Inclusive Education

Undoing Authority to Transform

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Uncertainty



"The only thing that makes life possible is permanent, intolerable uncertainty: Not knowing what comes next" (Le Guin 2018). I learned this growing up in a house steeped in violence and alcohol. There was no routine and I learned not to assume anything and be with uncertainty, all the time. Not being able to rely on my parents since 16, I learned even more to stay with uncertainty about the world and about me in this world. Uncertainty became a recourse in school, where I did not fit in. So, when I arrived in a Kenya ghetto as a shy, young, and lonely 15 yr. old, I was not overwhelmed by the uncertainty I felt when I hardly spoke the language and did not understand half the time what was going on. I learned not to assume anything, to wait humbly and observe, and above all listen and to never fix my understanding of things; the true meaning of being open and inclusive. Being familiar with uncertainty allowed me to bond with friends in Kenya, us...seemingly very different from each other in terms of positionality and lived experiences, and now 32 years later our lives and work intertwined over the years of love and mutual learning and unlearning.

Uncertainty also whispered possibilities to me when I realised I was queer (Butler 1993; Sedgwick 1990; Jagose 1996; Ferguson 2004). Again, not fitting in and even more rejected by one of my parents allowed me to further unravel the threads of normativity that run through our lives and choke all of us who do not fit, that is most of us, and expose them for what they are; dominant notions of being human that suppress other ways of being human (Puar 2007) and beyond-human, discursive dominances with violent material effects (Ahmed 2006). I became suspicious of the idea of notions all together, of categories themselves, and found in 'queer' thinking and acting possibilities that transcended the confines of common language.

Queer pedagogies (Whitlock, 2010; Zacko-Smith, & Smith 2010) guided me as a teacher throughout the entire Dutch education 'pipeline'. Over the past 23 years, I have taught in every level of education in our eco-system, from primary, to all levels of high school and all levels of tertiary education (mbo, hbo and wo). The longest stints were at an inner city VMBO in Rotterdam, 5 years, and at various universities, 15 years. I have not only been a teacher, but also a student in all levels of our education pipeline, thus honouring my name: Van Stapele = Stapelaar (in Dutch my name means stacking and that is also a name given to students who stack levels of education).

This unique combination of having been both a student and a teacher throughout the entire education pipeline, taught me how exclusive our system is for students of colour, for queer students, for students with difficult situations at home, students with support questions, etc. I have experimented with projects in Rotterdam to transfer under-advised students from VMBO to higher levels in high school to break through the ceiling that many, especially, students of colour still face today. I also worked at and with ECHO, Expert Centre Diversity Policy, since 2006, doing research, giving policy advice and developing, implementing and evaluating interventions to make higher education in The Netherlands more inclusive. Hence, alongside having been a student and teacher, I have also worked on institutional transformation in both high school and higher education through research and action.



Gender, Feminism, and Queer Theory in the Self-Study of Teacher Education Practices

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Figure 1. Ghetto Girls, a group of teenagers who are supported by Ghetto Foundation in facing life's challenges such as teenage pregnancy.

Meanwhile in Kenya, I worked for an average of three months per year together with Ghetto Foundation on informal learning and work trajectories with youth who want to escape a life of crime and risky forms of sex work. What all these work and personal experiences have taught me, is that change is difficult, it comes in tiny waves and sometimes our eyes can only see the crushing vastness of the sea that remains seemingly unrippled. I learned from Mathare that hope is a discipline. We may not notice the little waves, but they are there, and we need to cultivate these waves in ourselves and in our students, by giving them attention and the utmost care.

Three guiding principles

Research and action on inclusive education is about this attention and care, and about staying with uncertainty. Without this, it becomes reduced to superficial ways of 'doing diversity and inclusion' in the realm of education, i.e., performative and tokenist activities that keep systemic oppressions intact and end up doing more harm than good (Tuitt & Stewart 2021; see also Tuitt, et al. 2018). Unsurprisingly, this kerbs the transformative potential of education from an inclusive framework (Ahmed 2012; Makhubela 2018). Our research program centres on the overarching question how we can make our commitment to inclusive education transformative instead of repetitive.

In this speech, I will lay out the guiding principles and core conceptual frameworks of our research program and how these shape our research activities. I will talk mostly from the perspective of being a researcher and a teacher, and I will talk mostly about our pedagogical responsibility¹ towards students and how this informs our research at the lectorate, though my words also apply to the responsibilities we have in undoing authority and making space for transformation (Scoones & Stirling 2020; see also Butler 2001) with regard to all who are minoritised, students and staff, in varying situations. I will also address mostly the violence of institutional racism (see also Tuitt & Stewart 2021) and religion (see also Shaker & Ahmadi 2022), though we need to keep in mind that all forms of oppressions are connected and, subsequently, all forms of liberation are as well. Hence, my words also apply to all other forms of situated and intersecting oppressions, meaning that we all need to consider when we take up positions of dominance and authority and how we can counter these by becoming more inclusive.

1

See for example Dalton (2005) on the ethics of responsibility.

To this end, our research:

- 1. Departs from the **lived perspectives and experiences** of teachers and learners to explore boundary-making (such as through institutional racism, sexism, classism, ableism, etc.).
- 2. Sets out to interrogate the way in which **modes of authority** (e.g., of the teacher, the curriculum, the institution) and adjacent boundaries are already undone by student or teacher praxis, or could become undone.
- 3. Makes visible where **possibilities rise for non-conformity** as part of unfolding transformations.

