Canadian Social Studies

canadiansocialstudies.ca

Electronic ISSN 2564-1166

Volume 52, No. 2

Special Issue

Echoes of Terror(ism): International Contemplations and Reflections On 9/11

Canadian Social Studies

canadiansocialstudies.ca

Electronic ISSN 2564-1166

July 2021

Volume: 52 Issue: 2 pp. 1–9

Guest Editors' Introduction to the Special Issue: *Echoes of Terror(ism): International Contemplations and Reflections on 9/11*

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https://doi.org/10.29173/css28

ABSTRACT

As the twentieth anniversary of 9/11 approaches, we contemplate and reflect on the current social/political imagination of terror(ism) *and* U.S./Canadian patriotism. For educators seeking to unpack 9/11 and its reverberations, it is important to highlight Islamophobic and anti-Muslim racism, discrimination, prejudice, and violence, as well as to consider Muslim students' lived experiences. (Re)thinking about whose voices are included (or not) within the nexus of sociopolitical power is an important step toward justice and then rapprochement within and beyond the classroom. We consider this assemblage of articles to be a distinctly communal effort that responds to and attempts to disrupt the (perpetual) echoes of terror(ism) which became amplified by/through the events of 9/11.

KEYWORDS

social studies; 9/11; Islamophobia; anti-Muslim racism; terrorism; curriculum; pedagogy

Unpacking the Nuanced Echoes of Islamophobia

September 11, 2001: The world watched as four commercial airplanes were hijacked and subsequently weaponized. While three of the planes were (calculatingly) flown into the World Trade Center's north and south towers and Pentagon-the headquarters building of the United States' headquarters of defense-the fourth plane (e.g., United Airlines Flight 93) crashed into a field 65 miles southeast of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania due to the (re)actions of passengers attempting to reclaim control of the flight. In total, close to 3,000 people (e.g., both U.S. and foreign civilians, law enforcement agents, fire fighters, government employees) were killed and 6,000 others were injured (National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, 2004). The implications of these events foregrounded the complex nature of terror(ism) and how it is enacted, cultivated, registered, and experienced in (and by) assorted communities.

For Muslim communities, as well as those perceived to be Muslim, 9/11 marked an intensification of experiences of Islamophobia (e.g., racial exclusion and emotional, physical, and verbal terrorism) (Ahluwalia & Pellettiere, 2010; Bakali, 2016; Naber, 2006). Importantly, Islamophobia and anti-Muslim sentiment and rhetoric is not a new phenomenon generated by 9/11 and continues to impact the lives of Muslim people to this day (Aslan, 2011; Mattson, 2013; Said, 1978). As the United States responded to the complex crosscurrents of terrorism responsible for the 9/11 attacks with President Bush's "War on Terror" and passing of "Patriot Act", Islam has been erroneously and recklessly conflated with terrorism (Najib & Hopkins, 2020). And, despite surveillance of racialized communities being baked into the architecture of American society (Browne, 2015), anti-Muslim prejudice and discrimination *continues* to surge post-9/11 in both Canada and the United States (Eid & Karim, 2011; Ghosh, 2008; Kendi, 2017; Li, 2007; Poynting & Perry, 2007). Notwithstanding these societal and communal transgressions, "another response to Terror has been to put quotation marks around it—to commodify it, relexicalize it for History and Geography, museumize it" (Spivak, 2004, p. 85). Furthermore, 9/11 set into motion psychological processes linked to humans' fears of mortality, such as the link between Muslims feeling unsafe post-9/11 (and associated links to PTSD; Abu-Ras & Suarez, 2009) as well as non-Muslims in the U.S. reaffirming "the American way of life" (and the consequences of such affirmations), a drive to support charismatic and more authoritarian-style leaders, and the suppression of dissenting voices, among other effects (Kosloff et al., 2009; Pyszczynski et al., 2003).

As the twentieth anniversary of 9/11 approaches, as educators we are contemplating and reflecting on the current social/political imagination of terror(ism) *and* U.S./Canadian patriotism presupposing that "people without status and with a certain profile must earn and deserve their place in society [and] must prove why they should not be suspects, jailed, and shipped away" (Nguyen, 2005, p. XV). Acknowledging and honouring the work of countless community organizers, activists, educators, and researchers—particularly those from within Muslim communities—we, the editors of this special issue, nonetheless wonder at the ways that Islamophobic and anti-Muslim discourse(s), legislation, and practices continue to grow and evolve over time, as evidenced by calls for a "Muslim Travel Ban" in the United States (Yuhas & Sidahmed, 2017) and "Barbaric Practices Hotline" in Canada (MacDonald, 2015).

For educators seeking to unpack 9/11 and its reverberations, it is important to highlight Islamophobic and anti-Muslim racism, discrimination, prejudice, and violence, as well as to consider Muslim students' lived experiences. (Re)thinking about whose voices are included (or not) within the nexus of sociopolitical power is an important step toward justice and then rapprochement within (and beyond) the classroom.

Conceptualizing and Contextualizing Islamophobia and its Echoes

There is no agreed-upon definition of Islamophobia. Although the term "Islamophobia" was first used in English by Edward Said in 1985, it entered mainstream lexicon following the Runnymede Trust's (1997) report, "Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All." Despite its Greek root of φόβος (phobos), which is commonly translated as "fear" or "aversion," what Muslims too often experience cannot be reduced to non-Muslims simply being afraid of and/or disliking Islam and Muslims. The problem is not Islam or Muslims, but rather those who are enacting and perpetuating discrimination, prejudice, and other associated forms of violence (Bangstad, 2016). Islamophobia is not only enacted and experienced at the interpersonal level; it is a form of systemic violence that is perpetuated by Muslim-minority nation states and a multi-million-dollar industry (Ali et al., 2011; Lean, 2017). As such, we agree with Najib and Hopkins (2020), who asserted that "that Islamophobia is a spatialized process that occurs at different scales in Muslim-minority countries: globe, nation, urban, neighbourhood, body and emotion" (p. 449).

In the spirit of transparency, we editors acknowledge our conflicted feelings about the term Islamophobia. We want educators to name the phenomenon in a way that students and other educators will recognize the systemic and global nature of the issue, but we are also wary of the pathologizing nature of the term and want to honour the lived experience of those unjustly subjected to hate/violence. If one is to use the term "Islamophobia," however, there is still a need to name the aspects of dislike and hatred of Muslims (Elkassem et al., 2018) in conjunction with actions such as intimidation, harassment, violence, as well as faulty assumptions and misrepresentations, often in the form of what Chimamanda Adichie (2009) has theorized as "single stories." This includes anti-Muslim tropes and Islamophobic narrativizations of backwardness and Orientalized Others (Najib & Hopkins, 2020; Said, 1978; Saleh, 2019). Our work and understandings are informed by Bullock's (2017) identification of eight distinct features of Islamophobia:

1. Islam is seen as a monolithic bloc, static and unresponsive to change;
2. It is seen as separate and "other." It does not have values in common with other cultures, is not affected by them and does not influence them;
3. It is seen as inferior to the West. It is seen as barbaric, irrational, primitive, and sexist;
4. It is seen as violent, aggressive, threatening, supportive of terrorism, and engaged in a clash of civilizations;
5. It is seen as a political ideology, used for political or military advantage;
6. Criticisms made of "the West" by Islam are rejected out of hand;
7. Hostility towards Islam is used to justify discriminatory practices towards Muslims and exclusion of Muslims from mainstream society;
8. Anti-Muslim hostility is seen as natural and normal. (p. 5)

Selod (2015) investigated how Muslims in the United States "experience[d] more intense forms of questioning and contestation about their status as an American once they are identified as a Muslim" due to the false perception of Islam as "synonymous with terrorism, patriarchy, misogyny, and anti-American sentiments (p. 77). Despite the increasing and ongoing hostility toward Muslims (Garner & Selod, 2015), Islamophobia receives relatively little attention and/or is not acknowledged as a form of individual and systemic racism (Massoumi et al., 2017). For these reasons, we resonate with Garner and Selod (2015), who conceptualized Islamophobia as "a specific form of racism targeting Muslims, and racialization is a concept that helps capture and understand how this works, in different ways at different times, and in different places" (p. 12).

Islamophobia, as defined above, is a past and ongoing process of racialization, an ideology, and intersects with other systems and forms of structural violence (e.g., Ahmad, 2019; Bakali, 2016; Mohamed, 2017; Mugabo, 2016), such as racism, ableism, classism, misogyny, sexism, and xenophobia in the context of white supremacist, settler (Canadian and U.S.) colonialism. Muslim women (especially those wearing hijab) are often the main targets for (gendered) Islamophobic violence as they are storied as "easy targets" (e.g., meek, passive, and subservient) and/or "undeserving of protection," often because they are not considered to be "real women" (as noted by participants in Ahmad's 2019 study, pp. 59–60). Those who attack Muslim women (e.g., attempted femicide as well as physical, sexual, and verbal assaults) often go unpunished and this gendered violence is likely much more pervasive than is currently known as it is not often reported (Ahmad, 2019). This situation has been apparent in politics, such as French President Jacques Chirac's attack on the hijab (Afshar, 2013) and Québec's Bill 21 (see Jahangeer, 2020; Magder, 2020; Vermes, 2020). Given their multiple positionalities, Muslim women are forced to negotiate their "Muslimness" as well as strategize how they might avoid being targeted by those spewing hateful words and actions, which limits where they go, what they wear, among other (in)actions—meanwhile ignoring the multifarious forms of "soft violence" such as snarky comments and glances because of the sheer multitude of such everyday micro/aggressions (Najib & Hopkins, 2019).

In popular discourse, anti-Muslim and anti-Arab discrimination is often flattened as the same issue, despite the vast national, racial, linguistic, cultural, political, and even theological diversity of Muslims in North America and around the globe (Ramji, 2013; Saleh, 2019). In the United States, this conflation is obvious during discussions of anti-Black racism, where the intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989; Crenshaw et al., 2017) of being both Black and Muslim is often neglected despite one-third of U.S. Muslims identifying as Black

(Auston, 2015). Black Muslims "often experience erasure in both Muslim and non-Muslim communities" (Jackson-Best, 2019, p. 4; see also Mugabo, 2016), and the intergenerational trauma of settlers enslaving Black Muslims in places like present-day Québec and Ontario is a neglected topic. Further, when Black experiences of enslavement are discussed, Black Muslims may feel the need to hide their faith (Jackson-Best, 2019). Although many Canadians pride themselves on their country's official policy of multiculturalism, the experiences of, for example, "Somali women with settlement, employment and education reflect Canada's failed multicultural policy, because it ignores the intersectionality of race, gender, religion and class" (Mohamed, 2017, p. 20). In Canada, as Hodan Mohamed (2017) highlighted in her discussion of the triple consciousness of Black Muslim women, Somali women are often situated "between the non-Black ethnic-majority Muslim communities (which mainly entails Arabs and Indo/Pakistanis) and the non-Muslim Black African diaspora communities; precipitating the formulation of an environment where Somali women occupy a separate socio-religious sphere" (p. 25).

Ongoing Reverberations: Muslim Student Experiences

When "we" are teaching "the students"—who counts as "we"? Muslim perspectives can very easily be assumed not to be present in our classrooms and/or failed to be considered (with nuance, or even at all) as part of the educational experience. Teachers can feel like they are educating for antiracism and challenging Islamophobia—and some do a wonderful job of this task (Amjad, 2018)—but even when teachers feel that they are educating in this way, students in their classes do not always share that feeling (Bakali, 2016). Thus, it is not just a problem of overt racism and discrimination (although it is in part), Islamophobia can also be more subtle and insidious. For example, a key problem occurs when teachers fail to consider the existence and feelings of Muslim students when teaching topics related to Islam and Muslims (Amjad, 2018). In obvious and less obvious ways, teachers can all too easily "promot[e] injustice through their teaching methods and curriculum" (Amjad, 2018, p. 327).

Educators seeking to address the multifarious forms of violence that non-Muslims wreak need to take care to amplify Muslim voices (in and out of the classroom), but without imposing reductive narrativizations of pity and recognizing the inadequacies of mere tolerance. Drawing from Dorothy Riddle's (1994) scale of homophobia, although repulsion and pity are unequivocally unacceptable, tolerance and acceptance are bare minimums and perhaps even harmful when they serve to mask underlying prejudice. Thus, the Riddle Scale notes a number of more helpful anti-discriminatory attitudes: support, admiration, appreciation, and nurturance.

Research shows that students experience anti-Muslim prejudice, discrimination, and violence, not only by their peers but also teachers (Amjad, 2018); this can take the form of "teasing, bullying, name-calling, taunting, and physical assaults" (Elkassem et al., 2018, p. 7). As reported in Ontario and very likely generalizable in other places, Muslim students have reported three interconnected experiences: they have felt isolated and alienated, their peers and teachers often lack awareness about Islam and Muslims, and representations of Muslims are lacking in teaching and curriculum (Hindy, 2016).

Despite these commonalities, it is important to note that Islamophobia is also a phenomenon that will have specific features depending on context and intersecting identities. Put differently, "Islamophobia occurs within the context of a global meta-narrative and is also specific within localized discourses and practices" (Bakali, 2016, p. 3). Examples of this include how Muslim women in hijab have encountered anti-Muslim racism and prejudice in post-9/11 Québec (Bakali, 2016, p. 4) as well as the discrimination and bias often experienced by immigrants and/or newcomers (Amjad, 2018). Events such as the Québec Mosque Terror Attack (Taylor, 2017; Zine, 2021), the murder of intergenerational members of the Afzaal/Salman family by a white supremacist in London, Ontario (Faheid, 2021), and the sharp rise in attacks on Muslim women in hijab (most of whom are Black) in Alberta (Mosleh, 2021), exacerbate the fears that many Muslims have in their daily lives as they navigate life in a society plagued by negative representations and white supremacist assumptions and actions.

Importantly, Muslim individuals and communities cannot be reduced to Islamophobia or any other (intersecting) system/form of marginalization. Despite the very real and pervasive racism and discrimination they often contend with, Muslim children, youth, caregivers/families, and community members continue to compose lives brimming with hope, love, faith, and strength within and across (assorted) communities (Eljaji, 2021; Elkassem et al., 2018; Kasamali, 2021; Saleh, 2019, 2021). For us, the (ongoing) relational resistance

(Saleh, 2019) of Muslim individuals and communities in the face of (interpersonal, intersectional, and systemic) marginalization is closely related to Bettina Love's (2019) concept of 'mattering,' where Love beautifully asserts:

> We who are dark are complex—we are more than our skin hues of Blacks and Browns. We intersect our moonlit darkness with our culture(s), language(s), race(s), gender(s), sexuality(ies), ability(ies), religion(s), and spirituality(ies). Our complicated identities cannot be discussed or examined in isolation from one another. These identity complexities, which create our multifaceted range of beings, must matter too. (p. 3)

Love later states that students cannot feel that they truly matter in classrooms if teachers do not fully understand their situatedness in what Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989; Crenshaw et al., 2019) theorized as the intersectionality of (violent) systems (e.g., anti-Black and anti-Indigenous racism, settler colonialism, homophobia, transphobia, ableism, misogyny, and Islamophobia). Love (2019) stressed, "When teachers shy away from intersectionality, they shy away from ever fully knowing their students' humanity and the richness of their identities. Mattering cannot happen if identities are isolated and students cannot be their full selves" (p. 7). In the field of social studies education in particular, our curricula and pedagogies bear witness (or not) to our belief that children, youth, families/caregivers, and communities profoundly matter — including those who happen to be Muslim.

Articles in this Special Issue

During our conceptualization of this special issue, we considered the work of Spivak (2004) and asked ourselves: *How can we offer a response in the face of the (seemingly) impossibility of response?* We consider this assemblage of articles to be a distinctly communal effort that responds to and attempts to disrupt the (perpetual) echoes of terror(ism) which became amplified by/through the events of 9/11. Mbembe (2021) reminds us that communal efforts seeking to challenge governmental logics of power, control, and terror(ism) make "possible the manifestation of one's own power of genesis, one's own capacity for articulating difference, and for expressing a positive force" (p. 3). Thus, it is our hope that this special issue will be considered a positive force; a groundswell that lays bare pedagogical, methodological, and theoretical shortcomings relating to orientations of 9/11 throughout all spheres of education(al research) (and beyond).

Boni Wozolek begins the issue by recounting her own personal experiences with physical and psychological violence stemming from the necropolitical terror(ism) of 9/11. Using Mbembe's (2019) concept of *the living dead*, Wozolek engages with the variegated and intra-active ways that conceptual mechanisms (e.g., gaslighting) perpetuate aggression and violence upon vulnerable members of society. Nisreen Alameddine (re)traces tenets of critical pedagogy and culturally relevant, responsive, and sustaining pedagogies in effort to accentuate the urgency of cultivating (educational) space(s) for Muslim students' narratives and experiences. Alameddine suggests that operationalizing this framework can also be generative in promoting reflexivity amongst educators and lead to the cultivation of transformational pedagogical practices. In a similar context, Shirin Haghgou suggests that the concepts of radicalization and deradicalization provide entry points for engaging with resiliency agendas relating to the (re)settlement of refugee youth. Just as the events of 9/11 (re/mis)shaped the notion of terror(ism), Haghgou makes a call for the continued interrogation of national frameworks developed to counter the development of terrorism (e.g., Countering Violent Extremism (CVE)), of which contain determinants causing (in)direct implications on the lives of young refugees.

Writing in this special issue, Kris Millet and Fahad Ahmad also engage the CVE framework. More specifically, Millet and Ahmad thematically analyze key policy documents and interviews with CVE practitioners to gain a better understanding of how the CVE framework (educationally) impacts communities within the Canadian province of Québec. Through the initiation of critical dialogue surrounding the CVE framework, this study foregrounds the ways in which CVE is imbued with problematic and dangerous contradictions that further perpetuate the targeting and stigmatization of Muslims.

Scott T. Glew offers an important perspective regarding the ongoing "War on Terror " in wake of the attacks of 9/11. Drawing from his own military service experiences, he expounds upon how intersections of critical pedagogy and peace education can be productive in (critically) engaging students in different aspects of citizenship. Jeremy Stoddard problematizes media-related modalities used to critically teach the events of

9/11. Leaning into Hall's (1980, 1982, 1985, 1996) concepts encoding and decoding, Stoddard suggests that pairing documentary footage about 9/11 with actual news accounts can unveil angles of inquiry that would be productive in helping teachers/students complexify how the echoes of 9/11 are situated within historical, global, and contemporary contexts. Relatedly, Kimberly Edmondson explores how social studies curricula (e.g., Alberta 30-1 textbook, *Perspectives on Ideology*) can lead to a troubling orientalist framing of Islam by tethering Islam to terror(ism) and muting the injustices Muslim communities in Canada (and beyond) in both pre-9/11 and post-9/11 contexts.

Sylvia Wynter (1995) reminds us that "[h]uman beings are magical[...]words made flesh, muscle and bone animated by hope and desire, belief materialized in deeds, deeds which crystallize our actualities" (p. 35). Within this mind, J.B. Mayo closes the special issue with an open provocation for readers to (re)consider what it means to be(come) a s/hero in the wake of tragedy. Mayo thoughtfully engages with the complex story and identity of Mark Bingham, a white gay man, who was aboard United Flight 93 that crashed as a result of a group of passengers attempting to regain control of the plane from al-Qaeda terrorists. Notwithstanding Bingham's bravery, Mayo draws our attention to the various textures of s/heroic erasure occurring within and across queer communities. Specifically, Mayo illuminates the resolutely courageous actions of Marsha P. Johnson during the Stonewall Riots and the echoes of her advocacy for Black and Brown transgender people on AIDS activism later during the 1980's. Mayo calls for social studies writ large to (re)examine how s/heroes are decided upon and thus (re)imagine the role they play in either perpetuating or puncturing master narratives.

When teaching about 9/11, it is important to consider the trauma of both the event itself (i.e., students in the class who may have lost a family member) as well as the trauma of ongoing anti-Muslim racism, discrimination, prejudice, and violence (i.e., the devil does not need an advocate, and hateful discourse ought not to be tolerated). Equally important is to consider: What stories are told? What stories are silenced? What images are employed in the classroom? Although powerful images can be part of beautiful engagements, it is important to be respectful to those placed on display, as well as the potential trauma for those viewing the image. Further, as educators are telling the "story" of 9/11, educators can weave together narratives for students to learn in complex, nuanced, and balanced ways instead of glibly incorporating multiple perspectives (Donald, 2013). We are confident that the articles in this special issue help us (re)imagine how we might engage with the echoes and subsequent reverberations of 9/11 within (and beyond) social studies classrooms.

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Canadian Social Studies

canadiansocialstudies.ca

Electronic ISSN 2564-1166

July 2021

Volume: 52 Issue: 2 pp. 10–21

"Is Your Dad a Towelhead?": Capitals of Shame and Necropolitics in Post-9/11 America

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Article Info

Received: February 25, 2021

Accepted: March 31, 2021

https://doi.org/10.29173/css27

ABSTRACT

Using the author's personal experiences as a Brown woman living in the United States after September 11, this paper uses post-9/11 violence enacted against Brown citizens to consider the nuances of necropolitics. Specifically, this paper argues that too often everyday acts of violence, such as gaslighting, are central mechanisms of necropolitical control. Frequently, these normalized aggressions make relegating people to the status of the living dead possible. Finally, this paper argues that necropolitics emerges from intra-actions, often causing the ontoepistemological death for communities of color in general and, in this case, Brown people in a physically and psychologically violent post-9/11 United States.

KEYWORDS

Necropolitics, Capitals of Shame, Assemblages of Violence, Critical Race Feminism, Queer Theory

"Is Your Dad a Towelhead?": Capitals of Shame and Necropolitics in Post-9/11 America

The bright sun stung my eyes as I fought back tears of frustration and anger. After years of training to become a nationally ranked gymnast, I rarely felt intimidated in my strong but petite body. Yet, in that moment, I suddenly felt dwarfed as I looked up at my tall, broad-shouldered classmate.

"Do I have to ask you again?" he barked. "Is your dad a towelhead or just someone who comes from one of those terrorist countries? Either way, this is gonna hurt," he said with shaking, clenched fists.

"Take her down!" another kid shouted.

"Goddamn towelheads wanted war. Fuck her up good, Brett!" shouted another, spitting spitefully at me.

"Stop calling my dad that," I seethed. "Go on. Say it one more fucking time."

"What? Towelhead? So you admit it? Your dad is a fucki—," the boy started but I didn't let him finish before I gave one quick punch to his stomach and thrust my knee into his groin. The small group of onlookers gave a loud, "WOAH!!!" as I pushed past them, leaving the boy, a person I once regarded as a friend, groaning, and coughing on the ground.

