# Cosmopolitanism or Multiculturalism? Towards an Anti-Colonial Reading

## George J. Sefa Dei
### [Nana Adudei Sefa Tweneboah]
### Social Justice Education, OISE, University of Toronto, Canada

## Abstract

Using Multiculturalism as an entry point, the paper interrogates conventional ideas and themes of Cosmopolitanism from an anti-racist and anti-colonial read. The discussion is informed by how the anti-racist and anti-colonial lens has shaped an understanding of multiculturalism and its convergences and divergences with Cosmopolitanism. My goal is to advance a rethinking' cosmopolitanism' from an Indigenist anti-colonial democratic lens highlighting a philosophy of educational practice geared towards new educational futurities for particularly [but not exclusively] Black, Indigenous and racialized bodies in the school system. It is argued that cosmopolitanism is about Land and relationships. This offers possibilities of learning from the 'geographies of schooling'. The pedagogies of the Land, for example, require examining the narratives and encounters taking place in these 'geographies of schooling' to unravel colonial structures of education and ways we validate contending or competing for multiple knowledges for decolonizing and anti-colonizing education. In the context of the cosmopolitan, institutions like schools, as carceral projects, must acknowledge that anti-Black racism is 'pervasive throughout the system' and not simply assert rhetorically that 'anti-Black racism has no place in our school'! Critical educators in their practice of teaching training and preparation, must be able to name institutional silences, erasures, negligence, and complicities around race, anti-Black racism, and Indigeneity in order to create inclusive learning communities and schools as 'working communities'.

**Keywords:** Multiculturalism; Cosmopolitanism; anti-[Black] racism; Land; Indigeneity; and anti-colonial; teaching and learning practices.

## Introduction

The inevitability of change must not seduce us to think there is progress. Assent and dissent are healthy in democracies, but they cannot be in perpetual conflict without a resolution. As a society, some may feel we spend too much time talking about what is wrong with our communities than what is right. Even if one is to concede this, the truth is that there is so much not right about the communities that we need to work hard to get things right. Some of us focus on speaking about the 'wrongs' because we want to help us get things 'right'. As I see it in our societies today, a significant problem is an idea of constantly searching for moral equivalences. Many times, society promotes false equivalences. So rather than admit to a particular glaring injustice on the table for redressing, we would instead point to another injustice (and sometimes manufactured injustice) to forestall action on the noted glaring injustice on the table for discussion. The Conservative Right is very good at this.

Western nation-states have continually asserted ideals and ideas of freedom, liberty and justice. These values, however, are not specific to Western states and have been shared by Asian countries and non-Western thinkers alike (Sen, 1996/2002, as cited in Sfeir, 2016, p. 46). Nonetheless, the question of how we genuinely promote justice needs to be debated and contested. The moral equivalencies we have associated with justice need to be troubled as implementing justice-oriented practices has moral implications (Portelli & Eizadirad, 2018). One aspect argued by authors such as Portelli & Eizadirad has been the risks of engaging in justice-oriented practices. Many may fear the risk of their privileged positionality, yet part of this contestation is to acknowledge those who insist that their reading of history suggests our communities are constructed on the injustices of colonialism, racism and violence.

In an era remarkably different in its celebration of culture and difference, we must contest the zeal to cancel each other out. We must contest ideas with other ideas. If we disagree with specific ideas rather than, say, lets us cancel out these ideas, we must produce more robust ideas for

contestation. Futures must be contested. I see the difference in 'cancel culture' viewed on the 'Right' and the 'Left' of politics. Rather than debate ideas worldwide, political Conservatives are pushing for power not to promote social change but instead to thwart a progressive agenda. There is a sense of White minority losing power in the US, and there is a whole coalescing around a series of unfounded White grievances.

As I have noted elsewhere (Dei, 2022), there is some irony in those decrying cancel culture forms, particularly the Right. They are also the same people wanting to cancel out race education. The demonization of Critical Race Theory (CRT) has become populist rhetoric and a lightning rod among White Conservatives who see race education as an assault on liberal democracies! We are witnessing a vicious backlash to anti-racist education in Florida, Texas, Oklahoma, Idaho, etc., with GOP lawmakers advancing bills to prohibit public schools and universities from teaching CRT. The 1619 Project of critically interrogating America's history has become a bogeyman for Conservative scorn. It is part of that 'big lie' that CRT indoctrinates young learners, poses a threat to the American way of life, exacerbates and influences divisions rather than creating inter-ethnic bridge. Why wouldn't this divisive socio-political and cultural "mindset" circulate to the Canadian imagination, and indeed, the global discourse (see Asmelash, 2021)? Similarly, in Britain, we have Conservatives weaponizing inequalities in the educational system to stoke a culture war, a 'race and class divide', a twisting of legitimate questions about White privilege as having contributed to the systemic neglect of White working-class kids! There is silence on the Conservative governments' long-standing educational spending cuts (see McGee, 2021) that negatively impacted public education.