Using these three interconnecting principles in all our work, we seek to broaden our understanding of inclusion and education. The term inclusion for example raises questions about the situated boundaries (Fassin 2013; Anzaldúa 1987) around which processes of differentiation (Simonsen & Koefoed 2020; Valentine 2008; Anzaldúa1987) and ensuing inand exclusion mechanisms are organised, experienced and transgressed, within the context of education (Ahmed 2012). In our research, however, we do not take difference to be the problem at focus, but how power is assigned to and fixes differences through processes of 'separation' (Ferreira da Silva 2016) and 'othering' (Said 1978; see also Spivak 1988; Morris 2010; Anzaldúa 1987; Prasad & Prasad 2002 - see also Weiss 2008 on 'violent binaries').

Additionally, education in our research refers to both individual schools and to the entire ecosystem of organised education, both in The Netherlands and worldwide. It also entails (formal and informal, see also Smith & Clayton 2021) processes of teaching and learning and unlearning² in and outside of organised education, while also considering the histories, the perspectives and future aspirations (Appadurai 2004) of all learners and teachers, both in- and outside our institutional walls (see also Dunne 2013; 2016; Ranciére 1991; hooks 1994; Harney & Moten 2013).

By departing from situated and lived experiences (Fanon 1967:139³; Harraway 1988; Harding 1986; 1991) by differently embodied groups (Ahmed 2006) of teachers and learners, our research group takes on the challenge not only to explore who (why, when, where and how) experience,

A common understanding of unlearning ties it to learning, which is generally examined, even if insufficiently theorised, through a positivistic approach (Klein 2008; Cochran-Smith, 2003; McWilliam, 2008). By taking unlearning as related to but not contingent on and iteratively part of learning, I move away from unlearning as a transition towards some state of positive restoration or otherwise imagined end. Unlearning as related to but not contingent on learning (Wald 1997) may then denote various consciously reflexive and bodily practices of the self (Foucault 1990). Baldacchino (2019) argues that unlearning can be "understood to be a continuous way of doing and being. Just as sometimes we make a case for learning of its own autonomous accord without ever implying a phase of unlearning, there are many instances where there is no need to learn or relearn what has been unlearnt". I would add, even if this may be true in some instances, the spaces created by unlearning often make possible new or other ways of knowing and doing and many people tend to seek solidity in these rather than remain in a state of suspension and ambiguity. For Madina Tlostanova and Walter Mignolo, it is "thinking decolonially" that implies a learning to unlearn (2012).

³ See also see also Merleau-Ponty 1962; Mahendran 2007; Weate 2001

contest and transgress boundaries (such as those manifested through for example institutional racism) but also to look where possibilities rise for non-conformity. As such, we are committed to anti-oppressive pedagogies and aim for transformative education that seeks to counter the ongoing destruction of our different worlds and the planet (Biesta 2021). Most of all, it investigates how inclusion is possible, now and in the future. Anthropological research on inclusive education makes visible possibilities for transformation (Fendler 2013) in a dominant order that is shaped deeply by exploitation, exclusion and domination (White 2019; Dawson 2020).

What is at stake?

66 Another student of colour was presenting in front of our class. For some reason, some other students started to scant 'foreigner, foreigner, foreigner'. I don't know why, I was shocked! The teacher was also horrified. I saw that, but she did nothing. It was almost time to go, end of class, so she just let us all go. **77**

[A student of colour at a UAS in The Netherlands⁴, April 2022]

What happened here? This is what we explore in our work and which we aim to counter. There are many layers to this situation of which I will only be able to highlight one here and one further below (on the educational potentiality of such hot moments). The teacher seemed to have panicked and instead of turning this moment into an educational encounter, she let the situation slip out of her hands with unimaginable harm to students of colour as a result. In our research with teachers on inclusive education, teachers often express to us feelings of 'incompetence'. their term, to intervene during incidents of racism, queerphobia, ableism, classism, or any type of discrimination of religion, and more. The term 'incompetence' is interesting here and may to some extent explain why many teachers (and other staff members) throughout the education eco-system ask for skills-training or look at diversity officers for ready-made answers, tools and solutions. However, practicing inclusive education requires more than a 'quick-fix' training or a tool. Instead, it takes constant reflective work on the self (Colebrook 1998) to unlearn authority and make space for transformations. More than anything, such pleas for training and instruments reveal the uncertainty and vulnerability that teachers and others may feel in such situations. In this speech. I would like to invite teachers to step into that uncertainty and collaborate with students. especially minoritized students, to explore, counter and prevent exclusion, in the moment. In our research, teachers often express fear of making mistakes, while this fear seems to hold them back from engaging together and figuring it out collectively, with students, when such incidents occur. Not knowing and making mistakes are part of this process.

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In this speech, I am deliberately vague about the location of the various Universities of Applied Sciences in question to protect the people involved.

