

Postcolonial Directions in Education

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Postcolonial Directions in Education

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Postcolonial Directions in Education is a peer reviewed open access journal produced twice a year. It is a scholarly journal intended to foster further understanding, advancement and reshaping of the field of postcolonial education. We welcome articles that contribute to advancing the field. As indicated in the Editorial for the inaugural issue, the purview of this journal is broad enough to encompass a variety of disciplinary approaches, including but not confined to the following: sociological, anthropological, historical and social psychological approaches. The areas embraced include anti-racist education, decolonizing education, critical multiculturalism, critical racism theory, direct colonial experiences in education and their legacies for present day educational structures and practice, educational experiences reflecting the culture and 'imagination' of empire, the impact of neoliberalism/globalisation/structural adjustment programmes on education, colonial curricula and subaltern alternatives, education and liberation movements, challenging hegemonic languages, the promotion of local literacies and linguistic diversity, neo-colonial education and identity construction, colonialism and the construction of patriarchy, canon and canonicity, Indigenous knowledges, supranational bodies and their educational frameworks, north-south and east-west relations in education, the politics of representation, unlearning colonial stereotypes, internal colonialism and education, cultural hybridity and learning in postcolonial contexts, education and the politics of dislocation, biographies / autobiographies reflecting the above themes, deconstruction of colonial narratives of civilization within educational contexts. Once again, the field cannot be exhausted.

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**PERUVIAN DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION
POLITICS: THE IMPACT OF LUNDU'S APÚNTATE
CONTRA EL RACISMO CAMPAIGN**

Sonia Medel

University of British Columbia

ABSTRACT Studies concerned with socio-political activism, development, and education leadership of marginalized and minoritized peoples in Peru, especially Afro-descendants, remain limited. The present paper examines how one urban-based Afro-Peruvian organization—LUNDU: *Centro de Estudios y Promoción Afroperuanos*—confronted intersecting forms of oppression and racism through an anti-racism campaign known as *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* (ACR). The study highlights the critical need to center the proposals and initiatives led by civil society groups in countering oppressive societal and state practices. Particular attention is granted to the role played by racialized, specifically Black women, and to their capacity to leverage diverse platforms through activist public pedagogies.

RESUMO Los estudios relacionados con el activismo socio-político, el desarrollo y el liderazgo educativo de los pueblos minoritarios y marginados en el Perú, especialmente los afrodescendientes, siguen siendo limitados. El presente artículo examina cómo una organización afroperuana de base urbana—LUNDU: *Centro de Estudios y Promoción Afroperuanos*—enfrentó formas de opresión y racismo que se entrecruzan, a través de una campaña contra el racismo conocida como *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* (ACR). El estudio destaca la necesidad crítica de centrar las propuestas e iniciativas lideradas por grupos de la sociedad civil para contrarrestar las prácticas sociales y estatales opresivas. Se presta especial atención al papel desempeñado por las mujeres racializadas y a su capacidad para aprovechar diversas plataformas a través de pedagogías públicas activistas.

KEYWORDS LUNDU, Afro-Peruvians, development and education politics, anti-racism, activist pedagogies, women

Introduction

This paper seeks to address the question: what is the impact of LUNDU: *Centro de Estudios y Promoción Afroperuanos's*¹ *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* (ACR) campaign on development and education politics in Peru? LUNDU is a non-profit Afro-Peruvian² organization founded on March 21, 2001, by Monica Carrillo, a journalist, spoken-word artist, and activist who currently serves as the organization's Specialist in Human Rights of Afro-descendant Populations.

This manuscript emerges from case study research I carried out between 2011 and 2014 and examined how a marginalized-minoritized group uses activist pedagogy to articulate alternative notions of participatory politics, thus promoting social justice-oriented development and education. I came across LUNDU's extensive anti-racism and social justice work in 2010, when I learned about the fight the organization was leading against a TV character known as *El Negro Mama*,³ who was featured in the 'comedy' show *El Especial del Humor* (LUNDU, 2012).⁴ This prompted me to ask: what can research into the intersections

1 LUNDU: Centre for Afro-Peruvian Studies and Promotion.

2 In this paper I employ the terms 'Afro-Peruvian' and 'Afro-descendant' interchangeably. Literature searches and my own experiences reveal that Afro-Peruvian is the self-identification term most widely used by Peruvians of African ancestry, especially among those involved in the early activism of the 1970s and 1980s. Afro-descendant was used at and after the 2001 World Conference Against Racism in Durban. In the past six years, there has been a surge in the use of Afro-descendant, as it more broadly encompasses people who have African ancestry. It is also the preferred term in countries such as Colombia, because it suggests a political connection to all African descendants beyond state borders (LUNDU, 2010). However, this broadness has also been critiqued within the Peruvian context for failing to adequately represent the uniqueness of African-descendant communities within each diverse Latin American country. Sue and Golash-Boza (2009) argue that, in popular slang, people with visible African ancestry are referred to as 'negro' or 'moreno,' but that not all Peruvians who claim an African heritage identify as Black or with Blackness. Conversely, many who identify as 'negro' do so without any recognition of their African ancestry.

3 The character's name has two meanings: 'the black breast' or 'the Black man who sucks breast.'

4 The Comedy Special.

between public activist pedagogy and social justice teach us about processes of socio-political transformation in deeply divided and violent societies such as Peru? The case study was concerned with the ways in which the meanings of political participation, development, and citizenship are taught and redefined. In this paper, I highlight how one particular urban Afro-descendant organization—LUNDU—took development and education into their own hands, confronting intersecting forms of oppression and racism directly. LUNDU differs from other Afro-Peruvian organizations in its focus on youth and its very public anti-racism and anti-gender violence, activist and feminist stance. Since its inception, the group has openly claimed to be anti-all oppression and pro-solidarity with other marginalized groups.

Context of the Case Study—LUNDU and its ACR campaign

LUNDU's ACR campaign is an example of critical and decolonial Afro-Peruvian action in the larger, multifaceted and contested political history of participatory politics in Peru. ACR was launched in 2009 and closed in 2011. After the campaign, LUNDU entered a period of reflection, internal re-organization and private programming before launching new public initiatives once again in 2013. ACR's overarching objective was to bring into the public political agenda the issue of racism, framing it as a barrier to sustainable *national* development. ACR also aimed to address sexism and gender violence. The campaign's direct call was for Peruvians to recognize that racism is real and rampant (*Apúntate Contra el Racismo* Blog, 6 August, 2009). This translated into efforts to create awareness about racism by stressing the importance of inclusivity as a characteristic of national citizenship, on the one hand, and by highlighting the appalling consequences of racist media representations on minoritized groups, on the other. To this end, the campaign aimed to a) employ activist pedagogy to stir a conscious understanding of racism and other forms of oppression; b) teach anti-oppressive language and methodologies of practice; c) and cultivate spaces and alliances for a more socially just Peru.

To better understand the breadth and depth of ACR's impact, it is crucial to place the campaign against the backdrop of the Peruvian state's recent political history and development trajectory, as they relate to Afro-Peruvian, Indigenous, and other marginalized peoples.

Campaigns that seek to promote participatory democracy in Peru raise the spectre of the country's 1980s-1990s period of Maoist guerrilla insurgency group *Sendero Luminoso*⁵. The violence that took place during that period contributed to perceptions of student-youth campaigners as possible terrorists and demonized the concept of activism. This led the Peruvian state to propel its vision of progress through conservative and neoliberal approaches to development, which involved the adoption of technocratic ideas and initiatives about education and political participation that were influenced and spearheaded by global organizations such as the World Bank (WB) and the United Nations (UN). As a result, the state saw (and I would argue *still sees*) education as a pathway to aligning Peru and its people to world standards of development as business. The *Proyecto de Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas y Afroperuanos*⁶ (PDPI) was a WB project carried out from 2000 to 2004 and was intended to reduce “reducing an extreme poverty, by building the capacity of communities, and organizations to foster their own development” (World Bank, 2000)”. Upon completion it was deemed ‘unsatisfactory’ due to the lack of a focus on institutional inadequacies, its inability to restructure administrative planning across government departments, its failure to secure public participation and the deterioration in the relationship between Indigenous and Afro-Peruvian groups and the *Comisión Nacional de los Pueblos Indígenas del Perú*⁷ (CONAPA). The slow implementation of the project by Peruvian state representatives led to the collapse of talks between NGO leaders and the government (World Bank, 2004). The project's failure highlighted the missing presence of Afro-Peruvian initiatives in the realm of development planning. This, in turn, is a direct result of the ways in which Afro and Indigenous Peruvians are officially excluded from state, development, and education planning by both national and international leading development bodies.

5 *Sendero Luminoso*: The “Shining Path” was characterized by its random terrorist attacks on the city of Lima, coercive attempts to control the Peruvian highland peasantry, and large university student affiliation from Peru's poorer province areas (Hinojosa, 1998).

6 Indigenous and Afro-Peruvian Peoples Development Project.

7 National Commission of the Indigenous Peoples of Peru.

Between 2000 and 2009, the Peruvian state made a few 'human rights efforts' through sweeping multicultural gestures and formal apologies offered to Afro-Peruvians. Such efforts included the declaration of the *Día Nacional de la Cultura Afroperuana*,⁸ on June 19 of 2006, and the submission of a periodic report on racial discrimination to the United Nation's Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (UNCERD) in April 2009, a decade after the official due date (UN CERD, 2009a). A careful analysis of this report reveals that although the state recognized the need to focus on human rights, it left unattended the systemic racism that breeds in its own institutions and permeates Peruvian society at large. Along the same lines, under the presidency of Alan Garcia, in 2009 the *Ministerio de la Mujer y Desarrollo Social*⁹ (MIMDES) published a formal state apology to Afro-Peruvian peoples for the abuses and exclusion they were subjected to during the colonial era, whilst also recognizing their identity and participation in Peruvian society. For NGOs such as LUNDU (2010), however, this historical apology did not mean a substantial shift. It did not signal the state's acknowledgement that the consequences of colonial slavery in Peru continue to pose barriers to the social, economic, labour and educational development of the country, especially for Afro-Peruvians. Moreover, since the apology followed the Bagua Massacre, LUNDU's team questioned the motives behind and the timing of the pardon. The *Baguazo*, as it became popularly known, resulted in the deaths of thirty Indigenous peoples and over 150 injured as civil liberties were suspended and government military troops attempted to end Indigenous protests against aggressive oil development in the Peruvian Amazon.

This was a massive scandal for Garcia's regime, revealing its blatant disregard for human and environmental rights. LUNDU publicly expressed that it would not allow for Afro-Peruvians to be used as tools of a stale democracy to cover up human rights disasters. While Garcia's grand gesture made Peru the first Latin American country to offer an apology to Afro-descendants, his government failed to acknowledge racism as a barrier to development and outline steps to reduce

8 National Day of Afro-Peruvian Culture.

9 The Ministry of Women and Social Development.

its systemic reach. LUNDU expressed frustration towards the government for failing to address racism directly, and for excluding Afro-Peruvians in formal political spaces and development planning.

Conceptual Framing

The case study took a critical look at development, democracy and activist scholarship to theoretically frame LUNDU's anti-racist campaign work in a way relevant to Peru's socio-political context. In particular, I employed critiques of technicist, instrumentalist and neoliberal capitalist approaches to development, along with a critique of liberal humanist development, in order to understand the strategies adopted by the Peruvian state.

Within a capitalist and liberal framework (Senarclens, 1997; Chari & Corbridge, 2008)—what came to be known as the human capital approach—'good citizenship' is linked to a kind of education that provides students with the skills required by the labour market in order to contribute to the consumer economy and relieve the state of its welfare duties. Under such a framework, development and citizenship are rigidly defined. Development with a capital D is perceived and espoused as a process directed by governments, private companies, and powerful international and state institutions (Chari & Corbridge, 2008). Democratic participation is rhetorically assumed to emerge from it. Thus, participatory democracy is assumed to represent an *outcome* of development and participatory citizenship is perceived as a logical culmination of development, rather than its mediator. The PDPI discussed above can be seen as an example of such an approach.

Alternative approaches to development, democracy and citizenship relevant to Latin American contexts break away from technicist, instrumentalist and liberal approaches (Cameron, 2013a & b; Cameron, Hershberg, & Sharpe, 2012; Escobar, 1992a & b; Ferguson, 1997; Fals Borda, 1988 & 1992; Mouffe, 2005). For instance, Mouffe's (2005) concept of agonistic democracy calls for a radical pluralist form of democracy which challenges Peru's rhetoric of intercultural inclusion and pushes for the opening up of public political spaces. She stresses that building a radical pluralist democracy requires people to develop a willingness to contend with difference and

with the affective dimensions of citizenship.¹⁰ Her call is to open up spaces for non-state actors, besides conventional political parties, to engage in the political realm in ways that consolidate a democratic sphere.

Along the same lines, Hordijk (2005) outlines the need for a shift in “the ways in which citizens’ voices are represented in the political process and a reconceptualization of the meanings of participation and citizenship in relation to local governance” (p. 219). In Peru, during the Toledo, Garcia, and Humala regimes, use of the term ‘participatory’ served as a “hegemonic control mechanism by which governments—sometimes deliberately—alleviate[d] themselves of certain responsibilities by expecting civil organisations to carry out those tasks” (Marquardt, 2012). Panfichi (2007) observes that most ‘official’ attempts at furthering participatory democracy have resulted in homogenizing discourses, which do not reflect Peru’s diverse peoples and their alternative ways of being and knowing.

This oversight is the point of departure for decolonial scholars and their critique of state development projects. In their analyses of development, Escobar (1992a & b) and Quijano (2000, 2005, & 2007) highlight the important knowledges held by communities and their leaders and condemn the lack of inclusion of these voices in ‘formal’ development politics and ‘official’ international organizations’ reports. They argue that social actors can establish linkages between social activism and larger questions of development through education. Communities have the capacity to turn their lived

10 Mouffe’s (1993, 2005) perspective of citizenship is ‘agonistic.’ For her, the idea that being a citizen means acting only in one way is irrational, since there are multiple ways of enacting citizenship. She promotes a form of conflictual consensus regarding the creation of discourses of governance and development. However, the original study highlights Mouffe’s lack of explanation of ‘citizen actions’ and ‘participatory development’. Also, Mouffe and Laclau’s (2001) Eurocentric view that pluralistic manifestations and alternative articulations are only possible in countries labelled as “advanced” because the Third World, lacks the “connaissance” of democratic political diversities due to their continued confinement by imperial confines, is critiqued; see: Laclau, E., & Mouffe, C. (2001). *Hegemony and socialist strategy: Towards a radical democratic politics* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Verso.

experiences, identity (individual, collective, and national), and colonially rooted oppression into educational methods and processes that counter various forms of coloniality that hinder democratic well-being. Choudry (2015) echoes this critique stating that social transformation is in fact driven by everyday people, some of whom may be explicitly involved in activism and social movements. He notes that although there has been a “considerable body of scholarly literature on adult education and learning, relatively few attempts have been made to understand how people produce knowledge and learn (especially through informal learning) through involvement in social action” (p. 8). Similarly, the literature does not generally recognize the “educative impact” that activist work and social movements have on broader publics (Choudry, 2015, p. 8).

Foley (1999) argues for case studies that engage “learning in struggle, making explanatory connections between the broad political and economic context, micro-politics, ideologies, discourses and learning” and treat learning and education as the “complex and contested social activities” that they are (p. 132). Such a focus facilitates an understanding of how public pedagogy itself can be ‘taken back’ from its neoliberal ideological and institutional appropriations to that of a pedagogy that is a ‘politics by the people’ which focuses on where politics happen and “how proliferating sites of pedagogy bring into being new forms of resistance, raise new questions, and necessitate alternative visions regarding autonomy and the possibility of democracy itself” (Giroux, 2010, p. 486).

In attempting to frame LUNDU’s work theoretically, scholarly social movement and activist literatures were insufficient as they exclude racialized women’s pedagogical contributions of learning in struggle and fighting oppression. Also, LUNDU and other Afro-Peruvian organizations have long made clear that their work is not adequately represented by the ‘social movement’ label, nor by its theoretical foundations (Jones, 2011). Therefore, I drew on the scholarship of Afro-Peruvian leaders, racialized feminists outside of the Peruvian context, and the fields of social movement, activist, and political learning to develop facets that helped me capture the vast

learning that occurs in struggle.¹¹ The study was framed within these facets:

Facet 1: Articulation of militant consciousness. This facet captures how activists come to articulate revolutionary feminist and political forms of consciousness (hooks, 2004; in Davidson & Yancy, 2009), and how they become aware of oppositional ideologies and the totalizing discourses that dominate society (Foley, 1999). Militant consciousness is derived from Jose Pepe Luciano (Velarde, 2012), who calls for people to move to a critical state of mind where they recognize their subjugation and take action to counter personal and societal oppression. This resonates with hooks' (2004; in Davidson & Yancy, 2009) calls for women, especially visibly racialized women, to grasp how their oppression is constructed by a myriad of factors, and to develop a revolutionary feminist consciousness to counter intricately embedded patriarchal models and obscured micro-politics.

Facet 2: Embodied learning. This facet captures how activists learn "in the midst of social action" (Foley, 1999). Foley (1999) theorizes that activists' learnings are often "incidental to, or embedded in, the action taken by the activists" (p. 39). Because of this, such learnings are usually "not articulated systematically at the time of the campaign or subsequently," precisely because of the highly emotionally charged and political nature that "learning in the struggle" can take on (p. 39). Embodied learning is about inter and intrapersonal 'movement' for those leading and participating, learning critical reflection and emotional reflexivity through a combination of formal and informal processes (Foley, 1999; Ollis, 2012; and Zambrana-Ortiz, 2011). I use "embodied learning" to describe learning experiences during the campaign, because it refers to activists' ways of knowing that include "the mind, body, emotions, and self, all of which contribute to their effective mastery of learning" in the midst of "rapid" or highly emotional action (Ollis, pp. 52 & 119). There is substantial literature by racialized women on the intense and resistance-filled complexity of embodied (e)motional

11 In this paper I have revised the five facets created in the original study into four, as in retrospect, all the facets speak to the activists' continual intra and interpersonal learning of hard and soft democratic skills (for the original case study see Medel, 2014; also see Foley, 1999 & Ollis, 2012).

learning. Zambrana-Ortiz's (2011) 'pedagogy in (e)motion' states that becoming conscious of emotions infuses individuals and their collective engagements with greater awareness of possible responses to particular situations. This, in turn, offers greater flexibility in ways of responding, based on particular histories of interactions and lived contexts.

Ahmed (2009) theorizes the negativity with which women of colour are construed even before words are spoken by them. She highlights that "to speak out as a black woman is then to confirm your position as the cause of tension" (p. 49). hooks (1995), Lorde (1984), and Ahmed (2009) theorize how they have empowered themselves so that rage will serve them. hooks (1994; 1995; 2001; 2003) teaches us that valuing emotions such as rage, frustration, pain, love, and happiness as activist and political forms of 'knowing' are central, particularly in the process of encountering and challenging patriarchy and racism simultaneously. Ahmed emphasizes that in confronting and using rage for transformation and creation, choices have to be made about when and where to make points—this is a political learning of emotions.

Facet 3: Learning from micro-politics and tensions between professional, academic and activist discourses. This facet refers to how activists develop awareness of the micro-politics that operate within society. It inquires into how activists position themselves in relation to discourses (professional, academic, and activist), and how they navigate the tensions and clashes that operate between these discourses (Foley, 1999). Amidst action and solidarity-building efforts, the "whole person" experiences the micro-politics of activist work, leading to alienating trigger moments that draw upon all senses and require critical thinking (Foley, 1999, p. 40). This entire process is often one of re-conscientization and reflexivity, prompting a personal self-reflexive re-education of militant and decolonizing understandings which is illustrative of constant (e)motion (Zambrana-Ortiz, 2011).

Facet 4: Transformative spacemaking. This facet captures how activists come to build community and alliances, develop advocate competencies and effect legal changes (hooks, as discussed in Davidson & Yancy, 2009). Crucial for the latter is engagement with various constituencies in order to develop

diverse alliances and relational solidarity chains. Also crucial is the awareness of how political emotions contribute to genuine learning of how to become an advocate for others' needs across different identity positions (Gaztambide, 2012). These strategic relations could be characterized as coalitions or "mechanical political exercises" (Molina 1990, p. 329). I redraw attention here to emotions. Ruitenberg (2009) attempts to differentiate between moral and political emotions. My personal observations and the scholarship of racialized women indicate that for minoritized women suffering from multiple intersecting oppressions, the moral and political are often intertwined.

Drawing heavily from the work of feminist theory and struggles against racism and homophobia, Boler's (1999) "pedagogy of discomfort" articulates the need for "historicized ethics and testimonial witnessing" as a model for engagement that allow us to grasp something larger than ourselves, as well as to inhabit a "more ambiguous and flexible sense of self" (pp. 174-199). Understanding the different histories of resistance that impact emotions and actions, and looking at historical responsibilities, implications, interrelatedness, and difference all at the same time, facilitates an understanding of emotions such as anger as constructed through fears of loss and gain, of privilege and power (Boler, 1999). Hence, peoples' fragility and identities must be understood in relation to historical and ongoing processes that systemically sustain coloniality. Acknowledging the power of collective learning and action, Ruitenberg (2009) highlights that knowing how to combine the process of campaigning—that can contribute to the formation of viewpoints and other 'formalities'—with the actual mechanics of politics such as law reform, voting and census is essential to achieve socio-political transformation.

Methodological Approach

I drew on critical and anti-oppressive feminist methodology (Alcoff, 1991; Harding, 2005; Hughes, 2005; Kirsh, 1999; Merriam et al., 2001; Molina, 1999; Rebolledo, 1990; Saldivar-Hull, 1999; Sefa Dei & Johal, 2005;). This framework is ideal for this research because in my work I view Afro-Peruvians as "theorists of their own everyday lives and practices" and take on a highly discursive view of development, citizenship, and democracy (Sefa Dei & Johal, 2005, p. 5). Using a critical, anti-oppressive and feminist lens allowed me to shift from a

development gaze rooted in unitary notions of society and polity, to one that recognizes the voices of marginalized-minoritized peoples as part and parcel of a true participatory democracy. -

Methods: Data collection, analysis and limitations

I undertook extensive fieldwork in Lima, Peru during February and March of 2013. In addition, I collected data of varied textual and visual document sources between late 2012 and late 2013. Data collection included semi-structured in-depth ‘unofficial’ interviews with two LUNDU staff members and ‘unofficial’ interviews with several state ministry representatives who did not sign consent forms for fear of retribution. Document sources included LUNDU’s publicity materials—including the organizational website and campaign products such as posters—official development reports created by LUNDU, relevant reports from ‘official’ development bodies such as the World Bank or the State Ministry of Development, and electronic newspaper articles on LUNDU’s work and campaign efforts. Documents found on electronic media sources and publications offered alternative points of entry into the case study, thus revealing varied perspectives on the campaign. This offered me the opportunity to gage the public’s opinions in relation to the campaign and contributed to stronger triangulation and contextualization of the data.

Applied thematic analysis (ATA) with a critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach, along with triangulation of the data, assisted in corroborating and emphasizing shared and or conflicting perspectives. ATA provided the ideal structure to address the diversity of case study data, whilst honoring the depth and value of the learning expressed by the interviewees. The approach also facilitated analysis of the data in a shorter timeframe and the systematic cataloguing of data outside of the immediate case study scope, for future analysis (Guest et al., 2012). Triangulation assisted me in supporting my case study claims through multiple sources of evidence, which provided “multiple measures of the same phenomenon” (pp. 115 & 117). Together with CDA, triangulation shed light on contradictory discourses and ideological patterns, thus revealing dominant forces.

I faced specific data collection challenges that were overall related to ‘wide-spread attitude factors’: 1.) the overall aversion

and neglect in Peru of addressing systemic forms of oppression, including racism, and intersectional violence as a hindrance to development; 2.) ongoing widespread societal racism; 3.) and the threat of danger and unsafe political atmosphere for Afro-Peruvian activists and any people working in the legal or political realms to represent anti-racism initiatives. I decided not to formally incorporate the interviews with Ministry of Culture and Development representatives, as they did not agree to sign consent forms and showed intense hesitation at being formally associated with any perspectives directly supporting Afro-Peruvian initiatives, especially the contested and controversial nature of racism and the ACR campaign. Unable to include their insights, I drew from my own reflections annotated prior, during and after all the interviews.

Findings

ACR highlighted the importance of confronting racism directly, politically and with specific actions. It educated diverse publics on the history, proliferation, patterns and impacts of racism. It also stressed how, as Peruvian citizens, everyone has the right to a society free from violence and racist marginalization, and hence the right to take action against the latter. ACR triggered a nuanced understanding of the violence and oppression suffered not just by Afro-Peruvians, but also by Indigenous peoples, women, children, non-abled bodies and anyone identifying as LGBTQ+.

Articulation of Militant Consciousness

ACR's 'birth' was the result of a combination of factors, including Peru's historical and development context previously described, and the articulation of critical militant and activist consciousness by LUNDU's key staff members between 2001-2009.

As our first interview began and I prompted Carrillo to reflect on the evolution of the campaign, she conveyed that she stood by realizations she had shared in two former interviews (Jones, 2011; Falcon, 2008). The evolution of the campaign was rooted in feminist perspective and acquired from "being in the trenches" (Jones, 2011, p. 322). Carrillo identified that after her participation in the UN World Conference Against Racism, Xenophobia, Racial Discrimination and Related Intolerance

in (WCAR 2001), she began to experience the development of a critical '*conciencia de mujer*' similar to that of a 'mestiza consciousness' as theorized by Anzaldúa (1989) which helped her grasp the raw intersectionality of oppression.

Carrillo also added that as a result of WCAR, she came to view "anti-capitalist politics" as a "non-negotiable principle" for Afro-Peruvian organizations to adopt, and noted a previous "failure to recognize the detrimental effects of capitalism in the lives of Afro-Peruvians" through its influence on development perspectives. The 2001-2009 period was a time of growing awareness for Carrillo. There was a shift when she grasped the need to break out of 'her Afro world' to publicize not just her experiences of racism, but also those experienced by others to create cross-ethnic understandings and alliances for change. Carrillo cited LUNDU's programming challenge, as ". . . fostering conscientization in Afro and non-Afro youth through the creation of a means for them to be able to access new paradigms."¹² Carrillo further explained how evident it became that Peru needs a public and political education that fosters critical awareness, ethical responsibility and solidarity. This 'pathway of critical education' or 'alternative paradigms of knowing and being—of development' were already present in Afro-Peruvian and Indigenous ways of surviving and thriving. She emphasized that the campaign was born and run out of a "limited democracy." One that on paper meets the requirements a democracy should have (i.e. a constitution and a voting system), but that in practice does not protect its citizens from marginalizing practices nor does it support civil society organizations that attempt to step into this role. Carrillo illustrated Peruvian democracy as one that punishes women, especially Black or Indigenous women, for speaking out.

Gloria Castro, LUNDU's former Chief Communications Consultant, shared that the campaign sought to create mobilization around racism. Although "attempting to define [racism], explaining its roots, and even trying to establish whether or not it really exists nowadays (because there are those who deny it does) . . . causes conflict," action needed to be taken. No more time could be wasted "just reflecting and

¹² All translations of interview and document data from Spanish to English are my own.

arguing about the definitions of racism”. LUNDU could not sit idly by anymore while ‘participatory’ projects and state planning, which rendered Afro-Peruvians invisible and denied them the right to be the authors of their own futures, and allies to other oppressed peoples, were carried out.

Embodied learning

In this section of the findings, I illustrate how LUNDU came to learn “on the job” (Ollis, 2012; Foley, 1999) and from emotions. This rapid and immersive learning did not allow for too much synthesis nor deep analysis during the campaign run. Rather, synthesis and analysis that contributed to critical strategic campaign (re)visioning, planning and action occurred during campaign breaks and after it drew to a close. This ‘on-the-job’ learning is described in three categories, under the headings ‘*Creating, articulating and implementing Apúntate Contra el Racismo,*’ ‘*Challenging patriarchy,*’ and ‘*Learning from the micro-politics and tensions between professional academic and non-academic and activist perspectives*’.

Creating, articulating and implementing Apúntate Contra el Racismo

Once the campaign format received unanimous support from LUNDU staff, Carrillo consulted with diverse media, legal and political experts discussing the pros and cons that would be encountered through the launch of a public political campaign. It was explicitly understood by the LUNDU team that the campaign objectives were political. The team focused in on the historical purpose and social justice efficacy of campaigns within democracies to devise strategies that were inclusive and equity oriented. In developing the campaign objectives it became clear that violence and marginalization as a result of racism would be at the core—putting an end to racism and all associated violence, especially against women, which was commonplace in Peru. The question then became, how could they accomplish the criminalization of racism?

