The Self who Meets the Other: Hospitality, Self-Determination, and Black Refugee Students in Manitoba

By

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Abstract

The large number of refugees received in Canada every year and the government's claims to be supportive to "cultural diversity" do not necessarily mean that Black refugee students feel welcome in their schools. Despite the pervasiveness of racism registered in the literature, the paucity of research focused on the intersectional identity of this particular group of students raises several concerns, especially in light of the white savior myth that is embedded in a white society like Canada. Thus, the main question this research sought to answer was: How do Black refugee students conceptualize hospitality in education? Based on the philosophical construct of the ethic of hospitality (Derrida, 2000a, 2000b; Ruitenberg, 2016), the psychological theory of self-determination (Deci & Ryan, 1985), and the tenets of critical race theory (Bell, 1979/1995; Crenshaw, 1989; Crenshaw et al., 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Harris, 1995; Lawrence, 1987/1995), this case study of Manitoba education was designed having individual interviews with Black refugee students, a critical analysis of selected provincial curriculum documents, and a research journal kept throughout the study as its main data sources. Findings reveal how students' need of autonomy, relatedness, and competency were often threatened by racist (in)actions of teachers and classmates, thus impinging on their experiences of hospitality. The lack of clear and critical conceptualizations about terms such as "welcome" and the deafening silence on matters about race/racism across provincial documents indicate both gaps and obstacles to an education that is genuinely welcoming. Furthermore, especially through the research journal, this study revealed the multifaceted ethical complexities experienced by a white researcher seeking to conduct anti-oppressive research in a foreign land—it revealed the aporia of hospitality. Recommendations for teachers, educational leaders, and researchers are discussed, with the continuous process of self-reflexivity and dismantling white structures as a central concern.

To my parents,

Anavera and Marcelo,

who gave me wings to fly.

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Preamble: Research Overview

This study set out from a quasi-purely philosophical approach, namely the ethic of hospitality. Although since the beginning I sought to bring support from psychoanalysis to corroborate the psychic nature of teaching, it was during the data analysis that a psychological construct, namely, self-determination theory, became evident. More specifically, I began this research with theoretical constructs on the nature of genuine hospitality in education and the data analysis—to my surprise and excitement—revealed three domains that both corroborate the ethic of hospitality and inform how hospitality is conceptualized by the Black refugee students I interviewed. Moreover, the process through which this study unfolded reveals several ethical complexities and challenges when pursuing hospitable, anti-racism research, hence unexpectedly cooperating to development of this meta research.

Thus, in my attempt to be as transparent as possible about the steps and procedures adopted in this study, I have made the decision to structure this dissertation chronologically for two main reasons. First, this organization allows me to provide an in-depth exploration of each data source in a systematic way (e.g., discussing each method employed under its respective chapter). Second, it evidences my reasoning and how the research unfolded. In other words, I would like to invite the reader to embark on this journey as I have experienced, as a story being shared, and to enjoy the surprises that the pursuit of an ethic of hospitality yields.

This study is therefore comprised of three parts which, in turn, are in themselves an allegory of (the pursuit of) an ethic of hospitality. The first part, a deductive philosophical approach, evidences whence I began this study, namely, an ethic of hospitality. It is comprised of the first stages of this research and illustrate the host’s preparations: the literature and theoretical frameworks that informed my original puzzlement, research questions, and methodological decisions, as well as the analysis of Manitoba curriculum documents (which I began before conducting the interviews and concluded before analyzing the interview transcripts).

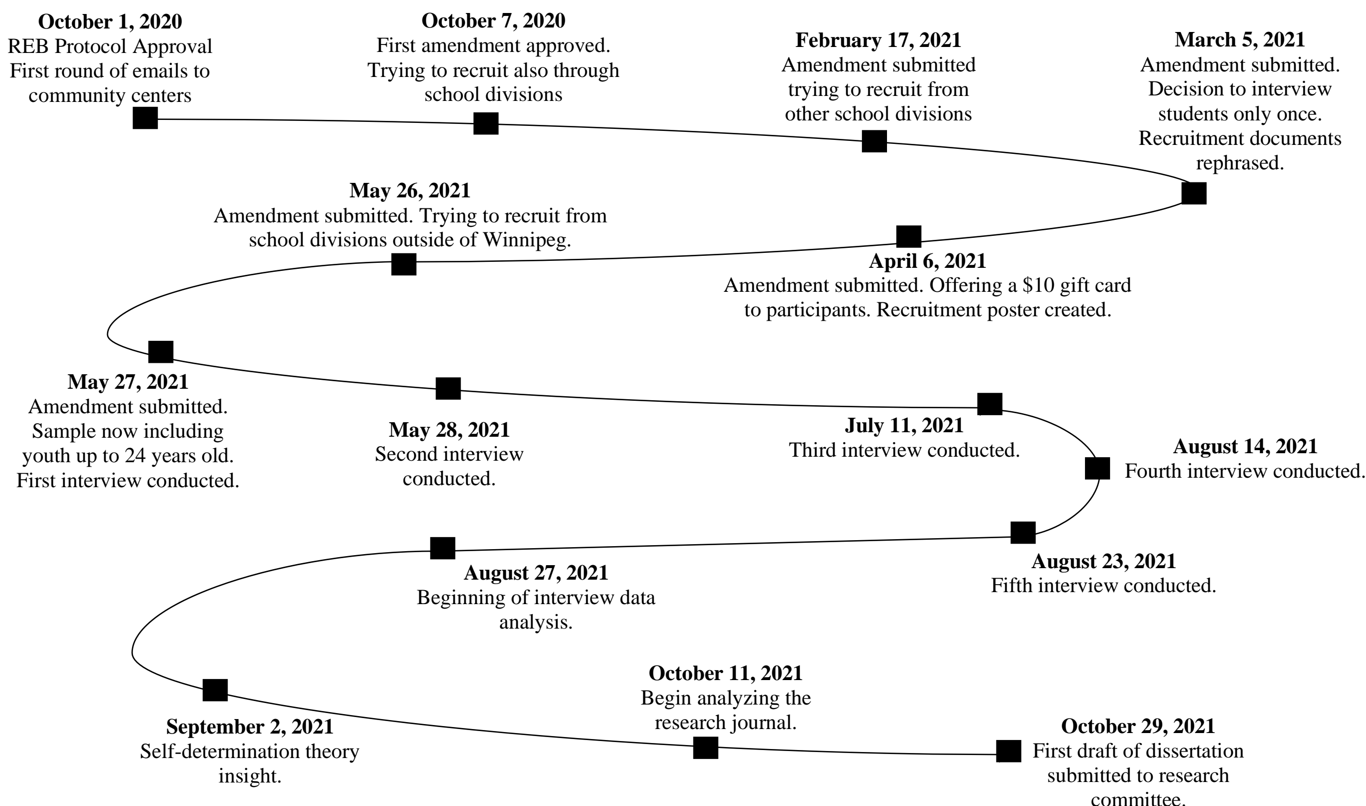
The second part of the study marks the arrival of the guest (although the overlap between the analysis of the documents and conducting the interviews must not be overlooked, as will be observed). Following an inductive psychological approach, I explore the students' interviews (demonstrating how it connected with self-determination theory) and analyze the research journal that I maintained throughout the study.

The third and last part is the locus of (in)hospitality, where I explore the unforeseen outcomes of the encounter of the researcher-host (with all their preparations) and the participant-guest. What happens when the ethic of hospitality meets with self-determination theory through a complex web of ethical challenges?

Welcome to a passionate and intricate journey!

Research Timeline

A research project most often does not have a clear-cut beginning. After all, research questions usually stem from one's life-long experiences and background, as I describe in the Positionality section in Chapter 3. Similarly, it is arguably impossible to determine the end of a study given that knowledge disseminated can transform individuals and societies in unmeasurable ways. For that reason, I have decided to provide a timeline that begins from the moment I received the approval from the ethics review board of the University of Manitoba until the moment I shared the first draft of this dissertation with my research committee. This timeline will also be instrumental in illustrating the roadblocks I faced throughout this research, not only in terms of the feasibility of the study but also the emotional and ethical complexities I experienced as a (white) researcher, which the research journal (Chapter 6) will evidence. Although I did not register the exact date, I began the analysis of the curriculum documents in the Fall of 2020 and ended in the Summer of 2021 (before beginning the interview data analysis).



PART 1 – THE HOST'S ARRANGEMENTS, OR A DEDUCTIVE DEPARTURE FROM AN ETHIC OF HOSPITALITY

Chapter One: Introduction

> La peau du visage est celle qui reste la plus nue, la plus dénuée … il y a dans le visage une pauvreté essentielle. (Levinas, 1982, p. 80)

Canada is commonly recognized as a country open for immigration, especially for refugees. A quick glance at the Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada's (IRCC) website is enough to show the numbers of refugees settling in the territory every year, from a wide variety of countries, which serves to maintain the status of a country which is welcoming to diversity. Manitoba, more specifically, which receives on average 2,000 refugees per year from many different countries, received over 3,700 in 2016 from the total 40,615 that settled in Canada on that year due to the Syrian crisis (Immigrate Manitoba, 2021). Nonetheless, opening the doors to individuals from other countries does not necessarily make the classroom a welcoming place for them.

Since what may be considered the beginning of curriculum as an official field of study in North America, educators have sought to define what education the purpose of education is, with concepts such as social justice, freedom, peace, equity, and democracy usually appearing as its common goals (Apple, 2014; Byrne, Matyók, Scott & Senehi, 2020; Freire, 1968/2018; Giroux, 2020; hooks, 1994; Sapon-Shevin, 2010; Stewart, 2011; Todd, 2003). Education philosopher Gert Biesta (2009) argues that education has three main functions: qualification, socialization and subjectification. While qualification (i.e., the acquisition of specific skills deemed necessary for the workforce, for example) and socialization ("the many ways in which, through education, we become members of and part of particular social, cultural and political 'orders'" [p. 40]) are usually explicit and valued, the subjectification process is often neglected in mainstream education. As Biesta observes, subjectification is "precisely *not* about the insertion of 'newcomers' into existing orders, but about ways of being that hint at independence from such orders; ways of being in which the individual is not simply a 'specimen' of a more encompassing order" (p. 40).

In harmony with Biesta's work, Ruitenberg (2016) conceptualizes education as an act of unlocking the world to children who have involuntarily been born to it—a very similar definition to what van Manen (1982) had proposed earlier when associating pedagogy and parenting. As Ruitenberg (2016) points out, it is the responsibility of those who already are in the world to welcome the newcomers, "unlocking" their access to it, as the etymology of the world pedagogy suggest (*paid-agogos*, the domestic slave who in ancient Greece was responsible for leading the child in their education). Todd (2003) follows the same idea, arguing that the "curriculum involves introducing [students] to new encounters" (p. 18) from where they will learn to become. Although we must be aware of the dangers behind the "learnification" ideology (Biesta, 2009, 2016), education may be summarized as the encounter between the student and teacher who has the keys to guide newcomers to the world and thus enable them to become active subjects with agency (Ruitenberg, 2011b, 2016). In a nutshell, "this balance between children's freedom and the constraints imposed upon them is at the heart of education" (Ruitenberg, 2016, p. 2). Not only does Ruitenberg clarify that her framework is not exclusively for children, but the metaphor gains even more strength when teaching refugee students, who are involuntary migrants to a new country. Whatever hinders students, or in Ruitenberg's words, whatever locks the world, preventing others from gaining access to it, is a form of oppression which has to be fought against (Kumashiro, 2000). However, as will be explored further in the next chapter, the job of the teacher is not merely to unlock the world as it is, but as it *is not*. In other words, responding to students in a pre-defined, categorized way is not a synonym of hospitable education. Rather, the responsibility of the teacher entails being a tactful listener to the Other—or, to use Levinas' terms, as the face speaks—so as to respond to each student in their uniqueness, holding open space for new and unimagined futures.

Notwithstanding the development of such theoretical work, there is a dearth of studies which analyze the educational experiences of Black refugee students in Canada, let alone in the Manitoba context. In this research, I use the term refugee as conceptualized by the Canadian government:

> Refugees are people who have fled their countries because of a well-founded fear of persecution. They are not able to return home. They have seen or experienced many horrors. A refugee is different from an immigrant. An immigrant is a person who chooses to settle permanently in another country. Refugees are forced to flee. (Government of Canada, 2019)

Although some research has been conducted with Black *and* refugee students in Canada, the intersectional identity of Black refugees has not been given the attention it deserves—a silence which becomes even more puzzling given that of the ten most common countries of origin of refugees settling in Manitoba in 2016, six are part of the African continent (Immigrate Manitoba, 2017). Even though fixing students' identities in a deterministic way is not the purpose, it will be observed that such intersectionality add several layers of complexity to one's experience and may lead teachers to respond to students in oppressive ways despite their potential "good intentions."

Therefore, based initially on the ethic of hospitality and the contributions of critical race theory (CRT), the purpose of the present study was to understand the ways in which Black refugee students have been welcomed in Manitoba classrooms. In other words, this research aimed at better comprehending the ways in which the intertwined realms of qualification, socialization and especially subjectification have been experienced by Black refugees as a potential articulation of true hospitality that begins with the teacher-student encounter in the classroom environment—which in turn is structured and shaped by ongoing curriculum, relational and pedagogical decisions.

Significance and Research Questions

Curriculum, as Apple (2014) argues, is more than the content to be taught; it is rather "a symbolic, material, and human environment that is *ongoingly reconstructed*" (p. 151, my emphasis). The vital component of education, the encounter of the student and teacher, takes place on a daily basis and yet it can never be the same as the day before because we, human beings with intentionality, emotions and reason, are in constant change. Therefore, while there is a lot of material on school interventions and

policies addressing the psychological, linguistic, health, religious and economic needs of refugee students and their families, the teacher-student daily encounter is often taken for granted or does not receive the attention it deserves. Although I acknowledge and agree that social service and mental health professionals should also be part of the educational process as a whole, I believe that it is necessary to first consider the teacher-student relationship before thinking of the educator/school's role with the student's family. In other words, although parental involvement is an essential component of anti-oppressive education (Dei, 2008), it will be helpful to deconstruct the meaning of ethics before politics (although they are inseparable and one does not emerge before the other [Fagan, 2013]), that is, the nature of the educator's individual responsibility in order to then consider the collective responsibility of the school as a whole.

Although it might be argued that there has been some improvement in terms of openness in the curriculum in the last decades, such as modifications that emerged with the advent of multiculturalism and others which will be explored in the next chapter, it will also be observed that even a pedagogy that may be perceived as "welcoming to diversity" can potentially be simply a disguise to a still normative and hierarchical approach to the Other.[1] Changes in the curriculum that do not challenge the assumptions, privileges, and biases of (white) educators are not enough to welcome students' uniqueness. Thus, the teacher-student relation must be addressed before considering other elements that have an impact on students' education because, after all, the curriculum "is neither only a cultural or political instrument divorced from the concrete practices of teaching" (Todd, 2003, p. 39).

In fact, another pivotal point to be addressed from the outset is that refugee students are not simply "culturally" diverse. Although a product of European Enlightenment, the artificial construct of race has, notwithstanding, real effects in a racialized society as we live in. While social class or language

[1] Following Levinas (1972, 1982, 1995) and Derrida (1998) (see also Galetti, 2015), I use the capital "O" to emphasize the absolute alterity of an *other*, the *other* whose necessary otherness make them infinitely unknown.

can pass by unnoticed in the first moment, students' race (which is typically based on phenotypical features, such as skin color) is never invisible to the teacher (at least when considering face-to-face education, whether in person or online). It is always there, from the first encounter, always exposed to the eyes of the other, thus vulnerable, as Levinas (1982) well observed. Surely, I do not mean in any ways to undermine the importance or hierarchize the oppression of other groups' claims and oppression—as I will point out later, an ethic of hospitality (or ethic *as* hospitality) welcomes *alterity*, with no categories.

However, it suffices to observe now that the ubiquitous culturalization of race (thus the diminishment of the meaning of culture itself) is anchored on historical and systemic racism and white supremacy that remains pervasive in the country. As Leonardo (2009) summarizes, "culture is comprised of rituals, practices, and artifacts, whereas race is an idealist categorization of people based on phenotypes. Marginalized people have created rich inventories of culture, whereas race is imposed by domination" (p. 58). Consequently, whites usually avoid or reject the concept of race and choose instead a more comfortable discourse, one in which whiteness is not only maintained but also centralized (Dei, 1999; DiAngelo, 2018; Leonardo, 2009).

Although the next chapter will provide a deeper analysis of why racism must be a central concern in education, it suffices for now to point out that my focus in this work is on *Black* refugees because "blacks have historically been and continue currently to be considered one of the most thoroughly and oppressively racially colonized groups—although undertheorized from their own cultural perspectives and radical political positions—in the history of race and racism" (Rabaka, 2013, pp. 69-70). It is necessary to point out that by focusing on Black students I do not intend to support the Black-white binary which undermines the experiences of other racialized groups (including refugee students who may not identify themselves as Black), hinder solidarity among them, and end up further exalting whiteness (Baker et al., 2016; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Fox & Guglielmo, 2012). In other words, although I do not intend to undermine the marginalization of other racialized minorities, my focus on *Black* refugee students stems from the fact that they have historically been conceptualized and treated as less-than-

humans by the dominant white society (Mbembe, 2017; Walcott & Abdillahi, 2019). As Walcott and Abdillahi (2019) note, together with Indigenous, Black people remain at the lowest of every social ranking in Canada. However,

> what is particularly striking is that no level of government or any other major institution in the nation ever seems to find it necessary to speak directly to Black people about their collective well-being, and thus the pain that Black people are collectively living with and under remains mostly out of view of others. (Walcott & Abdillahi, 2019, p. 72)

Thus, any serious commitment to hospitable education must necessarily begin by reconsidering its relation to Black students.

A word may also be given to my deliberate decision to capitalize Black/Blackness and not white/whiteness, as the reader may have already noticed. There might be different valid reasons offered for either capitalizing or not these terms (Appiah, 2020), and the scholars cited in the present study have made different choices, as the direct quotations will evidence. hooks (1994, 2015), for example, uses the term "black" while others such as Walcott and Abdillahi (2019) capitalize the word. Black scholars, such as Mbembe (2017), who originally wrote in French and used the term "Nègre," have also had the word capitalized in the English version. Some authors may also have made different choices throughout the time, such as Patricia Hill Collins (compare Collins, 2009, and Collins & Bilge, 2020). Although I did not find an explanation among the scholars cited in this dissertation about their rationale for either capitalizing or not, terminology definitions about Indigenous peoples in Canada can help clarify what my rationale for capitalizing Black is. Explaining the capitalization "Indigenous," Younging (2018) points out that "it is a deliberate decision that redresses mainstream society's history of regarding Indigenous Peoples as having no legitimate national identities; governmental, social, spiritual, or religious institutions; or collective rights" (p. 77). Although I surely do not want to blend Indigenous and Black peoples into one group, I intentionally choose to use the capital "B" in my writings as a symbolic gesture

of respect, reclaim, and empowerment of those who have for centuries been oppressed by white societies such as Canada.

Having laid out these clarifications, it should then be noted that the problem of western metaphysics is fundamental to this work, as the myth of the origin (Peters & Biesta, 2009) pervades the classroom through the discourse of whiteness and Canadianism (which ultimately implies whiteness as well). As Maynard (2017) argues, Canadian education has been extremely shaped by anti-Blackness, segregation, hostility and the demonization of Black children, whereas white students enjoy the privileges they inherited as a white settler society. Based on a variety of studies, Maynard outlines how Black children have been denied their state of purity and innocence, rather becoming associated with danger and inferiority while "not seeing themselves reflected and celebrated in the curriculum" (p. 216)—an issue that is further problematized when these students hold refugee status, the author notes. Indeed, empirical studies evidence that racism is greatly experienced by refugees in Canada, not only from peers but also from teachers (Baker, 2013; Baker et al., 2016; Guo et al., 2019; Stewart, 2011).

Thus, despite the government's political openness to refugees (Statistics Canada, 2017) and its common claims of being supportive to "cultural diversity," it seems that the historical pervasiveness of anti-Black racism in the country (Maynard, 2017; Tecle & James, 2014; Walcott & Abdillahi, 2019) has hindered the welcoming of racially diverse students' knowledge and experience in the classroom. But without the necessary attention given to the issue, Manitoba education will remain shaped by whiteness and the segregation of refugee students' knowledge, voice and experience—an issue further problematized when it comes to Black refugees (Kanu, 2008, 2009; Maynard, 2017; Schroeter & James, 2015).

Indeed, while one may think that being received into a "peaceful" country and having access to education is enough, the physical presence of refugee students does not make a classroom necessarily a safe place for them. The idea of Canada being a hostile environment for refugees may not be as common

internationally—or even within its own society—partially "because Canada has generated in its self-narrative a description of a generous, liberal, and progressive society that has overcome its earlier bigotries and prejudices" (Battiste, 2019, p. 125). But the fact is that while schooling may be the symbol of democracy for some, it is a symbol of oppression for others (Apple, 2014). So, if being at school is not necessarily a welcoming experience, what should educators' responsibility when receiving black refugees be?

By seeking to be the necessary tactful ears that may respond responsively to students (rather than trying to impose preconceived notions of hospitality), this study aimed at uncovering ways in which Black refugees may be truly welcomed by the education received in this country. In addition, by giving them opportunity to share their thoughts and perceptions, this research sought to empower students to make sense of their experiences and thus further flourish in their uniqueness. By empowerment, I do not mean that students have no voice of their own or that this study alone would be necessary for their empowerment. Rather, I believe and argue that while all students have voices of their own, some have had their agency inhibited by an oppressive system that continuously silences, undermines, and neglects their thoughts, feelings, knowledges, and experiences. The interview opportunity thus, as the psychoanalytical encounter, allows the one speaking to dethrone consciousness and to learn from the psychical reality of the unconscious (Britzman, 2011). At the same time, the interview can involve the listener (be that the interviewer or those who will be reading those words afterwards) in learning from the "working dynamics of human life … from the dimensionality and dynamics of simultaneous experience and the frenzy of meanings discarded along the way" (Britzman, 2011, p. 6). Therefore, this research is both an attempt to make room for students to articulate their experiences and to break through ears that are resistant to the discomfort of the Other.

Based initially on the ethic of hospitality as articulated by Derrida (2000a, 2000b) and Ruitenberg (2016) as well as the main tenets of critical race theory, the fundamental question that drove this study is: *How do Black refugee students conceptualize hospitality in education*? In other words, what

makes Black refugee students feel welcome in the classroom? This main question can be more specifically addressed with the following two overlapping questions:

a) In what ways do students feel (or not) welcome, especially as it relates to curriculum and social relations in K-12 Manitoba classrooms?

b) In what ways, if any, do students perceive their agency in their education? That is, throughout their schooling experience in Manitoba, how have students perceived their influence in the education they receive?

Because hospitality is necessarily a relational experience between host and guest, a third sub-question that informed this study was:

c) What characterizes the environment in which Black refugee students have arrived? In other words, how does the provincial government seek to welcome Black refugee students?

For the purposes of this research, “curriculum” encompasses objectives, subject matter, methods, activities, materials and organization of education. Social relations will be explored primarily (but not limited to) as the teacher-student encounter. “Agency” (sometimes referred to as “mastery,” which is a key-term in the ethic of hospitality and in self-determination theory) is understood as the ways in which students’ uniqueness influences the curriculum, shapes social relations, and makes changes in the environment. To be truly welcome, thus, is understood as the result of one being received unconditionally and allowed to be oneself in their wholeness. What being welcome looks like in practice, however, can have no prior definition—as will be explained ahead—and is exactly what this research seeks to explore.

Therefore, it is important to point out that the goal of the present study is not to define or limit the experiences of the Black refugee students, but to *deconstruct*. This concept became popular through the works of Derrida, who observed that, in fact, deconstruction is ethically moved because it is not a mere affirmation of what is there, but an act of openness to what is not (Derrida, 1978; Derrida & Ewald, 2001;

Fagan, 2003; Peters & Biesta, 2009; Biesta, 2016). Such openness—also referred to as "transcendental violence" (Derrida, 1978)—to a momentaneous stabilization is not only desirable but also necessary given that "the singularity of the other requires a 'minimal universality' to be itself and to be recognized as such" (Peters & Biesta, 2009, p. 29). In other words, although I believe using labels such as "diverse," "minority," "marginalized," and even "Black refugees" poses the risk of limiting, essentializing, and fragmenting students' wholeness, such terminology becomes momentously necessary when conducting research. As a consequence, while existing research can encourage educators to plan their practices with an ethical intention, the real ethical challenge will inevitably arrive with the face of the Other, the unplanned and unknown guest.

Theoretical Frameworks

An Ethic of Hospitality

Rather than a set of moral values, post-structural theorists propose a reconceptualization of ethics *as* relation. For Immanuel Levinas (1972, 1982), alterity is what escapes definitions or categories. The irreducibility of the uniqueness of the Other, most purely signified by the face, makes the self inevitably responsible for their uniqueness. In that way, ethics "becomes an attentiveness to and the preservation of this alterity of the Other" (Todd, 2003, p. 3), and one's responsibility is, thus, the welcoming of the Other in their wholeness. For Levinas, responsibility is before reason, immediate, unlimited, and not based on reciprocity. As soon as the face of the Other speaks (although this should not be understood as a beginning), the self is immediately and unlimitedly responsible to it, and no one can be responsible for the Other but the self, and that without expecting anything in return.

Following Levinas, Jacques Derrida illustrates the ethical responsibility through the metaphor of the hospitality gesture, considered an international right since Kant (Derrida, 2000b; Kant, 1795/2007). Not only is hospitality "the right of a stranger not to be treated as an enemy when he arrives in the land of another" (Kant, 1795/2007, p. 21), but *genuine* hospitality is a vertical event, which means it is necessarily unpredictable, unforeseen: we cannot anticipate it, it comes "as absolute surprise" (Derrida,

2007, p. 451). In addition, Derrida argues that true hospitality is not expressed with the arrival of the habitual, pleasant guest, but it is through the arrival of the unknown, at a non-expected time, that the host's hospitality can be evidenced (Heringer, 2021a).

Drawing from Levinas and Derrida, Ruitenberg (2011a, 2011b, 2016) applies the hospitality metaphor to the classroom, where the teacher is compared to a host and the student to a guest. She conceptualizes oppression as "implicitly or explicitly telling someone: 'this world is not for you'" (Ruitenberg, 2016, p. 17), which can take place in different ways at different times. Its opposite, unlocking the world—or students' subjectification—is not a one-time event either. Ruitenberg (2011a) observes that in true hospitality the guest has agency to make changes in the environment, which will inevitably interfere in the host's quietude, customs, habits. The author illustrates the unpredictability of hospitable education with another metaphor: the empty chair carefully and thoughtfully placed in the classroom. The Other may or may not arrive, but if that moment comes there will be room for them. In other words, the teacher-host must invest time in preparation for the student-guest who might arrive, but in a way that intentionally engages in the deconstruction of their own planning: "Does what I am about to do leave a possibility for my assumptions about knowledge and teaching and learning to be upset by a new arrival? Does it close down a space for future questioning or questioners?" (Ruitenberg, 2016, p. 30). An active subject with agency is not a passive observer nor a puppet on the hands of a controlling host. Hospitality requires the guest being in the environment in their wholeness, in their uniqueness, which will then inevitably unsettle the host's habitus. The ethical challenge for educators, then, does not lie on the preparations but rather in how to respond to that "fundamentally ungraspable … student … in a way that lets her or him be in otherness, that does not seek to recognize or otherwise close the gap with this singular other" (Ruitenberg, 2011a, p. 32).

Genuine hospitality is thus uncomfortable, unpredictable, and unconditional. It is given to the one who I do not even know the name, from who I cannot expect anything in return—not even the possibility of being able to claim having been hospitable, for this is something only the guest can decide.

It is an asymmetrical and sacrificial act, conducted not by prescribed rules but ethics itself (Derrida, 1998a, 2000a, 2007). However, true hospitality also brings with it several challenges. For instance, to say "welcome" to the Other is already to demarcate the threshold of one's property. To say "make yourself at home" is already telling the Other that the home is not theirs. But as Derrida (2000a, 2007) argues, it is in the impossibility of hospitality that its possibility lies. In his semantical works, Derrida often resorted to the German word for poison (*Gift*) to support the argument that hospitality is an unconditional gift, but a "gift" can also be poisonous—or arguably, "a gift is always already a poisoned chalice" (Wimmer, 2001, p. 164). The fine line between hospitality and hostility (Derrida, 2000b) is what must keep the host always alert, constantly deferring one's response to the Other so as not to respond irresponsibly—an act of *différance*, as Derrida (1982) coined: a peaceful, delayed response in resistance to our totalizing tendency. As any translation runs the risk of losing its original meaning (and it inevitably does), Derrida, in his semiotic works (e.g., Derrida, 1978), expresses that the sign is but an indication of what is not present, what is unnamed. In a similar vein, the conscious and unconscious are at play in *différance*, which allows the "rendering of the 'sense' of subjectivity through the recognition of difference and the deferral of judgment upon difference of the Other" (Trifonas, 2003, p. 231; see also Trifonas, 2001).

Hospitality is also not about surrendering mastery, either by making it a guest-centered or anarchical home. In order for hospitality to take place there must be a host who holds mastery (Derrida, 2000b). After all, "to hang out a sign saying 'Come right in; there is no one at home' is not the equivalent of hospitality" (Dewey, 1916/2011, p. 98). Notwithstanding, in true hospitality the host is decentralized and the guest empowered with agency, creating an on-going tension that has no prior definitions or solutions but is rather constantly negotiated.

The aporia of hospitality is also evidenced with the arrival of the one who Levinas calls the Third—which, again, has no beginning, it has always been there. But the impossibility of being unconditionally responsible for the Other and for the "other Other" (i.e., the Third) at the same time, rather than destroying any ethical attempt, is actually where the hope of justice lies. For both Levinas and

Derrida, justice is not defined a priori, but rather erupts as a response to the uniqueness of the Other. For that reason, there is no justice in universalizations. Being priorly constructed, rules and guidelines (or the law, for Derrida) not only nullify the self's responsibility to the Other by attributing it to others but are also destructible (i.e., it is possible to break the rules).

However, Peters and Biesta (2009) observe that it is exactly the possibility of breakability that opens up the possibility of improvement. As they point out, "Derrida argues that ethics and politics *begin* only with this undecidability, which makes the decision at the very same time 'necessary and impossible', is acknowledged" (p. 33). Thus, rather than something that stems from outside, ethics, or a just relation, can only take place in response to the uniqueness of the Other.

But although Ruitenberg (2016) briefly addresses the pertinence of the ethic of hospitality in the pursuit of social justice education, there is a dearth of studies which seek to connect such theory to educational practices. Moreover, even though the ethic of hospitality welcomes alterity, without categories, I believe race, and more specifically the intersectionality of Black refugee identities, warrants further attention and must also be a guiding force in the pursuit of a truly welcoming education for them, especially in a country that takes such pride in receiving refugees and "being diverse."

Critical Race Theory

As previously mentioned, a common goal of education found in the literature focused on racially diverse students is social justice. Interestingly, the connection between education and justice is also what led to the emergence of Critical Race Theory (CRT). In the 1970s, a group of lawyers and legal scholars in the U.S. advanced the "legal indeterminacy" argument that had already been in the circles of critical legal studies (CLS) and radical feminism: laws and legal decisions are never objective or neutral (Crenshaw et al., 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). However, not only did the critiques provided by CLS fail to suggest an effective way to transform racial inequities, but race-consciousness also started to become the synonymy of racism, which greatly empowered the color-blind discourse in the country

(Crenshaw et al., 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Ladson-Billings, 1998). Unsatisfied with the mainstream race discourse—both conservative and liberal—the "race crits" argued that "race and racism likewise functioned as central pillars of hegemonic power" (Crenshaw et al., 1995, p. xxii) and that, in fact, "law *constructed* race" (p. xxv). The project of CRT, however, aimed not only at theorizing white supremacy and racism but also changing it. A great amount of effort since the early years of the movement has then been made to find ways "to increase the participation of racial minorities in the political process" (p. xxviii) and to debunk a myriad of white gestures that may be portrayed as fair at first but that, in reality, are merely disguises for white supremacy.

As this framework will be explored in more details in the next chapter (see Education that is Critical of Privileging and Othering), it suffices to outline here that Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) summarize the key points of CRT thusly: 1) race as a major factor in inequity, 2) the link between property rights and race, and 3) the ways in which the intersection of race and property rights allows us to comprehend social inequities. Although stemming from the U.S. context, the next chapter will make clear how these tenets are highly pertinent to the Canadian context as well.

Self-Determination Theory

Based on a plethora of experimental studies and field observations of those experiments, Deci and Ryan (1985) developed SDT which "examines how biological, social, and cultural conditions either enhance or undermine the inherent human capacities for psychological growth, engagement, and wellness" (Ryan & Deci, 2017, p. 3). SDT stems from the assumption that people are naturally agentic, eager to learn and to apply newly acquired skills responsibly (Ryan & Deci, 2000). In other words, the theory posits that individual human development is characterized by curiosity, the intrinsic motivation to master one's inner and outer worlds and thus achieve social integration. The authors observed, however, that factors intrinsic and extrinsic to an individual can lead them to become apathetic, alienated, and irresponsible. While SDT is applicable to human beings in general, Deci and Ryan (1985; Ryan & Deci,

2017) dedicated a whole chapter to discuss its applications and implications to education, with special attention given to the role played by the teacher. For instance, how teachers structure the class, how they grade, how they set limits, the extent to which they let students work autonomously, how/whether they use rewards and punishments, etc., are some ways in which teachers can contribute to or hinder students' intrinsic motivation. The authors' literature review also revealed that "teachers who are trusting and empathic seem to be most successful in promoting the type of learning that leads not only to flexible cognitive structures but also to greater self-esteem in the learner" (Deci & Ryan, 1985, pp. 247-248). Additionally, Deci and Ryan (1985) observed how it is clearly evident that some learning and behavioral goals are simply not intrinsically interesting or engaging to some students, who then either do not comply or comply in an alienated fashion. Compliance without self-regulation and volition, however, is not conducive to integration and well-being. But as Ryan and Deci argued, intrinsic motivation is not the only type of self-determined motivation: "the real question concerning nonintrinsically motivated practices is how individuals acquire the motivation to carry them out and how this motivation affects ongoing persistence, behavioral quality, and well-being" (Ryan & Deci, 2000, p. 71). Figure 1 illustrates the self-determination continuum, types of motivation, regulatory styles, loci of causality, and regulatory processes.

Deci and Ryan (1985) thus identified three innate human psychological needs which are the foundation for one's self-motivation and consequent well-being and flourishing, namely *autonomy*, *competence*, and *relatedness*. Needs, the authors observed, "specify the conditions under which people can most fully realize their human potentials" (Deci & Ryan, 2000, p. 263). Furthermore, Deci and Ryan argued that "basic needs play an essential role in cultural transmission, helping to account for how memes are assimilated and maintained in and across diverse human groups" (p. 230), thus a seemingly rather pertinent theoretical framework for the current study.

Figure 1

The SDT continuum (adapted from Ryan & Deci, 2000, p. 72)

Behavior	**Nonself-Determined**					**Self-Determined**
Motivation	Amotivation	Extrinsic Motivation				Intrinsic Motivation
Regulatory Styles	Non-Regulation	External Regulation	Introjected Regulation	Identified Regulation	Integrated Regulation	Intrinsic Regulation
Perceived locus of Causality	Impersonal	External	Somewhat External	Somewhat Internal	Internal	Internal
Relevant Regulatory Processes	Noninentional, Nonvaluing, Incompetence, Lack of Control	Compliance, External Rewards and Punishments	Self-control, Ego-Involvement, Internal Rewards and Punishment	Personal Importance, Conscious Valuing	Congruence, Awareness, Synthesis with Self	Interest, Enjoyment, Inherent Satisfaction

Autonomy, in SDT, means behaving according to one's authentic values and interests. In Ryan and Deci's (2017) words, "when acting with autonomy, behaviors are engaged wholeheartedly, whereas one experiences incongruence and conflict when doing what is contrary to one's volition" (p. 10). The authors emphasized that autonomy is not a synonym for individualism or independence. They clarified that "within SDT, autonomy refers not to being independent, detached, or selfish but rather to the feeling of volition that can accompany any act, whether dependent or independent, collectivist or individualist" (Ryan & Deci, 2000, p. 74). Autonomy is thus associated with the need an individual has to be/feel in control of their own goals and behaviors, to take action in the direction that is aligned with their sense of self.

The second human need, competence, refers to one's "need to feel able to operate effectively within their important life contexts" (Ryan & Deci, 2017, p. 11). The need to feel effectance and mastery propels students to learn and apply new skills but is also easily waned by hostile environments—namely those marked by criticism and comparisons or those that do not offer the optimal challenge. Relatedness, the third human need, is about feeling socially connected, cared for, belonging, and feeling significant

among others (Ryan & Deci, 2017). SDT posits that students are more likely to flourish when they perceive their teachers as warm and caring (Ryan & Deci, 2000). It is also linked to being able to contribute to the well-being of others, such as through acts of benevolence.

Differentiating between psychological and physiological needs, Deci and Ryan (2000) acknowledged that people naturally behave in ways to fulfill their needs—e.g., seeking out company when feeling lonely, seeking out autonomy when feeling controlled, or seeking out competence when feeling ineffective. However, what SDT posits is that,

> when people are experiencing reasonable need satisfaction, they will not necessarily be behaving specifically to satisfy the needs; rather, they will be doing what they find interesting or important. (…) finding an activity either interesting (intrinsic motivation) or important (well-internalized extrinsic motivation) is influenced by prior experiences of need satisfaction versus thwarting, but doing what one finds interesting or important does not have the explicit intent of satisfying the basic needs in the immediate situation. (Deci & Ryan, 2000, p. 230)

It is important to observe, then, that what is ultimately at stake is not merely students' academic achievement, but their emotional and psychological well-being (Deci & Ryan, 1985). When looking specifically at the educational context, Ryan and Deci (2017) were interested in understanding how schools can be contexts that "support (or undermine) *flourishing* in students," which they defined as "becoming motivated, vital, resourceful, and fully functioning adults" (p. 354)—although the authors clearly emphasized that "children (like adults) are not just in institutions to accomplish adult-established cognitive goals, but also to *live and to be*" (p. 361). Studies conducted in light of SDT with youth in Canada have demonstrated that unfulfilled needs of competence, relatedness, and autonomy lead to a decrease in academic, behavioral, emotional engagement, be that externally or internally (e.g., Hosan & Hoglund, 2017; Olivier et al., 2020; Ricard & Pelletier, 2016).

Ryan and Deci (2000) also emphasized that the idea that “the three needs are universal and developmentally persistent does not imply that their relative salience and their avenues for satisfaction are unchanging across the life span or that their modes of expression are the same in all cultures” (p. 75). In other words, the three needs may be universal but the ways in which they are satisfied will be unique to each individual and each context.

Operationalization of the Theoretical Frameworks

The deafening silence of Black refugee students in Canadian education research literature poses the urgent question of how their schooling experiences have been. Therefore, through post-structural and anti-racism lenses and in the pursuit of an education that is genuinely *responsible* (in the Levinasian sense), through individual semi-structured interviews, this case study of the Manitoba context sought to make room for Black refugee students to articulate how they conceptualize hospitality. In tandem, an in-depth analysis of selected Manitoba education curriculum documents was conducted in order to comprehend how the government conceptualizes hospitable education (albeit not necessarily using such terminology). A third source of data was a research journal conducted by myself throughout the study with the main purpose of reflexivity: registering the challenges, perspectives, experiences, and feelings I went through as a (white) researcher, including how I perceived students’ reactions to me during the interview.

The most relevant constructs of the ethic of hospitality, namely, *responsibility*, *agency*, and *feeling welcome* are not only the kernel this research but also what informed how the interview questions were structured and the subsequent analysis of the data. The goal was to understand how students themselves perceive the hospitality with which they have been received in their schools, who they perceive as having been (ir)responsible hosts to them and how, in what ways (if any) they have experienced a sense of agency in their education, and what makes them feel (un)welcome. From CRT, the notions of race, racism, white supremacy as well as intersectionality/identity were the lenses through which data collection and analysis (including the research journal) were conducted. I was particularly

focused on students' experiences of racism in Manitoba schools, how comfortable they felt in their classrooms and schools (i.e., a white space), and the role played by race in their relationships with peers and educators.

One might wonder, however, how Levinas' conceptualization of "alterity" and CRT's conceptualization of "diversity" can be employed simultaneously in this work. After all, the critiques towards Levinas' philosophy are not few among post-structuralists, feminist, and postcolonial theorists (Blond, 2016). Intersectionality, as I discuss in this dissertation, is a way to understand a person's particular identities (e.g., race, gender) and how those identities position the person in a society marked by structural inequalities. By contrast, alterity, for Levinas, is the uniqueness of a person beyond their intersectional identity—it is that which escapes definitions or categories. As Blond (2016) argues, Levinas "attempts to defend the subject while placing it in a distressed relation with the Other where the alienation of identity is fundamental to the constitution of subjectivity" (p. 269). Indeed, both terms (difference and alterity) are legitimate representations of "otherness," but they cannot be used interchangeably. However, this research showed how both terms, despite not synonyms, complement one another when pursuing an ethical self-Other encounter.

Further exploring the role of CRT in this research, racism and whiteness were also constantly haunting[2] me as I sought to recruit students, when conducting the interviews, as well as when analyzing the data—aspects which will be further elaborated in the Research Journal chapter. The research journal was then the place where I could address the positionality and power relations at play in the research process (i.e., a white, outsider researcher affiliated to a university, interviewing Black refugee students, most of whom were minors), notice my biases and assumptions, and the multiple layers of complexity that emerged throughout the research. As will be explained in the second part of this dissertation, Self-

[2] I use the word as an allusion to Derrida's works, where the term "haunt" is often used when describing the tension in the (im)possibility of an event, such as hospitality ("this impossibility continues to haunt the possibility," Derrida, 2007, p. 452), and how the "foreign guest appears like a ghost" (Derrida, 2000a, p. 37).

Determination Theory (SDT) also became an emergent lens through which I conducted the data analysis, particularly of the interviews. The ethic of hospitality and CRT were both instrumental in my conducting the curriculum analysis, which was operationalized through post-structural discourse analysis (Butler, 2021; Derrida, 2016; Foucault, 1971/2010; Youdell, 2006) to understand how the government envisions hospitable education (for Black refugees), albeit not necessarily using "hospitality" terms.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter explores philosophical and psychoanalytical conceptualizations of the Other applied to education, with special attention to the interplay of race in social relations and the potential limits of an anti-racism pedagogy. Then I provide an overview of preeminent approaches in the history of curriculum studies to anti-oppressive education (following Kumashiro's [2000] categories) and to teaching minority students as well as current educational approaches, their strengths and weaknesses as related to welcoming students' uniqueness. I observe how the limitations of approaches which could be seen as welcoming to refugees become a further problematic issue when it comes to *Black* refugees. Finally, the ethic of hospitality, despite its limitations, is proposed as a peaceful resolution for the violence of racism in education.

Responding (Un)Responsively to the (In)Humanity of the Other

Although in the next sections it will be discussed how the Other may be ethically welcomed by the curriculum, it is my goal here to discuss humans' resistance to the unknown, the uncommon, the foreign, a resistance from which the educator is not exempt. Teaching is far from being a simple event; it is rather "a psychic event for the teacher" (Britzman, 1998, p. 134). Exploring Freud's view of education, Britzman (2011) observes how the teacher, having once been a child in school, is now back in the classroom as an adult entrusted with the task of teaching. This adult, in turn, is never a neutral body, but someone with their own complex unconscious, ego defenses, anxieties, hopes, idealizations, frustrations, and desires. The interplay between teacher and student, thus, makes education an emotionally charged encounter between teacher and student with unpredictable outcomes. Education is thus a "studio for human nature" (Britzman, 2011, p. 9).

Moreover, Levinas made it clear that the Other is not simply an alter ego, but a complete Other. Because the Other is absolutely unknowable, any knowledge (*connaissance*) is ultimately an assimilation, self-centered; any attempt of categorization or definition (or "totalization," as Levinas puts it) constitutes an act of violence against their uniqueness. Notwithstanding, Levinas observed that the Enlightened

western philosophy follows a totality-driven mindset, which he argues is evident in racism, genocides as well as human rights conventions. In a similar vein, Derrida argued throughout his works that "the metaphysical gesture of Western philosophy includes a *hierarchical axiology* in which the origin is designated as pure, simple, normal, standard, self-sufficient, and self-identical, in order to *then* think in terms of derivation, complication, deterioration, accident, etcetera" (Peters & Biesta, 2009, p. 21). This myth of the origin leads the self to try to understand or define the Other in understandable terms, being thus an attempt of possessing the Other, reducing the Other to what the self can comprehend and hence attacking the alterity of the Other (Fagan, 2013; Todd, 2003; Trifonas, 2001).

In fact, reading from Kant, Arendt, Levinas and Derrida, Todd (2009) argued that any ethical possibility (in education, for example) is defined by one's understanding of humanity itself. Walcott and Abdillahi (2019) went further, arguing that even the current struggles against the common conceptualization of human as male, white, and heterosexual, do not escape the European conception of humanity. These attempts to revise such conceptualization, they emphasized, work on "its flexibility by adding to it and elaborating it, but not changing in any radical sense its foundational claim as the only way of conceiving of human life" (Walcott & Abdillahi, 2019, p. 24). In other words, the defining categories (e.g., gender, race, sexuality) are in themselves a by-product of a white colonialist and racist mindset, created to uphold whites' aspirations.

In addition, psychoanalytical theories point out that there is in the self a natural resistance to difference, for it interrupts the self, causing discomfort in one's psyche (Britzman, 1998; Freud, 1923/2018, 1930/2013; Todd, 2003). According to Freud (1930/2013), "the tendency arises to dissociate from the ego everything which can give rise to pain, to cast it out and create a pure pleasure-ego, in contrast to a threatening outside, not-self" (p. 6). However, these violent encounters are not only inevitable but constitutive of a community, as Freud explained by the concept of "narcissism in respect of minor differences" (p. 55)—to which I will return later. Such encounters require negotiation, the id becoming an ego through social institutions "that furnish the subject with meaning, that impose

limitations upon the subject's desire and drives" (Todd, 2003, p. 19). This understanding harmonizes with Levinas who argued that there is not a moment of solitude of the self, rather the self is always in relation with the Other. As Fagan (2013) summarized, "Levinas places the relation with the Other as prior to, and constitutive of, the self or ego" (p. 51). However, it must be observed that in our tendency to avoid resistance, it is not uncommon for the self to search for and expect commonalities with the Other while suppressing alterity—a resistance further problematized when it comes to the racialized Other.

But it is precisely due to the inevitability of human aggressiveness that Britzman (1998) criticized "normal versions" of antiracist pedagogies. For the author, because Freud's narcissism is inevitable, there will also be inevitably in the teacher both love and hate towards "the body of the other because it cannot be the same body as the ego's" (p. 99). The narcissist, Britzman observed, cannot tolerate conflict or difference, which makes it necessary for educators to rethink the field of antiracist pedagogy. The normalization of race does not erase the "contradictory and ambivalent ways the bodily ego imagines its needs and demands for difference and similarity through the paradoxical moves of narcissism" (p. 112). Rather, any attempt to fight against racism must begin with the war that takes place within the educator, one's resistance and inner conflicts which makes *love* both a taboo and a necessity (Britzman, 1998; Freud, 1915-1917/2012)—a concept I will explore in more detail later. But it suffices for now to note that if the command to love the Other as oneself is impossible to be fulfilled, then "*natural* ethics, as it is called, has nothing to offer here beyond the narcissist satisfaction of thinking oneself better than others" (Freud, 1930/2013, p. 86). Something else must be at play if the Other is to be ethically welcomed. What that something looks like, however, is what this study aimed at understanding.

Education and the Other

The self's resistance to alterity is not only argued by philosophical and psychoanalytical theories alone but it is also reflected in historical and current pedagogical approaches to so-called "diverse" students. Although the field of curriculum studies arguably had its "official" beginning in the U.S., its influence on Canadian curriculum development is unquestionable (see Lemisko & Clausen, 2006; Smith,

2003). Throughout the years, there have been frequent attempts to reconceptualize the curriculum—especially as it relates to *what* is taught, *how* and *why*—which can be partially attributed to the fact that what often appears to work well for a particular group of students might be inadequate or insufficient for another. However, some interests, forces, structures, and systems continue to dictate education's purposes and shape throughout the decades. Notions of efficiency, measurement, productivity, and success, for instance, have long permeated education, remaining strong up to the present moment under the influence of neoliberalism (Carpenter et al., 2012; Gallagher, 2016; Parekh et al., 2011; Parker, 2017; Stack, 2006). Thus, especially when it comes to the way in which the curriculum must respond to diverse learners, a plethora of theories and approaches has emerged throughout the years, providing ideas that are still present in the field.