In the wake of the attacks on September 11, 2001, citizens across the United States grappled with the aftermath of the deadliest strike on U.S. soil since Pearl Harbor. To deal with a wave of post-traumatic stress disorder (Schlenger et. al, 2002), an array of coping mechanisms surfaced. For example, some citizens turned to religion (Lincoln, 2010) while others resorted to chemical dependencies (Nandi et al., 2005). Under the auspices of keeping citizens safe from what was quickly named the "war on terror" (White House Archives, 2001), the United States government dealt with the attacks by increasing surveillance under the Patriot Act. Intensified surveillance was initiated across contexts—from airports to government buildings, from cyber security to increased police forces (Lyon, 2003). The government's surveillance only seemed to heighten citizens' growing suspicion of the "Other," intensifying vigilance for any possible threat. Between the government and citizens, all nuance evaporated, leaving only a binary—you're either for or against terrorism (Žižek, 2002), you're either an "American"[1] or you're not. For Brown citizens whose ethnicity and national identity was not immediately clear, it was not uncommon to be quickly deemed a "terrorist" (Choudhury, 2006; Lyon, 2003; Selod, 2015); to be understood as a problem (Bayoumi, 2009; Dubois, 1903) that should be rejected, isolated, and, when possible, removed.

When September 11 occurred, I was seventeen and a senior at a small, overwhelmingly White[2] high school in the Midwestern part of the United States. In 2001, my once rural hometown was rapidly developing into a suburb due to White flight trends away from cities. White flight, or the migration of White communities away from urban spaces, continues to be a common occurrence in the United States as some families use their privilege to avoid racially diverse schools and communities (Clotfelter, 2001). Using my own narrative as a

[1] My use of the term "American" is intentional here as a signal of the marginalizing mentality that allows U.S. citizens to, on one hand, overlook the colonizing implication of the term and, on the other, to signal how it was used to further marginalize immigrant people and communities post-911 and, more broadly, throughout U.S. history.

[2] In this case, I am defining "overwhelmingly White" by two characteristics. First, the census data for the area states that the city was 97% white in 2001. Second, aligned with scholarly dialogues on whiteness such as DuBois (1903, Leonardo (2009), and Matias (2016), among others, whiteness is defined here as beyond a question of race and, instead, is argued to be the systemic production and reproduction of supremacy and privilege that largely benefits white people and communities.

queer, Brown woman in a very straight, White space, this paper argues that the exhaustion I felt in a post 9/11 United States was, on one hand, a part of the context of microaggressions that Black, Indigenous, People of Color (BIPOC) regularly experience.

On the other hand, I argue that feeling worn down was an intentional use of friction (Tsing, 2005); a mechanism of control used in a post-9/11 United States against its Brown citizens. To explicate her theory of friction, Tsing uses the metaphor of a tire on the road. Friction, Tsing argues, is necessary to the vehicle's movement but, in the process of moving, friction wears down the tire and, eventually, the road. Metaphorically speaking, whether the tire or the road wears down more quickly is a matter of privilege and intention. In this case, I argue that using an array of physical and psychological warfare against those identified as Muslim—regardless of their actual religion or culture—was intentional, a way of wearing people and communities down to gain sociopolitical movement rooted in anti-Muslim bigotry. Further, as Selod (2015) argues, it is often the case that anti-Muslim bigotry strips Muslim-identified citizens from fundamental civil liberties and condones dehumanization of Brown people and communities. In short, the ideal of a "national identity" is too often denied to BIPOC citizens, as well as other marginalized groups, because of bigoted norms and values. As I will discuss below, these aggressions are yet another iteration of the many important discussions focused on fatigue and violence (e.g., Hartlep & Ball, 2019; Smith, 2014). In addition to these dialogues, such violence can be understood as an extension of necropolitical marginalization; a way to maintain sociopolitical control as a direct reaction to the collective trauma experienced by the events on, and those that stretched after, September 11. When everyday racisms became entangled with the reactive aggressions from 9/11, it layers reverberations of harm within an echo chamber of oppressions (Wozolek, 2021) that constantly and consistently impacted Brown citizens.[3]

Necropolitics, or the "capacity to dictate who is able to live and who must die" (Mbembe, 2019, p. 66), employs various insidious weapons in the interest of maximum destruction of persons and communities. An extension of Foucault's (1978) dialogue on biopolitics, Achille Mbembe (2019) uses necropolitics in at least the following ways: to theorize the conditions under which people and communities become disposable, to trace the cartographies that normalize states of emergency and therefore governmental control, and to discuss how the "enemy" is often rendered phantasmal in the interest of buttressing sociopolitical violence. Across these points, Mbembe argues that necropolitics allows sociopolitical and cultural killing of the enemy without distinction. Necropolitics is therefore not only used to discuss physical death of people and communities—be it through genocide, enslavement, or apartheid—but also to theorize the conditions of what Mbembe calls the *living dead*. Recalling images of enslaved Africans, colonization, and concentration camps, Mbembe describes the conditions of the living dead—a space that relegates people to endure a state that exists between living and death. In this state, following a Foucauldian (1978) argument that power is omnipresent, actions like suicide can be understood as an enactment of agency against necropolitical control.

Like dialogues on necropolitics that emphasize the impact of colonialist violence, this paper will use necropolitics to discuss both the physical and ontoepistemological[4] (Barad, 1999) death of Brown U.S. citizens. While entangled with September 11, this paper recognizes that Brown death is enmeshed in broader anti-Brown sociohistorical norms within the United States that are notable in the foundation of the United States. Specifically, I am speaking in regard to the maiming and killing of Indigenous people and communities through

[3] While this paper speaks from my own experience, it is important to note that while many Brown people were identified as Muslim, and therefore faced physical and psychological violence, those who identified as Muslim were exponentially targeted, facing far more consistent horrors after September 11 than other Brown citizens and communities.

[4] Barad's (1999) use of ontoepistemology is used to signal an attention to how ways of being, knowing, and doing are fundamentally inseparable. Written here as one word "ontoepistemology," is also meant to signal ways of being (ontology) first that engender ways of knowing (epistemology), and the reciprocal relationship between those ideas.

colonization (Sabzalian, 2019; Simpson, 2014). Using necropolitics is important to unpack the impact of 9/11 on the nation and on individual communities for at least the following reasons. First, in terms of a national identity, post-9/11 culture reified violence as a necessity for the preservation of the nation (Adams, 2016); often providing the justification for torture and murder. This validation of violence can be seen in places like Guantanamo Bay and Abu Ghraib that surfaced in 2004. These spaces of government-sanctioned torture were shocking to many, yet were accepted by large parts of the U.S. population. Acting on President Bush's rhetoric that the nation would create a context that is "inhospitable to terrorists and all those who support them" (White House, 2003, p. 11), private citizens took up the President's call to action in particularly violent ways (Nguyen, 2005). The murders of Balbir Sing Sodi, Waqar Hasan, and Vasudev Patel by other U.S. citizens are but a few examples of how "Americans" took their cue from the government to incite terror against a government-created "Other."

Second, necropolitics is helpful when attending to the impact 9/11 had on individuals and marginalized communities because it acknowledges the exhaustion that people often experienced from consistent microaggressions, a phenomenon that is known as racial battle fatigue (Smith, 2014). As I will discuss in detail below, this exhaustion is multifaceted, springing from points of physical and psychological violence, such as gaslighting (Sweet, 2019; Wozolek, 2018). Similarly, necropolitics recognizes that in a post-9/11 context, fatigue can move beyond bone-weary exhaustion and toward a consistent state of terror. Living with/in a heartland horror (McCollum, 2017), necropolitics is central to tracing the contours constructed by presidential rhetoric and everyday racisms that not only shaped the country but the lives of Brown citizens (Wray, 2010); relegating some physically and many more metaphorically to the status of the living dead. Further, it is important to recognize that such oppressions are common in the United States and Canada. Though on a much larger scale, one only needs to consider the internment of Japanese citizens, the enslavement of Africans, and the genocide of Indigenous peoples to understand how violent oppressions have continued to function across the United States and Canada since their inception, although arguably manifesting differently in each country. The violence that followed September 11 is yet another example of sociohistorical necropolitics at work, a point to which I will return below. To explicate the use of necropolitics, this paper will now turn toward a brief discussion on fatigue and gaslighting as they are knotted with necropolitics before further engaging in my own narrative of a Brown person who has experienced a post-9/11 heartland horror.

Nationalism and Necropolitics: Gaslighting in the Midwest

September 11, 2001, like any event that captures the horror of mass death in a televised loop, was not isolated in its violence. Elsewhere I have argued that violence is always already an assemblage (Wozolek, 2021); an entanglement of aggressions and oppressions that is made of past, present, and future iterations of hostilities and deaths. While I will not restate the complexities of assemblages of violence here, it is significant to think about how all violence is folded into what Barad (2007) calls "intra-action."

Barad (2007) describes intra-action as the mutual constitution of entangled agencies.[5] Intra-action is important because it is central in reconsidering relationships between both human and nonhuman bodies. Take, for example, September 11. One could argue that 9/11 was not just an event but a phenomenon that was made and unmade through the intra-actions of bodies. Intra-actions are therefore the sewing together and pulling apart of human bodies, as well as the bodies of communities, discourses on terrorism, the role of local and less local politics, political pundits, news channels, and fear. These bodies are knotted within the phenomenon that is 9/11; something that knots all bodies together in a sociohistorical and politically violent event. The intra-

[5] For more on this theory as it has been developed specifically by those in the field of Social Studies Education, please see Adams and Kerr (2021).

action from September 11 separated citizens into new, co-constituted subject positions. Through intra-actions, citizens became "Americans," "terrorists," "victims," "survivors," among other constructed positionalities. Not every citizen *inter*-acted directly with the attacks; meaning that not everyone was present in New York and Pennsylvania, nor does everyone know someone who experienced the attacks firsthand. However, the nation *intra*-acted with the 9/11 phenomenon. All citizens are therefore central to what was produced through these intra-actions—from the discourses to the subject positions.

Perhaps not surprisingly to those connected with U.S. sociopolitical and cultural history, one thing that materialized from the intra-actions of September 11 was a wave of anti-Brown, and specifically anti-Muslim sentiments. While the country was in shock and mourning, fear of the Brown "Other" was subsumed in patriotic rhetoric and notions of freedom that justified psychological and physical atrocities against Brown citizens (Lyon, 2003; Nguyen, 2005). Hate crimes surged across the nation that were, as aforementioned, fueled by the Bush administration's press releases that used terms like "searching for," "finding," and "hunting" those deemed "terrorists" (Lazar & Lazar, 2007, p. 50) in what the White House argued was a significant and necessary national pursuit of justice.

The violence became so prevalent that the United States Department of Justice created a webpage dedicated specifically to the discriminatory backlash that was common in a post-9/11 United States. This page was meant to show, though perhaps performatively, the government's "priority on prosecuting bias crimes and incidents of discrimination against Muslims, Sikhs, and persons of Arab and South-Asian descent, as well as persons perceived to be members of these groups" (U.S. Department of Justice, 2015, para. 1). This page, along with the narratives documented by scholars (e.g., Nguyen, 2005), outlined the beatings, murders, vandalisms, cases of arson, and bombings that were directed at homes, businesses, places of worship, and carried out against people and communities. Like all hate crime reports, these numbers tend to include the more egregious offenses (Levin & McDevitt, 2002), leaving out implicit everyday racisms that resonated against Brown ways of being, knowing, and doing. As this rhetoric spilled from the White House and into communities across the nation, it emboldened "righteous" citizens to engage in the very violence that the justice department purported to censure and interrupt.

Although the Justice Department used this platform to show contempt for violence against Brown people and communities, it should be noted by early November 2001, Justice Berman revealed that more than 1,200 people had been detained for simply fitting the profile of the suspected hijackers, regardless of their status as U.S. citizens or innocence (PBS, 2002). In the months after 9/11, these numbers continued to rise. The consistent fear of violence from private citizens, along with anxiety about the prevalence of unfounded detainments, shaped Brown citizens' existence; shrouding it in an all-too-familiar exhaustion that has been experienced by Black, Indigenous, People of Color (BIPOC) (Giroux, 2012; Simpson, 2014; Smith, Allen, & Danley, 2007).

Deleuze and Uhlmann (1995) argue that being "tired" is transitive, something that can be attached to an object or idea. Exhaustion, however, is intransitive in that pure exhaustion often means being fatigued by everything and nothing at once. This bone-weary fatigue is certainly not a new idea. It has been discussed by critical race theorists (Smith, Allen & Danley, 2007), queer theorists (Halberstam, 2003), and Indigenous scholars (Hartlep & Ball, 2019; Mamdani, 2001), to name a few. In the wake of the attacks on September 11, many citizens across the United States articulated a fear of the "Other." Anti-Muslim bias that had been brewing in the country were, for many citizens, affirmed by the attacks, a sense of fear that was infectious (Puar, 2017). For Brown citizens, regardless of their ethnicity or religion, many expressed a sharp rise in exhaustion (Ghalaini, 2020); an affect shaped by the rising tide of hatred and fear that spilled (Gumbs, 2016) across contexts throughout the country.

One way to read the exhaustion experienced by Brown citizens in post-9/11 America is through an un-intentional process of gaslighting that has become an all-too-common form of oppression. A term borrowed from the 1944 film, *Gaslight,* gaslighting is understood to be a psychological manipulation that forces the victim to question her sanity, thereby maintaining systems of power through a feedback loop of uncertainty. Gaslighting is insidious in that it is both explicit and implicit. While there are several possible ways to theorize gaslighting, there are two ingresses to gaslighting that are particularly relevant here. First, as it is most commonly used, gaslighting is often carried out with a sense of intention; a means of psychological control whereby an aggressor targets a particular victim (Sweet, 2019). Second, gaslighting occurs through everyday policies and practices aimed at maintaining the status quo (Wozolek, 2018). Things like institutional racism, sexism, and queer-prejudices are designed to plant seeds of doubt across marginalized communities. The scenes of subjugation (Hartman, 1997) across colonized spaces and places like the United States are an intra-action between bodies and culture that are often formed and informed by sociopolitical and culturally normalized systems of gaslighting.

Mbembe (2019) argues that there are many ways to establish the living dead. In many cases, necropolitical control is not achieved abruptly. It happens over time, with violence shaping the lives of citizens with incremental changes. Concentration camps, for example, would not have been possible without previous intra-actions between people and anti-Semitic rhetoric, policies, practices, and normalized iterations violence (Finkel, 2017; Weisel, 1972). These intra-actions co-constituted both political control and the limitations of agency, what I call agentic contingencies (Wozolek, 2021). Returning to Tsing's (2005) dialogue on friction, gaslighting is one way to wear down the oppressed while eliciting a sense of supremacy from the oppressors. Gaslighting is therefore central to the friction needed to engender and maintain certain kinds of power. Through this lens, gaslighting can be understood as one of the "weapons deployed in the interest of maximum destruction of persons…conferring upon [marginalized citizens] the status of *living-dead*" (Mbembe & Meintjes, 2003, p. 40). While the violence inherent in gaslighting is, by far, not the end stage of necropolitics, it is certainly a significant facet in what Mbembe discusses as a process of dividing people and space to render citizens with certain identities as "disposable."

The disposability of Black, Indigenous, People of Color and their communities within the United States has been a longstanding conversation across the social sciences (e.g., Hartman, 1997; Puar, 2017; Simpson, 2014). One way to render a person or group as a "problem" or as "disposable," is to cause an ontoepistemological death through necropolitical intra-actions. Or, as Woodson (1933) argued, "Why not exploit, enslave, or exterminate a class that everybody is taught to regard as inferior" (p. 4)? The journal entries presented below were written when I was in high school. They are presented here as an engagement with narrative inquiry, something that Clandinin and Huber (2002) argue is at once profoundly personal while being always already knotted within the social. The purpose of these entries is not to be evocative but, rather, to describe the self-social entanglement in ways that unpack the co-construction of identities (Butler, 1990; Miller, 2005) that emerged from necropolitical intra-actions.

September 11, 2001

The country was attacked this morning. There are only a few TVs in our school, and I think I'll remember for the rest of my life. We were crowded in the Commons and, if you know the Commons, you know it's rather exclusive. Seniors only. That's the deal. This morning, anyone who could fit had shoved their way into the room. The air was thick and hot. I'm short so I felt like I was suffocating amid the thick air and bodies as I watched the breaking news flash across the screen. Who would do this? Who would kill so many

people? Ms. Dunbeck,[6] my favorite teacher of all time, was standing next to me. Her presence was comforting. I felt like we are all in this together. I asked her who she thought did this. She shrugged. "Anyone, I suppose. It's not like the United States has always been a peaceful country." I asked her if she thought this was an isolated event. She shrugged again. "No idea. No way to know if you're safe when there are planes falling from the sky." The bell rang. We've heard that sound thousands of times, but everyone jumped a bit. The room emptied. The hall was filled with people, but everyone was quiet. There was no laughter. Just whispers and the sound of some people crying.

I went to social studies. He must know about this, right? That's his job. To think about governments and politics. I asked him what he thought. He looked devastated. "Terrorists," he said. His voice was gritty and angry. "Damn terrorists," he mumbled. I said, "From where?" He just looked at me. "Any place they live, that's where. Middle East. India. Africa. Those places. Speaking of which, isn't your dad from one of those places?" The classroom noise stopped abruptly at the question. I felt the eyes on me. "Yes….Both of them (my dads). I just don't think they would…." "You never know," interrupted Pete (a classmate). Pete's a stoner and his voice is usually slow and indifferent. This time it was filled with fear. "You never know who you can trust," he continued.

September 15, 2001

I went to work (coaching gymnastics) today. Some of the parents have asked Glenn (the owner of the gym) about my nationality. He pulled me aside to talk about it. They feel uncomfortable keeping their kids in my class. Glenn has asked that I step down for a bit. There goes my cash. We can't always afford the mortgage. What if we need help this month?

October 15, 2001

There are rumors that they are rounding up anyone who potentially fits the description of the terrorists. My parents are afraid. My mom has checked out my passport status and asked me to keep my drivers license on me at all times. She said something about sending me to India. Then something else about Canada. I recall learning about Nazi Germany in history class. What will it be like when they ask me for my papers? What if I don't have my license on me? I guess my cousin in Canada has asked that my brother and I come stay with her until this is over, but this is my senior year! Why should I sacrifice this year because they are afraid of terrorists?

October 16, 2001

Jake's dad, a doctor in town that I've been to before, stopped me outside of school today. He asked me if I'd date his son. I've already told Jake no, twice. I'm not interested in him. His dad used my patient records a few weeks ago and gave my number to Jake so he could call me at home and ask me out. I said no then, I said no to his dad now. When I asked his dad why he wanted me to date his son so badly, he said, "You're beautiful and exotic. I think it's important that my son get experience with a girl like you before he settles down with a nice wife someday." I asked why I wouldn't make a good wife to someone someday. He said, "You're the type of girl you spend time with, get some experience with, sexually speaking. That way you know what to do when you get married. Besides, after these attacks, that's all you people are good for as far as I can tell. Besides, I'm asking. He's asking. We're at least asking. It's not like the rape that happens where your family is from, right?" I felt sick. When I got in the building I threw up, twice. It was really hard to sit in front

[6] Pseudonyms are used throughout these entries.

of him in band this afternoon. I think it's going to be hard to look at him for the rest of my life. I think I'll need a new doctor too.

October 28, 2001

I was pulled over this afternoon driving back from school. I wasn't speeding. The officer knew me. He knew who I was dating. He knew about gymnastics. He knew a lot. He asked me if I had any weapons in the car. I tried to joke about using a gymnastics leotard as a weapon. He was not amused. He asked me if I'd been out of the country. I asked him why I was being pulled over. He said I ran a red light. I hadn't gone through any red lights. He let me go but mentioned that I was a "pretty girl who should drive safe." Did he talk to Jake's dad? Why did he say that?

November 1, 2001

I stopped at the gas station to get coffee on the way to school. The attendant at the counter told me I couldn't get it. That managers can refuse to serve anyone they want. He told me to go to the QuickMart down the street. The QuickMart is run by an Indian family. Fuck. I just want my coffee. I'm so tired.

November 21, 2001

That history teacher was at me again. He spent most of class asking about my family background. A 30-minute inquisition. I've only been to Goa once in my life. I can't remember it well because I was so young. The memories are like a Monet painting. Fuzzy at all the edges. He made it sound like a terrible place. The other kids just kept quiet. After class one kid from history class pushed me into the lockers. Didn't say anything before or after, just shoved me and walked away. I reported the teacher to the principal during lunch. I was told that it's "within the scope of the curriculum to talk about foreign countries because it's a world history class" but that he would "talk to the teacher about his approach." He also reminded me that the negative experiences I am having are "not universal." He said, "It's important to remember that it's not everyone. Just a few people." The principal then asked me about where my dads are from and about my family. It felt like I was reliving class all over again. After almost fighting with Brett last month, I'm feeling more paranoid every day. I know not everyone is against me but sometimes it feels like that. They want to fight me. They want to fuck me…No, not just fuck, rape. But not rape because it's apparently a choice? They want to fire me from my job. They won't serve me coffee. They want to round up anyone who looks like me. I can't talk to my parents about it. I can't talk to my brother about it because he's busy at college. I just feel alone. I feel like my life doesn't matter. I feel afraid.

December 5, 2001

I was talking to Fatima after school. She said something that stuck on me. She said, "I hate myself. I hate them. Right now, I just hate everyone." She's been having a rough time, too. I don't know why I haven't talked to her of all people about this. Maybe because I didn't want to make her feel worse. Maybe because I was afraid if we were talking people would see it and assume we were plotting something. Her parents don't go out much. They barely let her come to school. As one of the few Muslim families in this town, maybe the only, they are afraid. I can't blame them. But what she said, about hating herself, that felt familiar. I can't tell which way is up sometimes. I've started having bad dreams about my family in India. Started wondering if perhaps my teacher is right, that you can't trust anyone. Calls are so expensive, and we don't go there every year so it's not like I know them. I mean, really know them. What else don't I know, even about myself?

Being, Knowing, and Doing: The Ontoepistemologies of the Living Dead

Arendt (1968) argues that "race is, politically speaking, not the beginning of humanity but its end…not the natural birth of man but his unnatural death" (p. 157). To engage with racist norms and values is to experience what Mbembe (2019) discusses as the "shattering experience of otherness…for the function of racism is to regulate the distribution of death and to make possible the state's murderous functions" (p. 71). There is no doubt that physical violence against Brown people and communities enacted post-9/11 was, and continues to be, acts of terror in and of themselves. For the brief remainder of this paper, however, I focus on how everyday acts of violence "make possible murderous functions." Specifically, it is important to theorize how intra-actions co-constitute both agentic contingencies—or the factors that inhibit and interrupt one's agency—and the agentic possibilities for oppressors that emerge from systems of power that are inherent to violent intra-actions. These agentic possibilities encourage and reinforce the privilege to physically and psychologically maim others without, or with little, consequence. Afterall, as Tsing might argue, while both the tire and the road are worn down, only one gains movement from friction.