These racist and otherwise discriminatory incidents in our classrooms are embedded in a broad field of complex tensions that circulate in society, and as such they underscore the question: What is the role of education in society? And, following from this, what is the role of the teacher? And how do answers to these questions pertain to the aspiration of inclusive education? Much has been written in response to these questions, but allow me to quote one of the foundational texts on education, emancipation and democracy, Pedagogy of the Oppressed by Freire:

⁴⁴ Problem-posing education [as opposed to the banking model of education] as a humanist and liberating praxis, posits as fundamental that the people subjected to domination must fight for their emancipation. To that end, it enables teachers and students to become Subjects of the educational process by overcoming authoritarianism and an alienating intellectualism; it also enables people to overcome their false perception of reality. The world -no longer something to be described with deceptive words- becomes the object of that transforming action by men and women which results in their humanization. ⁷⁷ (2005: 86)

The emancipatory role of education in a democratic society can only take shape when emancipation is also at the core of educational praxis. This is especially pertinent considering that in the Dutch education eco-system, institutional racism and other forms of structural exclusions are still rife, despite concerted efforts. For example, institutional racism comes to the fore in the underrepresentation of students of colour in the higher levels of our education eco-system⁵, or in the numerous racist incidents students of colour experience in our schools, or when applying for internships and jobs.⁶ To counter all this, our research program is part of a city-wide collective in The Hague, initiated by Inholland, to tackle racism and other forms of discrimination in internships by working together with students, placement-counsellors at the 27 tertiary education institutions in The Hague, the municipality and employers. We are in part responsible for evaluating what works and to improve our understanding why specific interventions work while others fail. The underlying question of our research pertains to possibilities for transformations through pedagogical partnerships between students, schools, employers and other stakeholders in which student experiences and perspectives are in the lead.

Crenshaw pointed out that George Floyd's murder in May 2020 led to "so many corporations and opinion-shaping institutions making statements about structural racism, creating a new, broader anti-racist alignment, or at least the potential for one" (Wallace-Wells 2021). The challenge is: How to turn statements into actions?

⁵ Source: Dossier asiel-migratie-integratie CBS (d.d. 8. oktober 2020).

^{6 &}lt;u>https://www.onderwijsinspectie.nl/documenten/rapporten/2022/04/13/de-staat-van-het-onderwijs-2022</u>

So, let us therefore begin where our students are. Where our student are' is, of course, rarely simple, singular or straightforward. How, then, do we try to understand and engage our students and their lived experiences and perspectives in our ways of teaching? What do we as teachers give our students to support them to reflect on issues in the social and political worlds they occupy? How can we as teachers exceed Eurocentric frames (Mignolo 2002) by inviting space for inclusive, changing and plural conversations about the condition of being human? That is the fundamental question at stake in education: What does it mean to be human in this world? How do we relate to ourselves. each other and to our environments? The dominant tenets of our current education eco-system are still based on rather narrow answers to these questions and as such continue to serve the perpetuation of the 'capitalist-dominated global order' (Guadeloupe 2022: xix: White 2019).



Figure 2. Protestors for a more equal society in Nelson Mandelapark on June 10, 2020. Image by Martine Kamara.

Why do we urgently need to transform our education eco-system? Why do we need to counter any form of dominance by undoing authority to transform, now perhaps more than ever? We live in critical times. Climate destruction, pandemics, economic decline, racism, other oppressions and war all converge on a scale unprecedented in history. We need to transform and open up possibilities of what it means to be human in this world to survive, physically, socially, psychologically and spiritually. Education can catalyse this, or it can stay the space in which the current destructive order of thought and action is reproduced (Santos 2007), even while we seem to be at the end of the neoliberal capitalist period (Mazzarella et al. 2019; See also Vázquez 2020). If not in education, where? If not now, when? In our research group we explore how we can intentionally tie education to a critical praxis of social justice which eschews co-optations by the dominant order (see also Liasidou 2015).



Figure 3. Picture shared by @JudeDanielSmith on Twitter.

To this end, we look at how education can offer more space for ways of being and becoming human (Koefoed & Simonsen 2012, Fendler 2013) beyond capitalist productivity, and also explore ways of being human that include non-human life (Barnett 2022)?



Figure 4. Informal waterpipe connections to increase (democratise) access to water among ghetto residents in Nairobi.

We explore possibilities for education that engage with human differences as grounds for opening up our understanding of what it means to be human and not as grounds for fixing and confining particular versions of it, for example in racial or religious labels or categories.

To illustrate, we are part of an international research program, called ICARE4Justice, which studies institutional racism in higher education, and which is initiated by Frank Tuitt and Saran Stewart. This program is inspired by The Combahee River Collective Statement (1977) and insists on a deep attention to ways of being human (and beyond human) that in some way develop within the cracks of the dominant order. I follow Guadeloupe who writes that "proletariatization can be fruitfully conceived as the Marxist understanding of the recurring historical operation of making some

human beings Black, regardless of their hue or ethnicity, and therewith exploitable and at times expendable in the capitalist-dominated global order (which still privileges the West)" (2022: xix). It is in this vein that I also use Whiteness in order to indicate ideas, practices and relationships that reproduce this global order which exploits and oppresses specific peoples, places and, ultimately, the entire planet (see also Baird 2021; Mignolo 2015).



Figure 5. https://global.uconn.edu/events/icare4justice-agenda/

How can the worlds that emerge within the cracks of the dominant order be engaged meaningfully, these worlds from students, also those not (yet) in our schools and classrooms, how can they be engaged from within? And how can such research and teaching help us to open up higher education to all these different ways of being and becoming human? This research focus resonates with the ontological, epistemic and ethical-political projects of indigenous knowledges (see for example Fanon 1967; 1963; Wa Thiong'o 1986; Tuhiwai-Smith 2012; Grosfoguel 2013; Tuhiwai-Smith et al. 2018). At the lectorate, we also use the term community-led or student-led research, and they conscientiously refer to similar anti-racist and anti-capitalist ethical-political aspirations of decolonisation, plurality and inclusivity (see also Grosfoguel 2007; 2013; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2015; Braidotti 2019; Dawson 2020; Lugones 2010). We thus set out to further develop our **student research unit** to promote student-led research at THUAS and throughout the entire educational pipeline to catalyse student-led transformations of education from within.