Education certainly did not begin in the 20th century nor is it a North American phenomenon. In fact, Dewey (1938) began one of his masterpieces pointing out that *progressive* education arose in response to *traditional* education. Centuries before, a major treatise on education had been published by Rousseau (1762/1979) who, in turn, made reference to those who taught thousands of years before him. But the emergence of the field of curriculum studies in North America is usually dated to around 1918, when Franklin Bobbitt published *The Curriculum*. Bobbitt's ideas are centered in notions of performance and efficiency, that is, maximum output with the minimum cost. Although Bobbitt (1918/2017) argued that education must "grow only out of participation in the living experiences of men… in connection with actual life-situations" (p. 11), such would take place with "training" and following scientific procedures. Using technical jargon, Bobbitt ended up dismissing the interest of children because the aim of education should simply be to train students for the existing social and economic order. Consequently, education was actually not an act of welcoming students' uniqueness, but the "developing abilities to do the things well that make up the affairs of adult life; and to be in all respects what adults should be" (p. 13).

While the extent to which Bobbitt was actually the first to conceptualize the curriculum is debatable, John Dewey was most likely the pioneer in calling attention to the fact that not every experience is educative. For true education to take place, he argued, it must be connected to students' lives (Dewey, 1902, 1938, 1964). Dewey's work provided essential ground to the meaning of democratic education, the need of a spontaneous curriculum and to how uncomfortable this can be for teachers, whose natural instinct is to seek conformity and fear or avoid the uncertain. Indeed, his conceptualization of democracy has remained ubiquitous in the academy until today, but not without criticism. When it comes to teaching the non-mainstream student as we understand today, Dewey's postulates share some of the limitations that will remain in the curriculum field throughout the 20th century. Besides the common challenge of putting his theoretical discourse into practice (Lemisko & Clausen, 2006, p. 1111), Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández (2013), for example, argued that most of Dewey's long-standing ideas "are premised on an assimilationist project that viewed non-white groups as having the potential of moving toward civilization" (p. 76). In addition to that, Dewey (1964) believed that the teacher must fully know the other, "their needs, experiences, degrees of skill and knowledge" (p. 154) in order to be able to connect education to the student. Therefore, despite the invaluable contributions made by Dewey throughout the years, it is important to notice that some of his ideas appear to go against the openness to the unknown sustained by Levinas' relational ethics which is the fundament of the ethic of hospitality (Derrida, 2000a, 2000b; Ruitenberg, 2016).

The period between 1930 and 1960 is commonly perceived as a moment of reform in the field of curriculum studies. One of the most prominent names associated with that movement is that of Ralph Tyler with his classic *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*, published in 1949. Advocating for the importance of a philosophy of education, Tyler (1949/2017) posed important questions such as what the educational purposes of the school are, what educational experiences can be provided in order to achieve those purposes, how the program should be organized, and how it should be evaluated. Indeed, the "Tyler rationale" encouraged educators to connect theory to practice when developing the curriculum.

Tyler criticized studies which see education as “a process of changing the behavior in people” (p. 75), because these would suggest that once desirable standards are traced, whether physical, social, or integrative, students’ needs become clearer and thus more easily met—not only a presumptuous definition of what one’s performance should look like but also determining that every student must develop in the same way. Tyler also contended with theoretical studies which present education as “the cult of ‘presentism’” (p. 77), trying to determine the issues students will face when they become adults, and he criticized how specialized subjects had been (e.g., “what can your subject contribute to the education of young people who are not going to be specialists in your field?” [p. 78])—which, arguably, continue to be.

However, many scholars have observed how the Tyler rationale followed Bobbitt’s postulates in many ways, focusing on a curriculum that guarantees the control over means and ends while attempting to achieve these most efficiently. Criticizing the Progressive Era of curriculum studies, Fallace and Fantozzi (2017) argued that the pervasive notion of “*social efficiency* was complex and heterogenous from the beginning” (p. 89), being used mostly “by elites as a way to expand and rationalize their authority” (p. 84), and remaining consistent with the “objective-driven outcomes approach of alleged social efficiency advocate Ralph Tyler” (p. 92). While Dewey used the term efficiency with caution (i.e., education must contribute to society but not to the detriment of the individual’s interests and experience), Bobbitt and Tyler imbued the concept with a preparation for the future workforce while leaving the child behind (pun intended).

The hyper focus on measurable goals in this reformation period, which can also be clearly seen in Popham’s (2017) famous work in the late 1960s, contributed to a major increase in the use of standardized tests in the 1970s (Flinders & Thornton, 2017), still pervasive in education today. Notwithstanding, it is important to note that this pressure for measurable objectives was not a homogenous voice. Still in the 1960s, Eisner (2017) criticized Tyler for placing “great importance on the

specificity of objectives" (p. 130), and, not much later, Pinar (1977/2017) censured both Tyler and Bobbitt for not challenging the assumptions of schools and society with regard to the purposes of education, as well as for providing theories that are abstract and which do not reflect what happens in the school. Despite its strength, a major critique to the education reform period, which empowered educators to find ways to connect the subject to students but without rethinking power and the politics of knowledge itself, was starting to take place.

Hence, the reconceptualization of curriculum movement, which emerged in the late 1970s and continues today (Pinar, 1977/2017), has been characterized by educators and curriculum theorists who started to demonstrate greater awareness of issues of power and standardization, providing students with more choice to decide their educational path in a way that it could "function in emancipatory ways" (p. 172). In the early years of the reconceptualization movement, Apple (1978) described education as a political act shaped by three main forces: the school as an institution, the forms of knowledge, and the educators themselves. Because there is no neutrality in education, as Apple argued, the curriculum serves the interests of specific individuals, and so "what counts as legitimate knowledge is the result of complex power relations and struggles among identifiable class, race, gender, and religious groups" (Apple, 2014, p. 47; see also Apple, 1978). Therefore, Apple has emphasized throughout the years the importance of educators to ask questions such as "whose knowledge is it? Who selected it? Why is it organized and taught in this way? To this particular group?" (p. 16). Apple and King (1977) argued that the school curriculum is structured with the purpose of social control, so, even though social control is not bad in itself (given that it is necessary for any society's cohesion), "the structuring of knowledge and symbol in our educational institutions is intimately related to the principles of social and cultural control in a society" (Apple, 1978, p. 11), which serves the purpose of reinforcing and maintaining racist practices to the benefit of a white Eurocentric perspective (Apple, 2014).

For example, in a review of Black curriculum orientations, Watkins (2017) sought to explore how Black experience in the U.S. can be more authentically represented in education. Although Watkins' work is focused on Afrocentric education, his observations are nonetheless pertinent to the present context. Watkins observed that, as a result of colonialism and segregation, two main frameworks have historically guided Black education. In the first one, the educational adaptation model, race differentiation is seen as something normal; thus, different races should be offered different education. This model, Watkins noted, was fundamental to the Jim Crow laws, and yielded to the second framework: the cultural-educational deprivation model. Through this framework, Black individuals are seen as pathological and culturally deficient, being the ones who have to adapt to white ways of being. Thus, all six curriculum orientations that Watkins observed to have stemmed from these two frameworks (i.e., Functionalism, Accommodationism, Liberal Education Orientations, Black Nationalist Outlook, Afrocentric Curriculum, and Social Reconstructionism) point to how white supremacy and the marginalization of Black students are the forces that have historically shaped their education and led to the "continued subservience of African Americans" (p. 230).

Having briefly pointed out what has characterized the reconceptualization of curriculum movement, I will now discuss three overlapping and broad conceptual frameworks that currently often inform educational approaches towards refugee students in the pursuit of social justice based on Kumashiro's (2000) theory of anti-oppressive education. While both Kumashiro (2000) and Todd (2003)—whose work will also be very helpful here—focus on the importance of anti-oppressive/ethical education for the learner, that is, how *students* are to be engaged with otherness, I maintain that teachers themselves ought to be active learners of this pedagogy as well.

In addition, although Kumashiro (2000) writes from the U.S. context, the ways in which his work clearly resonates in the Canadian context will be described here. Moreover, it is important to observe that despite his groundbreaking work, Kumashiro does not provide the necessary focus on race and racism that is so necessary when conceptualizing anti-oppressive education—a gap that the following review of

literature will try to cover. Although Kumashiro only refers to post-structural and psychoanalytical theories at the end of his paper, I will highlight here how those are pivotal when deconstructing the previous approaches as well. As Kumashiro argues, each of these frameworks by themselves (Education for the Other, Education about the Other, and Education that is Critical of Privileging and Othering) are not enough in the pursuit of anti-oppressive education. Together, though, they have served to inform a fourth one (Education that Changes Students and Society), which, although outlined by Kumashiro, still appears to be a major gap in current educational research and practice, especially when focused on Black refugee students.

Education for the Other

In the first framework that Kumashiro (2000) outlines, oppression in schools is conceptualized in two ways: external actions and inactions as well as internal assumptions and expectations. Anti-oppressive education in this framework, thus, seeks to remediate the harm caused by providing a space that is helpful, safe, affirming, therapeutic, and supportive. Education for the Other appears in the literature with different labels (e.g., empathy, ethics of care, compassion, resilience theory), but they all have a common denominator which is an education (theoretically) designed *for* the Other, for the *needs* of the Other. Once needs have been identified, educators, sensitized to how challenging and traumatic students' lives have been, eagerly seek to provide support and help to eliminate barriers so that refugee students can enjoy the same educational and life opportunities as Canadians.

An example of this framework is Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory of human development (or models that stemmed from this one), commonly adopted in research focused on refugee students, which points to how multilayered the experience of the refugee student can be while offering schools a myriad of elements to take into consideration in order to support them and their families, ranging from their academic difficulties all the way to health and housing (Brewer & McCabe, 2014; Kanu, 2008; Stewart, 2011, 2012; Stewart et al., 2019; Tavares & Slotin, 2012; Walker & Zuberi 2019; Wilkinson, 2002). Surely, to a certain degree it is important and necessary to be aware of the challenges faced by minority

groups, such as refugees, especially those who have to deal with a plethora of hardships and adaptations after arriving in the country. Leonardo (2009), for example, observed that schools often hold deficit perspectives of parents of immigrant children for not getting more involved with their children's education without realizing that the family may feel hostility for not being native English speakers. Indeed, language has been one of the major focus areas of studies with refugee students in Canada, identifying their "gaps," and tracing strategies to support them and their families in those challenges (Asadi, 2014; Brewer & McCabe, 2014; Dachyshyn & Kirova 2011; Lee, 2016; MacNevin, 2012; Walsh, et al., 2011).

Another way in which education under this framework (i.e., Education for the Other) would combat oppression is through the recognition and affirmation of students' differences by building on their religious, national, and linguistic identities as well as their (presumed) personal characteristics such as culture, motivation, resilience and hope (Hird-Bingeman et al., 2014; Stewart, 2011; Tavares & Slotin, 2012). That is, in order to involve all students in the classroom the teacher must tailor their practices according to the student population and specially "acknowledge the realities of day-to-day life that can hinder one's ability to learn" (Kumashiro, 2000, p. 29).

This framework enables educators not only to become aware of how different one's life experiences can be but also to actively seek to contribute to students' and their families well-being—both which, at the first moment, would appear as strengths of this approach. Many caveats to this framework also ought to be discussed, but before I address those limitations, it is remarkable how, in related literature, race/racism is hardly ever addressed, is left at the margins, or is replaced by less polemical (i.e., color-blind) terms such as culture or ethnicity. The avoidance of what is considered problematic (i.e., race) is also expressed through the frequent attribution of a student's "failure" or "dropout" to the student's family or home environment (Dei, 1996b, 2008)—which is also why I argue that it is important and helpful to understand what an ethical teacher-student relationship means first. Although I do not deny the importance of supporting students' experiences beyond the classroom or taking into consideration the

plethora of challenges that students bring with them to school, race is rarely discussed as being central in the schooling experiences of refugees, let alone the way in which race shapes teachers' perceptions and consequent welcoming of the Other, notwithstanding its major effects on students' well-being (for a few exceptions see Baker et al., 2016; Guo et al., 2019; Schroeter & James, 2015; Walker & Zuberi, 2019). In fact, the teacher-student relationship, when addressed in the research, is most of the time (if not always) described as a unilateral relationship, that is, how the presence of the refugee student impacts the teacher and consequently how educators are to respond (e.g., "How should educators respond to disclosure?" or "How do I know if I am experiencing vicarious trauma?," in Tavares & Slotin, 2012).

Regardless of the label given, the Education for the Other approach either fails to name a main issue in education (i.e., racism), disguises the problem with more manageable terms, or attributes students' (perceived) schooling barriers to other realms, which leaves the (white) teacher as centralized subject. That is where post-structuralism can help deconstruct such ideas. As argued earlier, a major problem in western society, at least since the Enlightenment, is how our minds are projected to think in binary terms and to see the self as the origin (Fagan, 2013; Hall, 1992; Peters & Biesta, 2009). The Other, thus, always emerges as an interruption of the self, that which I cannot comprehend, which causes discomfort. Our first attempt, then, is to try to bring the Other to the realm of the self, to understand the Other. Knowledge, thus, becomes an attempt of possession, to reduce that which goes beyond the self to that which I can grasp, being consequently not only a violent act against the Other's uniqueness but an attempt to eliminate alterity, which is necessary for community (Dei, 2008; Fagan, 2013; Levinas, 1972, 1982).

Conversely, as Kumashiro (2000) emphasized, "teaching involves a great degree of unknowability" (p. 31), so trying to generalize experiences or characteristics runs the risk of defining the limits of the (objectified) Other. This can be noticed, for example, with the commonly adopted resilience theory used in the work with refugee students. Stewart (2011), for instance, recognized how not every refugee student demonstrates psychological issues. When talking to her research participants, the author

points out that despite her coming to the interview moment with an assumed idea of resilience, for many students "it seemed that they had put the war behind them and then moved on with life in Canada" (p. 96). Fantino and Colak (2001), working with refugee children who did not fit the common assumptions about them, also observed that "the perception of the resilient and adaptable refugee child needs to be reexamined" (p. 591). Thus, despite the importance of conducting research with minority students as an opportunity for them to voice their experiences and thus help educators improve their schooling experience, attributing characteristics to them a priori is in fact a totalitarian relationship, one that seeks to determine who the Other is or can be (Levinas, 1972, 1982, 1934/1997), hence impinging on students' agency.

Although the advancement of technology, increasing migrations, and shifts in social theory and human sciences may have contributed to identity hybridity and an apparent decentralization of the Cartesian subject (Hall, 1992), being together does not eliminate hostility towards the Other. Discussing the roots of the concept of xenophobia, Derrida (2000a) observed that *xenos* not only means that which is heterogeneous, but also the relation between the citizen and the foreigner. Identity may have turned into a "code word for stability" (Morris, 2003, p. 197), however, regardless of the proximity, the presence of the Other consists of an inevitable violent attack against one's ego (Fagan, 2013; Freud, 1923/2018; Todd, 2003). After all, "a foreigner can be a parricide only when he is in some sense within the family" (Derrida, 2000a, p. 7).

Consequently, discourses of care (Noddings, 1984) and compassion (Carson & Johnston, 2000), for example, touch on a more basic problem which is the projection of the self to the Other (Todd, 2003). An ethics of care, as proposed by Noddings (1984) for instance, is not sufficient to empower students as active subjects with agency because its emphasis "is not on the subject but on the *relation* between subject and other" (Ruitenberg, 2016, p. 11)—a relation which is ultimately egoistic (Todd, 2003). In addition, there is a major risk that this framework serves to reinforce the white savior myth, a condescending relation with the Other who I perceive as less fortunate, less advanced, and lacking

attributes to be as (white Canadian as) I am, which, in turn, "implies that the Other is the problem" (Kumashiro, 2000, p. 30; see also Heron, 2007).

Surely, equity is a noble goal that we must pursue in all realms of life and especially through education (Gorski, 2019). However, when education is conceptualized *for* the Other not only is the teacher-student relationship potentially patronizing, but this helping imperative may in fact derivate from *my* necessity *of* the Other in order to sustain my (white Canadian) self, my own idea of (white Canadian) superiority and (white Canadian) centrality, "which holds the promise of wholeness" (Heron, 2007, p. 8). All in all, a positivistic perspective of refugee students, regardless of potential "good intentions," tries to define the fluid boundaries of the Other while leaving the white self as the foundation whence all goodness springs. So, if this approach is not enough, how can teachers welcome students?

Education about the Other

If in the first framework the educator tries to take the self to the Other through affirmation of the difference, in education *about* the Other the teacher seeks to bring the Other to the self (Todd, 2003). As Kumashiro (2000) observed, oppression is here conceptualized as two kinds of harmful knowledge: normal and normative definitions as well as stereotypes and myths. More than just recognizing difference, as the first framework proposed, an anti-oppressive pedagogy now would be translated through inclusion and integration, that is, teaching all students what needs to be known about the Other so as to generate empathy among them and "normalize difference and Otherness" (Kumashiro, 2000, p. 33). This framework has long been the driving force of many initiatives in educational research and practice with immigrant students, remaining strongly under the umbrella of multiculturalism. Tavares and Sloan (2012), for example, offered a long list of emotional blocks to learning and a suggestion of strategies educators are to adopt in order for learners to feel included in the classroom. A great amount of information *about* refugee students and their families—determinant factors of their success and well-being—are provided so that education can be motivating, inclusive of the student's culture and background experience.

Kumashiro (2000), however, noted three weaknesses of this framework: essentializing the Other, positioning the Other as the expert to explain "their group's" experience, and once again, trying to grasp full knowledge of the Other—which is not only impossible but undesirable (Levinas, 1972, 1982). Notwithstanding, these three limitations are in fact intertwined and stemming from the same metaphysical issue that has been previously explored. Indeed, a major problem with this approach is that it "suggests that the self's ego boundaries are flexible enough to incorporate another into its reality without having to project anything upon the other" (Todd, 2003, p. 57). In the midst of such efforts to eliminate differences and unify identities (Hall, 1992), it is necessary to observe whose voice is behind this pursuit of homogeneity. That is, in this attempt to blend the differences and promote a color-blind, transnational discourse, the desire is ultimately for whiteness (Heron, 2007; Leonardo, 2009), as I will discuss later. Furthermore, having one student be the representative of a group—e.g., Black, refugee—not only puts the student (who may already be feeling oppressed) on the spot (hooks, 1994), adding to their burden, but also suggests that we (educators, white Canadians) have nothing to do with their experience (racism, [neo]colonialism).

In the early 20th century, Jane Addams (1908/2017) already pointed out the discrepancy immigrant children can find between their homes and their new school—which may have contributed to the development of what anthropologists later coined the "cultural discontinuity hypothesis" (Ogbu, 1982). Although one may argue that Addams wrote in a very different context, a brief analysis of her work will highlight several aspects that remain present in the Canadian educational setting. Addams (1908/2017) argued that despite the benefits that education can bring to the immigrant child, a standardized curriculum disengages students and creates disharmony between them and their community. Thus, she sought to develop a curriculum that would "give to each child the beginnings of a culture so wide and deep and universal that he can interpret his own parents and countryman by a standard which is world wide and not provincial" (p. 56). Although it is important to support students in the different facets of their lives, as previously discussed, the idea of a curriculum that is universal (which for Addams means

a curriculum that speaks to every culture) while at the same time rejecting a standardized education brings with it two contradictions: first, it searches for what it tries to eliminate—after all, what is *universal* but an imposition of a one-size-fits-all model? Second, it is contradictory because it uses its own perspectives to determine and dictate what is meaningful to students, hence nullifying the culture of the Other—for what is culture if not meanings and values shared by a specific group? Moreover, it is important to be attentive to how, even an approach that in the first moment may be portrayed as a welcoming attempt, can disguise a discourse that is essentializing (e.g., "We send young people to Europe to see Italy, but we do not utilize Italy when it lies about the schoolhouse" [p. 57]) and patronizing (e.g. "the public school is the great savior of the immigrant district, and the one agency which inducts the children into the changed conditions of American life" [p. 55]). Moreover, race, if ever mentioned, appears under the disguise of "culture," "nationality" or "ethnicity," notwithstanding it long being a watershed in how students are perceived.

In a similar vein, a widespread theory in education, cultural discontinuity is understood as a major source of students' difficulties when immersed in a new context (Boulanger, 2019; Ogbu, 1982). The original hypothesis was suggested by anthropologists who observed how the home experiences of young children differed greatly from their new classroom and social experiences, contributing to students' academic and psychological challenges (Boulanger, 2019; Tyler et al., 2008; Ogbu, 1982). Consequently, culture is believed to play a vital role in one's cognitive development, human activity and thought processes (Ogbu, 1982), thus posing a great challenge in the lives of those who experience a rupture in their ways of being, especially when it comes to minority groups (Bobowik et al. 2014; Tyler et al., 2008). Although Ogbu (1982) suggests that all students experience home-school discontinuities throughout their schooling, such discrepancies are considered more pronounced for ethnic minority students (Tyler et al., 2008). As Tyler et al. (2008) argue, ethnocentric monoculturalism becomes a precursor to the cultural discontinuity experienced by many ethnic minorities, leading non-Western cultural values or belief systems to be the most affected.

The underlying idea behind Education about the Other, then, is that exposing all students to cultural diversity and to a culturally diverse curriculum is enough to generate the awareness that is needed to make everyone respect the diverse Other and achieve equitable education (James, 2009). If in the first framework, education would send out the necessary medicine to alleviate and meet the needs of the suffering Other, in this second moment education seeks to build a bridge so that the Other can join the dominant society in a healthy way. However, empathy is not a laden-free concept, as Kumashiro (2000) well observed. Although empathy may seem an honorable feeling, feelings "are not constitutive of nonviolence, of ethical interaction" (Todd, 2003, p. 51). Emotion and commiseration can connect individuals and thus they have their importance. However, this rationale implies identification by way of imitation (Todd, 2003). That is, while empathy may appear as a morally correct form of togetherness, it in fact serves to reinforce the centralized and patronizing self-Other binary.

Multicultural education, which can be perceived as an exponent of Kumashiro's (2000) conceptualization of Education about the Other, emerged to celebrate cultural diversity, reduce prejudice, and promote equity pedagogy (Banks, 1993). Certainly, multicultural education had its value when it began as, for the first time, (some) aspects of (some) minority students' cultures could appear in the curriculum in a way that was not derogatory (Leonardo, 2009; Wilson, 2016). However, as Wilson (2016) illustrated, food, music, and clothes are just the tip of the iceberg, not all that shapes one's being. So, despite its benefits, the pursuit of multicultural education appears to have become envisioned as a panacea in the pursuit of equity. When these tangible aspects become the synonym for culture (and race) and all that is addressed in education, the basis (e.g., ontology, epistemology) remains unchallenged and students become essentialized (Gorski, 2019; James, 2009; Kumashiro, 2000). In other words, multicultural education can promote knowledge *about* other cultures, but it is insufficient to challenge local oppressive systems and status quo. Indeed, recognizing the limitations of such ubiquitous phenomenon has even led some scholars to avoid the term (Gorski, 2016, 2019) or to promote "critical multiculturalism" as a concept to challenge multiculturalism's limitations (Wiggan & Watson-Vandiver, 2019). Acknowledging

the increasing diversity of the student body (understood especially in terms of ethnicity, language, and religion) and thus importance of "promoting a safe and caring space for all students" has been a recurrent discourse even in recent education reforms (in Manitoba and other places), which, despite its apparent strengths, fall short of being truly welcoming to the Other's uniqueness (Heringer & Janzen, in press).

For example, one of the participants in Tecle and James' (2014) study reports the distressing situation she went through when the teacher asked the students to give a presentation about their native countries and bring in artifacts that would represent the "uniqueness and richness" of their culture (p. 153). As the participant observes, while for her classmates that was not an issue, she felt nervous and fearful to share stories about her family and "home country," which had undergone deep political issues. Not only was the student forced to present but, to make matters worse, she felt that she was listened to as "the poor refugee student," which made her resent even more having presented. On the one hand, while it is important for students of color to see their cultural and racial identities expressed in the curriculum, care must be taken not to try to promote a mirror curriculum which "alone cannot provide the conditions for ethics, that is, for a nonviolent relationship with the Other where the otherness of the Other is left intact and unharmed" (Todd, 2003, p. 40).

Moreover, concepts of inclusion and integration, although ubiquitous in educational research with refugees in Canada, are also not sufficient because they do not challenge dominant structures. Guo and colleagues (2019), for example, observed how racism is a major source of oppression among the refugee students who participated in their study in Western Canada. Not only did the children report racial discrimination from their peers but also from their teachers, which made their situation even more distressing. Guo et al. also emphasized that educators must not treat refugee students as a homogenous group with the same needs, as I highlighted earlier in relation to the first framework. However, at the end of the article, the authors suggested that in order to better integrate refugee children in the school, and to "dispel negative preconceptions and alleviate prejudice … educators must teach all children *about* refugees at school" (p. 98, my emphasis). The utmost importance of the teacher-student encounter is, one

more time, substituted by external interventions that leave the educator's self centralized. In education about the other, power remains unchallenged in the hands of those who already have it and can navigate the educational system with their privileges: looking, thinking and behaving "white like Canada" (Clarke, 1997; see also DiAngelo, 2018; Gorski, 2019; hooks, 2015; James, 2009; Leonardo, 2009).

Education about the Other, thus, implies the myth of homogeneity and in a contradictory way. Canadians have long taken pride in being a mosaic society (as opposed to their melting pot neighbor), a place where different cultural groups can maintain their customs and traditions (James, 2009). Porter (1965) correctly challenged the assumption of non-hierarchy and coined the idea of a vertical mosaic. However, not only are differences hierarchically structured but they also remain dictated by the dominant voice. One has agency insofar as one acts "within the rules (institutional structure) to be recognized as participating in the game" (Dei, 1996a, p. 29). In other words, incorporating the Other remains linked to an idea of originality (white Canadian) which gives shape to the mosaic: the Other is allowed to be, but only to the extent that the dominant society allows, insofar as they comply with an existing structure.

Of course, if we were to speak only in terms of culture, there must be a common culture (however pleonastic this may sound) for the sake of any society's cohesion. Notwithstanding, inclusion is often simply another term for "tolerance." To tolerate the Other implies hierarchy, power of one over the Other and hence not a synonym for welcoming one's uniqueness (Fagan, 2013). Therefore, inclusion is also not enough in the struggle against oppression because it brings with it the idea that diversity must be incorporated or overcome, as a fort pedagogy in which "outsiders must be either incorporated—brought inside to become like the insiders—or excluded in order for progress and development to take place in the necessary ways" (Donald, 2012, p. 101). This rationale clearly guided Selimos and Daniel (2017) in their research with refugee students in Ontario, for example, as they structured their study in terms of the school being a site of either inclusion or exclusion. In addition, as Boler and Zembylas (2003) highlighted, the concept of inclusion also hides the fact that ultimately it is the dominant group who

decides what can or cannot be tolerated and when difference is worth naming (which would render its importance).

In education about the Other, the dominant voice naturalizes some created ideas (i.e., those which maintain white privilege, such as the English language superiority or western rationality), while refusing others based on the argument that they are not real and thus not worth discussing (e.g., claiming that race, being a social construction, can simply be ignored or disbelieved). Indeed, it is necessary to observe how oppressive discourse can be and how that is constantly expressed in educational research and practice. Thinking just about terminology, for example, if race is taken to belong to the realm of culture together with other cultural expressions such as language, academic expectations, parental involvement, etc., why is it not addressed as often as those other sub-categories? However, if race does not belong to culture, then the avoidance of the Other is outright. Now, if we grant that "ethnicity" encompasses race, then how would that be different from culture? It seems that a whole series of contradictions and complexities arise when concepts are used interchangeably with race, which would urge any scholar to look for better definitions. But what is truly ironic is how western-minded educators are continually looking for sets of clear directions to hold on to but, when it comes to defining uncomfortable terms (i.e., terms that ultimately threat our power and wholeness), we suddenly become very comfortable with nebulous ideas.

Indeed, anti-oppressive education "requires disruptive knowledge, not simply more knowledge" (Kumashiro, 2000, p. 34). However, it is not merely knowledge of what is there, but what is not. Anti-oppressive education calls for embracing the discomfort of the unknown, acknowledging that what the self comprehends is already an act of limiting the infinitude of the Other. Anti-oppressive education requires understanding that alterity has no beginning because we are not *in* relation with the Other, "we *are* relation" (Fagan, 2013, p. 119).

Education that is Critical of Privileging and Othering

In Kumashiro's (2000) third framework, oppression is not only defined by the segregation of the Other but also how schools privilege and legitimize dominant ideologies. Rather than trying to remediate the Other or to teach about the Other, educators and students are now invited to examine how the "normal" came to be the norm, challenge these assumptions, and critique their own positionalities. This framework started to gain strength with the reconceptualization of curriculum movement which emerged in the late 1970s and continues until today under the umbrella of critical pedagogy (Pinar, 1977/2017).

One of the greatest exponents of this approach, Paulo Freire, strongly argued that the curriculum has to be developed in dialogue with the other. Even though most of his work is focused on adult literacy, Freire's contributions to education as a whole are undisputable. As Freire (1970/2017) claimed, education remained throughout the decades an attempt to incorporate marginalized students into a pre-defined and rigid structure, but segregated students "cannot overcome their dependency by 'incorporation' into the very structure responsible for their dependency" (p. 181). In other words, Freire argued that students who are simply being for others, deprived of speaking and thus transforming the environment, are actually marginalized insiders, that is, they "are not marginal to the structure, but oppressed men within it" (p. 181). In a similar vein, Black refugee students may be physically present in the classroom like all the others, but by being deprived of their uniqueness they become oppressed in that same structure that claims to be an empowering opportunity for them; for "to exist, humanly, is to *name* the world, to change it" (Freire, 1968/2018, p. 88). In other words, to be human is to actively exert agency of one's existence, not to be a passive mass to be fit into pre-existing molds.

As Kumashiro (2000) noticed, under Education that is Critical of Privileging and Othering, education "should lead not only to empathy for the Other, but also to the ability and the will to resist hegemonic ideologies and to change social structures" (p. 38). With his work, Freire also provided an important critique to the white savior myth that has long pervaded Canadian education. Refugee children may arrive in Canada as a consequence of wars, famine, detention and other horrible circumstances in

their home countries (Stewart, 2011, 2012), however, as previously discussed, "any attempt to 'soften' the power of the oppressor in deference to the weakness of the oppressed almost always manifests itself in the form of false generosity" (Freire, 1968/2018, p. 44). While accepting refugee students may be portrayed as a commendable gesture of human rights, if it starts with the oppressor, it will most likely serve their own egoistic interests thus becoming a dehumanizing act (Freire, 1968/2018). Freire emphasized that students must not be simply treated as unfortunate people (p. 54) and that liberation takes place not through "pseudo-participation, but commitment involvement" (p. 69). Consequently, emancipatory education is not about mere integration of students, but transforming the structure so that students "can become 'beings for themselves'" (p. 74).

As aforementioned, Kumashiro's (2000) frameworks often appear overlapping each other in the literature. So, although there seems to be a dearth of studies conducted specifically with Black refugee students in the Canadian context through the lens of critical pedagogy (with few exceptions, such as Schroeter & James, 2015), some of the existing related literature brings some features of the first framework while claiming to be a study done through the lens of critical race/social theory (e.g., Stewart, 2011; Tecle & James, 2014). What these studies have in common is that they not only expose the inequities experienced by the refugee students but also draw attention to the source and maintainer of their oppression—although some in a more subtle ways than others. Students reveal feeling constrained by the system in which they are immersed, although finding ways to express themselves—such as through hip hop (Schroeter & James, 2015). Students' parents are in general portrayed as both having high expectations for their children's academic achievement as well as not being very involved with their schooling—which is explained especially in terms "of their work schedules and the difficulties associated with resettlement" (Tecle & James, 2014, p. 153).

Kumashiro (2000) noted, however, three limitations of Education that is Critical of Privileging and Othering framework. First, it is important to keep in mind that oppression is not experienced in the same way by different people, regardless of apparent commonalities. This will be particularly important

in the development of a key tenet in critical race theory, intersectionality, which will be discussed further ahead. A second limitation to take into consideration is that knowledge or critical thinking (or Freire's *conscientização*) does not necessarily lead to emancipatory action. Although both Kumashiro and Freire spoke particularly about the consciousness-raising of students, it seems that the same is germane to teachers' *conscientização*. On the one hand, as aforementioned, students may not wish to take action or speak up because of the oppression they have long faced, lack of trust, and the hopelessness that they will never be effectively heard. On the other hand, even teachers who become aware of students' oppression will not necessarily be led to transformative action. The encounter with the other disrupts the self, and the most natural tendency is that teachers, feeling the vulnerability of their power and control, will hold on firmly to their self-affirmation (Todd, 2003). This leads to the third limitation of this approach, as Kumashiro (2000) highlighted: the idea "that reason, and reason alone is what leads to understanding" (p. 39). Not only are our beliefs, biases and assumptions ingrained in the western mind (Giroux, 1981; Peters & Biesta, 2009; Tejeda et al., 2003), but different people will not necessarily think in the same way, especially when such knowledge threatens one's sense of power. This can be observed, for example, when the refugee's claims of being oppressed for their race are not taken seriously by the teacher (Guo et al., 2019).

Freire (1968/2018) correctly argued that rather than objects or containers to be banked with knowledge, the oppressed must become the subject of education and "intervene critically in the situation which surrounds them" (p. 67). At the same time, Freire recognized that "the oppressor knows full well that this intervention would not be to his interest" (p. 52). Notwithstanding, Freire placed greater responsibility on the oppressed, who "must confront reality critically" (p. 52), see the vulnerability of the oppressor (p. 64) and thus take the first step towards their own liberation. An expression of the challenge of this approach can be observed in the early Combahee River Collective (1977) statement:

> racial politics and indeed racism are pervasive factors in our lives did not allow us, and still does not allow most Black women, to look more deeply into our own experiences and, from that

> sharing and growing consciousness, to build a politics that will change our lives and inevitably end our oppression. (p. 3)

As it has been discussed, the status quo is comfortable for the white Canadian teacher or even a non-white or non-Canadian who acts in such manner because of the pervasiveness of discourses, values, and assumptions. Such teacher is able to control the situation, enjoy their privileges, and navigate through a system that works to their benefit. The minority student, on the other hand, arrives in a system where a prescribed education inhibits learners' expression (Freire, 1968/2018, p. 47), where they internalize a sense of self-depreciation that the oppressors have of them (p. 63), which can then lead them to accept their exploitation (p. 64). Moreover, placing the responsibility on the oppressed is often linked to the idea that whites are passive in their dominance, as if they had received their privileges by birth and simply remained enjoying them—an important aspect that I will discuss later. Therefore, expecting the oppressed to fight against the pervasiveness of racism without first naming and deconstructing one's own whiteness will not magically transform classrooms into truly welcoming spaces for Black refugee students.

Critical pedagogy takes into consideration the link between domination and psyche (Giroux, 1981), which is a vital component of anti-oppressive education. Although the extent to which racism can be an unconscious act will be discussed more specifically later, critical pedagogy emphasizes "the diverse conditions under which authority, knowledge, values and subject positions are produced and interact within unequal relations of power; it also problematizes the ideologically laden and often contradictory roles and social functions that educators assume within the classroom" (Giroux, 2020, p. 91). Canada may try to conceal the oppression towards racially diverse refugee students, but that is nonetheless present, pervasive, and likely even more powerful than in places where oppression is obvious to the world (Giroux, 1981).

Another limitation to the Education that is Critical of Privileging and Othering framework can be observed in Freire's conceptualization of dialogue, which is often found in research focused on "diverse

students" under the concept of *community* (e.g., Sapon-Shevin, 2010; Stewart, 2011; Tavares & Slotin, 2012). However, as previously argued, the physical presence of the Other does not necessarily generate community, nor does the voice of the Other represent democratic dialogue (Todd, 2003; Trifonas, 2005); in fact, community is not necessarily a good thing. As Dei (2005) argues, "a community can be a vehicle for perpetuating ideologies of race, class, gender, and sexuality" (p. 14). Although dialogue, democracy and community are contested terms which will not be discussed here, it suffices to say now that education and the encounter with the Other is always an act of violence because it involves a traumatic disruption of the self which is "a necessary condition of subjectivity" (Todd, 2003, p. 20). The question, thus, is rather the extent to which educators are willing to support the absence, the silence, the suspension, the cipher without deciphering.

But before proceeding to explore Kumashiro's (2000) fourth anti-oppressive pedagogy, it is important to analyze the contributions that have been made by CRT despite its limitations. Although critical work may often stop in the realm of reasoning, which is sometimes a source of critique even among CRT scholars (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017), some important studies have been conducted through the lens of CRT in the pursuit of anti-racism education. In the following sub-sections, I bring a critical analysis of some of the main themes that this school of thought as well as other anti-racism education scholars have articulated thus far with the purpose of opening the horizons for hospitable education for Black refugees in Canada.

Being white, being human. CRT scholars have sought to demonstrate how racism, more than individually performed acts, is ingrained and institutionalized in white societies as a whole—thus hindering students' educational experiences in many complex forms (Carson & Johnston, 2000; Codjoe, 2001; George, 2020; James & Taylor, 2010; Maynard, 2017; Schroeter & James, 2015). Harris (1995) argued that, through slavery, race became intrinsically connected to the notion of property in two ways. On the one hand, Black people were considered commodities, the symbol of slave labor, something less than human. On the other hand, whiteness characterized the free human being, with all the rights and

privileges. Property, Harris observes, was thus intertwined with expectation—a link that remains until today. That is, being white means living in the belief that one's property (i.e., whiteness and the privileges it grants) will not be trespassed, knowing that one's "property rights" are protected by the law.

During the (official) segregation times in the U.S., the link between property and race represented two intertwined aspects: on one side, it literally granted the right to exclude Black people from places, events, jobs, etc. so that those remained "pure," "human." On the other side, being white not only meant "a shield from slavery" (Harris, 1995, p. 279) but also knowing that one was entitled to enjoy "all of those human rights, liberties, powers, and immunities that are important for human well-being, including freedom of expression, freedom of conscience, freedom from bodily harm, and free and equal opportunities to use personal faculties" (pp. 279-280). However, slavery (which was not exclusive to the U.S. and not that long ago) has left the legacy of a pathological and deficit perspective towards Black people. If back then "whiteness defined the legal status of a person as slave or free" (p. 280), it has remained as the rule and standard of what is good, right and appropriate; being white in a white society today still means holding legal, political, economic, and social privileges, as anti-Black racism educators continue to assert (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; DiAngelo, 2018; Golash-Boza, 2016; Leonardo, 2009).

But it must be noted that whiteness does not happen by itself. White supremacy only exists in relation to the Other, or in fact, to the detriment of the Other. That means that, throughout time, whiteness may have "changed in form but it has retained its essential exclusionary character and continued to distort outcomes of legal disputes by favoring and protecting settled expectations of white privilege" (Harris, 1995, p. 288). Whiteness, thus, is not merely a characteristic of one's identity, but "an active entity that … is used to fulfill the will and to exercise power" (p. 282). Clear evidence of that can be observed with the white outcry that followed the court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* in the U.S. in 1954, or in Dumas' (2009) analysis of the desegregation of a school district in Seattle throughout the decades. In both cases (as well as many other instances), seeing Black people enjoy what was considered to be white property was received as usurpation of a natural hierarchy.

Canada might not have experienced Jim Crows laws as the U.S., but the scenario was not very different from its southern neighbor. Several provinces had schools legally and overtly developed for racially diverse students (as well as for those who were Roman Catholic or Protestant). In Ontario, for example, the Common School Act of 1850 was enacted "for the better establishment and maintenance of Common Schools in Upper Canada" (Government of Ontario, 1846). While some would argue that this act envisioned equity for allowing so-called "disengaged students" to have a school tailored to their needs, such segregation was in practice (rein)forcing racial segregation and legally accommodating racism (Aladejebi, 2021).

Segregated schools remained in Canada until 1983, when the last one was closed in Lincolnville, Nova Scotia (Malinen & Roberts-Jeffers, 2021). But the end of state-mandated racial segregation of public schools was not enough to provide Black students with equity or agency either. In fact, it is possible that schools became even more oppressive because whites had no choice but to "tolerate" the presence (or the trespassing) of the Other (Bell, 1979/1995). Anti-racism scholars in the U.S. and in Canada have observed that, even today, not only society in general but also schools continue to be spaces of bullying, violence, and segregation of Black students (Aladejebi, 2021; Baker et al., 2016; Codjoe, 2001; Crenshaw, 2015; Dei, 2001, 2008, 2017; George, 2020; James, 2012; Maynard, 2017; Schroeter & James, 2015). The institutionalization of zero-tolerance policies, far from creating "safe" learning environments, have contributed even more to the stigmatization and unfair targeting of Black students (Crenshaw, 2015; Dei, 2008; James, 2012). One aspect that is particularly startling is how the same behavior can sometimes be considered a crime when committed by a Black student but deemed as an innocent act when performed by a white (Crenshaw, 2015; Maynard, 2017). This is not a new phenomenon, though. Du Bois (1903/2005), for example, observed more than a century ago:

> the police system of the South was originally designed to keep track of all Negroes, not simply of criminals … It was not then a question of crime, but rather one of color, that settled a man's conviction on almost any charge. (p. 77)

The white shield remains powerful. Black people have long known that they are treated differently because of their race. As Mbembe (2017) put it, "there has always been an intimate relationship between the name 'Black' and death, murder, being buried alive, along with the silence to which the thing necessarily had to be reduced—the order to be quiet and remain unseen" (p. 152). The unauthorized discourse, however, oftentimes reveals itself through the cracks of the hegemonic system, such as what can be observed in the Canadian context from the voices and experiences of those who are oppressed by it.

For example, Isa, a Black refugee student in Canada, expressed in regards to a course developed for underachieving students: "We're here because we're Black" (Schroeter & James, 2015, p. 31). Another refugee student in western Canada, commenting about the stereotypical treatment received (both from students and teachers), said: "Well I think because we are Syrian refugees. I think so. If I were Canadian and doing something, my teachers wouldn't treat me like that" (Guo et al., 2019, p. 97). Or take, for instance, what a grade 11, male student in Toronto observed: "Even at school teachers treat you differently. … Like if you're a Black kid walking through the hallway … they're expecting you to cause trouble or be bad" (James & Taylor, 2010, p. 127).

The perspectives of Black teachers have often been explored in research and corroborate students' experiences above. For example, Howard (2014) discussed how in Montreal, racism, evidenced especially through denial and colour-blindness, remains pervasive in education despite being considered a multiracial population. Moreover, the interviews revealed the ways in which Black students are often treated as criminals—or arguably even worse:

> A little incident in school, something with equipment, not having equipment, or some little thing like that. The teacher's reaction was to detain that child, have that child miss the school bus on a cold day, and then *didn't give a damn* how that child got home…deliberately made that child miss that bus, and then just ignored the child from there on in. The child had to walk home on a

> very cold day. Fortunately the child was old enough to find his way home, but here you have an instance where a teacher shows such callous disregard for the well-being of the child, and when we see these instances, we've got to recognize them as the iceberg where, you know, only a small part of it is above the water. (Howard, 2014, p. 500)

More recently, in a study in Nova Scotia, Malinen and Roberts-Jeffers (2021) also explored the ways in which white teachers often blame Black students and their families for any perceived "deficits" they encounter, revealing in fact how embedded whiteness is in Canadian education. For instance, a pervasive remark found among white teachers was that Black parents do not care about their child's education:

> I don't know–if the African Nova Scotian population–I don't know if there's some aspect of valuing or not valuing education culturally that gets relayed to youth. It doesn't seem right to me to say that it's a population-based thing versus a family-based thing, but, some families value education and some don't. It would be interesting to find out statistically what that looks like. It's certainly been my experience as a teacher, seeing the difference between any student that's read to as a young person, and a student whose parents are excited about things they do in school and expresses that to their child, versus, you know, the 'We don't really care what you do at school.' (Malinen & Roberts-Jeffers, 2021, p. 833)

It is not surprising that the teacher surrounds comments like these with "I don't know"—arguably trying to soothe one's racist beliefs—and suggesting a statistical analysis of the facts. Taken for granted, however, is what "caring" looks like. Why should an expression of care be defined by white standards? How do such standards align with non-white ways of being? What existing factors impinge on parents' ability (and/or willingness) to demonstrate such expectations?

A long-standing debate remains as to whether racism can be considered an unconscious act and whether or not it is fair to say all whites are racists. Lawrence (1987/1995) suggested that racism is both a crime and a disease. Drawing from Freudian theory, the author asserted that "the human mind defends

itself against the discomfort of guilt by denying or refusing to recognize those ideas, wishes, and beliefs that conflict with what the individual has learned is good or right" (pp. 237-238). In addition, based on cognitive psychology theories, Lawrence argued that an individual's life experience is shaped by constant racist messages which serve to form one's unconscious beliefs and perceptions of the world. Similarly, analyzing student teachers' resistance to the "difficult knowledge" of racism, Carson and Johnston (2000), also drawing from psychoanalytic literature, criticized anti-racism education claiming that "resistance is neither naive nor ignorant, but an active rejection of a knowledge that threatens the self with disintegration" (p. 80). Therefore, the authors argue, it is unfair to blame whites as perpetrators when they appear to have been unconscious of their complicity. Margles and Margles (2010) followed the same idea, observing that a great amount of guilt and embarrassment can emerge in the classroom when whites are confronted with racist complicity, which suggests, one more time, that racism can be unconsciously performed.

However, Margles and Margles (2010) also argued that racism is learned: "The very blindness to it by so many is symptomatic. No one is born racist but no one born into this society is immune to its distortions, interwoven into all aspects of life" (p. 137). Indeed, Banks (1993) has long argued that racial differences can be perceived by children from a very early age, and both Leonardo (2009) and DiAngelo (2018) seem to agree that "white imprint is everywhere" (Leonardo, 2009, p. 88); thus, whites' internalized belief of superiority "shouldn't be surprising, as society sends constant messages that to be white is better than a person of color" (DiAngelo, 2018, p. 47).

But if Lawrence (1987/1995) was right and racism is a disease, should not it have been cured already? Why is the world still so infected by it? Why are Black people still being oppressed in schools (and other institutions) in Canada (and around the world)? Why, when it comes to talking about dominance, "whites suddenly disappear" (Leonardo, 2009, p. 88)? As Carson and Johnston (2000) observed, the resistance to knowledge seems to be linked to a certain "passion for ignorance," a tendency to leave things as they are—and, as it seems, the name for this passion (a euphemism for crime) is white

privilege. Especially in Canada, a country that seems to strive to be portrayed as the U.S.'s alter ego (Clarke, 1997), standing as good, innocent, moral people is a priority in the agenda. The result, then, is a "racism without racists" (Bonilla-Silva, 2018).

Requiring proof of one's consciousness might be an unsolvable and unhelpful path to judge and punish one's actions (Lawrence, 1987/1995). Racism reveals itself, though, through feelings that are associated with shared cultural attitudes, which "may be repressed from consciousness, but so long as the symbols they have created retain their meaning, the feelings continue to exist and to shape behavior" (p. 248). Take, for instance, the unfolding of *Brown*, or how whites' excuses for their racist (in)actions are always perfectly and strategically designed according to the context, knowing when to resort to a reverse racism argument, such as what often takes place in the dilemma of free speech in the classroom.

Other common moves to disguise white complicity (to say the least) with racism are to attribute racial inequities as the result of class, cultural misunderstandings, individually performed actions rather than institutionalized, color-blindness, race-neutrality, meritocracy (DiAngelo, 2018; Golash-Boza, 2016; Gorski, 2019; James, 2009; Leonardo, 2009) or even being mere "passive victims of socialization" (hooks, 2015, p. 14). Whiteness' power, however, is not only to refute allegations of racism but also to attack and thus maintain white privileges. The harmful power of discourse is used to pathologize Black people's non-conformity with the white system. Were the stigmatized messages bombarded through the media not enough (which Walcott and Abdillahi [2019] recognized to be one of the most effective managerial achievements of neoliberalism), schools persist in accepting and reinforcing stereotypes, attributing students' low achievement to culture, language, class, nationality, home environment, learning styles, etc., but never contesting its own structure (Codjoe, 2001; DiAngelo, 2018; Gorski, 2019; hooks, 1994; Ladson-Billings, 2006, 2017). As James (2012) observed,

> stereotyped as foreigners with cultures from elsewhere, young Black males' poor educational performance and disciplinary problems are not only attributed to their lack of Canadian

> educational values and discipline, due to their inability or unwillingness to assimilate, but also to their "foreign cultures" that do not value education. (p. 472)

It is not surprising, then, that such stigma is reflected in both teachers' and peers' relations (Codjoe, 2001; Dei, 2008), as this refugee student shares:

> They said "Get away from that place, and you are not allowed to pray and you are not allowed to do your things in here, and it's not your place and it's not even your country, so go back to your place…This country is for White people." (Guo et al., 2019, p. 96)

Whiteness, thus, is enacted through the scorn, despisal and subjugation of Black people, while at the same time being dependent on the Other for self-affirmation; after all, "without a privileged center, there can be no denigrated margin" (Leonardo, 2009, p. 71). Harris (1995) also noted that this does not happen individually only: whites not only subjugate the Other but also do so in alliance with their counterparts. That is one of the reasons, Bell (1979/1995) believed, why the *Brown*'s decision caused such revolt among whites: they felt betrayed. Harris (1995) explained that for the white working class, race became a fundamental pact in their economic endeavors: "it does not mean that all whites will win, but simply that they will not lose, if losing is defined as being on the bottom of the social and economic hierarchy—the position to which Black have been consigned" (p. 286).