The specific campaign objectives that were created and publicized on the ACR Blog (August 6, 2009) were:

1. recognition that racism is rampant in Peruvian society and that the majority of Peruvians manifest racist expressions in their daily encounters;

2. there needs to be greater acceptance of “the Other,” or those outside of the norm;
3. recognition that racist and overall oppressive practices have a negative impact on society and create limitations to stable national progress;
4. the regulation and elimination of racist media content;
5. and a more conscientious Peruvian society that premises anti-oppressive modes of communication.

The campaign theme was led by the action verb of *Apúntate* in its name, “to sign on in favour of positive change” against racism, and in support of diversity.

Figure: Apúntate Contra el Racismo Campaign Logo



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The campaign’s logo was permeated with energy, dynamism and determination. Carrillo and Castro shared how several people that engaged with ACR voiced also being drawn and motivated by the logo to write out their own experiences as a part of the anti-racist collective—I too was drawn in. Although the words “*contra el racismo*” were placed upper middle-centre-right of the entire logo and conveyed a sense of stark certainty, the word

“*Apúntate*” and the rainbow wave of colors were what focused my attention inspiring a sense of positivity, lightness and determination. The image of the solid black pen which seemed to ground the positively contagious spew of colors inspired in me the feeling that anything is possible. The illustration beckoned me to go and write out my identity and furthermore to (re)imagine myself and Peruvian society.

The pen, a basic and rudimentary tool, but nonetheless essential for expressing one’s opinions and building democratic societies, represented LUNDU’s desire to cross out racism, educate the public about racism as a barrier to sustainable development and re-articulate participatory democratic practices. LUNDU made a call to the public on the ACR Blog, for people to use the pen to, “*Write out their commitment, Affirm their national identity, Cross out all forms of discrimination, Underline equality and diversity, Inscribe/ make note of the importance of living united across differences*” (6 August, 2009). The logo became a leading expression of LUNDU’s creative mission to introduce fresh Afro-Peruvian aesthetics.

Extensive participatory planning, and the logo, led to additional publicity tools:

1. the pen (actual pens handed out during manifestations);
2. the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* logo itself;
3. additional publicity materials: the t-shirts, the Stickers, the keychains, and the Posters;
4. the large notebooks;
5. the blog;
6. the *acción pública* i.e public marches/ peaceful protests;
7. published materials i.e. the booklet *Políticas Públicas y Afrodescendientes en el Perú*;
8. the *Observatorio Afroperuano*;
9. the academic/ professional conferences;
10. and the Essay Competition.

Although ACR’s blog was LUNDU’s first campaign blogging initiative, it garnered high public engagement for its updates on campaign supporters, the initiative to remove *El Negro Mama* from television, alliances with other social justice oriented civil society groups, accomplishments related to reforms in policies and laws, and interviews with Afro-Peruvian and media leaders.

The blog gave people the opportunity to access the campaign's *Observatorio Afroperuano*. Initially conceptualized at the early planning stages of the campaign (2007 to 2009) as a tool intended to monitor racist media content and public politics, the (online) *Observatorio* was a way to create a public archive of racist content and providing people with the opportunity to share their encounters with racism at any time. It also served as evidence in LUNDU's struggle to obtain official acknowledgement for its re-articulation of development, proof of racism to push for the establishment of laws against racist actions.

In 2010 the online *Observatorio* was published into the *Observatorio* booklet and circulated at all public, academic and state events. It became a pedagogical tool for the Peruvian public and ministry officials on how racism unfolds in Peruvian society and how it can be combated. Although other Afro-Peruvian organizations and Afro and non-Afro academics had published critical and informative books on racism and ethnic stereotypes in the media, none had compiled such an accessible guide on racism and gendered oppression in Peru. The *Observatorio* was deposited in the National Library of Peru to be widely accessed by the public.

Challenging patriarchy

Most of Carrillo's personal learning related to grappling with gender, age, race and professional class divides, all of which were exacerbated by patriarchy. The campaign and the organization received heightened opposition because a *Black woman* led it. Castro stated, "Let's begin with many people didn't want to see a woman, and an Afro-Peruvian on top of that, so visible in public forums" As the campaign began to gain momentum and incite highly polarized reactions from the Peruvian public, Carrillo and the LUNDU team had to quickly learn ways to deal with the onslaught of stereotypes and assumptions that Peruvian society has normalized about women. Carrillo explained realizing how unfathomable it was for many, including some Afro-Peruvian men, to accept a young Afro-Peruvian woman decrying racism, exercising her civic rights publicly and demanding inclusion into white male dominated spaces of politics.

Carrillo cited numerous examples of being criticized, stereotyped and presented as a 'villain' for her 'black woman anger'. She was even mansplained by Afro-Peruvian male peers

doing anti-racism work, who told her not to take sexist encounters personally, but rather to focus on the anti-racism agenda and to keep emotions out of her work. Carrillo acknowledged that amidst the *El Negro Mama* controversy, she and other LUNDU activists realized they were walking a precarious line of emotional well-being and on the edge of becoming victims of their rage. Therefore, on Carrillo's part there was an effort to learn from emotions, especially the rage, and to develop strategies with which to channel her anger, frustration and pain. Nurturing her identity as an artist and creating art provided opportunities to understand emotions. She found great power in strategically engaging her emotions and in coming to terms with the inevitability that LUNDU would face critique for any and all decisions made. All of this resulted in the acquisition of a tactical patience which she used to ground herself and teach coping and survival mechanisms to other LUNDU members.

Learning from the micro-politics and tensions between professional academic and non-academic and activist perspectives

The learning experienced by LUNDU's leaders was central for the survival of ACR (Foley, 1999; Alvarez, 1990). This learning ranged from engaging in highly emotive "micro-politics" of race, gender, and age relations; to acquiring knowledge about legal issues; and negotiating differing, even oppositional, methods to counter racism and develop inclusion and interculturality. LUNDU's anomaly status with its female leadership and public campaigning positioned it to experience specific tensions with other Afro and non-Afro-descendant leaders (professional and activist) in relation to approaches to counter racial oppression—the possible correlations to patriarchy are palpable.

Castro and Carrillo both expressed gratitude for the support they received from Afro organizations to run events during the initial phases of the campaign and to write a formal declaration denouncing racism in the media industry. As criticism against ACR mounted, several organizations wanted to pause to discuss if countering racism so publicly was the best method. The *Centro de Desarrollo Étnico*¹³ (CEDET) voiced concern about LUNDU's intensifying public and legal challenge to *Frecuencia*

13 The Centre for Ethnic Development.

Latina and *El Negro Mama*. According to Castro, it was at this point when other Afro-Peruvian organizations expressed feeling that LUNDU was making the fight ‘too personal’. As discussed previously, many of these hesitations to engage emotions and the personal, may be that within patriarchal societies, they connote notions of womanhood and a supposed ‘inferiority’ and ‘instability’ (hooks, 1995). These often entrenched, internalized and unconsciously manifested notions are grounded in a masculinist-*machista* denial of women’s intellectualness, politicization and militancy. In relation to the Latin American and Peruvian context, it is my own personal experience that womens’ impassioned initiatives—be they within the family or socio-political sphere—continue to be dismissed as secondary and biased in comparison to the ‘unbiased and rational male perspective’. As an organization LUNDU had a duty to reflect on claims regarding making the campaign ‘too personal’.

Castro observed that discussions amongst Afro-Peruvian organizations began to get caught up in the attempt to define what racism was in a way that captured everyone’s political and personal perspectives. It was during this time that the LUNDU team decided that the resistance actions against *Frecuencia Latina* and *El Negro Mama* could not be abandoned. If such an extremely racist character continued being broadcasted on TV, it would be telling the wider Peruvian public that insulting or violating others was permissible under veil of humor and entertainment. By remaining silent, Afro-Peruvian organizations would also be validating the public’s labeling of Afro-Peruvian activist actions as irrational, nuisance and useless. Specifically, they would be supporting the widespread view of Black female leadership as insane and unstable. Castro and Carrillo accepted that in this way the struggle *was* very personal for LUNDU, but they also felt that all Afro-Peruvians and minoritized peoples had much to lose if they backed off, so they *had* to push through the adversity, even if it meant losing support for the time being from other Afro-Peruvian organizations. These experiences highlight how charting activist pedagogy and learning from it, requires delving much deeper than Foley’s (1999) activist and academic/non-academic professional divides towards an analysis that probes into the desire and accumulation of privilege, patriarchy, internalized colonialism, the fear of retribution and the critical roles of intellectuals, academics, professionals, and artists.

Transformative spacemaking

ACR created social and political spaces unimagined before in Peru. In this section I discuss these transformative spaces, and provide them with further shape in the categories '*Building strategic alliances*' and '*Direct impact on legal reform*'.

Discussion of what LUNDU considers direct campaign 'accomplishments' included an assessment of publicly spotlighting racism in Peru, direct impact on legal reform, the establishment of strategic alliances, and the construction of a platform for new social justice-oriented socio-political campaigns. ACR opened up the possibility for racism to unfold and be dialogued publicly in informal and formal spaces through the creation of the interactive campaign blog, strong online presence, industry roundtables, and professional-academic conferences.

I characterize 'informal' spaces as those virtual platforms of the campaign which LUNDU established, such as the blog, interactive participation on campaign news and events, the *Observatorio Afroperuano* website, the public notebook signings and the peaceful protests in parks and high traffic zones. The blog and LUNDU's online presence through media coverages provided opportunities for national and international publics to witness the normalized and internalized racist attitudes of Peruvians, and what the anti-racism struggle entails. The blog revealed to both LUNDU and broader publics the arduously slow, yet valuable process of public education. Comments on the blog and websites reporting on the campaign, such as *La Republica*,¹⁴ began to reveal changing public attitudes—a gradual growing consciousness of ethnic-racial discrimination and sexism can be observed in relation to the struggle against *Frecuencia Latina*.

The public notebook signings and peaceful protests highlighted to Peruvians, especially the privileged white criollos, the raw reality that their fellow citizens experience racism and oppression. When I asked Carrillo if she identified herself as an educator and how she felt about the term 'activist

14 *La Republica* (2013, August 28). *Frecuencia Latina: Sancionan por personaje del 'Negro Mama'*. Retrieved from <http://www.larepublica.pe/28-08-2013/sancionan-a-frecuencia-latina-por-personaje-de-el-negro-mama>

pedagogy’, she replied that running the campaign became a daily pedagogical project. LUNDU staff and volunteers learned that the educational part was rooted in the process of turning every public encounter into an opportunity to dialogue, share experiences, and explain what social justice action against oppression and racism entails. Carrillo pointed out that “after the confrontation that is sometimes necessary, . . . creating spaces for teaching, for education, for explaining the ‘why’ is ‘necessary pedagogical labour’. The praxis of combining levels of direct confrontation and teaching was a ‘learning’ for LUNDU and revealing of the grounded and practical way in which activist pedagogy approaches resistance as an opportunity for analytical and active transformative learning.

Building strategic alliances

The campaign accomplished most of its spaces through relational exchanges. These transformative pedagogical encounters facilitated the establishment of strategic alliances. LUNDU came to understand how an education of political emotions, can be used instrumentally to learn how to navigate between advocate alliances based upon shared moral perspectives and partnerships with organizations or institutions based on the establishment of shared political principals and aims.

It was this way, that on December 12, 2012, LUNDU accomplished a strategic and landmark agreement with the Asociación Nacional de Anunciantes¹⁵ (ANDA) and the Consejo Nacional de Autorregulación Publicitaria¹⁶ (CONAR) for inter-institutional cooperation towards promoting a culture of inclusion and respect for diversity (race, ethnicity, religion, gender, etc.) in all public media forums and to foster support between media industry institutions and LUNDU. Although it was signed after the campaign closed, this agreement culminated the lengthy campaign process of alliance and advocacy building. It also clarified the need to come to terms with the end of and unfeasibility of certain partnerships. Although LUNDU developed relations and alliances with other Afro-Peruvian organizations, having to confront patriarchal and class norms amongst fellow Afro-Peruvians activists proved challenging. Carrillo explained,

15 National Association of Advertisers.

16 Advisory Council for Advertising Regulation.

... those who supported us were mainly from the gay, LGBTQ+ movements, and other pro sexual diversity groups, and women’s groups, even more so than people or groups from the Afro-Peruvian movement to be sincere . . . there was much more empathy, more understanding of the need for the campaign to have a strong public dimension within the media, which is something that I think many organizations do not agree with, but for us it was the reason for the work. . . the concept of the media, communication, of inserting new paradigms . . .

Advocacy partnerships with other national and international womens’ and LGBTQ+ groups were in many ways organic, emerging from shared lived understandings of gender oppression. These relationships entailed reciprocal learning and support—developing an understanding of other organizations’ needs. LUNDU also learned to relate strategically with industry leaders and state ministry representatives. As Carrillo disclosed,

The capacity for dialogue with policy-makers and industry representatives was also strengthening . . . if you are in the media, politicians open doors for you. So one thing leads to the other... [If] other organizations do not see the communications issue as a priority, that is a valid point. But I think this was a turning point [regarding Afro organizations’ priorities].

During the campaign run, LUNDU reached informal agreements, but as Carrillo and Castro emphasized frequently, “binding agreements nonetheless” with the newspaper *El Comercio*,¹⁷ and the Ecuadorian embassy, which assisted in financially sponsoring and promoting the essay competition. LUNDU was also able to negotiate a formal working accords—although not in writing—with ANDINA,¹⁸ a national news agency that has thousands of subscribers and *El Peruano*,¹⁹ Peru’s official government newspaper. Castro and Carrillo elaborated that these kinds of agreements and the fact that LUNDU had

17 *El Comercio*, <http://elcomercio.pe/>

18 ANDINA, <http://www.andina.com.pe/ingles/>

19 *El Peruano*, <http://www.elperuano.com.pe/edicion/default.aspx>

become a reference source for news outlets meant that they had established channels through which to engage wider publics.

Direct impact on legal reform

Formal spaces are those which directly engaged academics and non-academic professionals and ministry officials for institutional and legal reforms. Carrillo noted the importance of “processes that denote that there is a continuity between public and political spaces”, underscoring that she had come to grasp campaigning as enriching the concept of how ‘formal’ spaces and processes of politics are understood. Campaigning like citizenship is not just about the right to cast voting ballots and the spaces in which to do so, but all of the ‘necessary formalities’ leading up to it.

During the run of the campaign, LUNDU accomplished for the proposal of amendments to Article 130²⁰ of the Criminal Code sanctioning against racist insult, slander, and injury to be introduced into congress and approved as a legal reform project by former President Alan Garcia one hour before the end of his term. The legal reform project proposed a minimum of 120 days of community service for racist insult, slander, and injury. However, Carrillo shared that in 2012 the project was benched. Nonetheless, on June 11, 2013—nearly two years after the formal close of the campaign and through continued private lobbying—LUNDU accomplished for the *bancada Concertación Parlamentaria*²¹ to place it back on the Justice

20 According to the Peruvian Criminal Code as established in 1991, Article 130 currently states: Those who offend or hurt a person with words, gestures, or other means will be sanctioned to community service of ten to forty days or a sixty to ninety days fine. For Peru’s Criminal Code see, Ministerio de Justicia y Derechos Humanos (2016). Código Penal. Retrieved from Sistema Peruano de Información Jurídica (SPIJ), http://spij.minjus.gob.pe/content/publicaciones_oficiales/img/CODIGOPENAL.pdf

21 Parliamentary Consultations Bench.

Commission's agenda.²²

Engaging in both informal and formal spacemaking work, which includes public, legal and academic engagement, and publishing, was cited as critical by Carrillo for socio-political transformation. However, she also identified the need to keep a realistic grasp on organizational capacities and time required for change to occur within unstable societies such as Peru. Castro and Carrillo shared that they would have loved to have the resources and time to publish more academic books. Yet, due to resource constraints, they were only able to publish in formats such as magazines and booklets. Nonetheless, the latter had transformative impacts. The booklets reached diverse audiences—from rural communities, to youth, to industry and ministry officials who accessed the materials at meetings. Carrillo described LUNDU's published works as 'referentially comprehensible',

. . . there are several [publications] we have produced, like the handbook on public politics, the *Observatorios*. We've made six editions of LUNDU magazines, four editions of photonovels. So, the written production we have done has been very related to making information accessible to others and not to academic [audiences] necessarily. Although we would have also been interested in this.

22 Update: On January 9, 2019, the Council of Ministers approved the bill that aims to prevent, eliminate and punish racism and racial discrimination in any of its manifestations; and to incorporate the crime of incitement to racial hatred in the Penal Code, as well as ethnic-racial discrimination as a prohibition and disciplinary offense in the Law on the Code of Ethics of the Public Function and the Law on Productivity and Labor Competitiveness. Also, racial discrimination would be incorporated as grounds for dismissal of teachers in the Law on Teacher Reform and the University Law. In addition, parameters would be established to sanction owners, administrators and workers of commercial establishments who commit acts of racial discrimination. The update states that the bill was prepared by the Ministry of Culture in collaboration with Afro and Indigenous organizations (does not specify which ones). See Ministry of Culture (2019, January 11). Aprueban proyecto de ley para prevención, eliminación y sanción del racismo y la discriminación racial [nota de prensa]. Retrieved from <https://www.gob.pe/institucion/cultura/noticias/24390-aprueban-proyecto-de-ley-para-prevencion-eliminacion-y-sancion-del-racismo-y-la-discriminacion-racial>

In June of 2013, the Defensoría del Pueblo published a report, *La lucha contra la discriminación: Avances y desafíos*.²³ The report: 1) makes available to the national and international public the current pending legislative initiatives aimed at hindering racism and discrimination; 2) recognizes that there is a lack of official statistics on Afro-Peruvians (including those that are incarcerated) and that Afro-Peruvians suffer structural and societal racism due to a lack of public politics that include them and the daily reproduction of stereotyping against them in the media and other social arenas; 3) and recognizes that the fight against discrimination and racism should be led by the state, with the direct participation of Afro-Peruvian organizations, thus entailing the state to support Afro Peruvian civil society initiatives.

The report acknowledges LUNDU's leading role in prompting and monitoring anti-discriminatory legislative changes citing ACR's significant results. It concludes that ACR's success in highlighting the high degrees of racism in Peruvian society demonstrates that, ". . . the fight against this scourge should not just be fought at the normative level. Norms attempt to prevent and sanction against discrimination in all of its forms, yet it is indispensable to promote politics on all levels that are oriented towards valuing our cultural diversity, which enriches us as a country." It also highlights the campaign's *Observatorio Afroperuano*, citing that it constitutes a critical "tool for monitoring the presence of Afro-Peruvians in the media, . . . making visible the advances and set-backs related to political decisions being taken that impact Afro-Peruvians, in such a way that there are objective and reliable facts available" (Defensoría del Pueblo, 2013, p. 124). The report's narrative aligns with Carrillo's post campaign perspective that activist actions have to be coupled with thorough information and research, and that, in turn, activism is most transformative when it presents clear proposals, leads to accessible resources for the wider Afro and non-Afro-Peruvian society and leads to political changes whether in the form of normative legal reforms or more general public politics. Finally, the report points to the significance of LUNDU's strategic and landmark agreement with ANDA and CONAR to improve the standards of auto-regulation concerning discrimination in the media and promote ethical publicity standards.

23 The fight against discrimination: Advances and challenges.

Discussion

This retrospective look at ACR and the case study offers the opportunity to engage Walsh's question, "[What does it mean] To recognize and take seriously the critical intellectual production of those historically denied the category of 'thinkers' that is, of indigenous and blacks including the knowledge produced collectively in the context and struggles of social movements?" (p. 225). This work also supports Choudry's (2015) claim that activism often cannot be categorized, nor compartmentalized into "boxes labelled "organizing," "education/ learning," "research," and "action," nor can it be 'made sense of through dominant theories' (p. xv).

It is here that Foley's theorization of learning in struggle falls short. The case study reaffirms calls for intersectional feminist decolonial approaches, which seek to understand the work of activists and women-led civil organizations—both theory and pedagogy—as well as to expose the racist, patriarchal, and capitalist ideologies that underlie coloniality (Gouin, 2009; Mendoza, 2015). LUNDU's public action-based campaign learnings exceeded the acquisition of democratic skills as described by Foley (1999) and Ollis (2012). In fact, ACR expanded and enriched the conceptualization of what democratic skills are. In other words, it reframed what is needed by marginalized-minoritized peoples, especially women, to not just confront oppression, but also to thrive in contemporary society and to contribute to sustainable development. LUNDU's learnings included the merging of practical and theoretical knowledges, drawing from formal and informal pedagogical and political spaces. Through ACR's activist pedagogy, participants gained the skills to lead the creation of inclusive spaces of engagement, with or without state support, and to influence public policymaking and democratic politics from the margins.

A major question arose from the case study—what would the state and development institutions do with the knowledge accumulated through campaigns? ACR and the case study questioned the ways in which marginalized groups position themselves and in turn are or are not included by the state within formal participatory, development and intercultural education initiatives. When I visited LUNDU's office in the summer of 2015 for a series of working gatherings with its interdisciplinary team, staff shared with me news of invitations

to ‘special-study presentations’ on the ‘conditions and needs’ of the Afro-Peruvian population organized by Peru’s Ministry of Culture and researchers from think tanks like *Grupo de Análisis para el Desarrollo* (GRADE). During the case study period, ACR and other anti-racism initiatives by marginalized groups in Peru, as well as my interest in supporting these efforts through formal research, were all dismissed by think tanks as ‘irrelevant for national development’. The period post-ACR witnessed a proliferation of think tank and state-led campaigns and publications on the needs of Afro-Peruvians, echoing much of what LUNDU had already said and fought for. ACR and the *Observatorio Afroperuano* provided the state models of successful forms of public critical development pedagogy—methods to connect with and address citizen’s needs. A campaign by the Ministry of Culture, launched in 2013, ironically called *Alerta Contra el Racismo*²⁴ and referred to as a public ‘platform’, frames its purpose as generating actions to confront racism and discrimination within Peru with the objective of fostering a culture of peace where relations between Peruvians are more ‘horizontally’ premised upon difference and cultural diversity. It commits itself to providing the tools and spaces for activating a citizen movement against racism and discrimination. Yet, nowhere on the website could I find any direct recognition of ACR’s contributions to the project of anti-racism—what seems to me an almost direct influence in an almost identical model of surveiling and countering racism.

The *Alerta* platform seemed to replicate the *Observatorio Afroperuano* model. Carrillo confirmed my suspicion that the Ministry of Culture had not included LUNDU during the planning stages of their initiative. This was not the first time the Ministry of Culture ‘borrowed’ something from LUNDU. For the *2011 Año Internacional de los Afrodescendientes*,²⁵ the Ministry of Culture proceeded to use, without permission, the design concept of the ACR logo, which was already registered as property of LUNDU with the *Instituto Nacional de Defensa de la Competencia y de la Protección de la Propiedad Intelectual*

24 The following information on the Ministry of Culture initiative was taken on July 17th and November 20th, 2013, from the *Alerta Contra el Racismo* website <http://alertacontraelracismo.pe/que-es-alerta-contra-el-racismo/>

25 2011 Year of Afro-descendants.

(INDECOPI). When LUNDU published its campaign texts, they were acknowledged by the state, but not directly supported nor publicly promoted. Carrillo concluded, “Well what else, we want our aesthetic to influence a State aesthetic, right? But this has to be recognized.” It is also interesting to note that GRADE took up the *Observatorio* model as well in 2015, launching an observatory to monitor and end the violence against children.

ACR also illustrated how Afro-descendants have historically been neglected by the Peruvian State in comparison to how Indigenous Amazonians and Andeans have been treated, which speaks to the strategic “essentialism” often promoted by the state in efforts to hinder solidarities (Andreotti, Ahenakew, & Cooper, 2011, p. 48). Possible reasons for this were provided by the case study, including the need to appease Indigenous populations in areas strategic for resource extraction projects. Afro-Peruvians, Amazonians and Andeans have been constructed by scholars and politicians as opponents, fictionalizing divides amongst the latter (Green, 2007). Through ACR, LUNDU identified the need to develop alliances and solidarity networks with other groups in Peru working against racism. In May of 2017, renowned Objibwe film critic and broadcaster Jesse Wenté denounced the Peruvian State, its media, and Jorge Benavides for another one of *El Especial del Humor*’s racist ‘Blackface-type’ characters, *La Paisana Jacinta*—so popular that it evolved into a television program and feature-length film. However, as early as 2005, LUNDU and CHIRAPAQ were calling for the take down of *La Paisana Jacinta*.²⁶ Throughout ACR, deep support for CHIRAPAQ and the need to end all racist characters derogatory towards Afro and Indigenous peoples was made clear and public. The case study furthered the need for inquiry into the links between Indigenous and Afro-Peruvian

26 Update: On November 26, 2018, Judge Yanet Ofelia Paredes Salas of the First Mixed Court of Wanchaq issued Resolution No. 76 validating the legal battle of a collective of women leaders, Ceciia Paniura Medina, Rosa Supho Ccallo, Irenen Quispe Taboada and Rosalinda Torres Morante, against the Compañía Latinoamericana de Radiodifusión SA (Channel 2). The resolution called for the complete take-down of all *La Paisana Jacinta* online and television programming, on the grounds that the character violates various rights of Andean Indigenous women. See <https://peru21.pe/peru/cusquenas-ganan-historica-demanda-latina-polemico-personaje-paisana-jacinta-443396> and <https://elcomercio.pe/tvmas/television/paisana-jacinta-personaje-jorge-benavides-television-peruana-noticia-nndc-582380>.

agendas and perspectives, towards possible collective actions and socio-political solidarity.

Conclusion

Development and education planning led by the Peruvian state have a history of pervasively excluding and then appropriating the perspectives of Afro-descendants and Indigenous peoples. This paper has highlighted the importance of maintaining consideration of the impact of Afro-Peruvian civil society organizations such as LUNDU, and initiatives such as ACR, for the elaboration of social-justice oriented development. Such consideration exposes the historical and ongoing tensions between state and non-state actors, and correspondingly, the growth or hindrance of official and non-official spaces and approaches.

As Mazawi (2011) points out, the growing trend of official report production on behalf of international and national think tanks that “rehashes the same political and economic doctrines in the guise of social research,” is the continuous language and tool of (neo)colonial control (p. 232). Therefore, any ‘formal’ intercultural education and development plans should be understood as necessary ‘public moral enterprise’ to be engaged in daily, on the streets, in classrooms and in state ministry forums with careful recognition of those paving the transformative groundwork (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2004; Sears, 2004; Sefa Dei & Doyle-Wood, 2006).

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GAYATRI CHAKRAVORTY SPIVAK AND ADULT EDUCATION¹ – REARRANGING DESIRES AT BOTH ENDS OF THE SPECTRUM

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ABSTRACT As Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak identifies deeply with her role both as an educator and a teacher, she writes and talks extensively about her teaching at Columbia University and her teaching activities with adults in the rural areas of India and some African countries. I discuss in this article some of her valuable thoughts, observations, and insights gained over a number of years, which can be inspiring for adult education. After a short introduction to Spivak's working context and her approach to education, some of her most important concepts will be presented in a concise overview: 'The importance of aesthetic education'; 'the necessity to teach at two ends of the spectrum'; and 'the task to rearrange desires and to change epistemologies'. The article ends with a short insight into the current contexts and discourses of adult education, including an example of how some of these concepts can be applied in research projects in the context of 'adult education and migration'.

ABSTRACT (German) Da Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak sich zutiefst mit ihrer Rolle als Erzieherin bzw. Lehrerin identifiziert, schreibt und spricht sie umfangreich über ihre Lehre an der Columbia University sowie über ihre Aktivitäten in den ländlichen Gebieten Indiens und einiger afrikanischer Länder. Dabei produziert sie über die Jahre einen außergewöhnlich großen Korpus an wertvollen Gedanken, die für die Erwachsenenbildung inspirierend sein können. Nach einer kurzen Einführung in Spivaks Arbeitskontext und ihre Haltung zu Erziehung werden einige ihrer wichtigsten Konzepte in einem stark gekürzten Überblick dargestellt. „Die Wichtigkeit ästhetischer Erziehung“, „Die Notwendigkeit an beiden Enden des Spektrums zu lehren“ sowie „Die Aufgabe Begehren neu zu ordnen und Epistemologien zu verändern“. Der Artikel endet mit einem Einblick in gegenwärtige Kontexte und Diskurse der Erwachsenenbildung, wobei anhand eines Beispiels gezeigt

1 The title and concept of this article was inspired by Peter Mayo's book: *Gramsci, Freire and adult education. Possibilities for transformative action* (1999).

wird, inwiefern diese Konzepte auch in Forschungsprojekten im Kontext von ‚Erwachsenenbildung und Migration‘ angewandt werden können.

KEYWORDS adult education, desires, migration, subaltern, unlearning

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak – teaching outside in the teaching machine

Claiming catachresis from a space that one cannot not want to inhabit and yet must criticize is, then, the deconstructive predicament of the postcolonial (Spivak, 2009, p 71).