Democracy is in peril anytime a minority aspires for power over a majority at all costs. The majority must always protect the minority. In Ghada Sfeir's conversation of cultural citizenship, she discusses how participatory democracy must protect minority rights and bring into question the dominant discourses that reinforce notions of the Other (Sfeir, 2016, p. 33). However, political barriers are entrenched so the minority cannot seek power to dominate over the majority. We see this in the Restrictive Voting Rights where the Republicans, rather than put up a contest over ideas, are enacting a series of restrictive laws to keep Black and racialized peoples from voting. Why? They are afraid that if everyone votes, they will lose the elections! It is equally beyond comprehension to see such vital aspects touted by Western democracies, the right to vote trampled upon by state legislation and a US Supreme Court unable to hold checks.

Democracy is more about cooperation and searches for common causes upon contestations. A thriving democracy requires that we see ourselves not as competitors and adversaries but as neighbours and co-operating citizens. Democracy also means striving to find out what is right and wrong and righting wrongs of the past and present to produce a workable future. Democracy should seek to incorporate the interests of citizens across all nations and provide a dialogue based on mutual respect (Sfeir, 2016). In order to develop a democratic world, we need a complete eradication of existing inequalities shaping the world such as legitimized unequal positionalities and White supremacy (Sfeir, 2016).

In this paper, I take the position that the ideas of Multiculturalism and Cosmopolitanism need to go one step further to central questions of race, anti-Black racism, Indigeneity and Decolonization in schooling and education. We must push the envelopes of these discourses to raise critical questions of power and the asymmetrical power relations that govern societal institutions and institutional arrangements (e.g., schools) that play critical roles in shaping human lives. A critical learning objective is building the discourse of Cosmopolitanism by infusing an anti-colonial, race knowledge production and the significance of Indigeneity and Decolonization in producing 'schooling as community'. This discourse of Cosmopolitanism should create a community of learners that ask additional difficult questions of contemporary society. It is maintained that the way we think about Multiculturalism and Cosmopolitanism and their tenets can shed light on the road to a true modern democracy that acknowledges racial justice, accurate equity and social justice for human liberation, dignity, and the self and collective worth of all peoples. In an era where White supremacy and dominant racial logics are on the rise, we need an anti-colonial discursive prism that names issues for

what they are as we seek to address justice and liberty for all members of a community of nations. The main focus is on expanding the teachings of Cosmopolitanism.

Consequently, after a brief mention of Multiculturalism, I will interrogate some conventional ideas and themes of Cosmopolitanism as an anti-racist and anti-colonial read. My discussion is informed by how the anti-racist and anti-colonial lens has shaped my understanding of Multiculturalism and its convergences and divergences with Cosmopolitanism. The goal is to advance a rethinking 'cosmopolitanism' from an Indigenist anti-colonial democratic lens highlighting a philosophy of educational practice geared towards new educational futurities for particularly (but not exclusively) Black, Indigenous and racialized bodies in the school system.

## The Gaze of Multiculturalism

I do not intend to go into an in-depth discussion of the concept of Canadian Multiculturalism. Suffice to say, Canada is as old as Multiculturalism. Within sociology, political philosophy, and everyday usage, the term multiculturalism has various interpretations. The term alludes to the existence and appreciation of different racial and ethnic backgrounds within the landscape. As a social phenomenon/practice, Canadian Multiculturalism gestures to a cohesive collection of concepts and values relating to the appreciation of Canada's cultural variety from an ideological perspective. Multiculturalism speaks to the official administration of diversity in the federal, provincial, territorial, and municipal domains at the policy level (Abu-Laban, 1994). On a more nuanced level, Multiculturalism may be characterized as a biopolitical type of government that governs different social mapping of Indigenous peoples, racialized immigrants, and the settler society (the English and French) in Canada (Thobani, 2018, ; Winter, 2014, p. 132).

Biopolitical governance is a Foucauldian notion understood primarily as the accumulation of authority through population control and the management of life (Preciado, 2013, p. 45). To the extent that race becomes the most potent biopolitical tool given in the contemporary social formation, we gesture to the ability of racial identity to shape the 'foreigner' who does not 'belong' to the country as per colonial definitions of 'Europeanness,' according to Goldberg (2006, p. 358). Canada as a nation-state is generally seen as a 'White nation' irrespective of the settler's claim to endorse inclusion and diversity. In this learned disposition, the place and significance of the Indigenous peoples of Turtle Island whose Lands we have all come to settle are often erased, denied, and not accorded the due legitimacy required. Thus, in discussing Multiculturalism, we must consider Indigenous challenges to Canada's legitimization or autonomy as a unitary state in order to remain skeptical of the multicultural agenda that encompasses and subsumes First Nations and Indigenous peoples as part of Canada's "multicultural mosaic" (see Simpson, 2014).

Over the years, Multiculturalism has become a Canadian identity, with provinces throughout the federation developing their unique approaches to embracing racial and ethnic groups. In Ontario, despite the province adopting an authorized multicultural strategy in 1977 to encourage ethnic groups' cultural activities, the actual legislature creating a Ministry of Citizenship and Culture (now the Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration) did not take effect until 1982 as an official policy. It states that the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture is liable for "…recognizing the pluralistic nature of Ontario society, stressing full participation of all Ontarians as equal members of the community, encouraging the sharing of cultural heritage while affirming those elements held in common by all residents…" (Ministry of Citizenship and Culture Act, 1990). The default position for the nation-state is the celebration of our diversity and cultural pluralities. This recognition without due acknowledgement of the power and its coloniality, settler complicities, and the continuing role of White supremacy and White Nationalism in nation-building projects is, to put it mildly, troubling.