Besides schools, the exclusion of non-whites as a communal force can also be seen through the national identity project. White power allows its possessors not only to decide who is white but also to confer portions of whiteness to others, conveniently, through the principle of "interest convergence" which will be discussed in the next sub-section (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Fox & Guglielmo, 2012; Harris, 1995; Porter, 1965). Throughout the years, both the U.S. and Canada restricted or loosened immigration policies and citizenship according to labor market demand. The attempt to maintain a white Canada has been in place since the early colonization movements with the subjugation of Indigenous and

Black Peoples, remaining over the years through immigration policies and assimilation acts (Clarke, 1997; James, 2009; Porter, 1965).

Indeed, the debate around assimilation and nationalism is a central concern in CRT and deserves further attention when envisioning a welcoming education to Black refugees. One of the main contributions of CRT has been the development of the concept of intersectionality, which can be defined as "the examination of race, sex, national origin, and sexual orientations and how their combination plays out in various settings" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017, p. 58). Evidence of intersectional identities' oppression can be observed by the Combahee River Collective (1977), a Black feminist lesbian organization active in the U.S. in the 1970s, who voiced and struggled against the multilayered oppression they faced—racial, sexual, heterosexual, and class oppression. As they observed, "the synthesis of these oppressions creates the conditions of our lives" (para 1). Crenshaw (1989) also sustained the argument that for some minority groups oppression does not happen through a single categorical axis. Although it is important not to neglect the original meaning and purpose of the concept, the intricateness of modern identities (Hall, 1992) has certainly held, if not further complexified, what Crenshaw argued decades ago. For example, recent research has brought to light the specificities of the oppression female Black students (George, 2020; Morris, 2007) and male Black students (Howard & Reynolds, 2013; James, 2012; Schroeter & James, 2015) continue to face. These studies show how the constructs of race *and* gender function to conflate students' oppressive experiences in ways that go beyond what they would have experienced based just on their race or gender—e.g., discourses of criminalization and disproportionate discipline for Black girls, and stereotypes of Black Canadian boys as being immigrants, fatherless, athletes, troublemakers, and underachievers.

In addition to the multiple disadvantages that they face in mainstream society, Crenshaw (1989) observed that intersectional groups are also either not represented or *mis*represented by other minority groups movements. Therefore, when analyzing existing literature (such as the ones abovementioned), it must be noted that the experiences of Black individuals whose families have been in Canada for

generations may have much or little similarity to students who have just arrived as refugees, voluntary migrants, let alone those in the U.S. context (Crenshaw et al., 1995; see also Wheeler et al., 2011). Black refugees in Canada have the potential to be oppressed not only for their race but also for (at least) their national, linguistic, religious, and political identities. This, however, does not mean that these students will necessarily feel represented by the existing educational interventions to support refugee students or by the existing movements against anti-Black racism. In order for educators to listen to and ethically respond to the voices of this complex group (who is obviously not a homogenous group either) in a way that enables them to be active subjects with agency (Ruitenberg, 2011), they cannot simply be placed into one category or the other. Their uniqueness calls for a unique response, which appears to be missing in existing literature. It is of utmost importance, thus, to challenge the "uncritical and disturbing acceptance of the dominant ways of thinking about discrimination" (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 150) that hinders not only Black *or* refugee, but *Black refugee* students.

As aforementioned, one of the functions of education is socialization (Biesta, 2009), which harmonizes with a traditional understanding in education: knowledge is legitimized and meaning is given with the purpose of social control (Apple & King, 1977). Surely, some degree of control is necessary for the cohesion of any group. However, it "may result in the maintenance of a status quo that will preserve superior educational opportunities and facilities for whites at the expense of blacks" (Bell, 1979/1995, p. 24). Delgado and Stefancic (2017) outlined that there have been many different positions among CRT scholars in terms of the extent to which minorities should assimilate or not. Bell (1979/1995), for example, often defended the creation of "model all-black schools." Other common strands are the idea that it is necessary to exercise influence (i.e., Black people must be connected to non-Black people in order to bring about change), that Black individuals can associate with whites but making sure that they give back to their community, and that a strong nation by itself will benefit everyone (i.e., Black individuals should follow the natural course of society and strive to do their best). In general, however, nationalists "describe themselves as a nation within a nation and hold to that the loyalty and identification

of black people, for example, should lie with that community and only secondarily with the United States" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017, p. 69). The relevance of these dissident views is certainly evident in the U.S. context, (in)famous for being a melting pot society. What could be said then about Canada, which takes pride in being a so-called "mosaic" society where immigrants are (theoretically) encouraged to keep their traditions?

George Sefa Dei, likely one of the most well-known anti-racism educators in Canada, defends that a society, the school, or the classroom, is stronger when each person's individuality is respected and "recognized as a source of strength to bolster our collective might" (Dei, 1996a, p. 17). For that reason, Dei warned that one hegemonic pedagogy should not simply be substituted by another. Thus, even though he is positioned as a professor of African-centered studies, he sees that as being just one possible strategy for a wholistic, non-oppressive, non-exclusionary education, not a one-model-fits all to be followed. It is not merely what *is* taught but what is *not* that Dei finds problematic. The ultimate goal, the scholar argues across his works, must be the inclusion of the widest variety of human experiences as possible, which he believes does not happen in the dominant Euro-Canadian educational context. Here it must be noted that what Dei means by inclusion is not Education about the Other which was debunked earlier. Inclusion, for Dei, implies disruption of the status quo, the validation and incorporation of diverse ontologies and epistemologies, and not merely some aspects of one's culture (i.e., those which portray and reinforce the image of an "exotic other" to be consumed through the lens of a binocular from a safe distance, as in a safari). Dei (2008) claimed that because the purpose of education is the collective good, this "communal search for a mutual interdependence and existence is only possible if we learn to share power and to challenge all forms of colonizing and oppressive relations" (p. 359)—which has been the greatest challenge in the pursuit of anti-racism education in Canada.

An important aspect to be observed, though, is that Dei's focus is predominantly African-Canadians, that is, those who were born and raised in the country. Although much of Dei's work resonates with the present context, when it comes to Black refugees there are some caveats that should be

taken into consideration. One of the key elements in Dei's (2008) anti-racism education project is that it "must work with the ways of ancestral cultural knowledge retention, and … to help learners build their self-, collective, and cultural identities" (pp. 348-349). On the one hand, African-Canadians' experiences may approximate to that of refugees because, different from voluntary immigrants, refugees in many cases may not envision going back to their original countries (Fantino & Colak, 2001; Guo et al., 2019). However, in a country where "it is difficult enough to figure out what it means to be Canadian, let alone African Canadian" (Clarke, 1997, p. 98), the identity transformation process that Black refugees can go through (whether they come from Africa or not) must not be undermined. For instance, to what extent is assimilation desirable or expected? Should refugees in Canada seek to assimilate to the society that has received them (whether out of gratitude or to facilitate adaptation)? Should educators encourage them to resist the Canadian way of life and make them proud of their "origins?"

Once again, the myth of the origin that pervades western metaphysics may attempt to frame and fix identities which are in fact fluid and evolving. Callan (2005) argued that assimilation is only negative if it happens through oppression (which he then names *assimilationism*). Notwithstanding, Dei (1993) consistently argued that anti-racism educators must "draw on students' lived experiences" (p. 42), which highly resonates with what Dewey (1902, 1938) had advocated for long before. This tension can be observed in how a Black student in Tuck's (2009) study found it difficult to envision a different way of being because "all my life as a Black woman I've been told, 'go back to your roots,' 'don't forget your roots,' 'look to your roots.' My roots are important to me" (p. 119). Callan (2005) noted, however, that often a person who leaves their culture may simply want to embrace the new one and forget about their past, and that should not be conceived as "cultural suicide" (p. 473). But the author draws attention to the possibility that people may choose to assimilate to avoid coercion from the receiving community, which makes newcomers in fact "plainly victims of oppression" (p. 475). How then are educators supposed to ethically respond to this impasse?

On this matter, Dei (2008) offered a pivotal take through the "power of self-definition"—a concept that is also central in Collins' (2009) scholarship in Black feminism, which "speaks to the power dynamics involved in rejecting externally defined, controlling images of Black womanhood" (Collins, 2009, p. 126), reawakening one's repressed consciousness, and interpreting one's own reality. As demonstrated by previous research, such distorted images continue to be placed on Black students (both girls and boys) in Canadian schools. But it seems that educators oftentimes avoid giving voice to some identities because those are perceived to be charged with negative ideas (Dei, 2008), as aforementioned. For instance, because to be thought of as Black is often to be thought of as less than human, a common remark from a "well-intentioned" white to their Black friend is: "I don't see you as black" (see Lawrence, 1987/1995). DiAngelo (2018) went straight to the point on this matter: "What is so shameful about being black—so shameful that we should pretend that we don't notice?" (p. 37). Collins (2009) goes further asserting that the issue is not only *what* is being said about Black individuals, but "the credibility and the intentions of those possessing the power to define" (p. 125).

Dei (1993) argued that the school needs to "provide accurate, non-racist analysis of Africa in order to subvert the historically racist views about Africa and peoples of African descent that have been taught and held in dominant colonial discourses" (p. 43). This, however, is a necessity not only for the benefit of Africans in order to reclaim their self-esteem and dignity (although Dei emphasizes that this should not be done "out of sympathy, empathy, or even paternalistic concern" [p. 45]), but also to unsettle whites' racism. In addition to it, though, Dei observed that through an African-centered education Black students can "see themselves as subjects rather than objects of education, become active generators of their own knowledge and consequently be able to identify with the materials being taught in class" (pp. 45-46). This means that it is not the content per se, but the openness that the chosen curriculum allows which becomes the main concern.

Here we can then observe an essential connection between anti-racism education, as proposed by Dei, and the ethic of hospitality (Ruitenberg, 2016). Whether thinking specifically about student

subjectification or the curriculum as a whole, Dei (1996a) proposed a school conceptualized in terms of both conformity and resistance. Because one's identity is not formed in isolation,

> educators and school administrators have to lead the way by *opening up spaces* in which alternative, non-hegemonic viewpoints can flourish in the schools. Educators must *interrogate* (rather than cursorily dismiss) alternative ideas and viewpoints in school—particularly those emanating from subordinated groups in society—and *identify* sources of students' cultural, political and intellectual empowerment and disempowerment. (Dei, 1996a, p. 22, my emphasis)

As observed earlier, hospitable pedagogy is about openness to the Other, a constant deconstruction through *différance*, welcoming alterity without categories. This ethical intention is thus the necessary mindset when opening the door to Black refugee students. That is, regardless of how the refugee student's identity unfolds as they get settled in the country, in the community and in the school, it is the role of the educator not to impose assumptions, whether an identity or an idea that sets boundaries or limits human experiences upon their arrival. Any response shall only come after careful scrutiny, tactful deconstruction (although here also lies the aporia of hospitality, which will be referred to later). Then, whether students choose to remain loyal to their origins or not, this should not be perceived as betrayal because "to maintain cultural fidelity is not merely to behave outwardly but to think and feel as those who properly belong to that culture" (Callan, 2005, p. 479).

In terms of gratitude for the receiving society, however, Dei (1996a) made it clear that it is the role of education to unveil the myth of the oppressor's superiority not only by challenging the historical amnesia (i.e., the silence and invisibility of Black lives) as well as the pathological discourses that pervade the curriculum which define what/whose knowledges/practices are valid/acceptable. So rather than expecting (and demanding) that students passively conform to the circumstances and definitions imposed on them, students' power of self-definition should be encouraged. Callan (2005) also warned that one's desire to assimilate to the dominant society may be intrinsically connected to the stigmatized

perception the individual has of their identity in contrast to the superior status and image of the white country (see Heron, 2007). This, however, can at the same time generate a sense of betrayal, contradiction, and anxiety in the individual who has to *pass* as white so as not to *trespass* (Dei, 1996a; Harris, 1995; Lawrence, 1987/1995). Passing white, however, is not a symbol of self-definition but of self-denial for survival. As Du Bois (1903/2005) observed, without the silence, smile and, cajoling, "there is riot, migration, or crime … The price of culture is a Lie" (p. 88). Students' silence and compliance with the hegemonic system thus does not necessarily mean they are content or satisfied, but can rather often be evidence of their despair. Or, to use hooks' (1994) words, "it is the absence of a feeling of safety that often promotes prolonged silence or lack of student engagement" (p. 39).

To challenge hegemonic discourses is, however, certainly not an easy task for the (white) educator teaching in the public system. Some teachers may avoid topics that can potentially trigger "pain, anger and confusion" (Dei, 1993, p. 42), but it is the educator's ultimate responsibility to "expand the breath of information that students receive about this world" (p. 43) and let them have the agency to make sense of the world for themselves, which is a necessary step in order for them to develop a sense of welcoming and belonging. Thus, while different scholars might have different takes on matters of assimilation and drawing on students' lives before moving to Canada, the key rule to define anti-racism, hospitable education should be its resistance to totalization so that being human is not reduced to being white.

Interest convergence and the discomfort of equity. But if the idea of power sharing unsettles whites' expectation of non-interference, it is unlikely that the dominant echelon will strive for equity. Thus, a by-product of white privilege and consequently another main theme developed by CRT is that of *interest convergence*. This concept, which became popularized especially by Bell's (1979/1995) work, suggests that any apparent equitable changes that favor Black individuals only happen when those changes ultimately also benefit whites somehow, such as the U.S. court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*. Bell argued that while Black people had for a hundred years claimed against segregation

policies, these educational changes only happened for the sake of the U.S.' image (both internationally and among Black people who had fought for the nation in the World War II) and to enhance its industrialization in the South. Today it is arguably easy to find those who claim that Black people should enjoy the same rights as whites. However, when changes are made and whites feel the loss of their privileges, a common counterargument is that of reverse discrimination (Dei, 1993; Leonardo, 2009; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Such could be observed after the court's decision in *Brown* but also today with affirmative action policies, for example. As aforementioned, affirmative action is not enough to erase oppression and such measures will always find resistance from whites for whom the perceived losses seem not to outweigh the gains (Bell, 1979/1995).

Gorski (2019) emphasized that a major stumbling block for racial equity is the priority given to it. While it sounds trendy to claim to be committed to diversity nowadays (Gorski, 2006, 2017), modifications in the curriculum are usually merely add-ons in homeopathic doses that do not promote the structural changes needed to truly challenge the hegemonic oppressive discourse. Moreover, by avoiding conflict with the people with power, educators set the pace according to the comfort of the most resistant rather than prioritizing the dignity of the most vulnerable (Gorski, 2017, 2019).

Although Gorski (2006) argued that "the elimination of oppression benefits *all* students" (p. 166), and that does resonate with Dei's conceptualization of community, it must be emphasized that "true equality for blacks will require the surrender of racism-granted privileges for whites" (Bell, 1979/1995, p. 22), which will most likely encounter resistance—to begin with one's self. That is why, Gorski (2006) argued, it is important that educators constantly critically re-assess their own practices and beliefs so as to examine whether we too have been holding on to racial comforts to the detriment of the Other—but not forgetting that consciousness does not necessarily lead to anti-racism practices, as explored earlier. As faith without works is dead (James 2:17), self-awareness without transformative action is vain (Dei, 2008; Gorski, 2006)—or in fact even worse because "the self-professed racist may even find religion on the road to Damascus and correct his own ways" (Lawrence, 1987/1995, p. 244; see also Dumas, 2009). But

when one already believes they are “in the path of righteousness, neither reason nor moral persuasion is likely to succeed” (Lawrence, 1987/1995, p. 244).

As it has been argued, equity becomes particularly uncomfortable for whites because it calls for redistribution. An anti-racism pedagogy provides not only the space for marginal voices to join and be validated but also seeks to provide the means so that every student can have the necessary means to it. As Gorski (2019) pointed out, “this includes material access to things like learning materials, technology, healthy food, and even healthcare. It also includes nonmaterial access to higher-order pedagogies, relatable curricula, and equity-conscious teachers” (p. 60). Here one may recall what was presented in Kumashiro’s (2000) “Education for the Other” framework. Surely that information will be helpful for educators in order to support students’ schooling, but it can now be observed how much more complex than a five-level-model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) a Black refugee’s educational experience might be. What Dumas (2009) observed is that redistribution has to be associated with recognition. The author argued that it is the intertwining of (mal)distribution (i.e., depriving one’s access to means of production) and (mis)recognition (through disregard or undermining, for example) that generate and sustain oppression towards minorities: “there is no distribution without recognition, and no recognition without distribution” (p. 82).

Dumas’ (2009) analysis is that the intersectionality of race and class makes it a much more complex challenge in the struggle for social justice than the sum of both. Although we must not attempt to hierarchize oppression, it is alarming how even class or gender have become terms recurrent and dissected in the literature while race remains a blurred and silent concept (Dei, 1996; Dumas, 2013). This might be explained because “whiteness retains its value as a ‘consolation prize’” (Harris, 1995, p. 286), that is, being poor but white still means being over (and thus able to oppress) those who are poor and Black—which explains how the white bourgeoise has historically resorted to Black labor for self-realization: “it is through the concept of whiteness that class-consciousness among white workers is

subordinated and attention is diverted from class oppression" (p. 286). In that case, it is most likely that class-based policies will encounter further public support than race-based ones (Dumas, 2009).

Indeed, having race as the central concern, Dumas (2013) observed that CRT has often suffered Marxian critiques which claim that it

> problematically prioritizes race over class, fails to account for the political-economic foundations of racial inequities and racialized processes, and focuses on White supremacy as the explanation for the persistent oppression of people of color, without due attention to the impact of capitalism and market forces. (p. 114)

Delgado and Stefancic (2017) also question whether CRT has taken economic democracy into account "if racism is largely economic in nature" (p. 108) and suggest that "critical race theory has yet to develop a comprehensive theory of class" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017, p. 115).

Walcott and Abdillahi (2019), notwithstanding, offered a pivotal perspective on this matter which not only functions as a congruence of what has been discussed so far but also illuminates the path towards an education that can be truly welcoming to Black refugees. As briefly observed earlier, the authors argued that the European Enlightenment was responsible not only for making the human the center of the universe (e.g., by emphasizing human happiness, free speech, liberal thought, religious freedom) but also for defining the human *par excellence*. For that reason, Walcott and Abdillahi claimed that current critiques against the stereotypical "white, male, heterosexual, and able-bodied" human being are not enough to disrupt the system because they simply work within its malleability. These categories, the authors argued, are themselves an expression of the European framework that continues to dictate the world's ways of thinking. When we speak, for example, of immigration and citizenship, we are necessarily speaking in terms that "reference some kind of movement and reordering of the globe under Europe's terms or conditioned by those terms" (p. 22).

Moreover, Walcott and Abdillahi (2019) emphasized that the post-Columbus migrations were driven and sustained by anti-Black logics that conceptualized Black people as commodities and labor. It was necessary that the Black body became conceptualized as a non-body so that it could "accommodate slavery" (p. 21). This logic, the authors observed, remains today, which "can be noticed in the simple fact of moving 'labour' to sites of production as transatlantic slavery so glaringly inaugurated on a mass scale" (p. 22). However, it is also expressed by the way in which the historical presence of Black people in the country is absolutely dismissed in Canadian education or the government's common humanitarian, benevolent or reconciliatory speeches. Moreover, as aforementioned, the segregation and violence against Black individuals remains pervasive in the country, putting concepts of democracy, justice and freedom in check. After all, "violence and crime turned and focused inward constitutes one of the most severe late modern practices of our time in the midst of much abundance and wealth" (p. 39).

Walcott and Abdillahi's (2019) critique of current scholarship is also that what has been "proffered as decolonization still appears to imagine Black peoples as out of place, as a problem to be solved, as a spectre lurking in the midst of a problem that might otherwise be more readily solved" (p. 50). Black refugees thus become the epitome of racial capitalism's paradox: oppressed by the European colonization of their minds, body, and spirit (a process which Canada contributed to), they are now displaced to the oppressor's (stolen) land, where they must beg for hospitality and be subjugated to its laws in order to continue to be dispossessed of their humanity. For that reason, although "historically, Black leaders, educators, and activists, in surveying this terrain of racial injustices, have placed faith in education as *the* primary way to overcome or transcend, to 'uplift the race'" (Dumas, 2009, p. 93), as long as education remains restrained by the hegemonic paradigm, Black refugee students will remain merely oppressed bodies within the four walls of a Canadian classroom.

Racial capitalism as the ruling order dictates not only the less-than-human image of Black individuals but also validates their undeserving of cultural, material and social capital: it is "the equivalent of a giant necropolis" (Mbembe, 2017, p. 137). For that reason, even self-proclaimed gestures of equity,

democracy or social justice are short-lived when they are "attempting to repair or renovate a system that cannot be repaired" (Walcott & Abdillahi, 2019, pp. 78-79). As long as Canada refuses to let go of its racism-earned privileges and continues to disguise its role in the dehumanization of Black people (inland and internationally), the ropes of slavery remain securely tied in the lives of the oppressed. If "freedom marks a certain kind of sovereignty over the self in relation to collective and communal conditions" (Walcott & Abdillahi, 2019, p. 69), it is time refugees in Canada became indeed free in this post-slavery world rather than outcasts. So how do teachers move from here?

Education that Changes Students and Society

Kumashiro's (2000) overlapping frameworks evolve into a fourth approach to anti-oppressive education. Here oppression happens through harmful discourse. If in the second framework oppression was understood as misleading or limited knowledge about the Other, now it is detrimental and repetitive utterances that go beyond the interpersonal level. Many studies conducted through the lens of critical race theory, for example, have expressed how oppressive discourse can be to minority students. Notwithstanding, post-structuralism—one possible title for this framework—emerges as a "post-critical pedagogy" (Trifonas, 2003) and takes educators a step further in the path towards anti-oppressive education.

Kumashiro (2000) outlined four intertwined insights that post-structuralism contributes to, which have been hinted throughout the present work. First, we (and I speak as a white, western educator) have an immanent resistance to alterity because—and this is the second insight—the presence of the Other leads the self to crisis. Going in the other direction: because "the Other is what I myself am not" (Todd, 2003, p. 3), the arrival of the Other (which can be understood as a person or an idea, for example) causes discomfort and hence "we unconsciously desire learning only that which affirms what we already know and our own sense of self" (Kumashiro, 2000, p. 43). That is why, as aforementioned, education is necessarily violent: we can only learn what we do not know, thus learning itself implies the decentralization of the self. The encounter with the Other follows the same logic. Consequently,

embracing the Other only to the extent that they fit my existing thoughts and beliefs ultimately means not welcoming alterity at all; on the contrary, it is a totalizing act. However, a major shift in western education is proposed by post-structuralist theorists who explain that the Other is “infinitely unknowable” (Todd, 2003, p. 3). The face of the Other, as Levinas (1982) suggested, is the representation of that which is absolutely Other, and post-structuralism invites the educator to, through self-reflexivity (third insight), be comfortable with the “presence” of the unknown, which is Kumashiro’s (2000) fourth insight.

What the three previous frameworks have demonstrated is that good intentions alone are not enough to pave the way to equity and students’ agency (Schroeter & James, 2015). Tecle and James (2014), for example, provided a very pertinent critique to how racially diverse refugee students are essentialized in schools, which was discussed in the previous section. However, as a conclusion, the authors suggested that “educators must *think of these students as Canadians* ready, willing, and eager to make their contribution to their society” (p. 156, my emphasis)—a loop back to the boundaries of the projections of the self. Conversely, as I have argued throughout this dissertation, post-structuralism deconstructs longstanding constructions—to begin with the subject itself. No longer is the self the alpha, the beginning of the relation, regardless of the Other being the one who is the newcomer in the country, in the school, or in the classroom. Post-structuralism is an approach that escapes totalitarianism, that marks “the death of the good Canadian” (Richardson, 2002) rather than that of the uniqueness of Other.

Levinas (1982) argued that ethics is not something to be sought in the relation with the Other because ethics *is* relation: “the origin is itself interruption, and that interruption is without content” (Fagan, 2013, p. 150). Education is then not merely a means to ethics, rather we can understand ethics as ontological in the relation. This is particularly important to the present work not only because it corroborates the claim that learning *about* the other is potentially oppressive, as discussed earlier, but because it is also a constant opening up of horizons, the “cipher without truth” (Derrida, 1973, p. 149). In a play with Spivak’s (1995) original meaning, no longer do we ask if the subaltern can speak or claim that they cannot, which would imply that we must speak for them. Rather, as post-colonialist theorists have

noted, “the subaltern *has* already spoken” (Gregoriou, 2005, p. 138). The question is rather how we respond to the Other.

Opening the Door to an Ethic of Hospitality

Although educators may be very fond of recipes or quick steps to be followed, the path towards an oppression-free education is both simple and impossible to be conceptualized. It is not that CRT has to develop a theory of class, gender, political status, or any other identity marker. In fact, labels and terms have to be deconstructed because “labels are lazy” (Bleazby & Apple, 2018, p. 41). Frameworks become most often a reattribution of responsibility (which thus exempt the educator’s) at the same time that centralizes the teacher who has accomplished the “lesson plan.” The consequence is that often “white scholars are celebrated for their performances of critical reflexivity, but little else changes, and the cumulative effect is that white experience of the world resumes its place as the rightful and natural perspective” (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013, p. 83). Ladson-Billings (2008) herself, one of the most popular CRT scholars today, observed that attaching ourselves to a framework without proposing effective ways to challenge white privileges will not be enough.

Because Black voices remain as less-than-human, left at the margins of such approaches, “strategies of inclusion framed as multiculturalism, equity, social justice and so on cannot and do not work towards Black freedom and liberation but instead reentrench inequality and brutalities of all kinds” (Walcott & Abdillahi, 2019, p. 81). While Ladson-Billings (2008) suggested that educators must swim against the current and operate in the liminality of the system, I believe the role of the anti-racism teacher is rather to reimagine a “shapefree” education, that is, an education that escapes the boundaries imposed by the present structure (see Heringer, 2022). But how can educators welcome Black refugees without giving in to stigmatized notions of inferiority and superiority embedded in our minds and daily reinforced by the school’s (hidden) curriculum? In a school where Black students are socialized to act white and punished for being Black, how can we welcome the ungraspable Other, who my (un)consciousness already rejects, in a way that they can be active subjects with agency?

Despite the self's resistance to alterity, Freud's (1930/2013) "narcissism in respect of minor differences" (p. 55) translates the idea that there may be some satisfaction found in the encounter with the Other, which leads us to have "a drive for connection with exteriority" (Todd, 2003, p. 89) and thus desire to respond to the Other in their otherness. However, just like race and racism are terms very much avoided in education (yielding instead to culture and ethnicity, for example), it seems that compassion and empathy have occupied the place of what could potentially be misinterpreted or uncomfortable for educators or researchers to explain: love. Although it may sound rather simplistic, it is unquestionable how love appears as the heart (no pun intended) of Levinas' philosophy and Freud's psychoanalysis. Both authors, despite potential divergences, seem to have a crucial line of thought in common, which converges in Todd's (2003, 2009) works. hooks (1994) also observed that there is a pervasive split between mind and body in education, a tendency among educators to undermine and suppress eros and eroticism. hooks argued, however, that we must not limit eros to its sexual meaning, but rather understand it as

> a force that enhances our overall effort to be self-actualizing, that it can provide an epistemological grounding informing how we know what we know, [which] enables both professors and students to use such energy in a classroom setting in ways that invigorate discussion and excite the critical imagination. (hooks, 1994, p. 195)

While the Greco-Christian tradition provides four different kinds of love, I will contain my discussion here by observing that not every kind of love is ethical. Simply put, as a mode of relationality (thus more than a feeling or virtue), love can be self-centric or self-less. However, what Todd observes is that love always carries with it the ethical potential—which Freud (1930/2013) frames as altruism and Levinas (1982) as sacrifice—being thus a much safer direction than what empathy, for example, would provide. Levinas argues that, rather than fusing or neutralizing, alterity is what propels and conserves the selfless love relationship (*eros*) between two sexes. However, I believe his second illustration may be even more pertinent for the present context, and that is *filialité*, the parental love.

The parent-child relationship (idealistically) illustrates how one is unconditionally vulnerable and committed to the alterity of the Other, not expecting anything in return, allowing oneself to be surprised by the Other's agency, while moving through unforeseen paths that are unearthed each and every day. Love, "a power that exists over the ego … in a typically Levinasian counterintuitive move" (Todd, 2009, p. 18), as the spark for *différance*, is thus the propelling power of the ethical relationship. The Good, for Levinas, "emanates from *within* the relation to the other … It is inextricably linked to the very violent structure of facing alterity" (p. 18). This love is thus not only that which must drive teachers in their relationships with students but also that which leads the anti-oppressive research.

Dei (1996a) offers an important distinction between institutionalized power and agency which can be helpful in what could appear to be a nihilistic task. Although "individual agency as such is tied to and constrained by institutional power … individuals do have the power to make choices within structures of power" (p. 29). As in a game where players have the agency to break or bend the rules that make the game exist and still be considered part of the game, so are educators and students called to enter the classroom: "the breaking of the rules is always already available within institutional power structures and creates the possibility for change" (p. 29)—and here it seems that Walcott and Abdillahi's (2019) references to Derrida's works are not accidental. The ethic of hospitality opens its doors to an education than can be in fact welcoming.

Anti-racism education is first of all a call for the teacher to stop living in the expectation of property safety. Inclusion is not enough if white privileges are not removed from the premises. It is a call to let go of racism-earned privileges that not simply take place "out there," but at every moment in the classroom when we neglect what dissident voices are saying (whether through words, actions or silence), when we seek causes to blame the Other for non-conformity rather than questioning our own limited perspectives, when we do not question our own biases and simply allow our ingrained beliefs to dictate our conduct. The school has to be a place of resistance, to begin within the self. A commitment to anti-racism education is first of all a commitment to unsettlement; it is a commitment to hospitality. If on the

one hand anti-racism education is about resisting our resistance to conflict, it is on the other hand saying "yes" to the unexpected, the unplanned, the unknown.

However, as observed earlier, this is not a call for an unplanned, anarchic or even student-centered pedagogy. Three elements are necessary for the possibility of constituting hospitality: a host, a guest, and a space. Whether the space refers to our minds when welcoming a new idea or a physical space when receiving the Other, hospitality *takes place*, it happens within the boundaries of a medium. The role of the anti-racism host, however, is like an artist who reimagines, reinvents realities. The artist may resort to existing objects such as brushes and paint but the outcome is not normative: "it is as though the laws (plural) of hospitality, in marking limits, powers, rights, and duties, consisted in challenging and transgressing *the* law of hospitality, the one that would command that the 'new arrival' be offered an unconditional welcome" (Derrida, 2000, p. 77). As the home is never the same after the arrival of the guest, so is education to be unconditionally shaped by the disruptive arrival of the unknown, unpredictable, uncomfortable Other.

As it appears, education returns to the legal field where CRT began, but now with a call to transgress (see hooks, 1994). Anti-racism education must only be shaped by its undecidability, "which is to say that madness, a certain 'madness,' *must* watch over each and every step, and eventually must watch over thinking, as reason does also" (Derrida & Ewald, 2001, p. 72). As much as we may claim to pursue "social justice," it is ultimately necessary that educators do not try to define what justice looks like for justice is the breaking of the law, what escapes the law. If justice is defined, then it is not justice anymore but a new law—and where there is a law there is an imposition rather than unconditional welcome. As Walcott and Abdillahi (2019) put it, "freedom is the gap or space between breaking the law and the re-imposition of the law or its variant—that is violence" (p. 70). In addition, where there is a law it is possible to claim to have followed it or not. Justice, conversely, belongs to the Other "because I'm responsible for the other … it is the other who decides in me, without in any way exonerating me from 'my' responsibility" (Derrida, 2007, p. 455). Conversely, our responsibility is expressed in the saying (*le*

Dire) rather than the said (*le dit*) (Levinas, 1982). Justice abides not in the law but in the silence, the "ethical resistance in the face of the other" (Edgoose, 2001, p. 123), in the singularity rather than the universal. Therefore, justice is always *to come* (Edgoose, 2001; Peters & Biesta, 2009).

A welcoming curriculum is not the one which gives the educator a list of "dos" and "don'ts." Anti-oppressive education is not "about advocating strategies that are always supposed to bring about the desired effects" (Kumashiro, 2000, p. 45). It is less about occupying the space between the self and the Other than it is about listening to the Other, in a "continual opening up toward future possibilities" (Todd, 2003, p. 133) and "say[ing] yes *to who or what turns up*" (Derrida, 2000a, p. 77). Hospitable education involves risk (Biesta, 2016; Todd, 2003). Rather than always knowing what to do, hospitable education is about undecidability (Derrida's *différance*), teaching with ignorance (Todd, 2003; Rancière, 1991), welcoming the unanticipated, with no expectation of reciprocity or (self-) praise for having completed the lesson plan. Consequently, this "pedagogy of discomfort recognizes and problematizes the deeply embedded emotional dimensions that frame and shape daily habits, routines, and unconscious complicity with hegemony" (Boler & Zembylas, 2003, p. 111). It might be said, then, that the first door to be open in hospitality is not that of the classroom, but that teachers' own insecurities and fears of losing control.

Articulating the simplicity of an ethic of hospitality (which is not to undermine its difficulty) is necessary, but obviously a philosophical theory in itself is not enough to change society. Any paradigm shift requires time (Kuhn, 1996). However, as Giroux (1981) argued, a radical pedagogy can "contribute to changing the consciousness and drives [of] the teachers and students who *could* then work to change society" (p. 79). Moreover, this framework not only paves the ground for an anti-oppressive pedagogy that truly welcomes Black refugees but also illuminates educators in the politics of the classroom and in their relations with students' families.

Anti-oppressive education can only begin to take place when the decentralized teacher upholds their unconditional responsibility to each student's uniqueness. Welcoming Black refugees will not

happen merely by opening the doors of the country or the classroom to them. Neither will it happen by trying to follow a deterministic and standardized curriculum because "our institutions were designed to reproduce racial inequality and they do so with efficiency" (DiAngelo, 2018, p. 153). Rather, a truly welcoming education requires openness to the unknown. It requires engagement with the discomfort of losing control over means and ends. It requires interrupting whiteness. It requires tactfulness to give space for the Other—whoever they may be, whenever they arrive—to be an active subject with agency. It requires vulnerability. It requires that which has no universal practice: it requires hospitality.

Here lies the aporia of anti-racism education: it is a pedagogy of dissatisfaction. But just like the possibility of hospitality lies in its impossibility, so is anti-racism education not utopic. We must resist our ingrained assumptions, unlearn our habitual practices, and learn to be unsatisfied because "as long as whites ultimately feel a sense of comfort with racial analysis, they will not sympathize with the pain and discomfort they have unleashed on racial minorities for centuries" (Leonardo, 2009, pp. 89-90). The consequence of these detours, for instance, are evidenced in our days through the "multiculturalism" discourse or affirmative actions that do not cease to segregate. Anti-racism education is not a sadistic pedagogy, but a conscious decision not to *act* white (i.e., reproducing and reinforcing white expectations, standards, behaviors, etc.) which is the most common (un)conscious tendency in a white society like that which we live in. It is the role of the teacher-host to provide the student-guest with the windows to see beyond the realms of the home while at the same time tactfully listening to and responsively responding to the Other's voice as they make sense of the world. Anti-racism education takes place beyond what we can see, in the (dis)harmony and tension between conformity and resistance, somewhere between the *im-possibility* of the real and the imagined.

Chapter Three: Methodology

> To build a world that we share, we must restore the humanity stolen from those who have historically been subjected to processes of abstraction and objectification. (Mbembe, 2017, p. 182)

In the previous chapters, I worked with the conceptualization of education as the unlocking of the world (Ruitenberg, 2016) while analyzing ways in which educators' practices can hinder or foster students' agency, with special attention to Black refugees. I discussed the overwhelming and pervasive violence against Black students caused by racism, some of the particularities of being a refugee in Canada, and how the oppression of Black refugees has been undertheorized in the country. Although their voices appear in a few studies, their silence in the literature (and particularly in Manitoba) is certainly worrisome. What has the schooling experience of these students been like? How (in)hospitable has their education been? What obstacles have those students been facing and how could those be removed? What can contribute to their well-being? Questions like these can not only help educators better welcome Black refugees but also, by providing students with opportunity to voice and make sense of their experiences, encourage them to be *respondents* (thus not merely socialized or a future skilled worker), which is an ultimate purpose of education (Ruitenberg, 2011).

But what would an ethical study of hospitable education look like? How can educators investigate the experiences of Black refugee students in a way that, decentralizing the researcher, works for the emancipation of the participant, cooperating with their well-being, fostering agency, reimagining their humanity? Potts and Brown (2005) make it clear that "there is no fixed or bona fide set of methods or methodologies that are inherently anti-oppressive" (p. 281). Rather, it is through a bricolage of methodologies (Kincheloe et al., 2018) that an anti-oppressive inquiry might take place. Notwithstanding, any project that seeks to make students respondents, or to use Mbembe's (2017) words, to restore the humanity—aligned with Freire's (1968/2018) notion of what it means to exist humanely— of those who have been oppressed for centuries, must not be oblivious to the ways in which mainstream social science

and its research methods are embedded in whiteness and institutional racism (Dei, 2005; Kincheloe et al., 2018; Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2008), which requires more than good intentions from the researcher.

Potts and Brown (2005), however, offered three intertwined tenets that can serve as the cornerstone of anti-oppressive research: 1) it seeks social justice and resistance throughout the whole study; it requires more than good intentions and must rather challenge the status quo, which includes the ongoing critique of one's own beliefs, biases and epistemology as a researcher; 2) it recognizes that all knowledge is socially constructed and political: what is considered to be true is the result of social and power relations, and this awareness can be used to build emancipatory knowledge; and 3) it recognizes that research is embedded with power and shaped by relationships, so rather than approaching participants as objects, the researcher values the relationship with the people whose experiences are under study and tries to bring them as close as possible to the research process. These three methodological commitments served as the basis for the present research.

First, I approached this study knowing that "the first target of change is ourselves" (Potts & Brown, 2005, p. 260). I have made the active effort to recognize my positionality and challenge my ingrained beliefs not only in the beginning but throughout the whole study. Such attempt can be evidenced, for example, by the research journal I kept. However, anti-oppressive research does not begin and cannot be limited to such tangibles. The complex inner work I have experienced *during* this research (my thoughts, feelings, concerns, hopes, etc., and how I responded to those within me) was instrumental to challenging my (white) ways of being.

Second, I have made the active effort to resist quick interpretations and rather, as an act of *différance*, approach the study recognizing that "'truth' is a verb" (Potts & Brown, 2005, p. 261). Rather than trying to find what I previously believed to be true, I sought to engage with the data as a *relation* (thus not as knowledge waiting to be grasped) between me (hence with all my complexities as abovementioned) and the research data (the interviews, curriculum documents, and research journal) and

aware of the political forces that mediate such complex relation (e.g., the public education system in Manitoba and my previous knowledge about its structure, policies, and so on).

Third, I originally planned this research in a way that I would not be just another "parachute researcher." Within the constraints of the research (especially in terms of time, funding, and the pandemic), I sought to meet with students multiple times over the course of a few weeks/months so that we could develop a more meaningful relationship, build trust, and have them collaborate in the meaning-making of findings. My goal was to give students "control over the research process" (Potts & Brown, 2005, p. 262) as much as possible rather than approaching them as objects to be studied.

In addition to Potts and Brown's (2005) framework, this research was informed by the contributions of post-structuralism and hermeneutical phenomenology. This study had its starting point in the recognition of the uniqueness of each student and a resistance to totalizing discourses, while aiming at the fulfilment of one's human nature: "we want to know that which is most essential to being" (van Manen, 2016, p. 5). van Manen explored how, by the attentive practice of reflection of a lived experience, one may better comprehend the meaning of such experience as it appears in the consciousness and thus become empowered to live it more (meaning)fully. Post-structuralism, in turn, warns against oppressive citational practices which, through the resistance to difference and desire for sameness, can inhibit students' uniqueness (Butler, 2021; Derrida, 1978; Kumashiro, 2000).

As discussed before, hospitable education does not follow a recipe book; each student may perceive it in a different way. The paucity of research seeking to hear how Black refugees feel in Manitoba schools, however, is alarming. A theory of the unique, as van Manen put it—which resonates with Derrida's post-structural scholarship—, thus emerges as a potential counterattack to the hegemonic discourse that has been for too long telling Black individuals who they are—or in fact, who they are not. For too long Black individuals have been deprived of being *respondents*. Giving Black refugee students the opportunity to articulate how their schooling experiences have been can then not only help educators

better welcome them but also foster students' sense of worth and agency. What is necessary in order for educators to dismantle current oppressive structures, thus, is not another white methodology that reify current hegemonic beliefs, but a theory of the unique which transcends any predetermined concept of humanity and leads to "the fulfilment of our human nature: to become more fully who we are" (van Manen, 2016, p. 12).

Study Design

This research may be classified as a single qualitative case study (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Although "case study" is understood slightly differently by methodologists (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Yin, 2018), its overarching rationale is arguably similar across different authors—albeit I rarely see researchers highlighting such nuances when resorting to the literature to describe their methods. Therefore, I argue—and this has been my approach in the present study—that providing a rich description of a researcher's methods (especially studies of emergent nature like this) is more relevant than trying to strictly follow the approaches of one specific methodologist from the outset.

In a nutshell, a case study can be defined as "an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 37) and it is an appropriate empirical method "especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident" (Yin, 2018, p. 15). As Yin observed, it is the need to understand complex social phenomena that sets the stage for case studies. Differently from other qualitative designs such as phenomenology or ethnography, a case study is focused on a unit of analysis, not the topic of investigation. As education in Canada is organized and governed provincially, the unit of analysis of this research is the educational experiences of Black refugee students in the Manitoban context in the period of 2011 to 2021. The specificities of provincial education—such as curriculum documents, current educational act and potential education reform, credit requirements, streams/specific curricula (especially English as and Additional Language), General Learning Outcomes (GLOs), Specific Learning Outcomes (SLOs)—, the pervasiveness of racism (as noted in the existing literature as well as my own research), the context of the COVID-19 pandemic (which had different

responses from each Canadian jurisdiction) and my positionality as a white non-Canadian researcher (and certainly the other facets of my identity, which I explore in more details throughout this research) shaped the blurred boundaries of the phenomenon and context of this case study.

The fundamental question that drove this study was "How do Black refugee students conceptualize hospitality in education?," an inquiry which can be broken down into two main overlapping questions: a) In what ways do students feel (or not) welcome, especially as it relates to curriculum and social relations in K-12 Manitoba classrooms?, and b) In what ways, if any, do students perceive their agency in their education? Given its complexity, case study researchers resort to multiple sources of data to better understand the unit of analysis (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Yin, 2018). This research thus relied on three sources of data, namely, an in-depth analysis of curriculum documents published by Manitoba education, individual interviews with Black refugee students, and a research journal that I kept throughout the study.

First, it was important to explore how the provincial government conceptualizes hospitable education, especially as it relates to approaches to teaching racially diverse and refugee students, so as to contextualize students' experiences. A critical analysis of six provincial education documents (Chapter 4) was then designed to observe how the government seeks to welcome students and the ways in which students' agency is envisioned. Such analysis, especially in light of the interview data, could then also be used to evidence gaps and strengths in the government's approach to teaching Black refugee students.

Individual semi-structured interviews, in turn, were designed to hear directly from students how they have been experiencing their education in Manitoba. How do they feel in their schools? Do they feel they can be themselves? To what extent do they feel they have agency over their education? What makes them feel (un)welcome? The five students who participated in this study shared deep and meaningful narratives about what they have experienced since they arrived in Manitoba, which will be explored in Chapter 5.

Conducting such curriculum analysis and interviews, however, are major relational undertakings. In other words, the lenses through which the documents were analyzed and interviews conducted would inevitably shape this study's findings and must not be taken for granted. Thus, the pursuit of anti-oppressive research that aims at exploring how Black refugees have experienced their education in Manitoba requires the careful attentivity to the positionality of the researcher. What am I, the researcher, trying to achieve in each of the steps taken throughout the study? Why? How am I conducting each step? By being committed to journaling my research experiences (Chapter 6), I sought to make this as transparent as possible not only for the reader but for myself as I conducted the analysis of each data source.

The specific methods employed for each source of data (rationale, procedures, recruitment, analysis, etc.) will be described in further detail in their respective chapters. The ways in which the three data sources used in this study informed and complemented each other, in turn, can certainly not be undermined—those might be latent throughout the next chapters but will be more explicitly discussed in the third part of this dissertation.

Positionality

Reflecting upon my motivation in conducting this research, I can observe that a myriad of factors and experiences have shaped my worldviews and interests from which I will name those I believe to be the most salient. Since my early academic years, I have noticed how passionate I am for theory and not so much for practice itself. Although I recognize that both are intrinsically intertwined, it is much more comfortable for me to discuss philosophical theories and let others figure out how to apply them in their daily practices. Thus, especially now that I began my journey teaching in higher education, the present research was a challenge to my own comfort zone and an attempt to demonstrate how theory and practice cannot be dissociated but constantly inform each other. Despite being passionate about Derrida's vast and thought-provoking work around the notion of hospitality as well as Ruitenberg's more recent conceptualizations—studies that greatly satisfy my thirst for knowledge—I realize that it is necessary to

make the connection between those philosophical works with schooling experiences clearer to educators (including myself), especially as they relate to Black refugees.

Although I can say that philosophy is quite a recent passion of mine (I certainly abhorred it—or I thought I did—when growing up), psychoanalysis has never been a foreign territory. Every opportunity I had to spend time with my father, a psychiatrist doctor and psychoanalyst, provided me with illuminating perspectives, insights and observations that certainly shaped the way I relate to and understand others. Additionally, having grown up receiving very clear hospitality directives from my mother has made me very aware of how important it is to receive others well in our home. Those directives not only shaped the way in which I would receive my friends for a meal or sleep-over but also always made me sensitive to any foreigners I would meet in Brazil. Therefore, although I was not born here and it may always remain "a foreign land" to some extent to me, I feel that Canada (and Canadian classrooms) is my home now and so it is my innermost desire that those who arrive here—especially segregated minorities—may feel truly welcome.

I acknowledge then that I came to this study as a complete outsider: a white, non-Canadian researcher who had never been a teacher in Manitoba public schools. On the one hand, my positionality may be perceived as a strength to this research as it enabled me to come to the interviews as a complete stranger, seeking to conduct deep and meaningful interviews through which I could learn exhaustively from participants' perspectives (Morse, 1994). On the other hand, I recognize that I am privileged in many ways (e.g., white, able-bodied, middle-class scholar, having had access to prestigious schools/universities and non-academic activities all my life) and that my ingrained beliefs and theories (e.g., my preconceived notions of racism and of what being a refugee means) have inevitably shaped the ontology and epistemology with which I conducted this study.

If one's life experience, knowledge, and worldviews inform the way we perceive, question and interpret others and make sense of the world, I recognize that my positionality put me at risk of not only

conducting this study from a hierarchical and positivistic stance but also trying to "draw" from the data what I want or expect to hear or read (Ely et al., 1997; Potts & Brown, 2005). It is also important to note how my positionality, albeit sensitizing me to the struggles faced by students, is also entirely distinct from their experiences and thus posed a threat to my sensitivity to their uniqueness. Despite feeling racialized to some extent in Canada, in no ways have I ever or will I ever experience racism and segregation as Black people do. For example, I never feel being watched with suspicion when entering a store and it never crosses my mind that an innocent encounter with a police officer could cost my life. Additionally, despite having arrived in this country not long ago, I know I have the option of going back to my home country at any time if I so choose, where I know I will be welcomed by my family and live in peace—an opportunity that refugees most likely do not enjoy as their home countries might pose life threats to them (e.g., due to war, famine, religious/political persecution).

My long-standing passion for social justice has led me to work voluntarily with many different marginalized groups around the world throughout the years—the most recent one, a three-month journey as a volunteer teacher in Kenya, still quite vivid in my mind. Although I acknowledge that unfortunately this helping imperative might have been inevitably influenced by my whiteness (Heron, 2007), such experiences always ended with my recognition that those who I wanted to help in the first place had actually challenged my own assumptions and broadened my worldviews. I would begin my volunteering experience with the belief that they needed so much help only to realize that in fact I had so much to learn from them. I began this research with Black refugee students believing to be much more sensitive to a potential patronizing perspective that may stem from my white, academic positionality and much more cognizant of how my own knowledge and experiences in no way make me superior to the Other. On the other hand, I recognize today how my experience in Africa has developed in me the tendency to essentialize Black individuals, as if I knew them right away.