Due to multiple points of friction, my sense of self quickly eroded in the months that followed 9/11. One way to read the data is to understand the aggressions as isolated instances of violence. The principal's gaslighting that I focus on the singularity of aggressions—that it was "not everyone," therefore suggesting the issues were not as dire as I had expressed—is an all too familiar response that marginalized people receive as a reaction to someone calling out systemic racism. The reality is that racial battle fatigue rarely occurs from one trauma but, as Smith (2014) argues, it is the ontoepistemological death of a thousand cuts. Sociopolitical gaslighting is similar in that the manipulation happens across contexts—from history class, to my place of employment, to the gas station, to the sexualization of my body. The toll gaslighting and other forms of violence has on an individual often causes an ontoepistemological death, what DuBois (1903) discussed as a "choking away" and what Woodson (1933) argued is a metaphorical lynching of one's ways of being, knowing, and doing. When society seeks to kill off a person's ontoepistemology, leaving it "ugly and distorted" (DuBois, 1926, p. 292), they relegate them to a space of sociopolitical control, to the living dead. It comes of little surprise to those attending to state-sanctioned and culturally condoned oppressions that marginalized people might enact agency over life through such means as suicide and self-harm, something my last entry hinted at as I wrestled with depression during that time.

It is also significant to recognize the effect that my marginalization had on my White classmates. As Mbembe (2019) argues, death and freedom are woven together, and into one's identity, through necropolitics. Across contexts, from the school yard to the classroom, my peers witnessed my oppression. Their silence was certainly an acceptance of, and therefore participation in, violence. It was also likely a response to systems of power, like that of a teacher asking inappropriate questions about a student's family background. Regardless of the reason, the response remained the same. Yet, it was not just my ontoepistemology that was shifted by violence. My peers were also being formed and informed by normalized aggressions. As scholars have discussed (e.g., Apple, Aasen & Cho, 2003; Giroux & McLaren, 1989), the bodies of policy and practice are co-constructed through intra-actions with human bodies. Likewise, necropolitics maintains systems of power through the process of co-constituting subject positions. Just as I was gaslit into accepting the dehumanization I faced, one can understand the oppressors as the agents of living with/in and enacting violence.

Tracing the contours of the post-September 11 United States through the lens of necropolitics is important for at least the following reasons. First, as Mbembe (2019) argues, necropolitical power is so ubiquitous that it blurs lines between the living and the dead, effectively creating a space where precarious conditions of living are not only socio-politically normalized but the desire to maintain such conditions for the oppressed are encouraged. After 9/11, the government's call to seek out and isolate anyone who could possibly

be a terrorist, condoned violence that reinforced the notion that Brown lives are disposable. This was more than just national security, as the Bush administration argued under the Patriot Act, this was a way to maintain the dehumanization of Brown citizens.

Second, as one traces the contours of the post-9/11 necropolitical landscape, the culmination of aggressions becomes apparent. Part of the exhaustion Brown citizens experienced was knotted within sociocultural gaslighting. In my narrative, the exhaustion caused by gaslighting was everywhere, and yet nowhere. It was a fatigue that resulted from uncertain looks, whispers of fear, implicit and explicit threats of violence and arrest, and aggressions that were always already in-corporeal. Mapping 9/11 necropolitics makes clear that to effectively deploy all manifestations of power, it is far easier to exercise control when the victim is shrouded in doubt. As Woodson (1933) argued, "when you control a [person's] thinking, you do not have to worry about [their] actions…[That person] will find [their] 'proper place' and stay in it" (p. 10). When sociocultural norms degrade someone enough that they believe they appropriately belong to the living dead, control often comes easily.

In conclusion, violence can always be understood through an entanglement of intra-actions. The aftermath of September 11 is just one note in the necropolitical history of the United States that constantly and continuously frames Black, Indigenous, and People of Color as disposable. If one were to fold that 9/11 note back into the symphony of violence that always already re-creates the living dead, the contemporary Black Lives Matter movement, the need to defund the police, and other social injustices become clear. The desire to subjugate my life to the power of death—be it ontoepistemological or physical—by my classmates, teachers, principals, and the broader community was therefore maintained by post-9/11 fear but it certainly did not begin on or after September 11. It was always already in the water, so to speak. As long as BIPOC lives are disposable, the assemblages of violence that are filled with necropolitical norms will only continue to thrive in this homeland of horror where the "land of the free" will always be knotted with the "land of the dead."

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Canadian Social Studies

canadiansocialstudies.ca

Electronic ISSN 2564-1166

July 2021

Volume: 52 Issue: 2 pp. 22-38

Supporting Muslim Students Through Culturally Relevant, Responsive, and Sustaining Pedagogies

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Article Info
Received: February 26, 2021
Revised: June 10, 2021
Accepted: June 19, 2021

https://doi.org/10.29173/css20

ABSTRACT
In this article, I discuss a conceptual framework for supporting Muslim students using Culturally Relevant, Responsive, and Sustaining Pedagogies informed by a Collaborative Inquiry approach. The impact of 9/11 and its consequences on Muslim students' temporal and social contexts calls for a critical stance that questions teachers' assumptions regarding Muslim students. I examine Critical Pedagogy as the theoretical underpinnings for employing Culturally Relevant, Responsive, and Sustaining Pedagogies with the intent of underscoring the significance of incorporating these pedagogies to build upon teachers' capacities in honouring the voices of their Muslim students and fostering spaces for these voices to speak up. I explore how teachers can engage in Culturally Relevant, Responsive, and Sustaining Pedagogies through Collaborative Inquiry to meet the needs of Muslim students in ways that acknowledges their narratives and support them in navigating their social and academic environments.

KEYWORDS
Muslims, responsive, relevant, sustaining, critical pedagogy

Introduction

Studies have explored how students' attributes and behaviours might impact teachers' views about their students' competencies (de Boer et al., 2010; Ready & Wright, 2011; Timmermans et al., 2016). However, teachers' perceptions and pedagogical approaches to support students from diverse backgrounds remain an area for further research. There is a need to explore pedagogical strategies that respond to classroom diversity based on discussions around biases. Biases operate both implicitly and explicitly, as individuals might struggle to acknowledge and navigate their partialities (Ehrlinger et al., 2005; Niyozov & Niyozov, 2010; Pronin, 2006; van den Bergh et al., 2010). As a result, rigid notions about students can have serious implications on teacher-student relationships as well as student well-being, particularly for those from diverse backgrounds (Peterson et al., 2016; Rubie-Davies, 2010). Teachers' predefined perceptions of Muslim students may be influenced by biased views about Muslims (Guo, 2015; Niyozov & Niyozov, 2010; Zine, 2001). These biases can foster relational hierarchies and reinforce conflicting ideas of inclusion and diversity that impact Muslim students' living experiences (Ali-Khan, 2014; Collet, 2007; Zine, 2000).

In the aftermath of the tragic events of 9/11, a prejudicial discourse on Muslims was reinforced (Elmasry & el-Nawawy, 2020; Kanji, 2018; Poynting & Perry, 2007). This discourse, however, dates back several years to ongoing "Orientalism" that places Muslims in a position of subordinate status relative to the West (Said, 1978, 2003a). In that respect, I critically reflect, as a Muslim researcher/teacher, on the significance of supporting Muslim students and amplifying their voices by first considering the current social contexts of Muslims in Canada. Then, I explore a theoretical overview of Culturally Relevant (Ladson-Billings, 1995b), Responsive (Gay, 2002; 2010a), and Sustaining Pedagogies (Paris, 2012) grounded in Critical Pedagogy and facilitated through a Collaborative Inquiry approach (Borko, 2004; Nelson et al., 2008; Putnam & Borko, 2000). I argue that this framework presents an opportunity for educators to continuously reassess their practices and mobilize Culturally Relevant, Responsive, and Sustaining strategies for reaching out to their Muslim students.

My Positionality as a Muslim Researcher/ Teacher

Being Muslim Arab teacher allows me to engage meaningfully with students and families with similar backgrounds and worldviews. Some of the exchanges I had with teachers made me realize that teachers' cultural expectations and fixed beliefs shape common understandings about marginalized groups (Britzman, 2000; Rizvi & Lingard, 2006). These shared perceptions create inaccurate representations that affect marginalized students' experiences and outcomes (Cummins, 2011). Several scholars argue that dismantling oppression is not contingent on solitary critical thinking since biases interfere with validating other groups' power and influence the interpretation of various bodies of knowledge (Britzman, 1998; Ellsworth, 2001; Kumashiro, 2000; North, 2008). Therefore, I am aware that many teachers' Anglo mainstream positionalities dictate, to a certain extent, their normative views and the differential power relations that govern their circles of existence, in similar manners that my experiences as a Muslim women researcher and teacher shape my interpretations and understanding.

I am also aware of my location as a settler on the traditional lands of the Mississaugas of the Credit, part of the Anishinaabe Nation, Haudenosaunee, Attawandaron, and the Métis. I am proclaiming the right for my voice as a Muslim to be recognized, when a reconciliation process demands an acknowledgement of Canada's settler history and an affirmation of Indigenous knowledge and rights (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015). The dilemma of negotiating my position in various networks necessitates a self-reflexive stance (Britzman, 2000). This stance underscores my moral and ethical obligations and demands

my acknowledgment confessing that the subjugation to settler-colonial agenda contributes to perpetuating social injustice falling upon Indigenous peoples (Tuck & Yang, 2012).

Muslims in Times of Turmoil

The ongoing repercussions of 9/11 reduced all Muslims into a single racialized entity that portrayed them as the "enemy" (Ali-Khan, 2014; Kumar, 2010; Said, 2003b). Such portrayal intensified Muslims' exclusion process and allowed Islamophobia to thrive (Bazian, 2018; Giroux, 2002; Hanniman, 2008; Khalema, & Wannas-Jones, 2003). According to Toronto Police Services (2018), Religion accounted for 51% of all hate crime incidents reported in Toronto in 2018; Jewish and Muslim communities were the two most targeted, respectively (Toronto Police Services, 2018). The report also indicates that "The Muslim community was the most frequently victimized group for assault occurrences" (Toronto Police Services, 2018, p. 2). Recently, tragic massacres in Quebec (Von Hlatky & Ibrahim, 2017) and New Zealand (Stewart, 2019) claimed Muslim lives in their worship places. The depiction of Muslims as the enemy reflects the portrayal of the "Orient" as fundamentally different from the West and, more importantly, the tradition of the 'clash of civilizations' narrativizations that continues to dominate identity politics (Arat-Koç, 2006; Bazian, 2018; Said, 2003a, 2003b). Accordingly, 9/11, the events that followed, and media portrayals of those events reinforce biases and discriminatory views against Muslim communities (Saeed, 2007; Singh, 2016; Schmuck et al., 2018). These views continue to impact Muslims' ability to negotiate their values within a westernized lens (Ali, 2014; Dragonas, 2004; Leeman & Saharso, 2013; Niyozov & Pluim, 2009; Younis & Hassan, 2019).

The portrayal of Muslims as the enemy perpetuates apprehension that could prevent teachers from reaching out to their Muslim students and recognizing their diverse narratives (Guo, 2015). This apprehension is often accompanied by inadequate preparation for addressing religious and cultural diversity in K-12 classrooms (Guo et al., 2009; Guo, 2015; Kayaalp, 2019). Accordingly, Eurocentric ideologies drive the design of curriculum, pedagogy, delivery, and evaluation methods frequently used by teachers (Kayaalp, 2019; Shultz, 2011). Teachers may base their interactions with Muslim students on inaccurate understandings of Islam leaving Muslim students' voices unheard and delegitimized in class (Guo, 2015; Shultz, 2011). These factors, among others, emphasize the deficit model that views difference as a shortcoming of the student or their family and community (Abdi, 1997; Kayaalp, 2019). Clycq et al. (2014) suggested that the deficit model might lead to "problematization of the home environment" (p. 808), which could further alienate Muslim families and their children and undermine their agency in affirming their histories. Biesta (2007) noted that "…the idea of education as a treatment or intervention that is a causal means to bring about particular, pre-established ends — is not appropriate for the field of education" (p. 10). Thus, I question whether traditional educational frameworks recognize the many ways in which students from diverse cultural and religious backgrounds claim their stories and draw on their backgrounds to navigate their academic and social school experiences.

Othering Muslim Students' Voices

Muslim students can experience injustice on two levels; they may experience preconceived beliefs that permeate the classroom walls and negatively affect teacher-student relationships (Guo, 2015), while simultaneously experiencing an educational system that distances their voices and pathologizes their lived experiences under the notion of inclusion. Consequently, students might react in different ways to delegitimizing practices (Kumashiro, 2000; McDonough & Hoodfar, 2005; Niyozov & Pluim, 2009). Some Muslim children and youth could relinquish aspects of their cultural/ religious narratives to fit in (Kayaalp, 2014). Other Muslim students who desire to be part of the dominant collective narrative might overcompensate

to prove themselves worthy of an environment that restricts their agency in acknowledging their cultural and religious backgrounds (Hua, 2018; Zhao et al., 2005). Alternately, some Muslim students could resort to resistive and defiant measures that signal their attempt to legitimize their backgrounds (Collet, 2007; Zine, 2000). Nevertheless, as Kumashiro (2000) noted "…despite the apparent differences between those students who 'succeed' and those who 'fail' or simply fail to distinguish themselves, all experience oppression" (p. 27).

Multicultural Education and the Perpetuation of Otherness

All students carry sets of worldviews constituting their narratives (García, 1991; van Kessel, 2020; van Kessel & Saleh, 2020); Muslim students are no exception. The idea behind multicultural education is to recognize and include these diverse perspectives and the variety of ways in which different groups experience their world (Banks & Banks, 2010). Yet, the educational system often compounds Muslim students' marginalization by not explicitly addressing the power structures that exclude their narratives and views them as a subordinate group that needs to assimilate (Amjad, 2018; Guo, 2012). The term inclusion suggests developing, providing, and revising policies and services to those systematically/pedagogically excluded. Inclusion, however, is not an unbiased term, especially in communities where dominant groups' authority influences educational goals (Cummins, 1997; Parker-Jenkins et al., 2017). So, educational structures should critically examine whether students from diverse backgrounds are being excluded through systemic processes rooted in misguided notions of multiculturalism and inclusion (Reitz et al., 2009; Ozturgut, 2011; Sleeter & Stillman, 2005). Kumashiro (2001, p. 5) stated that reliance on inclusion as the sole mechanism to acknowledge diversity is not enough because: (1) there is no possible way to account for all differences; and (2) labelling the Other accentuates the boundaries of exclusionary criteria. Educators might be constrained by boundaries that dictate the interpretations of inclusion and diversity in a society governed by inequitable power relations (Ainscow et al, 2016). It is, therefore, imperative that educators examine the power dynamics implicit and explicit in their roles and examine whether their classrooms demonstrate pedagogical strategies that privilege/Other students, thus maintaining exclusionary boundaries (2001, p. 5).

Considering some of the dehumanizing experiences that harm Muslim students, the role of multicultural education becomes ever so crucial in disrupting the process of marginalization by viewing diversity as an asset that brings about social cohesion between different groups in a society (Banks et al., 2001; McGee & Banks, 1995). Gibson (1984, p. 95) examined five multicultural education approaches: (1) *Education of the Culturally Different*, (2) *Education about Cultural Differences or Cultural Understanding*, (3) *Education for Cultural Pluralism*, (4) *Bicultural Education, and (5) Multicultural Education as the Normal Human Experience*. Whereas the first four approaches can accentuate the process of labelling students from diverse backgrounds, the fifth offers an opportunity to emphasize and broaden multicultural competencies that are transferable between different cultures (Gibson, 1984). Doucet and Adair (2013) further explored multicultural approaches by examining two educational strategies that underscore the others who are profoundly unlike the dominant group: (1) the colour-blind approach that focuses on what is common among people; and (2) praising diversity, which highlights celebrating special days/ months, events and foods that depict diverse ethnicities.

These different interpretations of multicultural education become a part of the dominant culture norms, thereby serving mainstream Canadian identity and citizenship notions (El-Sherif & Sinke, 2018; Waters & Leblanc, 2005). However, in the process of validating a cohesive national identity, educational systems create a dissonance or clash that threatens the relationship between teachers and their Muslim students and alienates those students from their surroundings (Amjad, 2018; Sahli et al., 2009). When their implicit and explicit biases guide teachers, they might perceive diversity as a source of strain or additional workload to accommodate their students from diverse backgrounds (Castagno, 2008; Civitillo et al., 2021; Gay, 2010b;

Tatar & Horenczyk, 2003; Gutentag et al., 2018).).Therefore, multicultural approaches must acknowledge the existence of the various hierarchies that govern power relations and the socialization processes in classrooms and beyond (Ozturgut, 2011; Sleeter & Stillman, 2005). Socialization is especially critical for Muslim youth who might be struggling to proclaim their voices given the political and social climates that define views of Muslims in general (Ali, 2014; Ali-Khan, 2014; Amjad, 2018; Khawaja, 2016; Sirin & Balsano, 2007).

Arguably, there is a need to reframe success and failure discourses in more profound ways than just rejecting the deficit model. Reframing requires mechanisms that allow educators to address their practices, as well as an environment in which stakeholders' interests and boundaries are clearly defined, rather than being ambiguous and open to alternate interpretations that situate Muslim students at a disadvantage. Teachers should provide classroom experiences that sustain their student's diverse backgrounds and holistically engage them in their learning journey without jeopardizing their experiences' legitimacy (Cummins, 1997; Paris & Alim, 2017; Zine, 2002). Importantly, humanizing classroom interactions would allow teachers and students to co-construct success pathways that redefine students' agency (Paris, 2012). No doubt that some educators engage in these approaches and actively practice commitment and care towards their Muslim students (Niyozov & Pluim, 2009). Recent reforms, such as the publication of the "*Islamic Heritage Month Resource Guide*" by the Toronto District School Board (TDSB, 2017), reflect Muslims' emergent awareness as partners within Canadian society's fabric. This awareness, however, needs to be translated into proactive measures that center Muslim students' positions as part of a community that holds the burden of the aftermath of 9/11, at the heart of critical classroom experiences. These proactive measures suggest addressing the infrastructural and pedagogical barriers that place students from diverse backgrounds at a disadvantage and limit their ability to establish their presence in their surroundings (Kohli et al., 2017).

Critical Pedagogy: A Transformative Process

Drawing from Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1972), the conceptualization of Otherness suggests subjugating the oppressed through the *banking* concept of education that strengthen oppressive dominant structures. In this context, Giroux and McLaren (1987) believed that schools could disrupt the dominance of "consensual practices" that polarize people into either "us" or "them" (in Darder et al., 2017, p. 11; Giroux & Giroux, 2005; Mclaren; 2002). Muslim students bring diverse perspectives and histories to classrooms, making them more than mere spectators who live on the margins; instead, they can make a difference in shifting power dynamics and disrupting hegemonic ideologies. In respect, Bowers and Appfel-Marglin (2005) explore the challenging tasks of addressing the dominant educational discourse and prompt educators to evaluate their beliefs and assumptions in classrooms. How do these views impact what topics are discussed in class in relation to Muslims? How do educators respond to their Muslim students? In what ways do teachers exclude/ include under the notion of a democratic way of thinking? McLaren (1992) brings on the complexity of these questions by stating that "reading about racism and oppression is not the same thing as living as their victim" (p. 8). Thus, Critical Pedagogy, as conceptualized by Freire (1972), Giroux and McLaren (1987; 1992), gives students and teachers the chance to engage in a dialect that defies and shifts dominant narratives surrounding Muslims. When educators approach their classes as an experience of investigation and discovery" (Said, in Viswanathan, 2001, p. 280), they engage in a critical disposition that questions assumptions about individuals from diverse cultural/ geographical boundaries (Rizvi & Lingard, 2006).

Is Critical Pedagogy Enough for A Transformation?

No one perspective contains a holistic approach towards addressing the experiences of Muslim students in Canadian public schools. In its attempt to normalize the other, Critical Pedagogy failed to alter the concept of normal (Ellsworth, 1989); it still maintained a centralized characterization of Otherness without attempting to distinguish the backdrops of different subjugating experiences (Darder et al., 2017; Weiler, 1991). This centralization in Critical Pedagogy undermines its attempt to differentiate Muslim students' voices. In a powerful statement, Roman (in Nieto, 1999) states that "To have knowledge of another culture does not mean to be able to repeat one or two words in a student's language, nor is it to celebrate an activity or sing a song related to their culture." As educators, we must critically examine how classrooms are perpetuating injustices by discrediting Muslim students' personal experiences considering the discourse surrounding Muslims. We must question whether we are humanizing Muslim students' stories and histories (Saleh, 2021) through pedagogical approaches that maintain and authenticate their stories and sentiments (Paris, 2011).

Failure to distinguish these backdrops could lead to a disengagement from differing bodies of knowledge and the power these entail. This disengagement could contribute to a status quo that renders experiences of Muslim students invisible. Gur-Ze'ev (2005) noted that Critical Pedagogy is becoming *"decreasingly relevant to the victims it is committed to emancipate"* (p. 10). Efforts to create a universal change that fits every context are inconceivable (Biesta, 1998). Imposing the alternatives would ultimately bind us to the oppressors as our histories and prejudices shape our future visions. Educators who consider assimilation and resilience the only alternatives for creating change that includes Muslim students' voices fail to consider the temporal and social contexts in which Muslims live. Without exposing and challenging context complexities and power relations, Critical Pedagogy alone cannot change the relationship between teachers and their Muslim students. As educators, we must reconstruct knowledge in a way that admits to the multiple perspectives that this knowledge entails. We must also acknowledge our biases and fears if we are to grow into this new knowledge and incorporate it into school interactions that impact Muslim students. A self-reflection that questions the power we derive from our different perspectives is necessary to admit our prejudicial beliefs and apprehensions. This introspection remains an area of self-discovery as we engage in Culturally Relevant, Responsive, and Sustaining Pedagogies in our classrooms.