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak was born in 1942, in Calcutta, India, five years before independence from British colonial rule. At the time of her birth her family lived in one of the cruellest sites of the politically mobilized Hindu-Muslim violence, and Spivak openly shares her first life experiences with her readers: “These are my earliest memories: blood on the streets” (Spivak, 2012b, p 277). Surviving the violence and growing up in the shelter of her Hindu-Brahmin metropolitan middle-class family, she received her master’s at the Presidency College of the University of Calcutta in 1959. Only 17 years old at the time, Gayatri Spivak obtained a first-class honours degree in English, including gold medals for English and Bengali literature, and emigrated from India to Ithaca, USA to do her master’s in English at Cornell University, which is one of the eight US Ivy League Universities (cf. Spivak & Landry, 1996, p 1). Starting her career at the beginning of the sixties in the USA meant finding herself in a social context a few years before the Civil Rights Act was enacted, hence at a time *before* discrimination based on ‘race, colour, religion, sex and national origin’ was outlawed in the US. With regard to those times, Spivak notes: “For me as an outsider who came to the United States in 1961, the voice that still echoes from the Civil Rights/ Black Power movement is [...] ‘This is a struggle against educational colonization’ ”(Spivak, 2012c, p. 146).

These specific experiences of Spivak – first, growing up in a country in the aftermath of colonial power and oppression, which had ruled and influenced society for almost 200 years (1757-1947) and then second, teaching and working in a

country where the norm to belong unquestionably in society and academia required [and still requires to an extent] being an Anglo-Saxon, White, male, Christian native speaker - play a significant role in her writings and also in her academic reception. In 'Outside in the Teaching Machine' she makes her outside-inside role explicit, which necessarily includes being shaped by the institution, she enters from the 'outside': "As the margin or 'outside' enters an institution or teaching machine, what kind of teaching machine it enters will determine its contours" (Spivak, 2009, p x). Practising a permanent self-critique, it is very important for her to underline that in the moment one teaches at a (Western) University, one will profit from the privileges, follow the rules and partly reproduce the hegemonic system. Thus, one can't keep a 'neutral' outside position in the inside - whatever outside position you come from.

Spivak herself repudiates any fixed labels and categories people try to put her in, claiming that "[i]dentitarianism is a denial of the imagination" (Spivak, 2012d, p 406). The power of imagination being one of the strongest tools in her work, she wards off anything that could diminish or confine this energy. She asserts her Indian citizenship and often claims her right to vote in India and to hold an Indian passport, but at the same time distinguishes clearly between her duties as a citizen of the state of India on the one hand and any kind of cultural or national 'identity' on the other. Being one of the most important postcolonial theorists next to Homi K. Bhaba and Edward Said - the three of them were once called the 'holy trinity of postcolonial theory' by Robert Young (2006) -, Spivak's 'origin' and 'identity' are made a pertinent issue by many who work with her texts and listen to her fervent talks. Again and again she has to deal with interpellations reducing her to the 'marginalized woman of colour' who somehow made it into academia through her excellent work; especially in contexts of marginality studies, where people feel like it is doing the 'right thing' and being 'politically correct' when they 'include a position from the margins' at their conference/ plenary talk etc.

But is she, a University Professor in the Humanities Columbia, New York², holding honorary doctoral degrees from all over the world, really the marginalized woman of colour who can speak for the ‘oppressed of the world’? Actually, Spivak would never claim to be doing this. She is painfully scrupulous by naming her privileges again and again so as not to be mistaken by anyone as a person representing the margins. Spivak eventually finds a very personal solution for these claims she is confronted with. At a conference on Cultural Value at Birbeck College, London, Spivak was obliged again to think of her cultural identity (cf. Spivak, 2009, p 59). Instead of taking up the claim to position herself in an ‘identifiable [cultural] marginality’ and accordingly assuring validation from the centre, she decides to position herself as a ‘university teacher’, “a name that would not keep her in (the representation of) a margin so thick with context” (Spivak, 2009, p 61).

This strong identification with her role as a teacher leads Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak to write extensively on pedagogical questions, particularly on adult education. She constantly repeats that she is “basically a teacher, rather than something else” (Danius, Jonsson, & Spivak, 1993, p 33) and identifies foremost as a ‘humanities teacher’ – humanities in the wide sense of the term. Influenced by Jacques Derrida’s concept of deconstruction, disciplinary borders between educational science, social science, history, philosophy, gender studies, language and literature studies and many more are crossed easily and permanently by this impressive intellectual, who does not allow herself to be confined between these artificial boundaries. There are few academics as consistent as she is in crossing disciplinary borders, ignoring and deconstructing them in every single text. In addition to crossing disciplinary borders, Spivak’s texts move between issues concerning the

² Out of nearly 5000 tenured professors at Columbia, there are only 15 University Professors. The University Professorship is an award suggested by the President and endorsed by the trustees. Spivak was the first woman of color to be given this award. University Professors can teach in any department. She is the only woman of color in a comparable position who teaches European material to students from the dominant racial group.

planet(~~globe~~)³, the state, the region, the people and the single case in a fast, sinuous way. Furthermore, she constantly breaks academic rules concerning the fine lines between science and politics as her writing and acting are deeply political. When she is not teaching in her own university or giving guest-lectures at a conference for one of the many renowned universities in the academic space, she “educates the educators” of the subaltern⁴ in the rural areas, investing her private money in the running of five elementary schools on the border of two “backward” states in India (cf. Spivak, 2017). Given the wide range of subjects Spivak writes and talks about and her paths of thinking moving along so fast, it is sometimes hard to follow the argument. Refuting many accusations of being obscure and opaque in writing, Spivak affirms: “We know plain prose cheats” (Danius et al., 1993, p 33). She elucidates that for “the transparent system of representation through which things are known and understood are also the systems which control and dominate people” (Morton, 2009, p 5). Stephen Morton adds, referring to her writing style, that “Jacques Derrida’s deconstruction of the binary opposition between the text and the world has perhaps been most influential in shaping the compositional style and rhetoric of Spivak’s thought” (Morton, 2009, p 17). For readers used to moving in ‘disciplinary defined’ fields and clearly structured texts, the confrontation with Spivak’s form of writing and thinking is quite challenging, needs patience, perseverance and the readiness to cross and un-do ‘borders’ together with her. But then the effort is more than worthwhile.

3 Spivak suggests to overwrite the globe with the signifier ‘planet’. Her aim is to make the readers realize that we actually don’t control and don’t inhabit the globe/the globalisation, that we live in a constant (non)-relation to it, as globalisation is only ‘capital and data’ and all the moving data is only to be found on our computers with no one really living on it. By using ‘planet’, which is more in the species of alterity, belonging to another system, we get closer to realize that we can inhabit this place - but on loan (cf. Spivak (2013), p 44).

4 Spivak uses ‘subaltern’ in the trajectory of the Marxian, Gramscian and Guhan notion of subalternity. She defines the word ‘subaltern’ as: to be removed from all lines of social mobility. [...] Subalternity is a position without identity. [...] No one can say ‘I am a subaltern’ in whatever language. [...] Subalternity is where the lines of mobility, being elsewhere, do not permit the formation of a recognizable basis of action (Spivak (2012e), p 430f).

As Gayatri Spivak identifies deeply with her role as an educator, as a teacher, she writes and talks extensively about her teaching at Columbia University and her teaching activities with adults in the rural areas of India and some African countries. As a result, she provides an extensive amount of inspiring thoughts gained over the years, which can be fruitful for those working in adult education. In the format of this short article, I can only shed light on the most important concepts, which are repeated in various forms in different texts, books and lectures by Spivak. These are: ‘The importance of aesthetic education’, ‘the necessity to teach at two ends of the spectrum’ and ‘the task to rearrange desires and to change epistemologies’. The article ends with a short insight into the current contexts and discourses of adult education, including an example of how some of these concepts can be applied in research projects in the context of ‘adult education and migration’.

Aesthetic education - Productively undoing another legacy of the European Enlightenment

The imagination is our inbuilt instrument of othering, of thinking things that are not in the here and now, of wanting to become others (Spivak, 2012d, p 406).

As Stephen Morton remarks, “Gayatri Spivak’s deconstruction of European enlightenment thinkers, such as Kant, Schiller, Hegel, and Marx, and her activist work in rural schools in India has involved an ongoing commitment to rethink the hegemonic structure of colonial education and its legacies from the standpoint of the subaltern” (Morton, 2011, p 70). In her latest book entitled ‘An Aesthetic Education in the Era of Globalization’, Spivak also confronts this challenge and takes up the challenge of productively undoing a legacy of European Enlightenment – the aesthetic” (cf. Spivak, 2012f, p 1). Her book title is based on Friedrich Schiller’s letters entitled, “Die Ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen (On the Artistic Education of Man)”, written in 1794/95. Friedrich Schiller ruminates about the role of aesthetic education dealing with Kant’s transcendental aesthetics and the French Revolution. Spivak points out critically that Schiller, interpreting Kant, is depriving Kant’s work of the power lying within the asymmetrical.

The destructive potential of the asymmetrical, the force resident in a structure that is askew, is taken away and made into a balance. [...] When Schiller reads Kant he symmetricalizes, makes things into chiasmuses, into binaries that work together and become resolved into totalities (Caruth, 2010, p 1022f).

In respect to this misreading of Kant by Schiller, Spivak makes an interesting observation. In her perspective, Schiller's way of interpreting Kant and hence Schiller's concept of the aesthetic, becomes 'typical' of the Enlightenment. She states that "Schiller, in his vulgar strength, is exactly the kind of thing that, for educated, good-hearted folks of a certain sort [...], people who do theory at elite universities all over the world - represents that strong, wonderful voice of something that is very loosely called the Enlightenment" (ibid, p. 1023).

This is why Schiller becomes of special interest to her, approaching the concept of the 'aesthetic'. Referring to aesthetic education Schiller elaborates in his letters:

For example, the *intellectual man* has the idea of virtue, of truth, and of happiness; but the *active man* will only practise virtues, will only grasp truths, and enjoy happy days. The business of physical and moral education is to bring back this multiplicity to unity, to put morality in the place of manners, science in the place of knowledge; the business of aesthetic education is to make out of beauties the beautiful (Schiller, 1794, p 21, emphasis added)⁵.

The sublimity of the concept, found in many texts of that historical period of 'Enlightenment' is questioned thoroughly by Gayatri Spivak. She succeeds in showing how the aesthetic

⁵ In the English translation Mensch' is translated as 'man', although it should be 'human'. Even though even Schiller wouldn't have deliberately implied women in his writings, at least they are enclosed in the general meaning of the word 'Mensch' in contrast to the implications which come with the translation: 'man'. 'Der reflektierende Mensch' was translated to 'the intellectual man'. Actually 'der reflektierende Mensch' means 'a human being who contemplates or cogitates about something'. So Schiller is contrasting 'thinking/cogitating humans' to 'active humans'.

in the canonical texts of the philosophers of the Enlightenment is a form of 'elitist' aesthetic, separating the world into those who have the privilege to experience it and those who are too 'primitive' and 'savage' to relish this kind of aesthetic experience. Deconstructing this legacy of aesthetic education, she rewrites it as a form of education which is able 'to train the imagination of everyone' – especially for those who do not count as sublime in this world. For Spivak, the concept needs to be used particularly with and for those who are forcibly kept away from 'intellectual' work.

Spivak makes it clear that the universal subject referred to as 'human' in the different texts of the Enlightenment does not refer to all humanity, but only to the educated, bourgeois, masculine subject of the European enlightenment (cf. Morton, 2009, p 116). Jean-Paul Sartre comments on the colonial empire which was about to fully unfold while Schiller was writing his letters:

Since the native is subhuman, the Declaration of Human Rights does not apply to him; inversely, since he has no rights, he is abandoned without protection to inhuman forces – brought in with the colonialist praxis, engendered every moment by the colonialist apparatus, and sustained by relations of production that define two sorts of individuals – one for whom privilege and humanity are one, who becomes a human being through exercising his rights; and the other, for whom a denial of rights sanctions misery, chronic hunger, ignorance, or, in general, 'subhumanity' (Sartre's Foreword in: Memmi, 2016 [1957], p 20).

Most of the 'humans' living in this world were and are still today not included in the concepts of the Enlightenment. However, the concepts are used in a universal way and are wielded as a weapon against those who need to be controlled because they have resources (oil, gas, etc.) or because they belong to the large number of people who are kept poor and disenfranchised, and are therefore a dangerous threat for the affluent in the global north. The 'civilizing mission', the approach to bring the Enlightenment to those who seem to live in the 'dark', was and is one of the most important legitimization discourses, when the imperial powers have to defend their invasions and oppressive economic politics.

Gayatri Spivak therefore describes the shortcomings of the project of 'European Enlightenment' and – using her favourite instrument of 'affirmative sabotage' – she engages with it and takes what is useful for her thinking and her pedagogical work. She does this – as she often repeats in texts and lectures “without accusation, without excuse, with a view to use” (Spivak, 2012f, p 1). Referring to the concept of aesthetic education, sabotaging Schiller (ibid., p 2), she finds two important tools to use: the 'power of imagination' which is included in the concept of aesthetic education and the idea of an education which is 'not instrumental in the neoliberal capitalist sense'.

In his third letter, Friedrich Schiller makes an observation which could be equally made today, 220 years later:

For art has to leave reality, it has to raise itself bodily above necessity and neediness; for art is the daughter of freedom, and it requires its prescriptions and rules to be furnished by the necessity of spirits and not by that of matter. But in our day it is necessity, neediness, that prevails, and bends a degraded humanity under its iron yoke (Schiller, 1794, p 3).

This applies equally to the discourses in adult education, which are increasingly succumbing to the demands of the labour market, and as a result non-functional offers in continuing education are becoming rare. As I will develop later in this text, for Spivak, working with the power of the imagination is one of the most important pedagogical tasks teachers have to concentrate on. It makes it possible to break the lines of reality, to think utopian, to invent oneself as different to the one you are today and visualize 'things that are not in the here and now'. Furthermore, it triggers the 'Spieltrieb'⁶, Schiller's tool to re-unite the formal and the material impulse in the human being. Spivak ab-uses⁷ the concept of the 'Spieltrieb' to play

6 “There shall be a communion between the formal impulse and the material impulse, that is, there shall be a play instinct [Spieltrieb], because it is only the unity of reality with the form, of the accidental with the necessary, of the passive state with freedom, that the conception of humanity is completed” (cf. Schiller, 1794, p 19).

7 The notion 'ab-use' refers to Spivak's form of affirmative sabotage. She suggests, that we learn to use the European Enlightenment from below (Spivak, 2012f, p 3)

with the double binds one is confronted with in the myriad ambiguous contexts of this world. Examples are the double bind between caste and class/race and class, body and mind, self and other (cf. Spivak, 2012g, p VIIIIf). Aesthetic education, sabotaged in the Spivakian sense, is 'play training' for her, an epistemological preparation for democracy, with teachers of the aesthetic using material that is historically marked by the region, cohabiting with, resisting, and adapting to what comes from the Enlightenment (cf. Spivak, 2012f, p 4). Spivak even claims that an aesthetic education can continue to prepare us for the cultural 'task of globalization', "thinking an uneven and only apparently accessible contemporaneity that can no longer be interpreted by such nice polarities like modernity/tradition and colonial/postcolonial (ibid., p 2)".

The elite and the subaltern - teaching at both ends of the spectrum

In order to shift [the] layered [epistemic] discontinuity we must focus on the quality and end of education, at both ends (Spivak, 2008b, p 18).

The task of globalization is one which is very much in focus in Spivak's work. Thus, she starts her book on aesthetic education with the sentence: "Globalization takes place only in capital and data. Everything else is damage control. Information command has ruined knowing and reading" (Spivak, 2012f, p 1). Knowing and reading for her are crucial for the development of an informed critical perspective in the globalized world. Hence, Spivak emphasises on various occasions how any act of reading (especially in the Western university classroom) can have social and political consequences (cf. Morton, 2009, p 76). Another important 'working difference' is made by Spivak "between 'knowing something and learning to do something'. The relationship between knowing and learning is crucial as we move from the space of opposition to the menaced space of the emerging dominant" (Spivak, 2012c, p 140). It is therefore not enough just to know that there are elections coming up, for example; one also has to learn about the necessity to inform oneself about the different candidates and their policies and to exercise an informed vote and even be able to 'govern', to be an active part of a new evolving hegemony.

This is why she tries to teach the capacity of ‘reading’, which does not mean just to decipher letters, but to develop something which could be summarised as ‘transnational literacy’. For Spivak, “it is through transnational literacy that we can invent grounds for an interruptive praxis from within our hope in justice under capitalism” (Spivak, 2012c, p 152). She teaches this kind of critical reading to her students at both ends of the spectrum - to the elite students at Columbia University, New York and the educators she works with in the rural areas in India and African Countries. For Spivak, it is necessary to teach the world’s elite simultaneously to the world’s subaltern to set social change into action as it is the world’s elite who are complicit in the production of the world’s subaltern. This acknowledgment of complicity provides a crucial starting point for her, from which one must develop a more responsible intellectual practice (cf. Morton, 2009, p 41).

In her canonical text ‘Can the subaltern speak’, Spivak (1994) “performs a pedagogical act of ethical responsibility that counters the paternalism associated with the pedagogic techniques of colonial governmentality” (Morton, 2011, p 75). She clarifies that it is important not to wipe out the voices of the subaltern by speaking *for* them and at the same time not to leave them alone in a situation where they are not able to represent themselves as long as there are no structures which would make it possible for them to be heard. Until these restrictive conditions change, until the subaltern are no longer subaltern, the politically-engaged postcolonial intellectual has an ethical responsibility that she cannot renounce, hiding behind the idea that the ‘masses can speak for themselves’. She must therefore tackle the ambivalent work of representation rather than resigning from it. Morton adds in respect to teaching in this intricate situation: “This subaltern pedagogy, [...], not only demands a rethinking of what teaching means, but also questions the role of the intellectual as educator and political proxy” (Morton, 2011, p 71).

Next to writing ‘about’ the situation of the subaltern, Gayatri Spivak, today 76 years old, travels regularly to the rural areas where she is trying to develop the intuitions of democracy in the children of the landless illiterate. In India, she is running five elementary schools on the border of two “backward” states and training teachers hands-on how to

teach the state curriculum. It is her deep conviction that this can help people to make informed voting decisions and enter the mainstream (cf. Spivak, 2017). Democracy is the only form of government which has to be learned, states Oskar Negt (2004, p 197 (transl. AH), and Spivak notes: “In order not only to destabilize capitalism, but to turn capital toward the social, the electorate must be trained in the habits and rituals of democracy. Not once and for all but persistently, forever. One never closes the schools” (Spivak, 2008a, p 3). Albert Memmi, writing while colonial powers were still in place, also points at the power people could achieve when they would be enabled to vote in an informed way: “In fact, the colonialist system favors population growth to reduce the cost of labor, and it forbids assimilation of the natives, whose numerical superiority, if they had voting rights, would shatter the system” (Memmi, 2016 [1957], p 20). Enabling people to stand up for their own rights – to shatter the system - is one of the core elements in the field of critical pedagogy which conjoins important voices such as Antonio Gramsci (1999), Paulo Freire (1996), Frigga Haug (2018), Henry Giroux (2017), bell hooks (2010) and many more. Another interesting link can be done to the pivotal project of Cultural Studies here (Williams, 1993; Hall, 2000; Roman, 2015).

By teaching the elite on the one hand and rendering them complicit to the social change necessary and supporting the subaltern to get ready for taking an active part in civil society on the other, Spivak’s work makes an invaluable contribution to the goals of critical pedagogy, especially in the field of adult education. At both ends of the spectrum she focusses on the ‘training of the mind’, which I will now discuss further.

Teaching is about training the mind – rearranging desires by changing epistemologies

The world needs an epistemological change that will rearrange desires (Spivak, 2012f, p 2).

The colonial emperors knew very well how to use the tool of education to change/train the mind of the colonized. The classic example is Macaulay’s ‘Minute of Indian Education’ from 1835 which exemplifies the hegemonic function of British colonial education policy. In his famous ‘Minute’ Macaulay states:

I have never found one among them [orientalists with expertise on Eastern languages] who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia. [...] And I certainly never met with any orientalist who ventured to maintain that the Arabic and Sanscrit poetry could be compared to that of the great European nations. [...] It is, I believe, no exaggeration to say that all the historical information which has been collected from all the books written in the Sanscrit language is less valuable than what may be found in the most paltry abridgments used at preparatory schools in England. (Macaulay, 02.02.1835).

Therefore – given the cultural superiority of European literature and culture in Macaulay’s argument, he claims that the central objective of educational policy is “to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions we govern, - a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect’ ” (cf. Morton, 2011, p 71). This is one of the many examples where education was (and is) used as a political tool to govern millions of people by getting power over their minds, in this case by shaping organic intellectuals (Gramsci) who act in favour of the hegemony established by the colonial power. How effective the British were can be measured when we see that even today English is the official national language in India next to Hindi and that the whole school system is still oriented towards the British School System.

Spivak has a deep understanding of how the lives of many disempowered groups are already damaged by dominant systems of knowledge and representation. “I am speaking of the scandal that, in the global South, in the schools for middle-class children and above, the felicitous primary use of a page of language is to understand it; but in the schools for the poor, it is to spell and memorize” (Spivak, 2008b, p 44). She renders visible the fact that there are groups of people whose minds were obviously never trained for intellectual work. They are born to be peasants or workers and those responsible for building an educational infrastructure never thought about training them in order to enhance their chances of moving up the social mobility lines and developing a democratic habitus

which would make it possible for them to assume an active part in civil society, engaging themselves in the struggle for social justice for everyone.

W.E.B. Du Bois, thinking about an education feasible to those who were living in slavery and shielded from any kind of education for centuries, notes:

“So here we stand among thoughts of human unity, even through conquest and slavery; the inferiority of black men, even if forced by fraud; a shriek in the night of freedom of men who themselves are not yet sure of their right to demand it. This is the tangle of thought and afterthought wherein we are called to solve the problem of training men for life.” (DuBois, 2015, p 56).

Spivak, focusing on the subaltern today, ‘solving the problem of training them for life’ and - in the tradition of DuBois - teaching them how to ‘communicate with the stars’ (cf. Caruth 2010, p.1023), also searches for answers to questions like: What kind of education is necessary to train the mind, to rearrange desires non-coercively in the face of historic and present violence? How is it possible to interrupt desires and visions which are embossed by the experience of the complete deprivation of rights, exploitation, war, famine and permanent humiliation? Some of the most important tools she names in this context are first, an education which is not to be qualified in terms of years of schooling but in respect to the content and the quality of the teachers and second, a constant training of the imagination to open up other, powerful vistas in the minds of those whose visions were oppressed by the hegemonic powers for centuries.

As explained in the previous section, epistemologies have also to be changed within the hegemonic powers. In the West, she says, taking Columbia University, New York as an example,

the teacher can try to rearrange desires noncoercively [...] through an attempt to develop in the student a habit of literary reading, even just ‘reading’, suspending oneself into the text of the other – for which the first condition and effect is a suspension

of the conviction that I am necessarily better, I am necessarily indispensable, I am necessarily the one to right wrongs, I am necessarily the end-product for which history happened (Spivak, 2008b, p 23).

The change is therefore very much an existential change in attitudes and the general stance towards one's own position in this world. Another tool Spivak names here, which should be used along with the 'rearrangement of desires', is the project of 'un-learning our privilege as our loss' (cf. Gross/Spivak, 1999, p 163). In an interview with Elizabeth Gross (recorded in Sydney, 1984), she cites an example to elaborate on this project: "To my students in the United States, I talk about 'instant soup syndrome' – just add the euphoria of hot water and you have soup, and you don't have to question yourself as how the power was produced" (ibid). You do not know what is actually inside the soup as it is ready-made and the production process is invisible to you. So Spivak demands the privileged in the West – however disadvantaged they might be themselves - to reflect on the given (ready-made) privileges they still have, and to understand that to have these privileges means at the same time not to realize and experience the positions and conditions of many others who live in completely different contexts. This could be adapted for example to the female academic fighting for women's rights at a Western university who must not universalize her demands for the female subaltern in the rural areas of the so-called global south or to the metropolitan migrant [with a student visa, scholarship, regular income etc.] who cannot just equate her own experiences of racism and exclusion with, for example, the Rohingya refugee living on the borders of Bangladesh.

The place from where one speaks is crucial for the question of who will listen and what effects the speech will have. Spivak exhorts especially those in privileged positions to be cautious with their position. "One must begin somewhere" is a different sentiment when expressed by the unorganized oppressed and when expressed by the beneficiary of the consolidated disciplinary structure of a central neocolonialist power. Spivak notes:

if the 'somewhere' that one begins from is the most privileged site of a neocolonial educational system, in an institute for the training of teachers, funded

by the state, does that gesture of convenience not become the normative point of departure? Does not participation in such a privileged and authoritative apparatus require the greatest vigilance? (Spivak, 2009, p 64)

Vigilance and self-critique are crucial to Spivak's work and even though she is often accused of behaving like a diva, of being arrogant and detached, there are few academics in her league (and anywhere else) who are so consistent in their self-critique and the openness for discussing their positions.

Next to the 'rearrangement of desires' and the approach of 'un-learning privileges as a loss', Spivak suggests the need to 'learn to learn from below' as another way to change epistemologies in the West:

I suggest that we have something to learn from the underclass immigrants, in the interest of a more just modernity: the remnants of a responsible pragma [...] What is new here is that the dominant re-defines himself in order to learn to learn from 'below', learns to *mean* to say [...] I need to learn from you what you practice, I need it even if you didn't want to share a bit of my pie; but there is something I want to give to you, which will make our shared practice flourish. You don't know, and I didn't know, that civility requires your practice of responsibility as pre-ordinary right. To teach this saying is the support that cultural workers and educators can provide for the entire planet (Spivak, 2013, p 78 - emphasis in the original).

Learning from below also demands a self-reflective stance which can be developed as a result of un-learning one's own sublimity. If it is no longer just me, myself, who is the only one indispensable, then I can open up towards the 'other', really learn from his/her practice, exercise my duty and my right to be responsible towards the 'other' and at the same time respect the space where the 'other' practices his/her responsibility.

While the training of the minds of the poorest aims at empowering them to take an active part in civil society and slowly change the oppressive hegemony, the training of the

minds of the privileged aims more at un-learning their own haughtiness and sanctioned ignorance.

These are what should, in Spivak's perspective, be the central aims of the humanities. But considering the ongoing changes, she remarks: "It is a persistent effort at training the imagination, a task at which we have failed through the progressive rationalization of education all over the world" (Spivak, 2008a, p 2).

What's left of Adult Education – Is efficiency the new ethics?

Teaching in the humanities cannot sustain a calculable good. This may be one of the reasons why, although I do not believe in the immortality of the soul, teaching comes closest to sacred for me (Spivak, 2009, p xi).

In the academic discourses of adult education, one of the most frequently quoted 'revolutionary' pedagogies is that of Paulo Freire, as well as that of Antonio Gramsci with his concept of hegemony and the project of Cultural Studies. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's work has found very little reception in this field so far, even though the whole of her considerable work has such a strong emphasis on education and as could be shown, includes important insights and concepts, which can be used for developing responsible adult education, one that is aware of its own important role in civil society. We live in a world where currently thousands of Rohingya are being killed and displaced in Myanmar, as well as Kurds in Rojava and Palestinians in Gaza, where racist killings in Western countries are on the rise. This list could be continued, identifying the persecution and killing of people just because they belong to a group which is not the dominant one. At the same time, we live in a world where climate change is a threat to everyone, whilst those with the most power continue to ignore the obvious facts at the expense of the poorest, in a world where global capitalism is responsible for the suffering of millions who work for the affluent and wealthy, with a child starving every five seconds (UNICEF, 13.09.2013), while in Western supermarkets tons of wholesome food are wasted every day. In short – as long as we live in a world where social change is absolutely essential – it is crucial to re-think adult education as a tool for social change.

Institutionalized adult education started as a revolutionary project, educating male workers in the industries of the West, to render them capable of fighting for their own rights. Humanities in academia also had an 'idealized' concept of sustainability, in the early days, which "was to maximize imaginative training and minimize the mind-numbing uniformization of globalization" (Spivak, 2012a, p 2). Still, many of those academics who are active in favour of critical adult education, support the idea of a responsibility of adult education for social change, even if it can't be the panacea for the whole complex structure of social inequalities of course (cf. Holst, 2018; Tett, 2018; Lucio-Villegas, 2018). But today, confronted with the curricula of the current institutions of Adult and Higher Education, we have to ask ourselves: "Is efficiency the new ethics" (cf. Kim 2018)? Similar to the management strategies in the corporate industry, it is the final figures of successful participation, passed tests, numbers of participants and usefulness for the working place, which are used as criteria to measure the success of education.