Countering dominance

As you may have noticed by now, inclusivity in our view does not refer to the verb 'including' (see also Ahmed 2012) but to an ethical and political notion of 'being inclusive', the difference being that the former assumes a dominant group in which alleged 'others' (Prasad & Prasad 2002) are to be included, a rather oppressive move which also resonates with terms such as tolerance and perhaps even assimilation. Whereas 'being inclusive' sets out to counter any form of dominance by foregrounding shared humanity, solidarity and open-endedness. As such, we both ascribe to and move beyond the more common UNESCO definition (2015) which centres around inclusive values and eliminating discrimination, without explicating why and how. In our various research projects, we set out to, following guiding principle 1), diagnose the root of the problem by exposing where the dominance of specific regimes of thought and action engender discriminatory, dehumanising acts, and, following guiding principle 2 and 3, also bring out where and how these are and can be countered (Fendler 2013) to make space for transformations (Scoones & Stirling 2020; see also Butler 2001) towards a more just education eco-system.

ANALYSIS

Why Is Mainstream International Relations Blind to Racism?

Ignoring the central role of race and colonialism in world affairs precludes an accurate understanding of the modern state system.

JULY 3, 2020, 6:15 AM

Figure 6. https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/07/03/why-is-mainstream-international-relations-ir-blind-to-racism-colonialism/

A student with a Somali background at a Dutch University of Applied Sciences asked me if she could ask me a question. I said: "yes, of course". She took me aside. We were in our office, a team of students, teachers and researchers working on various projects. The air was filled with creativity and affectionate banter. She started to explain that a teacher had described Somalia as a failed state, during class that morning. It had rubbed her the wrong way, but she did not have the language to express it. Knowing that I worked in East-Africa and had done research with young Somali refugees in Kenya on Somalia, she asked my opinion. I shared with her that most Somali people I know do not consider Somalia a failed state, but a destroyed state, considering the external US-backed forces that had toppled the democratically elected government in 2006. [September 2021, The Netherlands]

This is an example of how a dominant perspective affects a student by leaving out other ways of perceiving this topic, especially those tentatively harboured by people who live through the situation at hand. Considering Somalia a failed state is just one take that is informed by a rather Eurocentric worldview and which may not necessarily be shared by many Somali people themselves. This brings to the fore the importance of what we term community or lived perspectives and experiences (see also Tuhiwai-Smith et al. 2018). This student began to do her own research, and with these two notions, a failed or a destroyed state, she was able to explore a more nuanced and open-ended view of Somalia. She also became part of our inclusive language research project. This student-led project explores with teachers how plural perspectives can be considered and kept in tension with each other in education without immediately trying to solve contradictions, smooth things over and come up with an easy but narrow and, often, Eurocentric frame.

The language we use in education matters. Through our language, we weave our own stories within the context of broader stories (Cairo 2021). Educational language should not be about telling students what to think but instead encourage them how to think by co-developing dynamic and situated languages that are open to all perspectives and do not assume dominance over other perspectives, so that students can develop their own stories while also learn that these stories are always changing.

Tuhiwai-Smith (2020) writes: "In the strange ways that colonialism works, however, we constantly find ourselves living inside someone else's story" (365).7 How can we decolonise and truly break with epistemic ethnocentrism (Mudimbe 1988, cited in Kazeem 2021; Shilliam 2021; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2015 Lugones 2010)? Terms such as 'the West' and 'Europe' are highly ambiguous and problematic (see also Appiah 2016).⁸ However, we cannot deny the dominance of particular registers and repertoires in much of the education eco-system that is currently spanning large parts of the globe, which are rooted in European histories and historiographies (Vázquez 2020). This epistemic dominance continues to perpetuate institutional racism (see also Ahmed 2012; Essed 1991; Williams 1985, for critical discussions of the term), colonialism and cisheteropatriarchy (Muncaster 2021; see also Lugones 2007) and other forms of oppressions and exploitations. We explore and counter such dominances in our student-led research on inclusive language by including literature, cases and perspectives from people from 'non-Western' contexts; by including literature, cases and perspectives from women (Longino 1997), gender queer, poor and differently abled people (Puwar 2004); by exploring and applying inclusive, situated, relational and plural epistemologies (Grosfoguel 2007; Santos 2014; Vázquez 2020), pedagogies (Freire 2005) and assessments, and much more. And most of all by having students teach teachers to actively listen to and collaborating with them, especially with those who are minoritised by the dominant order in which our current education eco-system is implicated.

⁷ Wiredu argues for conceptual decolonisation which in his view meant two complementary things of which I will highlight one: "[E]xploiting as much as is judicious the resources of our own indigenous conceptual schemes in our philosophical meditations on even the most technical problems of contemporary philosophy." (Wiredu 1996:136; See also Tuhiwai-Smith 2012; Tuhiwai-Smith et al. 2018; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2015).

⁸ The same applies for concepts such as 'the Global South'. Such terms lump disparate people, places and practices together in vague but sweeping entities while discounting ostensibly 'internal' variations and ever unfolding contradictions.

Inclusive Participation

To foster such collaborations, our research group cooperates with the research group on Global Citizenship in a project called Partner Up! To explore the role of pedagogical partnerships between students, teachers and other staff (Cook-Sather 2020) in organising education around the notion of **'inclusive participation'** (see also Allen & Gann 2022; Chan & Luo 2020; Davis & Parmenter 2021; Lofthouse & Thomas 2017).