Towards a framework for Culturally Relevant, Responsive, and Sustaining Pedagogies

Culturally Relevant, Responsive, and Sustaining Pedagogies offer other channels through which emancipatory education could capitalize on Muslim students' backgrounds and perspectives and provide them with the opportunity to validate their identities. Culturally Relevant Pedagogy (Gloria Ladson-Billings, 1995a, b) asserts the right of culturally and linguistically diverse students to achieve high academic achievement while upholding their cultural identities. Similarly, Culturally Responsive Pedagogy (Gay, 2002; 2010 a) facilitates classroom practices that embrace but also empower diverse forms of knowledge instead of allowing them to exist on the margins.

As such, Culturally Relevant and Responsive Pedagogy (CRRP) (Kugler & West-Burns, 2010) is based on Gloria Ladson-Billings' (1995a, b) Culturally Relevant Pedagogy and Geneva Gay's (2002; 2010a) Culturally Responsive Pedagogy to promotes equity and social justice in Ontario's education systems and their teacher professional development mission. Paris (2012) further expands on the terms Relevant and Responsive by offering the notion of Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy that requires "…more than responsive of or relevant to the cultural experiences and practices of young people—it requires that they support young people in sustaining the cultural and linguistic competence of their communities while simultaneously offering access to dominant cultural competence" (p. 95).

Culturally Relevant, Responsive, and Sustaining Pedagogies emphasize the recognition of students' contexts as vital contributors to their well-being (Doucet, 2017; Kugler & West-Burns, 2010; Paris, 2017). When Muslim students are situated in an environment that does not recognize their distinctive narratives, this may lead to a disconnection between their lived experiences and their cultural or religious identity (Zine, 2006, 2006). Moreover, this disconnection is exacerbated when Muslim students feel that their experiences are not authenticated by the normative scripts that define them (Amjad, 2018; Zine, 2003, 2012). Such alienation might even prompt students to detach from their home-culture and school environment if they sense the power dynamics that situate them at a disadvantage (Fillmore, 2000). Ultimately, Culturally Relevant, Responsive, and Sustaining Pedagogies offers the chance to disrupt dehumanizing views about Muslims by empowering educators to engage in a process that brings about a sense of solidarity and acknowledgment of the diverse ways of being in and experiencing the world.

What is Culturally Relevant and Responsive Pedagogy?

Culturally Relevant Pedagogy warrants incorporating students' backgrounds within their learning experience beyond focusing on celebratory approaches that exotify the "Other" as subordinate (Ladson-Billings, 1995b; 1998). Such approaches take the stance of praising differences to divert attention from the embedded systems that alienate Muslim students. Affirming cultural/religious diversity should be fortified by critical conversations that allow students to voice their perceptions and concerns (Doucet & Adair, 2013). Accordingly, educators should be aware of the socio/political contexts in which these conversations occur and not be apprehensive about integrating them explicitly into conversations (Ladson-Billings, 2014; Maged, 2014). Socio/political contexts could serve as a vehicle through which students and teachers disengage from a binary mode of thinking and recognize differential power relations patterns (DiAngelo & Sensoy, 2014). Per se, teachers should recognize that their positionalities impact how students envision their prospects and the worth of their backgrounds (Cummins, 2001).

Geneva Gay (2002; 2010a) proposed the notion of Culturally Responsive Pedagogy that employs students' knowledge repertoire as a medium through which teaching-learning occurs. Students' lived experiences and hybrid identities become the premises upon which critical conversations are brought up in class (Gay, 2002). Delpit (2006) points out how being a "model teacher" who conforms to dominant instructional approaches could refute their students' knowledge, which reproduces different delegitimizing perspectives. Similarly, Cummins (2001) reminds us that when educators relay the message that their students' backgrounds are significant, students will sense that their knowledge is valuable and are more likely to use it as a foundation for their knowledge. Teachers should recognize that students come into the class with previously formed understandings, which shape their school experiences. Educators do not give their students voices; instead, students already have voices, and teachers should provide them with a place and means to speak up. Through CRRP, classrooms would become places where students showcase their knowledge and different identities, but importantly, practice their agency in claiming their histories and lived experiences. As George Dei (2006) advises, "inclusion is not bringing people into what already exists; it is making a new space, a better space for everyone"

Extending CRRP into Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy

Paris (2012; 2017) drew on CRRP by adding the concept of sustaining pedagogies for multicultural competence that acknowledges student's distinct backgrounds and fosters them alongside the prevailing cultural and linguistic proficiencies. As such, Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy strives to establish schooling as part of positive transformation that nurtures linguistic, literate, and cultural pluralism. (Paris & Alim, 2017, p. 1). Interestingly, Delpit (1998) recognized that for students to acquire dominant competencies, they must

establish codes of participation, autonomy, and governance, which, in turn, make it possible for them to participate in cultures of power and declare their narratives. Hence, in a manner, sustaining pedagogies acknowledges that curriculum comes with "unwritten codes" that have an impact on students' ability to access equitable opportunities in their learning environment (Dei, 2016). The curriculum, itself, becomes a tool by which dominant power reproduces itself (Dei, 2016). To redistribute power equitably, we need to validate students' cultural repertoire and foster it beside dominant multicultural competencies to ensure that students from diverse backgrounds access equitable learning experiences (Lee & Walsh in Paris & Alim, 2017). Among these experiences are storytelling, critical dialogues, and teachings that openly address issues of equity and justice and allow for "fluid understandings of culture" (Ladson-Billings, 2014, p. 74).

The fluidity of this understanding paves the way for a plurality of competencies that are reflective of Muslim students' voices and perspectives. In relation, a significant aspect of Culturally Sustaining Pedagogies is the involvement of families and communities, as these provide a medium for the transmission of intergenerational cultural practices (Lee, 2017, p. 166) These practices are part of Muslim students' cultural and religious competencies that bridge the diversity in their backgrounds to the learning environment. However, such a pedagogical asset can only be developed if educators are willing to foster these connections and admit to their relevance.

Ultimately, a framework of Culturally Relevant, Responsive, and Sustaining Pedagogies works towards breaking barriers to Muslim students' active engagement in their learning experiences and acknowledging that the school climate reflects a broader societal climate that still grapples with the echoes of 9/11. In effect, this struggle shapes the authenticity of reaching out to Muslim students and is likely to undermine Muslim students' narratives and their ability to successfully navigate school experiences. Developing Culturally Relevant, Responsive and Sustaining Pedagogies facilitates Muslim students' empowerment by legitimizing their discourses; it enables school systems to recognize the differential pathways of students' learning and adjust the learning environment accordingly to maintain those pathways. In such a way, recognition holds the essence of individualization of the learning process, and the acknowledgment of Muslim students' temporal and social locations, given that some might be still contending with misunderstandings about who they are and what they can do following the 9/11 event (Lebowitz, 2016). These misunderstandings might not be communicated explicitly; nevertheless, they negatively impact Muslim students, as biases and discrimination hinder equitable representation in education. Ultimately, recognition admits that "human relationships are at the heart of schooling" (Cummins et al., 2005, p. 42) that honours students' identities and embraces their backgrounds as sites of empowerment and cultural pluralism rather than disintegration (Paris, 2012).

Critically, educators should reflect on the notion of obligation to care for those in need, thereby perpetuating a charity model, rather than the authentic belief that Muslim students have an equal right to be represented and their voices heard. Such distinction needs to be perceptible because it underscores the societal structural inequalities that are not explicitly addressed. Cummins (1997) notes how policies and reforms have partially failed to address inequitable educational opportunities because of the impact of powerful ideologies that create our mindsets and dictates our perceptions of the others (p. 650). We can set policies and reforms that inform educators how to implement certain strategies, but education is more than a process of knowledge exchange, it is a process governed by beliefs, ideas, and actions. These beliefs are partially the product of a general socio-political climate that is centuries in the making. Roberts (2015) stated that "every time a teacher steps into a classroom or any other educational environment, he or she carries with him or her an implied set of ethical and political preferences. The teacher's role is not to deny these preferences but to reflect critically on them and to allow the students opportunities to do the same with other ideals" (p. 382). This strain between our preferences and those of our students is essential in our journey to engage in transformative pedagogies

that legitimizes the narratives of Muslim students. In exploring these tensions, teachers should consider building an inquiry process into Culturally Relevant, Responsive, and Sustaining Pedagogies, which not only provide the space for Muslim student voices, but also gives Muslim students opportunities to maintain their agency in representation.

Culturally, Relevant, Responsive and Sustaining Pedagogies through Collaborative Inquiry

Collaborative Inquiry (CI) is a channel through which educators can engage in Culturally, Relevant, Responsive, and Sustaining Pedagogies to work towards developing classroom environment that supports diverse perspectives (Delpit, 1998; DeLuca et al., 2015). CI provides educators the opportunity to explore specific areas of their practice, reflect on these practices and beliefs, and formulate new understandings about their theories of pedagogy to design responsive practices that employ their students' competencies (Donohoo, 2013; Lee, 2009). Fostering Culturally, Relevant, Responsive and Sustaining Pedagogies through CI is fundamental for revealing barriers affecting Muslim students' experiences and educational attainment. These systemic and attitudinal barriers invalidate Muslim students' perspectives and hamper their ability to reconcile their various histories and identities with the environment (Ali, 2014; Amjad, 2018; Castagno, 2008; Sahli et al., 2009; Zine, 2006; 2012). By engaging in a critical analysis of their pedagogical discourses, CI serves the purpose of empowering educators to employ Culturally, Relevant, Responsive, and Sustaining Pedagogies and create holistic learning experiences that acknowledge Muslim students' voices.

The approach for engaging in CI is inspired by the "First Nation, Métis and Inuit Focused Collaborative Inquiry (CI)" that was part of the "*Listening Stone*" Project (Dion, 2016).[1] The project focused on building successful relations between First Nations, Métis and Inuit communities and schools, as well as delivering educational prospects that support the participation of First Nations, Métis and Inuit communities in a manner that warrants legitimacy of their histories, perspectives, and knowledge (Dion, 2016). As such, CI attends to the temporal locations and historical factors that situate Muslim youth and their families in a disadvantaged position. These factors include facing Islamophobia considering the socio/political variables that delineate Muslims and render their image the adversary. No doubt that 9/11 cast its shadows on Muslim youth's experiences in schools; hence, CI would allow educators to question their assumptions considering Muslims' socio/political narratives and how these narratives impact their relations with their Muslim students.

In that respect, humility should be part of the inquiry process through which teachers admit to their privileged position as part of the dominant group (DiAngelo & Sensoy, 2014). Humility opens new possibilities of critical thinking and active engagement with students (Lund, 2006). When educators see their role as fostering social justice and equity, they are more likely to create forms of transformative pedagogical practices that reframe their teacher- students' relations and sustain students' identities (Giroux & McLaren, 1987; Paris, 2012; Zine, 2012). Adopting Culturally, Relevant, Responsive, and Sustaining Pedagogies also necessitate a "culture of professional development" whereby educators are involved in the continued process of building and developing their competencies to support their students (Kugler & West-Burns, 2010). CI would serve this goal by supporting communities of practice that broadens teachers' capacities to extend the effect of Culturally, Relevant, Responsive, and Sustaining Pedagogies across and beyond school sites through community engagement (Deppeler & Ainscow, 2016; Nelson et al., 2008). This commitment allows educators to question

[1] "The Listening Stone Project" in 2014 uncovered findings that included evidence of discomfort experienced by teachers, which is partly driven by insufficient knowledge. The project recommended sharing experiences across districts to maximize opportunities for learning between different communities of practice.

their understandings and privileges, and approach their practices as an opportunity to learn from and with their students (Guo et al., 2009; Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2014; Tuncel, 2017)

Still, attitudinal barriers might prohibit educators from active engagement in CI. A proactive approach in Culturally, Relevant, Responsive, and Sustaining Pedagogies taps into people's internal belief systems and confronts their mindsets (Brown, 2004). These beliefs are not only influenced by the type of knowledge or practice educators acquire, but their positions also shape them within their local/global socio-political systems (Britzman, 1998; Lin & Rice, 2008; Van Den Bergh et al., 2010). What remains debatable is whether Culturally, Relevant, Responsive, and Sustaining Pedagogies plays a genuine role in modifying teachers' attitudes towards Muslim students and supporting positive learning experiences that push back against central power structures. Educators need to admit that stifling some voices is sometimes intentional and partly stems from the comfort of common understandings (Kumashiro, 2001). However, Guishard (2009) states that discomfort should be considered "…space to understand and not retreat from social consciousness inquiry" (p. 103).

Though CI could yield discomfort (Ainscow et al., 2016), educators should distinguish between discomfort and safety (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2014). Safe environments can be uncomfortable because they expose the power undercurrents that regulate social relationships. One would argue that discomfort is essential because it indicates a conflict between entrenched beliefs and social justice and equity principles. Such discomfort might urge educators to critically question rooted views and foster more inclusive practices that signal a shift in their mindsets (Deppeler & Ainscow, 2016; Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2014). Hence, Culturally, Relevant, Responsive, and Sustaining Pedagogies through CI requires schools to become areas that provide safe environments for educators and students to voice their opinions and take risks in developing alternative ways of thinking and acting (Kugler & West-Burns, 2010).

Conclusions

Approaches that cultivate Culturally Relevant, Responsive, and Sustaining Pedagogies through CI can uncover power relations in classrooms while transforming teachers' work into pedagogical practices that support Muslim students' academic attainment and legitimize their narratives. Implementing Culturally Relevant, Responsive, and Sustaining Pedagogies through CI centralize the question of "what do our students already know and experience?" to dismantle structures that silences Muslim students and trivializes their discourses; it allows students and teachers to become collaborators in deciphering the otherness, thus, allowing for new forms of knowledge to be created (Solorzano & Bernal, 2001). These forms of knowledge admit to the lived experiences of Muslim students in the aftermath of 9/11 and affirms their rights in accessing equitable educational opportunities and outcomes while upholding their religious/ cultural backgrounds. DiAngelo and Sensoy (2014, p. 9) state: "As instructors, we are embedded in and facilitate complex relations of power in the classroom, and we want to address that power in intentional, strategic, and critical ways." Teachers' approaches to learning about the lived experiences of their Muslim students impacts how these students view their backgrounds and envision their futures. By implementing Relevant, Responsive, and Sustaining Pedagogies through CI, educators can provide safe spaces for their Muslim students to share their narratives and recreate knowledge in ways that frame these narratives as powerful representations of thinking and experiencing the world.

Ideally, education would work towards bringing about social justice and providing an equal standard of living to everyone. Fair and unbiased opportunities in learning help students become proactive and independent within their surroundings. This level of engagement strengthens societal unity and enhances the student's sense of belonging to their community without jeopardizing their religious/cultural background

(Banks et al., 2001; Gardner & Toope, 2011). When schools are part of a network that recognizes Muslim students and their experiences, the risk of alienation is reduced. Teachers can build bridges that minimize fear between different groups of society and safe routes of connection and continuity. These bridges can be achieved through pedagogical approaches that honour, respect, cherish, and support students' identities; through pedagogies that are Relevant, Responsive, and Sustaining.

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Canadian Social Studies

canadiansocialstudies.ca

Electronic ISSN 2564-1166

July 2021

Volume: 52 Issue: 2 pp. 39–51

Refugee Youth Resettlement: Historicizing Policies of Deradicalization and Resiliency

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Article Info

Received: March 1, 2021

Revised: June 1, 2021

Accepted: June 17, 2021

https://doi.org/10.29173/css23

ABSTRACT

This article traces the evolution of the concepts of radicalization and deradicalization, specifically as they pertain to the social category of youth. It aims to locate and understand the concept of 'resiliency' as a deradicalization method and map out resiliency agendas in relation to the settlement of refugee youth. This article sets out to understand the relationship between deradicalization narratives and refugee youth resettlement programs within a broader historical and contemporary socio-political context.

KEYWORDS

Refugee youth; youth; resettlement; radicalization; deradicalization; resilience; resiliency; September 11; terrorism; Middle East and North Africa; national cohesion;

I belong there. I have many memories. I was born as everyone is born.
I have a mother, a house with many windows, brothers, friends, and a prison cell
With a chilly window! I have a wave snatched by seagulls, a panorama of my own.
…I have lived on the land long before swords turned man into prey.
…I have learned and dismantled all the words in order to draw from them a single word: Home.
(Darwish, 2013, p. 28)

Introduction

In this moment, the world is in the throes of experiencing the highest levels of human displacement ever recorded, with 26.3 million refugees, 45.7 million asylum seekers, and 45.7 million internally displaced persons (UNHCR, n.d., a), at least half of whom are under the age of 18 (UNHCR, n.d., b). Reasons for forced displacement are many, including war, conflict, "natural" environmental disasters expedited by extractive capitalism, and socio-political persecution. Further, the process of refugee settlement globally has changed as a result of the "protracted" nature of these events. The Syrian conflict alone has led to the displacement of 5.6 million refugees since 2011, with the highest number of resettlements in what are considered to be middle-income countries such as Jordan, Turkey, and Lebanon (UNHCR, n.d., a). It seems self-evident that patterns of displacement and settlement change over time, however, these changes need to be understood "as part of historic developments" (Marfleet, 2007, p. 137) and the ways in which these patterns are shaped and shape global policies on migration and resettlement.

In thinking about displacement and resettlement, I am often reminded of the words of the late Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish. His poetry, so deeply captured the sentiments of exile and displacement, of wars, conflicts, loss, hope, and joys of an entire nation. He questioned the meanings of home and belonging. And so, in thinking about resettlement of those who have been displaced, I also often think about what it means to leave a "home" and to have to build anew. What it takes to become and be considered as part of the fabric of new "host" countries, what has to be given up and what is gained in that process. What it means for the aspirations—political and personal of young people, and how national narratives eclipse these aspirations. My own call on history in this paper is to gain a better understanding of the "resiliency agenda," as one of the current policies regarding young refugee resettlement. I aim to understand this agenda, or in other words approach to refugee resettlement, within the context of the Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) or deradicalization frameworks which have been developed as a response to the events of September 11, 2001. In this paper, I aim to trace back the development of a resiliency framework in the resettlement of refugee youth, to the development of CVE policies. This article is an attempt to begin to piece together and understand the current resiliency-informed approach to refugee resettlement, as part of a larger set of historical and social relations. My hope is that this tracing will begin to locate and connect the intricacies of how a global security agenda in the aid of capital has brought into its fold a whole-societal approach to managing young people, specifically migrant and refugee youth.

I will begin by providing a brief overview of the ways in which youth have been centered and implicated as agents of peace on local, regional, and global levels. I will then sketch out a number of significant shifts in the local and global narratives of Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) and deradicalization. Finally, I will locate refugee youth resettlement policies within these frameworks.

This paper provides a review of some of the significant theoretical shifts in the approach to understanding terrorism and the evolution of notions of deradicalization and CVE, particularly in the aftermath of the events of September 11, 2001. As well, the historical tracing I aim to provide paves a path to better understand the relationship between three seemingly disparate areas of study and social phenomena – youth policy, migration and displacement, and deradicalization and prevention of violent extremism. This article is the initiation of a conversation between these fields, and paves the ground for addressing the following questions: how does a resiliency framework for refugee resettlement create the conditions of refugee youth's politicization or de-politicization? How refugee resettlement policies shape and continue to reshape national narratives which under the guise of "social" and "community cohesion" come to the aide of empire and capital's security agenda? And ultimately, how does the resettlement of young refugees through a resiliency framework contribute to their sense of integration and belonging in Canadian society? While I do not answer any of these questions in this paper, I hope to provide the historical groundwork to begin to answer them.

Background and Context

As the world experiences accelerated mass migration, preoccupations about the integration of refugees—and refugee youth in particular—feature prominently in immigration and resettlement policies on both national and international levels. As well, the international security framework has directed its attention and resources to the role of youth, particularly those from the Global South, in the maintenance of global and regional peace and security. Numerous policies, programs, and funding have been dedicated to the management of young people for the benefit of global security (Sukarieh & Tannock 2018; Williams 2016). Central to these security narratives are approaches of CVE and deradicalization in which a resiliency framework features prominently. At the same time, a resiliency framework has become a common approach for the resettlement of refugees, particularly in and from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region as a way to mitigate the perceived negative impact of young refugees on the fabric of their host nations, to counteract the potential of radicalization, and to lessen their burden on host countries. This framework of resiliency as a CVE approach can be traced back to as early as 2004, targeting predominantly young Muslim men in Europe (Kundnani & Hayes, 2018).

Over the course of the past three decades, "youth" as a social category has taken center stage in many global and international policies. These policies and agendas have developed and continue to be against a backdrop of an environment that Giroux (2009) refers to as a "War on Youth," akin to a militarized affront. These global and regional policies on youth range across different United Nations (UN), and aid and development agencies. While they all focus on the important role that youth play in society, some focus on the challenges faced by youth, others on their political and economic participation, youth employment, and youth's role in global peace. The first United Nations youth-related resolution was established in 1965 titled "Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples." Later, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) declared 1985 as International Youth Year with the themes of participation, development and peace, as a way of drawing attention to both the problems and aspirations of youth (UN International Years). In 1998, the UN implemented an International Youth Day to "celebrate the potential of youth as partners in today's global society (United Nations)." In

1995 the UN implemented a World Program of Action for Youth, a biennial *World Youth Report* in 2003, an Inter-Agency Network on Youth Development in 2010, and a UN Envoy for Youth in 2013. Outside of the UN, other international organizations have been following a similar trend. In 2001, the World Bank, in partnership with the UN and the International Labour Organization (ILO) formed a global Youth Employment Network, and in 2002, the World Bank established a Children and Youth Team, as well as a network of national Youth Advisory Groups. Later in 2004, it created the Youth to Youth Community which is a network of young World Bank staff members, followed by an interactive youth website called *Youthink!* in 2006, and the dedication of its 2007 *World Development Report* to the condition of the world's youth. As well, in 2011, the World Economic Forum launched its Global Shapers Community, a network of hubs, led and developed by youth, in order to represent the "voice of youth" at different World Economic Forum events (Sukarieh & Tannock, 2015).

On the state level, in 2012, the U.S. State Department created its Office of Global Youth Issues as well as its worldwide network of Youth Councils with the aim of both "empowering" youth and "elevating" youth issues as priority in its global policies. More notably, in the same year the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) adopted its first *Policy on Youth in Development* (Sukarieh & Tannock, 2015). According to the USAID's website, the development of this policy was both "timely" and "necessary" since "more than half of the world's population today is under the age of 30, with the vast majority living in the developing world " (USAID, 2012, p. 1). In 2015, there was a visible shift in the sub-focus of global youth related policies. In this year, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 2250 on Youth, Peace, and Security (Sukarieh & Tannock, 2018; Williams, 2016). This resolution was part of a larger set of international policies and conferences which included: the White House Summit on Countering Violent Extremism (February 2015), the European Youth Against Violent Extremism Conference (June 2015), the Global Forum on Youth, Peace and Security (August 2015), the Global Youth Summit Against Violent Extremism (September 2015), and the 2016 *Arab Human Development Report* (AHDR) which focused on the "role of youth in the Arab region" (Sukarieh & Tannock 2018; AHDR, 2016). Further, youth play a central role and are identified as a main demographic for engagement in the UN's 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs – Youth). Peace and security, human rights, and sustainable development are the three main pillars of the work of the United Nations, and the aim of the Youth Strategy is to increase youth's engagement with them. Youth are recognized as positive "agents of change" who are resilient (United Nations Office of the Secretary-General's Envoy on Youth, n.d., n.p.).