The notion of Canada as a "multicultural society" can be construed in a variety of ways as noted by Abu-Laban (1994): descriptively (as a sociological reality), abstractly (as a philosophical doctrine), or politically (as a statement or policy). Many anti-racist workers and scholars have offered extensive critiques of Canadian notions of Multiculturalism from an anti-racist and feminist standpoint. In a recent article, "*Challenging the Narrative of Canadian Multicultural Benevolence: A*

*Feminist Anti-Racist Critique",* Gomá (2020) argues the need to confront Canada's version of the history of rectitude towards immigrants and so-called visible minorities by illustrating the racialization effects of Canadian Multiculturalism as a biopolitical apparatus of state-diversity-management that depoliticizes civil society's decolonial and anti-racist struggles, and proposes to flip the script from an unproblematized focus on immigrants and so-called visible minorities.

The general population views Canada as a tolerant and friendly society. Canada has also received international praise for its groundbreaking dedication to Multiculturalism (Thobani, 2018). Multiculturalism is accepted in Canada on a political level, with the Multiculturalism Act and section 27 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* providing it with legislative and constitutional backing (Beaman, 2017, p. 4). The Canadian Federal Government's multiculturalism policy shaped Canadian national identity. It is a sense of belongingness to a nation and community from different cultures, histories and heritage. Sfeir brings forth the perspective of five social studies teachers in Saskatchewan, emphasizing that Canadian identity is challenging to define for some as Canadians are composed of a mixture of people from all over the world due to multicultural ideals (2016, p. 164). This idea has been contested by many global scholars who assert that one's strong identification with national identity has everything to do with the integration and assimilation of a neo-conservative ideal Canadian citizen (Kymlicka, 2003, p. 20). Thus, when one adheres to a sense of belonging with the constructed Canadian identity on a global scale, there continues to be a reproduction of misbeliefs about Canadian society. Furthermore, multiculturalism contributes to the failure of individuals to interrogate the construction of Whiteness and white identity in Canada.

Given the wide range of interpretations that Multiculturalism can foster, Gomá (2020) argues that it should be studied not just as an extreme perspective, but also about specific historical circumstances that led to its enactment in Canada; alterations in policy and political faction debate; its authority as a racialization device; and its ability to function both as a tool to pry apart and as a tool to bring people together. The problems of communities and individuals of colour are relegated to the depoliticized domain of cultural identity, while systemic racism and other socio-economic inequities are obfuscated by a depoliticized glorification of this very diversity. According to critical race and feminist scholars such as Bannerji (1996) and Thobani (2007, 2018), Canada's multicultural policy stems from an unproblematized dominant discourse of goodwill and compassion never considered the country's basis on colonial oppression and race-based citizenship hierarchies.

Since Multiculturalism was used to heal Anglo/Franco-Canadian rifts and enhance a semblance of a Canadian "us" through the probabilistic acceptance of "others" together within a bilingual foundation, Canada was willing and able to re-define its national identity as culturally open and accepting in instances that strengthened White supremacist narratives in less blatantly racist language than earlier immigratory narratives (Winter, 2014). It can be contended that Multiculturalism is a laudable instrument to preserve. However, it *must* be backed up with anti-racist measures, not the mere celebration of social diversity and inclusion. Multiculturalism should be examined as a socio-cultural phenomenon transpiring in a web of interactions between people, communities, and organizations, each of which will adopt a different definition of Multiculturalism based on their political goals (Gomá, 2020). Consequently, researchers interested in multicultural policy must consider sites of ordinary experiences, popular culture, and political organization outside of the state as absolutely equal channels for comprehending Canadian Multiculturalism in all of its components (even though these are not often worded within the vocabulary of Multiculturalism).

Provincial governments in Canada have all put into place specific legislations to promote the Federal Multiculturalism Act. In Ontario, most recently, in February of 2016, the province created an Anti-Racism Directorate to confront systemic racism in federal policies, initiatives, and services. The Ontario government released *A Better Way Forward*: *Ontario's 3-Year Anti-Racism Strategic Plan* on March 7, 2017. This was a plan of action detailing the government's commitment to eradicate systemic racism and prejudice. The strategic plan included some strategies as a course of action such as designing a race data collection template; creating a new Ontario Black Youth Action Plan; establishing an anti-racism evaluation framework; incorporating anti-racism legislative changes that

would support continued sustainable development and oversight of the province's anti-racism tasks by developing a structure for government and organizations to recognize and fight systemic racism; and introducing anti-racism legislation that would ensure future sustainability and accountability of the province's anti-racism work by establishing a platform for government and organizations. The Ontario Anti-Racism Act of 2017 was signed into law on June 1, 2017. It stipulates that the Anti-Racism Directorate be retained, that an anti-racism strategy be maintained and reviewed regularly at least every five years. The Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration led the Multicultural Community Capacity Grants program in June of 2017 to assist newcomers and ethnocultural communities in actively participating in the province's civic, cultural, social, and economic life.