The understanding that inclusion cannot take place without participation (Leach 2013), and vice versa, underlies this project (Van Stapele & Guérin 2022). The interweaving of participation and inclusion in education requires us to understand the importance of student participation in an inclusive manner by taking seriously their contributions (Dawson 2017) and exploring where more and less subtle exclusions take place. Such work does not only pertain to 1) the content and pedagogical and didactic approaches applied within education, but also to 2) the way that our institutions are structured and, most importantly, to 3) what the objectives are of education. The maxim 'walk the talk' is indeed ethically and politically crucial, as I explore further below, but it is also of great importance from a pedagogical point of view. Practicing inclusive participation and decision-making is key to training critical and active professionals and citizens. However, this requires new efforts from us as teachers, managers and researchers, namely to undo our own authority and learn to share responsibility and make room for the input and participation of students in decision-making processes while also collectively countering exclusion (see also Santos 2010). One example of such partnerships under our research project Partner Up! is 'Skinclusief', a project that is co-developed by students and teachers at the department of Dermatology here at THUAS to avoid Eurocentric language and integrate therapy for all skin types in the entire curriculum.

In another project with the research group on Global Citizenship, called 'Mobile Education with Young People in Vulnerable Positions', we study student-led pedagogical partnerships in which youth who have dropped out of the vocational track design their own pathways of learning and work. The mutual learning in this student-led research endeavour immerses all involved, and the other partners, such as vocational schools, employers and NGOs, learn from these youths on how to improve their facilitation of these youth and how to translate such learnings to broader prevention measures of student dropouts in the long-run.

Through these various projects, we systematically explore what we view as the necessary link between student-led pedagogical (SLP) approaches and inclusive education. SLP does not inevitably mean that students are in the lead, though this can also be the case, but that their backgrounds, needs and aspirations are leading in how education is organised, together with those of the teacher. Accordingly, it foregrounds relationality and humanity in education to create a mutual learning space. Now, why is this important?

Many of our students cross great social as well as spatial distances in their daily lives, and many of our students speak more languages than many of us teachers and researchers do (White 2019). Also, many of them already find universities to be spaces where they have to adapt to alien norms (White 2019; Shilliam 2015: 32; Puwar 2004; Ahmed 2012), and many do so with quick and subtle proficiency.

By engaging the pluriverse (Mignolo & Walsh 2018; Escobar 2017), i.e., the plural worlds from our students and ourselves – also those not (yet) in our classrooms and teams – and immersing ourselves as teachers, we are able to reconfigure our sense of what it means to be human together and let go of the certainties we hitherto ascribed to the human condition. In that sense, inclusive education asks from all of us, teachers and students and other staff, to undergo a formative loss of closure.

During a focus group discussion with teachers on student-led pedagogy, a teacher brought up a case of a non-binary student who had asked to be addressed by the pronouns they/them, and he declared that he did not want to address the student by using these pronouns because it was uncomfortable to him. The other teachers present nodded in agreement, but one raised her hand and said: "What about the student? They feel far more uncomfortable than you, and we are their teacher. Should we not be more considerate of them than of us?" A discussion ensued about pedagogical responsibilities and to what extent teachers should meet student backgrounds, needs and aspirations. [March 2021, The Netherlands]

To the male teacher, using non-binary pronouns felt strange and thus uncomfortable, while student-led pedagogy turns this around to embrace this strangeness as a moment to learn and care as educators by making the strange familiar and the familiar strange. This is a common anthropological pedagogical move (White 2019), and I would add, the importance of making ourselves familiar with ambiguity so as not to allow the strange to become a new solid familiar, and as such a new fixity.

Student-led pedagogy inspires us to practice a pedagogy of estrangement (see also Fendler 2013), of doubt and hesitation, and thus of taking the interaction and ensuing transformation of different worlds intentionally and explicitly (Mbembe 2017:8) as the foundation of education. How does the understanding of other people's lived experiences (Ricoeur 1992) allow us to estrange (White 2019) ourselves from existing, intellectually constraining ways of understanding what it means to be human in this world? It allows us to take seriously the humanity of all students by regarding their differences without normativity and solidity, but with care and consideration and without assumptions about who they are, what they can do and what they aspire to (White 2019; Appadurai 2004).

Critique in critical times

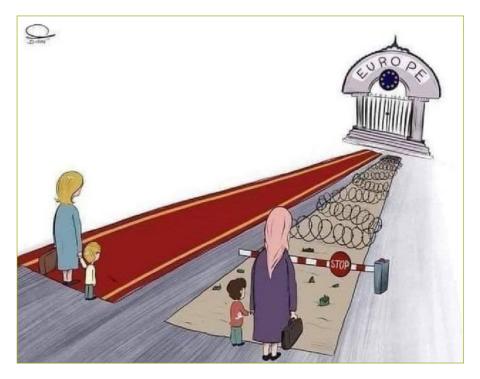
In some corners of the education eco-system the opposite of inclusion is taking place and oppressive elements are not just reproduced, they are becoming even more entrenched. For example, ideas circulate in US, UK and in Europe, including here in The Netherlands, that critical race theory is an ideology, or that critical gender theory, including queer theory, is an ideology. These ideas are taking hold on the political right of 'Western' societies. Critical theory, and concomitantly critical pedagogy (Freire 2005; Giroux 2009; Cowden & Singh 2013), of course, is not an ideology. Instead, it offers frameworks that allow for explorations of how power and oppression work through socially constructed categories, relationships, practices and institutions, thus exposing how specific power configurations lead to material exclusions and other forms of violence targeting, for example, students of colour.