As I am currently working on a research project in this context, let us take as an example the classrooms for German as a Second Language in Germany and Austria where adult migrants (most of them from the global south) sit and learn the hegemonic language of the country they immigrated to. Spivak's perspectives on adult education help to inform the analysis of what is happening inside these classrooms. They help us to reflect on how learners are addressed, what kind of teaching material is used, how reflective the teachers are about their own involvement in the migration regime of their country and how the structural conditions of the courses are organised. Spivak's perspectives make it possible to connect our descriptions and analysis to a wider global context. In this example, it becomes obvious that we are missing a big opportunity. Instead of using this fortunate circumstance in the global north of having so much knowledge from different parts of the world to widen the imagination, to 'learn from below', to develop the whole of society in respect of new ways of negotiating privileges, rights and even language-use, governments force immigrants to learn the 'new language' which has to be 'proofed' by passed tests, and they are sanctioned if they fail. In case of failing, they suffer reductions in welfare money, their residence and work permit is in danger and sometimes even their chances of finding a place to live is linked to their capability to reproduce the German language

at a level allowing them to pass the test. While it is important and a form of 'enabling violation' (cf. Spivak, 2008b, p 15) to provide possibilities to learn the hegemonic language, it is at the same time used to select the 'useful' fast learning migrants who can be integrated at the lower end of the job market from the 'useless', slow or not-learning migrants, with 'usefulness' defined according to neoliberal logic.

The curricula include nothing which could support the widening of the imagination – on the contrary. In the state-licensed course books, Germany and Austria are presented in a highly essentialist culturally identitarian way, with remnants of the civilizing mission to be found in almost every chapter (cf. Heinemann, 2018). Taking Spivak's use of aesthetic education into consideration a lot could be gained to re-arrange the learning environments, the teaching material and the learning objectives. Another problem, which can be pointed at with Spivak's considerations, is that the teaching is directed only into one direction. It is the migrants who have to learn the language to adapt themselves to the receiving society. But in this concept of one-sided-education the dominant group doesn't get the chance to develop, to un-learn their privileges, to learn from below. "I go toward accessing the other through deep language learning in the collectivity of the classroom" suggests Spivak (2008a, p 2). But in Germany and Austria the only legitimized 'other' languages - taught in school - are those which became powerful through colonial power: English, French, Spanish and Portuguese. To approach the 'other' it would be necessary to teach Turkish, Arabic, Pashto, Russian, Tigrinya and many more migrant languages. But there is no habit of and no commitment to providing wider opportunities for learning these languages. Spivak's approach to teaching, which is very much focussed on rearranging desires and changing epistemologies at both ends of the spectrum by using the power of imagination, can be of invaluable help when thinking about adult education in the immigrant societies in the West today. She works with a perspective of 'critical regionalism' (Spivak, 2008a, p 1), always keeping the global perspective in mind.

Therefore, in times where migration movements from the global south to the north are rising, critical adult education, which is ready to accept its responsibilities for a less unequal and unjust society, can gain a lot by considering Spivak's way

of thinking both parts – the regional and the global - together. Adapted to our example – the postcolonial language classroom in the Western Society – we have people from different parts of the world, from the so-called global south, sitting together in one classroom, with a teacher ‘representing’ the receiving country. Although marked by radical lines of inequality, this room is a rich contact zone (Pratt 2008) offering options for the development for protean negotiations in respect to ‘ideologies’, ‘values’, ‘norms’ and ‘utopias’. How to use these options is something which has to be probed by those interested in the development of responsible adult education - considering the respective regional specifics.

But of course, teaching is not ‘instrumental’. Human minds – luckily – are not as predictable as a computer programme. For Spivak, it is obvious that “[o]ne cannot coerce while one teaches, however at ease the teacher-class situation may be. Whatever happens, happens in spite of scrupulously intended teaching. That something will have happened is the assurance and constraint in view of which one makes the attempt for a collective rearrangement of desires (Spivak, 2008a, p 4)”. She is not naïve in the hope she attributes to the powers of teaching. Furthermore, referring to Marx’s Third Theses on Feuerbach, she is very clear that it is essential, that “[t]he materialist doctrine concerning the changing of circumstances and upbringing forgets that circumstances are changed by [wo] men and that it is essential to educate the educator him[her]self (Third Theses on Feuerbach, Marx 1845)”. Thus, critical adult education cannot be part of a counter-hegemonic movement if the teachers themselves are not reflective about the tangled and intricate situation in which they live and teach. This is an aspect which is very much neglected in teacher training at most Western Universities and should be taken into account not only in adult education but also for school teachers, who are responsible for the education of children in mutual appreciation.

In her inspiring lecture in Vienna in 2017, Spivak makes a demand to ‘de-humanize education’ (cf. Spivak, 13.05.2017). As we know about the destructive powers humans have and still use against nature, against objects, against themselves and especially against other human beings, Spivak makes a crucial point. Perhaps the solution for a ‘better world’ will be to eventually give up the false hope that love and care, which

are deeply connected with the image of a ‘good’ inner self of the human being, will be the pivotal lever to change anything. Instead we should – counter-intuitively - concentrate on possibilities of how justice, less violence and oppression can be brought into the world *in spite of* the constitution of human beings – but still ab-using the greed that drives humans from the bottom to the top.

Those responsible in institutions of adult education must find ways of protecting them from being exploited by the state as simple acolytes. The financial pressure which weighs on most of the institutions subsidised by the government is a real threat. However, if we do not even attempt to resist, adult education will have lost every chance to regain its revolutionary power. Theories, produced in the academic sphere, also have to keep this intricate responsibility in mind. Spivak can be a precious part of those voices who lead us along this track. I will end here with another of Spivak’s tailor-made quotes:

If academic and ‘revolutionary’ practices do not bring each other to productive crisis, the power of the script has clearly passed elsewhere. [...] The reader must accustom herself to starting from a particular situation and then to the ground shifting under her feet (Spivak, 2009, p 58 - emphasis in the original).

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ADULT EDUCATION IN INDIA FROM A SUBALTERN PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT The educational experiences and educational attainments of women are affected by the intersectionality of gender, class, caste, religion, age, language and geographical location. In India, the women from marginalised groups such as scheduled tribes, lower castes and Muslim minorities have the highest levels of adult illiteracy, unemployment and poverty. I take an interdisciplinary approach drawing on postcolonial theory, education, sociology, development studies and gender studies to develop an analysis of certain adult education and women's empowerment programmes in India and their understanding of literacy, inclusion, empowerment, identities, development and social change. Different socio-cultural fields intersect and affect the world of adult education practices, and a broader understanding of adult learning is required to address the needs of gendered adult learners.

ABSTRACT (HINDI) सार: महिलाओं के शैक्षणिक अनुभव और शैक्षणिक प्राप्ति लिंग, वर्ग, जाति, धर्म, आय, भाषा और भौगोलिक स्थिति के प्रतच्छेदन से प्रभावित होती है। भारत में, अनुसूचित जनजातियों, नचिली जातियों और मुस्लिम अल्पसंख्यकों जैसे हाशिए के समूहों में महिलाओं में वयस्क नरक्षरता, बेरोजगारी और गरीबी के उच्चतम स्तर हैं। मैं भारत में कुछ वयस्क शिक्षा और महिला सशक्तिकरण कार्यक्रमों के विश्लेषण और साक्षरता, समावेश, सशक्तीकरण, पहचान, विकास और सामाजिक परिवर्तन की उनकी समझ को विकसित करने के लिए पोस्टकोलोनियल सिद्धांत, शिक्षा, समाजशास्त्र, विकास अध्ययन और लिंग अध्ययन पर एक अंतःविषय दृष्टिकोण लेता हूँ। विभिन्न सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक क्षेत्र वयस्क शिक्षा प्रथाओं की दुनिया को प्रभावित करते हैं और प्रभावित होते हैं, और वयस्क सीखने वालों की जरूरतों को पूरा करने के लिए वयस्क सीखने की व्यापक समझ आवश्यक है।

Keywords Women's education, adult education, marginalization, empowerment, subaltern

Introduction

The pattern of gender inequality in access to education in India is intriguing, which seems to be deepening as we move from lower to higher education attainment and from urban to rural and to disadvantaged groups in the society. Scheduled caste, scheduled tribes and Muslim minorities have higher levels of adult illiteracy, particularly among women. The illiterate adults from these groups face unemployment or are struggling to come out of their traditional demeaning jobs, subjugated by employers and landowners, therefore being further pushed into the vicious cycle of exploitation and poverty. The challenge is to reach a large number of women, particularly from socio economically disadvantaged groups and to bridge the gender gap.

The intersectionality of class, gender, caste, race, religion, age, language and geographical region affects the educational experiences of an individual. The gendered experience of a lower caste or tribal women can be quite different from that of upper caste urban women. Similarly, the experiences of Hindu women would differ from the experiences of Muslim women from both rural and urban areas. However, in the policy arena, 'women', 'marginalised' and 'indigenous' are often considered as homogeneous categories. Despite the improvement in the literacy rates, inequality in terms of gender, social categorization (scheduled caste and scheduled tribes), rural-urban divide continue to be eminent. According to 2011 Census of India, the literacy rates among scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and muslim communities are much lower than the rest of the population, more so among women. The 2011 census revealed that the overall literacy rate among SCs is 66.07% (Male SCs 75.17% & Female SCs 56.46%), whereas the literacy rate among scheduled tribe is even worse with 58.95% (Male STs 68.51% & Female STs 49.36%) (Government of India, 2016). The entire population of the country is divided into different castes, creeds and religions. According to the Census (2011) data, the percentage of illiterates was 36.4 % for Hindus, 32.5 % for Sikhs, 28.2 % for Buddhists, 25.6 % for Christians and 42.7 % for Muslims. The overall percentage of illiterates was 36.9 % for all communities. The Christian community had 74.3 per cent literacy, followed by Buddhists (71.8 per cent), Sikhs (67.5 per cent), Hindus (63.6 per cent) and Muslims (57.3 per cent).

The paper addresses the central questions: Why do Adult Education policies in India fall short of attaining a respectable national literacy rate among women, especially among underprivileged women? How beneficial will be formal adult education for marginalized groups? And whether the adult education programmes address the issue of women's overall development and empowerment?

I take an interdisciplinary approach drawing on postcolonial theory, education, sociology, development studies and gender studies to develop an analysis of some adult education and women's empowerment programmes in India and their understanding of literacy, inclusion, empowerment, identities, development and social change. Different socio-cultural fields intersect and affect the world of adult education practices, and a broader understanding of adult learning is required to address the needs of gendered adult learners. Who defines what kind of education is empowering for marginalised women? Why should functional literacy be connected to critical education?

Women's adult education versus adult education for subaltern women: Whose language, whose knowledge and whose structures?

Adult education programmes developed for the marginalised communities such as scheduled tribes, scheduled castes and minorities hardly ever address gender inequalities. There is a need to develop specific policies for women from the disadvantaged communities that can provide space for gendered voices within marginalised groups. The term subaltern is used as a "name for the general attribute of subordination in South Asian society whether this is expressed in terms of class, caste, age, gender and office or in any other way" (Guha & Spivak, 1988, p.35). The gendered subaltern subjects of this paper are the women from aboriginal tribes, lower caste and other minority sections who have to overcome many marginalising social constructions to attain education. The oppression of these women is based on their economic situations (class), caste, gender and religion, and therefore their circumstances and social problems are different from a woman coming from upper class, upper caste or urban location. Their situations and social position are directly related to their participation and degree of success in an adult education programmes. Additionally, their interest and motivation in literacy programmes also vary from the other

group of women. Social institutions such as religion, marriage and family further marginalise these women and decrease their chances of acquiring social, educational, economical or political power. Therefore, an adult education agenda planned for “women” (which is not a homogenous group) is unable to fulfill the social requirements or to empower subaltern subjects.

The dominant adult education discourse tends to emphasize women’s education with regards to improved health outcomes for mothers and children; there is rarely any notice paid to the dangers of promoting stereotypes in syllabus or vocational training programmes. The curriculum is usually built around women’s reproductive role with programs related to family planning, nourishment and childcare (Rao & Pant, 2006). International policy on adult education has emphasized the significance of educating women to increase their participation in the development of a country but failed to take a gendered stance on curriculum and programme design. Only a few recent policy documents have mentioned a different perspective for female education (see UNESCO, 2002) that goes beyond educating women as wives and mothers.

Education should be related to critical consciousness of the relationship between women’s lives and the broader socio-political structures. To gain education means being able to decode the social, political, economical and patriarchal structures and actively trying to deconstruct its norms. Critical education, supports women in dealing with existing power structures, work collectively and bring change. Adult education can enable women to access the means of empowerment. The education should not only be about the literacy of 3R’s-reading, writing and arithmetics, but also about creating awareness of social inequalities and discrimination.

The adult literacy programmes started by the government supposed to cover three dimensions of education-literacy, awareness and functionality. However, in practice, the programmes have become only literacy campaigns because most of the adult education centres are not equipped to address the other two basic modules of adult education programmes (UNESCO, 2002). The adults find no motivation to join or continue these programmes as they do not find them useful in fulfilling their environmental needs. An ethnographic study

(Chopra, 2011) of a lower caste woman in Bihar reclaimed that gendered illiterate subjects face multiple oppression within different dimensions of power relations that include the socio-economic institution, religion, culture and gender. Laila, a sharecropper, has participated in local 'women's organisation agriculture and income generation programmes', but opted out from literacy classes after ten days. She asserted that the agriculture programme is more meaningful for her as she learnt about cultivating barren lands with the help of non-chemical fertilisers, which pesticides to use for different crops and how to make living compost. The programme has also helped her in developing self-confidence to introduce new ideas in her agricultural work while working on the land independently. On the other hand, she stated that learning to read and write requires a lot of time. She is too busy with her everyday life practices to earn a living and therefore does not have enough time to devote to a literacy class. However, she recognises that it would be helpful to read the name of different chemicals, seeds and pesticides she wants to use in the field. Also, she acknowledges it would be useful to be able to write and manage her income and expenditure. That way she will be able to figure out when her landlord is cheating her, and how to apply for a bank loan to buy her own piece of land.

The study brings forward many questions related to the adult education of marginalised subjects. Bihar has one of the lowest literacy rates in India (UNESCO, Education for All Global Monitoring Report, 2006). A woman coming from lower caste from that state is suppressed thrice because of her gender, caste and class, and in some cases of her religion as well. Relevant questions include the following: What kind of adult education does she require for the betterment of her condition? What does literacy mean for a marginalised woman? Who defines literacy for her? In Laila's case, she works as a sharecropper, which means she works in the fields of a landlord, generally a Bhumihar (upper-class landowner). She does not own any land because normally only upper caste men owned the lands. She did not have the sufficient financial ability to purchase the land so she has to work on a Zamindar's land, and the landlord usually changes his tenants after few years.

There is a contract between Landlord and Sharecropper. As per the contract, the Sharecropper would bear the entire

expenditure of crop production and the produced crop will be distributed among Land owner and Sharecropper in the ratio 40:60. The land owners fear that through the Bihar Land Ceiling Act 1961 the tenant will claim the ownership to the land. Therefore, Laila might have to look for another piece of agricultural land every few years. Additionally, females receive lower wages in comparison to their male counterparts for the same amount of work in most of the provinces of India, except a few provinces in the North East). "In the agriculture sector, where the women's participation rate is more than the estimated 60%, the hourly wage rates of women in 50 to 75% of male rates" (Javeed and Manuhar, 2013). An adult education programme for Laila and many women like her who come from the lower caste in rural settings should focus on imparting critical education and awareness and not just the literacy of 3R's - reading, writing and arithmetic.

Gender identities are hardly mentioned or prioritised in the discourse related to the education of scheduled tribes, scheduled castes or other minorities. Adult education policies for the marginalised groups require a gendered perspective especially in terms of curriculum, language, programme objectives, assessment and learning structures. The special provisions made for the scheduled tribes have often benefited boys over girls. In 1999, the Ministry of Tribal Affairs was set up to address the needs of the tribal population. Similarly, the Ministry of Minority Affairs was carved out of the Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment and created on 29th January 2006, to ensure a more focused approach towards issues relating to minority communities identified as Muslim, Christian, Buddhists, Sikhs, Parsis and Jains.

The mandate of the Ministry includes formulation of overall policy and planning, coordination, evaluation and review of the regulatory framework and development programmes for the benefit of the minority communities. One of the programmes implemented by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs was focused on providing vocational skills training to the women and girls. Although the budget was minimal for this project, the strategy was to set up residential schools for the children from tribal communities. A study (Rao, 2005, p.89) of the Dumka district in eastern India reported that the ratio of boys to girls was 10:1. Some of the reasons for this disparity in participation might be

the societal attitude towards the education of girls. Families do not see the connection between the education of girls and their everyday reality.

The intersection of caste, religion and gender is quite apparent in formal settings. It has been noted that special provisions for scheduled tribes have been in favour of boys, and when special provisions are made for girls and women, they have scarcely benefitted women from scheduled tribes. These examples show that 'women and girls', 'Muslim minorities', 'scheduled castes' and 'scheduled tribes' are marked out in policy as disadvantaged groups in educational terms. However, in the policy arena, 'women', 'SCs and STs' and 'minorities' are still considered homogenous categories, not differentiated by economic status, gender, religion or age.

The voices of aboriginal tribes, scheduled caste and other minorities need space and representation at the policy level to present their positions on the national platform. The deprived classes need representation at the decision making or policy design stage which is only possible if the members of these groups are part of state and national governments. Since the subjects of this paper are the subalterns, who are women from disadvantaged communities, it is proper to investigate their representation in the parliament. The representation of women in leadership positions in the parliament is not very satisfactory. As of January 2019, out of 543 members of Lok Sabha (lower house of Indian Parliament), only 66 (12 percent) were women (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2019). It is unlikely that many of these women belong to the minority categories,

The notion of women's participation can also be viewed as women acquiring power over curriculum planning and policy formation (Stromquist, 1998). Gayatri Spivak asserted empowerment as a "posture of autonomy adopted in the desire to create new spaces to self-identity and self-representation within the hegemony of structural and systematic realities" (Spivak, 1996, p. 289). The subaltern subject of this paper requires self-identification and self-representation in the adult education policies and programmes of the state. When the position of subalterns is viewed through the lens of post colonial studies, it is apparent that there is a continuing type of neo-colonial dominance where the educated and the economically dominant

determine policies and education for the already marginalised. It is crucial to connect adult education to agency and voice; critical education can help in achieving this objective. They do not receive an education that provides them voice and agency that means the power and the freedom to act (Sen, 1999).

A critical adult education related to the discourse of rights and self-determination will address the needs of these marginalised groups. The adult education policy makers have to deal with the question of language and pedagogy choice for this specific population. Another issue within the context of adult education for tribal people is the distinction between adult education for indigenous communities (which aims for indigenous access to the established educational order) and indigenous adult education (which implies indigenous control over the syllabus and learning material).

The tribal population is not a homogenous group of people. This population differs regarding language, culture, religion and internally across the lines of class, gender and age. Yet, in the international and national policy sphere they are often considered together as a big group that differs ethnically but that are similar in terms of their attitude towards nature and natural resources. The effects of colonisation such as loss of land and resources, the inevitable globalisation and neoliberal policies of the government have further pushed them towards the periphery (Kapoor, 2011). India has more than 400 indigenous or tribal groups that account for 8.6% or 104 million of the whole population of the country (World Bank, 2016). They include a diverse group which is often referred as 'scheduled tribes', 'Adivasi' or Aboriginal people. The Constitution of India, Article 366 (25) recognises scheduled tribes but does not mention the specific criteria for categorisation of any community as a "scheduled tribe". Criteria often used for scheduled tribes include their geographical isolation, economic backwardness, distinct culture, language and religion.

A survey conducted to identify the Below Poverty Line population by the Planning Commission of India in 2012 found that scheduled castes and tribes comprise half of the entire "poor, deprived households". The survey restated the long held proposition that Dalits are the most disadvantaged and underprivileged sections of the population. Poverty, illiteracy,

homelessness and destitution are all interconnected conditions for determining the overall situation of a human being. Ramamurthi Committee's report in 1990 recommended that for adult education programmes to be successful, they have to be linked simultaneously with basic needs: health, nutrition, housing and employment.

Indian society is divided on the basis of caste hierarchy, religious associations, linguistic diversity and regional allegiance. The caste system in India has strong historical and religious roots. Traditionally, Indian or particularly Hindu society was categorised into thousands of castes, which resulted into socio-economic and educational inequality. The major economic categories in today's Indian society according to caste stratification are Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (SC/ST), Forward Castes (FCs) and Other Backward Castes (OBCs). Since the independence of India in 1947, the Indian government has been making several policy provisions and efforts to bridge the socio-economic and educational divide between privileged and underprivileged groups. Despite all the attempts made by the government and the non-governmental organisations, some specific groups like SCs and STs remain economically, politically and educationally disadvantaged because of their particular traditional occupations and geographical conditions (Chauhan, 2008).

A great number of members from these groups, particularly in the rural areas, are landless agricultural workers (often exploited by the landlords through the social evil of bonded labour) who work on the land belonging to others or involved in the occupations such as manual scavenging and leather tanning. More than 75% of the scheduled caste workers are still involved in primary occupations as assigned by the caste system (Chauhan, 2008). These reasons compel the children from such communities to start earning at an early age. The social attitude and the lack of infrastructure make it difficult for the children from these communities to acquire education. Some of these factors contribute to a large number of non-literate adults in the population of these marginalised groups.

Education policies need to look deeper into the social reasons why the deprived groups are still outside the mainstream educational structures. In case of India, there is

growing evidence that people from some specific ethnic groups are more likely to face difficulties in accessing educational opportunities because of such factors as inferior infrastructure in their specific geographical location, distance to school, attitude of teachers (many cases of caste-based discrimination by the teachers have been reported as a reason for dropouts by lower caste students), and alien language (Chauhan, 2008).

Acquiring knowledge for Dalit (scheduled caste) women is an act of resistance against religion and other social structures. In the 'Rise and Fall of the Hindu Women' (1955), Ambedkar asserted that Brahmanism "denied women the right to acquire knowledge" (p.118) and "she was declared to be as uncleaned as untruth for want of knowledge" (Ambedkar, 1955, p.119). Brahmanism declined knowledge to Dalits and women, so when a woman who is also a Dalit decides to attain education, she has to face many social barriers. For a Dalit woman, the struggle for literacy increases because of her material conditions. The Global Multidimensional Poverty Index (2010) developed by UNDP, Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative declared that poverty level is highest amongst India's tribal populace (81.4 percent), followed by scheduled caste (65.8 percent) and OBC (Other Backward Class) (58.3 percent). Amongst the rest of the population, the poverty level is 33.3 percent. There is an established relationship between religious, institutional, socio-economic, political and cultural rooted caste and gendered norms which influence the expression of an individual. Hence, Dalit and tribal women's literacy requires particular attention in adult education policies to address multiple types of discriminations against their education.

Policy, Practices and the Need for Critical Education

A rights-based critical approach to adult education should not only be limited to 'conscientization' around a specific situation but also include developing the ability and confidence to initiate political action. Social issues such as gender, caste and region-based discrimination, unemployment, child labour, female foeticide and corruption remain areas of concern in India. Adult education practices in the rural areas do not address any of the social issues and claim to empower the illiterate subjects through the use of the kind of literacy with a focus on the 3Rs - reading, writing and arithmetic. The most successful examples of critical education programmes

come from the mobilisation of people through non-formal and informal adult education.

In Andhra Pradesh, India, Laya's (a resource centre for Adivasis) unconventional educational approach developed from experience with young tribal people who were protesting against the government's land reforms in 1989 (D'Souza, 2003). The Laya team recognized that the tribal people who were campaigning did not demonstrate a 'broader vision of tribal rights'. Therefore, the team started a training programme for the young tribal people so that they can acquire a better understanding of the macro and micro level scenarios such as deforestation, displacement, alienation from their land and how to address injustices within their tribes and communities. An important part of this training programme was learning about legal structures, including laws that were related to tribal areas such as forest laws, displacement laws, and the role of customary law in a tribal context. The participants were taken to visit district court to witness land cases and were trained in writing petitions and presenting problems to government representatives.

The competencies and skills developed through this training programme include basic literacy, critical analysis and leadership. Women's groups from different tribal communities started visiting each other to share their experiences and knowledge. As the programme further developed, participants and trainers started to identify the problems faced by tribal women and began a separate programme to address issues such as lack of formal education institutions for girls, property rights for women, and domestic violence. The example of Laya's adult education programmes for tribal population demonstrates that critical education can work towards the political, social, cultural empowerment and development of marginalised people and communities, and that the empowerment should be seen in broader terms - as freedom from categorical (based on geographical, caste, religion), political and gender oppression.

Chipko Andolan (1973) or forest conservation movement in India is another example where adult learning activities triggered collective action by the people of a community. The role of civil society and non-governmental organisations was crucial in mobilising tribal and marginalised people by increasing

ecological awareness and in slowing down rapid deforestation. The “Chipko” movement (tree hugging action) was initiated by the women in the northern Himalayan part of Uttar Pradesh (now Uttarakhand) in India against the environmental and economic exploitation of the region. Women were the backbone for this venture, and therefore it is also seen as an eco-feminist movement (Moore, 2011). The Chipko Andolan movement was a non-violent protest that practised the Gandhian method of Satyagraha.

More recently, Bhangar Andolan (2013), a movement against the acquisition of land for a power project in West Bengal’s South 24 Parganas district in India, created an example where adult learning associated with the collective action of people from Scheduled Caste and Minority communities had instigated murmurs of protests in the Bhangar area (Mehta, 2017). A few local leaders were able to mobilise Scheduled Castes and Minorities and other marginalised people against the land acquisition by the government, where these people would lose their agricultural land permanently. The acquired land would be used for an electric power sub-station, and the electric power would be generated for the newly formed smart city near Kolkata, West Bengal. Semi-literate and illiterate people, especially women, were the major forces against the movement (Mehta, 2017). The Government of West Bengal ultimately admitted their demands and took sufficient measures towards making alternative arrangements.

The Total Literacy Campaign (TLCs) in Nellore and Pudukottai districts of Andhra Pradesh focused on not just teaching literacy skills but also empowering adults to deal with development issues. The Total Literacy Campaign was implemented by the Government of India in collaboration with the Bharat Gyan Vigyan Samiti, a voluntary organisation that made a significant contribution towards developing a strategy for wide reaching community mobilisation of the poor, especially women, to change their economic conditions and struggle for gender equality. After the literacy stage, Jana Chetna Kendras (centres for people’s awareness), were formed, which provided a space for newly literate women to discuss the problems faced by them in their villages.

A lesson in the post literacy primer has inspired women from a small village in Andhra Pradesh to instigate a blockade against arrack (a form of country liquor) in their village, and has inspired others to join in the anti arrack agitation. The agitation, led by rural women, was also joined by several different organisations like civil liberties organisations, political parties, women's groups, voluntary organizations etc. Involvement in the movement empowered these rural women and provided them with the confidence to fight against the liquor contractor and the administration. Following the agitation, the government proposed a ban on selling of arrack in the Nellore district in 1993, and later in the whole state of Andhra Pradesh. After the success of anti arrack agitation, some rural women established saving and credit groups called Podupalakshmi. The women's credit cooperatives were recreated in several other states like Tamil Nadu, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, and inspired women's groups for starting income generating activities. However, not much attention was paid to sustaining and building upon the skills gained through the campaign.

Although some literacy campaigns managed to reach out to women and people from disadvantaged groups of society and mobilise them in a crucial way, the 'democratic space' inside the state-funded adult literacy campaigns for women's empowerment remained restricted. Civil society too was ineffectual in creating independent organisational structures for the large majority of neo literate female learners to continue and sustain the activities of empowerment. (Rao, 1993; Banerjee, 1993; Sexena, 1993). The mobilisation of women could not be continued in many villages as the administration was not able to cope with the rising demands of the local women's groups related to minimum wages, banning alcohol in the state, dealing with cases of domestic violence and employment opportunities for women. In the northern states of India, the achievement of Total Literacy Campaign is much slower. For example, in Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh the situations are different for adults and Dalits and they demand unconventional approaches (UNESCO, 2002).

Conclusion

Addressing gender concerns is not only about reaching women but including them in every aspect of adult education programme: planning, design, curriculum, training and

evaluation. For policy, programme or campaign to be gender sensitive, it is crucial to consider the social relations that influence women's lives. The empowerment of the gendered "subaltern" cannot entirely be imagined through literacy programmes. The empowerment is a product of law, policies and socio-institutional practices. Despite the fact that women learners are the major participants in the adult education activities, they are almost invisible in coordination, policy-making or leadership positions. Women volunteers played a significant role during the mobilisation of women at the grass root level, but their contribution remained unrecognised. In spite of the large-scale women's participation in the literacy campaigns as learners and volunteers, the government does not pay enough attention to put women's issues on the agenda of the adult education policies (Ghose, 2007). There is a need for an inclusive, non-hierarchical undertaking of adult education and empowerment that can provide valid spaces for multiple voices within the underprivileged group.