There are fundamental questions to address in any discussion of the nation-building project of the Canadian national landscape and history, the least of which is how we respond to critical issues of diversity, social difference, identity, and power. There is the question of Indigenous sovereignty and the role of the settler state and its projects of settler futurities which are not necessarily in line with Indigenous self-determination/sovereignty. How do we respond to the raging mechanics of White power and rising White Nationalism? What does it mean for the nation-state to ensure that all citizens can live the cherished hopes, dreams and aspirations? What possibilities do a critical read of Cosmopolitanism bring to these conversations?

## Interrogating Cosmopolitanism

The current context of globalization that put people together has, on one level – created a cosmopolitan orientation encompassing a unifying tendency; however, one cannot simply say cosmopolitism produces a unifying effect. Furthermore, Appiah emphasizes that Cosmopolitanism is accompanied by the evolution and emergence of cultural dynamics (Appiah, 1996, as cited in Sfeir, 2015). Sfeir warns us that we must not conflate cultural adaptability and tolerance with genuine, moral engagement (Sfeir, 2015). Racialization produces and reproduces new forms of forces such as ?? across the globe (see Omi & Winant, 1970; Gonzalez-Sobrino & Goss, 2018). The relationship between multinational forces and local forces is adapting. Therefore, when those global forces trickle into local spaces, they shape and are simultaneously shaped by what already existed within those spaces.

The term 'cosmopolitanism' originates from the Greek philosopher Diogenes of Sinope, who responded to questions about his citizenship and political allegiance by claiming that he was a Kosmopolite, meaning 'citizen of the world' (Schiller & Irving, 2015). The genealogy of Cosmopolitanism is usually traced through Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), the German Enlightenment philosopher whose work is considered foundational to modern cosmopolitan theory: "Cosmopolitanism is here approached as a sense of the world as one, with political and cultural dimensions, capturing society and community at the global level as well as knowledge and appreciation of cultural diversity" (Hannerz, 2007, as cited in Uimonen, 2019, p. ?). It is further argued that anthropologists understand Cosmopolitanism as relational, emphasizing diversity and pluralism (Werbner, 2008; Uimonen, 2019).

Many scholars theorize the world as a single community, mirroring the origin of the term Kosmopolite (see Nussbaum, 1996; Appiah, 1996; 2006; Hansen, 2008; 2010; Jones, 2010, as cited in Sfeir, 2015). More critical scholarship inquires '*whose cosmopolitanism*', thus calling for a more situated and processual approach, breaking through the Eurocentrism, elitism and male dominance of earlier scholarship (Schiller & Irving, 2015; Uiomonen, 2019). 'Cosmopolitanism' itself is not a Western universal concept. The worldly desire does not emanate from one epistemic location. It is found in traditions globally. Cosmopolitanism can be found in "ancient works of numerous Egyptians, Hebrews, Chinese, Ethiopians, Assyrians, and Persians" (Murphy, 2014). This desire is shaped by a diverse legacy of epistemologies, ontologies, methodologies, and imaginaries other than those developed in the Western academy.

Cosmopolitanism has become a contested term with varying definitions and understandings, implying negotiations of meanings and practice and avoiding prescriptive stances. It is the idea that all

human beings are, or could or should be, members of a single community. Cosmopolitanism entrenches the philosophical idea that human beings have equal moral and political obligations to each other based solely on their humanity, without reference to state citizenship, national identity, religious affiliation, ethnicity, or place of birth. Cosmopolitanism concerns itself with the rights and responsibilities of world citizens. One of the critical problems it addresses is that some of the worst violators of human rights can be states or state-like formations. Cosmopolitanism seeks to extend the reach of international law beyond issues of state sovereignty (Fine, 2007, p. 2). Cosmopolitanism, therefore, is a 'new humanism', as Fine and Boon (2007) put it, that involves a recognition of the essential humanity we all share – not so much despite our differences but by our differences' (see also Fine, 2007, as cited in Go, 2013, p. 210).

As a critical interrogation, Cosmopolitanism is understood as part of the imperial/colonial ideology that sustained the formation of the modern colonial world.

From Francisco de Vitoria's *jus gentium* (De Los Rios, 1947) to Immanuel Kant's *perpetual peace* (Kant, 1795/2016), there is a clear orientation (theological in Vitoria, secular in Kant) to organize and control the world and international law (both inter-national within Western Christendom/Europe and inter-national between Europe and the places of the earth Europeans were invading and appropriating). Kant's notion of perpetual peace situates Cosmopolitanism within a complicated genealogy, bringing attention to the conflict and violence in the construction of discourses of Cosmopolitanism (Schiller & Irving, 2015, p. 29). Uimonen suggests we identify other genealogies of Cosmopolitanism, such as Nkrumah's political philosophy, which views "freedom and equality as preconditions for peaceful coexistence" (Uimonen, 2020, p. 98).

For Habermas (2007; 2012) and Beck (2002), the Cosmopolitanism of 'cosmopolitan Europe' is primarily derived from Kant and the Western European philosophical tradition. Within their work, 'being cosmopolitan' (as a practice) is associated with being European, and Cosmopolitanism (as an idea) is seen as European. As Anthony Pagden writes in more general terms, Cosmopolitanism begins 'where Kant [and the Stoics] … began, that is with some vision of a community of "the wise" whose views must in the end triumph' and, 'in the modern world', he continues, it is difficult to see how 'those views can be anything other than the reflection of the values of Western liberal democracies' (Pagden, 2000, p. 19, as cited in Bhambra, 2016, p. 193).