But I also recognize that simply acknowledging my whiteness prior to the research is not enough to prevent it from shaping the study or to prevent me from objectifying participants and/or their

experiences. As much as I sought to decentralize myself following the tenets of anti-oppressive research (Potts & Brown, 2005), as discussed earlier in this chapter, I am aware that my positionality has inevitably influenced the study to a great extent, as I am the sole researcher, theorist, literature reviewer, interviewer, analyst, and writer. In fact, I particularly originally intended to have students collaborate in the meaning-making of findings as a way to have my understandings challenged, not only being guided by my own biases. But, unfortunately, none of the participants continued engaged in the study after the interviews were conducted (as I will explore further ahead). The research journal and my own commitment to self-reflexivity became thus essential in my being transparent (hence vulnerable) to the reader and avoid (as much as possible) articulating only what is convenient and comfortable to me and my research agenda. When conducting/analyzing each data source, it was my goal then to remain tactfully aware of my positionality, intentionally resisting quick interpretations, being open to surprises (Ely et al., 1997), taking reflexivity as an act of transcendence (Pillow, 2003), being aware of power in/over relationships (Brinkmann, 2018; Potts & Brown, 2005), and seeking to listen not to what I wanted to but to what emerged, however uncomfortable that might have been for me (Doucet & Mauthner, 2008; Potts & Brown, 2005). For, as Potts and Brown (2005) argue, “the art of the question is in the re-researching, the willingness to look again” (p. 267).

Credibility

In the midst of an array of terms and concepts that have informed the realm of qualitative research throughout the years (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Morse, 2018; Tracy, 2010), Tracy’s (2010) “big-tent” criteria for conducting excellent qualitative research refers to credibility as “the trustworthiness, verisimilitude, and plausibility of the research findings” (p. 842). For Tracy, this would be achieved through thick description, crystallization and triangulation, multivocality, and member reflections.

In this study I have sought to be as transparent as possible (without jeopardizing participants’ confidentiality) in terms of context, methods, and findings so that my influence on the study may not only be minimized but evidenced to the reader. In particular, I believe the field notes have been an enhanced

way of registering and addressing my positionality throughout the entire research process, noting my relationship with students, their reactions and behaviors (as well as mine), and how the research itself was shaped through time.

As the notion of "triangulation" may be taken in a positivistic way (as if there was an existing knowledge that could be reached if three data sources were employed—such as three lines linked together would make a triangle), the concept of crystallization has become more common in qualitative research, indicating how there is not a single truth to be achieved. As Richardson (1998) observes, because "there are more than 'three sides' from which to approach the world … crystallization provides us with a deepened, complex, thoroughly partial, understanding of the topic" (p. 358). Furthermore, Tracy (2010) notes that "crystallization encourages researchers to gather multiple types of data and employ various methods, multiple researchers, and numerous theoretical frameworks" (p. 844)—an idea that certainly harmonizes with the case study design. Although I resorted to three main sources of data (namely, the interviews, curriculum documents, and research journal), the original and emergent theoretical frameworks, the specificities, complexities, and blurred boundaries of the context under study, and my multifaceted identity (as well as the students'), served to create an intricate case study that could never be understood as simply or as defined as what the three sides of a triangle could ever portray.

Chapter Four: Curriculum Documents Overview

> The language we use shapes and directs our way of looking at and understanding the world, and the way we name different phenomena and objects becomes a form of convention. (Dahlberg et al., 2007, p. 31)

Through post-structural and critical race epistemologies and theoretical lenses (Butler, 2021; Derrida, 1978, 2016; Foucault 1971/2010; Kumashiro, 2000; Youdell, 2006), in this chapter I provide a critical analysis of six curriculum documents published since 2011, which are available on Manitoba Education's website. While the main research question of the present study was to understand how students themselves conceptualize hospitality, it is fundamental to understand the educational system in which Black refugee students have arrived—structures which shape and are shaped by discourses that weave the complex fabric of social relations (Dahlberg et al., 2007). Therefore, by attending to the discourses, including language, inferences, and absences within those files, the purpose of this analysis was to understand how hospitable education is conceptualized by the public educational system in Manitoba, with particular attention to the role of race/racism in education, and the ways in which students' intersectional identities might (not) be recognized.

Rationale, Documents Selection, and Analysis

The rationale for conducting a critical discourse analysis of Manitoba education documents stems both from a philosophical/theoretical and a personal standpoint. On a personal level, I approached this research as a complete stranger to the Manitoba education system, highly unfamiliar with the provincial curricula and structure. Therefore, although I had already conducted an in-depth analysis of Black and/or refugee students' experiences in Canada through existing research, as outlined in the Literature Review chapter, it was necessary for me to become acquainted with local educational expectations, policies, and guidelines. In fact, one of the main reasons for such undertaking was to challenge the distrust in the provincial education with which I had approached this research. Because I had found such extensive evidence of racism in Canadian schools in the literature, I began this research completely wary of the

provincial curricula—i.e., expecting nothing short of whiteness. However, it was in conversation with my supervisor, who mentioned the document “Life After War” (Manitoba Education, 2012), that I realized how narrow-minded I was approaching this study: there might be positive aspects in the provincial education system that I should not be oblivious to.

At a philosophical/theoretical level, post-structuralism (which lays the backbone of the ethic of hospitality) supports the argument that oppression is discursively produced (Butler, 2021; Kumashiro, 2000). More than external acts, language is embedded, shaping, and shaped by historical social practices. Butler (2021) captures the embodied nature of language when noting that “we do things with language, produce effects with language, and we do things to language, but language is also the thing that we do” (p. 8). Language is both what connects human beings and what oppresses one another. Derrida’s (1978, 2016) critique to logocentrism (which goes hand in hand with Levinas’ writings about the face as a trace) thus emphasize the metaphysical violence that lies in the logos (*le dit*, for Levinas) as a signifier of the truth. Conversely, a non-violent approach to the Other, the metaphysical transcendence (Derrida, 1978), requires making space for the unknowable. Peace, Derrida (1978) notes, lies in the silence, in the “language without phrase” (p. 147)—which is why all language is both necessarily violent and necessary for justice. Analysing Levinas’ argument, Derrida notes: “In the last analysis, according to Levinas, nonviolent language would be a language without the verb *to be*, that is, without predication” (p. 147). The resistance to reducing the Other into what the self can comprehend thus requires dissatisfaction, a constant desire to build unfinished knowledge. Such labour, however, requires the on-going question not only of what is but what *is not* being said (Kumashiro, 2000)—an undertaking which I sought to embrace with this analysis.

For the first time, then, I started browsing through the Manitoba Education website to see what was available and what would be most helpful for such examination. The two outstanding categories of materials I came across were mandatory curricula (e.g., social studies, mathematics) and support/resource documents (it should be noted that the website has recently undergone some structural changes and is

currently organized slightly differently than when I began my research). After scanning through some mandatory curricula, I decided I would not focus on those because I was not as interested in any specific content taught as I was in the envisioned teacher-student relationship. In other words, I wanted to know how the government conceptualizes hospitable education—especially the attention given to race/racism and students' unique identities. In what ways (if any) is the government evidencing a non-violent, non-totalizing approach to Black refugee students? In what ways (if any) is the government conceptualizing education as a way to decentralize the normalcy of self? Are there discourses evidencing the self's desire for sameness, repetition, control?

I know that it would also be valuable to analyze mandatory curricula (e.g., how or to what extent are Black people being represented in social studies curriculum? How is Canada being positioned in history classes in relation to colonialism in countries from where refugees come today?). In fact, the document "Black History and Anti-Racism in Canada" (Manitoba Education, 2021a) even tries to emphasize how Black history is present in the Social Studies curriculum, as I will discuss ahead. However, I argue that hospitality and the subjectification function of education can (and must) be pursued by educators regardless of the subject taught. My goal was then to analyze the government's overarching conceptualization of hospitable education and envisioned teacher-student relationship as those can inform teachers' beliefs and practices in the pursuit of hospitable education, whatever grade or area they teach. While I acknowledge that resource documents may not necessarily be read/followed by teachers, I believe the collection of files developed by the provincial education government which I chose to analyze evidence underlying beliefs and conceptualizations that are instrumental in shedding light on a plethora of strengths as well as areas of improvement of the current public education system.

My next step was to download several documents found in the "Diversity Education" section in the Manitoba Education website (which is a page within "Curriculum") which at first appeared to be relevant to my study. Even though I believed the theoretical construct of hospitality (with its conceptualizations of host and guest and the implications of those relations) would likely not present in

the documents, I wanted to examine the notions of agency, identity (with special attention to race/racism), and belonging, as well as the envisioned teacher-student relationship. Then, I selected the documents that were particularly focused on Blackness, refugees, inclusion, racism, and diversity (which was evident not only based on the titles but also when scanning through each file found)—although I did not include documents that were specifically dedicated to teaching Indigenous students, students with disabilities, or other minorities (e.g., world religions, gender diversity).

Out of curiosity (having heard about it directly from my supervisor), I began my exploratory journey analyzing "Life After War" (Manitoba Education, 2012). After that, I analyzed the selected documents in the order they were published. As I read through each document, I sought to understand how the government conceptualizes inclusion, agency, and belonging and what role the teacher should play in fostering such notions. I wanted to know how the government conceptualizes "diversity" and the ways in which (if any) race/racism should inform teachers' practices towards Black/refugee students. My analysis thus consisted of a critical inductive exploration of the abovementioned key concepts that emerged from this study's theoretical frameworks, reading each document while highlighting sections that addressed such areas, noticing inferences and silences, and taking notes that could inform the next steps. After each document studied, I would then weave my observations together in order to outline its strengths and weaknesses in light of the tenets of the ethic of hospitality and critical race theory as explored in the previous chapters.

However, an unexpected event (as is the nature of any event; see Derrida, 2007) happened after I had analyzed all the documents selected. As a metaphor for the threshold of hospitality, the place where host meets guest, after having analyzed the documents, I came across the "Overview Section" of the social studies curriculum (a section that is common across the grades, not any specific content to be taught) and was positively surprised by what I found. Thus, in the next sub-sections, I first provide a summary of each document analyzed (noting and discussing their specific strengths and weaknesses in light of the ethic of hospitality and critical race theory), then I discuss the documents as a collection

(making explicit connections with those theoretical frameworks), and finally explore the relevant and helpful directions for educators found in the "Overview Section" of the social studies curriculum.

"Life After War: Education as a Healing Process for Refugee and War-Affected Children"

"Life After War" (Manitoba Education, 2012) is a comprehensive and holistic document available for teachers of refugee and war-affected youth for the insights and resources it provides. It is comprised of 122 pages in addition to two companion documents part of the same initiative ("Life After War: Professional Development, Agencies, and Community Supports" and "War-Affected Children: A Comprehensive Bibliography," not analyzed here). It draws on Canadian and international literature and was written with the contributions of educators, advocates for immigrant and refugee communities in Manitoba, and professionals involved in social and health development. Recognizing the particularities of refugee youth (as opposed to immigrant students in general), the main goal of the document is to provide teachers with a better understanding of the psychosocial and educational needs of refugees, and how educators can support and be supported in their work with them. "Life After War" also includes a long list of references for additional resources, videos, books, articles, websites, etc. that explore the topics discussed and can thus provide teachers, administrators, and other staff a better understanding of some common aspects of refugee students' backgrounds.

"Life After War" follows Bronfenbrenner's (1979) bioecological framework and Sterwart's (2011) model for teaching refugee youth and explores the different facets of refugee students' lives that can impinge on their schooling experiences. It is observed how important it is to develop a whole-school approach and foster partnerships with families, communities, and service providers. The document points out how refugee children may struggle to develop trust and feel safe among adults. It also notes that adolescents are in a sense even more vulnerable than younger children given the physical and emotional changes they are going through. "Life After War" describes feeling in control and a sense of belonging as being internal factors that build up or maintain resilience. In a similar vein, following Sterwart's (2011) work, belonging and power are described among the six basic needs of an individual, thus recommending

"involving [students] in sharing power and decision-making in the daily life of the school and classroom" (p. 67). The document provides a holistic list of "effective classroom practices" to create a welcoming environment, ranging from the provision of specific curricula (e.g., EAL) to the recruitment of minority teachers. Among the recommended practices are also "learning activities to reduce racial and ethnic prejudice" and the pursuit of "safe, orderly, and well-disciplined, but not rigid, school and classroom environments" (p. 36).

"Life After War" emphasizes how the limited and disrupted schooling experiences prior to arriving in Canada may pose a challenge to students' concentration and following social norms expected in schools. The document emphasizes the importance of play, creative activities and storytelling as healing processes, ways to address psychological challenges, as well as to foster the development of literacy and academic skills. It recommends smaller classrooms, collaborative activities, and "curriculum and learning experiences that draw on students' backgrounds, life experiences, and concrete, real-world skills" (p. 37). The document importantly observes, though, that students "must not feel compelled or required to share or reveal anything about their background and past" (p. 46). This seems to be particularly relevant to alert teachers about seemingly welcoming activities that may ask students to talk about their origins and family, failing to take into consideration how painful it can be to be reminded of one's past and what was left behind for those who fled from wars and other conflicts.

There is in the document the recognition of institutionalized and personal racism "even among well-intentioned helpers" (p. 25) and the very important observation that "teachers need to be aware of personal and cultural biases that may limit their expectations of certain groups of learners" (p. 30). After all, as the document notes, students "have been traumatized but not incapacitated" (p. 23). It would be important, however, for the document to provide educators with a more critical section on the ways in which white western teachers' minds may be conditioned to a hierarchical "helping imperative" (Heron, 2007), positioning themselves as helpers of Black refugees who they perceive as lacking.

Indeed, despite being a laudable initiative, there are some critical aspects to be observed when analyzed through the lenses of the ethic of hospitality and critical race theory which, although arguably insignificant in light of the scope of the document, I believe are fundamental to hospitable, anti-racism education. While acknowledging that generalizations were necessarily made but that educators should treat students in their uniqueness, there is a pervasive discourse of "successful teaching" and "effective practices" throughout the document which raises the question of what "effective teaching" means. In a similar vein, the document aims at enhancing students' success, but nowhere is success being conceptualized—which leads me to assume achieving a priori defined learning outcomes.

Although "Life After War" quotes Stewart (2011) observing that refugee students "are not passive victims; they are active agents who negotiate, compromise, and forge ahead despite adversity" (p. 129), the document is heavily needs- and challenges-focused. The document makes a good point recognizing the paucity of research focused on the protective factors and coping strategies of refugees, but resilience is also often unquestionably accepted as a characteristic, resource, process, or protective factor of refugees and described as something educators should focus on, as evident in the following passage: "refugee children and youth also have resources to draw upon (resiliency) which ensure that they are seldom overcome by a single traumatic event" (p. 16). While resilience is not necessarily good or bad in itself—and one could argue that it is at least a departure from a deficit approach—this overreliance on the resilience bandwagon may serve to homogenize students, belittle their struggles, and burden them with the expectation that they are able to overcome their traumas on their own. In that way, the discourse of resilience can serve to excuse/ignore oppressive systems and structures at play. Furthermore, in this context resilience becomes a pre-conception strongly attributed to refugees which, differently from some necessary generalizations for policymaking, does little or no service to these students—rather the contrary, as the onus of their success is placed on them.

A great portion of the document is dedicated to exploring the impact of teaching refugees on teachers such as burnout, compassion fatigue, and vicarious trauma. Empathy is described as a "strong

ability to care for" students, but something that can also lead to those challenging outcomes. However, as I observed earlier in this study, empathy in itself is not necessarily desirable or sufficient, thus the document could be strengthened by fostering a more critical approach and analysis to such feelings. "Life After War" also claims that it is important to create an environment of trust and that it can be hard for a student who is a refugee to trust an adult. However, the document fails to note that trust is not something that depends on the teacher—it is ultimately up to the student to decide whether or the extent to which they can trust the teacher.

"Life After War" is an extensive, holistic, and resourceful document. It draws from several other research projects, world-wide, and acknowledges to be just a guide and that "teachers and other professionals using this resource [should] remain *vigilant* to their professional *responsibilities*, and exercise their professional skill and judgement at all times" (p. i, my emphasis). In that way, this document, while limited in many ways (some which I have outlined), could be very helpful in widening educators' perspectives to some commonalities among refugee students which may thus help them be more sensitive to their particularities.

"Towards Inclusion: Supporting Positive Behaviour in Manitoba Classrooms"

This document is an adapted version of Alberta's "Supporting Positive Behaviour in Alberta Schools: A Classroom Approach" (Alberta Education, 2008). The original document was written with the support of educators and psychologists, and the Manitoba version was reviewed by several educators and educational consultants. "Towards Inclusion" (Manitoba Education, 2011) consists of 102 pages and its main purpose is to provide educators with "classroom management strategies in order to create and maintain a predictable learning environment in which students and teachers enjoy positive relationships, students are ready to learn, and teachers are able to teach" (p. 3). Based on previous studies, the document outlines that about 15% of students in a typical student population do not meet the school's behavior expectations. "Towards Inclusion" thus provides numerous practical ways to manage students' behavior

(proactively and reactively), strategies and interventions especially for when students do not comply with the expectations.

The document begins with Manitoba Education's philosophy of inclusion: "Inclusion is a way of thinking and acting that allows every individual to feel accepted, valued, and safe" (p. 1). "Feeling safe" is used interchangeably with "feeling welcome" throughout the document when describing positive relationships. The pervasiveness of terms such as "welcome," however, inevitably begs the question of what "feeling welcome" means or how "feeling welcome" is conceptualized by the Manitoban educational system. Some of the recommendations to make students feel welcome are explored in the section "Sample strategies to build positive relationships with students," and include: demonstrate a personal interest in students, greet students at the door, use students' names positively, use humour, smile and show enthusiasm (p. 9). While some generalizations may be momentously necessary (Derrida, 1978; Peters & Biesta, 2009), the assumptions made of what it takes for students to trust teachers and for students to feel cared for stands out as particularly problematic for its one-sided approach. Feeling welcome is hereby reduced to steps taken by the teacher, without considering how students' uniqueness can inform the teacher-student relationship.

Interestingly, on the previous page, the document pointed out that students feel cared for when "an effort is made to understand each student's individual interests, strengths, needs, learning preferences, and personality" (p. 8). A way to strengthen the document, then, would be to go beyond simply trying to understand (which could potentially fall into a totalizing, Education about the Other approach), and emphasizing the need for responsibility (in the Levinasian sense). Conversely, the document seems to put teachers' relational responsibility as conditional to how they feel when stating that a positive student-teacher relationship requires that both parts feel "treated with dignity and respect" (p. 8). A slightly different approach, however, which hints at unconditionality, is evident in the "noncontingent positive reinforcement" section whereby it is stated that "students do not have to demonstrate specific behaviours

in order to earn it" and that "it [noncontingent positive reinforcement] forms the foundation for trust and security, and provides bonding and connections that teachers and students need" (p. 10).

Despite not being specifically focused on any group of students (e.g., students with disabilities, racially diverse students), the document acknowledges that "equal is not always fair." That is,

> For some students, the educator will need to approach discipline in a manner that considers the student's exceptional learning needs, including whether the student was able to access the information, the student could understand the policy or rules, the disciplinary actions used for the majority of the students are appropriate for the student. (Manitoba Education, 2011, p. 46)

This seems particularly relevant given that earlier it was observed that "differences in ethnic and cultural behavioural and social expectations can lead to misunderstandings and affect schooling experiences" (p. 32). It is important to note, however, that the "Canadian way" is taken as the appropriate one in this context, which leads to the observation that "these students may require additional coaching and practice" (p. 32). The goal of creating a predictable environment resonates with western psychology theories as a way to reduce students' anxiety and to contribute to their feelings of safety (Hulac & Briesch, 2017; Oral, 2012). This seems to be a particularly relevant goal to reduce the potential stress refugees might face in the classroom, as observed in "Life After War." However, it is important to note that the strategies and approaches recommended are rooted in North American values and thus may not necessarily be the best practices for every student. This is acknowledged, for example, in the "Effective Communication" section where the recommendation for teachers to "look students in the eye" is followed by the warning: "consider cultural differences and do not insist on eye contact if it makes the student uncomfortable" (p. 11). Other caveats could be made in different parts of the document, not trying to exhaust possibilities but to at least raise teachers' awareness that Canadian socialization practices are not necessarily the "best" or universally "right" ones and that different responses may be more adequate in extraordinary student-teacher encounters.

It is important to observe, though, that while the socialization function of education is strongly present in the document, student subjectification is not entirely neglected. For instance, student agency is clearly recognized as important, which is expressed by recurrent terms such as "play a role" and "be active members" in relation to students' participation in their education, as the following passage clearly demonstrates: "[Students] need to feel they have a connection to their learning and some control over the learning process. Teachers should provide flexible and meaningful learning goals that encourage students to take ownership of their learning" (p. 14). The document could be strengthened, however, by breaking the potential divide between socialization and subjectification and making sure that the teaching of social skills, which are taken as "a predictor of future academic and social adjustment" (p. 35), is done in a way that does not reify hierarchies, the binary self-Other that pervades education. For example, teachers are encouraged to differentiate instruction based on students' "interests, experiences, developmental maturity, background knowledge, and abilities" (p. 25). Differentiated instruction, it is argued, is thus fundamental to students' success. The lack of definition of "success," however, might indicate that success is conceptualized simply as evidencing behavior that meets the school's expectations. Such perception seems to be confirmed in the introduction of the document, when the purpose of the document is outlined: "procedures and practices are presented as key elements that teachers have found useful to *increase success* rates and *reduce negative behaviour*, thereby enhancing their ability to deliver *effective instruction* to all students" (p. 3, my emphasis).

"Towards Inclusion" is not focused on any particular diversity identity but does have clear behavior expectations for both students and teachers as a way to foster feelings of safety and belonging. Despite the limitations, the document sporadically invites the educator to be attuned to students' particularities and to give them agency over their learning—thus hinting at the need to be sensitive to each student's unique experiences and knowledge and go beyond just external behavior conformation.

“Building Hope: Refugee Learner Narratives”

Comprised of 122 pages, the purpose of this document published in 2015 is to provide educators with stories and insights about refugee students in Manitoba, shedding light on their experiences before coming to Canada as well as their schooling experiences in this country so as to strengthen and support school programming and professional learning (Manitoba Education, 2015). “Building Hope” was written by Manitoba Education consultants and based on interviews with eleven refugee students. The document begins by acknowledging that “the integration and improvement of educational programming for newcomer children and youth from refugee and war-affected backgrounds is one of the priorities of Manitoba’s growth strategy and a key aspect of the province’s future and collective well-being” (p. 5).

For each of the eleven narratives, the reader is provided with background information of the student’s country of origin, a map and pictures of refugee camps in those places, video resources associated with the conflicts in each country as well as parallel stories of other refugees from those countries who came to Manitoba in previous years. The interviews with students consisted of three main parts, each with their subcategories: life before Canada, starting a new life in Canada, and current life/plans for the future. The sub-category focused on the refugees’ school experiences in Canada and were my main focus of analysis. Given the opportunity to read students’ firsthand accounts, I not only sought to understand the government’s conceptualization of hospitable education (as I have done with the other documents) but also to notice the students’ expressions of feeling welcoming and accepted, how they perceived the teacher-student relationships, as well as their racial and racism experiences in Manitoba.

Although no interview questions were specific about students’ race or racism experiences, many participants mentioned noticing the diversity in people’s looks and witnessing racism in Canada (either against them or one of their relatives). Their narratives disclosed their perceived hypervisibility stemming from their racial awareness and often being the only Black around so many whites, which was something they were not used to. As Nevaeh shared, “I wasn’t accustomed to being around so many white people.

There were five black students in the school and three of them were in my family!" (p. 91). Or in Keza's words: "I learned that racism was not only something that existed back in the refugee camp, but that it was here as well" (p. 55). Because we do not have access to the raw data, it is not possible to know whether any narratives of racial experiences were omitted in the final document.

A lot of emphasis in students' narratives was given to the role of EAL teachers and the support received by them, but it is important to note that many interview questions in the sub-section of school experiences were dedicated to that. In any case, many students felt that their regular (non-EAL) teachers were not as understanding nor provided as much support—likely due to the larger classes, students observe. Students' multilingualism becomes evident in the narratives together with the challenge they faced learning English (or even "re-learning" French, for those who came from French-speaking countries). Those who came from English-speaking countries also observed that "the English used in school is different" than from where they came from. Not speaking the language made them feel stupid and they felt being perceived as such, causing frustration and anger for not being able to express their thoughts. Conversely, students emphasized the importance of EAL teachers who went out of their way to help and to work with them closely, which made them feel welcome, as this excerpt illustrates: "My EAL teacher was very welcoming, spending one-on-one time with me, helping me develop my English skills, and feel more comfortable speaking English" (p. 20). Those teachers were often described as being so approachable to the point that a student said: "my EAL teacher was like a mother to me and the EAL class was like a home away from home for me" (p. 110). Students would not feel comfortable asking a question in front of the whole class (with the fear of being made fun of) but would do so individually with the EAL teachers. Developing their English skills was particularly important to allow students to have a voice and defend themselves against racism, as Keza commented: "I found that learning English helped me adjust and respond to the racism because it allowed me to speak for myself and challenge racist remarks" (Manitoba Education, 2015, p. 55).

The narratives often describe Canada as being the only choice they had before coming: “We had no choice but to go to the Canadian Embassy for help” (p. 45). Although describing feeling safer than in their home countries, some mention robbery and burglary experiences after they arrived in Winnipeg. Overall, many questions were biased towards portraying a positive image of Canada—that is, eliciting a yes/no rather than an open-ended answer (e.g., “Do you feel that you had a good experience in schools in Canada?”). However, all students seemed to express immense joy for being able to go back to school.

“Building Hope” evidences how refugees can feel exposed, intimidated, and insecure for not looking or communicating as their peers, as this student says: “I just wanted to fit in and be part of the school and did anything that would help” (p. 26). The document also gives a lot of emphasis on the importance of working one-on-one with students, attending to their unique interests and needs and following their time rather than an institutional schedule—aspects that contributed to students feeling welcome, comfortable, and accepted.

It should be noted that early in the document resilience is described as a taken-for-granted characteristic of refugees and something that conditions educators’ responsibility. For example, it states: “It is essential that we recognize that these children are often incredibly resilient and possess a great desire to survive and thrive … This is a crucial point and it should form the basis for educators and others who work with war affected children” (p. 13). Such conceptualization thus puts resilience as the reason why educators should respond in such way, not students’ uniqueness itself. The narratives are important not to provide an exhaustive exploration of refugee experiences, but exactly to point to their infinitude and incomprehensibility, a reminder that no one will ever be able to understand what someone else has lived through—and that such attempt is actually undesirable. As Yödu recommends: “Teachers and principals should not make assumptions about newcomer students and their abilities” (p. 111)—and I believe that is germane to resilience attributions which are not only problematic in themselves but may also be a disguise to yet another generalization.

Similar to "Life After War," "Building Hope" is an extensive document, strongly focused on the psychological effects of war on refugee students and how schools and educators can provide the support they need to overcome those. But besides providing references to external resources and general information about war and refugees, "Building Hope" is unique in its focus on the narratives of refugees in Canada themselves. While it does not make any explicit connection to Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory, the interview questions and narratives explore the interconnectedness of the different facets (Bronfenbrenner's systems) of students' lives. The document places great emphasis on the role of EAL teachers, which appears to be confirmed by students' narratives—although it is not possible to know how the writing team made selections as to what to include in the final publication and if the role played by other teachers/classes was also of importance. A possible explanation for students' perceptions can be how their communication skills were directly associated to their feelings of comfort—thus students felt empowered by those teachers' work. But as some students pointed out, many of those teachers also went above and beyond their professional duties to support them in unexpected ways.

The document included learners' perceptions of race/racism although that did not seem to be the initial focus of the interviews, which corroborates the need to further investigate Black refugees' experiences of racism in Manitoba schools (especially as it relates to *systemic* racism). Students' perception of being welcome was greatly associated with teachers' friendliness, approachability (i.e., openness to answer questions), and efforts to help the student learn how to navigate the school/city. Finally, it should be noted that all interviewees were young adults close to or already graduated from high school, which might have contributed to their being able to reflect upon their schooling experiences from a more holistic perspective. The voices of younger students, thus, certainly remains an area to be further explored—after all, we should not wait until students graduate from school to know how their schooling experiences were.

“Creating Racism-Free Schools through Critical/Courageous Conversations on Race”

The purpose of “Creating Racism-Free Schools” (Manitoba Education, 2017a) is to “prepare students to meet the challenges of an increasingly diverse society and create local and international communities characterized by diversity, justice, and equity” (p. 3) as well as to direct teachers towards “an appropriate, engaging, and meaningful educational experience that welcomes all learners” (p. 3). Developed with the support of Indigenous educational leaders and Elders and consisting of 80 pages, the document is mostly focused on (but not limited to) the racism experienced by Indigenous peoples observing that “the racism experienced by Indigenous peoples in Canada is unique” (p. 1). Notwithstanding, “Creating Racism-Free Schools” begins acknowledging the religious, racial, linguistic, and cultural diversity present in Manitoba, especially for being a place that receives many individuals from other countries that have been affected by natural disasters, economic oppression, war, or other political conflicts. The document notes that despite having a diverse population, Canada is still a place where diverse individuals experience oppression, segregation, racism, and inequities—experiences which are not limited to Indigenous peoples (p. 5).

A timeline outlining the changes in citizenship and rights in Canada from 1867 to 2016 evidences how racist (as well as ableist, elitist, and heteronormative) policies have long been present in the country. It is pointed out, for example, that only in 1965 was the last segregated school for Black people in Canada closed (p. 11).[3] The document well observes that an important difference between the oppression experienced by Indigenous peoples and immigrants is the fact that Indigenous peoples are marginalized and excluded in their own land—arguably an ever more humiliating experience. A timeline depicts First Nations, Métis, and Inuit struggle for justice and self-governance throughout the years, followed by an overview of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.

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[3] It should be noted, however, that the last segregated school to close in Canada was actually in Nova Scotia, in 1983 (Malinen & Roberts-Jeffers, 2021; Province of Nova Scotia, 2022).

The document recognizes that while some progress has been made in relation to promoting safer and more inclusive schools, there is still a lot of work to be done in the pursuit of "truly equitable, inclusive, and reflective of our commitment to human rights and social justice" (p. 24). Although the document claims that diversity is no longer seen as an obstacle but a strength, it also acknowledges that "racism, religious intolerance, homophobia, gender-based violence, resistance to the inclusion of persons with differing abilities, and other forms of discrimination are still all too evident in our communities and schools" (p. 25).

"Creating Racism-Free Schools" proceeds by providing a definition of race: "a socially created category to classify humankind by common ancestry or descent; it is reliant upon differentiation by general physical or cultural characteristics such as colour of skin and eyes, hair type, historical experience, and facial features" (p. 28). Racism, in turn, is defined as:

> A set of implicit or explicit beliefs, assumptions, and actions based upon an ideology of inherent superiority of one racial or ethnic group over another. Racism can be evident within organizational or institutional structures and programs, as well as within individual thought or behaviour patterns. (Manitoba Education, 2017a, p. 28)

Indeed, the document is very careful in providing (especially in the glossary at the end) definitions of terms that go often undiscussed, such as "culture," "ethnicity," "bias," "diversity." The document observes that racism can be expressed not only through individual actions but also as embedded in the structure of an institution or society. It also points out how some forms of systemic racism may be less explicit than others, e.g., "School curricula that claims to be 'inclusive' and 'representative' but omits representation from certain groups or is under-representative of some groups" and "lower teacher expectations of students from certain groups" (p. 30). Exploring the effects of racism on students, the document observes that those can be, for example, the rejection of one's own culture and parental values, being confused about one's own identity, and feeling anxious/unhappy.

Building on the tenets of critical race theory, the document argues that educators must pursue self-reflexive practices, critically analyzing whiteness, social justice, and anti-racism, rather than taking the common path of being oblivious to racism. One limitation of the document, however, appears when multiculturalism is offered as an approach with the same value as anti-racism pedagogies, for example when arguing that educators must "employ culturally relevant and culturally responsive approaches and pedagogies and apply anti-racist and multicultural education strategies" (p. 34). It is argued that such approaches can "change the very structure of the curriculum … enable students to view issues from a diversity and equity perspective … [and] empower students to think critically" (p. 34). In the glossary, multicultural education is defined as:

> A broad term that may refer to a set of structured learning activities and curricula designed to create and enhance understanding of and respect for cultural diversity. The term often connotes inclusion of racial, ethnic, religious, linguistic, national, international, and political diversity, and is also inclusive of the culture, heritage, history, beliefs, and values of the various peoples within a pluralistic society. This is an educational approach that positively seeks to acknowledge diversity in culture, faith, language, and ethnicity in relation to school ethos, curriculum, and home-school-community partnerships. (Manitoba Education, 2017a, p. 61)

However, as I have argued throughout this dissertation, multicultural education most often not only falls short of such ideals and what anti-racism aims at but also poses obstacles to it. As aforementioned, some scholars focused on multiculturalism have noted such limitations and rearticulated their nomenclature and frameworks in order to avoid essentializing culture and thus unchallenging inequities (Gorski, 2016, 2019; Gorski & Swalwell, 2015). Although labels and terminologies are not necessarily evils in themselves, discourses can be problematic when they serve as disguises to existing oppressive systems and practices, such as the avoidance and culturalization of race.

The document proceeds with a section on intersectionality but, against my initial satisfaction when coming across such a heading, the section is only two sentences long, claiming that it is important to recognize the multiple layers of subordination that accompany racial discrimination. "Creating Racism-Free Schools" supposedly consists of a framework focused on three overlapping areas: a) community; b) leadership; and c) learning and teaching. However, the focus on community and school leadership appears basically just in the appendices (case studies and reflection questions), the main text being mostly focused on the teacher-student encounter. The document emphasizes how important it is for teachers to be aware of the ways in which racism poses major roadblocks in the pursuit of equity, inclusion, and appropriate learning environments. It is somewhat worrisome, however, that culturally responsive teaching is taken as a way to "close the achievement gap" among students—concepts such as "achievement" and "gap" being left uncriticized. In that way, achieving certain standards becomes a taken-for-granted measure of success, when in fact those are arguably inherently embedded in whiteness—a point that is better clarified in the document's discussion questions towards the end.

"Creating Racism-Free Schools" provides considerations for educators pursuing critical literacy, for example noting that these practices "don't mask or try to make differences invisible and instead seek to explore what differences make a difference in society" and "don't provide easy or 'happily ever after' endings for complex social problems" (p. 38). Finally, and very importantly, the document brings "pre-teaching considerations" whereby, besides noting the impact on students, the teacher's positionality is brought to the forefront. It emphasizes that teachers must consider:

> how their own background and experience might affect their approach to the topic (those who have not personally witnessed or experienced racism may not be aware of its presence or of its impact on those who have); what their own thoughts and feelings are with respect to this subject; what generalizations or stereotypes they themselves may have harboured; what race-related power dynamics might exist in their classrooms (e.g., who might be experiencing racism—either in subtle ways or through bullying, harassment, or intimidation); how best to create a safe

> learning environment where racism can be discussed in a constructive way (Manitoba Education, 2017a, p. 39).

The document concludes with illustrative case studies and discussion tools to assist teachers in the pursuit of critical conversations about race. Some of the questions/statements proposed for reflection are indeed critical in themselves, e.g., “I recognize that there are many forms of success, and that they include, but are not limited to, academic success” (p. 53), while others leave certain meanings undiscussed/taken-for-granted, e.g., “Do students feel welcomed, included, and safe in the school?” (p. 52)—hence the importance of asking students how *they* actually feel.

In “Creating Racism-Free Schools,” teachers are called to unlearn racism and become transformative educators, which they can achieve by “engaging in critical/courageous conversations on race, racism, and racial identity and their implications for culturally and linguistically diverse students” (p. 34). I wonder, though, if unlearning racism should be taken as a cause, consequence, or both in the pursuit of critical pedagogies. Perhaps one will only be able to engage in meaningful, critical, and transformative conversations about race/racism once misconceptions have begun to be deconstructed inside one’s mind. All in all, this document demonstrated to be more critical than the ones previously analyzed, especially for being more emphatic in its urge for teachers to engage in self-reflexivity and be aware of ways in which their experiences and worldviews may influence their perceptions about race/racism. “Creating Racism-Free Schools” is also careful in providing definitions of key terms in order to “provide common ground for discussion” (p. 55). However, although including race in their definition of multicultural education, I argue that endorsing a multiculturalism discourse may contribute to the perpetuation of the white comfort of avoiding racial discussions, which is exactly the opposite of what the document aimed at.

“Safe and Caring Schools: A Whole-School Approach to Planning for Safety and Belonging”

Launched in 2017, this document was intended to replace the 2005 “A Whole-School Approach to Safety and Belonging: Preventing Violence and Bullying.” Consisting of 102 pages and written by consultants and coordinators of Manitoba Education, the purpose of “Safe and Caring Schools” (Manitoba Education, 2017b) is to provide school teams with a whole-school approach to “learning environments that are respectful and safe” (p. 3). The document thus begins with the claim that Manitoba Education is committed to providing safe, caring, and inclusive learning environments, which would be achieved primarily by:

> supporting students in meeting high levels of achievement; applying principles of equity and inclusion throughout the education system; developing global citizens actively involved in economic, social-cultural, and environmental sustainability; supporting well-being (cognitive, emotional, social, physical, *and for some, spiritual*); engaging parents, education partners, and communities in decisions around education. (Manitoba Education, 2017b, p. 3, my emphasis)

From this initial passage, it can already be observed that spirituality seems to be taken as an optional component of one’s well-being. The previous analyzed document, “Creating Racism-Free Schools,” however, contradicts such a stance when asking teachers to recognize that “the development of the whole child includes physical, intellectual, social, emotional, and spiritual development” (Manitoba Education, 2017a, p. 53). A possible explanation for that discrepancy is that spirituality seems to be understood in the present document as a synonym to religion. A similar occurrence can be found in “Life After War”: “For many children, religion or spirituality is a central part of their identity” (Manitoba Education, 2012, p. 19). However, it should be noted that not only are religion and spirituality not synonyms (Deer & Heringer, in press), but also that what constitutes one’s well-being cannot be defined solely by the school (Heringer & Falkenberg, in press). Such misunderstanding (or at least disagreement) in conceptualizations of spirituality may not only impinge on the province’s efforts to indigenize education (i.e., equalizing

spirituality with religion may lead many to reject any practices in schools that focus on students' spirit) but also fail to provide students with a holistic approach to their well-being.[4]

Although replacing the previous document which had "violence and bullying" in its title, bullying remains the central theme of "Safe and Caring Schools," with a strong focus on prevention as well as providing support for those who have been bullied so they can feel safe and belonging again. Manitoba's philosophy of inclusion is presented at the outset, followed by what it means to pursue sustainable schools:

> Sustainable schools enable all learners to participate fully in school life while instilling a long-lasting respect for human rights, freedoms, culture, and creative expression… Sustainable schools promote community cohesion by providing an inclusive, welcoming atmosphere that values everyone's participation and contributions—irrespective of background, culture, age, religion, or ability—and by challenging prejudice and injustice in all its forms. (Manitoba Education, 2017b, p. 8)

As it can be observed, not only does "inclusion" and "welcoming" appear as instrumental characteristics of a sustainable school but the document also hints at the importance of student agency. A potential risk observable in this passage, however, is that being "irrespective of" one's background may reify color-blind discourses. As I have argued in this research, claiming that one's race does not matter is in fact most often an attempt to disguise racism and inequities besides being an act of violence to one's experiences and identity.

The document notes the amendments made to the Public Schools Act (2008, 2012, 2013), which expanded the definition of bullying (for example, by including cyberbullying), as well as the mandate for

[4] Katz (2012), who is cited later in the document, also argues that spirituality in education does not have a religious connotation but rather means "teaching to the heart as well as to the mind, exploring the deeper meanings of what we learn, connecting with the community we learn and live with, and coming to know ourselves" (p. 4).

school boards to update and implement a policy on respect for human diversity. “Safe and Caring Schools” proceeds with a definition of bullying extracted from the Public Schools Act: “behaviour that is *intended* to cause fear, intimidation, humiliation, distress, or other forms of harm to another person’s feelings, self-esteem, body, or reputation, or is *intended* to create a negative school environment for another person” (p. 11, my emphasis). While intention may indeed be part of the definition of bullying, it should be recognized that oppression does not necessarily require the perpetrator’s conscient and planned behavior. In Dei’s (1996b) words, “racist practices do not require intentionality but that such practices are deemed racist in terms of their effects” (p. 253).

The whole-school approach to planning for safe, caring, and inclusive schools is structured around four evidence-based interrelated planning perspectives: Comprehensive School Health, Three-Tiered Planning, Social-Ecological Systems, and Strengths-Based Practices. This approach, in turn, is to be pursued through a five-step planning process: 1) coordination, 2) needs assessment, 3) evidence-based plan, 4) implementation, and 5) monitor, reflect, and evaluate. The document proceeds, then, describing each of the four overarching planning perspectives.

Among the five initiatives within the “Comprehensive School Health” perspective is “Diversity,” which encompasses “personalities, ethnicities, languages, family structures, and learning styles” (p. 19). The document clarifies the role of diversity to human health:

> Diversity is neurological. Diversity is societal. Diversity is human. Teaching to diversity requires that teachers create a learning climate in the classroom and devise activities that allow all children to feel safe, respected and valued for what they have to contribute. (Katz, 2012, as cited in Manitoba Education, 2017b, p. 19)

Thus, one of the strategies in the pursuit of comprehensive school health and safety is to “embrace diversity and include identified needs in planning for all members in the school community” (p. 20). Curious to understand what is meant by “diversity is neurological,” though, I looked into Katz’s (2012)

original work whence this excerpt was extracted. A few sentences after the passage being cited, the author clarified: "The human mind cannot learn when overcome with a sense of anxiety, alienation, and stress" (Katz, 2012, p. 4). So, while in "Safe and Caring Schools" student well-being is almost strictly contingent upon students' relationships with their peers, the document could be strengthened by expanding on the role played by the student-educator relationship, recognizing the ways in which the teacher's own psyche influences their relations with students—or, as Britzman (1998) said, how education is "a psychic event for the teacher" (p. 134).

The "Three-Tiered Planning" model also served as a framework in "Towards Inclusion" and consists of identifying students' responsiveness to interventions. In that document, the model was focused on identifying students whose behaviors were not in accordance with schools' expectations. In "Safe and Caring Schools," however, the model focuses on supporting students who suffer from others' misbehavior and thus restoring their well-being and feeling of safety.

"Social-Ecological Systems" resembles Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory as it recognizes "the connection and influence between students and the multiple systems around them, including parents/family, peers, classroom, school, community, and societal dynamics" (p. 24). This approach is used to identify needs and strengths of each system as well as the interrelation between them and how, together, they cooperate to foster students' sense of belonging and safety. This planning, the document emphasizes, seeks to develop positive relationships, facilitate connections and a sense of community, build strengths, and support resiliency. Drawing from other studies, the document also highlights how important it is for teenagers to have at least one adult in school whom they can trust and share.

The last perspective, "Strengths-Based Practices," "is a belief system with collaborative processes and practices that empower individuals by building upon their potential and recognizing possibilities throughout a supportive school community" (p. 27). It describes the importance of integrating social and

emotional learning into classroom instruction, learning processes, and programming so that students can develop awareness, attitudes, knowledge, and skills needed to navigate healthy relationships. The document is quite vague and arguably problematic, however, when it states that, "providing members of the school community with awareness, knowledge, and skills builds capacity, supports resiliency, and creates hope. Solutions are identified and safety is restored when educators look through a lens of strengths and possibilities" (p. 27). While the intention of empowering individuals based on their strengths is promising, resilience is, once again, being taken as an innate strength students have and upon which educators' responsibility would rely (thus not being unconditionally responsible, in the Levinasian sense). Additionally, as I have argued earlier in this research, one must not assume that knowledge/awareness will necessarily lead to social justice or to ensuring a feeling of safety among oppressed students.

The document proceeds with a detailed, practical, and holistic description of each of the five steps in planning for a safe and caring school, which are rooted in the four evidence-based perspectives aforementioned. The framework seeks to incorporate the voice of students and each of their systems—with specific roles being attributed to each person/group. It importantly notes the relevance of conducting interviews/focus groups with students to hear about their experiences—an opportune moment to ask them what their perception of safety is (p. 42).

The document claims that expected outcomes of this approach are to be specific, measurable, achievable, relevant, and time related. While framing outcomes around student learning, well-being, and safety can indeed be valuable, predicting "indicators of success" and "outlining what and how outcomes will be achieved" may not be pertinent or feasible when it comes to subjective feelings such as feeling welcome, belonging, or empowered—hence the importance of educators tactful and constant listening to students' voice. Finally, the document appendices provide a list of "promising" as well as "ineffective" practices to be avoided. Some practices to be avoided include, "simple, quick fix, short-term reactive solutions," "telling children/youth to ignore bullying," "administering 'Zero Tolerance'," and "ignoring

adult bullying behaviour" (pp. 58-59)—the last-mentioned item could then be a good opportunity for the document to expand on the possibility of educators themselves being a source oppression for students and the importance of being attentive to one's ingrained beliefs.

All in all, although the terms "race" and "racism" do not appear anywhere in "Safe and Caring Schools," the role and responsibility of teachers in pursuing a safe and caring environment is greatly outlined—e.g., "connect with students as individuals at every opportunity," "plan collaboratively for students with complex needs," "develop reflection and critical thinking practices," "provide opportunities for students to explore a diverse world of identities and cultures." It is important to note, however, that devoid of an active engagement in self-reflexivity in order to recognize ways in which they may hold totalizing and oppressive perspectives of diverse students—even when they have no *intention* of harming them, as bullying would conceptually require—such goals may not be enough to challenge racism. However uncomfortable, it is thus of utmost importance that educators actively resist discourses that neglect or undermine students' identities and experiences, be that their race, gender, language, spirituality, or any other facets of their identity which make them unique.

"Black History and Anti-Racism in Canada"

Differently from the other documents analyzed, "Black History and Anti-Racism in Canada" (Manitoba Education, 2021a) does not begin with an outline of its purposes, nor does it mention who it was developed by. On the website where the document is found, though, it is stated that "Black History" is "intended to support educators in exploring and integrating Black history and anti-racism throughout the curriculum and their schools" (Manitoba Education, 2021b). This 46-page document is then mostly a hub of resources (e.g., books, lesson plans, websites) with very little (explicit/direct) voice from the government itself. Short biographies of Black Canadians (or Black individuals who moved to Canada at some point in their lives) are provided along the text within boxes (distinguishing them from the main text).

But despite being limited, the direct/explicit governmental discourse that is available sheds light on some important aspects to be considered. For instance, it is surprising (or perhaps not so much) that the first sentence of a document titled after Blackness and racism is: “Our society is composed of people from diverse *linguistic* and *cultural* origins” (p. 1, my emphasis)—arguably an outright avoidance and the culturalization of the term “race.” It is also remarkable how among the government’s own words there is almost no reference to the slavery that took place in the country for over 200 years. The only explicit mention to it is: “By 1909, hundreds of Black people from Oklahoma had moved to the Canadian Prairies, where they sadly often encountered the same racial prejudices and discrimination that had allowed slavery to exist in Canada in earlier times” (p. 2). Nowhere in the document does the government mention when or how long slavery took place in Canada and the fact that Black people were largely oppressed by that system. Additionally, a few other places in which slavery is mentioned (within the scattered biographical snapshots) is when attributed to the U.S. context. For example, in the snapshot about John Ware, it states: “He was an African American who was born into slavery on a plantation near Georgetown, South Carolina, and after emancipation, he eventually made his way to Alberta” (p. 20). As previously discussed in my dissertation, it is not uncommon to find binary discourses in which Canada is portrayed as “the good one” as opposed to the U.S—an approach that seems to be present here as well.

The document begins with a succinct overview of Black history in Canada which, although alluding to the existence of racism in contemporary days, also paints a quite romanticized picture that Black people have fought the good fight and can now be celebrated for their diversity: “Black history inspires us even when we are frustrated by what seem [sic] to be the slow and painful steps that progress takes” (p. 1). The third page of “Black History” is dedicated to describing the government’s document “Creating Racism-Free Schools,” which I have already explored in this chapter.

The document then seeks to describe how Black history is situated in Manitoba curriculum, evidencing what I perceive to be its two main limitations. The first limitation that stands out is that although “human diversity” is recognized as an element to be addressed and integrated into all curricula,

only the social studies curriculum is targeted by the document. A second limitation is that while the document recognizes “the need for an inclusive curriculum to challenge discrimination and racism and to advance equity (…) [and] the need to cover more fully and accurately the histories of marginalized groups, such as Black Peoples, Indigenous Peoples, and Peoples of Colour” (p. 4), the ways in which Black history can be explored in grades K-12 appears in the document only through the lens of citizenship, as the heading and subheading indicate (“Black History in Social Studies: Citizenship as a Core Concept”). But although citizenship is a fundamental concept within the social studies curriculum (Manitoba Education, 2007), not only may such blending lead to the undermining of the unique experiences of Black individuals, but a focus on citizenship can serve to reinforce the normalcy of self and thus reify a totalizing view of the Other, the myth of the origin (Peters & Biesta, 2009), by defining which knowledges, values, and skills they need to acquire in order to live (or to be able to function) in Canada (although I do not undermine the value of the socializing function of education). Therefore, while this document may contribute as a first step in helping educators recognize how they can teach *about* Black History, the government fails to recognize that attentiveness to race/racism and being responsive to students’ life experiences is not something to be pursued punctually, but in every class of every subject. In other words, teaching topics that address Blackness and Black history can be a first step but not a synonym to anti-racism education.