The adult education programmes should focus more on vocational and entrepreneurial training for these women, to enable them to start making a living from their education. Economic and financial independence is an important aspect of empowerment for women, and there is a dire need to support the spirit of entrepreneurship among the women from the disadvantaged groups. Some of the micro enterprises that have been initiated in the rural areas are poultry farming, garment making, clothes embroidery and coconut oil extraction. Technical and vocational education and training (TVET), and recognition, validation and accreditation of prior learning (RVA) in non formal and informal sectors are two important strategies initiated by UNESCO that should be adopted by the government and the civil society in order to address the adult education and literacy challenges for women, especially from the marginalized communities. Adult education policy planners need to recognise that the other social fields intersect outside yet within the confines of adult education programmes. This may modify the adult education practitioner's perception of the illiterate subject.

Partnership between the government and non-governmental organisation is essential for successful implementation of literacy, post literacy and continuing education programmes.

However, people's movements (which sometimes challenge the neoliberal policies of government) for their fundamental rights and grassroots organisations cannot be sustained through government sponsored programmes. The effectiveness of adult education programmes is also reduced due to some practical difficulties like lack of coordination among various organisations, over stressing of rules, inadequate training for functionaries, non-profit organisations denied support from state governments, the absence of operative support from mass media, want of proper evaluation systems.

There is a lack of effective strategy to addresses post literacy and continuing education. The link between adult education programmes, livelihood and social awareness should be made stronger. The policy fails to take into account the intersectionality and social environment of campaign situations. Adult literacy policies such as the National Literacy Mission and Total Literacy Campaign need to be revised, with specified targets to reach out to underprivileged women. Unpredictability regarding funding is the primary reason for the loss of momentum in the current programmes. The funding available for the adult education programs is minimal. The allocation for adult learning is only 0.02% of the education budget (Ghose, 2007). The non-formal education programmes for the disadvantaged groups and marginalised women hardly receive attention. Some of the special provisions made for women's education such as National Programme for Women's Education are now combined with Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, which is the framework for universalised elementary education. The scope for women's adult education programmes has been reduced further.

Emphasis on the scheduled tribe, lower caste women and women from other minorities is missing in practice, and the programmes are developed considering women as a homogenous group. A critical adult education can lead towards self-sufficiency, independence and sustainable development for subaltern women. Government policies and civil society programmes that are working towards the empowerment of marginalised women have to establish a link between adult education activities, literacy and other development issues like health, continuing education, environment, local administration, micro-enterprises.

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PARTICIPATORY MAPPING IN LATIN AMERICA: A TOOL FOR ADULT EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

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ABSTRACT As with many other sciences, the field of cartography has developed based on the exclusion of other forms of knowledge of the people from the South. The purpose of this article is to discuss Participatory Mapping (Social cartography) both as a possibility for adult education for social change and for giving voice to social groups, who were historically denied the right to speech, the possibility of sharing their knowledge about space. Based on recent examples, especially in Latin America, it argues that during the mapping activity there is a process of learning exchange between the scholar's knowledge and the local communities' knowledge of the mapped spaces where they live.

RESUMO: Assim como diversas outras ciências, o campo da Cartografia se desenvolveu com base na exclusão de outros saberes dos povos do Sul. O presente artigo tem como objetivo discutir a Cartografia Social tanto como possibilidade de educação de adultos para mudança social quanto para dar voz a grupos sociais que foram historicamente recusados o direito de falar a possibilidade de compartilhar seus conhecimentos sobre o espaço. Com base em exemplos recentes, sobretudo na América Latina, argumenta-se que durante o mapeamento ocorre um processo de troca de saberes entre o conhecimento acadêmico e o conhecimento das comunidades locais que tem seus espaços mapeados.

Keywords: Participatory Mapping, Social Cartography, Adult Education

Introduction

Two men holding pens are looking over a map on a table. The first one wears a polo shirt and jeans, the second one wears an indigenous outfit: a t-shirt, a handcrafted necklace, a bracelet,

and a vibrantly coloured feather headdress. The photography that portrays this event is in the first volume of the New Cartography Notebook, named 'Resistance and mobilisation of indigenous people from Lower Tapajós'¹. Like many projects of participatory mapping, this is an opportunity of co-work between traditional groups (*comunidades tradicionais*) such as indigenous groups or quilombolas, and cartographers, where many times the roles of teaching and learning are not fixed. While the latter group learn about the indigenous territory and cultural practices, including another perspective on their own mapping techniques, the former learns new cartographic techniques that would allow them to negotiate with the state on an equal footing basis.

The aim of this article is to argue that the participatory mapping or counter-mapping technique (*cartografia social* in Spanish and Portuguese) has been used as a powerful tool of adult education for social change, especially in Latin America. Therefore, I start in section 1 by discussing the development of cartography through the lens of an analysis of colonialism and maritime expansion. I consider the role of official mapping in silencing voices of specific groups to subjugate the people and dominate the land more easily. In section 2, I move to present principles of participatory mapping and its relation to adult education through the discussion of examples, mostly in Latin America, a region where indigenous groups and other traditional communities have been participating in the processes of mapping to have their right to land secured. In section 3, I acknowledge some limitations of the participatory mapping technique, but I re-assert the claim, in conclusion, that the process of this approach to mapping can be a tool for enlargement of the participation of marginalised groups, such as ethnic minority groups and women.

1. Cartography as tool of knowledge and power

A wide enough definition for a map is a graphic object created with the goal of communicating information about a place of any size, from a small farm to the entire planet. According to one of the most traditional textbooks in cartography, “a

¹ Projeto Mapeamento Social (2014). Resistência e mobilização dos povos indígenas do baixo tapajós. *Caderno Nova Cartografia*, 1. Available in: <http://novacartografiasocial.com.br/cadernos/projeto-mapeamento-social>. Access in 12th May 2018.

map is, in its primary conception, a conventionalized picture of the earth's pattern as seen from above, to which lettering is added for identification" (Raisz, 1948, xi). According to Raisz, the cartographer is, therefore, an artist and a scientist, simultaneously. However, the art and beauty of representing spaces and places in a flat surface stop there. After presenting the history of cartography, Raisz dedicates the next chapters of his textbook to discuss projections, scales, parallels and meridians, mathematics relations and universal conventions, where extremely technical knowledge is compulsory.

Contemporary cartographers usually do not move away from the general ideas displayed by Raisz. For instance, Gregory, Johnston, Pratt, Watts and Whatmore (2011) argue that three elements are central in a map: scale, projections and symbolisation. Scale concerns the mathematic relation of distances between the real area and the area represented in the map; projection is the type of distortion involved in representing a spherical object in a flat surface and symbolisation is the set of cartographic codes to interpret the map (Gregory, Johnston, Pratt, Watts and Whatmore, 2011, pp. 434-5). Therefore, maps "are a form of representation that is supposed to be scientific or neutral" (Cresswell, 2013, p. 187). Cartography, moreover, is the technique to produce maps, which, according to this conception, involves specialised technical knowledge.

The problem is that the three elements indicated by the authors serve to delimit who can represent spaces and places and who cannot. Their definition suggests a hidden situation of power imbalance. When they declare that the mathematical relation between the real and the represented space is central in a map, the authors stand for a technical and Eurocentric conception of cartography, to the detriment of other possibilities of spatial representation. The main objective of the map – to communicate information about a place – may be overshadowed.

In this conception, indigenous populations in Latin America, for example, do not produce maps due to lack of instrumental and technical knowledge, a situation that extends to other social groups such as illiterates, visually impaired or children. The object map demarcates the distinction between representatives of official cartography by the state or corporations while other spatial representations are considered drawings or sketches. As

Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2002) indicates, a unique model is declared true and other forms of conceiving and depicting the world are excluded, what he calls *desperdicio epistêmico* (epistemic waste). The author claims for the emergence of other ways beyond the ones that Eurocentric knowledge consolidated as hegemonic.

According to the traditional and mainstream perspective of map and cartography, Figure 1 (Carrera, 2017, p. 84), a representation of the old Aztec city of Amoltepec, which is nowadays Mexican territory, produced by the indigenous empire, is not a map. It does not have their basic requirements, namely: scale, projections and symbolization. This type of cartography excludes conceptions of relative, relational or symbolic spaces and only considers 'objective' ones. If they do not respect the set of techniques of cartography, in this perspective, the production cannot be named cartography and the product cannot be named map.

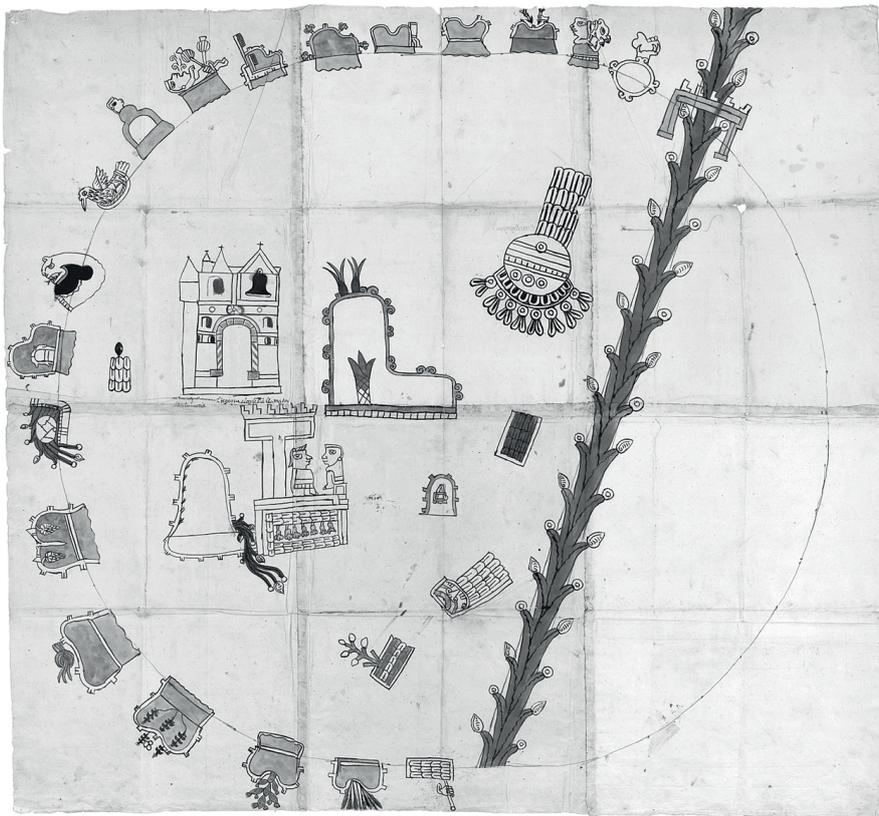


Figure 1: *Relación geográfica, Amoltepec, 1580*

According to the postcolonial conception of cartography, however, the object of figure 1 is undoubtedly a map. It has the wide requirements that define them: it is a graphic object with the goal to communicate information about a space or place. Moreover, it is a valuable form of expression of groups that European colonisation historically subdued and that have almost disappeared. It is not only an opportunity of speaking for a group who did not have the right to say anything for centuries and had their voice purged but also an important testimony of their social organisation, spatial ways of thinking and culture.

The indigenous knowledge-building process includes elements that the minds of scientific white men do not include. It is often performance-based or oral and is expressed through poetry, drama, dance, songs, and painting (Rundstrom, 1995). Dreams and dreaming practices, for instance, are part of the repertoire of information of spaces and places within many indigenous communities (Hirt, 2012). The presence of mythic, spiritual, sacred and non-human relationships in their mapping practices is evident. Mundy (1996) also indicates that maps produced by pre-Hispanic indigenous artists in Central America represented the community rather than an area. Therefore, they showed social relationships such as families' ties, parties, rituals and other dynamic features that the traditional scientific perspective does not.

As far as the development of this mainstream perspective of cartography is concerned, one should notice that the Europeans established it after the scientific revolution of Copernicus and the Renaissance. The set of techniques that developed in contact with Astronomy, Physics and Mathematics consolidated during the European maritime expansion, when colonisers appropriated indigenous knowledge or considered it useless, establishing Eurocentric scientific knowledge as the superior one. The birth of cartography is similar to that of Geography and other disciplines such as Anthropology, but these two have passed through important processes of renovation and self-criticism while cartography continued serving the interests of cultural dominance, economic exploitation and political oppression. As Bryan (2011, p. 42) puts it:

maps work in this context as a technique of calculation that are used to calculate distributions, organize

markets, and identify territories and populations, and associated with the notions of government as attaining the ‘right disposition of things’

The power of distinguishing what is (or not) a map connects with the power of dominating geopolitically territories. Therefore, when colonisers mapped indigenous lands, they were not only creating a powerful network of information about the areas but simultaneously dominating materially and subjugating the people who have lived there for centuries. “Maps actually create spaces and places because of their taken-for-grantedness”, argues Cidell (2008), and they serve purposes as statistics and other graphics that are perceived as absolute and neutral. Furthermore, there is no military conquest, political dominance and economic exploitation in the colonisation process that does not come together with the domination of “the mental universe of the colonised, the control through culture” (Ngugi Wa Thiong’o, 1981, cited in English & Mayo, 2012, p. 70). In other words, symbolic and material appropriation walk side by side.

The planisphere, in the way we are used to seeing it, for example, with the American continent on our left, Asia on our right, Africa in the centre but below and Europe on the centre-top, is not neutral (Emerson dos Santos, 2012), and nor is the association of the direction of North with the top side of a map. The spherical size of the Earth does not allow us to indicate a top or bottom part, therefore many maps from Antiquity or Middle Ages that reach us display the East, the direction where the sun rises, as lying on the top of the map. It was not until 1569 that the Flemish cartographer Gerardus Mercator produced a planisphere representing Europe on top of other areas (Raisz, 1948), hence creating a path for a Eurocentric representation of territory.

The idea of the North as a top side reflects political interests and implications². Because of that, the Uruguayan drawer Joaquín Torres Garcia created his own representation of the South American continent, displayed in Figure 2. His drawing has been used by many social and political movements from this region to demonstrate how they are not guided by

² Language is also crossed of political implications: in Portuguese and Spanish, North is used many times as a synonym of goal, purpose and objective.

values, ideologies or interests from the Global North. His proposal aligns with the postcolonial theory of authors such as Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2002), which advocates for “south epistemologies”.



Figure 2: Joaquín Torres García’s south-at-the-top map, 1936

In this section, I argued that cartography has regularly served political ends, as Kemp (2007) indicates, and it has been used to reinforce dominant ideologies and hegemony. However, mapping can also contribute to the emancipation of marginalised groups. Women, ethnic minorities, indigenous people, LGBT and many other groups who have been excluded from territories as well as from the process of map making can also take part in activities of mapping. In the next section, I argue that participatory mapping events present opportunities for critical adult education and enhancement of critical consciousness with marginalised communities through presenting a series of examples, especially from Latin America.

2. Participatory Mapping and Adult Education

Participatory Mapping, roughly speaking, takes place when groups that live in the land meet cartographers to produce maps of the region. To change the power dynamics inherent in mapping it is necessary to enable members of the community

to become cartographers (Cidell, 2008). Challenging the official representations of the area, participatory mapping allows the introduction of narratives, place attachment, local ecosystem services, social values attached to the landscape (Hohenthal, Minoia, & Pellikka, 2017), preserve indigenous toponyms, land-uses and meanings of places (Sletto, 2015). There are ways of constructing learning on how to collectively produce a map. It enables us to examine the space through its issues and struggles (Emerson dos Santos, 2012), considers particular local contexts and includes phenomena missing from regular maps such as fear of women in the city, police harassment or surveillance (Kim, 2015). It can also call for greater transparency since it does not allow stakeholders to make decisions behind closed doors (Cidell, 2008).

The foundational work of Almeida (1994) in the region of Carajás, state of Pará, in the Amazon Rainforest, is the first participatory mapping event registered in Brazil. In his influential book *Carajás: Guerra dos Mapas* (Carajás: War of Maps), he reports that the Brazilian government tries to control the region through an apparent lack of function control, with outdated or precarious data and fragmented information provided by different state institutions. He argues for what he calls *cartografia social* (social cartography) as a possibility to include social relations, antagonisms, conflicts and spatial representations of social groups that live and produce in the region by virtue of mapping. Usually ignored or neglected in official mapping are not only indigenous groups, but also social movements such as the *Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem-Terra* (Landless Workers Movement – MST) or *Movimento dos Atingidos por Barragens* (Movement of People Affected by Dams – MAB) that advocate for the human right to water and land. They have the right to participate in social cartography.

Participatory mapping continued to play a role in the struggle for environmental justice in the Brazilian Amazon rainforest. Ten years after Almeida's work, a network of social movements, community organisations and NGOs conducted a campaign called "In the forest there are rights: Environment justice in the Amazon", which produced the "Map of socioenvironmental conflicts in Legal Amazon: Environment degradation, social inequalities and environment unfairness suffered by peoples of Amazon" (Emerson dos Santos, 2012). According to this

author, in different meetings, geographers and other scientists exposed maps to social movements and organisations in where they identify where the conflicts occurred and analysed them. Emerson dos Santos (2012) argues that this initiative was an instrument of complaining and public pressure with government institutions to secure human rights and sustainable development of the Amazon region. The author highlights that, besides achieving the goals of exposing situations of conflicts and pressuring the government, the participatory methodology ensures learning of spatial operations through their struggle. In other words,

ao indicarem sobre um mapa os conflitos vivenciados, sua localização, quais são as “agressões” e os sujeitos coletivos envolvidos, os participantes estão aprendendo e apreendendo novas formas de pensar para agir, o pensar no espaço, e o pensar com o espaço. Neste caso, o objeto cartográfico é instrumento de identidade e articulação, e também de disputa nas leituras e representações da realidade que servem de base para tomadas de decisão e ações³ (Emerson dos Santos, 2012, p. 4).

Bryan (2011) discusses participatory mapping within a project in the Mosquita region of Honduras, an area where land speculators and agriculturalists are taking advantage of the lack of land delimitation to displace Miskito villagers from their land. The author was personally involved as a consulting cartographer for the Federation of Indigenous and Native Peoples of the Río Segovia Zone (FINZMOS) to coordinate a group that would map lands the native people traditionally owned. In the process of dialoguing while mapping the area with the Miskitos, the cartographers realised the villagers have a distinct conception of space, where kinship, residency and ancestry work as networks to access land and resources instead of property ownership. Therefore, the cartographer observed that the Miskitos do not

3 ‘By indicating on a map the lived conflicts, their locations, which are its aggressions and the collective subjects involved, the participants are learning and learning new ways of thinking how to act, thinking of space, and thinking about the space. In this sense, the cartographic object is a tool of identity and links, and also of dispute in readings and representations of the reality that serve as a basis for taking decision and actions.’

organise their space through fixed boundaries which contrasts with the government norms of bounding spheres of exclusive ownership.

Miskito villagers understand that their limits are fluid, overlap with other communities and depend on river flow, soil and weather conditions. Although it was impossible to create a map that represented this fluidity, Bryan (2011) acknowledges that the final product included overlapping of territory with other communities. From this experience, the Miskitos learned not only how to use GPS and how to identify the boundaries created, but also that it was necessary to create this form of “white knowledge” to have their right to the land respected by agriculturalists. The geographers involved in the project, on the other hand, learned about understandings of space by the community involved in mapping, and learned that this presented an opportunity to reframe their own conceptions of map and space.

In Venezuela, Sletto (2015, 2014) depicts a participatory mapping project with the Yukpa, an indigenous community in Toromo who have been forced to reside in the rugged and remote Sierra de Perijá. The author discusses the colonial and postcolonial movements of the occupation of the lands of the Yukpa, who intensified their struggle to reclaim lost areas and to preserve and represent their heritage and traditional occupation and use of land. She argues that in the process of mapping, the Yukpa people recall memories of violence, exile and deceit, which strengthen their identity and sense of belonging (Sletto, 2014). The author suggests that the articulation between action and landscape activate meaning for old leaders who had previously fought for land, thus improving their political consciousness while imprinting their culture on the maps they produced together with scholars.

Not directly related to indigenous movements but still foregrounding Latin American community experiences is the *Iconoclastas* initiative. Created by a couple in Argentina, this initiative involved the organisation of workshops for a year and a half in their countries, Paraguay and Brazil. They held these activities with community organisations, student unions, social and environmental movements, school teachers, women groups, among others. The goal was to engage people living

in the area to create local maps (Santos, 2012). Their maps are a tool for sharing experiences and information about the struggles of social groups “from below” in the form of graphic representations. Through the experience of mapping, the communities identify situations they wish to change such as factory pollution, lack of green areas or high density of traffic⁴.

Many other examples of participatory mapping have also emerged in the Global South, in regions outside Latin America. In Taita Hills, Kenya, Hohenthal, Minoia and Pellikka (2017) report that subsistence farmers’ participation in water resource management improved their quality of life through identification of problems related to water or water provision (Figure 3). One problem was that the official maps do not depict small streams and springs that are essential for people living in the area due to their small scale (1 cm on the map equals 500 metres in reality). The community involved in the mapping process also created timelines to identify important events in the history of the community and to reflect on them. Therefore, the participants cited the arrival of Christian missionaries, postcolonial occupation, world wars and demarcation of the lands as important events of their history and geography. According to the authors, “the signs on the community maps reflect the meaning linked to values and practices related to forest resources, land privatization, economic factors, and organisation of water supply” (Hohenthal, Minoia and Pellikka, 2017, p. 389).

⁴ Their experiences with pictures, along with publications in Portuguese, English and Spanish, are available in their website: <http://www.iconoclasistas.net/>.

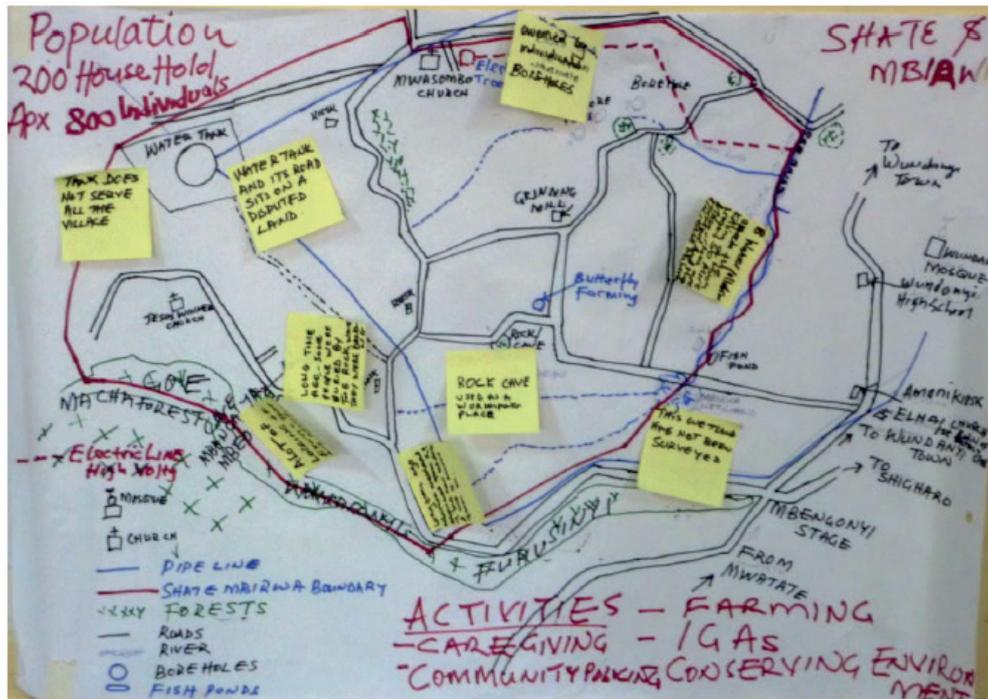


Figure 3: Participatory Mapping in Taita Hills, Kenya (Hohenthal, Minoia and Pellikka, 2017, p. 387)

Finally, adult learning of power dynamics within analysing of maps can occur even without a mapping process happening. In the United States, Cidell (2008) presents a situation where a community in Minneapolis could not stand airport noise anymore and decided to start to critically read official maps. They used their local knowledge and engagement to challenge state-centred scientific maps that supposedly indicated that the aeroplanes' noise would not reach their residences. Instead of producing their own map, the community gained critical consciousness when they noticed that the official state "maps portrayed did not match their lived experiences" (Cidell, 2008, p. 1213) and they advocated for more participation in decision making of urban interventions that affect their community.

Overall, all these experiences demonstrate that collective mapping practices can enhance the consciousness for political praxis, in the Freirean sense. They can, therefore, be tools for learning, engagement, action and change. Gaining critical consciousness of the space where the community lives is prerequisite for its members' empowerment, not only in Latin

America, where the struggle for land assumes important features, but worldwide. Official cartography is not neutral, given that it has stood together with the oppressors, but it is also a site of contestation. Therefore, it is a potential place for action for adult educators engaged in a struggle for social change.

3. Limitations

Marginalised communities and critical cartographers have been extensively using participatory mapping to grant rights and access to land. However, there is a major concern that some scholars have also been raising in the past years about the limitation encountered between academic scholars and these communities, especially indigenous groups. It involves the erasing indigenous forms of knowledge and reinforcing a different type of domination and colonisation, this one from 'critical scholars' with supposedly good intentions of securing the land for traditional occupiers. Some scholars such as Hirt (2012) indicate that using Western maps or GIS with Indigenous communities might be double-edged,

working as tools both of political and territorial empowerment and of cultural and technical assimilation. Therefore, these tools can restructure colonial power relations by, for example, misinterpreting Indigenous world views, knowledge, and territorial conceptions, and thus can contribute to increased Western cultural hegemony and greater state control of Indigenous lands (Hirt, 2012, p. 106).

She claims there is a need for decolonisation of western maps and methodologies within cartographic tradition. Even though some representations of dreams or mythological indigenous figures can appear in maps, poetry and dance hardly can be added without a map losing its original significance. The pivotal work of Ellsworth (1989) on critical pedagogy also inspires participatory mapping supporters to consider some of the possible challenges concerning this tool. However, one should be careful of not erasing indigenous ways of perceiving and relating to spaces and places just to conform with the western and state-oriented perspectives.

Participatory mapping should not serve as a substitute from one colonisation process to another, where white Western

‘critical’ educators replace white Western land invaders in silencing indigenous voices. These communities have their own critique, critical consciousness and strategies for resistance. Critical educators do not have universal knowledge, truth or skills to reward indigenous groups, they are all socially constructed (Wainwright, 2008). There are both tensions, contradictions and possibilities of collaborations between geographers and marginalised communities. While these practices liberate communities from some colonial totalitarian logics, they also re-create others, in a complex and multi-layered process (Andreotti, 2016), that this piece does not plan to solve. The author acknowledges a crucial paradox: while there is an urgent problem of dispossession in the context of modern colonisation that participatory mapping may help to tackle, it is also urgent to “keep alive different possibilities for existence not defined by the single story of progress and human evolution of modernity” (Andreotti, 2016, p. 285)⁵.

Cartographers should recognise and celebrate indigenous own ways of mapping and knowledge about space, which are distinct from mainstream and colonial cartography (Ahenakew, 2016). Socialisation into Western map-making should not be responsible for erasing gifts of other forms of knowledge of a place. A careful consideration of the ethical implications of these maps should always take place.

Conclusion

My goal with this reflection was to discuss the technique of participatory mapping, that has been slowly incorporated in geography and cartography practices. I have illustrated that it can serve as an instrument to improve adult learning, especially in what concerns indigenous and other traditional groups in Latin America. These groups have their own system of living on the land and extracting the resources they need, combining nature and culture through a different perspective from that of white men. The ways they perceive, relate to and represent the space, the place and the territory are distinct. This represents a challenge for the right of use of the land when negotiating with the official forces.

⁵ Cf. Andreotti (2016) for more information on the limits of the Freirean category of critical consciousness.

In this paper, I showed that the collective work of these traditional communities with geographers and cartographers presents an opportunity for informal learning for both, even with some potential limitations. While cartographers can often learn about the culture, organisation and system of thought of the former as well as re-elaborate their own system of thinking, the indigenous groups learn strategies of how to deal with state forces and how to speak the language of power emanating from the scientists. These convenings are a site for learning, so they are as important as the map itself. Gaining access to tools that are legible to mainstream powers is an important strategy of contesting those powers. I advocate for participatory mapping as a tool for approximation between scholars and communities, slowly undermining hierarchies of forms of knowledge and giving marginalised groups opportunities to speak and advance social change.