De-colonial Cosmopolitanism shall be the becoming of a pluri-versal world order built upon and dwelling on the global borders of modernity/coloniality (Mignolo, 2010, p. 117). "Kant's Cosmopolitanism was cast under implicit assumptions that, beyond the heart of Europe was the land of those who had to be brought into civilization and, in the South of Europe, the Latin and Catholic countries, some of them—like Spain and Portugal—too close to the Moors and with mixed blood" (Mignolo, 2010, p. 123). European Enlightenment rested on racist ontology. Disrupting Western canons of Cosmopolitanism and philosophy is essential to the process of decolonization. Fanon asserts, "For Europe, for ourselves and humanity, comrades, we must make a new start, develop a new way of thinking, and endeavour to create a new man" (Fanon, 1961/2004, p. 239).

So, where do we situate Indigeneity as a contestation of the Cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan space, that is, to claim Indigeneity as resistance and decolonization? What is Cosmopolitanism in an era of neoliberalism and global capitalist modernity? How "cosmopolitanism" can be appropriated by the imperial/colonial ideology that historically sustained the formation of the modern/colonial world and global borders of 'modernity/coloniality' (Mignolo, 2010, p. 117). If, then, cosmopolitanism is ingrained in the formation of the modern/colonial world, what would the task of decolonizing Cosmopolitanism look like? If cosmopolitanism presupposes universality, can we think of Cosmopolitanism as universal (see Go, 2013)? *Moreover, if "we" can, what are the next steps for thinking and acting cosmopolitanism de-colonially? (From the seminar on Decolonial Cosmopolitanism, Duke University, 2009).*

How do we think through the 'Global' [global education] redemptive qualities to hang on to its transformative potential? How do we respond to the 'global' about asymmetrical power relations

among different bodies (i.e., unequal access, power, authority, prestige within the global sphere/space granted to bodies and nations)? How do we speak about a sense of belongingness in a context of 'bifurcated citizenship' and distinctions of 'subjects' and 'citizens'? Where does the 'Global Majority' stand in terms of 'border crossing'? (see Campbell-Stephens, 2013). How do we account for the current global reckoning of race, anti-Black racism, Indigeneity and BLM to be able to address competing claims of Blackness and the 'Spatiology of Reparations'?

This paper will not presume to have answers to all these questions. However, it is important to broach the question regarding the role and place of race in constructions of Euro-modernity as these can enrich conversations about Cosmopolitanism. There is an ongoing 'coloniality' in which a separate engagement of knowledge and power is steeped in racist, patriarchal and imperialist cultural ideologies of Euro-modernity (see Gwaravanda & Ndofirepi, 2020, p. 14). Throughout global communities today, we are witnessing ways the 'colonial modernity dialectic' is continually suppressing the onto-epistemologies of Black/African, Indigenous, racialized and colonized peoples, universalizing the White, Western liberal subject as representative of all humanity (Mignolo, 2007). On multiple geo-landscapes, a 'modernity/coloniality' tandem has worked to negate, disavow, distort, and deny knowledge, subjectivities, world senses, and life visions" (Mignolo et al., 2018, p. 4).

Furthermore, Western modernity has been marked by a 'race thinking' functioning to change rules of reason, standards of logic and rationality (e.g., White logic, authority, control and credibility). As already noted, we see this in how White grievances are being mobilized for a majority to hold on to power in the argument that anti-racist education indoctrinates young learners and poses a threat to liberal democracies by exacerbating and influencing divisions rather than an inter-ethnic bridge! (see Asmelash, 2021). The salience of race, identity and connections to knowledge production cannot be underestimated. Critical race dialogue is the most important conversation today, judging from public reaction to Black Lives Matter. There is a need to question our claims of innocence (including 'innocent conversations' to satisfy our curiosities) and, more importantly, the dominant insistence on knowing racial oppression (anti-Black racism) or how Black and racialized bodies must feel, experience and speak about race and their oppressions. I ask, for example, why do the experiences of Meghan Markle, Duchess of Sussex, matter? Why does it take long to decipher race and gender violence when eight women, mostly of Asian descent, have been murdered in an Atlanta Spa (and the murderer depicted as a sex addict having a bad day!)?

## Rethinking Cosmopolitanism from an Indigenist Anti-Colonial Democratic Lens

Anti-colonial theorizing (ACT) is not about "definitions" in and of itself but rather an explanation of relationships and exercise of power. We engage ACT as a critical 'tool' to work with rather than a normative statement. Specifically, it is an interrogation of how bodies, knowledges, experiences, histories are positioned hierarchically and in relationalities. I have already alluded to the fact that the 'school' is *not* a neutral space. This has implications for what is internalized and becomes a learned disposition, for example, how violence can be concealed or embedded in 'common sense knowledge' (see Bourdieu, 1988/2001); Farmer, 2021). The conceptual ACT is about the mechanics and operations of colonial and re-colonial relations and the implications of imperial projects on the processes of knowledge production, interrogation and validation, the understanding of Indigeneity and local Indigenousness, and the pursuit of resistant politics through self and collective agencies (see Dei, 2000; Dei & Asgharzadeh, 2001).