The document then brings a brief overview of the “International Decade for People of African Descent” and of “Black History Month,” stating the province’s encouragement for educators to celebrate it. Apart from sporadic pictures of notable Black individuals in Canada throughout history, “Black History” proceeds and ends with the offering of resources such as books, Black organizations in Manitoba, and internet resources that are related to Black history in Canada.

In summary, “Black History” highlights the presence of Black individuals in the history of Canada, how they have historically faced racism, and may be considered a relevant hub of resources for educators willing to explore the theme in their classes. However, a major limitation of the document is

that it does not seek to do more than provide educators with "some basic knowledge, understanding, and appreciation of the richness of our human diversity, our roots and our peoples' stories" (p. 1). If the purpose of the document is to inform teachers about Black history, as I infer based on the other documents, the government itself does very little—rather just directing the educator to other sources. Finally, I believe that the focus on "celebration" found throughout the document (where the government's words appear) reinforce an essentialist, multicultural, and binary self-Other approach which contributes very little to unsettle the systemic racism found in education and Canadian society as a whole.

Discussion: Hospitality and Anti-Racism in Manitoba Education Documents

The main purpose of conducting an analysis of Manitoba Education curriculum documents was to understand how the government conceptualizes hospitable education, especially the interplay between agency, feeling welcome, and belonging and race/racism. Six documents were deemed relevant to such undertaking and together they shed light on key areas of strength and areas for improvement in the pursuit of hospitable, anti-racism education. Broadly speaking, the documents analyzed in this chapter can be classified under three categories: those focused specifically on refugees ("Life after war" and "Building hope"), those focused on race and Blackness ("Creating racism-free schools" and "Black history"), and the ones focused on inclusion and safety of students as a whole ("Towards inclusion" and "Safe and caring schools"). The overarching purpose of each of these three categories are to provide educators with information about refugee experiences, raise ideas for integrating Black history in the curriculum and developing racial awareness, and equip educators with recommended practices for well-being and belonging, respectively, and all documents are in themselves a hub of external resources to educators as they provide several references to books, videos, and websites.

Fostering safety and a welcoming environment is a pervasive topic across the documents. While there is no explicit definition of those terms, feeling welcome is associated with positive relationships (especially among peers) as well as teacher friendliness/approachability. Safety, in turn, is associated with *order*, which would be translated by a predictable learning environment and healthy relationships among

students. In the first moment one could claim that such conceptualization of safety is incompatible with an ethic of hospitality, which implies exactly unpredictability and allowing the guest to make changes in the environment (Heringer, 2021a; Ruitenberg, 2011a). Nonetheless, I argue that hospitable education reconciles the need of rules with the openness to unique responses, as “Towards Inclusion” began to show. Hospitable education does not preclude the existence of behavior or academic expectations—which are arguably minimally unavoidable, especially when designing a complex educational system—but it requires educators’ active resistance to quick responses (i.e., a counterintuitive move to one’s instinct) and willingness to evade the boundaries of the system. Students’ agency requires teachers’ undecidability. Hospitality requires *différance*.

But especially under the influence of neoliberalism, education today strongly evidences a shift of focus from *teaching* to *learning* (Biesta, 2009, 2017), or to use Biesta’s (2009) words, we can notice “the redefinition of teaching as the facilitation of learning and of education as the provision of learning opportunities or learning experiences” (p. 37). One of the implications of such a shift is the placement of an onus/blame on students who are required to perform and achieve according to rigid and a priori stablished standards. This can be noticed in the analyzed documents which are strongly focused on two domains: needs and challenges on one hand (which are defined based on pre-determined standards to be achieved), and resilience on the other (which is then envisioned as the mechanism through which students would be able to meet the government’s expectations). The sparks of teachers’ responsibility (in the Levinasian sense, as an unconditional and unpredictable response to the Other), or what suggests the initial labor of building unfinished knowledge (Kumashiro, 2000), can be noticed in some parts of the document (for example when suggesting that eye contact is not necessarily experienced in the same way by all students), but still limited by the Canadian/Manitoban myth of the origin which implies the need to “tolerate” diversity, evidenced, for example, in the recommendation “do not insist on eye contact if it makes the student uncomfortable” (Manitoba Education, 2011, p. 11). In other words, the boundaries of the system (be that the teacher’s self or the education system as a whole) demonstrate to be flexible but

only insofar as the supremacy of the system itself is not threatened. In that way, the educational system evidences being somewhat malleable but remains unshakeable.

This inhospitable mechanism is particularly problematic when considering refugee students' racial identities. The government's claims to be committed to include and integrate minority students, particularly refugees and racially diverse students, are pervasive in four of the six documents analysed. Although I was positively surprised by the existence of two comprehensive documents focused on teaching refugee students, there was little to no attention given to their intersectional identities (especially as it relates to being Black), which is a pivotal tenet of CRT. In "Building Hope" some refugee students mentioned racial awareness and racism experiences, but it should be noted that there were no questions in the interview guide dedicated to such themes. By failing to recognize students' intersectional identities, or in other words, by failing to recognize that students are not "only" Black and not "only" refugees, the government overlooks the multilayered experiences of oppression that students might go through Crenshaw (1989). Moreover, because intersectionality can serve as an analytical tool to understand and explain intersecting power relations in complex societies (Collins & Bilge, 2020), the government should consider expanding on Bronfenbrenner's (1979) bioecological framework which is a framework that seems to strongly inform Manitoba Education guidelines and approaches.

The documents in general well note that racism is not just something in the past but rather something that continues to exist in today's society. But although "Creating Racism-Free Schools" encouraged educators to foster self-reflexive practices, the documents as a collection do not invite educators to be self-critical, to question the ways in which the educational system and white educators may perpetuate oppression (Bell, 1979/1995; Harris, 1995; Lawrence, 1987/1995), how their biases and worldviews may impinge on students' subjectification—thus not promoting the unsettling of the system itself. The documents could especially provide educators with a more critical self-reflexivity approach to avoid the "helping imperative" (Heron, 2007) when teaching refugee students.

While some of the documents seek to provide educators with ways in which they can include racial/racism topics in the curriculum, a stronger emphasis on the fact that there is no "easy-fix" to racism is warranted. If inclusion is reduced to checking off boxes (e.g., celebrating Black history once a year), representation of racial diversity becomes tokenistic and racism is not genuinely challenged. In a similar vein, because discourses are the "practices that systematically form the objects which they speak" (Foucault, 1971/2010, p. 49), it is necessary that the government make an active effort to reframe discourses of multiculturalism and multicultural education among its documents for often those are being made synonyms to anti-racism—or at least seek to provide teachers with more critical tools to engage with such frameworks and avoid reifying racist approaches to the Other. For instance, saying that inclusion is irrespective of race (as "Safe and Caring Schools" indicated) can be misleading and rather reinforce the status quo (Bell, 1979/1995; Lawrence, 1987/1995). In developing such resource documents, the government must rather actively resist color-blind and other oppressive discourses that may appear innocent in first sight but that are in fact evidence of how whiteness has come to define what being human is/is not (Harris, 1995). The pursuit of genuine hospitable, anti-racism education requires better defined conceptualizations and "resisting the resistance" to talk about race and racism explicitly, and to "develop an emotional and visceral reaction to racism and social oppression" (Howard, 2014, p. 512; see also Gorski, 2019). Without critically analysing and deconstructing its own discourses, education will continue to reproduce the comfortable discourse of being welcoming to "diversity" while in fact moving away from a peaceful encounter with the Other who remains controlled, silenced, pre-defined.

Visualizing the Threshold: Lessons from the Social Studies Curriculum

As aforementioned, I did not intend to explore any specific mandatory curricula (e.g., Mathematics, Science) as part of this study. However, after I had analyzed the six documents selected (at which time I had already begun conducting the interviews with students), not only had I begun to see several important connections between what I had found in the documents and what students were telling me (which will be explored ahead), but my active effort to being sensitive and open to unforeseen paths

led me otherwise. I started studying the social studies curriculum for my own teaching purposes and was dazzled by a portion of its "Overview Section" (Manitoba Education, 2007, pp. 16-26). This section is common across the grades (albeit for the sake of references, I will be specifically following the pages of the Grade 9 curriculum) and more interestingly still is the fact that the observations and recommendations made about the "Role of the Social Studies Teacher" and "Inclusive Social Studies Classrooms" could in fact be applied to teachers of any other subject. Therefore, I decided to conclude this chapter with some insights from this document which not greatly addressed my original puzzlement when approaching the curriculum documents (i.e., how does the government conceptualize hospitable education, especially as it relates to the role of race/racism?) but also evidenced a discourse in much stronger harmony with the ethic of hospitality and CRT than the previous documents did. This "Overview Section," thus, clearly evidences how regardless of subject taught, teachers can (and must) pursue hospitable, anti-racism education.

In my academic experience, I have often encountered scholars who refer to "biases" as intrinsically negative and something to be eliminated. I argue, however, that biases are neither positive nor negative—they are simply the inevitable baggage that each of us carry, the lenses through which we see the world—how we deal with our biases, however, is where the crux lies. I was thus positively surprised to read in this document that "social studies is rich in opportunities to detect and analyze bias through the critical exploration of diverse points of view" (Manitoba Education, 2007, p. 16)—although later on the document states that an inclusive curriculum must be "anti-bias in nature" (p. 17). Based on supposed neutrality, it is not uncommon to see educators who avoid any sort of discomfort in the classroom—especially in relation to race/racism (Dion, 2007). But as this document states, "teachers should not avoid controversial issues" (p. 16) because "complete neutrality is not always possible, nor necessarily desirable" (p. 16). It must be remembered that what is not part of the explicit curriculum will inevitably comprise the null curriculum and have inevitable implications. In other words, by not teaching

"controversial issues," such as racism, teachers are not being neutral but rather reifying whiteness and a color-blind discourse (see Dion, 2007).

As I also argued earlier in this research, "it is important to note that student-centred classrooms are not necessarily democratic classrooms" (Manitoba Education, 2007, p. 16). Thus, one of the guidelines for teachers when dealing with controversial issues, to "help students clarify the distinction between informed opinion and bias" (p. 16), is particularly important so that educators may draw the line between free speech and speech that needs to be silenced as instances of incivility among students (Piquemal et al., 2021). However, it should be noted that because racism is embedded in society, it will not be limited to social studies classes. Teachers of all subjects should pay close attention and be extremely sensitive to the student-student relationships as well as the teacher-student ones—which requires that teachers be self-reflexive themselves. As the document notes later,

> even if the intent is anti-bias in nature, raising issues of racism and inequality in a classroom presents a challenge for most students. Very often students will feel as if "all eyes" are on them when racial incidents occur, racist language is expressed, or other issues related to prejudice and discrimination are discussed. (Manitoba Education, 2007, p. 23)

Like the documents I analyzed in this chapter, the social studies "Overview Section" also resorts to the multicultural discourse in its equity and diversity postulates. Nonetheless, different from the previous ones, this document explicitly states:

> With our increasingly diverse student population and nation, the social studies classroom needs to directly address issues related to race, class, gender, and other aspects of educational equity. *We need to do more than simply "celebrate" diversity*. We need to take on the "hard stuff" of exploring why some differences translate into wealth and power, while others become the basis for discrimination and injustice. (Manitoba Education, 2007, p. 17, my emphasis)

And later:

> It should not be assumed that simply providing students with learning resources that are "multicultural" or that deal with issues of inequality or diversity is sufficient to create an inclusive social studies classroom. (p. 19)

This level of critical engagement was not found anywhere else in the documents previously analyzed. In the pursuit of social justice, this document urges teachers to critically consider how the historical exclusion of minorities voices remain present in contemporary society such as through "continued inequities in employment, evidence of bias in medical research, attitudes towards interracial or same-sex marriages, the prevalence of negative stereotypes in media, and so on" (p. 21).

Rather than portraying the teacher as someone who ought to teach *about* students' diversity, it emphasizes that teachers "don't know it all" (Manitoba Education, 2007, p. 18) and should rather seek to be attentive researchers and listeners to learn *from* students, their parents, and communities. The document encourages teachers to foster students' critical thinking (e.g., "Who holds power and makes decisions in society? Who is left out?," p. 18) and emphasizes that "students should not be passive learners" (p. 18) but rather be involved in making decisions and taking responsibility for their learning.

It is observed in this section that the pursuit of a just and inclusive classroom is a complex task which "requires a clear and well developed understanding of multicultural/anti-racist teaching approaches" (Manitoba Education, 2007, p. 19). Although the document proceeds with an analysis of James Banks' conceptual model for analyzing the level of integration of multicultural content into the curriculum (which is problematic in the pursuit of anti-racism education, as I have argued), it goes well beyond the multicultural discourse.

Different from "Creating Racism-Free Schools" (Manitoba Education, 2017a), which had a heading titled "Intersectionality" but did so little about it, this "Overview Section" explores in much more length and depth how an individual's identity is complex and dynamic, drawing special attention to racial identities and the importance for educators to pursue anti-racism pedagogies. For instance, it urges

educators to "be sensitive to students' personal definitions of their 'identity' and group membership" (Manitoba Education, 2007, p. 23), rather than making assumptions about them. In a similar vein, it warns teachers about the dangers of essentializing students, observing that "students will not likely be comfortable with the role of representing or 'speaking for' their particular cultural group (p. 23).

The document incorporates psychology theories and research to support how "the process of undoing the profound impact of racism and other forms of discrimination and marginalization is a complex journey" (Manitoba Education, 2007, p. 21). In particular, it warns about "the tendency of dominant group members in society to deny that their racial identity has any significance, preferring to view themselves as individuals and, consequently, not responsible for the perpetuation of a racist system" (p. 22). As such, not only does this "Overview Section" of the social studies curriculum encourage educators to foster anti-racism among students but also to be themselves constantly engaged in self-reflection with questions such as:

> What stage am I at in my personal identity formation? How will my stage of identity formation affect my teaching of anti-bias/anti-racist content and issues? What is my pattern of interaction and relationships with people of diverse origins and disadvantaged groups, and how does this relate to my current stage of identity development? (Manitoba Education, 2007, p. 23)

As observed, teachers' racial identity will inevitably influence their practices and how they interact with students. Such understanding is germane to educators of all subjects and grades and thus goes well beyond any simple formula of equity pedagogy. While I did not conduct an analysis of each cluster and each learning experience of this curriculum to determine the extent to which the outlined values and perspectives are sustained throughout the document, the ideas just analyzed are certainly transferable and valuable to every teacher in the pursuit of hospitable, anti-racism education.

Conclusion

Seeking to understand how Manitoba Education conceptualizes hospitable education, the present critical discourse analysis of provincial documents evidenced, through utterances and silences, allusions to the importance of student agency and a commitment to fostering positive relationships. The lack of definitions of keyterms (e.g., feeling welcome), the overall assumptions about what constitutes students' well-being, and a pervasive avoidance of race/racism (even among documents that carry these terms in the title), however, corroborates the white hegemonic system that pervasively seems to dictate Manitoba Education's approaches. Therefore, documents that are not directed to any specific minority group, such as "Towards Inclusions" and "Safe and Caring Schools" could greatly benefit from better articulated conceptualizations of terms such as "success" and "feel welcome," particularly in trying to dismantle white expectations which are based on white privileges.

I was delighted to find documents such as "Life after War" and "Building Hope," which are directly related to teaching refugee students, but also frustrated with the lack of emphasis on students' intersectional identities. It was even more surprising to realize how the "Overview Section" of the social studies curriculum has the potential to foster more critical thinking and reflexivity in educators than documents such as "Creating Racism-Free Schools" or "Black History." The long lists of external references (e.g., books, films, websites) found in all the documents can surely be of help for educators. The paucity of an active, direct, and explicit voice from the government encouraging educators to go beyond the "diversity celebration" discourse and to recognize how race, while a socially constructed concept, has complex and dynamic impacts in the classroom—aspects which were found in the "Overview Section" of the social studies curriculum—demonstrated to be the main area for improvement in the pursuit of hospitable, anti-racism education.

Planning schooling experiences through the lenses of the ethic of hospitality and CRT requires that educators resist molding students to existing structures while attributing resilience as the recipe for their success which, in turn, is based in pre-determined (white) expectations—a pervasive discourse found

in the documents, albeit often subtle. Teachers of every grade and subject must be encouraged to engage in an on-going process of self-reflexivity, questioning one's own biases and beliefs, and embracing the discomfort of alterity—directions found in the "Overview Section" of the social studies curriculum. If students ought to be respondents, active subjects with agency (Ruitenberg, 2011a, 2011b), the pursuit of hospitable, anti-racism education cannot be limited to giving senior students some course choices or interviewing students after they graduate to know how their school experiences were, as the narratives found in "Building Hope" evidenced. Hospitality and anti-racism education ought to be pursued on a daily basis, in every student-teacher encounter, through the necessary discomfort of unconditionally and unpredictably responding to the Other.

PART 2 – THE ARRIVAL OF THE GUEST, OR AN INDUCTIVE ARRIVAL AT SELF-DETERMINATION THEORY

Chapter Five: Students' Interviews

I begin this chapter by presenting information about participants' recruitment, demographics, and some of the ways in which I sought to pursue ethical, anti-oppressive research. After that, I provide details about the data analysis process and outline the interview findings under the three emerging themes. The chapter is then followed by a discussion and conclusion.

Recruitment, Participants, and Ethical Considerations

This research was conducted in compliance with the University of Manitoba's Ethics Review Board. A purposeful snowball sampling was used to recruit participants (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016) through school divisions, community centers, and social media. While my original goal was to recruit individuals between 12 and 18 years old, after many months without being able to recruit any participants, I decided to try to recruit individuals up to 24 years old—those who had already graduated from school would then be reflecting on their past experiences in school. In my attempt to recruit participants, I contacted via email numerous school divisions, schools (after the approval of their respective divisions), community centers, health clinics, employment offices, and several other institutions/organizations that had a stronger likelihood to be connected to refugee students/families. I also shared the recruitment poster in my social media accounts and had it being re-shared by others. Although a couple of school divisions were prompt to consent to my attempt to recruit from their schools (and some principals/teachers shared the recruitment materials with students) I was not able to recruit students directly the public system— for example, by hearing from the principal that there were no students in the school who fit the criteria of the study or that no students demonstrated interest to participate.

After several months of effort (a struggle to be further explored in the next chapter), five students were recruited through community centers, and interviewed individually between May and August 2021. Although I originally intended to recruit and interview more participants, the richness of the data collected through the interviews have surely corroborated findings from current literature and existing research on Black refugee students in Canada. Furthermore, the data from the interviews confirmed and

complemented the analysis of Manitoba Education curriculum documents, thus strengthening this study's credibility, sincerity, and transferability (Tracy, 2010).

A consent form was sent to those students who were willing to participate, which had to be signed by their parents/guardians or students themselves if they were already of legal age. Although my initial goal was to conduct three to five short interviews with each participant, the difficulties in recruitment and awareness of how overwhelmed people had been for being in front of a screen for too long during the pandemic made me decide to conduct only one interview with each participant and then give them the opportunity, via email (which would allow them to work asynchronously, at their own pace), to review the transcript of their interview and participate in the meaning-making of findings—for example, by clarifying any apparent inconsistencies that arose (Watson, 2006), responding to questions that I had after reading the transcript, examine the emerging themes I had outlined, notice and suggest other themes they observed, and discuss any other aspect in further detail. In that way, member checking would not only be a verification strategy (Morse, 2018) but a research methodology itself (Potts & Brown, 2005) as it would foster our relationship, bring participants as close as possible to the research process, strengthen this study's multivocality and my own decentralization, and provide and "more nuanced analysis with deeper meaning to members at hand" (Tracy, 2010, p. 844).

Each interview was conducted through Zoom and lasted between 45 and 60 minutes. Through an oral assent, students were reminded in the beginning of the interview that they could skip any question they did not want to answer and stop at any time if they wanted to. Responses have been kept confidential through the use of pseudonyms. Any other identifiers (e.g., name of the school, name of a teacher) were also replaced at the time of transcription with a term, in brackets, that would allow the sentence to maintain its meaning. Because the five participants were recruited through community centers in Winnipeg, they did not necessarily attend the same school or belonged to the same school division—and it was not the purpose of the study to identify which school/division they attended (see Table 1 for a description of participants demographics).

Table 1

Participants' demographics, in the order they were interviewed.

Pseudonym	Self-identified gender	Country of origin	Year that arrived in Manitoba	Age when arrived in Manitoba	Age at the time of the interview	Grade that was placed when arrived	Grade at the time of the interview
Yonas	Male	Eritrea	2019	15	17	9	10
Afiya	Female	Uganda	2019	16	18	10	12
Ediye	Female	Nigeria	2018	12	14	6	Just finished grade 9
Hiba	Female	Sudan	2018	15	18	9	Just finished grade 12
Kamali	Female	Ethiopia	2016	17	22	11	University

In alignment with the ethic of hospitality and this research's goals, I intentionally did not ask students about any other personal demographic information beyond what is outlined in the table above. Discussing the unconditional nature of hospitality, Derrida (2000a) ponders:

> Does hospitality consist in interrogating the new arrival? Does it begin with the question addressed to the newcomer (which seems very human and sometimes loving, assuming that hospitality should be linked to love—an enigma we will leave in reserve for the moment): what is your name? … Does one give hospitality to a subject? … Or is hospitality *rendered*, is it *given* to the other before they are identified, even before they are (posited as or supposed to be) a subject, legal subject and subject nameable by their family name, etc.? (Derrida, 2000a, pp. 27, 29)

So, although some students disclosed some other personal information in their narratives (such as having many siblings or something about their schooling experiences before moving to Canada), I am intentionally not collecting those pieces from the transcripts to try to satisfy the reader's thirst for knowledge (as an attempt to comprehend the Other, to know *who* the Other is—a desire from which I am certainly not exempt) as this could configure not a human or loving act, as outlined by Derrida (2000a) above, but a totalizing, unethical gesture. Interestingly, the only question I asked about their lives prior to arriving in Manitoba ("Where did you live before moving to Canada?") turned out to be an unexpected

source of tension (both reflected in the students' hesitancy to answer and my consequent discomfort in having asked the question)—an important aspect which will be discussed in Chapter 6.

The initial interview questionnaire (Appendix A) served as an initial guide to the interviews. It was developed based on Derrida's and Ruitenberg's ethic of hospitality while trying to do so in a way that would not be manipulative (Brinkmann, 2018; Ely et al., 1997) nor in an unfamiliar (academic/theoretical) language (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016), which could make participants uncomfortable as well as make this "constricting and anti-qualitative research" (Ely et al., 1997, p. 238). The interview questions sought to explore students' understandings of hospitality through the ways in which they feel (un)welcome in their classrooms (and potentially other school environments)—with particular attention to the influence of their Blackness—, the ways in which they feel that they can(not) influence the curriculum, their relationship with the teachers, classmates, and/or others who may be of relevance for their schooling experiences. An individual semi-structured interview was chosen as the method of data collection for it makes room for the participant to share stories and voice their experiences with more freedom than through surveys or focus groups, for example. Consequently, this kind of interview could allow different and unexpected angles of a phenomenon to emerge (Brinkmann, 2018; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Furthermore, Brinkmann (2018) observes that interviews are historically linked to psychological and psychoanalytical conversations in which the "interviewer should display what Freud called an 'even-hovering attention' and catch on to anything that emerged as important" (p. 584; see also Britzman, 2011). However, despite being semi-structured, interviews (or any data collection method for that matter) are never neutral or "dominance-free" (Brinkmann, 2018, p. 588). As aforementioned, my research biases and assumptions have inevitably informed the questions I asked and how I interpreted the data. In addition, as Brinkmann (2018) notes, the interview is inherently asymmetrical in terms of power relations given that it is a one-way dialogue (i.e., the interviewer asks questions and the interviewee responds). Brinkman also points out that interviews are instrumental and potentially manipulative dialogues in order

to fulfill the researcher's hidden agendas. Certainly, I am the one who has taken the initiative to conduct this research in partial fulfilment of my doctoral program. Nonetheless, it is my intention that this research has and will ultimately benefit students and educators in the pursuit of a more hospitable education for Black refugees. Thus, in order to tackle the potential manipulative nature of the interviews, I sought to give as much space as possible to participants during (e.g., through open-ended questions that may lead to unforeseen paths) and after the interviews (inviting them to participate in the data analysis), and also being as transparent as possible in the knowledge dissemination, such as this dissertation.

Data Analysis

Guided by post-structural and hermeneutical worldviews, I began the analysis of the interview transcripts acknowledging that every understanding and description is already charged with interpretations (Wolcott, 1994; Yanow, 2006). My ontology and epistemology corroborate the power of language and work in the pursuit of what is not already given, working with the silence, resisting quick interpretations and constantly returning to the text to re-explore what was left behind in the previous interpretation. Because words, as signs, take the place of the present (Derrida, 1982), the fulfilment of research is "to be silenced by the stillness of reflection" (van Manen, 2016, p. 99). In this mindset, every conclusion must not lead to the cessation of work but rather to further investigation: what is being left out?

Hence the analysis of the interviews data was not the pursuit of *the* truth, as if reality were something static waiting to be collected (Watson, 2006)—which is why I adopt the term "data collection" with resistance, simply due to a lack of a better one (for example, the alternative term, "data generation," in my view is problematic for its metaphysical connotation). Although I began the study with a set of theories, I recognize that theory is not something static, but a lens through which we understand reality (Anyon, 2009; Lai & Roccu, 2019), that the "soft data" (a term used in the literature to contrast with the so called "hard data," which are quantifiable) collected is interpretative (Morse, 2018), and that writing is in itself a way of knowing (Ely et al., 1997; Richardson, 1998; van Manen, 2016). More specifically, I

approached the analysis of the interviews seeking to maintain a "healthy skepticism" (Wolcott, 1994, p. 21) so as to avoid my trying to read what I wanted to from the data, interpreting and not interpreting at the same time—arguably an attempt to the impossible (van Manen, 2016).

Unfortunately, none of the participants responded to the email I sent with the transcript of their interview, which invited them to review the transcript and to respond some follow-up questions I had about the data—although one participant contacted me right after the interview sharing an after-thought and asking to add it to the study. In compliance with my ethics protocol, I took participants' silence as a sign that they did not want to make any changes in their transcript nor participate in the meaning-making of findings. Therefore, after all interviews had been conducted and transcribed, my next step was to conduct an inductive thematic analysis of each transcript on NVivo. This software was chosen given my familiarity with it and as it allows for a more efficient coding process (i.e., dragging quotes into codes and then being able to have all quotes grouped under its specific code as an individual Word file). Each transcript was analyzed individually and following the order that the interviews took place. Although I did not follow a phenomenological approach systematically, my previous research experiences following transcendental (Moustakas, 1994) and hermeneutical phenomenology (van Manen, 2016) certainly influenced how I conducted this analysis—being "sensitive to the subtle undertones of language" (van Manen, 2016, p. 111), seeking meaning in lived experience descriptions, uncovering thematic aspects, isolating thematic statements, determining incidental and essential themes, and writing/theorizing as a way to "bring signifying relations to language, into text" (van Manen, 2016, p. 132).

Twenty-four themes emerged from that first round of analysis, a couple of which had only a few entries and many of which could be combined or better divided. The first themes that emerged were closely connected to the interview questions and thus the ethic of hospitality and CRT (e.g., "feeling welcome," "influencing the class," "favorite subject"), although some unforeseen themes became evident (e.g., "feeling lost/lonely," "blended-in," "experience of racism"). In other words, the first round was

purely exploratory and instrumental in my becoming re-acquainted with the interviews since I had not read the transcripts after they had been written.

To begin the second round of analysis and better organize the themes, I realized that it was important to go back to my research questions, which I recognized I had not revisited for a while—likely due to the long and laborious recruitment process I became involved with. Such momentaneous "forgetfulness," albeit not intentional, might however have greatly contributed to my ability (or attempt) to approach the transcripts open-mindedly and not simply looking for what I was looking for. Having the research questions in front of me, I began the second round of thematic analysis by reading the quotes organized under each of the 24 original themes. As I was reading the quotes, I started taking notes on a separate file describing common themes, blending, or eliminating those that had only a few quotes (especially when just mentioned by one participant), while looking back at the original transcripts to check whether quotes were not being taken out of context in this process. At this moment I noticed how three key words from the research questions, namely, *curriculum*, *social relations*, and *agency*, were then acting as the lenses through which I was "sifting through the data" (Wolcott, 1994)—i.e., I was reading the quotes paying close attention to how these three aspects were evidenced. Given the commonalities and nuances in participants' experiences, the new themes generated were then more complex than the first round (e.g., "Feeling lost in the class in the beginning for not understanding what's going on," "Invisibility vs hypervisibility," "the problem of putting everyone in EAL classes indiscriminately"). I experienced at that moment a sense of accomplishment, of "being in the right way," for having reconnected with my original research questions and having begun to find the long-awaited answers I had been seeking to find for months. Little did I know, however, where the data analysis process was about to lead me.

After the second round of analysis, I observed that the new themes that had emerged could be organized into three overarching realms, namely, experiences/behaviors associated with where students are (i.e., a new educational setting), experiences related to how students sound (i.e., the role of language),

and experiences related to what students look like (i.e., the effects of racism). At this moment, for some reason (which I suppose was an unconscious connection between the term "mastery," pervasive in Derrida's works, and the ways in which students exercised agency over their learning) the notion of "self-determination" came to my mind and I started doing some searches in the literature as I remembered having read something about it in the past. I then came across self-determination theory (SDT) and was absolutely flabbergasted with how the three domains I had reached in my second round of analysis (how students behave, sound, and look like) were in perfect harmony with the three needs outlined by Deci and Ryan (1985), namely, autonomy, competence, and relatedness. I proceeded with a third round of data analysis, now consciously informed by SDT. As I studied each of SDT's domains, I looked back at the data (quotes and themes) and reorganized those accordingly. Not only did the three overarching themes I had arrived at continued to be clearly evident, but their intertwining with the three SDT domains served to further corroborate the pertinence and relevance of this new framework to the current study—a vivid expression of the intricacies of individuals' lives. Therefore, while the ethic of hospitality and CRT were inevitably constitutive of the interviews and the data analysis process, the postulates of SDT became the structure that informed findings and discussion from the interviews, as the next sections will outline.

Findings

The three innate psychological needs outlined by SDT, namely, autonomy, competency, and relatedness, are considered to be universal. The ways in which they are satisfied, however, is unique to each individual and each context. How then may those needs be satisfied among Black refugee students in Manitoba? What is necessary for them to feel well, safe, and belonging? What hinders or cooperates to their flourishing? The thematic analysis of the interview data indicated ways in which students' behaviors in their new educational context evidenced fostered or hindered autonomy, how their need for competence in a (white, western) English-speaking country was influenced by their language skills, and how Blackness influenced their relatedness in a white school—autonomy, competency, and relatedness being thus exponents of how they conceptualize hospitality. Albeit certainly intertwined, in the following

subsections I present the most relevant data from the interviews according to the domain I believe they are most closely under (autonomy, competence, and relatedness), followed by a discussion of the three domains together. Although the findings from this study's interviews must not be generalized to all Black refugee students in Manitoba, they certainly shed light on urgent and serious matters that are a reality in the provincial education. The ways in which these five students have experienced autonomy, competence, and relatedness unveil opportunities and threats to hospitable education in Manitoba K-12 schools which must not be disregarded.

Autonomy: "Now I can say I'm a Canadian student"

According to SDT, autonomy is linked to feeling volitional, congruent, and integrated (Ryan & Deci, 2017). Evident from all interviews was how students arrived in Canada eager to go to school, study and make new friends. However, their first experience in schools were not as positive and exciting as they had hoped. Most of the students reported feeling frustrated for not having anyone talk with them, which thus lead them to feel lonely and upset: "All the hopes I had, and everything I imagined dropped down. I felt disappointed" (Hiba). All students expressed being naturally outgoing and communicative, so they were surprised for feeling timid and lonely in the beginning of their schooling experiences in Manitoba: "I was very shy in my first year, which is rare for me" (Ediye). Although this is arguably "normal" to some extent for any student arriving in a new school, what emerged as particularly worrisome is how all participants evidenced their perceived need to behave differently in the long-term after they arrived.

First, a couple of participants commented having to ignore and/or avoid certain (white) students for their racist behaviors—an attitude that was not how they would like to have behaved, thus an incongruence to their personality and sense of self. As Hiba mentioned, "I felt so bad when they were making fun of me and they were ignoring me and I had to avoid them as much as I could." Such perceived necessary attitude was clearly dissonant with her beliefs, which was expressed at another point during the interview:

> The skin color is nothing to me. You're human. I'm human. And that's what matters. We are all equal. The thing that makes us different is our experiences, our cultures, where we come from and what we have and what we bring to the table, which is that's a positive thing.

Second, no sooner had they arrived in the new school than they realized that they did not look like their classmates ("everyone else in my classroom, they're all white," Ediye), did not speak like them ("they talk very fast," Yonas), and did not behave like them (e.g., still: "I'm not quiet usually, but I had to be quiet," Hiba). The desire to feel accepted and to "blend in," "mingle" thus motivated them to try to speak and behave like the others:

> I think my personality changed throughout the year just trying to fit in with the classmates and the way they speak and how they would answer some questions or how I would be wearing things… like all my personality I think have changed. And there was a point that I had to be like, stop it. But yeah, I think everything, certain things has changed. I was not my truly self, I would so say, no. (Hiba)

There is yet a third reason why students behaved differently, namely, having to constantly have their guards up, which will be discussed in the relatedness domain as I believe to be more closely associated with students' looks.

Ryan and Deci (2000) argued that non-intrinsically motivated practices can become *internalized* (i.e., values and regulations can be taken in) and *integrated* (i.e., a transformation of the self which allows for those practices to emanate from their sense of self) (p. 71), which is a way towards self-determination. In other words, "through internalization and integration, students can become autonomously motivated to learn material they do not find inherently interesting and are not intrinsically motivated to learn but in which they find value" (Ryan & Deci, 2017, p. 357). So, while the apparent internalization and integration of values and practices such as those reported by the students could be contributing to their autonomy and hence their well-being, it is also possible that their motivation remains external, merely as

a response to the context, its rewards and punishments (e.g., being accepted or excluded by others). Potential evidence of that is how when asked whether they felt they could be themselves, which would be expected in environment perceived as hospitable, some participants were prompt to say "yes" (but their responses in other moments contradicted that) and others were prompt to say "no." This ambivalence between feeling they can/cannot be themselves may be noticed, for example, as how when I asked Kamali whether she felt accepted for who she is, she thought for a while before answering the following:

> It take me a long a long time to answer it just because… I see it in many ways, I can answer that question in many ways, and that's because we were from a young age, we're told to accept ourselves or to be ourselves majority of the time. And having a mom who is a teacher from a very young age, that's what we were told to be yourself and always have the attitude of being accepted or accept yourself, first of all, that. Did I feel accepted? Yes, and that's because I had to work on myself and I have to accept myself and all that. I should say, I think, yeah, I believe yes, I felt accepted, but there's always, you know, there's always that concept of like not being accepted by others just because of the racism and which I don't really, I don't know. I don't really feel that way. But it's still there, you know?

The underlying message that Kamali seemed to want to convey is that she felt accepted *in spite of* racism. However, I also observed that throughout the whole interview she appeared to be hesitant to make negative remarks about her schooling experiences—a mindset that appears to be reinforced by current research and educational practices, as I will discuss further ahead.

An imminent danger accompanies the hospitality gesture when that is offered by those who are "structured as the obvious host" (Rosello, 2001, p. 173), such as Canada and its schools. It is not surprising that students' initial excitement and desire to live a good life in a place that advertises itself as welcoming is shaken once they arrive in the new "home." Arriving in an unfamiliar context, shaped by a different language, people who looked and behaved differently, and being treated in an unprecedented

manner, seems to have yielded to a certain double consciousness within students. This hybrid effect of being "neither here nor there," is certainly influenced by the linguistic, cultural, emotional burden that follows those who immigrate somewhere else, especially refugees (Jowett, 2020; Rosello, 2001). But while students could adapt and integrate the existing system in many ways through their own efforts, as will be discussed ahead, their race remains immutable. The white home is doomed to be a prison insofar as it remains white and thus being Black "makes them eternally fragile guests" (Rosello, 2001, p. 165; Bryzzheva, 2018).

As time went by, it seems that some students started gaining confidence to speak up and resist racist actions from classmates and teachers/principals—a topic to be further explored in the relatedness domain. Yonas, however, did not express the same resistance mindset and rather seemed to have internalized and integrated with pride the values and behaviors of his new school:

> I was a newcomer and then I couldn't go the way that the regular student is going, like it's hard for me to get on and express. I wasn't having any express at that time. And now I play, it's good. I am good now. Everything's like, now I can say I'm a Canadian student.

I observed a different reaction from Ediye, who expressed a sense of self as if it were independent of her context: "I know what I am and who I am. And I don't exactly need anybody's recognition in all of that." However, her despair was also perceptible as she described having given up trying to address the racist issues she encountered:

> So I had someone who was in my class who would repeatedly say the N-word, even though [he] was not Black. And I would tell him you know, this is wrong and blah-blah-blah but I think my opinion doesn't, it feels like it doesn't really matter to them, you know? So no matter how much I see, it kind of feels like I'm not making that much of a difference. So I guess I just give up and I'm like, no. Well, just a few more years down at these people here, you know, so it gets sickening. You're kind of sick of it in a way.

Hiba also mentioned how she struggled with a racist teacher in a course she was taking but felt powerless to change the situation. As a consequence, she felt compelled to drop the course and had to re-take it in the summer, which was not what she had desired:

> I also faced so much of racism in some sort of specific classes that I had to drop just because the teacher was racist to specific students, which I was part of those students. And we had, everybody had to drop out of that classroom. And I was like, I had to drop it just because of that. Imagine. And I had to go to summer school and take that class in other, like in my summer, I had to take that class and had to avoid that teacher, just to avoid that teacher. And some of the students they had to talk to a principal, but he didn't, we didn't see any of a strong move from him that change anything. … So I had to, some people, they dropped that class and they had to not take it at all and so people like me have to take the summer and get my credit because I can't just drop the classroom just because of him and not take the course. I have to take because I need to take that course. Whatever happens in that classroom, I think… but I felt so bad for the other generations or other people that would register for this classroom, how would they feel? But yeah, I remember that part. But I think because I took the summer course that made it feel like, OK, you didn't give up, you know, that kind of thing. But I also feel sad for others.

It can be observed, then, how surrendering to a racist environment and avoiding racist individuals became a commonality among Black refugee students, attitudes that went against their volition and thus a countermove to fostering their self-determination. The partial freedom students were enjoying in the new school (e.g., being able to choose subjects according to their interests) was notwithstanding in constant clash with the constraints of the expectations of a white environment, leaving them with no choice but either accept whiteness as morally desirable or live in constant despair.

According to SDT, "teachers who are autonomy-supportive effectively facilitate intrinsic motivation, often despite the external demands and pressures on them, and they remain concerned with

the points of view, initiative, and choice of students they teach" (Ryan & Deci, 2017, p. 356). Some participants indeed seemed to be experiencing autonomy as they had the opportunity to choose subjects based on the career they wanted to pursue. As Yonas observed:

> Because I want to be an engineer so I am taking that maths. I love maths. I really love maths because, first of all, they relate, like, in the future time, I want to be an engineer. So in order to achieve my goal, I have to be good at maths.

Yonas' experience could thus be a clear example of extrinsic motivation (i.e., the chosen career) which "entails personal endorsement and a feeling of choice" (Ryan & Deci, 2000, p. 71) rather than compliance with external regulation—although it is also possible that the decision to be an engineer is not autonomously motivated (e.g., a consequence of parental pressure). The spectrum of responses to the new context observed among participants thus corroborates the types of motivation and regulatory styles outlined by SDT.

However, students often commented how their views were ignored by teachers (and principals) during and outside of the class time. For example, when I asked Afiya in what ways she feels welcome in the class, her response was:

> I found everything is fine, like nothing like just you coming class, the teachers are there, the students learn, if you don't explain me, that's when I'll start talking. Like there is this Mr. [Name]. Whenever I come in class, he's like "don't worry, today the topic is so soft you won't have to talk" and I'm like "hopefully, hopefully." But yeah, I ask a lot of questions. So I was like, yeah, like when, if the class is smooth then I will be calm, but if it is not then I'll have to ask, talk, try to understand.

To better understand her answer, I asked her what does *not* make her feel welcome in the classroom, to which she said:

> That's when I'm trying to say something and you're ignoring me like you're like, "oh, it doesn't matter. It's not the point." I feel bad about them. Like at least even though I'm not making sense, I'm just trying to understand. And then at the end, you tell me, "you know, Afiya, you're not making any sense." OK, but instead of just being like "oh, I can't hear you." Just be like, focus on what I'm talking about. So that's make me feel not good.

It seems, then, that when she feels ignored by teachers, Afiya becomes agitated and starts talking and asking questions—apparently a contradiction to the teacher's expectations and an incongruence with her intention to adhere to the classroom norms (which seems to be to remain quiet). Interest convergence, which CRT has long warned about, seems to be at play here one more time, as schools can portray themselves as "welcoming to Black refugees" but have no interest in who the Black refugee student really is or wants to be. In such model of conditional hospitality, the guest's agency is thwarted by the power of the host, and the "identity of the refugee remains ambivalent, complex, and contradictory" (Rosello, 2001, p. 155). The school thus becomes a double agent of un-welcoming, creating a space where the student no longer faces the risks they used to, but constantly reminding them that they do not belong there either. Rosello (2001) summarized the paradox of such experiencing noting that, "strangely, the status of refugee grants an individual the right to become the anonymous inhabitant of a city whose authorities are not supposed even to know that he or she is a refugee" (p. 156). Although Derrida (2000a) observed that unconditional hospitality is that offered to the one we do not even know the name, what is at play here is an outright decision to welcome the refugee-as-a-victim, the powerless, the voiceless, but not their undesirable different ideas, knowledge, experience.

Although Yonas said he feels free to ask questions, he also observed that there are teachers who have laughed at him and at other newcomers:

> there are some teachers when, you know, when they ask a question and then when you respond that, when you answer that question, they laugh, or… even if you are wrong, they shouldn't laugh

> because that kind of laughing, it block you, right? Like because they respect my idea, what if I said, like, even if I am wrong, like they respect my idea. For example, some teachers, when you, let's say, if they ask a question and if you get it wrong, there are some teachers they will laugh. And I have seen them laugh. … I know the why the teacher laugh it could be because of my pronunciation, it could be the cultural or … at least the teachers should be respect for any student ideas.

So, despite Yonas' expression of initiative (which is the heart of autonomy, according to SDT), his mentioning that the teachers are respectful, and that he does not care if others laugh at him, he observed that other newcomers,

> are not going to feel comfortable because they are laughing at them, [so] you know, if they are not friends with them, they won't feel comfortable in the school, even in the class. And then that kind of situation, I think may affect them to grow up in the future.

Being ignored outside of the classroom was also an issue strongly evident with regards to the English as an Additional Language (EAL) classes. Afiya vehemently observed how all refugees like her are placed in the EAL stream indistinctly, paying no attention to her previous outstanding performance and willingness to be placed in regular classes.

> I think the way the system is, like, if you're new to Canada, the classes that they give to this people, it's not fair because you find yourself like doing things that—because in Africa I think classes are more harder. So we have these classes that you learn a lot math, it's a lot. So it was my worst subject ever. But now it's like kind of good because in Africa math is hard. So when you come to Canada and you find yourself in EAL classes, that's like disappointing. But if they even, like newcomers, they put them in regular classes. And if they see they can, they can't like me the level, then they'll be like, "OK, I think you need more like explanation," because I think if you

> explain someone in class different, they will at least understand something. And if you still think they should look for something else then EAL classes. It's really like baby classes.

Hiba also emphasized how she would often be ignored by the principal or teachers when she wanted to address something or when had a question as if it were pointless to try to explain—an aspect I will further discuss in the relatedness domain. While the role played by EAL classes will be further discussed in the next sub-section, it should be observed here the indiscriminate placement of refugee students in such classes constitutes a totalizing act, reifying and maintaining unethical approaches to education (Todd, 2003). Furthermore, the attempt of saying the event (Derrida, 2007)—i.e., determining what hospitality should look like—becomes an inherent threat to its possibility.

Conversely, in an ethic of hospitality, the guest has agency to make changes in the environment. But when I asked students how their presence influence the class, their responses were mostly related to how they were able to help other refugees—another facet of relatedness to be discussed under its specific domain. In terms of the content taught or class structure, and particularly in the context of COVID-19 and school closures, teachers' messages and lessons appeared to have been greatly standardized.[5] When I asked Ediye whether she thought her presence influenced the class, her answer was: "I don't think so. Like, my former teacher, he has the same email to everyone in the classroom, and teachers the same way. So I don't think my presence does influence how the lesson is taught." Another example of this perceived unilateral teaching mindset is how students like Yonas expressed to have struggled to navigate the system and keep up with what was being posted:

> when COVID-19 come everything it's kind of hard for me because I was like, so when we start the online class in here, I was like, it was a little hard for me, when I was in grade nine last year because I never, like, I know, I don't know how to use a computer, I don't know how to attend

[5] Indeed, the school closure caused by the COVID-19 pandemic surely revealed many of the complexities of hospitality in education which I have addressed elsewhere (Heringer, 2021b).

> through the online class. So it was like a little bit hard for me to attend my class through the online.

The lack of teacher responsivity during COVID was also felt by Hiba, who had to help her six siblings navigate the online system:

> When I think about obstacles, … with COVID especially, I have six siblings so I have to explain things for them and I have to teach them because online learning they know nothing. That's the part of you newcomer, being a newcomer, especially if you're older, it's always the responsibility falls on your shoulders. And I also, like, I think I have to, I had to now go to my online lessons of one subject just because at that timeline my siblings would have online sessions that the teacher would need support from somebody at home that needs to help the kids. So I was sacrificing. And the teacher, some of the teachers were helpful and understanding, some other teachers would be like, "we don't care, as long as you are not in the classroom, you are absent" or "you are not getting that mark" or whatever. That was so rude.

Besides the aforementioned responses from teachers to students' initiatives (e.g., ignoring, laughing), Ediye also observed how she had a teacher that would constantly tell her *not* to do something:

> I think my relationship with my teachers are really good, I don't have any problems with any of my teachers. But there was a time in grade seven, I don't know, maybe it's just me, I thought my teacher didn't like me. I don't know. I just thought that because in English class I made a bunch of mistakes into my work and my teacher were constantly tell me, "don't do that, don't do that, don't do that." And then I would constantly make the same mistakes. So maybe I kind of felt like because of those mistakes, she probably didn't like me that much. But now that I was in grade nine I kind of understand her point of view because she was right. Maybe in grade 7 I was like "oh, she probably doesn't like me because I'm doing this." But now I'm in grade 9 and it makes

> sense. I should have listened to instructions so I don't really have a problem with any of my superiors.

While it is not clear what kind of "mistakes" Ediye was referring to (e.g., grammatical, behavioral), the second part of this passage makes evident how the incongruence experienced in the beginning seems to have faded as time went by, potentially evidence of internalization and integration. However, it should be observed that using controlling words, such as "should" and "have to," is negatively correlated with students' autonomous motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2017). It has been widely noted in refugee education literature how pivotal is the nature of teacher-student relationship to their adaptation and well-being (e.g., Ayoub & Zhou, 2021; Barber, 2021; Jowett, 2020; Li & Grineva, 2016; Selimos & Daniel, 2017; Stewart et al., 2019). But as Ryan and Deci (2017) observed, "controlling teachers pressure students to think, feel, or behave in particular ways while relating to the students from their own (the teachers') perspectives rather than from the students' perspectives" (p. 367)—thus an element that impinges on students' autonomy, which would surely be necessary in the provision of a hospitable environment. The imperviousness of the white system (with its white hosts) is thus experienced by students not only through the violence of determining from the outset who can(not) be recognized as a subject (Butler, 1997, 2021), but by the constant reminder of what their unchangeable roles in such environment are: sovereign and guest.

Competence: "I felt like I was dumb"

In a hospitable home, the guest would not only be able to navigate the environment but feel effectance when doing so. When it comes to the way in which students' competence needs are satisfied in schools, the role of language became strikingly evident. As only Afiya and Ediye claimed to have had mastery of English upon their arrival in Canada, it is not surprising that some students, like Hiba and Yonas, would feel nervous and scared about going to a country whose language they did not speak. Indeed, as soon as they arrived, students experienced feeling lost for not being able to understand classroom/school dynamics:

> The first time I went to school, I even remember the time was 8:40 am and then they told us to stand for "Oh Canada." I was like, "Oh Canada? Uh?" So they laughed at me, I didn't know what that means. (Yonas)

But Kamali importantly noticed how the confusion was oftentimes not necessarily related to the material/content itself, but how school elements were referred to differently from what she was used to:

> Sometimes I was struggling with the labs because of chemistry, we had chemistry labs and all that. That's just because, you know, the lab equipment, they were very different. They had different names and I didn't know them. So sometimes I'd just walk in the classes without knowing what is happening. Again, that's because of the language barrier, new environment.

