaphysical violence?” (p. 431). Todd (2001) continues, if individual subject making, that is, the act of coming into oneself through the relationality of the other (teacher) and others, including the nation-state, is a demand for growth and change, a process which in turn encompasses “pain, struggles, renunciations and frustrations” (p. 431), how should curriculum be understood by teachers, and what is the relationship between teacher and student and curriculum? And lastly, taken together, as a totality, what ethical implications follow from these relationalities/relationships, which are negotiated within the school environments? In the image below, the school, (rather than curriculum, teachers, or students) as a very specific space with very specific rituals is centered as the cultural amalgamate through which everything is filtered—that is, *The School*, as a proper noun with specific personality traits.



Todd (2001) states that learning is inherently violent because the subject making process requires the student to alter its ego by way of synthesis; that is, the student must take in, information, outside itself, meant to alter the self with the underlying belief that this alteration is positive. The very act of knowing is an altercation. The struggles of taking in new information, for example, learning mathematics, learning to read, learning to negotiate with peers and learning the cultural demands of schooling, that press against the body and psyche of the student, even if well intentioned, can be traumatic and violent says Todd. For Todd (2001), the question of ethicality is positioned through the teacher-student relationship where, “teaching and learning are conceived as ethical relations, not because of some prescriptive injunction, but because there are present two distinct beings who come face-to-face in an encounter” (p. 437). In this understanding, it is the teacher who has agency in these ethical encounters, who can choose to be the compassionate teacher, who can choose to change his or her techniques (i.e., Klein and Dick) or who can mitigate the coercive nature of curriculum through its deliverance/pedagogy, including through character (empathy) and even tone. Here, if we look closely, we can see in Todd’s (2001) argument a universal stance based on white normativity and the structural integrity of the concretized myth of white supremacy.

In the last breath of the article, Todd (2001) briefly connects curriculum, colonialism, and oppression and just as abruptly as she introduced it, she disengages from it (p. 446). Todd (2001) then moves on to briefly talk to the idea of the demand for diversity in curriculum material by marginalized groups, to redress inequities, and then dismisses that as a problematic that is assuming (p.447). Yet, Todd (2001) assumes a great deal. First, Todd (2001) assumes neutrality in the violence that is meted out against learners; the violence of altering one’s self, the struggles and anxieties of taking from other(s), is not neutral. For students of the category of the white, the violence can be capped at that struggle to take from the other (the curriculum other, the other—others and the teacher other) and to integrate what is taken.¹¹ Students of the category of the white have already arrived in school, before their physical arrival; they have arrived in curriculum, in terms of the architecture and archetype of curriculum being a white supremacist metanarrative (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2015) that can be conceived of as an intense secular, non-religious, religion with a far-reaching scope, in that it is mandatorily everyone’s secular nonreligious religion. They have also arrived, in an arrival that proceeds their physical arrival, in that whiteness proceeds the category of the white through a concrete visual economy of whiteness and its accompanying narratives (as symbols and signs now paired through an unspoken language). After having arrived before their arrival, students from the category of the white are onboarded and tracked to replenish the concretized myth of white supremacy.¹² Non- white students, on the contrary, are always in a state of arriving; never arrive and cannot be onboarded. Their presence is always a negation and appears as a body that cannot sink (see Ahmed, 2007) or sync, so it surfaces and resurfaces as glitch, against the visual economy of white supremacy. Students from various non-white categories are given a social death (Patterson, 1982) in gradation—in proximity to whiteness, in order to shrink the social, economic, and political skin of non-white categories. Their inclusion, when and where they are included, particularly, the inclusion of Asians as a whole (an expansion from just East Asians to all Asians) is as a social control stratum (Allen, 1997), for a strategic purpose, as a means to securing whiteness rather than as an end goal.

Second, Todd’s description of the potentially intimate relationship between teacher and student is also not neutral;¹³ it reflects assumptions based on white normativity that stems from the comfort of sinking in (Ahmed, 2007) and syncing with the concretized myth of white supremacy, and perhaps from the ways whiteness makes the world available to white bodies (Ahmed, 2007).