Figure 7. Signs opposing Critical Race Theory line the entrance to the Loudoun County School Board headquarters, in Ashburn, Virginia, U.S. June 22, 2021. Evelyn Hockstein | Reuters

Positing critical theory as an ideological myopia is geared towards undermining empirically based criticism of the fixity and dominance of specific notions of race, gender, sexuality and so on, thus making other notions and lived experiences deplorable or even inconceivable.

Hence, it dehumanizes all those who do not seem to fit dominant categories, but nobody fits categories, any, ever, as anthropological research has shown over and over and over again. Attacking critical theory this way supports not only the continuation but also the expansion of the dominant order, as we see for example in the different treatment of refugees and how Whiteness determines who are considered 'deserving bodies' and who are not.



Critical theory questions how power and authority are ascribed to specific categories and what the material effects are for particularly positioned bodies. Research based on critical theory sets out to be explorative and open-ended, geared towards improving our understanding of ourselves and society and see where possibilities are for inclusion and social justice. To brandish critical theory 'woke-ism' is an insidious polemic move by ideologues to cast unfounded suspicion on research and teaching that aims to encourage critical and inclusive thinking. Accordingly, it avoids engaging the insights of critical theory on their own merits by dismissing them beforehand. Critical thinking is key to education and critical pedagogies (Freire 2005), such as SLP, are ways to foster this among ourselves and our students, simultaneously. Critical thinking and acting in ways that foregrounds our shared humanity (Mbembe 2017) are thus foundational principles of inclusive education, which inform our profound commitment to an ethics of care and of reciprocity, as developed for example in feminist anthropology (Davids & Willemse 2014; Ahmed 2017).

Stereotype threat

66 Most teachers don't see me, they see a Moroccan youth, not a student, or even just me. I encounter it everywhere I go. In the streets, in the supermarket, when I want to go to a club, and at school. I am used to discrimination, to be judged for something they think I am. It is stressful. [...] But you know what I find most stressful? Is trying not to be this 'Moroccan youth'. I see other students move through school with such ease. I don't feel that. I am always afraid that people think 'oh this Moroccan youth'. It is like I want to downplay what they might think of me, does that make sense? ??

[Moroccan-Dutch student at a UAS, September 2021]

Do no harm is an important ethical principle in research, and especially in research that takes places together with marginalized and/or criminalized groups. In anthropology, we are constantly encouraged to reflect on our situated and shifting positionalities, and how we may reproduce power in relationship with research participants to undo the authority they may ascribe to us and which derives from our positions as researchers from universities, often from other cultural backgrounds, classes and countries (Van Stapele 2014). In our research, we explore how and why doing the same as teachers pertains to experiences of inclusiveness among students.

When we as teachers fail to counter exclusion and dominance of any way of being human in education, we indeed may do harm to our students. We may unintentionally harm our students for example if we do not explicitly counter stereotypes given that stereotype threat and the fear of discrimination has been shown to reduce student success among minoritised students.



Stereotype threat refers to the apprehension caused by the idea that engaging in certain behaviours may confirm negative attributes commonly associated with minority group membership (Steele 1997; Steele & Aronson, 1995; Lewis & Sekaquaptewa 2016), affecting academic performance. This performance is further affected by fear of discrimination. Other research has demonstrated the applicability of this idea to other groups often associated with a stereotype, such as female students in mathematics (Inzlicht & Ben-Zeev, 2000) and students from low socioeconomic status (Croizet & Claire 1998). To counter this, research on inclusive excellence (Tuitt & Stewart 2021) points to the need to shift the focus of inclusive education from the more performative gestures, such as adding plural literature to the curriculum, to increase faculty diversity, make social justice philosophy foundational to antiracist and anti-oppressive pedagogy (Freire 2005), and make cultural responsiveness integral to our education (see also Osborne & Jones 2011; Osborne & Walker 2006; Owen & Lynch 2012; Owen & Massey 2011).

The ethical politics of inclusion

Attention and care bring us to questions of ethics and politics. In our research program, we study the way ethics and politics are intertwined in everyday educational praxis (Sevilla 2016) that are circumscribed by and transforming the classroom, the institution and, ultimately the entire eco-system of education in NL and worldwide. A huge and complex endeavour that we take on in various research projects, 14 in total, some of which you have been able to experience briefly at the beginning of today's event.

An important dimension of our work looks at where, how and why the institutional walls close in on students. The undocumented students we work with for example poignantly reveal where and how our institutions become exclusive to them and how we can counter this through community-led research and advocacy.

One young man, born and educated in The Netherlands, was only able to enter higher education because he brilliantly graduated from secondary school when he was only 17, no mean feat while living a life of extreme uncertainty. Barred from the lower Dutch college-fee, he struggled to afford the higher international fee given that his mother, also undocumented, worked for less than minimum wage and he also had a brother and a sister in higher education. One cannot begin to imagine the level of stress he and his family went through. He did make it to his first exam, but then was barred again because his international passport was not accepted as an ID. Only through external intervention, was his exam marked and did he receive his grades, but by then he had already lost sleep for a week. [Fall 2021, The Netherlands]

Our research group not only explores life histories of undocumented youth (Boers 2021) and engages in community-led research with undocumented families, but also takes part in a national campaign to increase access to higher education for these students.⁹ In response to this campaign, a teacher in higher education said to me in July 2022: *"I did not know we had undocumented students at our school, and maybe I have them in my class. I will be more considerate now to my students, I really did not know!"*.