Much of the frenzy of more recent youth focused policies and resolutions was foregrounded in the events of the 2011 Arab Spring in the MENA region. A wave of uprisings, referred to as the Arab Spring, called for the downfall of the region's largely Western-backed regimes. Hanieh (2013) describes the uprisings as the confrontation of millions of people with "authoritarian, corrupt, and feckless rulers, whose contempt for their populations has been matched by the fear of losing grip on power" (p. 1). These uprisings were grossly (mis)identified globally as predominantly youth-led, with particular emphasis on the role that digital media and platforms played in organizing the movements. This was partly informed by the region's higher than average young population (Kabbani, 2019). The emphasis on their youth-led and youth-organized nature has had significant theoretical and policy implications. The significance of framing these uprisings as youth led is a key point for analysis and

understanding of policies informed by population control frameworks such as the youth bulge theory and the demographic dividend which I will address below, while shifting focus away from the actual demands of those who rose up in the region.

Although the events of 2011 intensified the duality of looking at youth through the lens of "youth as a problem" or the "problem of youth," Catusse and Destremau (2016) argue that very little has changed with regards to state policies in the MENA region. What they observe is that given the increase in international funding, a particular understanding and definition of "youth" is becoming concretized in policies in the MENA region – one that is not nuanced and in fact highlights and augments specific tensions within the geopolitical context of each state. More specifically, it has had far-reaching consequences on gender relations in the region, as the implicit benefactors (or in other words those targeted by national youth policies) have become, more often than not, men. This focus can partially be explained through an understanding of the youth bulge theory.

The Youth Bulge

Briefly, the youth bulge theory can be understood as a successor to the notion that "overpopulation" in the global-South poses a security threat to the global-North. Incepted by Gary Fuller in 1985, it is used as a tool for identifying political unrest caused by large youth populations, specifically by men. Those who approach the youth bulge theory from a socio-biological lens believe particular male biological traits are what drive young men toward violence (Hendrixon & Hartmann, 2018). As one of the main theorizers of the youth bulge, Urdal (2006) combines theories of civil war with that of the youth bulge to conclude that there is in fact a direct and positive correlation between large young populations and political violence. Urdal (2006) makes a number of suggestions to mitigate the supposedly dangerous outcomes of a youth bulge, such as increased access to higher education, increased development, and emigration. Further, referencing the 2002 Arab Human Development Report and a report by the Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs/Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, Urdal (2006) concludes that well-educated young men are the most at risk of "terrorist agitation." Urdal (2006) bases some of his conclusions on the assumption that increased development will lead to increased peace, since it will lead to higher incomes and will have an impact on fertility and therefore change the age-structures of the population.

One of the anecdotes to the youth bulge theory offered by Urdal (2006) is the demographic dividend theory. This theory maintains that under the correct conditions, populations with a large youth demographic, can enjoy a "window of opportunity for economic development" (Urdal 2006, p. 611) *if* the fertility rates decrease *and* there is an increase in the working-age population. However, the realization of these conditions is directly contingent on the social, economic, and political environment explained by Hendrixon and Hartmann (2018) as an "increased youth education and economic policies that support free trade" (p. 611). The youth bulge theory frames the existence of a younger than global average youth population as a threat to political stability and security, and as such, a group that needs to be managed and controlled.

UN Resolutions: Youth, Peace and Security

In 2015, the United Nations identified the "essential" role played by youth in both the prevention and resolution of conflict and maintenance of peace through a first of its kind, resolution 2250 titled *Youth, Peace, and Security* (YPS) under the leadership of the Kingdom of Jordan (UNSCR, 2015; The Missing Peace Report, 2018). This was followed by resolution 2419 in 2018 and 2535 in July 2020 as the third resolution on the topic. These resolutions not only call for the protection of young people during armed conflicts and post-war reconstruction, but also highlight the crucial and "positive" role youth play in building and maintaining peace and security, and cultivating social cohesion, both regionally and globally. In fact, a progress report on these

resolutions identifies young people's work on peace and security as the "connective tissue" between fields of development, human rights, humanitarian affairs, and peace and security" (The Missing Peace, 2018, p. 52). In general, the *Youth, Peace, and Security* resolutions call for the participation and inclusion of young people in peacebuilding processes. While an in-depth discussion of these resolutions is beyond the scope of this paper, a few of their components are relevant to the topic at hand, which I will discuss here.

These resolutions highlight that the current youth population is the largest it has ever been globally, and that youth make up the majority of the population in countries impacted by armed conflict (UNSCR 2250). As such, the resolutions note, young people are also disproportionately affected by armed conflict, especially as refugees and internally displaced peoples. The resolutions also mention that under the correct conditions a young population can present a "unique demographic dividend" (p. 2) that can contribute to peace and economic well-being. In the 2018 Progress Report on Resolution 2250, organized by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and the Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO), the suggestion was made that under the right conditions, with a correct harnessing of young people's potential as contributors to lasting peace and security, the "demographic dividend" can turn into a "peace dividend"(The Missing Peace Report, 2018, p. 115).

The Missing Peace Report suggests that the disruptions caused by conflict in the lives of young people, and the absence of peace can lead to "radicalization" and "violent extremism" which in turn can impact the potential of peacebuilding and instigate further violence, ultimately creating the conditions for potential terrorism. Some of the mechanisms highlighted for the prevention of violence include: social and economic development, growth of local economies, youth employment opportunities and vocational training, youth entrepreneurship, political engagement, inclusive labour policies, and public-private partnerships. Specifically, youth and women are singled out as playing an integral role in countering violent extremism that is "conducive" to terrorism. Further, the resolutions call for policies and plans that can strengthen youth resiliency. In a 2020 UN Security Council report on the YPS resolutions, marginalization and exclusion of youth from decision making processes as well as youth unemployment are identified as two key factors instigating the cycle of "political distrust" and a "challenge to systems and structures" (UNSC, 2020, p. 2) contributing to both regional and global insecurity.

While there are elements of the youth bulge theory in the YPS resolutions that consider "unmanaged" youth as a threat to global security, the resolutions for the most part take a positive approach in framing a larger youth population as one that, under the right conditions, can have a positive impact. Referred to as Positive Youth Development (PYD), this model frames youth as "assets" or "resources" that can be developed as opposed to being managed (Damon, 2004; Moore, 2017; Sukarieh & Tannock, 2015). Quite often the approach of PYD appears with the ideas of individual or community "resilience" and "potential," downplaying the significance of the structural factors and focusing on the individuals' abilities to deal with adversities and harness their potential (Arnett, 2000; Tannock & Sukarieh, 2015). These approaches are very much visible in other recent global policies and documents on youth and the MENA region. These theories also facilitate not only the framing of youth in particular ways that serve national and global interests, but as well aide the process of creating a citizenry that can help to advance neoliberal development understood as a "hegemonic system within global capitalism" (Harvey, 2007, p. 27). This is particularly evident through the emphasis of the above resolutions and reports on vocational training, entrepreneurship, and the role of youth in economic growth.[1]

[1] For a more in-depth discussion on the relationship of youth entrepreneurship programs and youth political dissent see Ritchie, G., Haghgou, S., and Mojab, S. (Forthcoming). Dissent interrupted: Settling refugee youth in Carpenter, S., Mojab, S., Ritchie, G. (Eds.), *Marxism and Migration*. Palgrave.

Further, these approaches help to frame particular historical moments, such as the Arab Spring, in ways that are disconnected and dehistoricized from the actual conditions which led so many to the streets in 2011. These analytical approaches in the framing of youth as a social category, as well as policies and resolutions related to youth, demonstrate the global focus on youth as potential threats or gatekeepers of global security. Central to these narratives of global security, particularly as they pertain to youth, are approaches to Countering Violent Extremism and radicalization.

Shifts in CVE and Deradicalization

As mentioned, it is largely in the context of global peace and security that youth resiliency factors into the approaches proposed by the reports and resolutions outlined above. To better comprehend the resiliency approach, we must locate it within the larger narrative of deradicalization and Countering Violent Extremism. Much of the critical literature points to the events of September 11, 2001 as the impetus for the concept of radicalization as we understand it today, and as a turning point for states in cultivating a national narrative of integration and social cohesion against the threats of violent extremism (Coolsaet 2016; Kundnani, 2007, 2012; Sedgwick, 2010).

Centering youth, these narratives often rely on a resiliency framework (Neumann, 2009; Sukarieh & Tannock, 2016). In fact, Peter Neumann, the pioneer of the field of contemporary radicalization studies, defines resilience in the context of deradicalization as the "antithesis to terror" (Neumann & Smith, 2007, p. 100). Outlining a number of shifts in counterterrorism approaches and policies will aid us in better understanding the concept of radicalization, as well as how it informs a resiliency framework. I use the term *shifts* here, rather than *breaks*, because these approaches do not offer a definitive rupture from previous frameworks of terrorism or "political violence"; rather, they are turns on the same road. Further, definitions of what constitutes *terror*, *violent extremism*, or *radicalization* remain ambiguous within the field, and these ambiguities linger through the various shifts.

Nonetheless, the changes that do occur are significant: they indicate not only the evolution of countering and preventing violent extremism but also—contextualized within the larger socio-political dynamics—help us understand the conditions of their conceptualization and implementation, ultimately to the service of the production and reproduction of the social relations of capital. These shifts also illuminate that the events of 9/11, for example, cannot be understood as the initiation of regimes of hyper surveillance and criminalization of particular groups of people, nor as the first time that national narratives were reformulated against the backdrop of the threat of disintegration of national unity, but rather what Kumar (2020) refers to as a "turning point." The framework of radicalization, or the "new terrorism," can be understood as a post 9/11 phenomena, theorized by scholars of terrorism such as Walter Laqueur (2004) and Peter Neumann (2009). This new era of terrorism is predominantly understood as "Islamic fundamentalist violence" that is less political and more innate, as compared to the "old terrorism" that was more political in nature and "inspired by nationalism, communism, or fascism" (Kundnani, 2012, p. 4) The "new terrorism" approach to understanding radicalisation suggests that individuals no longer (as they did before) belong to an organized and structured political group but instead are "radicalized into supporting an "ideology" as part of an informal social network" (Kundani, 2012, p. 12).

Scholars of radicalization (Kundnani, 2012; Pressman, 2008; Sedgwick, 2010) argue that the current framework entails an approach of national integration, predominantly in Western Europe, and less so in Canada and the United States. This idea of integration and desegregation focuses on aspects such "residential and labour-market segregation" (Sedgwick, 2010, p. 486) as a form of violence prevention, not too dissimilar from new approaches to refugee integration. Further, there are a number of nations and regions that have played a fundamental role in the development and implementation of countering and preventing violent extremism frameworks, and have each at one point or another been the leading figure in the field. They include the UK, the European Union, and the United States. That is to say that while there have been periods of divergence in their individual approaches to the issue, ultimately their policies have come to mirror one another.

Referencing a bibliographic study of the field of terrorism, Stampnitzky (2013) states that the study of terrorism, in the way that it is understood today as a form of "political violence," began in 1973. It is at this point that another shift, from the concept of (counter)insurgency to (counter)terrorism begins to take shape—although counterinsurgency remains to play a crucial role in U.S. foreign relations strategies. Kumar (2020) contextualizes the period of the late 1960s through to the 1970s as a moment of "empire in crisis," defined by the "the Vietnam War, declining U.S. economic hegemony, the rise of Third World Nationalism, and the radicalisation of the anti-war and civil rights movements" (p. 35), as well as the events of the Iranian Islamic Revolution in 1979. It is in this environment, Kumar (2020) argues, that threats, domestic and global in nature, were understood through the U.S. counterinsurgency framework. Further, the first neoliberal project in place in Chile "set the stage for a new era of capitalist renewal" (Kumar, 2020, p. 39) that was contingent on the management of dissent as well as a "logic of security."

This logic understood that in order for "capitalism to thrive" it was dependent on security and global stability. Counterinsurgency, a form of conflict understood as "a partnership between 'governments, non-governmental organizations, international organizations, and the private sector'" (Khalili, 2011, p. 1472) at the time ensured and continues to ensure the United States' imperial agenda. This was, of course, met by dissent both inside the U.S. and globally, and on the international level, in part, brought the U.S. and Israel closer together in fighting a common enemy—the Arab terrorist (Kumar, 2020). It is as well at this time that there began to be a shift, or a desire to shift the definition of terrorism to focus on people and not necessarily states (for a detailed discussion on this history, specifically the key role of the Jonathan Institute Conferences, see Kumar, 2020). However, this process, as Kumar (2020) points out, was not without its contradictions.

On the global level, in 1973, the UNSC passed Resolution 3070 titled *Importance of the universal realization of the right of people to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human right (reference doc)*, which reaffirmed the people's right to struggle for liberation including through "armed struggle" (Kumar, 2020; United Nations General Assembly). Earlier in 1972, in a White House Memo and later in 1976 in a speech by the head of the Cabinet Committee to Combat Terrorism (CCCT), it was outlined that "common crimes, internal political disputes, civil strife, decolonization, bi-national or international armed conflict" (p. 26) were outside of the realm of U.S. "campaign against international terrorism," with only a concern for the "spread of violence to persons and places far removed from the scene of struggles for self-determination" (as cited in Stampnitzky, 2013, p. 26), or a "spilling over" of violence. In much the same way that the events of September 11, 2001 ushered in a new conversation around terrorism and radicalization, the massacre at the Munich Olympics in 1972 is identified as the "inaugurating" event of "modern terrorism" (Kumar 2020; Stampnitzky 2013).

Post 9/11 Shift

The events of September 11, catalyzed a shift away from the idea of *terrorism* and *radicalism* to *radicalization*, in order to understand the "cultural-psychological disposition" leading to violence (Kundnani, 2012). This shift to radicalization or Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) as referred to in the European Union and the United States respectively, has had a number of important implications for policy and practice: it has catalyzed the shift away from understanding how terrorism occurs to why terrorism occurs, or rather the "root causes" of terrorism; it has led to a focus on the individual, their circumstances, and ideology, at the expense of depoliticizing and obscuring the larger context and conditions leading to violence; it has shifted focus to prevention and preemptive approaches to violence; broadened the reach of the state security agenda by involving different state and non-state sectors in the process of identifying and pre-empting violence; and more explicitly brought into its fold national narratives and mechanisms of "integration" and "prevention of segregation" as approaches in deradicalization (Coolsaet, 2016; Kundnani 2007, 2012; Laqueur, 1987; Neumann, 2008; Pressman, 2008; Revell, 2018; Sedgwick 2010).

The initiation of CVE or deradicalization approaches and policies can be traced back to Amsterdam in 2004. At the time, the city aimed to implement a system that could detect signs of radicalization of young Muslims early-on, in order to intervene. This new approach did not aim to intervene in active cases of violence

but rather wanted to pre-empt the violence of those who, although had expressed lawful political and religious views, were perceived to be a threat (Coolsaet, 2016; Kundnani & Hayes, 2018). The underlying assumption was that if youth were identified in that *early* stage, then through an intervention they could cultivate a capacity to become resilient against radicalization. This was the beginning of CVE as a pre-emptive mechanism to terror and violence. This approach also entailed the cultivation of an intricate and complex set of extended relationships with different institutions and state agencies in order to gather the necessary information to identify signs of radicalization (Kundnani & Hayes, 2018).

In the framework of radicalization, particular kinds of ideology were identified as the "cause of terrorism" and young people as the vessels for enacting those ideologies. In 2004, the Dutch General Intelligence and Security Service (AIVD) was the first organization in the West to identify and describe radicalization as an ideological process that had the possibility of developing "autonomously in Western countries without the involvement of a recruiting organization" (Kundnani & Hayes, 2018, p. 5) or particular social and political circumstances. It should be noted that almost a decade later, the AIVD declared that the mechanism of profiling and identifying indicators had been only of "limited use" (Coolsaet, 2016, p. 5).

What initiated in the Netherlands arrived in Britain shortly after in 2005, signalling a shift toward focusing on "attitudes, mindsets, and dispositions" (Kundnani & Hayes, 2018, p. 7) and away from understanding organizations, institutions, and movements as sources of terror. This shift toward considering different sources of radicalization, mostly focused on Islamic ideology, which by then was believed to not spread through recruitment, but rather ideologically radicalised young people toward violent extremism. In the UK, this led to the creation of the Prevent Program that was the first of its kind in scope and its demands from society at large (Thomas, 2016, 2018). In the context of the UK, Miller (2018) argues that over the past two decades, public discourse and legislation on topics of racism and ethnic minority relations have transformed into that of "community cohesion," later to "preventing violent extremism" and ultimately into the Prevent Program.

The events of September 11 facilitated the switch from social or community cohesion to "preventing violent extremism" and Miller (2018) suggests that the concept of "community cohesion" as a national policy in the UK was "predicated" on that of "parallel lives" that identified self-segregation as a factor in the division of people of "different communities" from the nation as a whole. In fact, Kundnani (2007) argued that after the events of 7/7 in London, the UK's government strategy was to develop a national narrative to demonstrate how "a set of core values were embedded in what it meant to be British" (p. 25) which went on to create benchmarks against which different categories of migration and legitimacy of immigrant groups could be assessed. In 2005, there was also a shift in the approach to counter-terrorism in the United States. Four years after the launch of its Global War on Terror, the United States adopted a "strategy against violent extremism" (Kundnani & Hayes, 2018, p. 4) which indicated a policy move away from a focus on Al-Qaeda to a broader problem of support for "radical Islam" in the "Muslim world." CVE, often understood as a softer approach to the militarized responses to terror was meant to enable the "possibility of a long-term and holistic solution to terrorism" (Kundani & Hayes, 2018, p. 3). This "softer" approach by the United States was also a step toward realigning their policies with the European Union who had adapted a CVE approach shortly after 9/11 and had become distanced from the U.S. military approach of "shock and awe." As Kundnani and Hayes (2018) and Khalili (2011) suggest, by 2005 both the United States and the EU had aligned in a "hearts and minds" approach versus the "shock and awe" of the U.S. military response after the events of 9/11. The adoption of this approach was also conceived as a response to the idea of "home-grown terrorism."

Young Refugees and Resilience

Another notable shift, this time in the field of refugee resettlement, is the approach of long-term integration of refugees into the fabrics of host countries. This is a distinct departure from the policies of the 1990s, particularly in the EU, that focused more on the repatriation of refugees and in fact discouraged labor-market integration for that reason. This shift can be attributed to the increase in what is referred to as "protracted situations" defined as one where "25,000 or more people have been exiled for 5 years or more"

(Parkes & Pauwels, 2017, p. 2). One of the other perceived consequences of the lack of integration of refugees, and protracted habitation in camps, is the potential of radicalization (Suede, Stebbins, & Weilant, 2015). Although at least one report suggests that there is little evidence to indicate that there is a distinct difference between the radicalization of refugee youth and others (Suede, Stebbins, & Weilant, 2015).

A resilience informed agenda for refugee resettlement has gained momentum as a response to the protracted refugee crisis resulting from ongoing conflict in Syria, which is identified as not only a humanitarian and development crisis, but as well as the "most serious threat to regional peace and security" (3RP, 2015-2016, p. 6). While it is unclear when this approach was officially adopted, the Resilience Development Forum held in Jordan in 2015 appears to be one of the first times it was taken up at a global level. António Guterres (2015), at the time UN High Commissioner for Refugees, referred to a "resiliency agenda" in the keynote address of the forum. Guterres commented that resilience "is a key instrument of refugee protection" and that it is "a very important factor to allow for humanitarian action to be able to respond to the dramatic increasing humanitarian needs" of our current moment (para. 9). Commenting on the exponential rate of displacement and migration in the decade leading up to 2015, Guterres (2015) highlighted specific countries as essential for "global peace and security and for regional stability" (para. 16), including Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey, as well as others neighboring Syria, along with east and central African countries. As part of the "resilience agenda," Gutteres identified these countries as those in "first priority" of development. And while some of these listed nations fall in the category of middle-income nations, Gutteres highlights UNHCR's efforts in changing policies that would make them eligible for loans and grants from the International Financial Institutions.

In that same year, the Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP) was launched. The 3RP is lauded as the first UN program to combine "humanitarian and development capacities, innovation, and resources" (UNHCR, n.d., c, p. 6) by bringing them together "into a single framework" (p. 8). From then on, refugee resilience can be seen not only in the work of the UNHCR but as well at the International Labour Organization (ILO), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and the World Food Program (WFP) among others. These organizations speak to resilient labour markets, resilience and self-reliance, resilience as a stage in building stability after a crisis, resilient coping mechanisms, and resilient development – all in relation to refugees and their host countries. Resilience is defined as the ability, individual or communal, to adapt, recover and "even" thrive in situations of adversity (UNHCR, 2016).

The UNHCR explains that refugee populations experience these adversities with greater intensity, frequency, and in more than one way. The positive adaptation that is the driving force of resilience has traditionally been defined as an intrinsic and individual characteristic evident in one's character disposition or even "genetic predisposition" (UNHCR, 2016, p. 1). However, more current research suggests that this "positive adaptation" or one's ability to cope with adversity cannot only be explained as located within the individual but as well as in the relationship between the individual and their environment. In other words, "the capacity of *both* individuals and their environments to interact in ways that optimize developmental processes" (Ungar, 2013, p. 256, emphasis in original). Resiliency then, can be "observed" in individuals who can access the resources they need in order to "flourish." However, this can only happen if the individual's "formal and informal social networks" can provide those resources. This ecological approach to understanding and cultivating resilience, tips the onus more greatly toward the availability and accessibility of resources—a "facilitative environment"—and away from placing the onus on the individual alone (Ungar, 2013). Put differently, this approach suggests attitude alone cannot cultivate resiliency. Given the conditions leading to the forced displacement of people, a significant part of this relationship—the "social and physical ecologies"—is negatively impacted. The resiliency approach, understood as a strengths-based approach is thought to be able to facilitate the transformation of experiences of adversity such as "loss of home, disrupted educational or professional plans, unstable legal status, detention, dangerous journeys, family separation…" into

opportunities for "personal growth and understanding" (UNHCR, 2016, p. 1). The ecological approach allows for these individuals to access different "capitals" in order to compensate for the adversities they have experienced and as such " transition into a peaceful and productive adult" (UNHCR, 2016, p. 2). The UNHCR outlines these capitals as: social capital, such as social relationships, and "cultural embeddedness"; human capital—the "ability to learn, play, and work" (UNHCR, 2016, p. 2); financial/institutional capital, such as healthcare, and social welfare; and environmental capital—schools, water, safe housing, etc.