The teachings inform ACT of the Land. Land and its Earthly teachings offer a discursive prism which merged with ACT allows the learner and educator to bring some responsibilities to what it means to claims one's Indigeneity and develop an Indigenous consciousness. The 'Indigenous anti-colonial lens' (see also Sium, 2011) gives primacy to the Land as inclusive of waters, seas, rivers, sky, etc., with teachings about ourselves, society and our socio-physical environments and an understanding of our shared humanity and humanness. These Land and its Earthly teachings constitute powerful literacies, ontologies and epistemologies pointing to cultural, spiritual, psychic memories and "living forces" we can all learn from (Simpson, 2011; see also Styres, 2019; Smith, Tuck & Yang,

2019; Tuck & Yang, 2012). They are relationality, sharing, reciprocity, connections, mutual interdependence, building communities and relationships, ethics, responsibility and accountability, much needed to support subversive educational practice (see also Dei 2022). Learners can utilize these knowledges and develop a political voice to define themselves as an affirmation of the epistemological relevance of the subject to set the terms of his or her engagement in the dominant culture. For Black, Indigenous and racialized bodies, the Indigenous anti-colonial discursive framework is a challenge to the dominance of Western and its power to subsume all forms of thought - "reason", "progress", "rationality" and the "Enlightened discourse".

As noted in Dei (2014), certain principles of an Indigenist anti-colonial democratic lens can be brought to the interrogation of Cosmopolitanism. I list ten (10) of such principles:

**First**, an Indigenist anti-colonial framework brings three conceptual understandings to Cosmopolitanism and understandings of identity, history, politics and resistance: a) that colonialism, in its deep-reaching denial of history and identity, has created unequal outcomes for social groups in terms of differential access to the valued goods and services of society; b) that there are situational variations in intensities of identities and oppressions (i.e., racial class, class, gender, sexuality, spirituality, etc.) given the effects and ongoing impacts of colonization; and c) central to decolonization is the urgency of colonized peoples (e.g., Black, Indigenous and racialized communities) regaining our intelligence agency and power to re/telling, re-storying and re-writing our cultural histories, past heritage, and contemporary existence (see also Dei, 2008).

**Second** is the idea of 'Communal Living' based on mutual trust, validation and respect and one pursued through non-confrontational and non-competitive relations. This is an idea that subverts the coloniality of power. It highlights the importance of thinking of ourselves in relationalities with shared and connected histories and destinies. It requires a sharing of power for our collective survival. It also highlights the importance of respecting the self-worth and dignity of all people. It is essential, for example, for us to work together to dismantle oppressive hierarchical and colonial relations of schooling and replace them with a community of learners.

**Third** is respect for and acknowledgement of the sanctity of life and activity. Oppressions of any kind are physically, materially, emotionally and mentally injurious to all lives (human and non-human). The sacredness of life and activity requires that we value each other and fight for the collective survival of every life. Social justice work must be viewed as a sacred activity connecting a spiritual destiny with the exigencies of everyday living. Life is not just about humans or animate subjects. Inanimate objects and animals are part of this understanding of life. The emphasis on humanity must embrace animals, plants, water and the seas; otherwise, we are dehumanizing the planet (see Jimmy, Andreotti & Stein, 2019). That is why caring for Nature, and the Environment is very central to social justice work. It is about building healthy, sustainable communities for humans and non-humans alike. Taking care of the physical environment is critical for human survival now and in the future, and for all Universe occupants.

**Fourth,** the Indigenist anti-colonial democratic lens works with teachings of 'life after death' and an understanding of 'the continuation of the world of 'the living and the dead'. This is important to help regulate social and moral conduct and to enforce accountability and transparency in all our actions. We are responsible for a social order higher than ourselves. We will be held to account for our actions while on the earth at some point. We will be called upon to account for how we have each utilized our position and power. Human life forms this moral code to guide everyday human interactions and recognize the importance of being humane our relationships with our social and natural environments.

**Fifth,** an Indigenist anti-colonial democratic reading of justice is that justice must be now, but also, beyond the present and aggrieved party. This understanding is essential in bringing a justice consciousness to what we do every day within communities and institutions. Nevertheless, such reading of justice is about inclusivity and accountability and ensuring lasting healing that restores relations with past, present and future, and relations with self, community and outer world. This means there is no expiry date on morality. It is never too late to right the wrongs of the past. Righting wrongs

is as much about reparations and restitution as about reconciliation. Consequently, our social justice work must spare future generations the pain and anguish of going through the same experiences of colonial violence we have gone through ourselves.

**Sixth,** in the Indigenous worldview, the competitive individual is shunned in preference for the cooperative individual. The place of the individual is affirmed within the community in which they are part. The family and the community support the individual. While the community is constitutive of individuals, it is through the community that the individual retains an identity. The community must support the individual as a family unit. While we have rights, there are matching responsibilities. Indigenous epistemologies reject the Hobbesian image of the competitive, isolated individual, living in fear of others and protected from them by the state or community (see O'Manique & Dotse, 1991). This understanding connects not only the individual to the community but also matches rights with responsibilities. It challenges a very liberal understanding of the place of the individual in society. While individual and rights are essential, communities and responsibilities are also significant. This also helps explain the African adage that "It is not what one is called that is important but what one responds to."