I remember my grade 11 English Media course, in which I was the only non- white student. I recall clearly the failing white male student being explicitly reassured that he would not fail. “Don’t worry” the white teacher consoled, “you will pass.” The same teacher complained about “immigrants” (which she, as a white-settler is¹⁴) “coming to take our jobs.”

Freedom Dreaming: And How Will You Get Out Of Here?

Pierre Bourdieu (1994), in his essay, “Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field,” says, “the effects of choices made by the state have so completely impressed themselves in reality and in minds that possibilities initially discarded have become totally unthinkable” (p. 2). The difficulty of reimagining schools (curriculum + pedagogy + schooling) is a significant obstacle to abolition, yet this is ultimately what is needed.

Rubén Gaztambide-Fernández’s (2015) article, “Browning the Curriculum,” demonstrates that the education system is a white supremacist project, both in curriculum content,¹⁵ in pedagogy, in its definition of Man²¹⁶ as white hu/man, and the non-white other—non human, non-deserving other. Hence, in its totality, in both architecture and archetype, the curriculum and the education system as we know it is Un-brown-able, and unredeemable. Therefore, “the aim of browning” says Gaztambide-Fernández’s (2015) is “the end of curriculum itself” (p. 422). Here, I call forth the death of white supremacist education and the beginning of new education futurities that are based on the simultaneous self-determination of many communities.¹⁷ This future will be constructed through solidarity contracts that map out divergent (internal desires and goals of various groups), yet convergent (destruction of white supremacy, and the peaceful co-existence and full humanity), needs and desires of people. The conversation between Robyn Maynard and Leanne Simpson (2020), in “Towards Black and Indigenous Futures on Turtle Island,” gives us insight into the possibilities of seeing collaborative solidarities that can bring divergent and convergent needs of various group identities through solidarity contracts. Thus, instead of going through civil rights channels in white supremacist institutions to secure group rights, solidarity contracts would work outside of that framework in a competitive fashion to draw legitimacy away from white supremacist institutions, establishing economies that are outside white supremacy. Thus, we would have dynamic solidarity contracts that not only eradicate white supremacy in its totality,¹⁸ in terms of its structuring structures¹⁹ (Bourdieu, 1994), but also that protect against a vacuum and a resurgence of another hegemonic. The question (of many questions) would be, what infrastructures and mechanisms would allow this to work?

The category of the white and the category of the black, its polarity (black/white) and its proximities (non-whites, sprinting away from blackness towards whiteness²⁰) would also no longer exist (Abdulle, 2019). People would be shades and colors (beige-pink, beige, caramel brown, brown). This is of course about more than semantics, but rather about destroying the very language with which white supremacy animates itself. I am already doing this in my life. My young children do not use the term white; they use beige, and for the category of the black, they use brown; for South Asians, they use brown.

Although I do not plan to say in academia, one of the things that I would like to accomplish while I am here is to theorize a more nuanced understanding of oppression in the schema of white supremacy that reflects the strategic way whiteness oppresses through a proximity logic, displacing more radical “identities” and coercing other identities into submissiveness. Central to this is the way the category of the black is removed from what Theodore Allen (1997) referred to as the

social control stratum of white supremacy and how Asians (East and later all Asians) are invited into whiteness as less than white but greater than black, in order to displace the radical demands of the category of the black and stabilize whiteness through prosaic white supremacy. I identify this as a very important step in any counterinsurgency against whiteness.

I would also like to experiment with a strategy shift. It seems that we have been attacking the concretized myth of white supremacy by showing what whiteness is doing or has done to non-white people (i.e., through slavery, white-settler colonialism). I think that this process further objectifies. Instead, I would like to de-characterize whiteness by stripping away its positive characteristics that secure its visual economy. So instead of talking about slavery, we could build a counter-visual economy were whiteness and by extension the category of the white are characterized through their acts:

Insatiable
 Monstrous
 Untruthful/liar
 Sociopathic
 Unworthy
 Mediocre

The question now becomes, can you attack whiteness and not white people. I leave with this thought from Frantz Fanon's (1967/1986), *Black Skin, White Masks*:

And there was my poor brother—living out his neurosis to the extreme and finding himself paralyzed:

THE NEGRO: I can't, ma'am.

LIZZIE: Why not?