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**DECOLONIZING INFLUENCE:
AN EXPLORATION OF QUEER SEXUALITY IN THE
FILM STRYKER**

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ABSTRACT Through an analysis of Noam Gonick’s independent Canadian film *Stryker* (2004) as public pedagogy, and in comparison to real life narratives, the authors illustrate how queer sexualities and genders are constructed according to Western hetero-colonial tropes that either silence Indigenous Two-Spirit people or position them as an exotic ‘other’ in queer and non-queer Canadian contexts. Through this comparison the authors shed light on problematic (mis)representations of Indigenous Two-Spirit people in cinema and how this may impact ‘real life’ encounters and assumptions about Two-Spirit people, and suggests some implications for decolonizing Western influence on Indigenous sexuality and gender identity.

KEYWORDS decolonization, public pedagogy, queer studies, self-reflexivity, North American Indigenous

Introduction

Michael Horswell (2005) writes in the book, *Decolonizing the Sodomite*, that “[transculturation] is a multifaceted process in which hegemonic cultures *influence* subjugated ones, in which subjugated cultures give up old and acquire new values and meanings, and in which completely new cultural forms are created [emphasis added]” (p. 7). It is this process of *influence* that we seek to disturb through this paper by examining some of the effects when one culture regulates or dominates another. We unpack *influence* in this analytical paper through Noam Gonick’s film *Stryker*¹ (2004), which explores notions of Indigeneity, queerness, and power. Meanwhile, we generate a critical analysis that illustrates how same-sex desire and gender

¹ The term “stryker” is a Canadian slang term designating a prospective gang member.

expression is constructed largely based on Western influence of rigid hetero/homo and male/female binaries, and point out opportunities for resistances and resist-stances, decolonization, and deconstruction in the film.

As definitions of decolonization are complex and always evolving, and given the focus on cinema in this paper, we draw on Beth Blue Swadener and Kagendo Mutua's (2008) notion of 'decolonizing performance' which they explain is "the process in both research and performance of valuing, reclaiming, and foregrounding indigenous voices and epistemologies" (p. 31). Swadener and Mutua further explain that this notion presents "possibilities of forging cross-cultural partnerships with, between, and among indigenous researchers and 'allied others' (Rogers & Swadener, 1999) and working collaboratively on common goals that reflect anticolonial sensibilities in action are important facets of decolonization" (*ibid*). We draw on this particular definition partly to recognize intercultural discourse and analysis, but also for creating opportunities to examine the multiple layers of decolonization from an Indigenous and allied perspective, and introduce narrative beyond what is presented in the film. Likewise, we also recognize that the term Indigenous "is a broadly inclusive and internationally recognized term" (Justice, 2018, p. 7), and for the sake of this paper we acknowledge the broader, global implications of this catchall term. Although we use this term throughout our paper, we largely apply use of this term to include and focus on the Indigenous peoples of Canada, comprising of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit. We acknowledge that there are challenges to using non-specific terms such as Aboriginal, Native, and Indigenous, and as such recognize the ongoing struggle to identify and disidentify the political, social, cultural implications of language.

As part of our analysis, this paper integrates personal narratives of the two authors, one of Indigenous background and one of mixed European background, and how they first encountered a 'celebration' of sexual and gender diversity (i.e., Toronto Pride Parade) and how this event impacted their emergent queer ontologies in a second narrative. What is also offered, for comparative and counter-hegemonic purposes, is an investigation of Indigeneity and allyship in relation to urban space, and how gender, sexuality, and queer identity are framed through the lens of cinema. We examine how queer Indigenous

identity and gender are scripted in contemporary independent Canadian cinema by turning a critical focus on the film *Stryker*, including its content and some of the public comments made about the film. We refer to the space (i.e., the land, streetscapes, venues, and so forth), characters, and points of contention in the film. This exploration of the real *and* imaginary realities in this paper seeks to disrupt the real/imaginary binary that often nuances queer Western literature and deepen understanding of the influences of Western systems on Indigenous sex/gender arrangements as represented in film.

In this analysis we question if and how queering can potentially offer a decolonizing lens, particularly in relation to the interracial “look” (Kaplan, 1997). In her work, *Looking for the Other: Feminism, Film, and the Imperial Gaze*, Kaplan (1997) examines notions of the interracial “look” in film, and how looking operates as a form of control and power, while questioning “What happens when white people look at non-whites?” and “What happens when the look is returned – when black peoples own the look and startle whites into knowledge of their whiteness?” (p. 4). Similarly, we raise the following question in this paper: how can a queer “look” decentre the hetero-colonial dominance? We discuss and conclude with the point that although *Stryker* does present opportunities to examine, problematize, and decolonize hetero-colonial perspectives, there are problematic encounters with (re)presentations of queer and Two-Spirit expression that continue to illegitimize trans bodies, if not ignore trans realities, and cast queerness as parody and property that reinforce heterodominant tropes.

This paper is highly significant to educational practitioners, performers, and cultural workers. We feel it is important to allow for discussion of cultural representations in film, and to view these moments as public pedagogy (Giroux, 2000). As Giroux explains, public pedagogy are sites of education that take place beyond formalized educational systems, and include places, such as popular culture, where people publicly share their lives. Meaning is then being produced and contested through observing and participating in daily acts and relations. As we demonstrate below, viewers (educators, learners, filmmakers, actors, community members, and so forth) can write themselves into film in order to show different realities, which can be facilitated through important tools of post-colonial critique

such as blogs, posts, film, or other forms of interactive and digital media and texts. Learning of the past and decolonizing the present through film and supplementary texts provides a useful way to visualize oppression, and seek out strategies to challenge and disrupt hegemony.

Indigenous people, film, and (mis)representation

Historically, Indigenous people and cultures have been portrayed in broad brushstrokes in film, with little to no regard for the range of ethnic and cultural variations. Indigenous people are often depicted in film as being stuck in a sepia past, adorned in feathers and beads, preserved in the static frame of an ecological landscape. One only needs to look at the canon of classic Westerns or the plethora of patriotic feel-good movies to gain a better understanding of how such an extensive filmography has fuelled North America's often racist portrayals or otherwise romantic imaginings of Indigenous life. Consequently, historical and contemporary representations of Indigenous people and culture in cinema have to a large extent been two-dimensional and stereotypical. There is much to scrutinize given there are such deep-seeded colonial tropes and misrepresentations of Indigenous people originating as far back as the silent film and Vaudeville era where Blackface and redface (a custom in which actors smeared cork or shoe polish all over their face to portray Black or First Nations people) were common practice in racist minstrel shows (Cockrell, 1997; Gibbs, 2014; Lott, 1993; Maher, 1997). For example, Harvey Young (2013) posits that "redface" is one of the oldest ongoing forms of racial impersonation, citing the North American practice of role-play during annual Thanksgiving holidays.

Similar to the Blackface and redface trend, it was also a common practice for film production teams to "paint down" non-Indigenous actors to appear darker and accessorize them with beads, buckskin, and bows and arrows as a means to enhance visual 'authenticity'. Examples include: Jeff Chandler in *Broken Arrow* (1950), Burt Lancaster in *Apache* (1954), Chuck Connors in *Geronimo* (1962), Tom Laughlin in *Billy Jack* (1971), and, more recently, Johnny Depp in *The Lone Ranger* (2013). Consequently, the myriad of images depicted of Indigenous peoples in cinema have largely served the colonial gaze, where fantasies of violence and misogyny are re-enacted time and again toward women and girls, and queer Indigeneity

remains in the periphery. Such cinematic representations of the “Other” have been used to uphold dominant articulations of hetero-colonial power, while simultaneously distorting and erasing Indigenous peoples and cultures.

In recent decades there has been a growing response to the distortion and erasure of Indigenous (in)visibility in scholarship, but also a growing body of criticism on cinema and queer Indigeneity. Scholars have been investigating Two-Spirit identities and representations within and beyond arts, culture, and literature, producing critical essays and anthologies on relevant Two-Spirit topics (Driskill et al. 2011a; Driskill et al. 2011b) addressing notions of heteronormative gaze (Tatonetti, 2010) and Two-Spirit gaze (Estrada, 2011). Adding to these intellectual developments, Indigenous artists have been making significant contributions to the arts, education, and cultural ecology within cities, which has brought significant visible representation to Indigenous nations and cultures. Lorinc (2006) notes that “Native artists have thrived in urban settings, setting up theatre companies and visual arts spaces where they’ve been able to connect with broader audiences with an interest in the ethnocultural diversity on offer in big cities” (p. 49). For example, we only need to consider the exponential growth of Indigenous film festivals in Canada (e.g., imagineNATIVE) in order to see how this medium is garnering global and national recognition with regards to Aboriginal storytelling and cinema.

There have also been a number of contemporary artists, writers, and scholars such as Chrystos (1988; 1993), Paula Gunn Allen (1992), Gregory Scofield (1999), Alex Wilson (1996), and Muriel Miguel (2013) who have been writing on topics relevant to Two-Spirit identity and expression for some time. Similarly, artists like Kent Monkman and Thirza Cuthand have also explored gender and sexuality in new media, video, and performance. Monkman’s work (e.g., *Miss Chief: Justice of the Piece*, 2013; *Séance*, 2010; *Dance to Miss Chief*, 2010) investigates impacts of colonialism and representation by deconstructing classic Western art and subjectivity through video, drag and performance art. Cuthand’s work (e.g., *2-Spirit Introductory Special \$19.99*, 2015; *Are you a lesbian vampire*, 2008) as a video artist draws on autobiographical material to examine interconnected themes and topics including queer sexuality, identity, and mental health issues.

Like many queer, Two-Spirit artists and writers suggest in their work, Two-Spirit identity and culture has largely been, and continues to exist in the periphery of social consciousness both internal and external to Indigenous and queer activism. However, theories about the inherently politicized aspects of identity are quite often attributed to Indigenous experience, which Bonita Lawrence (2004) argues: “Identity, for Native people, can never be a neutral issue. With definitions of Indianness deeply embedded within systems of colonial power, Native identity is inevitably highly political, with ramifications for how contemporary and historical collective experience is understood” (p. 1).

Certainly, the question of identity in relation to queer Indigenous people is not a neutral issue, as these groups are more likely to experience gender based violence, sexism, and homophobia (Gilley, 2010; Ryan, 2003). It could be argued, therefore, that perceptions of Indigenous identities (namely gender and sexuality) are often perceived more broadly as being queered through the colonial imaginary. Dénommé-Welch (2018) scrutinizes such ideas, by looking at expressions of Indigenous identity (queer, Two-Spirit) in theatre and performing arts, and asks “what then does queerness mean exactly in relation to descriptions, definitions, and categories of Indigenous theatre and performance in Canada? Furthermore, do these categories reinforce or challenge the continual erasure of (queer) Indigenous North America?” (p. 257). Dénommé-Welch takes up the question of Indigeneity being queered through effects of colonialism, while expressions of queer Indigeneity continue to be marginalized as a form of queered-queer, othered-Other. Building on this notion, Dénommé-Welch posits that “while articulations of Indigenous theatre are already frequently queered by the very nature of it being Othered through marginalization, the visible and even non-visible dissident queer Indigenous is by default a whole other queered-Queer that threatens such establishments and is thus cast as the othered-Other” (p. 258).

Indigenous realities are considerably complex; for instance, one does not need to look too far into the missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls (see www.amnesty.ca), the starlight tours (Reber, 2005), or the events surrounding the Highway of Tears (see www.highwayoftears.ca) in Canada to get some scope of the gravity surrounding forms of violence

aimed at Indigenous people. But increasingly, Indigenous artists and activists, and their allies are engaging in these difficult conversations and turning the lens on these important topics in rural and urban settings, which can be witnessed in actions and social movements such as *Stolen Sisters* and *Idle No More*. Many Indigenous and non-Indigenous artists and filmmakers have now been started exploring stories and subject matter that are relevant to urban experience. Noam Gonick's film *Stryker* examines gang turf wars in the central Canadian city of Winnipeg's north end, and the interlocking forms of oppression between race, queer identities, and class struggle. Winnipeg is a multicultural city, and is the home of the Métis nation and is Treaty 1 territory. Police presence is political given the high number of incarcerated Indigenous people, but with community action groups, such as the Bear Clan Patrol, urban Indigenous people have been assisting each other with safety and security (see <https://www.bearclanpatrolinc.com/>). The film, *Stryker*, attempts to speak back to some of the realities faced by Indigenous people living in urban settings.

**Stryker: A site for two-spirit re-emergence?,
or, where no one is sure of their ground**

The masculinist desire of mastering a new land is deeply linked to colonial history and even to its contemporary companion, philosophy, in which epistemology partially modelled itself on geography. (Ella Shohat, 2006, p. 25)

As illustrated in the Shohat (2006) statement, land ownership is a powerful concept, and is a construct that has been appropriated by people and nations as a way to exercise control and domination over other people and nations. Land is also a way of negating where people are situated on the social and political spectrum of power in relation to how people and resources have been colonized over centuries. Land has also been used to reinforce heteropatriarchal norms, to create racial and ethnic borders, and has been used to define who people are and where they fit in the social, economic and political spheres. Leanne Simpson (2011) raises similar points concerning Indigenous territory and the decolonization of gender, stating "I have been taught that in the past, gender was conceptualized differently than the binary between male and female expressed

in colonial society” and that “this requires a decolonization of our conceptualization of gender as a starting point” (p. 60). Proprietorship is also a marker of social status, and forms of white hetero-masculinity. Similarly, Driskill et al (2011a) write that “Queer Indigenous people have been under the surveillance of white colonial heteropatriarchy since contact” (p. 212).

How Indigenous lands and spaces are represented in cinema is most prominently seen through the lens of Western ideology – the colonial gaze – and the imposition of hetero-masculinity. Like Horswell’s (2005) articulations around transculturation and the impacts of hegemony, Ella Shohat (2006) notes that “the ‘birth’ of cinema itself coincided with the imperialist moment, when diverse colonized civilizations were already shaping their conflicting identities vis-à-vis their colonizers” (p. 24). *Stryker* draws on symbolic and literal imagery in its opening presentation; the opening credits reflect images of early treaty agreements and exchanges between European explorers, settlers and Indigenous peoples. These images go on to depict the pilfering of Indigenous lands and people, to residential schools, and finally takes the viewer into the present day realities of gang and interracial warfare in Winnipeg’s north end. In a mere two minute credit sequence, the film establishes an historical context that examines some of the overarching forms of systemic oppression and racism, and seemingly attempts to turn a critical lens on Canada’s role in the subjugation of Indigenous people.

As we see in *Stryker*, the ethnic and cultural struggle over land and turf is especially visible between the Indian Posee gang, led by Mama Ceece who is of First Nations background, and the Asian Bomb Squad, led by Omar who is of mixed-raced (Asian and First Nations) ancestry (see trailer: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZnfTcg_diPU). There seldom are queer Indigenous sexualities represented in mainstream feature films, and yet there are many queer moments and encounters that simultaneously push against and reinforce the heteropatriarchal narrative that exists in the independent film, *Stryker*. Here the viewers experience some of the distinct counterparts of the colonial cityscape and its effects on queer Indigeneity, where intersections of race, class, sexual ambiguity, and masculinity are brought to the foreground, and homoeroticism becomes embodied in characters such as Omar. Rarely are these

intersections portrayed in film and thus making this film an important contribution. Noam Gonick addresses some of these intersections in his director's notes, stating:

Omar is all about masculinity in crisis – a failure to live up to the archetypal movie thug. The idea of gangsters pimping for and carousing with other men dressed as women might seem like a stretch, but I've taken little artistic liberty here. Nightlife in the core area of this frontier town is wilder than anything I've managed to get on film. As someone says in the film: 'A hole's a hole'. (Stryker press kit, 2004, p. 8)

Winnipeg, Toronto, and Vancouver are some of the cities in North America where Indigenous people, life, and culture are described as being “one of deep ambivalence – a mix of opportunity, invisibility, and segregation, accompanied by an internal struggle to carve out an Aboriginal vision of urban living” (Lorinc, 2006, p. 45). In this way, the Indigenous protagonist, a teenager nicknamed Stryker surveys the cinematic landscape by moving and traveling through his cityspace, filtering the pandemic of social and political strife. Here, he reveals aspects of contemporary Indigenous life, and contemporary forms of geo-political colonialism in the city. Stryker does not simply represent a figure strolling through the streets of Winnipeg in the heart of gang turf wars, but rather he signifies the role of a teacher to Western viewers. He teaches viewers how to perceive Western influence, and to reinterpret and dismantle notions of poverty, oppression, and systemic corruption that we might have otherwise overlooked, ignored, or disregarded within the details of rundown buildings, boarded-up houses, coffee shops, youth detention centers, streetscapes, and crack houses. He teaches through having viewers observe his life experiences unfold over time and learn how he developed a sense of resilience to dominant power. Having life experiences function as public pedagogy illustrates how complex encounters can be accidental, messy, intentional, informal, and uncertain.

The cinema, at this point, becomes our celluloid landscape, our pedagogical lens, and our memory and pathway into the psychological and physical remnants of colonial Canada. Introducing our earlier memories in narrative form provides an opportunity to engage and speak back to *Stryker*, and highlight another

urban space where Indigeneity was considered or marginalized, which is Toronto Pride.

Spy's narrative: Take one

Some years ago I attended the Toronto Pride Parade for the very first time. Up until that point I had never been to anything like it; I grew up in northern Ontario and the geographic distance made it impossible for me, a car-less teenager. In fact, I only ever had the chance to see the parade if and when it was broadcast on TV, which usually took place at a friend's house where they had a Toronto station. There we huddled around the television screen and watched with amazement, as thousands of people all packed along Yonge Street celebrated as floats passed by.

Reflecting on this now, it would seem that my early experience of this event had a filmic quality about it, wherein the television screen captured street level and aerial views, bringing to bare the scope of this parade. It was not until I left for university that I finally had an opportunity to experience the parade in-person. I was curious to know what it would be like to see this event in real life, in real time, and how it attracted different people regardless of whether they were gay or straight, resident or tourist. What would it be like to be one of thousands of people all crowded on the streets like ants, I wondered, much like I had seen on TV?

My time came in university. With my old 35mm SLR camera in hand, I caught a ride with some friends to the big city, where I found myself in the mecca of urban queer expression. I stood in the crowd with my camera pointed at the passing parade, and suddenly everything came to focus when there appeared a float of a dozen or so Indigenous people carrying a banner with the words 2-Spirited People of the 1st Nations, representing a Two-Spirit organization based in Toronto. One of my friends pointed while saying something to the effect of "look, it's your community." Although I did not immediately grasp what the term "2-Spirited" meant, as it was a word that had only really emerged some ten years prior and hadn't yet carried the same currency that it does today, I read the words First Nations and that knew the statement could not be too far off. More importantly, in that moment what I was seeing for perhaps the first time in my life a reflection of my Indigenous culture being celebrated, cheered and acknowledged by a sea of people. I

instantly captured that moment on my roll of black and white film, just to not forget it.

Robert's narrative: Take one

Like Spy, I was also raised in a northern Ontario community. My world too was very small; it consisted of long car rides to other remote areas, childhood games in the forests, and being sharply aware of the beauty - and power - of nature and its creatures. I never really knew of queerness, and although I was sharply aware that my effeminate nature casted me as different to those around me, I was not one to understand (or, may not have wanted to) the roots of this treatment. Later on as a student at the University of Windsor, I was able to meet my first queer friends. Actually, 'queer' was not the word that was used at that time; we used Western labels like 'gay,' 'questioning,' 'lesbian,' and 'bisexual.' I was surprised how easily people grabbed hold of these labels as declarative statements without questioning who or why these labels were used and why new labels could not be created. I was also surprised at how it became a hot conversation topic when someone changed their sexual identification. What was the big deal? And so to try to understand these tensions, I often walked down the street to a neighbouring house shared by gay male, graduate students in psychology. I was in awe of their chic and wit. They reminded me of Greta Garbo and Marilyn Munroe as they taught me the queer icons of the cinematic and literary world and shared with me the legal and political knowledge important to queer activism. It was through these interactions that I learned of and became excited about Toronto pride.

I attended my first Toronto pride later on in that year, and, rather unexpectantly, became a representative of the Windsor Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender (LGBT) youth group, and had to walk in the parade. I never actually got to see the parade and learn of the different groups and representations. So the spectators became my parade; there were many types of people watching me as I walked by, of different colours, abilities, ages, genders, and religions. Two-Spirit people were not visible among the spectators in my parade. The thousands of these diverse bystanders, as they stood there watching and smiling, were my pride parade, and I watched 'them' with great interest and amusement.

As we reflect back on what things were like, then and now, there has been some legal changes over the span of the

past ten to fifteen years. For example, there were no same-sex marriage rights in Canada, and we were still a ways away from introducing laws aimed at protecting gender identity and gender expression. Also, this was before either of us saw any form of queer Indigenous sexuality represented in film or documentary, plays, performance, and art. Moving forward to current day, as Spy observed in the parade, how has the notion of contemporary Indigeneity disrupted and impacted urban space through expressions of gender and sexuality? This question also begs the question how has queer Indigenous identity been shaped through contemporary urban space and structures? A possible response to this second question surfaces in Robert's narrative, whereby as John Lorinc (2006) argues: "Many Canadians simply don't associate Aboriginals with cities" (p. 45). Much of this can be attributed to the historical reserve system, where Indigenous peoples were segregated from larger society. Lorinc (2006) further posits: "While places such as Winnipeg and Saskatoon have predominantly Aboriginal neighbourhoods, most of us link the First Nations with rural images and issues: remote reserves, treaty claims over large tracts of northern land, disputes over fishing rights" (p. 45).

A part of this pedagogical lens is identifying the theme of (mis)representation as being a Euro-colonial trope. In her pivotal work *The Sphinx and the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women* (1991), Elizabeth Wilson examines Euro-colonial tropes that are embedded within Western aesthetic discourses of the urban environment, which often excluded non-Western perspectives. Wilson (1991) writes: "[...] the city they discussed was the western city. Theoretical writings usually either defined the city in such a way as to exclude all but western cities, or simply did not take non-western cities into account" (p. 121). By drawing on the intersections between culture and class issues we begin to trace some of the discourses that allow us to reflect on existing tensions and conflicts that potentially exist through Indigenous cinema.

In capturing and documenting the complexities of our colonial past and present through the eyes of the film's characters, namely the protagonist Stryker, Gonick plays with the idea of fact and fiction. The layering of an Indigenous hip-hop track is used to juxtapose images we typically see in "cowboy and Indian" spaghetti Western flicks, making for

a social statement about our colonial Canadian history. This (re)presentation also plays on the blurry notion that fact and fiction are very subjective, and that fact is often told by the “victor,” which reinforces colonial notions of our Canadian past. We now explore a queer analysis of *Stryker*’s main characters in order to point out their complex realities and impacts on queer Indigenous representations.

***Stryker*’s characters as queerness/queer**

Part of the decolonizing project is recovering the relationship to a land base and reimagining the queer Native body. (Finley, 2011, p. 41)

Queering Daisy and the deconstruction of “transface” Ruthann Lee (2015) notes that “By queering the portrayal of gang life in Winnipeg, *Stryker* complicates, re-imagines, and opens up new possibilities for the racialized, sexualized, and gendered dynamics of gang culture” (p.79). Like Lee, it is through the film’s characters that we recognize queerness: unwanted and othered, and yet teaching and resilient. For instance, on one hand, the transgender character of Daisy seemingly confirms our queer impulses and indications, and teaches us how queerness can be overt and covert as well as public and private, which in turn becomes a form of social documentary that blurs the lines between reality and imaginary.

On the other hand, we view an age-old pattern of ‘mainstream’ representing the ‘periphery’ through the presence of actors being cast in trans roles who are not members of the community that is being represented. In the case of Daisy, she is portrayed by non-Two-Spirit actor (Joseph Mesiano). Expanding beyond the redface phenomenon described earlier, the use of cisgender actors playing non-cisgender roles continues to be a dominant theme in cinema, unapologetically and with much accolades (e.g., Hilary Swank in *Boys Don’t Cry*, Felicity Huffman in *Transamerica*, Jared Leto in *Dallas Buyers Club*, or Jeffrey Tambor in *Transparent*), which further marginalizes trans actors to receive work opportunities and to perform a role that may deeply resonate with them.

Though there are very few examples in television where queer/trans people are cast in more prominent roles (e.g.,

Laverne Cox in *Orange is the New Black*, Jamie Clayton in *Sense8*), cisgender actors cast in non-cisgender roles remain the dominant practice to a point that there is now a creation of a move towards a *transface* that is similar to Blackface and redface in fictional films. Put differently, there is very little portrayal of trans actors playing cisgender roles, which leaves the cisgender identity undisturbed and in a dominant position. What may have helped disrupt the real/imaginary further is if an actual Indigenous transgender actor was given the opportunity to bring her story to the mainstream. Gonick (2004) points “Daisy is the one person who gets out of the violent cycle, out of the city that is the child poverty and murder capital of Canada. She is the center of goodness in the film” (Stryker press kit, p. 7). Gonick appears to hold a level of reverence on Daisy’s role through this statement. Gonick speaks to the importance of Two-Spirit people, but maintains a boundary around this depiction by reinforcing the cisgender norms by casting a male actor to play, as Gonick describes, without explanation, a “trannie”² (Stryker press kit, p. 4). Similarly, there is a sense of romanticism in Gonick’s description of the Two-Spirit, transgender person as being “magically gifted” (Styker press kit, p. 7), which again restates and reinforces colonial tropes about Indigenous sexual and gender expression as ancient and simple. This characterization casts Two-Spirit, transgender as a form of exotic other in harmony with nature. Does this perspective, if anything, uphold a colonial perspective that could potentially silence queer Indigenous people? A possible response to this question can be found in the counter-narratives shared below.

Spy’s Narrative: Take Two

When I relocated to the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) as a young adult I became acutely aware of the intersections of colonialism, homophobia, and transphobia within the urban context. Throughout the years I came to witness different degrees of homophobia and transphobia aimed at LGBT and Two-Spirit people, everything from the subtle “I wouldn’t be caught dead on Church Street” to the more in-your-face bigotry of drive-by homophobic/transphobic catcalls. But perhaps the most troubling element of all this has been the level of hate and intolerance that I have seen hurled at Two-Spirit transgender women working

² The term “trannie” is an offensive, derogatory word used against transgender people.

in and around my neighbourhood by all types of people. It was not unusual to find evidence of such assaults from the previous evening, such as remnants of cracked eggs and dog excrement splashed across the sidewalk. The intended target was clear to me: transsexual and transgender, Two-Spirit sex workers who worked in and around my neighbourhood. Much of this response has been the result of transphobia, anti-prostitution laws and urban gentrification. I never quite understood why people hold such resentment towards systemically and socially marginalized groups of people such as transgender sex workers and Two-Spirit people.

Controlling and regulating land, urban space, and neighbourhoods is an ironic perpetuation of colonialism, especially when these displays of power are aimed at First Nations, Two-Spirit people and sex workers. As with my neighbourhood, when eggs and animal feces were not enough to push these women out, residents in my area began their own version of a “neighbourhood watch” by banding together at night and standing on the street corner to intimidate the sex workers. I remember walking home late one evening and coming upon a sizable group of people (10 - 12 people) standing on the corner like a mini mob. Further down the street were two, maybe three sex workers, who were First Nations (Two-Spirit) and a Person of Colour. I suspected that the mob was the “neighbourhood watch,” confirmed when I overheard another person ask them who and what they were doing on the corner. Someone from the group responded along the lines of “we’re just standing here, hanging out enjoying the night,” and the passer by replied “Oh, well you guys are scaring me. You look like a gang.” Similarly I found myself uncomfortable with the mob mentality and atmosphere they imposed on our residential street, and their presence in such numbers was an obvious mark of intolerance.

In all their intentions to clean the streets, there was little to no regard for the missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people who have been victims of extremely violent hate crimes and deaths. These issues, nor the serial murders of trans/queer sex workers that occurred in the area back in the 1990s, were ever mentioned or acknowledged when trying to recruit neighbours to join them on their “night walks,” under the pretence of ‘safety’. It never seemed to occur to this group that by pushing these women further into the periphery they could

actually be endangering or jeopardizing their lives. I'm not sure that they cared at all about their welfare.

The subjugation of Indigenous people, and the association of colonization with the land, is significant. In contrast to *Stryker*, our second narratives suggest policing/regulating as a form of queer subjugation. These forms were largely unexplored in the film. Although the director himself is non-Indigenous, Gonick attempts to incorporate Indigenous cultural signifiers. For instance, the number seven on Stryker's jersey appears to be used as a symbol of the seven generations and seven grandmothers and grandfathers' teachings, and the presence of the buffalo seem to represent the historical aspects of colonialism while observing the chaos and conflict at the opening and closing of the film. Furthermore, Gonick draws on queer themes to examine notions of resistance and "rebirth" of Indigenous traditions. In the film's press kit, Gonick states:

With the fastest growing aboriginal population in the country, Winnipeg is not only a centre for Native struggles – but also for the rebirth of ancient traditions, like the concept of the 'two-spirited people'. The transgendered, inter-sex individuals were originally revered in pre-colonial North America, regarded as magically gifted. I see an echo of this in the trannie crack whores of the low track. (Stryker press kit, 2004, p. 7)

When thinking about such issues we must take into account the ways in which these characters are being described or depicted (e.g., "trannie crack whores of the low track"), and the potential negative implications and outcomes this could have towards transgender people. Similarly, the fact that there are so few films with Two-Spirit characters it is important to ask these questions, and if or not these portrayals happen to slip into a particularly stereotypical space about race and sexuality? For example, Gonick's assertion that Two-Spirit people are regarded as magically gifted is problematic and presumptuous. Alex Wilson (1996) contests this very notion, and states:

Today, academics argue over whether or not two-spirit people had a 'special' role or were special people in Native societies. In my community, the act of declaring some

people special threatens to separate them from their community and creates an imbalance. Traditionally, two-spirit people were simply a part of the entire community; as we reclaim our identity with this name, we are returning to our communities. (p. 305)

Wilson's point addresses the importance of Two-Spirit people to their communities, but argues that declaring such individuals as special, or "magically gifted" as per Gonick's description, could run the risk of further separating and potentially fracturing communities.