Conclusion

It is hard to quantify the ongoing destruction left in the wake of the attacks of September 11, 2001: the War on Terror, the ensuing invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, and the diminishing of civil liberties in the interest of national security, to name just a few. The attacks themselves and what has followed have in many ways reshaped the way people socially and politically organize life and are organized by it on a global level, and while they may appear as a rupture in the relations of securitized capitalism, they are in fact a continuation of logics of insurgency and methods of population control, albeit intensified. Regardless of this continuity, 9/11 still marks a significant point in the evolution of theoretical and practical approaches to counterterrorism. By outlining some of the major shifts in Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) and counterterrorism frameworks, I have highlighted that the current approach to deradicalization can be understood as a post 9/11 phenomena. The events of 9/11 marked a new understanding of what constitutes terrorism, and as such necessitated a new framework for countering it. The shift toward understanding the root causes of terrorism, has brought different sights of life and human activity, state and non-state institutions, and processes, into the fold of a global security agenda.

Further, by providing a historical tracing of three seemingly divergent areas of policy and global activity, I have highlighted their interconnectedness. My point is to locate the resiliency approach to young refugee resettlement, as part of a broader framework of CVE and deradicalization by arguing that this approach cannot be understood without accounting for the outlined shifts in approaches to counterterrorism that were justified through the events of September 11, 2001. These shifts and logics of security are integral to unpack and historicize in order to understand how they shape and condition the politicization of young refugees, and in turn, how young refugees become embedded in the larger logics of surveillance and control.

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Canadian Social Studies

canadiansocialstudies.ca

Electronic ISSN 2564-1166

July 2021

Volume: 52 Issue: 2 pp. 52–67

Echoes of Terror(ism): The Mutability and Contradictions of Countering Violent Extremism in Québec

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Article Info

Received: March 2, 2021
Revised: May 14, 2021
Accepted: June 11, 2021

https://doi.org/10.29173/css25

ABSTRACT

Our paper examines the latest frontier of the "War on Terror," countering violent extremism (CVE), non-coercive approaches that aim to prevent "radicalization" that may lead to "violent extremism" or terrorism. We look at the recent implementation of CVE in Québec's education sector. Based on an analysis of key policy documents and interviews with CVE practitioners, we find that: (1) teachers are responsibilized to safeguard society from the risk of terrorism through being expected to "know the signs" of radicalization and to build "resilience," (2) students are responsibilized as agents who can influence their peers against violent extremist messaging and toward "prosocial" behaviour, and (3) elements of school curriculum are responsibilized, especially social studies education, to provide students with "critical thinking" skills thought to be lacking among those at risk of radicalization. We highlight the inherent contradictions in CVE, which, in Québec, claims to foster pluralism and inclusivity to combat Islamophobia, but as a modality of the "War on Terror" also targets and stigmatizes Muslim communities. Critical discussion of CVE's social implications are needed to initiate critical dialogue in Canada over the impact of CVE in social services provision and the risk of securitizing the education sector in Québec.

KEYWORDS

Radicalization; Violent extremism; Education; Risk; Resilience; Québec

Introduction

The post-9/11 "War on Terror" is associated with militaristic campaigns that have led to death and displacement in Muslim countries (Crawford & Lutz, 2019) as well as coercive anti-terrorism laws leading to the detention and torture of Muslims in western countries (Ismail et al., 2014; Razack, 2008). Our paper focuses on the latest frontier of the "War on Terror"—countering violent extremism (CVE), a field of policies and practices aimed at preventing individuals from "radicalization" that may lead to engaging in "violent extremism" or terrorism.[1] Though CVE is designed under the rubric of national security, it stands in contrast to "hard" counter-terrorism practices, relying instead on "soft," non-coercive approaches enlisting the support and participation of social, education, and cultural institutions (Ragazzi, 2017). Operating in the "pre-criminal" space, CVE purportedly addresses the root causes of terrorism, aiming to avoid the "risk" of future incidents of terrorism (Heath-Kelly, 2017; Martin, 2014; Mythen, 2020). An important component of CVE is detecting signs of "radicalization" or "violent extremism" early in order to intervene pre-emptively with "vulnerable" individuals and communities to make them "resilient" to violent extremism (Heath-Kelly, 2013; Public Safety Canada, 2018). As part of CVE, national security agencies rely on law enforcement, families, schools, social services agencies, and other "frontline" institutions to detect and report on signs of radicalization. CVE programs include engagement and outreach with specific communities, education and training on "radicalization," public relations and messaging, making non-policing agencies surveillance partners, and targeted psychosocial interventions for individuals (Kundnani & Hayes, 2018; Public Safety Canada, 2018). CVE activity also encompasses programs to "de-radicalize" individuals who are considered to have been radicalized (Horgan & Braddock, 2010).

CVE is a relatively new innovation in the practice of counter-terrorism that is institutionalized in varying degrees across different countries. Arguably, the most prominent and influential CVE initiative is the U.K.'s *Prevent* strategy, which was activated in 2006 in response to incidents of "homegrown terrorism" in the U.K. and Europe (Kundnani, 2012). Indeed, CVE stems from states wanting to prevent "Islamist" terrorism within their respective borders by perpetrators who were born and raised in the same country. CVE activity intensified across countries in North America and Europe in 2015, in response to the so-called "foreign fighters" phenomenon, a label used in reference to "radicalized" Muslim youth travelling to Syria and Iraq to participate in conflicts there and returning back (Silva & Deflem, 2020; U.N. General Assembly, 2015). With the previous Harper Conservative government favouring "hard" counter-terrorism approaches over a "soft" CVE approach, Canada's federal government was slow to develop a national CVE strategy.[2] So, provinces and municipalities proceeded to develop their own CVE responses. The province of Québec was a forerunner in developing a CVE plan, which was a response to the high-profile attacks in Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu and Ottawa in 2014, and a wave of CEGEP[3] college students either having traveled or wanting to travel to join conflicts in Syria and Iraq in 2014 and 2015 (CPRLV, 2016a; Solyom, 2016). Québec's plan called for closer coordination, monitoring, and capacity building to tackle radicalization to violence across eight ministries including the Ministre de l'Immigration, de la Diversité et de l'Inclusion, the Ministre de la Santé et des Services sociaux, and the Ministre de l'Éducation, de l'Enseignement supérieur et de la Recherche (Québec,

[1] Policy documents use different terminology to refer to CVE, e.g., "counter-radicalization" (CR), "countering radicalization to violence" (CRV), and "preventing violent extremism/radicalization" (PVE/PVR). While there may be nuanced differences across national jurisdictions, essentially these refer to non-coercive efforts to prevent future occurrences of terrorism and violent extremism.

[2] The change to a Trudeau Liberal government at the federal level in 2015, brought with it a political will for CVE (Kubicek & King, 2021).

[3] The CEGEP system (*Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel*) refers to publicly funded, post-secondary, pre-university institutions unique to the Québec education system. In our article, where we refer to colleges, we are describing those that are part of CEGEP.

2015). The plan sought to both tackle "Islamist extremism" as well as counter negative stereotyping of Islam in Québec. The Ministry of Education adopted the plan by making radicalization trainings available to school administrators and teachers, and by encouraging teachers to promote attitudes and skills thought to oppose radicalization to violence, such as inclusivity and critical thinking (Ministère de l'Éducation et Ministère de l'Enseignement supérieur, n.d.). Québec's CVE plan also supported the establishment of the Centre for the Prevention of Radicalization Leading to Violence in Montréal (CPRLV), an independent CVE focused nonprofit organization co-funded by the City of Montréal. Today, there is an active network of CVE organizations across Québec. Focusing on Québec's CVE response, our research examines what is at stake for professionals in the education sector as CVE strategies become intertwined with curriculum and day-to-day teaching.

The Canadian federal government has since gone on to develop a National CVE Strategy (Public Safety Canada, 2018). Today, two decades after 9/11, there are several entities across Canada dedicated to countering radicalization and violent extremism that work at the interstices of government, civil society, and communities (O'Halloran, 2020). In Québec and elsewhere, these efforts retain the problematic characteristics of CVE that have been widely discussed in literature. First, because of its origins and aims to tackle "Islamist" radicalization, CVE effectively reinforces the status of Muslims as "suspect communities" who are perennially at the risk of radicalizing to violence (Breen-Smyth, 2014). CVE has resulted in the surveillance, stigmatization, and securitization of Muslim communities (Ahmad, 2020; Kundnani, 2012). Second, CVE is not merely about disrupting violence, but shaping the identity and cultural values of Muslim "Others" who are thought to be incompatible with notions of imagined "Western" values (Lynch, 2013). Finally, the epistemological grounding of CVE is shaky as it relies on the poorly conceptualized notion of "radicalization" (Ahmad & Monaghan, 2019). Terms like "radicalization" and "violent extremism" have vague definitions (Richards, 2011; Sedgwick, 2010). Specifically, it remains unclear whether "radicalization" refers to the process of developing "extreme" beliefs or violent behaviour; moreover, political discourse determines which beliefs are considered "extreme." In the context of the "War on Terror," the notion of "radicalization" has been used to refer to Muslims developing "extreme" religious beliefs that are *assumed* to be linked to violence (Kundnani, 2012). Radicalization indicators, that are used to identify ideational and behavioural changes towards violent extremism, are intertwined with racial and religious bias that see risk in cultural and political expressions by Muslims (Monaghan & Molnar, 2016). Our research inquires how CVE reconciles the seemingly competing logics of viewing Muslims as risky but treating them as vulnerable populations who have to be secured from violent extremism.

We rely on theoretical notions of risk and resilience to critically examine the growth and traction of CVE. In attempting to pre-emptively act upon uncertain futures of violent extremism, CVE engages in the process of identifying individuals and groups at risk of and vulnerable to "radicalization." Risk-based assessments, through indicators and discourse, are at the heart of CVE efforts, and have relied on social constructions of race, religion, and identity. Closely related to risk is the notion of resilience, which is a desired outcome of CVE interventions. While community or individual resilience may be a desirable social good on its own, it takes on specific meaning when enmeshed with CVE. In the context of CVE, it is assumed that particular groups and individuals can build resilience by working towards specific skills (e.g., critical thinking) and committing to particular values (e.g., pluralism). When CVE claims to support Muslim youth and communities in building "resilience," it exposes an underlying assumption known in the field of education as "deficit-thinking." The "deficit-thinking" model attributes shortcomings to endogenous deficiencies, tying the failures of racialized students to culture, race, biology, or language instead of systemic issues like racism, classism, and the neoliberalization of education (Menchana, 2012; Valencia, 2012). It can be inferred that CVE's "deficit-thinking" encodes Islamophobia by deeming that Muslim youth and communities need resilience because of their internal deficits. Within the shifting CVE landscape, our research explores how

education is seen through lenses of risk and resilience via CVE implementation in schools. As CVE widens to tackle right-wing extremism, we reflect on how resilience is recalibrated in the political context of Québec.

Data for our research are based on a reading of key CVE policy documents and semi-structured interviews with CVE practitioners in Québec who are involved in delivering radicalization trainings or working closely with educational institutions on CVE matters. Our findings suggest that, as educators are being asked to take radicalization trainings and incorporate CVE in curriculum and practice, both educators and students are being responsibilized to "safeguard" society from radicalization and violent extremism. These movements bear the risk of securitizing the educational sector in Québec. Moreover, CVE appears to retain an inherent contradiction: it is seen as a technology that can foster pluralism and inclusivity to combat Islamophobia, yet it retains aspects of its Islamophobic origins and continues to stigmatize Muslim communities.

The rest of our paper is organized as follows. We begin with a deeper discussion of risk and resilience underpinning CVE. Following that, we present our methodology, after which we dive into our thematic findings and a discussion of those findings. We conclude this paper with some reflection on future directions of CVE in Canada.

Risk and Resilience in Countering Violent Extremism

CVE strategies were developed in response to the uncertainty and insecurity posed by the threat of "homegrown terrorism" (Millett, 2020). The logic of CVE normalizes taking security-informed, society-wide actions in order to mitigate the risk of a *future* incident of violent extremism. CVE is a technique that acts upon "radicalization," a pathway and process that leads from normalcy to "extremist" thought and violent action. But scholarship and policy documents have noted the concept of radicalization is contested, the pathways of radicalization are complex, and the link between "extremist" thought and violent action is tenuous (Kundnani, 2012; Schuurman & Taylor, 2018; Sedgwick, 2010). Ultimately, this makes the future of an incident of "violent extremism" inherently unknowable; nevertheless, CVE seeks to mitigate that risk by taking action today. Critical terrorism scholars observe CVE to be part of a turn in contemporary security from a reactionary to an anticipatory logic, which focuses toward containing potential "risky" events, with models and knowledges developed to make the governing of "unknowable futures" possible in the present (de Goede & Simon, 2013; Heath-Kelly, 2013; Martin, 2014). Risk here is conceived via Foucault as "a productive technique of governance which makes security actionable" (Heath-Kelly, 2013, p. 395). CVE is seen as an exemplar of this new anticipatory logic in security, aiming to make terrorism knowable and pre-emptively governable, extending the practice of counter-terrorism forward to the level of the "potential future terrorist" (Martin, 2014, p. 62). Through "radicalization," terrorism is made amenable to problem-solving approaches, opening up a new domain of security-led prevention "at ever-greater temporal remove from the danger it seeks to mediate" (Martin, 2014, p. 62).

In its ambition to manage risk, CVE is both "a means of governing – and of making governable" (Martin, 2014, p. 62). Owing to its origins to tackle "Islamist" extremism, CVE has made Muslim communities the governable subjects who are both a source of risk and vulnerable to risk (Heath-Kelly, 2013). Through the discursive techniques used within CVE, Muslims are considered a risk because of their racial, religious, and cultural distance from imagined notions of dominant "Western" values. On the other hand, they are "vulnerable" subjects who can be readily influenced by "violent extremist messaging" and terrorism recruiters. This dual construction of Muslim communities, at once risky and at-risk, legitimates a wide range of CVE interventions ranging from surveillance and policing, on one hand to community cohesion and social programming, on the other (Martin, 2014).

A stated outcome of CVE efforts is to make communities "resilient" to violent extremism. In surveying CVE efforts across North America and Europe, Stephens and Sieckelinck (2020) found that the language of "resilience" has been adopted within CVE because of its "optimistic overtones" that "focuses on strengths rather than deficits" (p. 143). They observed that resilience captures the ability of "bouncing back" to a state

of equilibrium following stress or adversity. In the case of CVE, it refers to a community's or individual's resilience toward "extremist ideologies." However, Stephens and Sieckelinck (2020) noted that the end state of resilience is never actually defined, leaving it to be discursively conceived against a set of unspecific, subjective notions. In this context, CVE, through techniques that include educational practices and approaches, seeks to induce "less threatening ascriptions of identity and values," that are thought to produce the "appropriate"/"moderate" Muslim subject who is resilient to violent extremism (Heath-Kelly, 2013; Martin, 2014; Ragazzi, 2017). The paradigm of resilience also assigns the work to develop certain skills and values upon the communities identified to be vulnerable. Thus, despite the above observation by Stephens and Sieckelinck (2020), resilience in CVE reflects "deficit-thinking," which assumes that internal deficiencies within Muslim communities propel them towards "violent extremism." CVE enlists existing welfare state actors, such as teachers and health and social service professionals, for building resilience against violent extremism. In this manner, CVE responsibilizes the vulnerable individuals and communities themselves as well as the social actors working to make those individuals and communities "resilient." As such, responsibilizing detracts from issues of systemic marginalization and political grievances tied to state practices that are more challenging to address.

Our research contributes to an area that has yet to be fully explored in the critical literature: CVE's increasingly intertwined relationship with education. Critical social policy literature has highlighted concerns over the securitization of education and social policy in the U.K. via CVE's reach into the educational and human services sectors (Durodie, 2016; Ragazzi, 2017). We ask, what is at stake for educators as CVE encroaches into day-to-day practices and curricula? This question gains relevance in Canada as CVE approaches take hold where the teaching of "radicalization awareness" in the classroom (while not legally mandated as in the U.K.) is central to primary prevention, and teachers are thought to bear a responsibility to safeguard society by "knowing the signs" of radicalization among the student populace and being prepared to make referrals for interventions. We assess how the problematic construction of Muslims in the risk and resilience discourse of CVE (discussed above) disproportionately implicates Muslim students in "radicalization" referrals. In social studies education, there is an additional pretext based on the rise of critical thinking and digital literacy skills being seen as a protective factor against all forms of violent extremism. We reflect on these issues, in addition to considering how radicalization research and CVE strategies intersect with existing categories of "vulnerable" and "at-risk" youth in education.

Methodology

This research study is part of a broader examination of the proliferation of CVE and its social impact that we undertake in our respective doctoral projects. The findings in this study rely on semi-structured interviews with twelve CVE practitioners in Québec. All participants interviewed have experience with training teachers and/or conducting workshops in schools in the cities of Montréal and Québec, as well as in non-urban regions. We used a snowball sampling strategy for identifying interviewees; starting with two initial contacts, we identified new interviewees based on recommendations of previous interviewees. Using this sampling technique, we gained access to practitioners whose job profiles involved CVE functions, even though it was not always apparent (Handcock & Gile, 2011). Outreach to interviewees to request participation in our research was conducted over email. While not exhaustive, our sample provides important insights from a range of CVE practitioners. The category "CVE practitioner" is itself an imprecise signifier, as a plethora of different sectors of society combine elements of this work into existing missions. Our interviews included people employed by CVE-specific organizations, people working in the non-profit sector with partnering organizations in CVE projects, and civil servants where CVE is one of several files undertaken. All interviews were conducted in-person between 2018 and 2020. The interviews tended to last between one to two hours, with open-ended questions that focus on CVE practitioner backgrounds, what prompted them to become involved, and how they reflect on the meaning of their work (see sample questions in Appendix A). The interviews did not focus specifically on education and schools; however, these topics were consistently raised in the dialogue, relating to the emphasis placed on schools and teacher training in Québec's CVE action plan. Interviews were recorded digitally and transcribed with the digital recording archived after transcription. In

line with ethics guidelines, the identity of interviewees is anonymized; therefore, the interviewees quoted in this study are assigned a pseudonym. Other identifying information, such as the name of CVE project interviewees worked on and place of employment, has also been omitted in order to prevent participant identification.

As mentioned, the interviews examined for this paper are part of a larger study on the field of CVE. The data analyzed was drawn from a subset of codes identified under the code *school,* which included sub-codes pertaining to different dimensions of CVE's association with education, e.g., *school as perceived site of radicalization; school as site of radicalization prevention; education as prevention tool,* and so on. We further analyzed and coded this dataset for the themes of risk, resilience, values, education strategies, and right-wing application of CVE, as we identified these as pertinent codes for this research study based on our review of the CVE literature. The data was then examined along with an analysis of key policy documents on Québec's CVE measures, and arranged into themes based on principles of qualitative thematic content analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), an inductive approach for deriving meaning from empirical data. The three key themes our research identifies are described in detail in the following findings section.

Through this research, we aim to move critical discussion on CVE's social implications to the ground level realities of its daily implementation, the types of dilemmas and contradictions that arise in the field, and their effects. Our work addresses a well-identified gap in the radicalization literature concerning the lack of community and frontline perspectives in research (Spalek & Weeks, 2017). Hearing directly from frontline CVE practitioners allows us to assess how the implementation of CVE strategies intertwines with the state provision of educational services. Our work adds to recent critical assessment of CVE in Canada (e.g., Monaghan & Molnar, 2016) by focusing on the case of Québec. In the next section, we begin with a background discussion of CVE in Québec's education system followed by a description of our key findings.

Unpacking the Intersection of CVE and Classroom Education: The Québec Case

In Québec, CVE practices have directly implicated provincial education policies. Québec formulated a provincial CVE plan in response to a wave of students from College de Maisonneuve departing in 2014 and 2015 to allegedly participate in conflict in Syria (Solyom, 2016). Concerns of radicalization were also exacerbated after the highly publicized attacks in Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu and in Ottawa by individuals thought to have been inspired by "Islamist" extremism. The Government of Québec released a three-year inter-governmental action plan, *La radicalisation au Québec: agir, prévenir, détecter et vivre ensemble* [Radicalization in Québec: act, prevent, detect and live together] (Québec, 2015). The plan outlined 59 measures for radicalization prevention across eight ministries, including asking the Ministry of Education to promote a CVE curriculum sensitizing teachers and students to radicalization to violence. As part of the plan, the province provided funding for the City of Montréal-led Centre for the Prevention of Radicalization Leading to Violence (CPRLV), which began operating in the summer of 2015. CVE implementation in Québec would see the government partner with research institutes and nonprofit organizations, such as the SHERPA University Institute and Institut du Nouveau Monde, while other organizations specifically devoted to CVE emerged, such as Canadian Practitioners Network for the Prevention of Radicalization and Extremist Violence (CPN-PREV) and Project Someone. Some of these entities have grown to become exporters of CVE policy to the rest of Canada and globally. The primary focus of the swiftly evolving Québec model for CVE was on "radical Islam" and the vulnerability of young immigrants to it.[4] At the same time, there was a pervading sense of the pitfalls of CVE approaches that stigmatize Muslim communities, as well as an awareness that the negative attitude towards Islam and Muslims in Québec was negatively affecting Muslim immigrants' sense of belonging, which was thought to be contributing to violent radicalization (CPRLV, 2016a; Rousseau et al., 2016). Thus, the competing discourse that treated Muslim immigrants as a source of risk but also at-risk (Heath-Kelly, 2013) would become a hallmark of CVE practice in Québec. Consensus formed around a

[4] The introduction to Québec's action plan calls for rapid and targeted intervention against "un courant radical violent de l'Islam" [a violent radical current of Islam] (Québec, 2015, p. 7).

"social-psychological" approach to prevention that emphasizes group belonging and positive social identity construction as resilience-building factors, along with making interventions against racism, discrimination, and Islamophobic prejudices (Dejean et al., 2016; Rousseau et al., 2016). The section of Québec's action plan, "vivre ensemble" [live together] contains measures for fostering social cohesion, inclusiveness, respect for social diversity, as well as for building positive feelings of citizenship and identity association with Québec among ethnic minorities (Québec, 2015). These lofty goals stand in contradiction to the political reality in Québec, where anti-Muslim sentiment is the highest among Canadian provinces and where Muslims were targeted in the deadly mosque shootings of 2017 (Wilkins-Laflamme, 2018). Québec also recently passed into law Bill-21 that bans religious symbols for public sector employees. In practice, the bill targets Muslim women by denying them the right to wear the hijab in public sector jobs, thus also leading to their marginalization in education contexts (Wells, 2019).