Students' interactions with their classmates also contributed to their feeling left out, as Hiba observed:

> I didn't have that much of a positive experience with my classmates just because I felt like I was dumb. In front of everybody they were all interacting, in group discussions with a teacher who would bring something to discuss about it, especially an English classroom. So I felt like I was left out and that was the main reason that made me feel upset that I was feeling less. And I was like, I need to do better than this in my English. That's why I stayed after school to improve my English.

While it is arguably natural to some extent that students may take time to adjust to a new environment and a language they are not yet familiar with, what emerged as worrisome are the ways in which students felt undermined and judged in the long term, both by classmates and by educators.

As mentioned in the autonomy domain, students who already evidenced mastery of the language, such as Afiya, were placed in EAL classes notwithstanding their test results upon arrival in school. Moreover, the way in which students were told that they need to take EAL classes is often done in an alienating way, as Kamali pointed out:

> One of the Grade 11 [teachers], we were taking two English [classes] and the teacher was like, “yeah, you guys should take more than two, more than three English classes, that just because you need to have more English, you need to take more English classes.” And actually, she made us think, I mean, which was a good thing, but I didn’t really feel that I needed to take more and she was like kind of forcing us to do so, she was like, “you need more than five classes.” She was not really into what we’re thinking, OK, what we needed because... It’s just that of more forcing and “OK, because, oh, yeah, even if you do well in other classes, you still have the English.” But I’m trying to accept that, it was just that they [said], “you’ve got to take more” and kind of not in a good way.

It is noticeable from this quote how Kamali understands the value of English classes today, but the teacher’s attitudes were not supportive to her self-determination. In a similar vein, even Afiya, who could already speak English, was confused about her placement because she was not properly informed about her education route:

> I find this issue at school, like they used to put them in this EAL classes. But then I didn’t know what is EAL. They just put me in these classes, I was like, OK. But then in math, I found them like teaching me something that I learned a long, long time ago, like one plus one. I was like, “what is this?” And then they try to teach you like fingers. “This is one if you want to go for two, you have to…” It was so easy, I was like “this is not a class.” Then I ask those friends of mine that I met, I was like, oh, can you try to explain me more like in like my language, maybe I can understand it more like what are these classes? So they tell me the school like, when you are new, they put you in EAL classes that like you have to start from like down, down, down like from low level to make sure like you kind of understand things when you on top of it. When I came from Africa I was almost a graduate. They give me I think a test when I started like to go to this school and on the test I did so great. And the teacher was like “oh, I’m impressed. You are the first student do this test like great.” And then they put me in EAL classes. I was kind of confused.

Similarly, a common remark among students was about the fast pace of the class and how teachers are often unresponsive to their individual needs, particularly by ignoring their questions or responding to them in a humiliating way:

> I feel like because most of the refugees they coming in here and don't really understand how the country works. I think the teachers need to take the time, don't exactly like rush us in a way. I didn't understand how the people were, how the culture worked on that. So teachers just need to take their time and they should have, if they see us struggling speak to them more about it, even if, and don't make them feel bad about it, don't single them out in the classroom. There was, I think, my class, even though I did talk about my kids accepting like a new student recently came and my teacher she was kind of like struggling with a lot of math. And I did speak to her and try to help her but at the same time, when she was struggling, my teacher would kind of single out and be like, all who don't understand, standing in front of the classroom. And I kind of felt uncomfortable by it because I feel like if I was in this situation, I wouldn't want to just like be called out in front of everyone. I would like to spoke in the side. So I think teachers just need to take their time. Black kids are coming in and so just, you know, just slow down a bit. (Ediye)

Such findings evidence thus a lack of responsibility, in the Levinasian sense—that is, not responding to the uniqueness of the Other but rather approaching the guest with a set of pre-determined expectations. Such findings also resonate with current literature on refugee education in Canada. For example, in a study focused on transitional programming for refugee youth in Winnipeg, many refugee students perceived their EAL classes as stagnating and being the source of further roadblocks when they transitioned to regular classes (Jowett, 2020). Such findings thus further corroborate that placement in EAL classes is not necessarily appropriate for all refugee students. Notwithstanding, they continue to have their self-determination hindered by the rigid boundaries of a white system whereby "native speakerism" is synonymous with competence and the lack thereof, equaled to incompetence. Linguistic violence emerges here as "just" another layer of intolerance to the Other. For instance, despite generally

providing positive accounts of his schooling experiences, Yonas also noticed a certain irresponsivity among teachers:

> When I started in school, I went to a regular English class. And I like, you know, if there's a new classmate in the class, like, you know, the teachers in my school they talk very fast and then they, so, like, if there's a newcomer in the class, they should, like, you know, they should, the way that it should change, you know what I mean? Like, let's say if I say I'm a newcomer now, then if I am doing a regular maths class, for example, if the teacher was talking very fast and then he keep going like very fast and then, like, you know what I mean? They should change the way that they teach if there's a newcomer in the class. (Yonas)

Refugee youth in Jowett's (2020) study also vehemently noted not being able to keep up with the class given the pace with which the teacher was speaking. According to SDT, competence is thwarted "in contexts in which challenges are too difficult, negative feedback is pervasive, or feelings of mastery and effectiveness are diminished or undermined by interpersonal factors such as person-focused criticism and social comparisons" (Ryan & Deci, 2017, p. 11). While a lot could be written here in terms of universal design for learning and other approaches to inclusive education, what emerged as particularly alarming from the interviews is how these Black refugee students feel treated negatively different by their teachers, who do not take the time to explain things as if it would be pointless:

> The teacher was, not only for us, but for other people that would go to that class, he would be so racist in terms of marking our work, in terms of explaining to us unfairly compared to the other students that were in the classroom, in terms of viewing us as newcomers that, you know, he would be like, he would show us that we cannot do anything, we cannot be better. So why would he put the work in to help us? You know what I'm saying? He would see that other people deserve to know and for him, they deserve for him to explain things. So the people that deserve for him to explain things, he would do that. And for the newcomers, it was mostly for

> newcomers, it was not—like, he would also be racist depending on color, skin color, but as for mostly, what we saw was that he wouldn't be so supportive. (Hiba)

As it seems, Black refugee students are doomed to face a certain premeditated inhospitality for to the extent to which their difference obstructs the flow of whites' expectations, their voices will be shut down by the sovereign host. The host, in these terms, "feels responsible for policing the guest, for making sure that he conforms" (Rosello, 2001, p. 95). Similar to what Hiba mentioned in the beginning of the passage above, Afiya also commented how she perceived unfair grading from some teachers who would immediately judge them by their appearance, not their knowledge:

> There is this Miss [Z], they always say, like if you're in her class, she will, even though you do good, even though you have 100%, everything is good, she'll give you zeros. I was like, if she do that to me, oh, God, I would have to talk to this teacher. But when I went to her class, I think they treated people differently because if they see you, like, you can't say something that is wrong.

As CRT has argued, slavery may have ended but being white in a white society still grants asymmetrical power to whites. Being a white host further centralizes whiteness even when the teacher has "hospitable intentions" (Bryzzheva, 2018);the pathological and deficit approach towards Blacks continues to dictate institutions and its social relations.

In terms of their feelings of competence among other classmates, students not only felt left out by their white counterparts but also judged by them. Therefore, since the beginning of their schooling experiences in Manitoba, students felt a lot more comfortable being around other classmates whose first language was not English, even if that meant they would not communicate at all in the beginning. As Hiba described:

> When I first came in, I was sitting by myself, after by time we were trying to know each other, even though our English was broken. The girl that came from Somalia, she was not speaking

> English at all. So we had to help each other. And we sat together actually just to have this feeling of like we're going to be supporting each other, although we didn't know how. (Hiba)

Kamali also expressed how speaking English around a native speaker became a source of tension and fear, whereas a very different experience was enjoyed when in conversation with another non-native speaker:

> In an EAL class and even students from other backgrounds, they just want to, you know, want to share, talk to us and all that. And we're all learning the language and no one is judging other or no one is correcting other. So it's so easy to just come up with any words or say as freely as you want. And the same thing here. And it just it's more… you feel more free when you just, because you feel like if you just talk to someone that is fluent in English, you are always going to think, "oh my God, they are going to judge me if I say this," or "I'm going to say some horrible words, I'm going to mess up." So you [are] always worried about those things. So it's easier with the people from other, you know, people who speak English as a second language. (Kamali)

As a consequence of their experiences with teachers and classmates, and as observed by Hiba earlier, students quickly decided to find ways to improve their English skills. In Hiba's case, for example, she mentioned: "I was watching YouTube to how to speak English. And it was like, if you want to speak as Canadians, you have to say these words or have to say this… It has to sound this way or whatever." Yonas shared a similar experience:

> The first time I was like, I wasn't very good because the way that the teacher was like very, they were like very fast. But at this time, I work a lot of, a lot, like I was going to the library, read some books, stuff like that. Like, I read approximately [incomprehensible]. I go through the online. So let's say if the teacher teach us one thing and if I don't understand it, I went to Internet and I tried to find it, things like that. (Yonas)

On the one hand, these initiatives may be perceived as evidence of their intentional behavior and how "children's general regulatory style tend to become more internalized or self-regulated over time" (Ryan & Deci, 2000, p. 73). However, the regulatory process of their behaviors often appeared to be associated with conscious valuing, ego-involvement, or compliance, rather than pure enjoyment and inherent satisfaction, as this quote seems to evidence:

> I had to teach myself how to speak to the English in a way that I don't have to. Now I am speaking to my true like this is how I speak. But at the time I was like, I need to be like Canadian just to make them, like, my classmates, so they don't think that my English is broken or whatever. I have to speak this way, it has to be fast. I have to say, rather than saying, hey, I have to say this or that. (Hiba)

Potential indication of how mastering the language was not *inherently* enjoyed by students is how, with the exception of Afiya, all students expressed a dislike toward English when I asked them what their least favorite subject was. My conjecture is also rooted on the fact that mathematics was mentioned by almost all students as being their favorite subject for a similar reason: the fact that there is no subjective interpretation from the teacher and no need for the students to explain themselves. In Ediye's words, "with math there's not much of a struggle, there's a format so the answer is always going to be the same." Or as Kamali observed,

> I liked math because I didn't have to do a lot of talking and I didn't have to write anything, and all I have to do is listen to music, do my own thing. I don't have to explain myself and describe it, because in English, you know… I'm not a really creative writer, so just putting, sitting down and start writing is not my thing. So with math it was easy, just do the calculation and I'm done. And when you also get to see the results, there's only one fact, and that is just that you get the calculation and calculate things. Like in English people give you different opinions. And even if when you are explaining one thing or coming up with different ideas, it really depends on the

> culture and the upbringing you belong to or you have because it's just a part of you, right? And you don't have to do that with math, it's just the calculations, just makes life way easier. That's why I really loved maths.

Evidence of the way in which the context was often not supportive to or recognizant of their strengths is the fact that, despite students' multilingualism, participants often referred to their English as "broken," "not perfect," in terms of not having *the* language but rather having a language barrier: "I still spoke English, but my English was broken and they couldn't understand it. They would make fun of me, some of them, because of the broken English I had at the time" (Hiba). Especially in colonizing contexts such as Canada, the language is easily used as a weapon to criminalize, (further) disempower, and continuously marginalize the guest by ascribing incompetence (Rosello, 2001). The foreigner "has to ask for hospitality in a language which by definition is not his own" (Derrida, 2000a, p. 15) whereas the host "shows no intention of learning the other's language" (Rosello, 2001, p. 92). Conversely, Kamali mentioned how, as time went by, some classmates and teachers started recognizing her multilingualism as an asset rather than having a deficit approach towards her for not mastering English:

> Because I get to know them more and they kind of started to understand me. It's not like, "oh, you don't speak the language" is that "she speaks more than one language" or… I believe that's how I understood it. With the teachers too. Like they were like, "oh my God, I can't believe you speak five languages." They were so impressed. They were just more respectful in a way. … She [the teacher] would just like show me that that there is more skills, language skills or all the stuff that we have rather than not learning as you said, speaking only one English…or that the stereotypes that just because they don't speak the language, it doesn't mean that they're ignorant.

Another positive experience was observed by Ediye, who mentioned a teacher who demonstrated genuine interest in her knowledge and experience:

> I think for my math teacher, she's very aware of what's happening in today's society. So I think I kind of respect her. It's more like I really respect her a lot. Like one time doing that in class. I was talking about like what's happening in Nigeria. You have heard about like the SARS and like there's a bunch of terrorism that's happening. So I was talking about [that] in the classroom and she was very interested. She wanted to learn more about it. So the fact that she's very, she's ready to learn makes me respect her a lot. So I think that's one reason I'm very comfortable with her because I can speak to her about these things without fear of them disagree with me and then not, like, wanting to make a change or something like that.

Rosello (2001) reminds us that "whenever any type of exchange between people occurs …, different laws of hospitality may clash, sometimes violently, especially if the situation takes place in a country where individuals are represented as belonging to different 'cultures,' separate 'communities'." Students' narratives, notwithstanding, revealed attitudes/dispositions of teachers whom they perceived as welcoming for the way in which they fostered students' competence, thus confirming how "when learning conditions are supportive of students' basic psychological needs, intrinsic motivation, well-being, and high-quality learning are likely to result" (Ryan & Deci, 2017, p. 357).

Relatedness: "This cancer called racism"

The ethic of hospitality notes that the guest arriving in a new environment is not alone, but in necessary relation to the host (and potentially to other guests who may also be there)—a relation that can be hospitable or hostile. Rosello (2001) argues that hospitality does not need to be conceptualized in binary terms (hospitality vs. inhospitality), but that there might be different manifestations within the hospitality spectrum that may be more or less endorsed. While such view might not necessarily be in harmony with Derrida's conceptualization of hospitality, it can certainly shed light on ethical possibilities in education. The need to feel cared for and to care for others, and the need to feel belonginess and connectedness were greatly evident in the interviews both in relation to classmates and educators, with race/racism playing a major role in their experiences. Besides having to adopt an attitude of avoidance

and feeling that they had to behave differently in order to fit in—two attitudes already explored in the autonomy domain—, participants strongly emphasized their perceived need to constantly have their guards up so as to fight stereotypes held by white classmates/teachers. For instance, when I asked Kamali whether she felt she could be herself in school, her reply was:

> Sometimes. You always try to fit in, right? And try to leave your comfort zone and try to, you know, mingle with other people, that's just because you want to have friends or you want to try to experience different things or learn about different cultures. Sometimes yes and no. No when you think that, well, maybe they're going to say this so I should behave this way, or they might have this kind of stereotype about people who came from this country and so I should be behave a certain way or should, you know, like you have those things and that you don't really… not really, not really in your comfort zone or trying to be someone else.

Similarly, when I asked Ediye whether her relationship with classmates/teachers would be different depending on whether they were Black or white, she said:

> Oh, yeah, definitely. Definitely. Like my friends they are Black. I can easily make jokes that I know might not be offensive and all that. It's easier to relate to them. I don't have to have my guard up all the time and speak properly all the time. When I'm talking to my friends they are the same [incomprehensible] I have. Whereas with people that are different I feel like I have this pressure to always, you know, act appropriately so as not to have this certain idea about all Black people are, because I have had situations like that where everyone is put in the same box or same stereotype as like Black student act in a certain way. So I kind of like, stress myself to like, "oh, no, I just I want to be like, oh, we are we're not always what the media portrays us to be" or something like that. So I definitely act different to people who are not the same color as I am.

Not only are students constantly bombarded with the stigmatized and stereotyped images of Black people, as CRT scholars have constantly pointed out, but also forced to pass as white—i.e., being complicit with

white expectations so as not to suffer (more) from whites' "fragility" (DiAngelo, 2018). "Such episodes," Rosello (2001) argues, "remind us that the individual house can always be used as a metaphor for the community at large, for what happens in the city, for what happens at the level of the sate" (p. 150), as Du Bois (1903/2005) had also long observed. This feeling of having to walk on eggshells was especially experienced by Ediye from the moment she began her schooling experiences:

> I didn't understand the rules and how it's going to be like. So I think that definitely made me feel shy about not talking to people because I didn't want to say the wrong things or act a certain way that would be frowned upon or something like that. (Ediye)

When I asked her if she felt she could be herself in the classroom her answer was:

> I like to think I am myself. But then again, when I'm at home, I do see the differences in the way I act. In the classroom it's more of just like I'm always like, "Oh, I'm so smart right and blah-blah-blah" but then when I'm at home I make mistakes, you know? Whereas in the classroom I try to avoid those mistakes. (Ediye)

Although Derrida's conceptualization of hospitality is clearly one that is asymmetrical, expecting no reciprocity from the guest, hospitality is notwithstanding a relational experience whereby both host and guest habitus are affected. As such hospitable exchanges do create situations in which "not knowing what the other expects, or wants, will create moments of malaise and discomfort" (Rosello, 2001, p. 171). While I agree with Rosello that such complex ballet of interpretations is inherent to hospitality, what emerges as an intrinsically inhospitable gesture here is how the threat of the disruption caused by the Other sustains a condition whence students' identities are violated. But while their perceived lack of language skills can be "remediated" through (imposed) EAL classes, students' Blackness emerge as an intolerable nuisance that is continuously repressed by educators and classmates.

Due to their fear of behaving in ways that would be incongruent with white values/expectations and given the way that students feel essentialized by their white counterparts, participants emphasized

how much easier it was for them to connect with other Black refugees (or at least other non-white immigrants). Not only did they feel they were facing similar struggles but it also made them more comfortable to relate with people without the fear of being constantly judged by their English or behavior. For instance, the feeling of relief experienced by Afiya when meeting another student from Africa was noticeable when describing her first moments in the school:

> It was first nervous. I was like, oh, how is it? Like, everyone is like totally new people. So like my first class was like all of them, they were like no one from my country. Like, everything was so strange, I felt so lonely. But then I didn't know, like in Canada, you kind of move into different classes. So it's like, oh, OK, that's good. You don't have to sit there whole hours in one room. So I was like, "yay, I have to move and meet other people." So I moved in another class. I think I had a dance class like the next class I had dance. And then I met this girl, I was like, "oh, finally there is someone from at least Africa that I now know." It was now great and then that girl was like, "Oh, where are you coming from? I'm from Congo," then we had a small talk together. It was really good. And then I felt like, OK, at least now.

Kamali shared a similar view, pointing out how helpful it would have been for her having Black teachers:

> I believe that you always feel like you belong when you see your own people or people from your own country or people who looks like you. That's because you think that maybe you can accomplish more of them or they are in this place then I can also be, they are kind of your role models in a way. It would have been a different story if they were, if my teacher or my, yeah, if my teachers were from like Ethiopia or from Africa, that's because… I don't know, you just you kind of relate and feel like you have something in common and same struggles, or maybe they are same, they could be immigrants as they do. So you have that thing in your mind and you'll be more kind of motivating, but also or even having your teachers as Canadians also be like, OK,

> maybe you'll learn to have that diversity culture or you get to see life from different perspective. Or when they tell you stories from their side, maybe you kind of try to relate to them.

Similarly, when talking about the beginning of her schooling experiences, Ediye said:

> It was very awkward my first year of school, I didn't really talk to anybody. I did try to. The only person I could actually make friends with was all from the same country as I am (…) There was only two Black people in my class and the other Black person, she had been in Canada longer than I was. So I didn't really, I couldn't really relate to her like more of my own, how especially for people from my own country, my country's views at the time. And the other two people, they were like Asian, like Filipino, so I could speak to them and relate to them about how our cultures are different and blah-blah-blah. But for everyone else in my classroom, they're all white. So I don't know there's kind of a wall between us in a way because I didn't talk to them, they didn't talk to me. So I only had about two people in my little circle in the whole class.

This perceived wall between Black and white classmates was also experienced by Hiba, who shared how much racial discrimination/segregation she observed among classmates:

> Some people, they want to be friends only with white people. And I had, I actually saw so some people that were trying to be mean to, like they are not white, but they would have only this group of white friends that said they don't want to include somebody that's Black. And that's how they want their good friends to be. And I saw that a lot in my school. I saw, I'm not going to lie to you. I saw that a lot. And they wouldn't include into that group of good friends. And one of them would be like, this is funny, but one of them, one of these groups would be so nice to me in the classroom and would help each other and everything. And when he got out of the of the classroom, he would go with his group friends and he doesn't know me in the hallway. In the classroom we know each other and everything. Outside we don't know each other. It's like, what? And I had to distance myself from him because this is being fake, like I don't want to be your

> friend. He is so nice but I think they judge him, right? They judge him, like, don't be friend or whatever. So he has to follow his friends because if not he's going to be out of the group. So there is this kind of things in the school that principals or teachers don't acknowledge. And it's this different type of racism. This is racism. Like, you can't be like "they are Black so you can't be friends."

Ediye also went through a similar situation during her time in elementary school: "I don't think I actually felt accepted in the classroom because no one really took the time to learn much about me in those three months I stayed there." Conversely, and as alluded to in the competence domain, students feel cared for when teachers show interest in their experiences and knowledge, although they often experience feelings of being ignored, neglected, or undermined by teachers/principals:

> I feel like you could sense when somebody is happy to have you and when somebody is not so happy to have you. You know what I mean? You can just sense it in the room, you can sense that. So I think, and even when I ask for help, teachers if they are trying to help, although they do know what specifically I am asking, them putting the work to try to understand me and try to explain, although they're not sure what I'm asking, just try to explain whatever they understood from me. This itself showed me that they do respect, respect my questions and what I have to ask, not just ignoring my questions and not just trying to be like, "you know what? She's not going to, even though explain to her, she's not going to do it any better. So it's better for me to explain to the people that would do better." You know what I mean? So this kind, this also made a difference, I think. (Hiba)

As a relational and contextual experience, we must not expect that hospitality will ever look the same. One's model of hospitality is thus not necessarily transferable to different context and that should not necessarily be perceived as inhospitality (Rosello, 2001). However, students' experiences also demonstrated that being physically received into a new environment is not necessarily synonym with

hospitality either. The perceived walls among classmates and feeling ignored by educators certainly shows how the need for relatedness is not satisfied by simply being around others. A hospitable environment requires a healthy host-guest (and guest-guest) relationship and a constant redefinition, deconstruction, différance of its interpretation. In other words, hospitality is about "resigning oneself to friction, approximations, gradually altered protocols" (Rosello, 2001, p. 171). For the Black refugee students interviewed, a common remark was how appreciated those who would stop to talk to them:

> I felt lonely when I was in the classroom, I was by myself. Nobody spoke the same language as me. So I felt lonely. And all the hopes I had, and everything I imagined dropped down. And I felt, I felt disappointed, I would say. So this teacher would make me like, "hi!" and then I started to be, like, as my English improves by the second month, I would be like, "what's your name and what do you teach?" And he would be welcoming me and how is the class going? And we started to be like friends. Like, "hi, Mrs. Happy," he would be like that. Because I'm always smiling every single morning. And I feel like that by itself helped me. And this is a way to make somebody feel welcome when you just say hi in the hallway, this teacher doesn't know you or this classmate, the person that you walking by doesn't know you, just a smile on your faces, not a fake one, actually, a smile would mean a lot, I think. And asking somebody how they're doing, because I had some teachers that they would ask me, "how was your morning? How was your weekend?" And I would be like, on the weekend I would be thinking what I would be answering, what's something fun would I do to tell my teacher? And although this seems like, and still appropriate this, I would still like to know I was not mature enough, but what am I going to be doing? So I tried to do something fun, whether it's going out with my parents to go somewhere or like visiting cousins or, because I love to draw, drawing or whether it's reading. So I think like just asking somebody, how you are doing. (Hiba)

In a similar vein, they were able to perceive a genuine smile from teachers and classmates as a welcoming gesture, as described by Yonas:

> my teachers, like, I feel like even when I came to my school, I came to that school, they welcomed me, like, you know, through their smile, they are happy like that: "Hi, Yonas, how are you?" And things like that. And the way that they talk with me, the way that they act like they smile like "Hi Yonas," like, you know, they welcome me in a good way.

The way in which students often commented about the value of a genuine smile certainly seems to corroborate SDT's observation that "even a small dose of adult autonomy support and relatedness can significantly influence the school experience" (Ryan & Deci, 2017, p. 357). However, it should be noted how despite these perceived hospitable gestures, students' voice, shouting their needs and desires, remain silenced. In such context, the "perfectly peaceful moments of shared hospitality sometimes hide ugly structures of larger inhospitality" (Rosello, 2001, p. 174).

Hiba acknowledged that it takes a lot of work to help refugee students. However, she also pointed out that teachers do not need to have all the answers, but they must at least take the time to try to understand and give the student the chance to try rather than ignore them. Indeed, feeling cared for was strongly associated in students' narratives with the teacher who gives time, support, and is flexible with them. But the opposite situation (feeling uncared for) was often experienced along those lines, when teachers seemed to disregard students' needs and just kept moving on with the class:

> The first time it was hard for me, but at this time that's good because I had an experience about it. But the first time that's how I was feeling, like my teachers were talking very fast. They keep going like, you know, they give like a lot of work. It was like, it was like very fast. And then I am, I was a newcomer and then I couldn't, I can't go the way that the regular student is going, like it's hard for me to get on and express. I wasn't having any [incomprehensible] at that time. (Yonas)

Hiba shared a similar perspective, noting how she had to cope with her feelings of loneliness and *in*competence by herself:

> I think I had to overcome some problems within myself feeling that I can't do this. Obstacles of, because you doubt yourself. When you are the strongest one, like, as a newcomer, I feel like the first thing that comes in my mind when I remember high school is that they are better than me, I won't be able to reach that level of English or level of their smartness. I am dumb. I am not good enough for this and that I feel like I had this time of like, I was getting zeros in all my subjects and I was not doing all the work. I was not studying just because I feel like everybody was helping each other. They were supporting each other in the classroom. And I was lonely in that classroom (…) Here's the thing, as newcomers, we have nobody in the classroom that's understanding where we're coming from, although the teachers could help you. But it's like, OK, I'm lonely in this classroom like, nobody is going to help me, this kind of feeling. So I had this obstacle and I feel like this is within myself. (Hiba)

From quotes like this and what have been explored in the competence domain, it might be observed, then, that loneliness was not necessarily experienced as a consequence of not speaking English (thus arguably not being able to communicate with peers), but rather as a result of how they were feeling treated.

Besides the pace/nature of instruction, as explored in the competence domain, the interviews revealed how students feel uncared for with the racist (in)actions of teachers and principals—particularly, when educators do not acknowledge or do not take racism seriously. Only Yonas did not explicitly acknowledge experiencing racism in his school, although his interview certainly reveals its pervasiveness and effects. As Baker (2013) observed when interviewing refugee students in St. John's (Newfoundland and Labrador), the concept of racism may be foreign to newcomers although they experience the emotional distress it can cause. Baker also observed a tendency among refugee students to ignore and/or accept racism as a coping mechanism. Further ahead I will discuss other factors I believe also contributed to the absence of a focus on race/racism in his interview. Hiba, however, who referred to racism in schools as a "cancer" and "asthma," eloquently discussed the major role played by teachers and principals in welcoming Black refugee students, pointing out how important it is for them to resist and actively fight

against racism, a passage worth quoting at length (but which I will break down into sections so as not to miss some of the meaningful layers she discussed):

> If a school is keeping you down and it's not exciting as you are, not supportive and like especially racism on top of that, then I think it plays a big part in your personality that affects your personality, that affects your study and your academics, that affects your way of dealing with things and people that change your behaviors, that change your personality. See how many things are being affected just because of somebody was racist. Whether it was a teacher, student or a classmate or whatever. If there is a message, like, the last thing I would want to say is that, a way that I would give just a way that teachers could make newcomers feel welcome or like inclusive, like everybody feel good about the school would be like try to introduce everybody to that new student, not only to introduce them, but try to do your best for those students to make connections.

Then, Hiba proceeded by arguing that racism is outrightly ignored by teachers and educational leaders in an attempt to protect the school's reputation, which only serves to perpetuate the disease:

> A lot of teachers ignore when racism is happening in the school just because they don't want the school to be known as "oh, this school is racist." Can you imagine? I've seen that many times like teachers, if they're racist, they don't want to acknowledge that just because they don't want the school to be called oh this school's racist or that school. Like, what? What are you trying to do? Like, if you're not acknowledging that you're not doing a serious move in that, then, I'm telling you, it doesn't matter if somebody say that this school is racist or not. It's going to be at the end of the day because you're not doing anything to solve that. And I've seen this in my school too, like they don't do like in other schools, like I have friends that go to other schools that like there is racism, and mostly not only in my school, but most schools in Winnipeg as you said there is a lot of racism and principals, especially, like when somebody goes to principal or the teacher, it's

> like teachers do nothing about it. Let's try to not talk about teachers, because if you tell them that, especially as being racist to me, they do nothing, they'd be like just talking to them and not taking a serious move. If you talk to a principal, they don't do a serious move like talk to the parents or whatever. Nothing like that. They would just talk to them and that's it. And tomorrow, when you go to that classroom, they're still racist to you. So what? Or they don't want to talk to the parents or to the two parents because they don't want the kid that's been the victim, they don't want the victim's parents to be like taking the student out of the school and telling other people that the school is racist. There is this asthma of, "OK, we don't want this school to be known as racist." But the fact is it's going to be racist if you're not doing a good move. You know what I mean? So you better do something to stop it, or if you ignore it, that's going to do nothing. It's just a way of you imagine it's going to do something, but it's going to be do not doing nothing. It's going to be doing nothing unless it's going to be affecting, making this cancer spread everywhere else, like everywhere else.

CRT scholars have argued that racism is embedded in society and constitutive of institutions. Thus, consciously or not, whites are constantly reproducing racist structures. The hospitable gesture of a "perfect and gracious host" such as Canada, is bound to reveal the cracks of its self-interest and utilitarianism once the subaltern speaks (Spivak, 1995; von Stackelberg, 2020). The conditional and limited nature of hospitality offered by these schools become particularly evident and violent when the white ego is hurt. But if racism is already ingrained in educators' minds and the educational system, how can hospitality take place? Instead of trying to ignore or disguise racism, which only serves to sustain and worsen it, Hiba emphasized the pivotal role schools can and should play in students' lives, especially given the age they are:

> And as teenagers, our personalities is being created from our schools and from our high school experience. These are the first teenagers years, and if you can't anything to that period of time, you can't change anything. If you are racist in high school, it's really hard to change it when

> you're 29, 28, 27. It's really hard when you are racist in that age and nobody stopped you from being racist even though you want to change it, even some people they are so racist. Why? They tell you, ask them, some people when were young we were racist, our parents did nothing about it, or our teachers did nothing about it and we continued doing that because if a teacher didn't stop me, so that means I'm doing the right thing, you know what I mean? If nobody stopped me, I'm doing the right thing. And parents should be told when their kids are being racist in the classroom. They should know about it. If they do know about it, like some parents do nothing about it and some parents do. So let's just all up anyways.

Combating racism in schools, therefore, emerges not only as necessary to hospitality but an opportunity to foster change in the societal level. Hiba concluded this rich and remarkable passage by looking to the future with despair but also indicating that this is a fight that needs to be fought:

> So I think it would be good to see, racism is going, I don't think it's not a one day thing that will end, but at least let's try to have less about like less of racism going on, especially as new teachers are coming. We're hiring teachers every year, every second of, like, now teachers graduating like a student is graduated from university to become a teacher. So he or she are going to become a teacher. So let's tell those new teachers to avoid those mistakes and let's not do this or not do this. At least they know what's going on because we're going to have new generations coming in. And we don't want those generations to have, for this cancer to be spread to them as well.

All students emphasized how friendly their teachers were (which they perceived as a positive contrast with their home countries) and how being able to talk to teachers as friends "made my experience more enjoyable" (Ediye). However, being friendly—as Manitoba's motto tries to portray its society—was not necessarily a synonym of being supportive. When sharing the experience she had with a racist teacher, Hiba said "he's kind of funny to everybody, but his work and how he deal with us was not so much

great." Later she also mentioned how improving students' academic performance is not all that being supportive entails:

> I think teachers, like schools, although they're doing a good job, like a good job academically, they're not doing the job they should be doing in terms of newcomers and how they should support them and what they should provide. (Hiba)

Conversely, the experiences that stood out the most for students as the ones that made them feel most cared for were teachers who went beyond what could be perceived as their professional obligations. For instance, staying after class and having lunch with them was perceived by students as a gesture of genuine caring which made them feel welcome. Hiba said she felt like a daughter to her ELA teachers and "because they were so welcoming and they were so, like, they made me feel like home." Students also often demonstrated appreciation for the advice they received from their teachers:

> All my teachers are friendly. In class we are serious and then after class, like… in the last time, my life was my teachers, sometimes if go with maths teacher it's a dialogue all the times, like, I feel like, you know, it's my English, and then they also they told me that I am funny. That's what they told me. So we talk a lot of a lot of that like, you know, they give me some advice, like, for example, what I will do in the future, things like that, because as they told me, they told me that I am a good student. And then, like, they, you know, they gave me hope so... and then I love my teachers. (Yonas)

For Afiya, this experience remained even after they were her official teachers:

> So we have this close connection together, like in case of like any like personal problems, I can go to her. Like she was always like, oh, she's kind of like helping like try her best to help me out in any difficult moments …. With Miss [X] we're still connected and some of them like Miss [Y], we are still also connected because she is like a counsellor to me, so she have like she help me

> with university things with a lot of things, like looking for better schools. So, yeah, we both like still connected. (Afiya)

But can hospitality ever be too much? In order words, “is too much hospitality a disease of hospitality?” (Rosello, 2001, p. 169). The potential danger of an “excess” of hospitality must not escape this discussion not only due to the potential harms it can cause on teachers (Jowett, 2020; Manitoba Education, 2012), but for it seems closely connected to commonly adopted unethical approaches to education (Kumashiro, 2000; Todd, 2003). If hospitality is perceived as a form of generosity rather than an international, universal right (Kant, 1795/2007), it can become a form of addictive power, an attempt to achieve self-gratification while seeking to uphold the conditions that make such logic possible.

Notwithstanding the positive experiences they had with some teachers, Hiba, Afiya, and Ediye were particularly emphatic about the ways in which resisting and combating racism fell greatly on their own hands. When I asked Ediye whether she had tried to voice her concerns about the racism experiences she was going through, her response was:

> I did talk about it one time, like in my English classroom. I talked about it. I was like, well, you have the same thing happen. And I didn’t exactly like that. And my English teacher was like, he agree with me. He was like, this is this is wrong and something should be done about it. But then again, I can’t exactly rely on teachers much because the division itself should do something about it, because I know it’s not only the principal that makes the final choices, it might have not have been his decisions. The division has to do something about it so that students are more comfortable in the classroom. … A student shouldn’t be the only one trying to change that. The school, the teacher should be making the effort to avoid this person after a lot of things and all that.

Students’ race might be a social construct but it has powerful, complex, and dynamic impacts on how they perceive hospitality. Teachers’ “friendliness” might contribute to pleasant experiences but is not

sufficient to welcome students' uniqueness. Feeling uncared for by teachers, however, not only led students to advocate for themselves in many circumstances but also to advocate for peers who were going through similar situations. According to SDT, "people can experience *relatedness* while helping others, through a sense of empathy and interest in others, and their active involvement on the others' behalf" (Ryan & Deci, 2017, p. 625). Therefore, despite the adverse circumstances, one possible way in which students' need of relatedness was being satisfied was through their contributing to other refugee's well-being, particularly in helping others navigate the system and seeking to foster a positive classroom environment for all students. For instance, when I asked Ediye whether she felt her presence had any influence in the class her response was:

> I like to think so because when I was in grade 9, because of COVID, not a lot of people were in the classroom so when I was in the classroom I would speak very comfortably with everyone, I would make jokes and all that. So on the days where I maybe missed class, my friends would tell me, like, "oh, it wasn't fun without you." So I like to think my presence does make a difference.

When it came to advocating for other segregated students, Hiba shared how that became a recurrent practice for her, another rich passage worth quoting at length:

> I think my presence, like they told me, I have a charisma of like making people try to make them laugh. And I welcome everybody because I know how it feels to be as a newcomer. I know how it feels to be new. But if there was somebody that was new in the class, like after years, like in grade 11 grade, I started to, like my English improved a lot and everything, so I would welcome them or make them join our group discussions or whatever. And I actually had somebody like one of the classmates that had to move somewhere. But she wrote me a letter saying, like how she was, she was happy to feel happy, when she came to the classroom and how I made her feel welcomed and her trying to know to try to understand the language. I had to interpret for her because she was speaking Arabic. So she wrote me this letter and it was it was like she stayed

> with us for one whole month and she had to move to Edmonton. So when she wrote me that letter, oh, my God, I was so sad that she left, although we didn't know each other for that long. But it meant so much and from that day I started to be like I need to welcome people and I need to include people.

It is interesting to note how Hiba demonstrated the importance of feeling welcome, and how she noticed newcomer students were not enjoying such feeling. As a consequence, she started being proactive in finding ways to welcome students herself:

> If somebody made someone feel bad or anything, I would try to tell them because I'm like, I'm the one like mom/sister or dad, I would be like "don't do that." But I am the one that would be like, if someone is doing something bad in terms of like educational or like personally, they're making somebody feel bad. Usually I try to pick it. I would bring the things as a funny way because that's how we understood things like I don't like where my parents, like, I don't like the formal way "don't do this because blah-blah-blah," it's like so annoying, you're trying to tell me what to do. As teenagers most people don't seem to like that. So I would try to be as a funny joke or whatever, and I would get to do that.

She concluded this passage demonstrating how her tactful responsivity not only contributed to students' well-being but was also greatly appreciated by educators:

> So the teachers would actually, even the principal were like, "thank you for, you were just bringing happiness to the classroom. And like if there was problems or anything, we would be like where is Hiba?" Just because you know how things work or whatever. So I think I always try to bring the best version of every class in a different way, in a unique way, depending on who I am talking to or who they are with, they know who I am. But sometimes you have to understand where somebody is coming from and deal in that way. So I try to be flexible a little bit with, some

> people are angry more. Some people are usually mean, some people are out of time. So you have to know who you're dealing with and how.

The proactivity demonstrated by Hiba in supporting other students was also shared by Afiya, who noted that she was often the one who would address classmates' concerns to teachers or the principal whom others feared:

> Something maybe you can know about me, like, I'm not a shy person. I was so confident, I have this public communication skills. So I think that's something great because whenever I see something is wrong, my voice is out like that. I'm like, no way this is not right. … I don't fear to talk to anyone. Like, I think everyone is just like human beings. … There is this program at school, "All kids can be" like, is the program at school, like all newcomers, mostly of them, they're Black kids. So I joined that group and I found all the topics they're talking about is about like the race, like the way they treat them at the school. And I was like, "don't just keep it in this room, just go and tell them." And they're like, "even though you go talk to the principal, they can't do nothing. It's just the way the system is." I was like, "oh, they can change the system in, like, if you guys don't feel like that's right, because the classes I'm taking, it's not ok." So I think we set up a meeting with the principal. Oh, the way the principal treated us, I was like, OK, like he is so scary and all students at school, like, really scared about the principal because he is just a guy that when you see him you are like "oh, I won't go tell him any of my problems, I will just keep quiet." But like, I didn't let that, also need to join the students and be like, oh, that guy, he's a principal. I can go talk to him.

In a sense, then, instances of inhospitality appear to have created micro-cosmos of hospitality whereby the guest becomes the pseudo-host for other newcomers. Such redefinition may be perceived as a locus of resistance but also a gesture that approximates the guest to the host (teacher) and other "more powerful" guests, an arguably attempt to obtain some kind of control. Such efforts, however, although admitted and

even desired by educators to some extent (after all, having students help each other means less work for them) proved not to be necessarily enough to foster students' self-determination. For example,Afiya proceeded her narrative evidencing how her relentless efforts were not sufficient to make students feel cared for by educators:

> We tried our best to talk to him, but he was like, no way. I think because we were kids. So we said, Mr. X [a teacher], like, to go talk to him because he's an adult. And when you went talk to him, he was like, "we can do nothing, those classes are made for you people." I was like, "now, that's rude." And I was so like, I wanted to talk to the principal so badly cause, like, the way he, Mr. X said, he said, like, he say because we're Black kids so we have to be in those classes. And I was like, "OK, now we have to change something." And then I went to the [Community Center's Name] because when I came to Canada, they introduced the [Community Center] as a place where, like, they help you learn some a lot of things about school. So I talk, [Name], he's a career coach. He's just a staff at [Community Center] at the time. And then I told him the way this principal treated us there and how all kids, like, gangster kids, Black kids, they know that they do bad things about them, like they put them in wrong classes. … But still, you can talk to him [the principal], like the way he treat Black people, like, the way this guy walk, oh my God, whenever I see him I'm like "why do everyone fear this guy? What is wrong with him?" And I would say "Hey!" and he just give me a look like, and I'd be like [makes a scared face] [laughs] I'm like, "OK, I see the reason now."

As observed by Afiya above, educators' unapproachability inhibited some students to speak up. This was also mentioned by other participants who then pointed out how beneficial it would be to have more (or even one) Black teachers:

> I think if they can have more diverse teachers, I believe, and I wish I had more of those teachers, not only in high school but also in university, that's just because you want to see your own people

> and people from your background and your country and your continent if we go further and not only that, also just people who are immigrants or people who are refugees. And that could help the students to be more courageous, I believe, to do more work and to just have that mindset of that "I can do it like them" or "I can do more than them." And if they can do it, then I say I can do it, too. (Kamali)

These students' experiences thus not only evidence the complexities involved in an ethic of hospitality through CRT lenses, but they seem to support SDT's model of basic psychological needs which "specifies the common internal processes supporting both natural helping of others and the internalization of regulations that inhibit or redirect antisocial deviances that would weaken group functioning and cohesion" (Ryan & Deci, 2017, pp. 622-623). Students' rich responses ought then to be further explored in light of this emerging framework.

Discussion

As the findings demonstrated, the three basic needs outlined by SDT are intertwined and mutually influencing one another—thus also a reflection of human nature's holism. For organization purposes, however, in the next sub-sections I discuss the findings according to each of the three SDT domains, namely, autonomy, competence, and relatedness. Although the ethic of hospitality and CRT were the theoretical frameworks whence this study began, throughout the process of data analysis I sought to bracket my previous assumptions and/or expectations and allow for the emergence of unforeseen paths. Surely, those two original frameworks never ceased to haunt me throughout the process. For instance, my eyes were inevitably sensitive to words such as "welcome" and "belong" and how those were associated with students' feelings, especially as those related to their Blackness and racism experiences. But it should be noted that for the purposes of the analysis of the interview findings, I made an active effort to allow the data to lead me rather than trying to fit the findings within my original ideas. In fact, I approached the data analysis open to the possibility of having the tenets of the ethic of hospitality challenged by students' experiences—perhaps their conceptualization of hospitable education would

evade that framework. In a similar vein, perhaps students would not have perceived any negative impacts of their Blackness in how they experienced school in Manitoba. I had to be open to whatever would emerge.

But as it turned out, SDT became a framework that greatly complemented this research's goals and rationale, which was originally based on the ethic of hospitality and CRT. The discussion that follows in this chapter then aims at evidencing SDT's contributions, although the ethic of hospitality and CRT are inevitably woven through the sections. The third part of this dissertation, in turn, is where I make the active effort to more explicitly bring together the insights provided by the three frameworks, demonstrating their complementarity and relevance for this research.

Who is the Self?

The need to self-regulate one's experiences and actions, or autonomy, is surely the anchor of SDT. A key concept in understanding autonomy and self-determination is thus first and foremost the *self*. Based on psychological/psychoanalytical and philosophical theories, as well as eastern Buddhism perspectives, Ryan and Deci (2017) demonstrated how in SDT the self is not conceptualized as an object, but as a process: "when we look closely at experience, we never find a self, we only find a *relation*" (p. 64). The ethic of hospitality follows the same logic when pointing out that in order for hospitality to take place, it is necessary a host and a guest. The importance of behaving in self-endorsed ways, in ways that are congruent with one's authentic interests and values, then, does not mean that the self is static.

Outlining the controversial and yet fundamental role played by autonomy, Ryan and Deci (2017) observed that autonomy is "a vehicle through which the organization of personality proceeds and through which other psychological needs are actualized" (p. 97). The change in personality observed by students after their arrival in Manitoba is thus not inherently something negative (it should be noted that although some students spent a few days/weeks in a different province when they first arrived in Canada, Manitoba was the province they began their schooling experiences). But acknowledging the self as process, fluid,

and not as an object, does not necessarily make this process supportive of their autonomy either. In fact, the interviews revealed how often the dynamic nature of the self can be hostile and alienating to students. Feeling pressured to speak and behave differently in order to be accepted, witnessing racism but feeling powerless to make any changes, being responded to irresponsibly, and having limited agency/voice in their education were some of the ways in which students' autonomy appeared to be in jeopardy. Albrecht and Ko (2017) arrived at similar findings when investigating the experiences of immigrant youth in Canada. The authors observed that students initially tried to hide their ways of being in order to blend in with their Canadian peers. However, once they started embracing their own culture, they started feeling a much stronger sense of belonging and acceptance from both themselves and others.

SDT posits that "only some intentional actions are truly self-regulated or autonomous—others are regulated by external forces or by relatively nonintegrated aspects of one's personality" (Ryan & Deci, 2017, pp. 10-11) and that "people's behavior and expression of values can be initiated and/or regulated by internal or external pressures that either overrule or bypass true self-regulation" (p. 11). While students can put effort into speaking and behaving as their Canadian peers, they cannot change the way they look and are thus "doomed to failure." But the desire to blend in and feel accepted by their Canadian peers seems to yield to the compartmentalization of certain identifications, which can represent a form of self-deception because "one tries 'not to see' how one value might conflict with another" (Ryan & Deci, 2017, p. 77)—which would then be contrary to CRT's notion of power of self-definition. Ryan and Deci explain how "the more ambiguous the context, the less certain the values, or the more salient the social pressures, the more this seems to be so" (p. 76)—a phenomenon which seems closely related to what Du Bois (1903/2005) referred to as *double consciousness* and apparently quite applicable to Black refugees arriving in Manitoba. Almost a decade ago, Baker (2013) noticed that among refugees in St. John's (Newfoundland and Labrador) who had to act white in order to fit in with Canadian society, which, in turn, damaged their self-concept and social identity. In that way, self is not necessarily synonymous with person because one may act without a sense of volition (Ryan & Deci, 2017).

In a similar vein, participants in this study felt how Black students are treated negatively different because of their race and the apparent freedom they have to voice their concerns is soon felt as pointless. Even when not speaking up or acting in resistance to racist (in)actions, students felt undervalued, undermined, and ridiculed by educators and classmates—certainly a challenge to the common idea of democratic education. That is, while the opportunity to be in school and participate in the class was seemingly germane to all students, participants expressed how their initiatives were not always welcomed by educators who often ignored or mocked them. A metaphor for this ambivalence can be noted, for example, in how students were able to choose certain subjects according to their interests but were also forced to drop others because of racist teachers they encountered. Analyzing the experiences of French-speaking Black refugee students in Canada, Schroeter and James (2015) reached similar findings. That study was conducted with students who had been placed in a program developed "to meet the needs of students with refugee backgrounds who have not been academically successful as a result of the year(s) of schooling missed during refugee processes" (p. 24). But despite the apparent "good intentions" of the administrators, most students in that research observed that they had been forced into a program that underestimated their abilities. Not all the students I interviewed complained about having been placed in the EAL program, just like not all students in Schroeter and James' (2015) study did. But once the authors asked why students thought they were in that program, the answer was sound and clear: "We're here because we're Black" (p. 31). Ryan and Deci (2017) explained that "an authentic freedom is one that is enacted in the context of, and responsive to, one's nature and present needs rather than one that reactively suppresses them" (p. 54). The ways in which students found no solution but to remain quiet and acquiesce to a racist environment demonstrates that compliance is not synonym with concurrence and that being in the classroom is not enough for them to feel autonomous (or welcome).

Just like a host is a host once there is a guest and a guest is a guest because there is a host, SDT's conceptualization of self clarifies that autonomy is not a synonym of independence or lack of constraints. The necessary threshold that makes hospitality a possibility is also constitutive of SDT's postulates. As

Ryan and Deci (2017) explained, people can still be autonomous when assenting to certain constraints. Rosello (2001) also offers an important contribution to this discussion when asserting that:

> When the host and the guest have the impression that they share the same assumptions about what it means to be hospitable, they both have agency: they can share the responsibility for formulating an objection to a given rule, their strong dislike of one another, their attachment to a different principle. (p. 171)

This, however, does not seem to have been the case among the refugee students I interview. The mismatch in the host-guest conceptualizations of hospitality is not inherently amiss, as earlier observed. Inhospitality takes place, however, through the persistent irresponsibility of educators when receiving the Other. Students have incessantly tried to manifest themselves, indicating what their individual needs are, and yet the system remains the same. For instance, while a lot could be written here about streaming education and how schools can help refugee students develop the English skills they need to be able to function in an English-speaking environment, the overcontrol experienced by students and the generalization that all newcomers must be placed in EAL classes irrespective of their strengths and interests was perceived as strongly alienating to some participants. Furthermore, Ryan and Deci (2017) observed how important awareness and mindfulness are for self-regulation. Thus, by not explaining to students the idea/role/purpose of EAL classes, schools further prevented students from performing their education autonomously. Mindlessness leads individuals to being more at risk of being controlled—hence fostering *automatic* rather than *autonomous* behavior. The pervasiveness of this mindset was particularly evident when the teacher told Afiya: “we can do nothing, those classes are made for you people.” It is vital not to make assumptions about students’ needs, such as assuming that all Black refugees have to be placed in EAL—an observation similar to what Albrecht and Ko (2017) made when studying the experiences of immigrant youth in Canada. There ought to be more responsivity to each individual student’s strengths and needs throughout their whole education process, understanding that students would rather be challenged than feeling undermined for not even being given the chance to try. Afiya, for

example, said she may not be the best student, but she would rather have the chance of getting 1 out 100 because “it’s not the end of the world. I fall as I raise.” Students also recognized the importance of after-school programs and recommended having more of those, which can not only help them develop their English but also foster more meaningful relationships with other classmates (something they found to be difficult due to class rotations).