**Seventh**, the Indigenist anti-colonial democratic reading of the community's rights, collective rights, and social responsibility are all connected. This is critical in communities where there is much emphasis on individuals and their rights and a denial of collective systemic implications. Society cannot shirk its responsibilities to building and sustaining communities. Schools cannot simply blame parents for schooling failures without accepting institutional responsibilities. Fighting social justice must be an institutional task or responsibility not to be left to a group of the individual community together. The state, community and nation all have a stake in everyone's collective well-being. We often hear the proverbial African saying, "it takes a village to raise a child." The import of this say is not often stressed. It is not just the collectivity or community that can help raise a child, but the broader implications for creating a healthy, sustainable community to be able to do its job in the first place, to raise the child. This is about the collective responsibility of multiple fronts.

**Eighth,** an Indigenist anti-colonial reading of the cosmopolitan must engage Earth/Land-based teachings of relationality, sharing, reciprocity, connections, community building, social responsibility, ethics and accountability. Within the cosmopolitan landscape, corporate capitalist modernity defines in practical terms. There is the political economy of knowledge where a marketplace of ideas shapes processes of knowledge production, interrogation, validation and dissemination. This must be subverted to bring humanity back into social relations, including relations of schooling. For example, Covid-19 has compounded the problem of racism and educational inequalities. Minority groups are disproportionately affected by chronic medical conditions and lower access to healthcare that adversely impacts health, wellbeing, and recovery. There are higher rates of death in African American, Native American, and LatinX communities (Oxford University Press for the Infectious Diseases Society of America, 2021). It is vital to consider social, cultural, and economic determinants of health. Greater advocacy to bring about structural changes is needed. We need to reclaim Land-based and Earthly teachings to re-imagine schooling and education. We need to work with new teaching methodologies that privilege learners' connections, relationships, interdependence, cooperation, sharing, reciprocity, generosity, traditions of mutuality and the idea of "connected knowings" as critical to knowing about self, group and community (see also Bishop, 1998). These teachings are the cornerstone of equity-based patterns in schooling and education and use this as information to reflect and adapt teaching and curricular practices. It will help make online teaching more humane and address access and equity issues in technology (e.g., global, national, regional and sectoral inequities in modern technology online use and access), and provide resources to ensure the benefits of socially just teaching and learning online. Land-based and Earthly teachings point to the interconnection of the spiritual ontologies and Indigenous epistemologies for developing critical understandings about the nature of social reality and how we come to know and act within our realities and the interdependence of our social, physical and metaphysical existence.

**Ninth,** Indigenist anti-colonial democratic reading emphasizes that there must be no ownership or certainty of knowledge. Knowledge is a continual search. Producing knowledge is a task

that is shared, collective, collaborative and accumulative. Knowledge builds upon each other, and no one has a monopoly of knowledge. Similarly, we cannot universalize that the particularity of one form of knowledge is universal. Eurocentric knowledge masquerading as universal must be resisted by cultivating a plurality of knowledge that is allowed to contest each other to understand better and appreciate the complete history of ideas and events that have shaped and continue to shape human growth and development. There is also no certainty of knowing. We do not have all the answers we seek, and we must continually search for answers to pressing problems and challenges of our times. This continual search for answers as part of knowledge production is itself a grammar of educational futurity. It allows us to open our minds rather than having closed minds. The constant questioning, critiquing, and interrogation is a necessary exercise in educational decolonization. This process must be pursued alongside an understanding of the power of not knowing. Learners should not be afraid to say they do not know. The learner cannot be punished or oppressed through the merit badges of schooling and education for simply 'not knowing'. However, more importantly, this process speaks to the idea of decolonization as not an end in itself but as an ongoing process and long path to an anti-colonial end.

**Finally,** Indigenist anti-colonial reading stresses the idea of knowledge for 'collective good' rather than simply for self-development. Such understandings allow us to bring specific questions to the table for discussion. For example, how do we refuse the coloniality of knowledge? What is education for, and what is education worth fighting for? Searching for new educational futurities is refusing coloniality. The refusal is abolitionist politics, where we seek to dismantle current oppressive and hierarchical relations. Futurity is also about educator and learner responsibilities to develop the courage to speak out about race, anti-Blackness, anti-Asian racism, anti-Muslim racism, anti-Semitism, 2SLGBTQQIA+ rights (i.e., two-spirit, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning, intersex, asexual and more), as well as Indigeneity and Decolonization etc. to have the courage to decolonize minds and practices and to design own futures.

## Conclusion: The Implications For Teaching Practice

Cosmopolitanism is about Land and relationships. As alluded to, this suggests the possibilities of learning from the geographies of schooling. The pedagogies of the Land require examining the narratives and encounters taking place in the 'geographies of schooling' to unravel colonial structures of education and ways we validate contending or competing for multiple knowledges for decolonizing education. Educators need to stress the political dimensions of classroom teachings to transform the geographies of schooling into radical spaces for transformative action. This is very fundamental to any functioning of 'democracy'. Educators must engage the tough questions of power and social difference and name White supremacy and privilege. As Dei & Rutherford (2021) argue, such pedagogies will include mapping power relations in schools and classroom settings and engaging learners in critical conversations that subvert colonial hierarchies, merit badges, ideas, beliefs, stereotypes, and prejudices as we produce historical and intellectual narratives in schooling practices. It is also essential for classroom teaching to unravel the particularities of knowledges, including dominant Western frames of analysis, as a subversion of the imposition of colonial and hierarchical systems of knowing and knowledge.