Under Québec's CVE plan, schools and colleges would be placed at the "frontlines" in the fight against radicalization and violent extremism. The action plan included researching the factors that make Québec students vulnerable to radicalization (measure 2.1.1), and training for teachers on preventing radicalization, promoting critical thinking, and dealing with sensitive subjects in the classroom (measures 2.6, 2.5, 4.1) (Québec 2015). The emphasis on the education system was based on the belief that people between the ages of 15 and 25 were most vulnerable to "radicalization," and that schools, as places of socialization for young people, provide important protective factors, namely positive classroom environment, student support services, diverse educational perspectives, and sense of belonging and identity building (Dejean et al., 2016). Schools were also seen as places where risk factors for "radicalization" – prejudice, exclusion, and discrimination – become noticeable and can be addressed. A study released with Québec's CVE plan describes schools containing "zones de fragilité constituant un terreau favorable à la radicalisation" [vulnerable areas that serve as a breeding ground for the radicalization] of Quebecers from immigrant backgrounds and that it is incumbent on educational institutions to identify and develop tools to mitigate these vulnerable areas (Dejean et al., 2016, p. 6). Research reports in Québec have noted that by focusing on education, CVE action can emphasize the prevention side of CVE efforts over detection, which is thought to stigmatize Muslim communities (Dejean et al., 2016; Rousseau et al., 2016). Nevertheless, detection remains a core aspect of Québec's CVE plan and teachers are encouraged to "know the signs" of radicalization. Research elsewhere has shown how the process of detecting radicalization is based on implicit anti-Muslim bias (Monaghan & Molnar, 2016; Younis, 2019). By introducing CVE in schools and colleges, Québec has moved toward securitizing the education sector.

Findings

Below, we present the findings of our research. We outline three themes that emerged from practitioner interviews and document analysis, highlighting what is at stake for educators and education as CVE is adopted in schools and colleges. Specifically, we highlight how 1) teachers are being responsibilized to safeguard society from the risk of terrorism by being expected to "know the signs" of radicalization and build "resilience" through mentoring and pedagogical practices; (2) students are responsibilized as agents to influence their peers against violent extremist messaging and toward "prosocial" behaviour, and; (3) the school curriculum, particularly social studies, is responsibilized as a protective agent against extremism with the onus to provide "critical thinking" skills. In a later discussion section, we explore the broader applicability and social implications of these findings, including the inherent contradictions of a CVE plan, which in Québec, claims to foster pluralism and inclusivity to combat Islamophobia, while also targeting and stigmatizing Muslim communities.

Teachers are Responsibilized in Reducing the Risk of Terrorism

Our interviewees underscored that teachers are central interpreters and arbiters of CVE education. Teachers can have both a positive and negative impact on prevention, particularly in the latter instance if they bring in "close-minded views" on topics related to violent extremism or rehearse anti-Muslim discourse dominant in Québec society. Best practice calls for school staff to be aware of the impact of their lessons or words, noting that when students feel offended by teaching sequences, such as on religion, they tend to

disengage and seek alternative knowledge (Dejean et al., 2016, p. 31). CVE practitioners involved in teacher trainings highlight these obstacles: "We had debates [over sensitive subjects] with the students but I would say that the most closed-minded people we saw were the teachers," remarks Erica, a practitioner with experience running CVE modules in Québec high schools and colleges. A similar impression is expressed by Valerie, a CVE practitioner who has conducted teacher orientations in Québec and other provinces: "We have it in mind that we want to train them [the teachers] for the students, but then we see that between teachers it's a problem." Teacher trainings thus become spaces "for people to talk about their bigoted views […] because they don't have a place to talk about it elsewhere." Multiple practitioners from different organizations described the myths and stereotypes the teachers held around Islam and spoke of uncomfortable training scenes where teachers made derogatory comments about Muslims in front of colleagues that were of North African or South Asian descent.

Teacher responsibilization under CVE extends to pedagogical practices in the classroom. Here, "a unique opportunity" is thought to be presented for promoting students' resilience and influencing intergroup dynamics (Dejean et al., 2016, p. 33). Per Québec guidelines, learning activities are recommended that foster critical thinking and provide space for open dialogue on difficult subjects, as well as "intercultural awareness activities" and lessons that create a sense of community by promoting student cooperation (Dejean et al., 2016, p. 32; CPRLV, 2016a, 2016b; Project Someone, 2018). Teachers are encouraged to provide mentorship outside of teaching time by engaging students in conversations on extra-curricular subjects (Dejean et al., 2016; Ministère de l'Éducation et Ministère de l'Enseignement supérieur, n.d.) In addition, teachers are equipped through training to "know the signs" of radicalization and on how to handle it, should the issue arise. An information toolkit by CPRLV (2016b) considers teachers as playing a key role in prevention strategies "as they know their students and are therefore in a position to note, on a daily basis, any changes in behaviour or adoption of stances that may be indicative of radicalization" (p. 10). Similarly, the education ministry of Québec calls for teachers to be familiar with their school's intervention strategy and be prepared to "[d]iscuss with other educators the situation of young people who appear to be at risk" of radicalization (Ministère de l'Éducation et Ministère de l'Enseignement supérieur, n.d).

Within this lies an apparent tension in the Québec model, which prides itself on *prevention* over *detection.* In practice, the onus is on teachers to determine to what extent educators should look for "signs" and refer those perceived as at-risk of radicalization to authorities. Marc, a research manager at a Québec-based CVE organization reasons:

> Whether you like it or not, people do detection because the radicalization discourse is there. What we say is, "be aware in a very kind of passive way. And when you're going to see something, don't get crazy. Just sit down, take your staff and see if you need to be worried. If you need to be worried, then call us or deal with it through the school."

Our interviewees conveyed how underprepared teachers and schools can shape CVE practice. Geneviève, who provides CVE related psychosocial intervention, notes the numerous "false-positive" referrals they receive about students that amount to "a misunderstanding of the situation," noting for example, "we received referrals from schools that thought a young Muslim boy with behavioural problems could be a potential terrorist." Geneviève muses that these incorrect referrals can do further harm in preventing radicalization, as can attempts by schools and teachers to intervene improperly with students identified to be at risk via punitive measures. Despite the reflexive comments by practitioners, the dynamics of CVE in Québec have cast teachers as agents of state surveillance, especially as they take on functions of detecting "radicalization." Teachers are asked to pay attention to student vulnerabilities, foster a sense of belonging and provide diverse educational experiences. Yet, societal discourse on the danger of radicalization of Muslims is, expectedly, informing how teachers perceive risk among Muslim students.

Students are Responsibilized through "Awareness and Agency"

CVE practitioners interviewed shared similar beliefs on the importance of youth involvement in CVE. Isabella, an interviewee who runs youth-based projects on CVE in the Montréal area, states that the key to

gaining youth participation in CVE is to "work with youth with knowledge on the ground […] encourage and aid youth who are already engaged in their communities, and give them agency," adding that "when you give agency, engage in dialogue, it opens the door." Both in the Québec plan and in wider CVE policy, there exists the belief that youth can be empowered to safeguard each other. If given the proper tools, they are seen as uniquely positioned to counter "extremist" messaging and influence their peers toward "prosocial" endeavours (Public Safety Canada, 2018, p. 26).

In the Québec context, there is an emphasis on "civic and humanitarian engagement," with youth-based initiatives prioritized that promote intercultural dialogue, pluralistic identities, and belonging to Québec society (Destiné & Marsolais, 2016). As explained by the Minister of Immigration, Diversity and Inclusion in a radio interview, "We are focusing on anchoring young people in their community, allowing them to get involved in order to see an impact on their school, among other things" (Destiné & Marsolais, 2016). This description suggests that fostering "participative citizens" who mobilize in the face of injustices and take responsibility for forms of intolerance in their environment should be considered a protective factor in fighting radicalization (Hachey, 2018).

This approach to student engagement carries over into interventions by CVE practitioners in Québec classrooms to "raise awareness" regarding the issues related to radicalization. CVE practitioners spoke of the successes they have had in working with youth in classroom settings to promote "attitudes, values, and critical thinking that will serve as protective factors," as well as to teach students "that being Québécois was like not about your accent or your religion but instead a feeling of belonging." Despite these optimistic overtures, many said that they often avoided using the terminology around radicalization and violent extremism when conducting workshops in schools because they saw it as unnecessary or as directing attention away from the broader purpose of promoting inclusion and a cohesive society. As explained by Erica:

> We determined it was not necessary to talk about radicalization. Not everyone you will speak to in the school will understand that when you say that you mean you have a program just to encourage critical thinking, to talk about vivre ensemble, to talk about racism, to challenge stereotypes, to talk about Québec identity, that's not what they're going to understand.

CVE practitioners seem to be implicitly aware of the tension that the CVE label can be stigmatizing and counter-productive to its stated aims of strengthening social belonging and civil engagement of students. This raises important questions about the broader implications of CVE as it subsumes otherwise beneficial social initiatives under the surveillance and security umbrella of combating violent extremism.

The Curriculum is Responsibilized as a Protective Agent

"With guns, you can kill terrorists. With education you can kill terrorism"
–Malala Yousafzai (re-printed in CVE teacher training modules of a Québec-based organization)

Lastly, and of particular concern to social studies education, is how the school curriculum itself is seen as a safeguard against violent extremism. This is the case as consensus forms across the field of CVE on critical thinking and digital literacy being a primary way to build "resilience." It is widely thought that the terrorism offenders hold simplistic visions of the world (Dejean et al., 2016; Sageman 2014). The key to prevention is, as one of our interviewees put it, to "encourage them to see colours" and to read beyond propagandist narratives on social media.

Rather than relying on schools to teach this with existing resources, CVE agencies in Québec have been developing their own tools for classroom use. This includes lesson plans available for download by CPRLV, Project Someone, and Recherche et Action sur les Polarisations Sociales (RAPS) on information literacy and "open discussions on social and political issues." A Project Someone presentation notes how facilitating pluralistic dialogue on controversial subjects and the development of critical thinking skills is positively correlated to commitments to civic engagement, tolerance of different viewpoints, and empathy –

all thought to be protective factors for warding off radicalization (Project Someone, 2018). The need and importance of "open dialogue practices that create opportunity for critical reflection" was highlighted due to the "tense political atmosphere" in Québec (Isabella interview), with many practitioners referring to the divisive consequences of Bill-21, and on the need to unpack the meaning of the bill specifically with students and teachers.

CVE practitioners that have run modules on critical thinking and digital literacy in Québec schools also remark on filling a perceived gap in humanities and social studies education programming. Erica saw her role in giving modules as "providing some curriculum supplement, taking the load off the teacher," noting that teachers in ethics and religious studies classes were pleased with how it fit their course curriculum. Erica expressed enjoying conducting this type of work but opined that: "in an ideal world we don't need like outsiders to come and make the students question their world in a critical way," and went on to suggest that "if schools did what they're supposed to be doing […] we wouldn't need primary prevention activities." When prompted on this further, Erica explained:

> For prevention to really work, the high school curriculum needs to be completely changed. To me that is actually the root of the issue. Critical thinking must be objective number one, but it's not, and what they are learning […] it's more about knowing than thinking. We need to see it as teaching citizens how to find information, how to be critical of information, and knowing the difference between and good source of information and a bad source of information.

These comments reflect a concern within CVE circles that the humanities and social studies, due to budget cuts, are no longer providing students with the critical tools (i.e., protective factors) required to understand the world around them, leaving them "impervious to the plurality of points of view" and extra vulnerable to the dangers of social media and the internet (Dejean et al., 2016; CPRLV, 2016b). Even though such a view acknowledges the structural constraints that have impacted the educational sector, it fails to situate CVE within its broader context. At its core, CVE is an instrument of security governance and state surveillance, seeking to prevent violent extremism through non-security means. Focusing on imagined best-case outcomes of CVE does little to draw attention to state politics and security discourses that shape CVE practice. We argue that the enmeshing of CVE with education priorities in Québec represents a move toward securitization of schools and society.

Discussion

Our research underlines the ways in which schools in Québec have become a site of operationalizing CVE. In particular, we highlighted how teachers are responsibilized to detect signs of "radicalization." Practically speaking, this development has heightened the surveillance of Muslim students, as teachers rely on stereotypes about Islam and Muslims to determine who is "at risk" of radicalizing. We showed how schools and educators aim to augment student agency in resisting "radicalization" by instilling particular skills and values. CVE's framework of "resilience," inspired by a deficit-thinking view, locates the reasons for "radicalization" in shortcomings among students themselves. Finally, we discussed how the curriculum has been enhanced with modules of "critical thinking" and "digital literacy" to protect students from "radicalization." This design sidelines CVE's raison d'être as a tool of surveillance and security to manage Muslim "radicalization." Below, we discuss further implications of our findings.

In Québec, CVE is applied through the act of identifying those *at-risk* of or vulnerable to "radicalization" and "violent extremism" and leveraging education to help build *resilience* among those who are vulnerable. It is evident from our data analysis that CVE boasts lofty ambitions in Québec: it aims to foster a sense of belonging, engender inclusiveness, enable critical thinking, and even combat Islamophobic prejudice. However, CVE in Québec is a specific response to "a violent radical current of Islam" and is a form of security governance operating in the social realm. CVE in Québec has not confronted these contradictory

aspects and, therefore, is both able to claim to combat Islamophobic prejudice by encouraging inclusiveness and engender Islamophobia by targeting interventions to tackle radicalization as a problem in Muslim communities.

The CVE practitioners we interviewed seemed to be aware of these contradictions (at least implicitly): on one hand, they conveyed that CVE can potentially address the gaps of critical thinking and cultural sensitivity in the education system. On the other hand, they did not want to use the CVE label publicly, especially among Muslim students, so it does not "distract" from the broader purpose of building cohesiveness or inclusivity. This reflects an awareness among practitioners that there is a stigma attached to CVE, especially among Muslim communities. It also suggests there is a gap in the celebratory rhetoric surrounding CVE in government documents and its implementation among target communities. For instance, CVE practitioners and organizations emphasize that Québec's CVE approach favours *prevention* over *detection,* and yet, teachers and schools find themselves in the position to determine who might be "at-risk-to-radicalize" and to make referrals. Thus, the movement of CVE into the education sector is strewn with contradictions. Nevertheless, with political impetus behind the CVE field across Canada, including the newfound enthusiasm toward countering right-wing extremism and white supremacist violence, we suspect that the field will expand and continue to retain its fundamental problematic features. As we mark the two-decade anniversary of the 9/11 and the "War on Terror," our intervention calls for taking stock of CVE as a new technology of security governance that encodes an insidious form of Islamophobia, making it more difficult to confront.

In the education sector, we have particular concerns as teachers, students, and the curriculum itself are expected to play an active role in advancing the goals of CVE. Teachers are expected to become experts at recognizing signs of "radicalization" and develop a nuanced understanding of concepts within CVE, such as "radicalization" and "extremism," that have even vexed experts. Teachers are responsibilized to identify students at risk of "radicalization" and foster resilience against "violent extremism," but as resilience itself is a subjective formation, teachers rely on bias and stereotypes in formulating their actions. As our interviewees noted, the myths and stereotypes teachers held about Islam and Muslims prompted the disproportionate monitoring and referrals of Muslim students. This surveillance and stigmatization of Muslim students under CVE invokes the spectre of the "school-to-prison pipeline," through which policing and disciplining practices in schools criminalize racialized students (Skiba et al., 2014).

For Muslim students, CVE in education introduces another dimension to the systemic disadvantage already experienced by racialized students in Canada's schools (Shah, 2019). In the Québec plan, students are expected to embrace prosocial behaviour and plural identities, yet the prevailing political climate in Québec continues to marginalize Muslims through social and political discourse and discriminatory laws. The curriculum itself is supposed to safeguard against "violent extremism" through critical dialogue and tolerance, yet mainstream political discourse in Québec has revolved around protecting a narrow, Euro-centric conception of Québec identity toward which Muslims, immigrants, and other racialized people are expected to "integrate." Thus, the moral ambitions of CVE have not reconciled, or are in direct conflict with, the lived experience Muslim Quebecers who have been subject to systematic Othering in Québec through discourse and legislative actions such as the Québec Charter of Values debate and the recent hijab ban via Bill-21 (Bakali, 2015; Koussens, 2020). Bill-21 has especially problematic implications for Muslim students as it denies them the opportunity to see their identities reflected in teachers wearing the hijab and sends the message that expressions of their Muslim faith are not welcome in schools (Wells, 2019). Thus, despite the aspirational language in CVE policy and the ideals of CVE practitioners, we contend that the inherent contradictions of CVE and its collision with Québec's political reality reaffirms its function as an instrument of social control and surveillance of Muslim Quebecers.

Conclusion

Countering violent extremism (CVE) describes a field of policies and practices that take non-coercive approaches toward preventing individuals from "radicalization" that may lead to "violent extremism" or terrorism. Data from our study of CVE implementation in the Québec education sector finds that teachers, students, and elements of the school curriculum are being responsibilized for safeguarding society from the risk of "radicalization" and "violent extremism." The school itself is viewed as a "frontline" institution in the fight against terrorism, re-orienting pedagogical methods, types of curricula delivered, and the ways teachers interact with students with the aim of terrorism prevention, in that they are seen as either "furthering risk" or "building resilience" to violent extremism. Within this, there is a sentiment among field practitioners that, due to budget constraints, social studies and humanities in high schools and colleges are not providing students with the critical thinking and digital literacy tools needed for proper resilience. Our study indicates that CVE in Québec exhibits several inherent contradictions, most notably as it aims to control "radicalization" among Muslims at the same time as trying to foster pluralism and combat forms of Islamophobia, racism, and prejudice embedded in mainstream Québec society. CVE, as a state-guided project, detracts from issues of systemic marginalization and political grievances tied to state practices, while obfuscating the continuation of Islamophobic CVE practices (i.e., "detection" and "intervention" with those "risky" and "at-risk") that have been documented to have contributed to the stigmatization and securitization of Muslim communities (Heath-Kelly, 2013). Our work also sheds light on how CVE in the education sector, as conceived and practiced, enables state-sanctioned surveillance of Muslim students and communities.

With our study, we seek to initiate a critical dialogue in Canada on the incursion of CVE practices in the domain of social service provision. Further research ought to examine how CVE strategies fit broadly along other "problematizations" that neoliberal education policy is expected to tackle under the logic of "safeguarding" (Lewis, 2020). This includes examining how radicalization research and CVE strategies intersect with "deficit thinking" in education and the existing categories of "vulnerable" and "at-risk" students, which have been criticized for being problematically affixed to marginalized groups and for having stigmatizing effects (Toldson, 2019). In the context of CVE, Heath-Kelly (2013) has reflected on how "at-risk" populations are simultaneously framed as "risky," blurring notions of vulnerability with potential dangerousness "to form a new subjectivity of 'young people [who need to be protected] from harm or causing harm'" (p. 406). A final concern for critical examinations are on ways that the net of vulnerability is expanding and mutating due to CVE's recent focus on substantively addressing forms of right-wing extremism, including hate crimes against Muslims. This raises questions on how CVE is experienced when it is applied to dominant, non-racialized members of society, and whether CVE, as its currently constituted, can manage to secure Muslims from right-wing violence without leading to a broader securitization of Muslim communities.

Funding

This output draws on research supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council and the Pierre Elliott Trudeau Foundation.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the anonymous peer reviewers for their valuable feedback, and extend thanks to the editors of *Canadian Social Studies* for their support and encouragement.

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Appendix A: Sample Questions for Practitioner Interview Guide

Sample questions for practitioners:

- Describe the type of work that you do (position, current responsibilities and projects). How long have you been involved in CVE? How were you recruited by the organization?

- What attracted you to this work? What were your initial impressions entering the field?

- What do you enjoy about this work currently? What are some of the challenges you have faced? What are some of the successes you have had?

- In what ways has your background influenced your approach or aided your success?

- Were there initiatives operating elsewhere that acted as a model for your project? Is there a book/author in the field of radicalization studies that stood out in influencing your work?

- What are some of the main lessons you have learned through your work (i.e. community outreach, interventions, program delivery)? What has surprised you, or struck you as interesting in terms of responses from the public?

- In your estimation what are the root causes driving this phenomenon? Are the societal/political reasons behind joining an extremist group different today than in previous times?

Canadian Social Studies

canadiansocialstudies.ca

Electronic ISSN 2564-1166

July 2021

Volume: 52 Issue: 2 pp. 68–73

9/11 and Social Studies Education: A Critique of Perpetual War and the Possibility of a More Peaceful Future

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Article Info

Received: March 24, 2021

Revised: June 28, 2021

Accepted: July 6, 2021

https://doi.org/10.29173/css22

ABSTRACT

In this article, the author shares a personal reflection of his military and educational experiences in the aftermath of 9/11. He describes his concerns about the ongoing "War on Terror" and the *disengaged militarism* of the United States and how this has shaped his approach in the classroom. Expanding on his personal experiences, he calls for social studies educators to employ critical pedagogy and peace education to help students develop as thoughtfully and critically engaged citizens who are capable of creating a more peaceful world.

KEYWORDS

Democratic citizenship education; critical pedagogy; peace education

Introduction

Like most people who were alive on September 11, 2001, I have a 9/11 story. This story, which is now a memory that has also been shaped by my experiences since that day, is one that will provide context to this article as I share my personal and educational journey in relation to the attacks and the two decades since. It is these experiences that have shaped how I teach and contributed to the hopes that I have for social studies education being a possible catalyst to a more peaceful future.

My 9/11 Story

September 2001 marked the beginning of my final year of high school and, as I believe is common among students that age, I was both excited about my future and still trying to figure out exactly what I wanted to do with it. Those ambitions were temporarily suspended in the immediate aftermath of the 9/11 attacks—replaced with feelings of fear, confusion, and anger. But soon those ambitions and feelings combined in my young self as I tried to make sense of the events and find purpose in my future. Before the end of that eventful month, inspired by the tragedy of 9/11, my own sense of civic obligation, and my desire to do something purposeful with my future, I enlisted in the United States Army.