Besides the role played by EAL classes, the interviews revealed many threats and opportunities in the pursuit of students’ autonomy and the need to be responsive to students’ uniqueness in regular classes—a gap greatly evidenced with the school closures caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. In particular, participants’ experiences reveal that it is imperative for educators to be understanding and flexible in their instruction, assignments, deadlines and even classroom attendance, not taking students’ absence or apparent disengagement as a personal affront, but recognizing the multiple roles they often have to play in their homes and how navigating the system may not be as simple as it appears.

Students strongly emphasized how it takes time for newcomers to understand the school culture. However, it seems that the pressure of getting to the end of a unit/lesson plan (as well as the potential subconscious belief that Black refugee students are not able to “effectively” understand the lesson) prevents teachers from taking the time to support students’ smooth transition. This study’s findings thus corroborate existent literature which shows how the effects of neoliberalism in education, strongly oriented by the standardization of curriculum, large-scale testing, hyper-individualism, and competition, serves to pathologize differences, magnify already existent inequities, and determine what subjectivities are (not) valid (Ball, 2016; Dei, 2019; Klees, 2020; Tuck, 2013). Schroeter and James (2015) also observed how the program in which Black refugees had been placed was common evidence of neoliberalism logics in which “the state is not responsible for the well-being of citizens, but the maintenance of free markets” (p. 33)—in other words, “sound economic policy is understood as meeting the needs of more students with fewer resources” which thus led to the “homogenizing the needs of students with disrupted schooling backgrounds” (p. 33).

Furthermore, Ryan and Deci (2017) pointed out that "teachers who are autonomy-supportive effectively facilitate intrinsic motivation, often despite the external demands and pressures on them, and they remain concerned with the points of view, initiative, and choice of students they teach" (p. 356). Conversely, the perceived educational rush this study is evidencing seems to be consequently leading Black refugee students to feel neglected and lost and is impinging on their autonomy. As emphasized by SDT, autonomy is not a synonym of independence, and it does not mean having no constraints. It is, however, pivotal to fostering Black refugees' *self-as-process* and their autonomous functioning in a new educational environment in a self-endorsed rather than alienated way—a necessary element to their perceived hospitality.

I Speak as Canadians, Therefore I am

The need to feel effectance and mastery (terms used in SDT to describe the competence domain), or simply the need of competence, is a central concern in SDT and was greatly evident in the interviews. Ryan and Deci (2000) posited that intrinsic motivation is dependant on experiences of autonomy and competence: "feelings of competence will not enhance intrinsic motivation unless accompanied by a sense of autonomy or, in attributional terms, by an internal perceived locus of causality" (p. 70)—an intertwining that also became noticeable through this study's findings and discussion. Since the ways in which students' presence (does not) influence the class were depicted in the autonomy domain and will also be an important factor in the subsequent relatedness one, in this subsection I will focus more exclusively on students' "sub-need" of mastery.

The findings discussed under the autonomy domain showed how students' actions are often inhibited by teachers and classmates and how Black refugees' presence is often over-controlled, hindering their effectance on the environment. With constrained autonomy, it is thus likely already more difficult for students to evidence inherent striving—a motive to produce effects—which is "manifested in curiosity, manipulation, and a wide range of epistemic motives" (Ryan & Deci, 2017, p. 11). Notwithstanding, a striking finding was the role of the English language in students' needs of mastery,

particularly because the ability to speak English as their Canadian peers has demonstrated to impinge on their feelings of mastery beyond the language per se.

It would be illogical to expect that a guest knows everything about the home when they first walk into it (e.g., where the rooms are, what is inside each cupboard and drawers, the host's mannerisms). The initial experiences of not being able to understand the school dynamics and classmates' conversations may then be inevitable to some extent for someone arriving from a different country (especially when English is not a dominant language). However, not being able to speak English as Canadian students seemed to create an automatic response from some teachers, who undermined, neglected, and ignored what Black refugees had to share, "as if hospitality were somehow more acceptable when enacted by people whom history has made national hosts for more than one generation" (Rosello, 2001, p. 92). This research also showed how feeling judged and being mocked for the way they speak hinders students' competence and prevents them from interacting with white classmates.

The refugee students in Guo et al.'s (2019) study also reported feeling isolated and feeling like strangers especially because everyone else was speaking English. The authors observe that while bullying or negative peer relationships can be detrimental to any student, such post migration stressors "can have a far more significant effect on the psycho-emotional health of refugee children when compared to pre-arrival trauma" (p. 96). Black students in Ontario in James and Taylor's (2010) study shared similar experiences: "some teachers already have how they think of you before you walk in" (p. 123). Racial profiling and assumptions about students' abilities was strongly felt by students those authors interviewed. Similarly, in the current study, the way in which teachers communicated with students about their need to improve their English skills did not seem to foster their intrinsic desire to learn the language, but rather reinforced an idea that they were not as good as the others. Teachers' responses to students' initiatives were thus often not perceived by participants as competence supportive.

Based on several empirical studies, Ryan and Deci (2017) observed that even what could be considered positive feedback but involving controlling language “not only neutralized the potentially positive effect of the competence information but could even undermine intrinsic motivation” (p. 155). Negative feedback, in turn, has even more devasting effects: “not only could negative feedback imply that people are not competent at some interesting activity but it could also imply that they do not have control over desired extrinsic outcomes” (pp. 156-157). In other words, negative feedback leads to demotivation and feelings of helplessness. As a consequence, it is not surprising that students felt more comfortable interacting with other non-native English speakers and being involved in subjects that did not require subjective interpretation from the teacher (e.g., mathematics).

Given the external pressures to speak as their Canadian classmates, it is quite possible that students’ initiative to master the English language through their own efforts is driven not necessarily by their intrinsic motivation but by the pressure to *perform*—and particularly to perform a white, Canadian English, which could erase any trace of one’s “non-native speakerism.” Differentiating mastery from performance, Ryan and Deci (2017) observed that “*mastery goals* concern learning in order to enhance your competence or knowledge, whereas *performance goals* focus on performing or doing well relative to others” (p. 372). As such, performance goals may increase academic achievement but are not associated with enhanced wellness. That is, being competent in an activity that is not autonomously initiated or endorsed will not have the same positive effects as if it had been.

It must be observed that the issue is not the importance of developing one’s English skills, but rather the way in which this is demanded from and imposed on students. There seems to be a pervasive deficit approach towards Black refugees who are automatically deemed as lacking—as CRT scholars have continuously argued throughout the years. Conversely, there was a noticeable contrast in the experience of students who felt valued by teachers/classmates for their multilingualism and life experiences. In those circumstances, students’ need for competence appeared to have been greatly more satisfied. This finding corroborates Deci and Ryan’s (1985) observation that “when children are involved

with the interesting elements of the task rather than being concerned with interpersonal or intrapsychic controls, their intrinsic motivation will remain high, and they will be more likely to experience competence feedback informationally" (p. 248). It also supports Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs which recognizes that one's basic needs (e.g., security, safety) must be satisfied before higher-level needs (e.g., esteem, self-actualization) become motivating. What constitutes a safe environment, however, is pivotal to how one perceives hospitality. Feeling safe to voice their ideas and share their knowledge is fundamental to satisfy Black refugee students' competence need, but something that requires fostering their *mastery* (as agentic beings) rather than *performance* (which is deficit-oriented) of new skills such as the English language—an area with a lot of room for improvement in their schools, particularly among teachers, classmates, and principals.

The Wall Between Us

It is possible for a guest to be in a new environment but not feel welcome due to the nature/quality of the new relationships they form. The need to feel integral to social organizations beyond oneself, or the need for relatedness, was therefore pervasive across all interviews. Feelings of belongness, caring/being cared for, and significance were discussed by students with a mix of enthusiasm and despair, especially with regards to classmates, teachers, and principals, evidencing that "not all social contacts yield a sense of relatedness or satisfy people's basic psychological needs" (Ryan & Deci, 2017, p. 295). Despite some students mentioning how sad they were for having left their friends back home, they all expressed having been excited to meet their new classmates and make new friends. However, their perceived need to constantly have their guards up and avoid making any mistakes in front of their white counterparts seems to be impinging on their being themselves, the person one authentically wants to be—which would presumably be expected in high-quality close relationships (Ryan & Deci, 2017).

Students were positively surprised by teachers' friendliness, but a key observation is that students do not feel that teachers ought to have all the answers for their challenges. Conversely, they feel cared for when educators demonstrate genuine interest in them, taking the time to get to know them and try to

understand them. Indeed, the fact that it was arguably those who went beyond their professional duties that made students feel truly valued seems to corroborate SDT's observation that "it is volitional giving or helping that shows that the individual really cares" (Ryan & Deci, 2017, p. 294). In James and Taylor's (2010) study, a pervasive feeling among Black students was that "teachers don't have time to sit down and talk to kids" (p. 131), which not only lead to further stereotyping (for not knowing the struggles they were going through in life and thus making wrong assumptions about their behaviors) but also feeling uncared for.

Discussing specifically what she calls "hospitality of urgency," Rosello (2001) points out that "the definition of the refugee recognizes that the principle of hospitality has already been violated, and that asylum is an exceptional remedy… an excess of hospitality here responds to a lack of hospitality elsewhere" (p. 152). If hospitality is an admission of the guest's powerlessness, as Rosello indicates, it is even another reason to strive to promote an environment where the guest feels cared for. Conversely, students expressed being tired of fighting by themselves against a white, oppressive system, and findings revealed how their compliance can be alienating. They expect their leaders, especially their teachers, principals, and school divisions, to take their concerns and experiences seriously—particularly those racism related. When they voice their experiences with racism (whether among classmates or teachers), it seems that white educators always find a way to diffuse it rather than address it, not giving it the importance students would like them to give—surely because it is not an experience shared by whites. The refugee students in Guo et al.'s (2019) study were likewise frustrated with the lack of intervention from their educators who would rather claim that "it's okay. They [their peers] didn't mean it and they didn't know what they were saying" (p. 97). In that way, not only are Black refugees' life experiences undermined but their experiences in school are not validated. However, avoiding addressing the topic does not make a school not racist, as Hiba observed. The efforts to support students' academic achievement (e.g., high grades) must be part of a holistic approach to student well-being lest it become merely an individualistic, top-down, unilateral, managerial, neoliberal approach to education. As Ryan

and Deci (2000) observed, “a social environment that affords competence but fails to nurture relatedness is expected to result in some impoverishment of wellbeing” (p. 75)—a perception also expressed by students in this study.

Schools must be a place where students feel comfortable, feel that they belong, and not afraid of making “mistakes”—it must be a place where students do not feel they have to pass as white. Despite reporting an overall experience of good relationships in school, the interviews have revealed that Black refugees often feel intimidated by teachers and principals who they do not perceive as approachable. As Hiba said, “you can just sense when someone is happy to have you in the room”—which does not seem to be the case when students are taken as mere objects to be handled. Despite having a large body of newcomers, it is thus vital that schools make an active effort to hire visible minority teachers/administrators, such as Black, as they “could help the students to be more courageous” (Kamali), become role-models for other Black students, better understand their struggles and use their power to address those concerns thus fostering their feelings of belongness. But as James and Taylor (2010) concluded, students want teachers who are caring, who are interested in their well-being, who take the time to listen to them. Those teachers perceived as outstanding by students I interviewed evidenced such characteristics without necessarily being Black.

The opportunity to help other classmates, particularly giving them the support that would be expected from teachers themselves, has thus been a way that students’ relatedness need is mostly satisfied. James and Taylor (2010) also observed how Black students would be “looking out for each other” in light of their experiences with discriminatory actions from teachers. Although “individuals experience more satisfaction when their own caring for others is done autonomously, rather than for external rewards or due to pressures” (Ryan & Deci, 2017, p. 294), planning for “formal” opportunities that allow Black refugees to contribute to their peers’ well-being might help bridge the gaps students perceive among them and foster a spirit of interdependence and respect. Nonetheless, care must be taken so as not to outsource hospitality. Students must not be expected to be teaching others about racism or to

be the ones making others feel welcome. While peer support can be pivotal to foster students' sense of belonging (Jowett, 2020), such gesture does not replace the responsibility of the teacher-host.

In a similar vein, it ought to be observed how, differently from the pervasive focus on resilience found in the literature, students' perceived success (i.e., thriving and feelings of acceptance in spite of racism) is attributed to what they referred to as their innate confidence and communication skills. The concept of *social confidence* can be understood as the opposite of social anxiety, withdrawal, or shyness and rather as one's ability to "respond to social situations in an adaptive, positive, and involved manner" (Albrecht & Ko, 2017, p. 2389). The question that remains, then, is how long will schools let Black refugees continue to cope with their loneliness and learning how to navigate the system on their own? Surely this study only looked at the experiences of five students and thus it cannot be assumed that this is the reality of all Black refugees in Manitoba. However, these five students' experiences (together with the experiences of others which they have witnessed) undoubtedly shed light on an existing and pervasive issue that cannot be neglected. It is time educators started fostering genuine relationships with students' whole selves, their personalities, skills, strengths, and challenges, embracing the discomfort that any genuine relationship brings: change.

Conclusion

Although the five participants often appear to be in different parts of the motivation spectrum outlined by SDT (sometimes even within each of their own narratives), all their experiences evidence a journey with certain commonalities which could also be experienced by other Black refugee students. Their experiences also reveal how "the fulfillment of each need is intertwined with the fulfillment of the other" (Ryan & Deci, 2017, p. 293). Arriving in a new context surely brings many uncertainties to any individual, but the positive experiences students had with some classmates and some outstanding teachers surely indicated what it means for Black refugees to feel welcome. However, despite students' adaptation and academic achievements over time, the interviews revealed how the way students looked, behaved, and spoke became roadblocks to their self-determination and thus their experiences of hospitality.

Motivation, which is the core of SDT, is thus not merely instrumental for achieving higher grades, but essential to well-being that stems from being true to oneself, feeling valued, integral, and cared for.

So much is discussed in the literature and provincial documents in terms of refugee students' challenges in their home countries, but so little attention is given to the social, emotional, and psychological challenges they face *because of* the new context they find themselves. There is a pervasive and long-lasting fear among immigrant and refugee students who arrive in Canada who feel pressured to behave and speak as Canadians. While the desire to be similar to peers may be irrespective of students' refugee status and rather something common to students of a certain age, this study (along with others—see, for example, Albrecht & Ko, 2017) showed how this desire can in fact stem from white expectations in a white society. The ability to speak English (as Canadians) must not be equated with intelligence or capability. Regrettably, this seems to be the case in the context under study—which, again, may not necessarily be the case of every school in Manitoba let alone in the country, but is nonetheless a reality for some and hence a possibility for others. Moreover (but also intrinsically connected to it), there is an urgent need for educators (both teachers and administrators) to start treating racism with the seriousness it deserves (and which students expect). Racism must not be a taboo topic let alone a neglected issue when it occurs. Furthermore, it is imperative that educators become aware and proactive about the ways in which racism is embedded and pervasive in education, the ways in which our attitudes are always inevitably influenced by those we interact with, what they look like, sound like, and behave like. In the pursuit of hospitable education, it is vitally important that educators actively seek to engage in a constant process of self-reflexivity, unlearn their white mindset, become more sensitive to the ways in which our beliefs and practices may impinge on students' well-being, and earnestly and responsively respond to their voices, thoughts, knowledge, and experience. Racism is a white disease students encounter when arriving in the white schools of Manitoba—we must not expect Black refugee students to fight against it alone. Let us not open the door for Black refugee students to enter our classrooms and then simply expect them to acquiesce to our "settled expectations of white privilege" (Harris, 1995).

Chapter Six: Research Journal

> How we come to know narrated subjects relies strongly on the role of our own subjectivities in knowing. (Doucet & Mauthner, 2008, p. 404)

The last chapter of the second part of this dissertation explores the insights gained from the third main source of data that informed the present study, namely, the research journal maintained throughout the research process. In the next sections, I begin by highlighting the methods employed, followed by a thematic presentation of the entries, and a discussion of findings.

Rationale, Writing Process, and Analysis

In order to foster my attentiveness to power relations and how my positionality would influence the research, I decided initially to keep a research journal where I could register what I noticed in my relations with students during each encounter as well as how they responded to me. Research journals—also referred in the literature as "diary," "log of activities," "researcher-generated document," or "field notes" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Richardson, 1998)—have been increasingly adopted by qualitative researchers, especially in cross-cultural contexts, as a way to promote transparency, deconstruct the researcher's biases, and help the researcher rationalize one's own thought processes (Annink, 2017; Jasper, 2005; Ortlipp, 2015). Common kinds of research journal writing are observation notes (a thick description of what the researcher sees, hears, feels, etc.), methodological notes (procedures taken throughout the research), theoretical notes (such as theoretical connections), and personal notes (describing the researcher's feelings, fears, pleasures, etc.) (Richardson, 1998). Doucet and Mauthner (2008) also emphasized the importance of the researcher's on-going reflexive writing "to chart and document how relations between researchers and their subjects are always in ontological flux and subject to endless interpretation" (p. 404). As Richardson (1998) argued, writing is a way of knowing, a process of discovery. Therefore, in the attempt to understand how Black refugee students conceptualize hospitable education, it was of utmost importance to examine the role I played as the (white) researcher, self-as-instrument (Richardson, 1998; Tracy, 2010), engaged in such endeavor.

Although I originally thought I would write in the journal only after each interview conducted, no sooner had I began trying to recruit participants than I realized how my thoughts, feelings, and steps had to be registered along the way, not only after the interview moment itself. Although it might be hard to provide a precise date as to when I began my research—after all, I already started my PhD program actively preparing myself for it, especially by reading and writing on the topic—I began writing the research journal three months after the recruitment process started, when I met with a school vice-principal and teacher. From that first entry until the time when I started analyzing the journal data (which was the moment when I stopped writing in the journal), I became ever more engaged in providing a description as rich as possible of my perspectives and how I was conducting the study. My research journal is thus comprised of 22 pages typed directly on a Word file and dated from January 25 until October 11, 2021. Each entry was dated (most of the times with the time also included) and consisted mainly of reflections about the recruitment process, experiences/feelings when interviewing participants, students' comments that stood out for me during the interview, a description of the analytical process of transcripts, and theoretical insights I had along the way.

Having finished writing the interviews chapter, on October 11 I decided I would start reading what I had written in the journal for the first time, following a post-structural thematic analysis (Richardson, 1998). Poststructuralism posits language not as a byproduct of subjectivity, but constitutive of it. As Richardson (1998) explains: "language is how social organization and power are defined and contested and the place where our sense of selves, our *subjectivity*, is constructed" (p. 349). A critical analysis of the entries thus sought to foster more than research transparency (Tracy, 2010); it sought to unveil how I came to "know" the data. In other words, the scrutiny of my own language aimed not simply at understanding myself reflexively but the self who met the Other.

The analysis process thus began with my reading each entry and taking notes of emerging themes and preliminary analytical insights. Interestingly, even before I started reading and analyzing the entries a myriad of themes and sub-themes started coming to my mind, which I felt urged to write down so as not

to forget. As my last entry in the journal says, “It is amazing how vivid the complexities of this research are in my mind when I start thinking and writing about it” (October 11). Re-reading each entry multiple times thus helped organize and better delineate four overarching themes: the methodological decisions I had to make along the research process, personal ambivalences experienced, feelings of powerlessness (especially due to ethic protocols), and the (explicit) implications of my white identity.

It should also be noted that in the beginning of the journaling process I was being cautious not to mention any proper names in my entries, but as I became more engaged and spontaneous in my writing, I stopped refraining myself. Therefore, for the purposes of writing this chapter, any words that would reveal the identity of the people or institutions I was in contact with have been removed and replaced by a descriptor in brackets that could maintain the original meaning of the sentence. All the other entries have been presented as originally written—with contractions and expressions and oftentimes without proper punctuation, as I would typically write very quickly so as not to forget anything that was coming to my mind. Although the journal will not be presented exhaustively, in order to be cohesive, I decided not to break down the entries (although in some cases I removed a portion that was not so relevant to the overall chapter) and rather present them as a whole. That means that some entries touch on aspects discussed in greater depth in other sub-sections. Finally, a thematic presentation of the journal entries demonstrated to be more relevant to this chapter’s structure, thus trumping this study’s overarching chronological organization.

Pivotal Decisions Along the Way

Surely, one aspect that stood out the most to me throughout this research was the ethical challenges and complexities involved when seeking to conduct anti-oppressive research as a white researcher, relatively new to the province and in the middle of a pandemic. The numerous challenges I encountered when trying to recruit participants required that I made pivotal shifts in the study’s design and methods from what I had originally planned—particularly the use of compensation, the number/length of interviews, and recruitment process/documents. Such decisions, however, revealed a

myriad of unaddressed ethical decisions I had made (consciously or not) before the beginning of the study.

For example, the first time I realized how inaccessible my recruitment documents (i.e., information letter and consent form) could be to refugee families (who likely would not be very familiar with English) was during a meeting with the vice-principal and a teacher of a school who were willing to help me recruit students:

> Meeting with the vice-principal and ELA teacher of a school. They know two families who may fit the criteria. I feel happy and excited about the hope of being able to recruit students. The teacher asks me about the level of English that is required. She mentions that the family arrived in Canada shortly ago, so speaks almost no English. The information letter is mentioned and I wish I had developed it with a more basic language level. I worry that refugee families will not be interested due to language limitations. I feel powerless for not being able to talk with them myself. (January 25, 2021)

Besides the worry about the language, that initial meeting ignited many other ethical questionings in me, which I carried and pondered about throughout many weeks:

> I wonder if I should change my methods, have just one interview with students and potentially offer compensation. I feel a big dilemma inside me, as I don't like the idea of giving compensations. Will students be interest in participating for the sake of the research itself? How long should I wait until I change my recruitment strategies? Should I make an amendment now, tailoring the information/consent letters? It's been almost 4 months since I received ENREB approval and I still haven't been able to recruit. (January 31)

Originally, I wanted to meet with students (in-person) 3 to 5 times, for about 30 minutes for each meeting, so as to allow us to develop a stronger connection and so that they could collaborate in the meaning making of findings. However, given the recruitment challenges and how there was a general fatigue in the

population for having to be on the screen all the time during the pandemic (including students during the school closures), I realized that my plan had to be changed. The following two entries (written with a few weeks of delay hence the absence of a specific date) evidence my realization that those were major decisions that needed to be registered:

> I apply for an amendment as a shift in my methods. I decide to interview participants only once and have two follow-ups via email. I also re-write the letters sent to families. (Early March)

> Week after week I try different community centers and reaching out to school divisions which haven't responded, and a principal who said I could contact again in the Spring. I'm honestly feeling that no one will be willing to participate if teachers/principals/coordinators don't buy the idea. I feel like I will eventually have to offer compensation for participation, which is something I did not want to do. (End of March)

Then, in early April, I decided to make the changes I had been wondering about:

> After a lot of thought and deliberation, as I was reading an article about the importance of giving back to (Indigenous) communities and the need for direct and clear benefits for participants, I decided to submit yet another amendment and now offer students a $10 Tim Hortons gift card. I am getting anxious too because I feel that if I don't recruit them this month I may not be able to until the Fall. I also created a poster with very few words, very clear and "attractive" so that principals can share that directly with students. I realized that my original strategy was not the best one and I could have approached this in a much simpler way. I also realize now (also reading the Indigenous research article) that my desire of community engagement, albeit stemming from good intentions, could be potentially harmful—did I think of that when trying to recruit them in the middle of a pandemic? (April 6)

Despite my desire to be an anti-oppressive researcher, it is evident from my journal entries that my decision to offer compensation and to change my data collection methods was greatly influenced by my

research agenda. After all, it was only after the months without success that I started deliberating about this decision more carefully—thus evidencing a myriad of (un)ethical decisions I had already (unconsciously) made when planning the research which had remained latent until then.

I see today how my desire to quickly get started with this research in many ways prevented me from adhering to the pillars of anti-oppressive research (Potts & Brown, 2005), which I had been advocating for. But as this last entry expressed too, I realize that my desire to adhere to that framework might have impinged on my responsivity to the context we were living in and how detrimental to students' well-being my research could actually be. In some moments, I even wondered whether this research was worthwhile and the extent to which its benefits would outweigh the burden I was creating. It is hard to imagine how I could have started the research in a different way given the pandemic context, but today I realize how I could have sought the advice of educators and leaders who work directly with Black refugees when designing my study—not only in terms of the gift card, but also in terms of the recruitment documents (especially in terms of the academic language being used), how to get in contact with the families (e.g., the need for translation), the number and length of interviews, etc.

As the challenge in recruiting students persisted, even after those changes, I realized I did not need to limit the participants' age to 18, as I had originally designed. I believe that realization was greatly informed by the fact that I had started working as a research assistant in a project focused on the transition process of students with disabilities to adult life, an opportunity that opened my mind to how young adults can still vividly discuss their school experiences. The following entry marks the moment in which I started considering this possibility for my study:

> In the last couple of days, I had a principal from one school contact me and say that there was one refugee student who would fit the criteria but that she is French-speaking. At this moment, once again, I was shaken by the fact that I should have provided forms in at least French. I made myself available to interview the student in French (although that is not the language I feel more

> comfortable speaking) and also to translate the documents to her. But the principal got back to me saying that the student is 19, which goes beyond the age I'm trying to recruit. But then it also got me thinking that I shouldn't have restricted the age to 18 because refugees may stay in school until later. Now that I'm reflecting about it, what if I try to interview older individuals who may not be in school anymore? I have just applied for another amendment to recruit from school divisions outside of Winnipeg but I'm thinking now that one solution might be finding young adults who transitioned to adult life in the last 5 years. (May 26)

On June 9, I met with the coordinator of a community center, a Black woman who was truly eager to help me recruit. My meeting with her was both the source of hope and despair, as the following entry evidences:

> Just had a meeting with [Name] from [Community Canter's name] and what a sweet, kind and helpful woman! She is so interested in my research and knows how valuable it is. She was born and raised in Manitoba and testified how racist the system is. She also observed that it is very challenging to contact the Black community via email since they are more in-person led. It made me think of those 3 emails I got from people interested in the research who never responded back. I'm asking for the impossible. Hopefully someone will buy my idea and connect me with others as the person from [Community Center's name] did.
>
> The person from [another Community Center's name] just reached out to me to say that the student who missed twice said she is really interested in participating and will reach out to me directly—it makes me hopeful! (June 9, 2021–3pm)

The student I mentioned in the last part of the entry never contacted me and, unfortunately, that coordinator was not able to connect me with any Black refugee student despite her willingness to help. The feeling of hope I had experienced seemed to fade away (again), thus leading me to despondently start aiming at a much smaller sample than I had originally planned—which is what ended up happening.

Researcher’s Ambivalences

My journal entries evidence the roller coaster of emotions I went through as a researcher, especially in terms of recruitment and the quality/content of the interviews, a process during which I would often go from a place of hope and excitement to despair and worry. A careful analysis of the entries, however, reveal how such ambivalences were intrinsically connected to my identity, personality, (previous research) experiences, and expectations.

For example, the way in which I would quickly shift from feeling excited to frustrated is quite evident in the following two entries, which were written just a few minutes apart from each other, as I was about to begin what would be the third interview:

> Right before I begin the third interview, I received a reply from yesterday’s participant (I sent her the transcript this afternoon) saying “It felt good talking to you about my feelings, I liked that, and hopefully one day we can meet”—She can’t imagine how happy her words made me feel, and even more excited for the interview that will begin in a couple of minutes. (May 29–almost 5pm)
>
> I had a feeling and my intuition was right—the student has not showed up for the interview… so frustrating. I tried calling and texting but it’s not on service. (May 29–5:15pm)

The case above illustrates how my emotional fluctuation was often directly related to the frustration of not meeting a student I had planned to receive, for whom I had made arrangements. However, ambivalences were also evident even before such arrangements were made: when my excitement for finally being able to hear from a student interested in participating was accompanied by the discomfort I experienced for not receiving messages with the grammatical accuracy I was used to when recruiting participants for previous research projects—something I had not anticipated (or at least not the effect it would have on me):

> After days of emotional struggle and second-guessing the meaningfulness and purpose of my research, today I finally received the first email from a student. I don’t know if it’s going to work,

> but just receiving this email made me think so many things. I second guessed having just refugees (and not "immigrants"). I thought about the fact that the students are emailing me without knowing that I am white, without knowing my name or anything. I also realized that I am going to be receiving emails from students with very poor grammar and/or disconnected sentences, like the email I received today. Of course that bothers me. (May 5)

Reading such entry today makes me dismayed and appalled—not being a native English speaker myself and advocating for those who arrive in this country as refugees, how could I be experiencing such discomfort? But more than feeling uncomfortable within myself, my perfectionism, especially as it relates to grammar accuracy (or should I say my desire for whiteness?) seems to have informed my relationship with (potential) participants from the outset—an issue I explore in the forthcoming subsection "Being a White Researcher."

The entry above also evidenced an unforeseen ethical dilemma I faced, which was my realization that students would probably not have known that I was white until the moment we met on Zoom—an issue to which I will also return ahead. But the fact that I only met students in the moment of the interview, an encounter mediated by our cameras and screens, was also the source of another unexpected ambivalence I experienced: my desire to see the student. When the first student and I had to turn off our cameras due to his poor internet connection, I felt really frustrated, as if I had lost a major point of contact that I had sought for months. The way in which the camera helped connect with students was evidenced by how the fifth participant I interviewed seemed to really like me too (which I infer by her smiling at me and even complimenting my hair). The excerpt of an entry when I was about to begin the data analysis demonstrates the role played by the camera, which was definitely not how I intended to conduct my research originally (before the pandemic):

> I did not anticipate not being able to see my participants. I had to turn the camera off in the first interview and in the fourth one the participant asked not to have the camera on because she was

> on her pajamas and feeling sick (but I also wonder if it has any relation to the fact that she knew she was going to comment racism experiences). (August 27)

It is curious how not being able to see that student did not bother me in that fourth interview because being able to see each other and smile to each other was very important (at least to me) to connect with students—especially after such a long time waiting to recruit them. I believe I too was not feeling the greatest on that day and thus not having to be on camera felt more comfortable to me. It is noticeable, then, how my perceived sense of powerlessness (as experienced when the previous student asked not to have the camera on) was in fact not necessarily caused by the student having the camera off but directly associated with what is convenient for me at a given time.

Given the necessary nature of the interviews (i.e., through Zoom), I encountered many technical challenges that could have been avoided had the interviews been conducted in person. But my journaling evidences how the challenge lied not only on connection/sound breaks, but on my own deficit perspective:

> I start listening to the audio and working on the transcript and I remember that during the interview I was also frustrated that I couldn't understand what the participant was saying very well due to his accent. I think during the interview I was wondering (and probably hoping) how much easier it would be to interview a young adult who has had more time to practice English. (May 28–4am)

It is noticeable thus how I attribute the communication "issue" to the student ("his accent"), rather than my own limitations as linguist and listener. The entry above also alludes to the fact that my desire for convenience and fulfilling my research agenda might have accompanied me throughout the entire project. How much could the dearth of studies conducted with Black refugee youth be evidence of researchers' unwillingness to embrace such (inner) challenges?

I particularly felt extremely frustrated when I could not understand what participants were saying during the transcription process (a disappointment further emphasized by the fact that I never heard back from participants after I sent out their transcripts for revision/data analysis collaboration), as the following entry illustrates:

> The experience of going through the first transcript yesterday was very insightful and made me remember things I heard in the other interviews. However, I felt that so much was lost in the first interview due to the poor internet connection and also because the participant did not seem to have a comfortable level of English. I certainly did not anticipate not being able to communicate with students because of their language limitations. I feel that I will also have to listen to the audio recordings again to try to understand it better—the first transcript is really broken. (August 28, 2021)

Besides being outright evidence of my deficit perspective ("their discomfort with English," "their language limitations," "their broken transcript") and my ingrained assumptions/expectations, the entry above and the one that follows also reveal my unfulfilled desire to know more:

> One thing that I was thinking today is how it would have been so good and helpful for me to be able to meet again with the students I interview. There are so many things I would like to ask them further—especially the first interview, which today I realize how unprepared I was or maybe how much better I could have done it today. But I guess every first interview is not as good as the following ones. (September 8)

Besides other technical challenges (e.g., background noise, other people present in the participants' room), I experienced a feeling of unpreparedness especially during the first couple of interviews. As the entry above and the second part of the following one demonstrates, I felt that some of my interview questions had probably not been well worded because students did not understand them right away:

> What a sweet and kind student! The interview went really well and she was really keen on it! She expressed a lot of gratitude for the opportunity to voice her experiences and she was the one who wanted to speak about racism the most! I'm also so glad that she said she would forward my research to 2 more students.
>
> There was some noise in the background and people passing around her, which I think could have prevented her from saying something. I feel that my original questions were not the best, I ended up coming up with many different ones as I was going through. (July 11–4pm)

In the subsequent interviews, I felt more at ease to rephrase the questions before asking them to students, something that seemed to help. The entry above also evidences how I felt extremely pleased when meeting an eloquent student, a participant with a strong mastery of English skills—an enthusiasm that does not seem to have been present when interviewing students who were not so proficient:

> I just finished transcribing the interview and it was quite hard to understand. During the interview I was struggling to understand her sometimes and now the transcription was also tough. But I was able to get some very rich data still! So grateful! (July 11–7:15pm)

Although I finished the entry on a positive note, it also seems that I was more concerned about the data I could get than the challenge in fostering a relationship with the student. A lengthy entry (which I will break down so as not to miss some salient points) written after my first interview certainly evidences this and many of the ambivalences I experienced throughout the whole data collection phase:

> After quickly exchanging emails with the community center coordinator to try and get the student's parent's consent, I just finished my first interview! I can't even believe that after all these months it has finally happened! The student's internet was breaking down and that made the interview quite challenging, but overall it went great! The student was very positive about his schooling experiences. I felt very happy seeing him and it was frustrating to have to turn off the camera due to the internet connection. He was smiley and cheerful. At the end of the interview he

> expressed joy in meeting with me too and giving him the opportunity to talk about his experiences. Towards the end it was when he expressed a bit more frustration, in relation to not getting help to get a job. I noticed how I was hoping that the student would mention struggles in school so I could explore those. He mentioned that sometimes teachers would laugh at something he said—which he believes was due to his English barriers. But he also feels very respected.

Along this entry, it is noticeable how I felt my *desire to know* the student and dig deeper into his challenging experiences was being further and further pushed away, first by the language barriers, then by the sound breaks, not being able to see the student anymore, and later by my awareness that this was probably the only opportunity I was going to have to talk to him:

> Due to the way in which I was connected to the student (i.e., through the community center, only knowing the student's name a couple of hours prior to the interview, not having their email address), made me feel anxious that once I finished the Zoom meeting I would never hear back from the participant again. So I wanted to make sure I asked everything I needed to ask. All the break downs in the audio was quite frustrating, I hated having to ask for him to repeat but I had no option. I felt frustrated for not understanding the country that the student came from right away—a mixture of his accent with my lack of familiarity with Eritrea.

My commitment to self-reflexivity, besides surely evidencing many of my shielded shortcomings after the analysis process, also helped me to start noticing those along the way:

> Thinking about it now, I observe how the paucity of information about the participant prior to the interview is not something I am used to as a researcher and something that certainly does not appeal to me, it makes me uncomfortable. I was so happy to meet him and I wanted to thank him so much. I am also so grateful for the community center's proactivity in helping me connect with these students (there is another one scheduled for Saturday). I am not sure how much "meat"

> there will be in the transcript as the student had overall just positive recurrent observations, so I look forward to listening to the interview and reflecting about it. (May 27–Afternoon)

While the goal of conducting interviews was to explore students' life stories, it is evident how prior knowledge of the participant (such as name, email, telephone, profession/workplace) might have been strongly associated with my need of control/power in my previous research experiences, a gap which was now causing me to experience a great sense of discomfort every time a potential participant was enlisted with the help of the community center.

After having registered my excitement and gratitude for the community center's coordinator help in helping me recruit students, as noted above, I wrote another extensive entry on my journal that also sheds light on multilayered complexities I experienced during the interviews:

> I just had such a wonderful interview! I am so thankful that the internet connection was perfect and I could talk with the student well and clearly throughout the whole time. She was very articulate and did comment on experiences of racism in her school. She was so enthusiastic, positive and friendly. I was really enjoying talking to her, I wasn't even blinking. It was a very relevant interview and I can't wait to listen to it again. I felt more relaxed to go beyond the interview questionnaire especially because the communication between us was being very clear.

As it seems, the enthusiasm with which I began this entry was directly related to how I pleased I felt by the student's ability to share her experiences in a way that *I* could comprehend. Moreover, hearing what I was had anticipated to hear (racism experiences in schools) was surely a source of comfort and discomfort—a point which I further explore in the subsection "Being a White Researcher"—as it allowed me to make important theoretical connections during the interview itself:

> I could notice again how my theoretical beliefs influence the questions that I ask and what I expect to hear during the interview. Today, for example, I asked the student if she ever felt uncomfortable by the way teachers would try to "know/understand" her—in my mind, I'm

> thinking about multiculturalism and pushing students to talk about their past. Oh, by the way, right in the beginning of the interview I felt that the student semblant changed a bit when I asked where she lived before moving to Canada.

It is ironic how I registered the tension created when asking students about where they were coming from right after I observe how my philosophical stance was shaping the interview. A great amount of ethical dilemmas and ambivalences lie underneath this subtle "Oh, by the way," which does not seem to have received the attention it required—although I write about this again on the following day, an entry presented in the "Being a White Researcher" subsection. If I my goal was not to focus on students' lives before arriving in Manitoba schools, why did I ask about their country of origin? As much as I try to find good solutions for this question (e.g., to be able to contextualize students' narratives), a sincere examination of my intentions when designing the interview questions reveals another of my hidden expectations. In the first stages of my doctoral program, my intention was to study only the experiences of Black *African* refugee students as I have a particular interest and affection for the African continent. As I approached the research proposal, however, I realized narrowing the criteria of inclusion in this way was not warranted in light of my research goals and it would likely complicate the recruitment process. But although I decided I should be open to Black refugee students from other parts of the world (such as the Caribbean), I believe asking them where they were coming from was a strategy I (unconsciously) used to hopefully have my original expectations met—which was the case. But asking this question that apparently was more than anything an attempt to satisfy my personal research agenda, turned out to cause a momentaneous discomfort on participants and, as a consequence, on myself.

As the entry proceeds, it is interesting to note how the encounter with this student made me feel reassured by two of the main pivotal decisions I made, namely, recruiting students who were older than 18 and offering a gift card:

> During this interview I also realized that my shift to recruiting young adults may actually be really important—both students so far have been in Manitoba for only 2 years, which means that COVID-19 has prevented them from really experiencing the schools on a regular basis.
>
> When I mentioned at the end of the interview that I was going to send her a gift card she expressed such joy that even broke my heart—I feel like I should have done this since the beginning and now I feel that the gift card should really be even more than $10.

The entry proceeds with my attempt to register some aspects that stood out to me from the participant's narrative, with the role of English and the student's strong personality being prominent:

> It was interesting how different her experience with English was from yesterday's student. The first student needed so much help with English while this one felt underestimated for being Black—she felt confident NOT to take EAL classes.
>
> I noticed that I wanted to ask her something about getting a job because yesterday the student mentioned that—but I didn't. She also described herself as confident. This is certainly a term to be aware of. She expressed being a good public speaker (and I could definitely see that). I felt so connected to her (even more than yesterday's participant) and with both students I ended the interview with the true desire to meet with them in person. I felt sad to end the interview because I was so sure that as soon as I pressed "End Meeting" I would never see them again. I feel that this girl is so smart, so talented, so outspoken. She wants to study Law and I ended the interview encouraging her to do so.

I finished this long entry noticing the struggles and privileges I faced for being a white researcher, and how I was acutely aware about the words I was using when speaking with them:

> I noticed (both yesterday and today) that the students do not refer to themselves as refugees but as newcomers, and that made me hesitant every time I referred to them as refugees. I recognize and

> acknowledge that mentioning race (or saying that they are Black) also made me hesitant—as if I were offending. As a white person I feel that I have no right to make race something "talkable" as Black people do because I do not own Blackness as I own whiteness (as if whiteness was not a race). Regardless of how much I understand of white privilege and racism, articulating that and conducting a cross-racial interview (that is also focused on race) makes me feel that I am navigating a path that is both exciting and uncomfortable. After the student mentioned the principal's attitude, I did not know how to respond, how to acknowledge that. I ended up saying I was sorry she was going through that and that I was glad she stood up for her rights. I was hesitant to engage in frustration or take it too lightly. I was extremely aware of my own reaction and extremely cautious and calculating my words and expressions. (May 28–4:45pm)

As the entries in this section evidenced, many of the ambivalences I experienced involved my feeling as a "hostage" (to use Derrida's terminology) to others, feeling trapped by the ethic protocols I had to abide by (while experiencing the ethical dilemmas that went beyond protocol agreements), and feeling out of place/uncertain about how to address students' race or respond to their racism experiences—facets I will continue to discuss in more detail in the subsequent sections.

Being a Host, Being a Hostage

I embarked on this journey informed by an ethic of hospitality and the desire to be a hospitable researcher-host for students. But as Derrida (2000b) had already indicated, in hospitality "the one inviting becomes almost the hostage of the one invited" (p. 9) given its necessary unforeseen, unconditional, and uncomfortable nature. Indeed, throughout this study I frequently felt powerless, as a hostage to participants and others who I needed in order to conduct this study (families, educators, and service providers):

> While I have had some principals and coordinators responding and saying that they will share, I haven't heard from any student yet (the one who contacted me was not a refugee and just wanted

> to work with me on the research as a summer job). The schools are going online again this week and now, as much as I want to email everyone again, I feel it's definitely not a good time. (May 10)
>
> Yesterday and the day before I sent out a whole bunch of emails to community centers, health clinics, adult learning centres and every other places that could potentially have Black refugees. Yesterday I also shared the poster on my social media and I was very pleased to see others retweeting it! Seriously, it can't be that hard to recruit 10 more people! (June 2–8:30am)

My relentless emails to schools and community centers were accompanied by my anxiety of having to depend on those institutions to answer me and hopefully demonstrate the willingness to help me reach students. When that finally happened, I still felt as a hostage given that I basically had to accept scheduling the interviews at any day and time to fit the students' availability—which were often inconvenient to me. On many occasions that meant that I stayed home on a weekend afternoon/evening, waiting for a participant who never showed up:

> This is so frustrating—it's the second time that this student stands me up. The staff from the community center (who was supposed to show up to ensure the student joined the meeting) hasn't showed up either. I guess this means this student just doesn't want to participate and I'm back to having just 2. I received another email from a weird address today (also written very poorly) but I have a feeling these people will not respond willing to participate once they receive the consent form. It's just not as simple as clicking on a link to complete a survey. I feel very demotivated right now… (June 4–7pm)

Although I had never asked the coordinator to have a staff member join the meeting, their absence certainly magnified my frustration. It can also be noted in the entry above how my frustration was projected to potential participants who I brutishly referred to as "these people." In this case, however, it would be important to note that this sentiment did not begin in the present study. I had recently worked in

another research project in which we experienced a large amount of fraud, with individuals taking the survey multiple times (with fake email accounts) in order to receive a gift card. Because I was directly involved in scanning through those scams and having to contact each person (or a single person through the multiple emails used), I developed harsh feelings towards people who try to take advantage of research compensation. In the present study, then, I became immediately wary and defensive when I received emails that looked suspicious.

My feeling of being a hostage to the ones who I wanted to meet is also evident in the following two entries which show how, within just a few minutes, I went from suspicion/hope to despair:

> I'm about to begin the 4th interview but I wonder if that is really going to happen… I hope so! (July 16–3:45pm)
>
> I knew it… another interview that doesn't happen. (July 16–4:10pm)

The same happened many other times, including a time on July 20, when the student joined (later) but his father was not there to provide with consent as he had anticipated, so I could not proceed with the interview—something I will discuss ahead.

The challenge to recruit was emphasized by the fact that some school divisions never responded back to me (despite my multiple emails) or seemed to do everything they could to delay approving my research:

> I'm frustrated and tired of this recruitment that doesn't happen. What should I do? I honestly don't want to increase the amount of the gift card but sometimes I wonder if that's what it would take. It's so sad that I can't connect with people the way I would like to. I need the buy in of people in leadership positions, like the guy from [Community Center's name] did. I'm really worried that nothing might happen. I don't want to burden the agencies that did share my poster but I know it sometimes takes a message to be seen twice in order for people to take action…

> meanwhile, the [School Division's name] has asked me for SO MANY revisions, it's outrageous! I feel that they just don't want me to conduct this research this term. (June 11–Morning)

It should be acknowledged that schools and school divisions were having to navigate a myriad of uncertainties and changes caused by the COVID-19 pandemic at the time. However, I constantly felt that having to depend on the willingness of administrators to be able to conduct my research was unfair, as if I had my hands tied to institutions' agendas.

In many ways, I also felt a hostage to the ethical protocol I had to abide by, which prevented me from shifting and adapting my methods as needed.

> Last night, I received an email from a community center saying that they had an interview scheduled for me today. My first reaction was of thrill, excitement, and even butterflies in the stomach—is this finally happening? Was I ready? But as soon as I was about to send them the Zoom link I realized that I still needed the parent consent form. For one second, I was tempted to proceed without it—after all, it has been so long since I have been trying. But I thanked the coordinator a lot for their help and pointed out that I need the parent consent form first. Will I receive that? I don't know. I probably won't be able to conduct the interview today after all. (May 27–Morning)

An entry later in the year also shows how I shifted from hope to despair as I was in the process of writing it because a student was not able to get parental consent in time of the interview:

> Oh my, after weeks of despair not only did I receive a random (but serious) email from someone willing to be interviewed but also got now someone from [Community Center's name] who is making quick contacts for me and has instantly connected me with someone else who I am interviewing at 4pm!! I can't believe I am finally moving towards the third interview and will have the fourth on Sunday!!

> Oh, actually it's going to have to be next week because of parent consent form. So annoying. (July 09–3pm)

My relief when no parental consent was necessary became evident when students informed me they were 18 or older:

> Just re-scheduled the interview with the 5th participant for Monday. The BEST news I could possibly hear these days is when they tell me they are already 18 (so no need for parental consent). (August 19, 2021)

Although I understand the importance of institutional research ethics boards and protocols (which is a committee I currently have the honor to serve and something I emphasize when teaching research methods to graduate students), having to follow the protocol I had submitted often made me regret those, especially when they prevented me from conducting an interview with a student who was ready for it. Having to obtain parental consent from students who were so mature and for a study with minimum risks for participants (not even to mention the approval of school divisions and coordinators of community centers) created layers of delay and difficulties that many times made me want to give up the study or at least regret the route I had taken—but which seemed to be the only/best option during the pandemic, when many extracurricular programs had been interrupted and when I could not be physically present in schools or community centers, opportunities which could have certainly have facilitated the development of relationships with students, families, and educators.

Being a White Researcher

As mentioned in an earlier entry, it was only after I began the data collection process that I realized that students would most likely not know that I was white prior to meeting me on Zoom, given that all the interviews were arranged through community centers. This realization made me quite uncomfortable, as if I were not being fair to them. After all, as students mentioned in the interviews, they often do not feel comfortable relating with whites for the fear of saying something "wrong," for having to

fight stereotypes all the time, etc. Would they have accepted to participate had they known I am white? Although I started reflecting about this issue as I proceeded with the interviews, I did not do anything to address it (e.g., providing more information about myself in the consent form)—an inaction that might be directly related to my unwillingness to submit another amendment to my research ethic protocol.

There seems to be a push from white researchers to focus only on the positive experiences of refugee students in Canada, which may prevent many from being willing to engage in such studies—as an earlier entry hinted at. While it is impossible for me to know the extent to which some students were hiding their experiences with racism so as to please me, the previously noted hesitance and change in countenance observed in students when I asked where they lived before moving to Canada could have been associated with a feeling of vulnerability caused by my white curiosity. But despite being an advocate for anti-racism research/education and teaching about the importance of talking about race/racism, I also felt surprisingly uncomfortable when asking questions about race and then not knowing how to respond:

> I noticed that after hearing the participant's experiences of racism/discrimination, I wasn't quite sure how to react. I was frustrated, of course, but did not know how much I should engage in that particular story or move on to the next question. I always try to remain as close to "neutral" as possible while also acknowledging the participant's feelings. (August 28)

> Sometimes participants say they are aware of racism in the schools but did not experience it themselves. I sometimes feel they were being careful and cautious with what they were sharing with me just like they mention having to be constantly on guard with their white classmates too. (August 31)

The tension I experienced for being a white researcher was also mixed with a great level of excitement when students acknowledged and spoke about their experiences with racism in their schools, as this extensive entry demonstrates (which also illustrates some of the aspects already observed in this chapter):

It’s amazing how despite my willingness to be open to what emerges, I approach the interviews with so many expectations. I was almost “happy” to hear about the racism experiences the student described in the interview yesterday, as if I had found gold, the treasure that I was looking for.