Furthermore, Daisy's de-transition to a male gender at the end of the film is problematic, as it indicates that gender identity needs to conform to social expectations, and something that can be 'corrected' on a whim. In a follow up interview about the film, Gonick explains: "I wanted to get that shock that it was a boy the whole time. Joseph's so beautiful as both a man and a woman, I thought we had to show him both ways" (Mookas, 2005, n.p.). This suggests that 'beauty' is perceived and judged externally, and that being transgender in film involves a necessary 'shock and awe' as part of their identity expression. This treatment has been displayed elsewhere in film, such as *The Crying Game* (1992), *M. Butterfly* (1993), and *Transamerica* (2005). In her work *Queer Cinema: Schoolgirls, Vampires and Gay Cowboys*, Barbara Mennel (2012) explains that representations of transgender, transsexual, and intersex bodies has been used as "metaphor to negotiate political border crossings in a globalised world" (p. 115). She further states: "The cinematic preoccupation with different configurations of lived bodies and embodied desires in their many sexed and gendered variations continues to proliferate, particularly in independent queer cinema" (*ibid*). In *Stryker* we recognize this idea of metaphor as a form of subjugation, as cisgender people rarely have to display their gender in ways that 'shock and awe' the viewer. It further strips subjectivity away from and perpetuates an othering practice of transgender portrayal in films, which as we see displayed in *Stryker* is a device used to fracture gender and race identity.

Mama Ceece and Omar's queer tropes and triumphs

In the film we recognize Indigenous matriarchy, and its brush with patriarchy, through the characters of Mama Ceece and Omar – and their constant battle for control of the land, which

is (re)enacted through turf and drug wars, and their on-going feud for sexual domination over characters such as Daisy and Ruby (also known as Spread Eagle). This conflict is symbolic of internalized colonialism, and re-enactments of conquest through power dominance and expressions of masculinity that emulates New World and Eurocolonial tropes. Sandra Slater (2011) explains “[...] native and European men attempted to undermine the masculinities of one another and how these moments of contact directly impacted the course of events in the New World” (p. 30). Through these two characters (Mama Ceece and Omar) there is a binary firmly established in their activities and encounters with one another: queer as romantic/queer as humiliation.

First, queer as romantic is clearly depicted from Mama Ceece towards her girlfriend, Spread Eagle, even when Spread Eagle became ‘territory’ of Omar. Although Spread Eagle is seemingly property, and therefore her subjectivity questioned, by the end of the film there is clearly an intimate relationship between Mama Ceece and Spread Eagle. Such tensions become a visual representation, echoing Chris Finley’s (2011) articulations about “sexualisation, gendering, and racialization of the land” (p.34), which she argues that “the conflation of Native women’s bodies with racialized and sexualized narratives of the land constructs it as penetrable and open to ownership through heteropatriarchal domination” (p. 35). Invariably, these characters are symbolically and metaphorically juxtaposed with the land, but their shifting power is masked by a thinly layered hetero-veneer. We see Mama Ceece as being tender and caring, which is a side rarely seen publicly and in front of her adversaries.

On the contrary, queerness is depicted as humiliation in the film, when Omar is forced to striptease at a local bar, in front of mainly heterosexual men. Unlike Mama Ceece, where her expression of queerness is acceptable in front of her posse, the laughter and ridicule that targets Omar is obvious. Not only is his masculinity the object of ridicule, but throughout the film he is made the subject of racial taunts and slurs, with descriptors such as “Flip” and “half breed,” which both emasculates and shames his identity. This depiction of the bar as a being a tense space harkens to historical and contemporary understandings of the “gay bar”, where the bar was an important safe space for

expression, relationships, and connection, but could also be dangerous, addictive, and perhaps fatal to some.

In her work, *Straightjacket Sexualities: Unbinding Asian American Manhoods in the Movies* (2012), Celine Parreñas Shimizu examines the complexities of Asian (inter)racial subjectivities and queer expression as a form of shame/shaming, articulating that such images in cinema “[...] capture a crisis on and off screen in how Asian American men are excluded from normative definitions of masculinity, and a wider range of representation. (p. 28). Similarly, these binaries uphold heteropatriarchy’s power, where a queer woman (Mama Ceece) aligns herself with straight men by targeting women as objects of desire and expression of male same-sex sexual desire through Omar’s striptease is perceived by his posse as a disgrace. What unfolds is a violent battle between Mama Ceece and Omar on the stage. The stage is metaphoric; it is not on the land, and yet the land is implicated by holding up the stage. Being on the stage may mean less restriction for queerness, and gives it freedom to ‘perform’ however it wants. In this scene, the performance meant Mama Ceece challenging patriarchy in a violent struggle. After Stryker’s fiery intervention, it becomes clear that Mama Ceece has won the battle, and her authority is re-confirmed when she is back on the land.

Robert’s narrative: Take two

Since experiencing the invisibility of Indigeneity at my version of Toronto pride, I continued the theme of being situated in the margins, rather than stand on the outskirts as a spectator, but also include my desire to share voice and work with queer indigenous people. I have been privileged enough to receive some extensive travel experience in my work on queer education and activism in the global South. Engaging and building relationships with Indigenous cultures around sexuality and gender difference is commonplace in this work, and their voices are brought to the fore since they are often left out of any kind of ‘development’ paradigms. For example, while working in post-conflict Kosovo, I frequently would meet with Albanian male sexual minorities who would share their stories with me. I heard of their difficulties struggling to find love and sex with a male partner, but still negotiate the social expectations to be heterosexually married. When I mentioned important health issues, such as HIV transmission, they were often unaware of

what this infection was and how it was transmitted. They were 'forgotten' by development agencies working in this area. And so I had a brochure from back home in Canada translated into Albanian language and we would have conversations about the infection and how to protect our bodies and those around us. The only catch to this educative work is that it was at night, next to a library, and in the dark. These conversations were not taking place in an office, centre, or clinic. If they had taken place in such locations, no one would show up as it is too risky to be exposed as a queer individual.

On one particular night I was listening to the men share and laugh at their stories of love and lust when we were approached by United Nations police, led by an Irish police officer. I sat in silence as I heard the police officer question everyone's motives for sitting next to a library after closure. There was no reason to suspect wrongdoing and the land was 'public' by official designation. The Irish police officer looked at each of us as though we were guilty first, and (maybe) innocent later. The Albanians never once turned to me for rescue or intervention. They can handle themselves, and I knew that. For what seemed like forever, we stood in silence, waiting for some 'official' decision on whether we can stay and continue our conversations. Should I speak up and share that this is an informal learning exercise, necessary for community development and support? If so, would this police officer 'get it'? I eventually spoke up (as the police officer was clearly not taking the Albanians seriously), and in my Canadian accent and clear English, I explained, "We were just talking. I'm new here, working on a project funded by the Canadian government, and I'm learning about the life of this group of Albanians." And with that, the Irish police officer left and did not bother us again. His sudden appearance and quick departure after I spoke was negatively felt among the group. All eyes were on me as the men desperately wanted to know what I said, and, importantly, if I 'outed' them. I never did, but the signal was raised that Western interventions and colonialisms can be problematic for queer organizing on the streets of Kosovo.

The above narrative brings attention again to the role authority plays in the subjugation of Indigenous people on the land, and how queerness is subsumed into this practice and becomes an afterthought. Yet, the narrative also casts the role of the ally as suspect, and how easily this role remains fluid, whereas

Indigenous queer people may not enjoy the same “freedom.” This is different than the portrayal of Two-Spirit people in *Stryker*, who have their queer sexualities and genders thrust to the fore without opportunity to choose what becomes (un)masked. The role of the ally is seemingly invisible in *Stryker*, which makes one wonder where and how alliances can be forged.

Given Mama Ceece’s homosexuality and her role as leader, it is clear in *Stryker* that hetero/homo and good/bad binaries can be flipped; queer can be powerful (victorious leaders like Mama Ceece), and queer can conquer “bad” (disgraced leaders like Omar). Two-Spirit identities like Mama Ceece’s expressions of female masculinity are rarely considered in social situations (fictional or not), and therefore disrupts (hetero)normative underpinnings of decolonization. Although a binary remains in tact, (e.g., the hero still gets the ‘girl’ [i.e., Spread Eagle]), queerness can *still* be humiliating and weak (e.g., Omar’s striptease in front of men who consider him a joke; Daisy’s embattlements and her positioning as a ‘trannie’ and her de-transition towards the end of the film; Spread Eagle’s bisexuality as property). When compared to our narratives, we see further how the queerness remains firmly suppressed by a militant patriarchy, through Indigenous sexualities and genders being invisible and policed. This was not so prominent in *Stryker*, and if it were introduced, then perhaps a fulsome representation of Two-Spirit realities may be closer to ‘real life’ experiences. It leads us to wonder if this flipping of binaries functions more as a trope of counter-resistance, or a form of “settler solipsism” (Rifkin, 2014), rather than a disturbance of Western, heteromasculine systems.

The implications of binaries are persistent and deeply rooted within the settler-colonialism and Western-heteromascularity, and have affected Two-Spirit realities in terms of self-identity, land, and belonging. As queer Indigenous peoples and communities have profoundly felt the impacts of colonization, the notions of “safe” and “home” too have become unsettled and disturbed. We witness moments of these felt impacts in *Stryker*, particularly at the home of Daisy and her fellow Two-Spirit friends. This space functions as a surrogate home, in which people can safely engage with different sexuality and gender expression. However, as soon as they step outside of this space, their lives become complex and challenged, which misleads

viewers to think that there are safe/unsafe boundaries around queerness, and that these boundaries are based on private/public spaces. One could consider, for example, the lives of Two-Spirit youth and how their homes can be considered as unsafe, and in this case, question if this binary in *Stryker* is an accurate depiction. Furthermore, in scenes where Omar and members of his Asian Bomb Squad gang are within the “home” they interact with Two-Spirit people through partying and dancing, while seemingly disrobing their heteromascularity. Yet, upon leaving this private space, such moments of emancipatory gender and sexuality expression disappear, and the Western, heteropatriarchal image of masculinity remains intact.

Heteropatriarchy is maintained during the many instances throughout the film where Omar’s gender and sexuality is challenged, if not cinematically mocked, which gives the impression that queerness is a parody and weak.

What may be some direction for future cinematic representations is to provide a more comprehensive depiction of Two-Spirit realities within feature film, including their invisibility in non-queer and queer circles, and to challenge areas where sexism, racism, homophobia and transphobia meet at the crossroads. Ultimately, *Stryker* offers a necessary pedagogy about gender, race, and sexuality in urban Indigenous contexts, while complicating the intersections of colonialism. This work has promise, but remains incomplete, with considerations of authority, alliance, and agency being invisible in the film, and these notions are necessary to consider a more fulsome representation of Two Spirit/queer realities.

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CONFERENCE REPORT

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON LIFELONG LEARNING WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BANGLADESH

DHAKA, 22-23 FEBRUARY, 2019

Asoke Bhattacharya

Bangladesh Institute of Lifelong Learning

“Today’s concept of education is synonymous to lifelong learning. Today’s pledge is to make ours a learning society”, said Dr. Dipu Moni MP, the Hon’ble Minister of Education of the People’s Republic of Bangladesh. She was inaugurating on 22 February, 2019, the International Conference entitled “Lifelong Learning in the Developing Countries with special reference to Bangladesh” as the Chief Guest. The conference was organized by the Bangladesh Institute of Lifelong Learning of Dhaka Ahsania Mission and was held at Ahsanullah University of Science and Technology, Tejgaon, Dhaka during 22-23 February, 2019. “In this concept, each member of the Society learns throughout life -- in schools, colleges and universities, and in the working and non-working life, even during leisure through informal ways”, she added.

In his address Prof. Asoke Bhattacharya, Director, Bangladesh Institute of Lifelong Learning after welcoming the guests, said, “Bangladesh is an ideal country for adopting lifelong learning. It is neither too big in size or population or too small. The country has an envious tradition of people’s movements. In the recent past, it has achieved significant progress in its economic and social fronts. A concerted effort to achieve educational uplift for the whole cross-sections of the population will surely help sustain its economic and social gains “.

Ms. Sun Lei, Officer in Charge of UNESCO Dhaka Office and a guest of honour, said in her address:

“Education is UNESCO’s top priority because it is a basic human right and the foundation for building peace and sustainable development. UNESCO, as the United Nations specialized agency with a focus on education, is entrusted to lead and coordinate the education 2030 agenda, a global movement for sustainable development through 17 sustainable development goals .Sustainable Development Goal 4 (SDG 4) is central to the achievement of other 16 SDGs, an essential condition for human fulfilment , peace, tolerance, sustainable development , economic growth, decent work, gender equality and responsible global citizenship.”

Prof. Anders Holm of the University of Copenhagen and a guest of honour, reiterated the role of lifelong learning as the essential element for the development of a nation and mentioned the Grundtvigian concept of learning for life which played the key role in the progress and development of the Danish nation.

Mr. Kazi Rafiqul Alam, the President of Dhaka Ahsania Mission in his presidential address said that Bangladesh Institute of Lifelong Learning was his dream project. “Since the expertise in the field of lifelong learning will be available here, we shall be able to collaborate with the Government in its programmes on lifelong learning. With the galaxy of foreign experts at our disposal and with active cooperation of the UNESCO, we shall be able to design and develop appropriate lifelong learning programmes for Bangladesh”, he said.

Prof. Manzoor Ahmed, Professor Emeritus of BRAC University delivered a keynote address. In his lecture he said, “I assume that a case for lifelong learning does not have to be made again in this era of knowledge economy and Information society. The key concern is that it is not happening, at least not, in our part of the world. Therefore the key challenge is -- how to make it happen.”

Dwelling on the antecedence of the concept, he said, that ‘Lifelong Education’ and the ‘learning society’ were “the key

takeaways of the 1972 report of the Faure Commission. The first was seen as the keystone of education policy, the latter a strategy to involve society as a whole as participants and actors in education.”

He elaborated:

“In the 1970s, at about the time of the Faure Commission report, the three-fold typology of education – formal, non-formal and informal – gained currency. Coombs and Ahmed distinguished between the three modes of education as ‘analytically useful, and generally in accord with current realities’. They also said that the need was to visualize the various educational activities as potential components of a coherent and flexible overall learning system that must be strengthened, diversified and linked more closely to the needs and processes of national development. They noted the growing consensus that nations should strive to build ‘lifelong learning systems’ offering every individual diverse learning opportunities.”

He further stated: “The Belem Framework for Action, announced at the 6th. International Conference on Adult Education (CONFINTEA VI), affirmed that lifelong learning ‘from cradle to grave’ was a philosophy, a conceptual framework and an organizing principle of all forms of education, based on inclusive, emancipatory, humanistic and democratic values.”

Referring to Bangladesh, he said:

“A Non-formal Education Policy for Bangladesh was approved and was made official by a gazette notification on February 9, 2006. It broadly reflected the mission, scope and objectives as recommended by a task force appointed for this purpose. The bureau of Non-formal Education (BNFE), already established in 2005, was tasked with implementing the policy. However, BNFE established in the pattern of a Government department, rather than that of an autonomous body with professional and technical capacity, found it difficult to promote the policy. A Non-formal Education Act was adopted in 2014 to provide a legal framework for fulfilling the obligation regarding adult and non-formal education. The Act provided a definition of LLL.”

Prof. Manzoor Ahmed said in this context, “It is necessary now to connect literacy, basic skills development and lifelong learning opportunities and plan learning provisions, facilities and resources accordingly. Widespread use of ICT resources for organised lifelong learning, e.g. through a nationwide permanent network of community learning centres, and expanding self-learning opportunities, have to be the key features of non-formal education and lifelong learning.” He then cited the cases of China and India where lifelong learning has been taken up in right earnest.

The second keynote address was delivered by Professor Peter Mayo of the University of Malta. Professor Mayo captioned his lecture as “LLL and the SDGs. “In his address he referred to the definition provided by UNESCO. The holistic approach in the definition, he said, speaks of the economic, cultural and other resources needed to make learning a reality both in formal learning environments, such as schools, and the community at large.

The low-income countries, mostly located in Global South are home to a disproportionately large share of the global out of school population. The creation of adequate LLL policies in these low-income countries would constitute a massive paradigmatic shift. LLL could be catalyst for preventing migrants and refugees from risking their lives in their quest for better prospects in the global south. LLL, he said, constitutes one of the contributory means to bring about a humanitarian change in this aspect of cross-border mobility. He also said that education was a dependent variable. It cannot bring social change on its own but can contribute to change.

He pointed out that the UN had worked across and with states to provide guidance, in terms of both the 8 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) set in 2000 to be met by 2015, and the 17 Sustainable goals (SDGs) scheduled to be met by 2030.

Prof. Peter Mayo contested the ‘employability’ mantra of the neo-liberal economies promoted since 1990s by the OECD and EU. He said that employability did not mean employment. He contested the western bias against indigenous knowledge. He preferred learning to be replaced by education which is the responsibility of the state.

Around twenty four (24) papers, out of fifty (50) participated in the plenary and parallel sessions. The organisers have asked for full papers from those who submitted abstracts.

**2019 CONFERENCE OF THE AUSTRALIAN
ASSOCIATION FOR CARIBBEAN STUDIES (AACS)
THE UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN SYDNEY,**

7 – 9 FEBRUARY 2019

Anne Hickling-Hudson

Queensland University of Technology & Journal Co-Editor

The Australian Association for Caribbean Studies (AACS) held its thirteenth biennial conference in Sydney from 7 – 9 February 2019. It was hosted by the University of Western Sydney (UWS), and was organised under the leadership of the current President, Dr. Ben Etherington of UWS. Dr. Etherington thanked the members of his team for their valuable work in helping to organise the many aspects of the conference: Sienna Brown, Dashiell Moore, Kit Candlin, and Mike Griffiths. He also thanked the outgoing leaders of the AACS for their support, Dr. Laurence Brown and Dr. Consuelo Martinez-Reyes, academics at the Australian National University and Macquarie University, respectively, who had been elected as co-presidents at the 2017 AACS conference in Canberra.

At the 2019 AACS conference, 60 papers were offered, and papers were presented over three days. Gatherings over dinner each evening were memorable for the joyful bringing together of people passionate about Caribbean studies.

Conference website: <http://www.formsofworldliterature.com/caribbean-meridians/>

Conference Program: [Download the AACS 2019 Program.](#)

About the AACS and its relevance to the study of Education

The AACS was founded in Brisbane in 1995, under the leadership of literature specialist Professor Helen Tiffin of the University of Queensland, as an interdisciplinary group of academics, postgraduate students, and others interested in the Caribbean region. The first conference took place in Brisbane in

1995, and since then it has been held biennially at universities around Australia. The biennial conference, and the annual AACS newsletter, together constitute an important platform for members and friends of the society to share their research and knowledge about Caribbean culture.

The AACS does not focus on the field of Education as a discipline, but its conferences are highly relevant to Education specialists who wish to analyse education as one of the dimensions of a complex society. The AACS conferences promote the study of Caribbean society in an interdisciplinary forum. Specialist papers consider the conference theme in their own discipline, presenting research or creative work side by side, across fields. It has turned out that over the years, by far the most papers have been offered in the field of Caribbean literature. Literary analysis at these conferences is mind-opening for educators seeking to understand how the 'emic' or interior nature of a society relates to the 'etic' framework that shapes it. Besides literature, the conference papers, in various years, address themes from history, geography, the natural sciences, the social sciences, education, politics, architecture, law, poetry, art, drama, dance, music and film – all contributing to a holistic understanding of the multidimensional cultures of the Caribbean.

Another reason why the AACS is relevant to readers of *Postcolonial Directions in Education* is that a postcolonial ethos characterises the work presented at AACS conferences. Most papers analyse the culture and society of the Caribbean as a postcolonial region – politically independent, except for a few countries still linked to large, formerly colonising societies, culturally unique, but distinctively influenced by colonial / imperial histories with often problematic legacies, engendering efforts to challenge and tackle them. Education can be better understood within this framework.

The themes of the AACS conference are richly productive in stimulating unusual ideas and approaches to thinking about Caribbean culture. 'Caribbean Meridians', the 2019 theme of the AACS conference, encouraged presenters "to think about the lines of connection that spread from the Caribbean". In 2015, the Wollongong conference took as its theme "Land and Water", particularly apt in the venue of a coastal city. The 2017

Canberra conference, with its theme of ‘Interiors’, is the only inland site at which the AACS has held conferences, one in 2001 and another in 2017.

Caribbean Meridians: The 2019 Conference of the AACS

The theme ‘Caribbean Meridians’ invited participants to explore the lines of connection that bring Caribbean cultures into interaction and sometimes alignment with different cultures. While most of the participants in the conference were Australian scholars working in different aspects of Caribbean culture, a number of the participants came from the Americas, including Caribbean-born scholars from Grenada, Belize, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, and working in the USA and Canada. Abstracts of the papers are available online at the ‘download’ link provided above.

A literary meridian linking Australia and the French Caribbean

Conference organiser Dr. Ben Etherington, of the University of Western Sydney, had organised a conference talk between two globally famous novelists, Australian Aboriginal novelist Alexis Wright from Waanyi country in the Gulf of Carpentaria, and novelist Patrick Chamoiseau from the French Caribbean island of Martinique. Unfortunately, Chamoiseau became ill and could not make the long journey to Australia. However, Ben Etherington stepped into the timeslot and talked with Alexis Wright about her work and the influence on it of the literature of Patrick Chamoiseau. Ben wrote, in the conference guide:

It is in the spirit of their coming together that we decided on the conference theme of ‘Caribbean meridians’. The conference will explore the often unexpected lines of connection that can bring quite different worlds into alignment. Wright was deeply influenced by Chamoiseau’s work when writing her Miles Franklin winning *Carpentaria* (2006). For his part, Chamoiseau accepted the invitation to travel across the world because he saw in Wright’s work and thinking vindication of his idea, gleaned from Edouard Glissant, of *tout-monde*.

The following abstract written by Ben Etherington, orients the audience to the discussion that he had with Alexis Wright on the second day of the conference.

Alexis Wright and Ben Etherington in conversation on the theme: ‘Warriors of the Imaginary: Alexis Wright on the influence of Caribbean writing on her work’

Few writers have had as profound an impact Alexis Wright’s work as the Martinican writer Patrick Chamoiseau. When writing *Carpentaria*, her Miles Franklin-winning contemporary classic, Wright read a review of Chamoiseau’s novel, *Texaco*. Intrigued, she ordered a copy to her place in Alice Springs and consumed it in a weekend. The linguistic inventiveness and the epic scale of *Texaco*, itself a celebrated classic of contemporary French Caribbean literature, was fuel for Wright’s similarly epic ambitions. In this session, which takes its title from Chamoiseau’s resonant phrase ‘Guerrier de *L’Imaginaire*’, Wright will discuss with Ben Etherington the meridian line that connects the literary imaginaries of the Caribbean and Indigenous Australia. This will lead to a broader consideration of the role of literature as a medium of cultural renewal in the aftermath of colonialism.

Alexis Wright, a member of the Waanyi nation of the Gulf of Carpentaria, is the author of the novels *The Swan Book*, winner of the ASAL Gold Medal, and *Carpentaria*, which won five national literary awards in Australia in 2007, including the Miles Franklin Award. Her work is published internationally including the US, UK, China and India, and translated into several languages. Her other books are *Grog War*, a study of alcohol abuse in Tennant Creek, *Take Power*, a collection of essays and stories celebrating twenty years of land rights in Central Australia, and *Tracker*, stories of the Aboriginal visionary leader Tracker Tilmouth, which won the Stella Prize. She has written widely on Indigenous rights, and organised two successful Indigenous Constitutional Conventions, ‘*Today We Talk About Tomorrow*’ (1993), and the *Kalkaringi Convention* (1998).

Ben Etherington is Senior Lecturer in the School of Humanities and Communication Arts and a member of the Writing and Society Research Centre at Western Sydney University. Recent publications include *Literary Primitivism* (Stanford, 2018), and *The Cambridge Companion to World*

Literature (2018, co-edited with Jarad Zimbler). His current project is a history of creole verse in the Anglophone Caribbean from slavery to decolonisation.

The ‘Caribbean Meridians’ theme in the three Keynote papers.

The abstracts below are those sent by the three keynote speakers (listed in alphabetical order by surname) who presented on each day of the AACS 2019 conference.

Keynote paper: Michael Bucknor (University of the West Indies, Mona campus)

Diasporic Intimacies: Caribbean Meridians and Literary Histories.

Laurence Breiner, noted American critic of Caribbean poetry, asked in his 2002 *JWIL* article: “How shall the history of West Indian Literature be told?” He identified “reconstructive [literary histories] that situate writers in their times,” bibliographic literary histories, and literary histories told through “canonical anthologies” (39-40). However, Breiner cautions against “progressive” or “prescriptive” myths of literary production and he begins to expose the complications of Guyanese/Canadian critic Frank Birbalsingh’s use of “transnational” as a conceptual lens for constructing Caribbean literary histories. Yet, the very nature of Caribbean societies has been rooted/routed in transnationalism – an umbrella concept that can accommodate multiple lines of connection, invoking meridian alignments.

While Breiner’s caution is noteworthy, I still want to take up Paul Gilroy’s transnational theory of the Black Atlantic for its proposal of such concepts as “circuits of connection” and “diasporic intimacies,” as a way of remapping Caribbean literary histories and meridian conceptions. While Windrush accounts of Caribbean literary production link Bridgetown (Barbados), Kingston (Jamaica) with London (England) through the BBC, not much work has been done on the CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) as a generative and transnational source of Anglophone Caribbean

cultural production. In this project, I am interested in the airmail and airwave circuits above the waters of the Atlantic that recover Canada as a central node in the post-Windrush production of Anglophone Caribbean literature, thereby recognizing other Caribbean worlds of literary production.

In this regard, meridian conceptions of literary histories would not be linear lines of connection, but more entangled wires that crisscross and circulate through different continents, cultural institutions and human subjects, whose affective friendships re-orient the accepted co-ordinates of Caribbean literary history. How do transnational friendships and media exposure shape literary histories? How do Black Atlantic literary histories nuance conceptions of the meridian? How do waves trouble lines?

Dr. Michael A. Bucknor is an Associate Professor of the Department of Literatures in English, and the Public Orator, of the Mona (Jamaica) Campus, University of the West Indies. He serves on the editorial boards of the journals *Caribbean Quarterly*, *Issues in Critical Investigation* and *Lucayos*, and is Senior Editor of the *Journal of West Indian Literature*. He was Chair of the Association of Commonwealth Literature and Language Studies (ACLALS) from 2010-2013. He is co-editor (with Alison Donnell) of *The Routledge Companion to Anglophone Caribbean Literature* and carries out research on Austin Clarke, Caribbean-Canadian writing, postcolonial literatures and theory, diaspora studies, masculinities and popular culture. He is completing a book manuscript entitled *Transnational Circuits of Cultural Production: Austin Clarke, Caribbean/Canadian Writing and the African Diaspora*.

**Keynote paper: Raphael Dalleo (Bucknell University, USA)
Haiti, Harlem, Hamburg: Anticolonialism's Rhizomatic Roots.**

The rise of national identity and nationalist literature in the Anglophone Caribbean during the 1920s and 1930s is usually read in relation to British Empire. The Beacon group in Port of Spain and the Drumblair group in Kingston are seen as two of the dynamic

intellectual spaces where a modern, nationalist Caribbean literature and politics took form alongside the labor uprisings of the period. In the spirit of drawing connections to other worlds and other meridians, I want to offer another, transnational site: The Communist International, particularly as it connected Harlem and Moscow, and sprawling out to Germany, France, London, and back into the Caribbean. The pivot for this black internationalism, I will argue, was Haiti.