As teachers we may not realise enough the struggles our students go through to obtain education, and we may not acknowledge enough the wisdom their lived experiences bring to class. In our various action-research projects on SLP, we study not only the material barriers to education but also the unfolding barriers to articulation, with which I mean here, following Hall (1985), the possibility of making new connections between existing discourses and practices that may lead towards new configurations of being and becoming human. SLP as a framework encourages students to reflect on their lived experiences, connect these to broader social. political, etc., frameworks of analysis and transform their educational encounter into a political moment of imagining and enacting new social orders that are inclusive. As such, students with various backgrounds, needs and aspirations are invited to speak, learn and evolve together (Ricoeur 1978; 1992), without assuming the existence of a privileged discourse or an ultimate social identity. Meanings and identifications are thus not taken to exist objectively in a stable field of differences and power. Even if dominant power configurations do delineate and confine possibilities, they are also constituted discursively in and through their articulations, for example in our classroom encounters, through which new connections can be forged and transformations can take place (Laclau & Mouffe 1985). In SLP teachers and researchers do not stand outside this process, on the contrary, all are immersed in the process of mutual learning and unlearning (see also Martinez et al 2021; Wald 1997; Icaza 2022). This is not always easy, as hot moment inevitably emerge.

⁹ https://dreamersnl.org/

Hot moments

Tensions inevitably emerge in class, hot moments, teachable moments, conflicts that do not need to be smoothed over or hushed, on the contrary. Such moments are key to our work as long as our shared humanity is not questioned, and pedagogical debates are not geared towards trying to convince one another but always towards trying to understand each other and to counter alienation or, worse, dehumanisation (Fanon 1967; 1963; Wa Thiong'o 1986). There are creative, dynamic and transformative possibilities in collectively exploring oppositional standpoints and develop new understandings based on inclusive frameworks.

During an online session of a course carefully designed according to SLP principles as part of our research on SLP, a white student discussed corruption in the context of Africa. All 68 students had organised themselves randomly in groups of 4/5, and we had agreed that during our course each group would take on some of the collectively selected literature from all over the world and discuss it in a creative way that would engage all of us. I had prepared lists of suitable literature from all over the world and methods for our classes to choose from, and groups were free to also select their own literature and method. The course was on policy and program evaluation and one session was on ethics. A question came up during the lively debate about corruption, and one of the white students mentioned Africa and corruption in one breathe, a common Eurocentric and racist trope in development studies. At the onset of our course together we had developed a 'rules of relation' to set the rules for how we want to relate to each other. I always do this in a Google-doc so that everybody can contribute, and we can alter it when need be, unanimously. One of the rules we had co-developed concerned avoiding Eurocentric and racist tropes as part of our commitment to inclusive language and recognising our shared humanity (not only with all present but in the broadest sense), and we had agreed that we would use such tropes if they would come up as a moment to learn with each other. So, I intervened. That was my agreed role as facilitator of the course, I asked students if they understood why I had intervened, A student of colour replied: "She discussed corruption in the context of Africa as if these are inherently related instead of in a critical manner." The white student responded that she did not mean it in that way, to which another student of colour replied that the problem was not her intention but the conflation of Africa and corruption. I then suggested to unpack the concept and practices of corruption, and after a long debate we came up with many different forms of corruption which had no specific geographical or cultural location but seemed to permeate societies worldwide, including The Netherlands.

These are not easy debates, but they are acutely necessary. In our research we encounter many teachers who shy away from such moments, while these moments allow us to learn from our mistakes in a space in which we do not condemn each other for making mistakes but urge each other to learn and improve our commitment to inclusivity, together. Nobody is above this; we all have to unlearn ways of speaking and acting that reproduce tenets of the capitalist-dominated global order seeing that most of us are socialized in this order. By making a hot moment a teachable moment through debate, students are encouraged to share their own takes and counter the authority of a Eurocentric and racist perspective.

Critique in this sense serves to encouraging each other to think and be hold accountable for our words and actions (see also Braidotti 2006: 79). Almost every class I am part of as a teacher and a researcher has these moments and in feedback students tell me they learn the most from such honest engagements. Critique is not about so called 'wokeness', so carelessly conjectured on social media these days, nor is it about hypersensitivity. It takes great courage for a student to speak out and voice critique, and it is our pedagogical responsibility to set the stage for and take this critique seriously by engaging with it on its own merits.

No time for inclusion



Figure 8. https://theslowacademic.com/2016/11/14/ first-blog-post/

When exploring and implementing SLP with colleagues at various universities, many share at the onset that they fear that SLP will jeopardize learning outcomes and would take too much time and effort. The above vignette reveals that specific learning outcomes were in fact met as a result of this approach, for instance regarding critical thinking, and

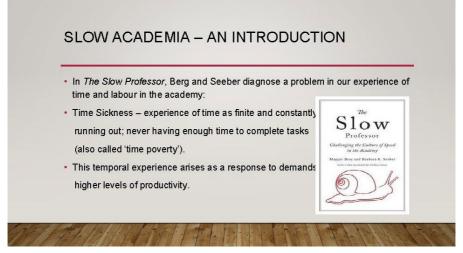
many competences can indeed be trained and explored through such collaborative approaches, perhaps even more effectively. What is more, content and objectives remain mostly in line with stipulated regulations but may challenge some of the bureaucratic straitjackets that seem to inhibit humane education experiences for both students and teachers. In addition, it does not take a lot more time and the efforts are collective. It does take a different type of effort from us as teachers, as mentioned above, namely one that involves undoing our own authority as experts to open up a space for mutual learning and transformations (Ricoeur 1978).