In the context of the cosmopolitan, institutions like schools must acknowledge that anti-Black racism is pervasive throughout the system and not simply assert rhetorically that, for example, 'anti-Black racism has no place in our school'! Educators, including the practice of teaching training and preparation, must be able to name institutional silences, erasures, negligence, and complicities around race, anti-Black racism, and Indigeneity. This will include naming the negation and devaluation of learners' onto-epistemologies (e.g., students' personal lived experiences and stories of (anti)Blackness, (anti) Indigeneity, 2SLGBTQQIA+, and oppressions from their different geo-spaces. Teacher education needs to acknowledge, name, and respond concretely to race and anti-Black racism, gender violence, 2SLGBTQQIA+ rights violation, and White supremacy, and interrogate and subvert colonial and colonizing narratives schooling and education.

We must rethink knowledge and representation in the school curriculum, pedagogies, and texts to situate race, Indigeneity and colonialism in classroom teaching, raising questions about the

absences, omissions, negations, and denials. Educators must find ways to use critical historical texts that debunk Greek/Roman Whiteness assertions and have resources in school libraries (including literature, historical novels) that represent marginalized and racialized learners' cultures, stories, histories, struggles, challenges, and accomplishments. Teaching practices must also assist schools and learners to develop self- and collective-healing spaces, including institutional processes that allow students to embark upon their personal and collective [un]learning and healing journeys. Educators must acknowledge the salience of learners' identities in schooling and the connections to knowledge production and anti-colonial resistance in their teaching practice. The idea of the universal subject/learner as an archetype of a particular identity (White learner) must be challenged. We should rethink liberal approaches to inclusion about accommodation or search for standardization rather than inclusion as a question of power.

Within the space of Cosmopolitanism, decolonial learning can proceed if we always uphold a multi-centric knowledge base that brings into learning circles the nexus of body, minds, souls and spirits, and connections of society, culture, and nature (see Dei, 2012; Dei, 2016, p. 34; Batacharya & Wong, 2018). Developing a 'pedagogy of Blackness and anti-Black racism' requires that our schools work with local communities, particularly Black, Indigenous, and racialized educators within our institutions. We must examine students' learning, classroom teaching and curriculum practices to subvert ways Whiteness is embedded in educational pedagogies and seek to promote counter teaching methodologies (e.g., curriculum diversification through multiple teaching methods, which will allow us to bring Elders into schools, etc.). Schools can institute specific race equity and anti-Black racism policies and implementation strategies, including setting timelines and targets with clear lines of accountability. Seeking leadership 'buy in' and demand financial commitments to support anti-Black and anti-Indigenous racism initiatives is critical to the success of these initiatives in schools. As also argued in Dei (2022), educators must insist upon our educational institutions to re-imagine new Black, Indigenous and racialized futurities, and particularly betray our institutions when they approach anti-Black racism as a way to do "penance and have their conscience cleansed" (Gray, 2021). Institutions see such penance as 'paths to redemption' that gets in the way of authentic liberation for their learners.

## Acknowledgements:

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## About the Author:

**Dr. George J. Sefa Dei**

Ghanaian-born George Sefa Dei is a renowned educator, researcher and writer who is considered by many as one of Canada's foremost scholars on race and anti-racism studies. He is a widely sought after academic, researcher and community worker whose professional and academic work has led to many Canadian and international speaking invitations in US, Europe and Africa. Currently, he is Professor of Social Justice Education & Director of the Centre for Integrative Anti-Racism Studies at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto (OISE/UT). Professor Dei is the 2015, 2016, 2018-19 Carnegie African Diasporan Fellow. In August of 2012, Professor Dei also received the honorary title of 'Professor Extraordinarire' from the Department of Inclusive Education, University of South Africa, [UNISA]. In 2017, he was elected as Fellow of Royal Society of Canada, the most prestigious award for an academic scholar. He also received the '2016 Whitworth Award for Educational Research' from the Canadian Education Association (CEA) awarded to the Canadian scholar whose research and scholarship have helped shaped Canadian national educational policy and practice. He is the 2019 Paulo Freire Democratic Project, Chapman University, US - 'Social Justice Award' winner. Last April 2021, Professor Dei received the 2021 Lifetime Achievement Award from the Ontario Alliance of Black School Educators [ONABSE] for his long-standing work promoting Black and minority youth education. Professor Dei has forty-two (42) books and over eighty (00) refereed journal articles to his credit. Finally, in June of 2007, Professor Dei was installed as a traditional chief in Ghana, specifically, as the Gyaasehene of the town of Asokore, Koforidua in the New Juaben Traditional Area of Ghana. His stool name is Nana Adusei Sefa Tweneboa

## Address

**George J. Sefa Dei**;
[Nana Adusei Sefa Tweneboah]
Social Justice Education, OISE, University of Toronto, Canada
**e-Mail:** george. dei@utoronto.ca