Scholarship frequently takes into account how emergent West Indian nationalism turned to Haiti as a representative of an epic revolutionary past and “authentically” black culture. But from 1915 to 1934, Haiti was occupied by U.S. marines. Beginning in the 1920s, Communists in the U.S. – many of whom were from the West Indies – led the opposition to the occupation of Haiti. The African Blood Brotherhood, led by Nevis-born Cyril Briggs, used the role of Wall Street banks in Haiti’s occupation to refine and popularize the Communist critique of imperialism and finance capital. George Padmore, W.A. Domingo, and other later participants in Caribbean anticolonialism during the 1930s and 1940s were directly influenced by these critiques, while creative writers such as Claude McKay and Eric Walrond developed their own literary voices in relation to activism against the occupation of Haiti. This presentation will point to what we gain from reading West Indian cultural and political history in connection to these sometimes far-flung routes through which Haiti travelled.

Raphael Dalleo, professor of English at Bucknell University, is author of *American Imperialism’s Undead: The U.S. Occupation of Haiti and the Rise of Caribbean Anticolonialism* (University of Virginia Press, 2016), which won the 2017 Caribbean Studies Association award for best book about the Caribbean. His other books include *Caribbean Literature and the Public Sphere* (University of Virginia, 2011) and *The Latino/a Canon and the Emergence of Post-Sixties Literature* (co-authored with Elena Machado Sáez, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) and edited collections *Haiti and the Americas* (University Press of Mississippi, 2013),

and *Bourdieu and Postcolonial Studies* (Liverpool University Press, 2016). Email: prdalleo@gmail.com

Keynote paper: Anna Cristina Pertierra (University of Western Sydney)

Tracing the Transpacific: Media and Digital Cultures, from the Caribbean to Asia.

An alternative title to this talk would be 'How Cuba taught me to think about the Philippines'. Reflecting upon seemingly disparate research projects on media, consumer culture and digital technologies across Cuba, Caribbean Mexico and the Philippines, I explore a number of ways in which contemporary cultural research across transnational regions owes a particular debt to thinkers writing on and from the Caribbean region. Across the humanities and social sciences, it was from the Caribbean that longstanding assumptions determining whose spaces should be seen as 'world centres' began to crumble, and newly apparent transnational trajectories of capitalism, consumption and globalised popular culture were revealed.

This intellectual legacy continues to generate excitement in the study of other world areas, including the Asia-Pacific. But in more specific ways, shared histories of transnational modernities, migration and media expansion offer great opportunities to explore how contemporary cultural practices – among them the watching of television and the use of digital technologies – can be thought through together, as across my own field sites in Asia and the Americas. Thinking through places together, I propose, is a process that is looser than strictly comparative analysis, yet perhaps more productive.

Anna Cristina Pertierra's research uses ethnography to examine every day social practice, with a particular interest in media, consumption and material culture, and urban modernities. Regionally, her work focuses on Cuba, Mexico and the Philippines. Prior to joining Western Sydney University, Anna was a Lecturer in Anthropology and an ARC Postdoctoral

Fellow at the Centre for Critical and Cultural Studies, both at the University of Queensland. Her most recent book is *Media Anthropology for the Digital Age* (Polity, 2017).

Scholarly and Cultural Diversity of Conference Papers addressing the theme ‘Caribbean Meridians’.

At the conference, the theme “Caribbean Meridians” was productive in eliciting ways in which Caribbean peoples and cultures connect with their counterparts around the world. Conference papers were grouped into a diversity of categories discussing this interconnectivity historically, geographically, musically, socially, and through literature, summarised here as follows:

- Migration and Belonging
- Asian-Caribbean Meridians
- Feminism
- Laws and Outlaws
- Writing Gender and Sexuality
- Hurricane Poetics
- Music and Sound
- Global Haiti
- Australian-Caribbean Meridians
- Transatlantic Meridians
- Edouard Glissant
- Cities and Tourism
- Translations and Crossing
- Slavery and Rebellion
- Geographies and Geopolitics
- Creative Meridians

At this conference, there was only one paper on Education – the one that I presented, entitled “Musical Meridians: Socio-cultural themes in Jamaica’s experience of European classical music”. I discussed European music as one aspect of Caribbean immersion in British education in the colonial period, an immersion that later contributed to postcolonial, Caribbean-oriented expression in art music as the region developed politically independent of the British in the second half of the 20th century. Using examples of Jamaican music teachers, music professors and performers, including some working overseas, the ‘musical meridians’ of my paper illustrate several aspects of Caribbean socio-cultural history and global connectivity through themes of social class, careers, models of education, colonial influence, postcolonial assertion, and cultural hybridity.

Launches of recent books on the Caribbean

An interesting feature of AACS conferences is the launching and profiling of Caribbean-related books ranging from academic scholarly works in many disciplines to novels, plays, poetry, journals and children's books. A Caribbean presenter at the 2019 conference was Kim Robinson-Walcott, editor/ director of *Caribbean Quarterly*, a literary journal produced and published at The University of the West Indies, Mona, and also the editor of *Jamaica Journal*, published by the Institute of Jamaica. Kim profiled these two important Caribbean journals for conference members, and displayed several current and past copies of the journals. The 2019 conference also displayed the following books recently authored by AACS members, all of whom were present to introduce their book:

Sienna Brown:

Master of My Fate

(Penguin), 2019.

Review: William Buchanan lived an extraordinary life: born a slave on a plantation in Jamaica, he escaped the gallows more than once, took part in the rebellion that led to the end of slavery in Jamaica, was transported to the other side of the world as punishment, tried his hand at robbing stagecoaches, and finally won true freedom on Australian soil....Told through William's voice, this is a lyrical, historical coming of age story about learning to fight for your rights – and finally becoming the master of your own fate. (*Fantastic Fiction website.*)

Sienna Brown, born in Jamaica and raised in Jamaica and Canada, is a professional dancer, film editor and documentary director. While working at Sydney Living Museums, Hyde Park Barracks, she first came across William's story. She is currently working on her second novel.

Raphael Dalleo:

American Imperialism's Undead. The Occupation of Haiti and the Rise of Caribbean Anticolonialism.

(University of Virginia Press), 2016.

Review: *American Imperialism's Undead* boldly and powerfully uncovers the crucial, if unintentional, role the United States' imperialist occupation of independent Haiti played in the rise of radical anticolonialism throughout the Atlantic world in the first half of the twentieth century. With

outstanding scholarship and searing prose, Dalleo shows how the U.S. occupation of Haiti has been systematically disavowed not only, as one might expect, in mainstream historiography but in a field of Haitian revolutionary studies eager to construct an unambiguous narrative of revolutionary liberation. A pivotal and long-overdue contribution. (*Nick Nesbitt, Princeton University, author of Caribbean Critique: Antillean Critical Theory from Toussaint to Glissant.*)

Consuelo Martinez-Reyes:

Not the Time to Stay: The Unpublished Plays of Víctor Fragoso

(Centro Press), 2018.

Review: *Not the Time to Stay* brings to light for the first time the marvellous work of Puerto Rican playwright Víctor Fragoso. Eight plays, edited and translated by Consuelo Martínez-Reyes, portray the socio-cultural issues Fragoso sought to expose: the choice and difficulties of migration, the clash between American and Puerto Rican societies, the oppression suffered by Latinos in the USA, homelessness, and domestic violence, among others. Fragoso played a key role in the New York City theatre scene in the 1970s, and in the overall interrogation of Puerto Rican and Latino identities in the USA. This new generation of Latinos will certainly find, in their rediscovery of Fragoso's work, a visionary of social themes, literary and theater practices. (*Hunter College, City University of New York*).

Anna Cristina Pertierra:

Media Anthropology for the Digital Age

(Polity Press), 2018.

Review: In this important new book, Anna Pertierra.... recounts the rise of anthropological studies of media, the discovery of digital cultures, and the embrace of ethnographic methods by media scholars around the world. Bringing together longstanding debates in sociocultural anthropology with recent innovations in digital cultural research, this book explains how anthropology fits into the story and study of media in the contemporary world. It charts the mutual disinterest and subsequent love affair that has taken place between the fields of anthropology and media studies in order to understand how and why such a transformation has taken place. Moreover, the book shows how the theories and methods of anthropology offer valuable ways to study media from a ground-level perspective

and to understand the human experience of media in the digital age.... will be of interest to.... anyone wanting to understand the use of anthropology across wider cultural debates.

Kim Robinson-Walcott (author/illustrator):

Pat The Cat

(LMH Publishing, Jamaica), 2018.

Summary: This is a Caribbean story in verse for children by Kim Robinson-Walcott, editor/ director of *Caribbean Quarterly*, editor of *Jamaica Journal*, and author of scholarly articles, book chapters, short stories and poems published in a number of journals and anthologies. Her previous children's book is *Dale's Mango Tree*.

Bonnie Thomas:

Connecting Histories: Francophone Caribbean Writers Interrogating Their Past

(University of Mississippi Press), 2017.

Review: "Bonnie Thomas's *Connecting Histories* examines memory and trauma in Caribbean self-writing. Conversant with the fields of trauma theory and Caribbean thought, Thomas's book makes us read anew prominent contemporary writers Patrick Chamoiseau, Maryse Condé, Edwidge Danticat, Dany Laferrière, and Gisèle Pineau. Built in the mode of the quilt, her crystal-clear monograph will be indispensable to students and scholars of Caribbean literature and memory studies alike." Valérie Loichot, professor of French and English at Emory University in Atlanta and author of *Orphan Narratives: The Postplantation Literature of Faulkner, Glissant, Morrison, and Saint-John Perse* and *The Tropics Bite Back: Culinary Coups in Caribbean Literature*.

BOOK REVIEW

BOAVENTURA DE SOUSA SANTOS, *DECOLONISING THE UNIVERSITY. THE CHALLENGE OF DEEP COGNITIVE JUSTICE*, 2017, CAMBRIDGE SCHOLARS PRESS, NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE, ISBN (10) 1-5275-0003-9, (13) 978-1-5275-0003-7, 457PAGES

The University is at a crossroads. It has been resistant to social change throughout its different histories in different parts of the world. Yet it has also changed considerably over the years. It has been subject to influence from both internal and external forces and continues to be so today, also being a site of conflict as with any other institution. I would argue that it is caught up in the struggle for hegemony, certainly in Western countries, but also beyond. This brings to the fore interesting subversive practices which are part and parcel of the struggle for renegotiation of relations of hegemony. I would also argue that the widely diffused models of universities are those reflecting the interests of hegemonic forces which are often at odds with the interests of subaltern groups or nations some of whom, at various historical times, sought to decolonise in particular ways – Julius Nyerere’s speeches and policies, for the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, come to mind. People in western and non-western parts of the globe seek to reimagine and provide signposts for re-negotiating hegemonic university relations through subversive practices both within and outside the precincts of the established universities. In the latter case, they do so through the emergence of alternative spaces and institutions with subaltern interests at heart. In the former case, they engage in action ‘in and against’ established institutions. The alternative spaces can be sporadic (e.g. sit-ins and sit-outs, occupy movements with alternative libraries and tent learning) or of longer duration (e.g. the Cooperative University¹ network in the UK).

1 www.co-op.ac.uk/cooperativeuniversity

All these alternative initiatives feature in the literature. The book under review is, in my estimation, one of the most provocative and inspiring examples of this kind. Written by one of the finest sociologists around, it cannot be otherwise. Boaventura De Sousa Santos has been constantly scouring, over the years, epistemologies that take us beyond Eurocentric paradigms of knowledge. This process includes his earlier work in the Brazilian favelas. In this book, Boaventura De Sousa Santos provides a *tour de force* with regard to the sociology of knowledge surrounding the evolution of universities and dissonances or ruptures encountered at different stages of these institutions' history. One cannot, as he persuasively argues, disconnect discussions around universities and higher seats of learning from those concerning epistemology and therefore the question and nature of knowledge. The limitations of the knowledge concerned and its connection with the institution are, as one would expect, underlined. This is, after all, very much in keeping with Boaventura's insights concerning epistemologies of the South (De Sousa Santos, 2016) and issues of epistemicide (the Western colonial appropriation or attempt at 'killing' of knowledge embraced and propounded by subaltern groups) and cognitive injustice. The projected hegemonic view of the University is decidedly Neo-colonial and Eurocentric. The book, a boon for readers of this journal interested in postcolonial issues, culminates in an insightful overview of some of the most forward looking subversive and subaltern polyphonic approaches to university education found predominantly in southern contexts such as Chiapas and Brazil. Latin America, with its tradition of participatory popular education, also reflected in the popular university in such places as Peru (supported by José Carlos Mariátegui in *the Peruvian case*), is at the forefront of this exposition. Great attention is devoted to such SSM²-oriented institutions as the *Escola Nacional Florestan Fernandez* (ENFF), named after a prominent Brazilian sociologist. The ENFF is closely connected to the *Movimento Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra* (*Movimento Sem Terra*, in short: MST), the landless peasant movement about which we have had 'copy' in this journal. Also foregrounded in this regard is the UNITIERRA (*Universidad de la Tierra*) network of peasant universities in Chiapas with its base in San Cristóbal de las Casas. The figure of Gustavo Esteva, in connection

2 Subaltern Social Movements (Kapoor, 2011)

with this network of what I would call 'learning webs', would immediately suggest Ivan Illich as a major influence (see Pradesh and Esteva, 1998) rather than Paulo Freire who, for his part, serves as a key source of inspiration to the MST and, by association, the ENFF.

Needless to say, of the two, the Brazilian school faces the greater threat. As Boaventura states, it suffered attacks (including ransacking) during the period of the interim post-Dilma government (after the *Golpe Blanco* – white coup). I would now assume that it will suffer greater attacks under the Right-wing government of Jair Messias Bolsonaro. The attempts to deny it the status, accorded by the Lula government, of a tertiary level institution, will no doubt intensify as would be the hitherto foiled attempts to deny Paulo Freire the title of 'Patron of Brazilian Education'. With regard to the popular, and also polyphonic, nature of this type of university (open to different voices), let us not forget that Boaventura himself was a main proponent, at one of the World Social Forums, of the establishment of the *Universidade Popular dos Movimentos Sociais* (Popular University of Social Movements).

The need to search for epistemological signposts from outside the Eurocentric world and excavate subjugated knowledges and histories, besides highlighting pockets of contemporary innovative practice, is key for a decolonizing education responsive to the different realities of the world. In the first place, cognitive justice must be restored. The West, as Boaventura and many other authors have indicated (e.g. Vandana Shiva with regard to food production and other soil practices), has taken credit for initiatives and concepts that should have been attributed to other contexts. This constitutes cognitive injustice. This applies to Western patenting of knowledge unabashedly expropriated from Indigenous and other subjugated peoples. Boaventura's chapter on Ibn Khaldun, recognised, in many circles, as one of the founding figures of the social sciences, is very instructive. What I find remarkable, in Boaventura's book, is his argumentation regarding the manner in which a recognised Western pillar of Sociology, Emile Durkheim, whose studies are *de rigueur* for any aspiring sociologist, seems to owe so much to Khaldun without any recognition, on the Frenchman's part, of any indebtedness to the 14th century Tunis-born scholar - cognitive injustice. Boaventura pulls no punches when asking

something to this effect: Would one expect a 19th century French luminary to acknowledge the intellectual influence of a 14th century North African Muslim ensconced, I would dare add, in a territory that would eventually (1881) become a French protectorate (around the time Durkheim was writing)? I can hear the colloquial rider: ‘not on your life’. This reminds me of the Italy-based Egyptian scholar, Mahmoud Salem Elsheikh’s term ‘the debtor’s syndrome’ (Elsheikh, 1999, p. 38). In Elsheikh’s case, it is the indebtedness of the West to Islamic and Arab (not to be conflated) thought.

This includes the establishment of universities. While Boaventura gives pride of place to a University in Mali, others recognise Arab universities as extant forerunners to the medieval European ones (Al-Qarawiyyin in Fez, Morocco and Al-Azhar, Cairo, Egypt, the latter mentioned in the book). Others, such as Ruth Hayhoe and Qiang Zha (2006), would mention the Chinese academies in this regard.

All told, we are presented with an erudite, insightful, courageously-argued and forward looking compendium of writings that coalesce into a persuasive argument. It constitutes a massive contribution to the literature on decolonization, higher education and the sociology of knowledge. It contains the by now prominent discussion, by the author, concerning the University as an institution that is standing at a crossroads.³ The University has alternative paths from which to choose given that the old Eurocentric and elitist Humboldtian ideal, connected with *Bildung*, is well past its sell-by-date. Times have changed and geographies of knowledge have expanded. There is no longer – indeed, there probably never was – an exclusively western solution to world problems. Different epistemologies ‘call all in doubt’, to adapt John Donne’s famous phrase with regard to the Eurocentric trends of his time. The University, in its mainstream form, seems to have, by and large, chosen the neoliberal path rendering it responsive to current hegemonic

3 It developed out of a 2010 keynote delivered at the Aula Magna Studiorum Bologna (University of Bologna) on the occasion of the XXII Anniversary of the Magna Charta Universitatum. An earlier version was published in the journal *Human Architecture*. Two colleagues and I had the pleasure of including it in the section on Higher Education in the *International Critical Pedagogy Reader* (Darder et al, 2015). This is a revised version.

western Capitalist interests ('hegemonic globalisation' in Boaventura's terms). The focus, for the most part, as indicated in this book, is on efficacy, proletarianisation of academic staff as service providers (they include ever increasing adjunct academics on fixed contracts, forming part of the precariat) and students as consumers. There are however other pathways for the university to consider. Some 'alternative, grassroots oriented' centres are doing so already (Mayo, 2019), providing directions for a polyphonic university in the making, often marked by subversivity. For those of us who are inspired by them, Boaventura's book provides much grist for the mill.

Peter Mayo

University of Malta and journal co-editor

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**MASSIMILIANO TAROZZI AND CARLOS ALBERTO TORRES,
GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND THE CRISES OF
MULTICULTURALISM. COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES,
2016, BLOOMSBURY ACADEMIC, LONDON & NEW YORK
ISBN 978-1-4742-36597-6, 210 PAGES.**

The book centres on the crisis of multiculturalism and intercultural education. The former concept is given prominence in the Anglophone world. The other concept is given prominence in ‘continental’ Europe (read: outside the British Isles and probably Ireland). In Italy, home country of one of the authors (Tarozzi), one encounters university chairs in Intercultural Education which have led to studies in the field at the doctoral level¹, including PhD level (‘Dottorato di Ricerca’ in Italy). A prominent international programme was run by the Universities of Messina (*Università degli Studi di Messina*) and Mainz (The *Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz*) leading to a jointly awarded PhD degree. It focused on ‘Pedagogy and Intercultural Sociology’, a project that served as a catalyst for the launching of the refereed open access journal *Quaderni d’Intercultura*.²

There has been much talk in Europe about the perceived ‘failure’ of the multicultural experience – see for instance past declarations by the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, echoed by the then UK PM, David Cameron. One can argue that these are declarations by conservative figures who might have regarded a multiracial society as posing a threat to the social relations underlying the hegemonic notion of ‘national culture’ which had to be preserved - shades of Powellism?³ I think this would be too harsh on both, especially Merkel who has done much for Germany to take in migrants.

1 All degrees in Italy are doctoral in the old traditional Italian sense, irrespective of whether they are first, second or third cycle degrees.

2 *Quaderni* is a much used term literally meaning ‘notebooks’, as in Gramsci’s *Quaderni del Carcere/Prison Notebooks*, but which refers, in this context, to journal.

3 The term was coined by Stuart Hall with reference to the ideas of UK Conservative MP, Enoch Powell captured in his ‘rivers of blood’ (a quote from Virgil’s *Aeneid*) speech, recently the subject of an award winning play, *What Shadows* by Chris Hannan.

The book under review highlights, in a systematic manner, the pros and cons of the two concepts. It ventures beyond this, proposing the concept of Planetary Citizenship. This notion is closely connected with the legacy of Paulo Freire and the work of the Institute in *São Paulo* which bears his name (the *Instituto Paulo Freire*) - it connects with certain strands of formative educational processes such as eco-pedagogy (see Guiterrez and Cruz Prado, 2000). One would not expect anything different given that one of the two authors, the Argentinean Carlos Alberto Torres, holds the UNESCO Chair in Global Citizenship Education at UCLA (University of California at Los Angeles). Massimiliano Tarozzi, for his part, carries out work with a strong international dimension, teaches in the area at the Institute of Education/UCL (University College London), besides being a Professor at the Alma Mater Studiorum in Bologna (University of Bologna). He straddles two worlds, the Anglophone and 'continental' (Europe, minus the UK and Ireland) ones. The two authors seem to be well positioned to offer a comparative study. Comparative Education is the area where Torres has made his mark, a product of a leading centre in the field led by Martin Carnoy at Stanford University. Torres has contributed to rendering Latin America quite visible in Comparative Education.

One of the great merits of this work is that it contributes to the provision of a genuinely international dimension to studies in English emerging from Anglophone publishing houses. And there is a desperate need for this as books such as the one by Tarozzi and Torres foreground work by scholars ensconced in different parts of the world who alas have little following beyond their specific linguistic boundaries. This in itself is a decolonizing act with respect to the current hegemony of the English language.

With respect to the subject of this book, I would argue that the concepts of Multiculturalism and Intercultural Education can co-exist. A society conceived of as multicultural can be predicated on an intercultural education entailing processes of interpersonal communication, to echo Martin Buber, between persons who are different but not antagonistic (Freire in Gadotti *et al*, 1995, p.14). Both concepts however have revealed their shortcomings when put into practice in certain countries.

In Canada, for example, there has been criticism of multiculturalism as a form of absorption and containment. It was perceived as a concept which would serve to confine persons to their ethnic boundaries. Some are therefore dubbed 'ethnic' while others, who have greater access to material and cultural power – the so-called WASPs (White, Anglo-Saxon Protestant) – constitute the invisible 'norm'. They do not consider themselves 'ethnic' - a tag attached to those regarded as the 'other'. This tag throws into sharp relief the so-called unitary subject called 'Canadian'. This situation provided the backdrop to the study carried out by Carmel Borg and me (Borg and Mayo, 1994) among the Maltese at Dundas Runnymede, a district in Metro-Toronto. Toronto is touted as the classic 'multicultural' city. Most of the persons interviewed belonged to the first generation of Maltese immigrants.⁴

As far as the Maltese in Toronto are concerned, the situation spurred on the second generation to seek an escape route, that of assimilation. They would declare that their parents are Maltese while they are Canadian. They aspired to become WASP. They gave the impression that remaining attached to their subaltern ethnic group would not have taken them very far in life. It represented 'a ticket to nowhere'.

A question that arises is: What is the relationship between this type of multiculturalism and colonial cultural reproduction? In other words, what is the relationship between the dominant colonising Anglophone culture and those cultures brought by migrants (portability of cultures) from Southern Europe and from the former European colonies, including the English colonies? Do they reflect and represent a transposition of colonial relations between the different countries of origin? These strike me as very relevant questions with respect to the kind of discussion carried forward by the two authors in this book, even though one must here factor in the strong element of hybridisation, substantially discussed in the volume under review. What effects do the processes of hybridisation have on the 'colonial' relations among the different ethnic groups? As the authors remind us, identities are never static/constant but shift.

⁴ Their first generation Lusitanian(Portuguese) neighbours in Toronto would be regarded as FOB (fresh off the boats).

In this regard, I would underline the power issue, a key recurring theme for someone like me who adheres to the 'Anti-Racist Education' school of thought rather than to any of the two discussed in the book (Multicultural Education and Intercultural Education). In the first place, I regard multiculturalism as extending beyond questions of ethnicity to comprise gender (including sexual orientation and positions along the LGBTQ continuum), social class, (dis)ability, religious denomination or otherwise, age...the whole spectrum of subjectivities that intersect, for the most part, often in a contradictory manner. Issues of Power, or absence of power considerations, in the discourse about the two concepts, are given adequate treatment in this book.

The two authors scour different contexts when discussing these issues. There is considerable reference to France with its intriguing concept of *métissage*, in a context characterised by *laïcité* (Mazawi, 2010), which stands at the heart of the Republican Constitution: "La France est une République indivisible, laïque, démocratique et sociale" (France is an indivisible, lay, democratic and social Republic). There are moments when the 'multi-colour' ethnic mosaic transcends the national 'tricolor'. As elsewhere, we find this in fields of practice that strengthen stereotypes, especially the different fields of entertainment, including sports.

The authors refer to France's 1998 World Cup victory in football, to which we now have to add last summer's repeat success (World Cup 2018). The 1998 victory of 'Zizou' (Zidane – of Algerian origin) and teammates (with their images, immediately after the 1998 success, reflected on the Arc de Triomphe), and the more recent triumph of Mbappe, Kante and Pogba, were hailed as victories for 'Multicultural France'. Sport is one sector where multiculturalism is glorified, especially in countries such as France where athletes from different *départements d'outre-mer*, such as Marie-José Pérec from Guadelupe, compete under the colours of the administering country. All this occurs in a country where the naming of colonialism, in its capital city, Paris, is often taboo as I experienced last year when delivering a talk on the subject at an international conference there, ironically a conference on 'éducation émancipatrice'. It was reported to me that some people, mainly French citizens, were upset by my discussion of *colonialisme*, a concept they must have regarded as superceded, *passé*.

My question regarding the exaltation of Multicultural France in Sport would be: How many offspring of immigrants from the majority world transcend stereotypical roles to access positions of power and prestige such as holding government portfolios, belonging to the upper echelons of public administration or accessing positions at the *Grandes Écoles* (even as students) or the *Collège de France* in Paris?

There are issues concerning power and its dynamics with respect to Intercultural Education. Handel Kashope Wright is on target when posing a question to this effect: Who dialogues, interculturally, with whom and from which position of power? (Wright, 2009) This strikes me as a key question for the type of critical pedagogy posed by the two authors with regard to the theme of Global Citizenship Education carried forward in this book. It is this concern which led Tarozzi and Torres to search for alternatives to citizenship education globally and not within the confines of one geographical space. This search begs questions concerning access to power or more accurately the possibility of 'reinventing power' in the sense addressed by Freire and his associates (Freire in Gadotti, Freire and Guimarães, 1995, p. 44).

I have argued (Mayo, 2017) that one cannot achieve social justice unless one develops a critical consciousness that extends beyond the confines of municipal, regional, national and continental 'fortresses' (see the concept of 'Fortress Europe'). I have also argued that one can never speak of inter-ethnic justice within an official and closed, fortified 'Social Europe'. One can, on the other hand, speak of another 'Social Europe' operating from below and which involves NGOs and social movements who extend their politics beyond continental boundaries. They would be in tune with the concept of Global Citizenship as proposed by Tarozzi and Torres. All are connected and in relationship with others: persons and other species in the global context. Romantic poets wrote about a cosmic communion involving all, the so-called 'One Life' invoked by Samuel Taylor Coleridge, in 'The Rhyme of the Ancient Mariner' and the 'Eolian Harp', which resonates with the 'web of life' of the Indigenous of the Americas, notably the First Nations. What occurs in one place has ramifications elsewhere.

The two authors place their emphasis on this type of vision in their affirmations regarding a global conception of social justice,

providing freirean undertones. Added to these are insights from others such as Judith Butler, Boaventura De Sousa Santos and Don Lorenzo Milani. This notwithstanding, the situation raises issues concerning access or otherwise to citizenship as formally provided at the level of nation-state. In this wonderful though, at the same time, ‘terrible’ world, to echo Antonio Gramsci, governed by the tenets of Neoliberalism and therefore the merciless world of the marketplace, there are many who have no access to citizenship, as clearly demonstrated by the authors.

With the erosion of the ‘social contract’ or the welfare state, known in different European countries as the ‘social state’, social protection is at a premium. Many are at the mercy of this market. Among these are the *sans papiers* (undocumented migrants). They are added to the continuously growing list of those who lie outside the index of human concerns. They are the ‘wretched of the earth’ (*les damnés de la terre*), the ‘poor christ’s’ (*i poveri cristi*), the ‘oppressed’ (*os oprimidos*), as respectively called by Frantz Fanon, Danilo Dolci and Paulo Freire. Neoliberal society can dismiss them as ‘human waste disposal’, in Zygmunt Bauman’s (2006) terms. As daily struggles for survival take their toll on these people’s life, they are hardly mourned, as Judith Butler and others have often lamented when posing questions of this nature.⁵

In this book, Massimiliano Tarozzi and Carlos A. Torres, pose several questions, avoiding facile answers. They carry this out in the Freirean tradition of problem-posing, raising issues about the limits of present day politics regarding multi-ethnic conviviality, at the same time exploring new pathways for a conception of planetary citizenship governed by the quest for greater social justice and the enhancing of intra-human and human-earth relations. We must take the discussion forward if we are to restore a healthy planet to the future generations from whom it has been leased.

Peter Mayo,

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⁵ This emerged from a paper she read at a public session at the Mediterranean Conference Centre, Valletta, Malta organised by the European Graduate School on 6th April 2016. The question posed was: Are some lives more grievable? Echoes of Butler (2016) https://www.maltatoday.com.mt/news/national/63953/are_some_lives_more_grievable_than_others#.XPWLtY-xWUK

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