Teachers throughout our research projects express feeling bogged down by marking and teaching to test, and living up to the sometimes demanding and uninspiring regulations set by exam boards and accreditation requirements (Giroux 2014; Smyth 2017). Teachers are more and more expected to act like bureaucrats and students are more and more considered clients, or, worse even, products (Dear 2018; Smyth 2017). Why, some teachers in our research wonder, are students acting like consumers? Why, some of them ask, are they not curious to learn?

The implicit message in the endless monitoring and micromanagement of teachers is that they are not to be trusted and in return they do not trust 'the system'. The system is often invoked by teachers we speak with in our research as an external entity which oppresses and confines and which leaves them without agency (Smyth 2017). First, I wanted to write energy and perhaps agency and energy are co-constitutive in some way, for many of these teachers sigh exhausted: "We have no time for inclusion!".

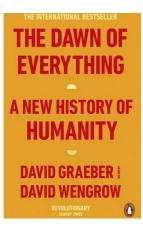
Students also suffer. Students with lower grades for example may not be viewed as individuals with complex sets of problems, "but rather as aberrations within a system that demands 'intervention' to re-establish uniformity and straight edges" (Hendrick 2015).

Treating 'the system' as an entity solely outside ourselves gives it a magical status and reduces human agency to the confines delineated by the system we ourselves are part of (Smyth 2017). This gives expression to a sense of powerlessness but it also renders efforts towards its transformation utterly futile. Similar views are circulating about 'The Market' as acutely argued by Lewis Gordon (2021: 58-59). He discusses how capitalism as a system requires human agency for its creation and maintenance and posits: "[w]hat human beings bring into being we can also take out of being" (2021: 59).



Why then do we seem stuck? Stuck in a culture of speed? And how can we get unstuck?

These pertinent questions are asked by Graeber and Wengrow in their book The Dawn of Everything.



66 If something did go terribly wrong in human history – and given the current state of the world, it's hard to deny that something did – then perhaps it began to go wrong precisely when people started losing that freedom to imagine and enact other forms of social existence, to such a degree that some now feel this particular type of freedom hardly ever existed, or was barely exercised, for the greater part of human history. **11**

How, we ask in our research, can we excavate our freedom from the ruins of capitalism?

Accountability, attention and care

Let me close with an example of my own teaching praxis. Every time I teach and conduct research with students I ask myself: How can I nurture trust and wellbeing among my students by de-centring any form of dominance? In relationship to students of colour such dominance may be my putative Whiteness (see above). And I ask myself if it is even possible to undo my putative Whiteness (see also Wekker 2016).

I was asked to give a guest lecture at an international summer course in The Netherlands on my research on gangs in Kenya. I came in and the power point did not work. Before me were about 25 students, most were from all over the world and only a few from The Netherlands. Not having the safety of my PowerPoint while facing a new crowd of students, I felt naked and I immediately sensed that a few students of colour observed me questioningly, even suspiciously. My topic of research, gangs in Kenya combined with my putative Whiteness, often raise questions that I fully face, in my research practice, in conversations about my research, and in my teaching praxis. So I asked them if they had questions and I had sensed it right. We had an honest conversation that lasted for four hours on Whiteness, anthropology and the politics of knowledge. I did not take their initial suspicion personal, instead I took it deeply serious, which allowed me to listen carefully to their criticism. At the same time, I also had to hold back my other instinct to defend myself. Defence blocks mutual learning and only comes from a place where the ego reigns. Where ego reigns learning does not take place and inclusivity is thus not possible.

Had they seen my presentation, they would have learned about the way I do research, namely through community-led research and action (CLRA) which gives community researchers full power over a given project; from proposal to the process to the products, including the budget10. This is how I have been working with Ghetto Foundation since decades, and thankfully they would not allow me to work in any other way. This would perhaps have diminished some of the concerns the students had, but it would also have stopped us from having an important educational encounter for all of us. We all emerged from that intensive session richer and more connected to one another.

¹⁰ Van Stapele 2021; Woensdregt et al. 2022.

My point of departure is that many of my students have experienced oppressions and other barriers throughout their lives and educational trajectories, and they may be suspicious of me until proven otherwise. They also may ascribe dominances to me that I do not wish to reproduce. My pedagogical responsibility is to de-centre where I may take up a position of dominance in relationship to them, in their view, and facilitate space for them by silently acknowledging this and invest in becoming reliable to them through consistent accountability, attention and care. I organise various spaces for continuous feedback and when they give me feedback, I transparently take it into account, instead of going on the defence. As a teacher and as a researcher on inclusive education, this is my pedagogical responsibility. And as noted before, given that I am socialised in a culture of Whiteness it takes constant work to decentre my putative Whiteness while never fully achieving it. There is no final stage in the work of inclusive education, and we all make constant mistakes. However, this should not make us lose hope for we can make small incremental differences, small waves, by engaging in this work intentionally and transparently and undoing some of the damage exclusion metes out on minoritised bodies.

Hence, we need to closely examine together the assumptions we have that underlie our pedagogical praxis to bring the small waves of change to light and nurture these by constantly asking: What type of students do we have in our minds, and are these images based on the lived experiences of the students we teach now and in the future? How do we view the role of the teacher? Of researcher? Are we experts that 'bank' knowledge in the minds of our students? Or are we engaged in intersubjective knowledge cultivation (Longino 1997) which seeks to embrace uncertainty by keeping boundaries open and countering dominance of any knowledge system and way of being human? How do we conceive of knowledge? Of individuality, of collectivity and of relationality? Of sociality? Indeed, Inclusive education is a vast project of research and action that touches on the most fundamental questions guiding us. Thus, I end as I began, and ask: What does it mean to be human in this world? And let us therefore begin where our students are.

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