THE NEGRO: I can't shoot white folks.

LIZZIE: Really! That would bother them, wouldn't it?

THE NEGRO: They're white folks, ma'am.

LIZZIE: So what? Maybe they got a right to bleed you like a pig just because they're white?

THE NEGRO: But they're white folks. (p. 139)

Notes

1. It might sound strange that I am using whiteness here instead the United States. However, the United States' actions shouldn't be understood as the actions of a specific country, but rather as a (historic) continuation of whiteness's aggression, appropriation, and impunity. Unequivocally, it is only whiteness that could terrorize on that scale with impunity.
2. The closest you can get to publicly uttering those words was if you were an older white man. See Edward Peck (2001, 2007).
3. Not that there wasn't fear of the U.S. Government if you lived outside of and further away from it.
4. The movement and or characteristics of high frequency and low frequency soundwaves are understood through the established principles of wave mechanics and propagation in the field of acoustics.
5. The category of the black Moors the system, as they are placed outside of what Theodore Allen (1997) called the social control stratum.
6. I can still make out my dad's laughter, as he repeated the question.
7. While previous colonialism was overt, overtly violent and conspicuous, our present colonialism is managed through prosaic white supremacy, through global market structures that were meant to stabilize whiteness's loss.

Whiteness would reorient and regain through indefinite market asymmetries delivered through such institutions as the World Bank, the IMF, the United Nations—including the United Nations Security Council, which only has five permanent members with veto power, four of which belong to the category of the white (and three of those four are Western powers), China being the only non-white permanent member.

8. Africa is the second largest continent in the world, and according to the African Language Program at Harvard University (2024), the continent has between 1000 to 2000 languages, yet, in most spaces it is referred to as a country, even if indirectly. This implosion is a strategic narrative of whiteness that allows the richness and diversity of the peoples and cultures and the multifaceted and multifactorial circumstance to be streamed into a narrative of inherent poverty and misery.
9. Although I do not have enough space/time to cover this issue in depth, it is worth noting the way economic and social skin of the category of white expands through various policies and initiatives within and outside of education to sustain and maintain the concretized myth of white supremacy. Discriminatory education policies, discriminatory hiring practices and discriminatory economic policies like redlining are but a few general examples.
10. See *The Scholar Denied, W. E. B. Du Bois and the Birth of Modern Sociology* (Morris, 2015).
11. Even this struggle is purposeful because structuring structures will call out to the category of the white through what Sarah Ahmed (2007) calls technologies of whiteness—the recruitment processes. Thence, education, in its entirety and the outcomes, even if painful, are productive. For the non-white, it is a negation in gradation, in proximity to an ideal whiteness.
12. See Chen and Buell (2018). See Deng and Luke (2008) for a taxonomy of education and its implications.
13. There is also no mention by Todd (2001) of an ethical need for diversity in the ranks of teachers.
14. Please see Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández (2013).
15. Both in the epistemologies it centers and decenters, absorbs, assimilates, and eliminates (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2015).
16. Please see Sylvia Wynter's (2003) *Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation*.
17. We can think here about Leigh Patel's (2022) article, "Focus on Learning Loss Obscures How Much We've Truly Lost in the Pandemic," in terms of more Black parents refusing a return to school, as a refusal to a return to a normal violence, or hooks (1997) chapter on accessible theory as a form of liberation and a refusal of white supremacist logic of education as obfuscation as the unintelligible intelligence of academia. We can also think about Leanne Simpson's (2011) chapter, "Theorizing Resurgence from within Nishnaabeg Thought," where education is teaching your children, your heritage, your values, your way of live, unfiltered through anyone else's filter.
18. Not in the language or act or recognition as argued by Glen Coulthard (2007), (asymmetrical recognition) but rather in refusing the parameters of the system and hence the system, itself, as argued by Coulthard (2007). This of course would require a huge project of legitimacy divestment from whiteness, something that is crucial to destroying white supremacy. And something that is recognized by Fanon (1967/1986) when he says that the only legitimate world is the white world. This legitimacy has to be broken down.
19. No IMF, no World Bank, no development theories. There might be deterrent theories.
20. Through colorism, class, and other white apparatuses.

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