I also noticed in both interviews how some of my questions were not so clear to students. The first one I thought it was because of the internet connection, but yesterday I realized how I had to unpack the question for the student to understand what I was trying to get to—and she was very smart.

My research (both what has and what has not happened) is revealing how much it bothers me not to be in control. I have felt a hostage of superintendents, principals, coordinators (who I have never met) in the last 8 months, hoping that people would buy my research idea and share it excitedly with students. Now that I have this coordinator connecting students with me, I LOVE it, but everything has been done in the very last minute because of students’ schedules but I humbly and very very gladly accept! I generally do not like to have things decided in the last minute, I like to plan ahead. But I definitely do not want to risk not interviewing those who are willing to participate. The interviews themselves have demonstrated how I cherish conducting an interview without interruptions—which did not happen in the first interview due to the internet connection and in the second due to a younger sister that came in making noise a couple of times.

I was very happy when the students mentioned where they were from because originally I wanted to focus just on those from Africa. Both students mentioned how important it was for them to meet peers who spoke their language, were from their country or at least from Africa too. I have been thinking that I moved to Canada for my PhD at about the same time that they did, but what different circumstances and privileges!

> I have been thinking how my research is turning out to be a research about doing anti-oppressive research, cross-racial interviews. So many uncertainties are coming to the surface as I interview and reflect about them, so many wonderings and things to be discussed. (May 29–9am)

One of the moments that stand out the most to me in terms of being happily surprised throughout this research was indeed when a student asked me before the interview whether she had to talk *only* about positive experiences in Manitoba:

> After reaching out many times to the three contacts I got from [Community Center's Coordinator], one seems that will work out tomorrow! However, it is important to note that only after I mentioned the gift card (which was during my second attempt) did they show interest. Something really interesting happen, though. The participant went through the consent form and said it was all ok, "But I have a question. Does all your answers expected to be positive like you are not allowed to may share some unpleasant experiences (if you had any) regarding being a school as a refugee?" That was via WhatsApp. It really made me think of that Manitoba document that has refugee narratives and how those questions were posed to them. It really makes me think how refugee students might feel pressured to speak only about the positive experiences they have in Canadian schools. It also made me wonder how many of the people I approached did not show interest because they thought it was pointless and that they would just have to fake things. I told her: "Oh no, I am absolutely looking for whatever experiences you might have had - whether it's positive or not. I am particularly interested in experiences of racism you may have encountered, for example." And her response was "Sounds perfectos 🤩." I'm really looking forward to tomorrow's interview! (August 13, 2021)

Indeed, that was the participant who spoke most fiercely about racism in education, an excitement I experienced which is evident in my journal entry following the interview:

> OMG, that was THE BEST interview so far! I am sooooo grateful for it! First of all, I must say that the audio was perfect so that makes a huge difference. She called me one hour earlier than scheduled (thankfully I was home and basically ready) saying she was feeling a bit sick so she wouldn't have her camera on. I honestly didn't mind so much because I wasn't feeling like being on the camera either—the convenience of COVID… She was SO thankful for my research and thanked me so much. At the end of the interview she said "I was talking to you as if you were a friend, it was nothing formal." She said how much she appreciated my questions and it was really interesting how she was TRULY interested in knowing how I wanted to bring about change from this research. She was so articulate and spoke so much about the existence of racism in schools. I am REALLY thankful for this interview.
>
> In fact, it's funny how her message earlier this week sparked in me the desire to go back to my dissertation. I woke up this morning with some insights and dug into it. This was the fourth interview and I think I will have another one next week. I honestly can't wait to hear/transcribe this one and then to do the analysis. (August 14, 2021–5:30pm)

Some people argue that researchers always find what they are looking for. Indeed, not only was I "hoping" to hear students' experiences with racism in their schools, but throughout the data analysis process I observed how I kept tending to focus more on students' negative experiences. Coming across SDT during the data analysis process, however, was fundamental to broadening the ideas and assumptions I had started this research with, as the following entry illustrates:

> It is very interesting how I tend to see hostility in the findings, to point fingers to blame educators, but as I proceed studying SDT I realize that the problem often lies not exactly in what appeared to be wrong on the surface. For example, at first I was outraged that students would feel how even their personality changed, but now I understand that that is not necessarily wrong in itself. The way that that happens, however, is another story. (October 2)

The much-needed discussion of how each data source and frameworks informed and complemented each other, however, will be undertaken in the last part of this dissertation.

Discussion

Surely, one of the unexpected outcomes of this research is its meta nature. The opportunity to spend one year in the process of trying to recruit participants, analyzing curriculum documents, interviewing students, analyzing data (which led me to completely unforeseen paths), and writing about the research process while also teaching about research, evidenced many of the ethical challenges when seeking to honor participants' voices, resist trying to see just what I was expecting to find, recognizing my biases, and trying to understand what I should do with the ones I detected. Keeping a research journal allowed me to debrief my thoughts, feelings, expectations, and frustrations, and it also helped me be more sensitive and attentive to those as I experienced them. The analysis of the entries, in turn, corroborate the argument that there is no neutrality in research, hence the major importance of the researcher's reflexivity and transparency when disseminating findings.

The Complexities of Research Ethics

As I mentioned in my journal, studying about research ethics among Indigenous communities unveiled many of the misconceptions and shortcomings I was blind to in my desire to conduct anti-oppressive research. Aligned with the tenets of anti-oppressive research (Potts & Brown, 2005), community-based participatory research (CBPR) has become a widely adopted design in studies with Indigenous peoples when seeking "to equalize power differences within the research process; to build trust between the researchers and the community; and to foster a sense of ownership tied to generating momentum toward social change" (Tobias et al., 2013, p. 132). However, the literature shows that not only is "community engagement" a blurred concept but also how not every community engagement is necessarily good. For instance, Brunger and Wall (2016) observed that,

> if done uncritically and in service to ethics guidelines rather than in service to ethical research, [community involvement] can itself cause harm by leading to community fatigue, undermining the community's ability to be effectively involved in the research, and restricting the community's ability to have oversight and control over research. (p. 1863)

Although I was not conducting CBPR sensu stricto, it is interesting to note that my initial plan of meeting with students three to five times in order to foster a stronger connection and have them participate in the meaning making of findings, albeit accepted by the university research ethics board (REB), actually proved not to be the best approach in the context we were living in. But as much as I wanted to be aligned with the principles of anti-oppressive research, I would be lying if I said I was not relieved to be meeting with participants only once. My desire to get the work done as efficiently as possible (coupled with the "publish or perish" mentality that drives western academia) was certainly quite pleased with the need to reduce my involvement with participants. However, that also led me to ponder many ethical issues. Was I now being a helicopter researcher, who collects data and then leaves the research site having participants as mere objects of study? Although I gave them the opportunity to participate in the meaning making of findings via email, unsurprisingly none of them did—maybe given the fact that they had already received the gift card and had no further incentive to continue engaged in the process. How could I then ensure that their voices were being honored and that I was not merely using those to fulfil my research agenda? Questions like these continued to haunt me as I proceeded with the data analysis, corroborating Levinas' ethical stance: ethics is not merely about checking a REB box, it is an ongoing responsibility towards the Other.

Similarly, from an Indigenous perspective, ethics is an ongoing conversation, not a punctual procedure (Bull et al., 2019). The multiple amendments I submitted to the university's REB throughout this process evidence that the evolving nature of a research project is not only normal but also healthy when seeking to be responsive to participants' realities—especially the unprecedented context and uncertainties created by the COVID-19 pandemic. This research thus led me to consider the extent to

which the detailed and defined plan that has to be submitted to REBs prior to the beginning of a study may impinge on the pursuit of anti-oppressive research—for example, by needing to have all the interview questions ready beforehand and not being able to consult with potential participants (and their families) about what *for them* would be important to be studied. Research protocols, TCPS2 (Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans), and even OCAP principles (First Nations principles of ownership, control, access, and possession) may serve as guidelines, but they do not guarantee that a research study will be conducive to participants' well-being. In fact, the logic of most REBs, which require detailed and defined work plans before the research begins, go against the principles of the TCPS2, which encourage community involvement with the research development (Brunger & Wall, 2016; Moore et al., 2017).

Although I had anticipated some challenges when conducting this research, the layers of complexity I faced when trying to recruit Black refugee youth were profound. As much as I tried to be attentive to the language I used in the recruitment related documents, I soon realized that my academic writing might have hindered their potential involvement. Having to re-write the information letter and consent form was surprisingly a lot more challenging that it seemed, as I struggled to tailor my language to those who are not familiar with the academic/research jargon. Similarly, although I had already had to address that when submitting my ethics protocol (and something the members of my research committee had also asked me about), during the time I was trying to recruit students, the question of whether I should have translators (or at least be open to conducting the interviews in French) started haunting me. My decision not to do so stemmed from my understanding it is impossible not to lose anything during a translation as well as the fact that English is the language I am most comfortable with. Today I see much clearer (or at least now have the courage to admit) how much of my decision was guided by my own comfort and convenience and not necessarily what would be best for participants or the research itself. Notwithstanding, I assume (based on their difficulties speaking English) that some of the participants I interviewed would likely have felt more comfortable if they could have spoken in their mother tongue—

not even to mention the potential students who I was not able to connect with because my recruitment materials were inaccessible to them and/or their families (numbers which I will never know). This research thus showed how often decisions made by the researcher (such as the language and lexicon being used), which can be taken for granted when designing the study, can be deeply connected to the researcher's comfort zone and work to the detriment of participants themselves.

A major source of despair for me during the recruitment was the need to obtain parental consent from students who expressed willingness to participate. This process became surprisingly more burdensome than I had expected given that most students had very poor access to the internet and digital literacy skills, let alone the opportunity to have those printed for parents. Oftentimes, it was necessary to exchange emails with community center coordinators who would then forward the consent to students, have them share it with their parents, send it back to the community center coordinator who would then forward it to me so that only then we could schedule the interview. But, as I mentioned earlier in this chapter, in many occasions I "lost" participants along the way (even one who actually met with me on Zoom) because of the lack of parental consent—they would stop corresponding with me once I mentioned that we needed their parents'/guardians' consent despite the fact that I gave them many options of how that could be obtained (not necessarily having to print the file).

Furthermore, when I began this research, I expected that participants would be interested in taking part for the sake of the research, for the opportunity to voice their struggles and hopefully improve their schooling experiences. The watershed moment that made me provide participants with compensation was reading that "agreeing to participate in one of the projects must clearly and directly benefit each research participant" (Ball & Janyst, 2008, p. 38), and not just "indirect benefits." But as Lee (2019) notes, even what constitutes an appropriate gift is something that the researcher must not take for granted. Indeed, after I had decided to give students a $10 Tim Hortons gift card, one community center coordinator who was helping me connect with students asked if I could increase the amount—apparently previous researchers contacting their institution had offered $25. That made me quite dismayed. Not only

did I have to be realistic in terms of what I could afford, but I also got very frustrated with the idea that people would start participating in research projects based on how much money they could earn out of it. I held firm to the amount I could provide as I deemed it an appropriate sum for a teenager who would be talking for 45 minutes from their own homes. However, it is interesting to observe that after each interview I conducted, I wished I had given them more than $10—especially when they expressed immense joy when I said, "I would like to send you a gift card" (something they knew beforehand, but they still reacted with tremendous gratitude).

Despite all my experience as a research assistant and teaching about research methods, it was only during the process of conducting my own doctoral research that I noticed many shortcomings of the study I was leading. Conducting research with a relatively strict timeline and limited funds (especially as a student), can lead one to rush to get through and not be able to provide the adequate compensation for participants' involvement, thus impinging on the pursuit of anti-oppressive research. But such experience also raises the concern that highly funded researchers may be creating a culture in which people start seeing research opportunities merely as a source of financial gain. For instance, I have witnessed some research projects that provided participants with a $25 gift card for taking a 15-minute survey online. When I started trying to recruit participants through social media (using a poster that mentioned the $10 gift card), I received a couple of emails from people who asked for "the link to take the survey." When I responded back clarifying that it was not a survey but an interview, the person never wrote back. This tenuous and complex matter certainly does not have a clear-cut answer, but hence the importance of REBs to ensure compensation given is appropriate at least in terms of the length and depth of participant involvement.

The Researcher's (White) Positionality

Despite the natural challenges caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, my feelings of powerlessness and despair throughout the research process were mostly associated with the need to rely on other people to help me connect with students. As someone who has a very controlling, independent, and proactive

personality, having to depend on strangers' buy in was both a source of great frustration and gratitude. In a similar vein, no sooner had I started hearing from potential participants than I realized how much it bothered me to be having to read emails written with very poor grammar—an experience that was then emphasized when conducting the interviews and later going through the transcripts. My perfectionism and whiteness were being struck together with the underlying assumption I held that I owned the data I collected.

As soon as I started recruiting students, I realized how the paucity of information I had about them (usually just their first name) made me greatly uncomfortable. In my previous research experiences, I would be contacting potential participants directly, knowing their names, email address, title, etc. In this study, however, students "arrived to me" without my having any prior knowledge about them besides the fact that they would be Black and refugees. Knowing beforehand that they were Black, though, then became another source of discomfort.

Although research shows that participants respond differently depending on the interviewer's race (Hill, 2002; Rhodes, 1994; Samples et al., 2014) and that is not necessarily good or bad, the potential surprise and discomfort they might have experienced when seeing me on their screen became an issue I kept wondering about as I moved forward. Despite all the information provided in the recruitment documents, nowhere did I state that I was white. Students would receive a great amount of data about the research project but who was the person conducting it? Besides my name and being a PhD student at the University of Manitoba, no further information about me was declared. Despite all my advocacy and studies on race/racism before conducting the interviews and despite all the focus of my research on anti-racism, why did I fail to provide students with the information that I was white? By assuming that my whiteness would not be perceived as a threat, today I realize how much I have reinforced whiteness through research despite my intention to do exactly the opposite—another evidence that good intentions are not always enough. Interestingly, as I was getting ready to conduct the first interview, I added to the Oral Assent protocol the information that I was from Brazil. I felt that informing students about my

origins would not only made them more interested in me (based on my experience abroad, people are typically excited when I mention I am Brazilian) but also more comfortable sharing their negative experiences here (as I would not be a Canadian judging them).

The tensions of conducting cross-racial research soon became evident to me, but what effect did it have on students themselves? While I assume that their overall research experience was positive (based on their smiles and thankfulness for having me interview them and based on research that corroborates the psychological benefits of articulating one's experiences), the visible discomfort they expressed when I asked them where they lived before coming to Canada and having them discuss their experiences with racism in school led me wondering if my attempt to conduct anti-oppressive research has actually been fulfilled.

Conclusion

Albeit I may never be able to measure the extent to which this research contributed to the well-being of those I interviewed, this research journal unveiled many of the ambivalences and complexities of being a white researcher conducting cross-racial interviews, in a foreign land, in the middle of a pandemic, with participants who are, in turn, also new to the land. Conducting (or at least trying to conduct) anti-oppressive research requires the discomfort of not having things necessarily done the way we would like to, and the understanding that there is a lot more to ethics than a REB can verify. Researchers should not approach a study with their design, methods, and questions set in stone, but rather be sensitive and tactful to participants' realities and uniqueness and embrace the "messiness" of research which often requires change. It is imperative for the anti-oppressive researcher to engage in a constant, active, and sincere process of self-reflexivity in order to notice and address the many ways in which one's personality, biases, and agenda can impinge on participants' well-being and skew findings. Furthermore, it is necessary for the researcher to recognize that the willingness to pursue anti-oppressive and anti-racism research will likely be accompanied by the realization that whiteness (with all the privileges that

come with it) is a lot more entrenched and harder to deconstruct than our “good intentions” may portray or try to convince us.

PART THREE – WHEN SELF MEETS THE OTHER

Introduction

> To act ethically is already to place the act in question. For the ethical intention is no guarantee of ethicality. Indeed, the ethical cannot be guaranteed, only attempted and approached. (Britzman, 1998, p. 43)

The large number of refugee students arriving in Canada, or in Manitoba more specifically, surely translates the idea of a place that is receptive to individuals who are in political, economic, and/or social distress in other countries. Nonetheless, and focusing particularly on the role played by schools, being receptive is not synonymous to being welcoming or being a place where refugee students feel they can be active subjects with agency. Refugee students in Canada (and in Manitoba) have pervasively and continuously struggled with racism, alienation, stereotyping, despair, feeling undermined, misunderstandings about the educational system (especially the credit system), fear of speaking up, fast paced curriculum, teacher irresponsivity, stigmatization, and exclusion (Ayoub & Zhou, 2021; Baker, 2013; Guo et al., 2019; Jowett, 2020; Kanu, 2008; Li & Grineva, 2016; Schroeter & James, 2015; Selimos & Daniel, 2017; Skidmore, 2016; Stewart, 2012; Stewart et al., 2019; Tecle, & James, 2014; Walker & Zuberi, 2019).

More important than trying to determine which school/teacher is more or less hospitable, the purpose of this study was to understand how hospitality is conceptualized by Black refugee students, or, in other words, what makes them feel (un)welcome in their schools. It is important to emphasize that (as the postulates of the ethic of hospitality had already indicated) what makes a student feel welcome is not something that can be generalized—nor is generalization the purpose of qualitative research. Exchanges of hospitality arise in unexpectedly ways, varying according to context, guest, host, and home. It was the interest of this study, however, to note conditions created by such encounters which hinder the possibility of hospitality. As such, this study shed light on key facets that can contribute to or inhibit Black refugee students' well-being and the pursuit of hospitable education, which must not be disregarded. In order to conduct such study, it was then necessary to understand the system students were in (hence the

importance of the curriculum documents here analyzed) as well as the lenses through which such study was being conducted (hence the instrumentality of the research journal maintained). Therefore, in the final part of this dissertation, I discuss the main research findings observing how the three theoretical frameworks (the ethic of hospitality, SDT, and CRT) and the three data sources that guided this study (curriculum documents, interviews, and research journal) informed, corroborated, and complemented each other. To conclude, I offer key recommendations to educators and researchers in the pursuit of hospitable education and anti-oppressive research.

Black Refugee Students' Experiences through an Interplay of Frameworks and Methods

I began this journey from an ethic of hospitality which demands responsibility from the host—the urgent and imminent call to respond to the Other who arrives unexpectedly, from whom the host cannot expect reciprocity and not even the possibility of knowing if the guest feels welcome. An ethic of hospitality demands unconditional responsibility from educators, something that cannot be prescribed with steps or checkboxes, but rather an ongoing embracing of discomfort for the inevitable changes the guest will make in the environment (Ruitenberg, 2011b). The process of analyzing the data, in turn, evidenced how findings were directly and clearly connected to the three domains of SDT. But how could two frameworks that belong to different fields (philosophy and psychology) and that have arguably opposite focuses (self and Other), be so compatible? And what role did the three sources of data play in weaving those frameworks together?

In terms of research methods, not only did each interview (or my attempt to interview) generate feelings and experiences that I registered in the journal but being committed to self-reflexivity sensitized me and allowed me to notice the myriad of ethical complexities I was going through, which inevitably influenced each subsequent interview (although in some cases this realization only happened during the data analysis process). Even the months I spent trying to recruit students inevitably influenced how I experienced the research throughout the time. For example, the curriculum documents I studied in that

period certainly illuminated me during the interviews—corroborating the idea that every data collection moment is already an analysis—as this entry illustrates:

> I can already see how my having examined so many documents and policies of Manitoba Education prior to interviewing students is influencing my data collection and analysis (although I haven't officially started the analysis yet)—which is not necessarily good or bad, just something to be acknowledged. The student yesterday many times mentioned that he was very confident, and that helped him. During the interview, I associated that with the "push" towards resilience that I saw in the documents and I did not really pursue that much further. But now that I am thinking about it, I think the student was actually unearthing something different, which could actually shift this resilience focus. (May 28–9am)

As I conducted the analysis of the curriculum documents (and the literature review as a whole), I was very disturbed by how heavily needs-focused they were when speaking in terms of teaching refugee students. But during the data analysis and as I came across SDT, which is focused on three overarching human needs, I realized that in fact hospitality does begin with a need: the need for hospitality. The vulnerability of the face of the Other who arrives demands responsibility from the self, as Levinas' (1982) words which opened the first chapter of this dissertation already indicated. But if Levinas (and thus the ethic of hospitality) "posits a single undifferentiated other that constitutes ethical subjectivity in general" (Blond, 2016, p. 260), thus arguably failing to respond to issues such as racism, CRT reminds educators that individual identities do matter.

Based on the contributions of SDT, this research demonstrated how students' need for autonomy, competence, and relatedness have (or not) been supported and how that, in turn, influenced how they perceived hospitality. Indeed, the three domains outlined by SDT demonstrated to be directly connected to the postulates of hospitality which guided this research from the outset, such as being oneself, feeling accepted for who one is, and having agency to make changes in the environment. Moreover, the three

domains demonstrated to be intrinsically connected to the way in which Black refugee students *look*, *behave*, and *speak*, which were the three overarching themes I had arrived at during the data analysis before I noticed how those were intertwined with SDT—all three tied to their Blackness.

If CRT was ground-breaking in exposing the ways in which whiteness and racism are embedded in society and not just the result of individual acts, the experiences of the students I interviewed served to corroborate that and expose ways in which the "settled expectations of white privilege" (Harris, 1995) pervasively continue to dictate education. Thoughts and attitudes may be repressed from an individual's psyche in response to society's regulations (Butler, 1997; Freud, 1923/2018; Lawrence, 1987/1995) but they remain nonetheless latent, informing norms and behaviors. For example, the perceived need to master the English language in a "Canadian way" was clearly a source of tension for the students I interviewed. As Derrida (2000b) observed, the line between a hospitable and a hostile environment is very tenuous. Although it is important that a school provide students with the opportunity to develop their English skills in order to function in an English-speaking society, not performing to the standards of white educators or to the expectations of white peers troubled Black refugee students, making them feel in a hostile environment. Nonetheless, a critical examination of my own journal entries revealed how I was not exempt from such expectation either. Despite my willingness to be a hospitable host, my attitudes in fact corroborated Derrida's (2000a) argument that the foreigner "has to ask for hospitality in a language which by definition not his one, the one imposed on him by the master of the house, the host, the king, the lord, the authorities, the nation, the State, the father" (p. 15)—the researcher—, and this is "the first act of violence" (p. 15). As it is, the pursuit of hospitable research evidenced my own inhospitality towards those I wanted to welcome.

The "natural" violence of hospitality, that is, its self-contradictory nature, however, does not constitute inhospitality—rather, it is what makes it possible (Derrida, 2000a, 2000b, 2007; Rosello, 2001). But the violence experienced by Black refugee students when arriving in a so-called peaceful country evidences something beyond the expected threshold of in-hospitality. The arrival of this perceived

ungraspable, repugnant Other generates a sense of threat in the white-host's fragile psyche that perpetuates insidious (and conspicuous) racism.

In terms of existing policies, there seems to be many paradoxes between Manitoba's discourses and what is recommended by an ethic of hospitality, self-determination theory, as well as the United Nations' strategy for refugee education (Cranston & Crook, 2020; Ghosh et al., 2019; Schutte et al., 2022; UNHCR, 2019). As a consequence, not only have refugee students been falling through the cracks of the educational system, but teachers themselves have been facing the paradoxes and shortcomings of current policies and legislation, which leads not only to inhospitable approaches to education but also to feelings of anxiety, exhaustion, inadequacy, and vicarious trauma (Janzen & Phelan, 2020; Jowett, 2020). Notwithstanding the existence of some relevant provincial guidelines with regards to teaching refugee students, "effective newcomer programs are not one-size-fits-all, and they must flexibly respond to the literacy skills and educational backgrounds of their students, potentially changing program design features over time" (Jowett, 2020, p. 17).It was positively surprising for me to find curriculum documents that specifically addressed the experiences of refugees in Manitoba schools or the importance of combating racism as I began this research quite skeptical about there being any relevant resources such as these. There remains the danger, however, that Manitoba education may be sustaining "racism without racists" (Bonilla-Silva, 2018), as some students observed a strong avoidance of confronting racism or even accepting its possibility among educators. Just like Lawrence (1987/1995) had suggested that racism is both a crime and a disease, one of my study's participants expressed her feelings and experiences with racism in terms of it being a cancer and asthma—a strong analogy of something that is pervasive and sucking one's air. Admitting that racism still exists "out there" but refraining from investigating how it is reinforced by the self (be that an individual educator or the system as a whole) does no service to students who continue to suffer from it.

Freire (2018) differentiated between "pseudo-participation" and "commitment involvement" and, in a similar vein, this research showed how the schooling experiences of Black refugees can be detrimental to their autonomy (hence their overall well-being). Students often felt pressured to acquiesce

to a white, racist system. The fear of "misbehaving" according to white expectations, feeling intimidated and insecure for not speaking or looking like their Canadian counterparts (potentialized by the lack of Black educators in Manitoba schools) was noticed not only in the narratives of "Building Hope" (Manitoba Education, 2015) but also in the students I interviewed.

Indeed, the ways in which Black/refugee students experience racism in Canadian schools has long been registered in the literature but very little seems to change because all approaches operate as six of one and half a dozen of the other—the hegemony remains white. Focusing on the intentions of the perpetrator (as some of the Manitoba curriculum documents do and as some students have witnessed) is not enough to tackle racism in education. In a similar vein, educators need much more than knowing what students have gone through in their home countries prior to their arrival in Canada—which is often the focus of the documents analyzed. While historical and contextual information can be helpful, Manitoba education will only effectively begin the journey against racism when race/racism stop being a taboo and rather become a central concern addressed by the provincial government and educational leaders. The deafening silence when it comes to racism in most of the documents I analyzed (let alone a *critical* approach to race/racism), and the myriad of ways in which white educators' ingrained beliefs can be oppressive to students, evidenced the lack of priority given to this serious matter, undermining the role it plays on students' well-being.

While the current literature (both from the provincial government and the wider academy) places a strong focus on fostering refugees' resilience because of what they had gone through *prior to* their arrival in Canada, students attributed their success *in their current schools* to their own confidence. As Albrecht and Ko (2017) also noted, being able to talk to others without being afraid of embarrassment or judgement, students' *social confidence*, was in fact the fundamental component for students' flourishing in school. One could argue that a resiliency-approach actually means recognizing one's existing strengths or even one's "cultural capital" (Yosso, 2005) as opposed to following a deficit approach. However, and especially in light of existing attempts to disguise racism and promote the white savior myth and its

helping imperative (Heron, 2007), I believe that the hyper focus on resilience is oftentimes just another expression of a totalitarian act, which not only places the burden on students but also implies that their challenges stem only from their background, thus neglecting any issues with the current system they find themselves in.

There also seems to be a pervasive tendency amongst white researchers interviewing Black students to reveal mostly the positive experiences of students after their arrival in Canada, thus reinforcing the white savior myth. I noticed this firstly when going through “Building Hope” (Manitoba Education, 2015) and then by the “apparent inconsistencies” (Watson, 2006) that emerged in the interviews I conducted. The ways in which some students I spoke with seemed hesitant to share negative experiences with racism was often debunked by their anecdotes, an observation that was confirmed when the student asked me before the interview if she had to speak only about positive experiences in Manitoba. It ought to be observed that students’ hesitancy to share their negatives experiences in Canadian schools is not exclusive to my research (see Baker, 2013) and can stem from refugee students’ despair—i.e., it is pointless, nothing will change. It is time educators and researchers stopped being afraid of what we are going to hear, afraid of having our white egos hurt, and truly seek to hear what Black refugee students are actually going through on a daily basis, actively seeking to bring about the necessary changes that need to happen—changes that begin within the self.

Not only is education a psychic event for the teacher (Britzman, 1998), but the pursuit of anti-oppressive research demonstrated to be such for me as a researcher as well. As much as I sought to be a hospitable researcher, I did not anticipate the discomfort of being a researcher-host. For example, in this study, students “arrived to me” without my knowing exactly when and without having any prior knowledge about them besides the fact that they would be Black refugees—I felt haunted by the arrival of the guest. Experiencing to some degree the unpredictable and unconditional nature of hospitality was extremely uncomfortable and oftentimes made me feel a hostage to the unknown Other. Furthermore, as much as I thought of myself as someone knowledgeable about race/racism prior to the beginning of the

study, I found myself reinforcing whiteness and my white privileges on many occasions. For example, hearing participants thank me for the opportunity to share their experiences and for taking the time to conduct this research inflated my (white) ego, as noted by the enthusiasm with which I registered those instances in the research journal. I also particularly remember how uncomfortable I felt when I heard about students' experiences with racism because I was not sure how to react, how to respond, how to express the perfect balance between acknowledging their pain and maintaining a "neutral" researcher position.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Levinas' (1972) conceptualization of "alterity," which is foundational to the ethic of hospitality, and CRT's concept of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989) may appear as exclusionary at first, but this study showed how they are in fact both vital in the pursuit of hospitable education to Black refugee students. Hospitality "begins" with the irreplaceability (or alterity) of the Other. It is only by welcoming the Other in their wholeness, without categories, without trying to "grasp" who the Other is, without trying to subsume the Other into what the self can comprehend, that hospitality can take place. Nonetheless, the particularity of the Other, understood through intersectional identity analysis, demonstrated to be fundamental to one's experience of hospitality as well. For instance, teachers' friendliness might be a universal response, a disposition cultivated in the Manitoban society—and students do appreciate that. Friendliness, however, is not enough to make students feel welcome in their schools because it fails to address racial complexities and inequities that continuously assaults Black refugee students. This became evident even during the interviews I conducted. The way in which I sought to develop a good rapport with students is certainly evident in the research journal through the pervasiveness of terms I used to describe students' reactions such as "smiley," "cheerful," and "enthusiastic." Such relationship, however positive I perceived it to be, was not necessarily sufficient to make students welcome to the research environment, nor necessarily did they feel welcome by me.

Although the ethic of hospitality is arguably Other-focused, and SDT is arguably self-focused, the encounter between the three frameworks used in this research evidenced how the self does not exist in

isolation (Doucet & Mauthner, 2008; Watson, 2006) and that “identity cannot be defined in isolation” (Dei, 1996a, p. 31). Derrida (1998b) also alluded to it when asserting that “identity is never given, received or attained. Only the interminable, indefinitely phantasmatic process of identification endures” (p. 28). But more than confirming the fluidity of the self, or how the self is a process—as SDT indicated—, this encounter demonstrated that the Other does not exist in isolation either. It was only after analyzing the data that I realized that, in fact, I was a hostage not to the Other but to my own self. That is, at play in the hospitality pursuit is not only the self of the Other but also one’s own. Such realization turned out to reveal what this research seemed to be pointing at since the beginning of this study without my noticing it.

If hospitality requires alterity and if encountering alterity is necessarily uncomfortable for the disruption of the self it brings (Britzman, 1998; Todd, 2003), the inevitable conflict that emerges when self meets Other will not go away. How we respond to such conflict, however, is where the crux of hospitality lies. From the outset of this study, I demonstrated how the ethic of hospitality requires the recognition of the uniqueness of the Other. SDT, in turn, admitted the self of the student (their autonomy, relatedness, and competence) as process, and how that process can be alienating—with CRT postulates playing a major role in evidencing the sources of such alienation. A self-determined Other through the lens of the ethic of hospitality, however, requires that the self of the teacher (or the researcher, or the educational system) be conceptually considered not as a (white) standard to be reached or a (white) receptacle that molds the Other who arrives, but as that which must necessarily be transformed by such encounter—a metamorphosis that begins with critical self-examination. Kristeva (1991) makes an important contribution to this discussion when arguing that the stranger, the foreigner, does not reside externally but is rather within the self. The author emphasizes that the uncanny—a term she uses in reference to Freud’s (1919/2003) masterpiece with that title—, the foreigner, certainly causes discomfort, but a discomfort caused by one’s own consciousness of difference. A peaceful encounter with such

strangeness, however, will not happen by trying to ignore or eliminate the foreigner, but by becoming familiar “with our own ghosts” (p. 191)—especially ghost called whiteness.

But opening oneself to face one’s own ghosts, which become evident in the unforeseen paths of alterity, means making oneself vulnerable to experience the uncomfortable fear of the unknown, of losing control. For example, in research terms, when I approached the data analysis through the lenses of SDT, I realized I was opening myself to the possibility of having the tenets of the ethic of hospitality challenged by students’ experiences—perhaps students’ conceptualization of hospitable education would evade the framework I had long been working with. That is, perhaps students’ conceptualization of hospitality would dissonate from the theoretical constructs of hospitality. I felt I was putting my entire research at risk, but that was a risk I felt urged to take.

In a similar vein, rather than ignoring the self who is in relation to the Other, educators are constantly called to respond to students whom they meet in the classroom. Black refugee students may not have another option but having to face the inhospitality that awaits for them in the classroom. Educators, on the other hand, are constantly faced with the opportunity to take the risk of unconditional hospitality, face their own fears of losing control, of having the boundaries of the(ir own) system shaken. Approaches under the umbrella of Education for the Other or Education about the Other (Kumashiro, 2000), such as multicultural education, fail to promote hospitable education because they undermine the role played by educators in reifying racism and maintaining oppressive structures. Such approaches leave the (white) self unchallenged, making the Other emerge as a nuisance to be either eliminated or incorporated. Conversely, hospitable education requires an on-going critical examination of the self in relation to the Other, a constant resistance to the self’s ways of being in order to respond to the Other in a responsible way.

But let us not forget: the pursuit of hospitality, or simply the ethical intention, as Britzman (1998) put it, does not mean it will necessarily be achieved. This is particularly more evident when seeking to

welcome racialized others in a white space (see Bryzzheva, 2018). In fact, it should be noted how my own inhospitality was often revealed through the cracks of my intentional pursuit of anti-oppressive (or simply, hospitable) research. But if it is in the impossibility of hospitality that its possibility lies, as Derrida (2000a, 2007) articulated, this remains a worthwhile and much needed goal.

Recommendations to Educators and Researchers

A meaningful fight against racism through/as education cannot be limited to having racially diverse students in the classroom or holding sporadic festive days used to "celebrate diversity." Hospitable education must begin with each teacher's awareness that racism is not only evidenced through individual acts but also embedded in the educational system which has been designed and structured through white perspectives. But awareness is only the beginning of what must be a life-long journey. Anti-racism education requires the intentional commitment of each educator (teachers, assistants, and administrators) to a) prevent instances of racism, b) intervene when those occur, and c) actively seek to unsettle white discourses, expectations, and behaviors, which might be rendered invisible and become naturalized but are notwithstanding oppressive to students, especially Black refugees.

Prevention

Not only should teachers encourage students to fight against racism—which can be done, for example, through fostering critical conversations with them, as outlined in "Creating Racism-Free Schools" (Manitoba Education, 2017a)—but educators must be engaged in such work themselves. After all, students expect their leaders to be an example to their classmates, and when that does not happen, it only increases their sense of despair and hopelessness. The work towards racism prevention, thus, must happen both individually and collectively, requiring ongoing critical self-reflexivity as well as administrative/governmental initiatives.

Educators must envision the school not merely as a place that receives Black refugee students, but as a place that is *transformed* by them. In the daily encounter with students, teachers must not simply

think of themselves as supporters, helpers, instructors, but as complex beings (with ingrained beliefs, biases, privileges, expectations, fears) who must be transformed by students if there is to be hospitality. Surely, one could argue that we are always inevitably influenced by other people. That is true—however, it is in the quality of such an encounter that lies the possibility of hospitality. If the Other does not exist in isolation, we must stop the "diversity celebration" discourse (which undermines the potential oppressive role of the self) and be committed to addressing the power struggles involved in the self-Other encounter. One practical way of doing this at the governmental level is to go beyond Bronfenbrenner's (1979) framework, which seems to inform many of the provincial guidelines, and resort to intersectionality as an analytical tool (see Collins & Bilge, 2020). The ecological systems approach is certainly helpful in generating awareness of the multilayered systems of students' lives, but it fails to recognize the ways in which the self (be that the educator, the educational system, or society as a whole) is involved in complex and multilayered power dynamics with the Other.

In tandem, self-reflexivity must be a constant and intentional practice in schools. For example, in my pedagogical practices, I seek to foster graduate and undergraduate students' self-reflexivity in every class by allocating five minutes for them to individually respond to a critical question, and/or through weekly journal entries which require that they critically reflect about their practicum experiences in light of the class discussions/readings. The provincial government, school divisions, and educational leaders must also actively seek to systematically engage teachers in self-reflexivity, posing critical questions that can help challenge one's ingrained beliefs and practices, which is a necessary step towards hospitality. What this might look like in practice can certainly change depending on each school's schedule and profile, but it must be encouraged and required by educational leaders. I believe meaningful inner work can begin to happen by building in time for teachers to engage in critical, reflexive inquiry into their practice. Allocating a few minutes per week for teachers to be able to stop their activities and have the time and space to think critically about their beliefs and practices while journaling those. This practice could also be greatly enhanced by holding periodic small group teacher-led, praxis-oriented meetings to

discuss challenges, feelings, and experiences they go through in the pursuit of hospitable education. These meetings, in turn, could then inform subsequent professional development days (which could greatly profit from having anti-racism and Black educators/scholars and other anti-racism professionals involved). Furthermore, prioritizing such endeavors can help sensitize educators to hospitable possibilities in education and to be more attuned to students' voices. For instance, understanding the major role played by peer-mentorship in fostering students' sense of belonging could help teachers create in-class moments to further promote those. Indeed. if my post-secondary students can notice the benefits of self-reflexivity practice within the few weeks we have together, imagine how much inner development could be made by educators throughout all the years of their teaching careers and as a whole-school approach to hospitable education.

Intervention

Because racism is pervasive and ingrained in a white society such as Manitoba, explicit acts of racism may still erupt despite our ongoing efforts to eradicate those, and this research demonstrated that students' experiences with racism must be taken seriously by teachers, principals, and school divisions. The disregard to their accounts (as if they were "not that bad" or "not that true") and turning the blind eye to instances of racism not only corroborates and maintain the privileges of being white (and thus not experiencing such) but can lead to students' alienation.

I believe much of administrators' inactions when hearing about students' experiences with racism (as observed by this study's participants) stems from a narrow understanding of conflict resolution, that is, thinking that the inevitable and only measure to be taken is firing the teacher who has committed such an act. Although I believe there might be cases in which dismissal is necessary, conflict resolution cannot be reduced to eliminating the offending part. As observed by Pranis et al. (2003), "conflicts are not intrinsically destructive but can be opportunities for creating understanding, respect, and a better-founded connectedness" (p. 19). Racism should certainly not be normalized, but fear of reprisal can make educators uncertain about how to behave when witnessing or hearing about such instances. If conflict is

inevitable and latent racism will likely continue to erupt in a white society, rather than seeking to *blame* individuals for their racism—which may be impossible in many cases and unhelpful in most (Lawrence, 1987/1995)—a more constructive path towards healing and reconciliation involves dialogue.

As argued earlier in this dissertation, students should certainly not be used to teach others about racism. However, educators ought to listen to and be responsible to students' voices when they bravely make themselves (even more) vulnerable and seek to advocate for their well-being. Provincial documents, such as "Safe and Caring Schools" (Manitoba Education, 2017b), should not be limited to practices to prevent/intervene in bullying (in the broad sense) among students, but also indicate how students and teachers ought to respond when instances of racism happen (and make such guidelines accessible to all stakeholders, especially students). For example, students should have someone who they can trust to share what they experienced—having a Black staff member with whom students might feel more comfortable can be quite helpful. Perhaps giving students the opportunity to file a complaint anonymously can also give them the courage to voice their concerns if they fear increased persecution from those who have oppressed them. Such reports, in turn, can be instrumental in helping the offender understand why their act was problematic and to not only seek forgiveness but to develop a plan, with the support of an administrator/educational leader, to prevent such behavior from happening again. Rather than trying to hide racist occurrences to protect the school's reputation (as students commented), having addressed the offender's act and the victim's needs, such instances could then be used constructively to avoid future similar occurrences (for example, by incorporating the lessons gained in subsequent self-reflexivity questions/meetings/professional development days).

As it is also possible that teachers remain silent when students share such experiences with them out of lack of training, there should also be clear guidelines to teachers for when they hear or witness racism instances, inside or outside the classroom. Professional development days and documents should seek to inform teachers about when and how to respond to instances of racism among peers as well as among the staff. In some cases, it might be necessary that teachers respond immediately, whereas other

situations will be better addressed after speaking with the student or with a school leader.[6] In any case, educators should know who they can report to, or at least seek advice on how to proceed, and feel safe to do so.

As it can be seen, the pursuit of hospitable education requires courage and determination from colleagues, humility from the offenders' part, and commitment to anti-racism education by all stakeholders. Indeed, educators will only genuinely begin combating racism with the willingness to embrace the discomfort of having the boundaries of one's (white) self threatened.

Unsettling Insidious Whiteness

Racism is not only experienced by Black refugee students through overt individual acts, but also through invisible and subtle manifestations of white supremacy which are embedded and informing educators' practices. As this study's participants mentioned, it must not be expected that they will be the sole ones naming it—they should not be expected to change the system on their own. It is necessary that the government and each educational leader actively seek to dismantle the white structures which sustain the current educational system.

One of the clearest manifestations of this insidiousness noticed by the students I interviewed is related to the English language. Educators must recognize and resist pathologizing Blackness and perceiving the "lack" of English as a synonym of incompetence. Black refugees arrive in Manitoba schools speaking multiple languages and with a wide variety of intelligences—why focus on what they do *not* have? Why keep comparing them to Canadian students? Whose standards are being used to determine students' worth? A critical approach to assessment practices, such as the one conducted by Honeyford and Ntelioglou (2021), is absolutely necessary in the pursuit of hospitable education because "those assessing and being assessed are emplaced in these material, discursive, semiotic relationships that shape

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[6] See Piquemal et al. (2021) for a discussion about the complexities experienced by faculty members when responding to derogatory remarks in the classroom and restoring a safe place for minority students.

beliefs/practices/judgements/policies about language learners, language learning, and assessment" (p. 429). In other words, standards and assessments are contextual and relational practices. Receiving Black refugees while expecting them to be(have) white is not only incongruous with equity principles but a counter move towards genuine hospitality which requires that the guest makes changes in the environment. But this research revealed how such ingrained (white) expectations and standards were found even in my own responses, someone who has for years been positioned as an anti-racism educator and researcher. The pursue of hospitable education is definitely not an easy enterprise, and certainly not something that can be achieved with simple steps—but it surely is a necessary venture.

It is certainly easier and more convenient for educators to write a school plan or policy much like a recipe book with which one should teach Black refugees, check off some boxes, and portray itself as being "welcoming to diversity." Such an approach, however, will always fall short of responding responsively to the Other because one's uniqueness is never static and not something that can be defined by the host before the arrival of the guest. A clear example was how EAL classes were perceived as helpful for some students I interviewed but as oppressive for others. While I do not argue against a host's a priori arrangements for the potential arrival of a guest (think, for instance, how a host would ensure there is always clean linen in the bed, food in the fridge, a neat and tidy environment, etc. in case someone arrives unexpectedly), the development of curricula resources, the enrolment of Black refugees in Manitoba schools, and the creation of EAL classes or after-school programs to support them cannot be based on "interest convergence" (Bell, 1979/1995), the maintenance of the white savior myth, let alone as a response to neoliberal market rationales. Students' "power of self-definition" (Collins, 2009; Dei, 2008), especially in light of their intersectional minority identities, demands the active and tactful responsibility from their educators. One way to foster Black refugee students' agency, then, is to take the time to explain the education system to them (thus not assuming that they will not be able to understand it) and allow them to make choices about their schooling—perhaps they do not want to be placed in EAL classes, as some participants in this study indicated. Forcing them to do so will likely impinge on their

autonomy and overall well-being. Hospitable education requires that students be not passive compliers but actively involved in making decisions about their schooling experiences.

Hospitable education cannot be limited to teaching about Black history once a year; it requires being responsive to Black refugees on a daily basis. It requires sensitivity, tact, and responsibility—unconditional, asymmetrical, immediate. This is certainly not an easy task for the educator, as students themselves noted. But students also emphasized how they do not expect teachers to know everything about them a priori, but rather to have the disposition to stop and genuinely listen to their knowledge and experience. Teachers who sincerely express interest and care for students, going out of their way and beyond what would arguably be considered their *professional* responsibilities, are the ones who truly gave Black refugees a sense of belonging. These can be informal moments, such as the hallway encounters with a teacher, as some students mentioned. But those can also be systematically planned and enforced so as not to succumb to time constraints during a busy school year—especially given that whiteness may prevent educators from seeing this as a priority. Formally or informally, it is of utmost importance that educators actively seek to make room to students' voices, having students' perceptions and experiences inform their practices and thus not relying only on their own perceptions—after all, it is only the guest who can claim to feel welcome.

Anti-Oppressive Research: An Ongoing Pursuit

Just like unlearning whiteness is a lifelong journey for educators, any researcher who genuinely wants to pursue anti-oppressive research must be aware that this commitment is not something that can be checked off from a REB protocol. Anti-oppressive research requires more than good intentions and much more than merely acknowledging one's privileges in a section of an academic publication. Western research methods are embedded in whiteness, and it is impossible to neutrally approach a study. Every researcher carries one's own biases, assumptions, and ingrained beliefs in every part of the study, thus requiring an ongoing critical examination of one's positionality, tactfulness to the voice of the Other, and willingness to move away from one's comfort zone—intentions that must not be limited to an institutional

ethics approval. Being an anti-oppressive researcher requires vulnerability to let go of control and humility to recognize the inhospitality that one's pursuit of hospitality will yield.

Conclusion: The Necessary (Im)Possibility of Hospitality

This study revealed that Black refugee students may feel protected from wars, natural disasters, or other challenging circumstances they went through in their home countries, but oftentimes do not feel safe to be themselves in Manitoba schools. Despite the positive experiences they enjoyed in their schools, students' need of autonomy, relatedness, and competency were often threatened by racist (in)actions of teachers and classmates, thus impinging on their well-being and their experiences of hospitality.

The interplay of data sources and frameworks used in this study evidenced how the path towards hospitality begins by recognizing that with the arrival of the Other, the home must no longer be conceptualized as that of the host-self's, but the home of host-self/guest-Other. In practical terms, each individual educator must be actively and constantly engaged in a critical self-reflexivity process to unveil one's biases, assumptions, privileges, and ingrained beliefs and how those impinge on their responsibility to the Other. At the governmental level, the educational system must actively pursue prevention of racism instances, proper intervention when those occur, and the constant unsettling of white structures. Such recommendations are germane to the pursuit of ethical research. From the outset of this study, I was committed to the tenets of anti-oppressive research (Potts & Brown, 2005), and yet how much of my own inhospitality evaded my compliance to the REB protocol, evidencing how hospitality cannot be bound by laws.

But the pursuit of hospitable education is not something that can be described with a few steps to be followed. Racism is certainly an infectious disease that is not easily eradicated—those who think they are cured are likely just perpetuating their whiteness in disguise. This research indicated that it is of utmost importance that the provincial education system begins questioning its own standards and definitions (e.g., success, achievement, safety, belonging) and that educators, letting go of control, resist

making assumptions about students and rather take the time to get to know their strengths, challenges, and interests by asking questions, not coming up with a priori answers. Furthermore, the pursuit of hospitable education requires the constant scrutiny and challenging of the self who meets the Other. After all, hospitable education is a pedagogy of dissatisfaction, the active and on-going disposition to resist subsuming the Other into the pre-existing boundaries of the self. Educators must not regard the difference as detrimental or the Other as a "self-to-be," but rather, in an act of *différance*, take the time to say "yes" to the arrival of the Other in their wholeness, however uncomfortable that might be.

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Appendix A: Initial Interview Protocol

1. Can you tell me a little bit about your first moments in this new school/classroom? How did you feel in general? What/who made you feel that way?
2. How was your experience meeting your new teachers/classmates/(others)? How did make sense of that?
3. How do you usually feel in your different classrooms/school environments today? What/who makes you feel that way?
4. What are your favorite/least favorite subjects? Why? What type of classes/content usually makes you feel more engaged/speaks to you the most? Why do you think so?
5. How do you see your teachers/classmates/(others) today? (Who do you see as being key people in your schooling experiences today?) How is your relationship with them?
6. In what ways (if any) do you think your relationship with your teacher/classmates changes if they are Black/white?
7. Do you think you can be yourself in the classroom/other school environments? In what ways?
8. In what ways do you think you influence your different classes? How do you make sense of that?
9. Do you feel accepted for who you are? In what ways/in what moments? What makes you (not) feel accepted?
10. In what ways do you feel welcome in the classroom/other school environments? Can you give me examples?
11. Have there been any times in which you did not feel welcome? Can you give me examples?

12. In what ways do you think the classroom/school could be a more welcoming place for you/others?