I served in the military part-time as I pursued a university degree in social studies education. I enjoyed history, geography, and politics throughout high school and was excited to begin a career teaching these subjects. This path was put on hold upon graduation in the spring of 2006 as I was called to active duty to prepare for a 13-month deployment to Iraq. In the build up to that war, the connection sold to the public between Iraq and 9/11 made sense to me. The climate of fear allowed me to feel that drastic measures were acceptable in the name of safety and, like many others, contributed to my belief that all perceived threats should be eliminated at any cost. By the time I arrived in Iraq in 2007, I was skeptical of any meaningful connection. When I returned home in 2008, I was convinced that the death and destruction unleashed on Iraq and the world by the United States—justified throughout the media as a necessary response to the horrors we felt at home on 9/11—were morally and strategically indefensible.

While I have been allowed and encouraged to share my story proudly, this permission has not been granted freely to all who experienced that day and its aftermath. As my story and stories like it have been elevated, Muslim Americans—and those who are perceived to be Muslim—have been unjustly labeled as terrorists, viewed with fear and suspicion, pressured into silence with their stories, and erased from our national narrative (Ghalaini, 2020). Each anniversary of 9/11 provides many other citizens with the space to process and share their feelings and emotions. This twentieth anniversary has given me an opportunity to write an article in a published journal. But while these commemorations are meaningful to many, they also provoke anxiety, including worries about increased discrimination (particularly for Muslims and those perceived to be Muslim) and feelings of sadness, fear, and anger that are not accepted in the mainstream public discourse (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2013).

Twenty Dangerous Years of "Forever War"

In the days immediately after 9/11, the United States Congress passed an Authorization for the Use of Military Force that was signed into law by then president George W. Bush and remains in effect to this day. As the resulting and ongoing "War on Terror" has evolved over the past two decades through multiple presidential administrations, using new technologies, and encompassing a growing number of countries, the interest of the U.S. public has waned. Collectively, many citizens of the United States have been shielded from the human costs while others have paid enormous prices. Servicemembers and their families have endured repeated deployments, often resulting in physical and psychological trauma. Muslim members of their own schools and communities have faced discrimination and marginalization at home (Mir & Sarroub, 2019; Sirin & Fine, 2008) as the U.S. military and government have destroyed countless lives abroad and deferred the

financial costs to future generations—indeed the very students we are teaching. Furthermore, discussions in the United States of 9/11 and the subsequent two decades of war are often centered on memorialization and the celebration of servicemembers in a way that avoids critical thinking. 9/11 has become a regular part of social studies curriculum in the United States, but just as it has been treated in the nation's collective memory, commemoration has been emphasized and controversy avoided (Blight, 2011; Hess & Stoddard, 2011). Instead of an opportunity to learn deeply and with complexity about the causes and consequences of war, in order to ensure that the horror experienced on that day would not be endured by others, we have chosen to mindlessly continue the cycle of violence and inflict pain on others, globally and at home.

Our collective decision to use military force in perpetuity while remaining disconnected from the actions and consequences of that decision has led the United States to a condition that I refer to as *disengaged militarism*—one in which, despite the open-ended expansion of armed conflict and surveillance, enough citizens are adequately comfortable and therefore remain apathetic or casually supportive of a national commitment that should warrant deep and sustained attention. While the United States has been a nation at war for the past twenty years, it has behaved as though it is as at peace, demanding little noticeable sacrifice and attention from the many citizens who find comfort and take pride in belonging to a nation that exercises its military might abroad (Bacevich, 2013a, 2013b). My concern is that while we are preparing our students for democratic citizenship—soon they will make decisions related to our continued waging of war—too many of them are largely protected from the consequences, or worse, possibly even made to feel good about being at war.

As I offer national and collective generalizations, it is important to clarify that while those descriptions very likely include a majority of people in the United States, many—including Muslim Americans, servicemembers, anti-war activists, and members of Congress who have spoken out against U.S. foreign policy even as it was unpopular to do so—have carried enormous burdens for the actions and inactions of their fellow citizens. I focus much of my attention on the larger group not to minimize the experiences of all, but rather to emphasize that until widespread changes are made in relation to how students learn about the causes and consequences of 9/11 and the War on Terror, until more are able to understand the pain felt by others at home and abroad, the likelihood of change seems slim.

A History of Empire

What has been labeled as the "Forever War" (Filkins, 2008) is just the latest edition of a much longer story. The history of the United States is a history of empire (Vine, 2020). This is a history that is not commonly taught as such in the United States and the result is a public with an inability to place 9/11 into a meaningful context. Blowback is a term used to describe the unintended consequences of empire and actions taken in retaliation for the foreign policy of the United States (Johnson, 2004). To think about 9/11 in this context is not to justify the violence that took place that day, but rather to understand that it did not happen in a vacuum. Instead of asking "Why do they hate us?" a thoughtfully and critically engaged citizenry might consider more uncomfortable questions about the costs and consequences of empire. To ask difficult questions about a date considered sacrosanct by many in the United States is controversial, but allowing a generation of students to believe that war is normal and without consequence is truly dangerous.

The Next Twenty Years: Can We Educate Towards a More Peaceful Future?

Each anniversary of 9/11 provokes interest in how it is (not) taught in our schools, but we know that when students learn about it, if they do at all, it is usually a learning experience without context—one that is focused on remembrance (Westervelt, 2017; Duckworth, 2015). While the events of 9/11 quickly became a part of social studies curriculum in the United States, the treatment is often superficial, avoids controversy, and neglects complexity, leaving little opportunity for genuine understanding of a topic considered to be of utmost importance (Hess & Stoddard, 2011). Learning about 9/11 in this way undoubtedly perpetuates feelings of victimhood and the subsequent fear and hatred of others. Remembrance alone allows students to uncritically

understand it as an event that happened to us and one that justifies our wide-ranging response of military force that continues to this day in the name of keeping us safe.

My experiences have motivated me to become a social studies teacher who is able to utilize my background and my position to make a difference. I have learned a lot in the twenty years since 9/11 and, in the next twenty years, I want to work with other social studies educators to facilitate curricular and pedagogical changes in our field that emphasize a democratic citizenship that is critical of war, militarism, and empire, and is committed to the creation of a more peaceful world. I am often uncomfortable employing my positionality because of the attention that I feel it draws to myself, but I have learned in the years after my military experience that my background creates an opportunity to get students, members of my own school community, and other social studies educators to start listening to new perspectives. And once they are listening, they can be introduced to narratives that disrupt the one that has dominated and to voices that have been marginalized and silenced in the past two decades. By leveraging interest in my experience, and because I cannot be accused of being "unpatriotic" when I criticize militarism as a former soldier, I am able to challenge conventional wisdom and give others the confidence or permission they might feel they need to question the military actions and government policies of the United States as they relate to the unquestionable topic of 9/11. Furthermore, it is important for me to use my privilege and voice to make space for and elevate the voices of others.

Navigating the complexities of 9/11 and war have been a relatively easy task for me in the classroom. I can lean on my experience and I rarely worry about someone questioning my love of country—this is perhaps the only situation in which I am comfortable using my service to my advantage in a country that places its military veterans on pedestals. But I realize that for my work to be effective, it needs a stronger foundation. And for it to translate into other contexts and potentially influence wider change, it needs a framework that can bring more educators and students into it. Through my graduate studies, I was introduced to different theoretical and conceptual frameworks. I was drawn to the idea that critical pedagogy fosters an education against empire (Kincheloe, 2008). A more critical interrogation of 9/11 in relation to our history of war and empire is one that will help educators and students understand the prevailing "common sense militarism" (Moore, 2017) as a hegemonic way of thinking that needs to be disrupted (Apple, 2019). Placing 9/11 into a meaningful context and critically examining its causes and consequences is the only way that our students will recognize the danger of future blowback and the continued harm that our country perpetuates on the rest of the world and within its own borders.

As I write about this, I recognize that I do so in a way that emphasizes collective responsibility. I do this intentionally, but also imprecisely. Ultimately, in a democratic society, the actions of a government at home and abroad are a collective reflection and responsibility of its citizens. In the language of critical pedagogy, the citizenry of the United States operates as the oppressor and it is important to understand the power that it wields globally. Even if it were this simple, it is worthwhile to educate the powerful through a lens of critical pedagogy in a hope that people become more understanding of the harm they and their governments cause (Bacon, 2015). But, obviously, it is more complicated than this.

When considering the dangers of a public that is insulated from the consequences of war, it is worth asking: Who benefits from the military actions that unfold under the guise of protection? Within the population of the United States are groups of people—those who are Muslim and/or Arab (or perceived to be)—who have been deemed the "enemy" and have paid an enormous price in the treatment that they receive in our schools and society and with loss of their civil liberties and even their lives (Abu El-Haj, 2007; Niyozov, 2010; Qureshi & Sells, 2003; Said, 2003). Beyond the borders of the United States, millions have experienced death and destruction as a result of U.S. foreign policy in reaction to 9/11. Finally, even the majority of citizens who on the surface seem to be insulated are actually only protected in a very superficial manner—eventually, our students will need to reckon with the moral and financial debts they have accrued unwillingly by being born into a war that they did not choose. A major reason that our militaristic stance continues to be unquestioned and our forever war perpetuates is because the actual burdens of service are carried by a smaller percentage of the population while the majority is allowed to celebrate the sacrifice of the few (Bacevich, 2013a).

Social studies educators in the United States who teach critically of the causes and consequences of 9/11 are likely to be attacked as unpatriotic. Although I teach in a politically conservative community that takes great pride in visual displays of patriotism, I have found that their already high interest in the topic provides opportunities to elevate the humanity and complexity required for a more thoughtful examination. How my students interact with the topics of war, militarism, and empire—especially in their context—gives me great hope for the future. I also recognize that my background allows me to explore these topics from a position of relative comfort in comparison with other educators. This work will require other social studies teachers to operate outside of their comfort zones, but it will also require all of us to make the case that critique of one's country is the ultimate act of patriotism, and that our willingness to criticize our history and our policies is a reflection of our national and global commitment (Apple, 2002).

Finally, a robust critical education must also be one that includes possibilities and hope (Freire, 2000; Giroux, 1997). My hope is that this can be achieved by infusing critical pedagogy with peace education—an education that provides students with the knowledge, skills, and attitudes required to create a more peaceful world (Harris & Morrison, 2013). Beyond teaching students different ways of responding to our violent past and present, we can also help them to eradicate the conditions that lead to violence in the first place. In the United States, those who remember 9/11 can remember the horror of that day and many see themselves as victims of violence that appeared out of nowhere. As is the case in many conflicts, those victims become killers (Bajaj, 2008) and this has become the largely unquestioned truth as the United States has perpetuated death and destruction in the decades following the attacks. In sum, an education centered on peace would provide our students with a framework to understand and critique our historical and ongoing actions and collective response to the attacks of 9/11.

Towards Teaching for Critical and Hopeful Citizenship

As social studies teachers, when we think about how students should learn about 9/11, we must consider the types of citizens we want them to become. Regardless of the type—personally responsible, participatory, or justice-oriented (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004)—the causes and consequences of 9/11 provide rich opportunities for students to engage in learning in relation to democratic citizenship. But we have choices to make to foster learning beyond developing citizens who simply know about 9/11. A better understanding of our emotional histories and the cultivation of affective citizenship in a multicultural society could lead to a better understanding of 9/11 and its impact on all of our students (Zembylas, 2013). Additionally, we can build on critical citizenship and teach about 9/11 with the explicit purpose of making meaning of the events in a way that allows students to understand our capacities for both violence and peace and the possibility to choose one over the other (Shapiro, 2010).

Remembrance is important and patriotism feels good, but an education that leads students to become thoughtfully and critically engaged citizens, who are committed to a more peaceful future, requires that we do more. Two decades later, their lives are impacted by the events of that day, which did not occur out of the blue. Students deserve opportunities to wrestle with the complexity and discomfort that would allow them to understand this—something that the United States has yet to do. Learning about 9/11 without discussing context, uncovering causes and consequences, or reckoning with our own moral failures of perpetual war and Islamophobia is not actually learning about 9/11. A collective memory developed solely from yearly tributes is a dangerous weapon. It will be both challenging and controversial to treat 9/11 as more than the commemoration we have found comfort in throughout the past twenty years. But, if we want to provide the next generation with the tools they need to create a better future, critical pedagogy and peace education provide frameworks we can use, and we will figure out a way to make it happen.

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Canadian Social Studies

canadiansocialstudies.ca

Electronic ISSN 2564-1166

July 2021

Volume: 52 Issue: 2 pp. 74–88

Echoes of Terrorism in Today's U.S. Classrooms: A Re-Reading of Media Used to Teach about 9/11

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Article Info
Received: March 23, 2021
Revised: June 11, 2021
Accepted: June 20, 2021

https://doi.org/10.29173/css26

ABSTRACT

Nearly 20 years after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on New York, Washington D.C., and Shanksville, PA there is a yearly ritual in a majority of US Schools. On the anniversary each year, teachers and students across the US learn about the attacks and memorialize the events. In many classrooms this is done through witnessing the events much like in 2001 for most of the world – through watching news or documentary footage of the events. In this article I use Hall's concepts of encoding and decoding as well and socio-cultural theories to read these media representations both in the context of 2001 and again 20 years later to understand how these events are placed into broader narratives of US history. Many teachers today focus on the shock and horror of the events, an approach I argue is problematic as the affective response is emphasized over the historical context and consequences. Instead of using these media to foster collective memory, they could instead be viewed as primary sources to inquire into the historical context of the events and response in the form of the Global War on Terror. This approach would allow students to better understand the events leading to the attacks and the impact that the resulting responses by the US and other Western nations have had on their lives and the lives of others around the globe (e.g., Islamaphobia). After 20 years of conflict after these attacks it is time to both remember the victims of 9/11 as well as understand why it happened and the global toll of the response.

KEYWORDS

September 11, 2001; terrorism; media studies; history; collective memory

Introduction:
"Islamic Extremist is to Islam as _____ is to Christianity."

On October 3rd, 2001 the popular Aaron Sorkin-produced U.S. television series *The West Wing*, about a fictional president and his staff, broadcast a special episode in response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 (9/11) on New York, Virginia and Pennsylvania (Sorkin & Misiano, 2001). This episode, titled *Isaac and Ishmael*, was quickly produced and included the fictional White House in a lock down as a terrorist threat loomed. The message of the episode was to warn against profiling Muslim citizens as potential terror suspects. It foretold what would become real issues of surveillance, torture, and harassment of suspected terrorists and violence toward Muslim and Sikh populations in the United States. This response was not as prophetic as it may seem today – but was instead rooted in an understanding of how quickly nationalistic fervor and xenophobia would paint all Muslims or those assumed to be Muslim as terrorists (Abhasakun, 2017).

The answer to the fill in in the blank question posed in the episode—"Islamic extremist is to Islam as _____ is to Christianity"—seemed somewhat more prophetic than the anticipated response toward Muslim Americans. This question was posed in the episode to a group of middle school students under lock down in the White House – and the answer provided by another staff member was "KKK" (aka, Ku Klux Klan). Of course, this answer in today's context may seem divine given the January 6th invasion of the U.S. Capital led by White supremacist groups. However, Sorkin's response in *West Wing* was simply informed by a long list of domestic terrorism, or terrorism committed by individuals or groups within their own country. These incidents occurred throughout the 1990s, had a lineage dating back to the days of Reconstruction after the U.S. Civil War, and are on the rise again today. These are the echoes of terror to which the editors of this special issue refer.

Viewed today, in the wake of the January 6th attack on the U.S. Capital by White nationalist groups hoping to disrupt the peaceful transfer of power from the Trump administration to the Biden administration (Roose, March 4, 2021), this reference to the KKK seems even more appropriate. Signs at the "insurrection" at the capital included references to the Bible and Christianity. Among these groups are members of the Qanon phenomenon that believed Donald Trump would be the savior against a ring of Democratic politicians bent on pedophilia and world domination (Roose, 2021). This same group, and those orchestrating the conspiracy theories that fuel them, have their roots back to the 9/11 attacks. From the 9/11 attacks emerged Alex Jones, a primary instigator of conspiracy theories, as well as other anti-government and White nationalist groups (Stahl, September 6, 2011). These groups have helped to fuel the polarized, nationalistic, right wing, and anti-Semitic groups that stormed the U.S. Capital. Teachers likely debated having their students watch these events unfold (or discuss them in their virtual classes) in similar ways to the decision to allow classes to watch the 9/11 terrorist attacks unfold on national news programs (Will & Sawchuck, 2021). However, in 2021 students and teachers could view the events in real time through numerous social media feeds instead of just relying on national news coverage.

In this paper I examine how news programs from 9/11 and the many documentary films produced using footage from that day continue to be used in U.S. classrooms. In fact, they were the source most frequently identified to teach about the events of 9/11 – and this teaching largely occurs on the day of the anniversary and focuses on (re)witnessing the attacks and memorializing the heroes and victims of the day (Stoddard, 2019). Of course, the young people in those classes today have no living memory of the events of 9/11. In this article, I explore what it means for students to view these media recordings of 9/11 as their primary understanding of the events. This is particularly poignant given the upcoming 20-year anniversary of the attacks and the current U.S. context where teachers have reported sharp increases in students referencing conspiracy theories and misinformation about 9/11 in classes as well as references to rhetoric associating

Muslims with terrorism in the context of the proposed and then partially implemented "Muslim travel ban" (Stoddard, 2019).

In order to inform this re-reading of these video recordings of 9/11 in today's context, I utilize Stuart Hall's (1980) theory of encoding and decoding. The teachers' reported goal of using these media sources is to help young people (re)experience the events of 9/11 in the same way they may have experienced them as a shock, as an event that brought the nation together, and as an event that shaped U.S. foreign policy for the next 20 years. Using the concepts of encoding and decoding within particular political and historical contexts allows for an interpretation of how these readings of media may shift in meaning and in effect throughout today's classrooms. This re-reading of 9/11 media will also inform suggestions for teacher practice to help their students better contextualize and understand the events of 9/11 as well as how these events link to continued political and social ideologies and actions in the present-day United States and beyond.

Analytical Framework

In order to make sense of how media may have been received or decoded in the United States and around the world (including teachers) on the day of the attacks with how they may be viewed today, I utilize Hall's concept of encoding and decoding. Hall's (1980, 1982, 1996) highly influential contribution, relying on semiotics and building from theory within mass communications, recognized not only the constructed nature of media but also that media was shaped or encoded in a particular context and influenced by the views of those producing media as well as the dominant ideologies of the time. Hall also theorized that a process of decoding these messages was dependent on who the "reader" of the media was—their views, experiences, and ideologies.

This process of looking at media as symbol systems within discourses between producers and audiences provides researchers who study media effects the ability to examine the relationship between intended messages in media or preferred reads in Hall's (1980) work, as well as unintended or even oppositional reads. This reading is in part dependent on whether the message being engaged with by audiences matches or differs from the ideological views of the producer. However, this notion of media messages largely reflecting dominant ideologies has also been highly critiqued. As Pillai (1992) noted in his re-reading of Hall's theory,

> Hall seems to assume unproblematically that the preferred meaning and the preferred reading of a text are equivalent to the dominant ideology. The process of "preferring" the meaning of a text, at the moment of encoding, is simply read as repeating the dominant ideology. A similar problem occurs at the moment of decoding. (p. 222)

Pillai (1992) noted that Hall's later work better integrated a more sophisticated notion of ideology using the work of Gramsci and the conceptualization of a theory of articulation. This articulation theory recognized that there is no determination in media messaging but that context and time shapes how messages are encoded and decoded. In this way Hall argues that a media message is "not 'eternal' but has constantly to be renewed, which can under some circumstances disappear or be overthrown, leading to old linkages being dissolved and new connections-rearticulations-being forged" (Hall, 1985, p. 113). Using the process of encoding and decoding in this way allows for interpretations of the views and articulations of why teachers from our study use footage of the day of the 9/11 attacks. It also affords an exploration of how their decoding, shaped both from their experience that day as well as every year since, may compare to the decoding or reading of their students, who

were not alive on that day. Further, it allows for a comparison of the preferred reading of these images and how they were encoded in 2001 and now—almost 20 years later.

Within history education, ideologies of the type Hall refers to are often present in the forms of historical narratives and narrative templates used to make sense of the past (e.g., Foner, 1999; Wertsch, 2002). These narratives, which in U.S. history textbooks and other forms of official narratives often take the form of U.S. history as a narrative of freedom and progress – of exceptionalism and moral high ground – very much shape how citizens make sense of past and future events (Foner, 1999). These narratives, after years of reinforcement, take the form of narrative schema or templates for making sense of historical and present events that emerge (Wertsch, 2002). As some of the studies illustrate in the next section, these narratives are used to define what the attacks of 9/11 represent (i.e., explain why they happened) and justify the U.S. and other nations' responses. They also shape the dominant collective memory that emerged and is reinforced yearly on the anniversary in many schools across the country.

Previous Research and Relevant Literature

The research presented here is part of a line of research on how 9/11 has been included in U.S. curriculum and academic standards that started in 2003. At that time, I began working with a team of researchers focused on analyzing curriculum developed to teach on the first anniversary of the 9/11 attacks (Hess & Stoddard, 2007). In particular we focused on analyzing the curriculum using key questions such as: What is 9/11? What is terrorism? And how should the United States respond? The resounding answer at that time was the view that 9/11 was unprecedented and a shaped a moment of national and global support behind the United States and against terrorism.

Beyond this general theme, however, we noticed that groups producing the curriculum had varied and diverse goals for their specific curriculum – toward tolerance, understanding U.S. Foreign Policy, nationalism, and specific actions like voting. We also found that the use of moving images—from news broadcasts of the day and custom educational videos created by these organizations—held a prominent role in these curricula.

After this initial study we began looking at how 9/11 and the War on Terror (WoT) were integrated in other forms of curriculum and policy documents. The Global War on Terror was the term used by the administration of then-U.S. President Bush to describe intelligence, military, and foreign and economic policy action against terror groups and threats – though almost exclusively focused on Muslim terrorist groups from outside of the US. In order to understand the evolving role 9/11 and the WoT played in U.S. curriculum and academic standards, we applied similar questions and processes to examine the first and second editions of popular textbooks published after 9/11 (e.g., Hess, Stoddard & Murto, 2008; Stoddard, Hess & Hammer, 2011), followed by an analysis of two iterations of how 9/11 and the WoT were integrated into state academic standards (e.g., Stoddard & Hess, 2008b; Stoddard, Hess, & Brooks 2016). Across these studies several themes remained constant:

1) 9/11 was a horrific event that caused the world to rally to the U.S. side.
2) There is a focus on heroes and heroism from the day.
3) There was conceptual confusion of terrorism – with definitions and examples not aligning within the same text. There was also a consistent emphasis on examples of terrorism by Islamic fundamentalists with few from domestic terrorist groups who were not Muslim (e.g., White nationalists).
4) Finally, there was little inclusion of the controversies related to the attacks, and the U.S. and allied response to 9/11, until about ten years after the attacks. Even then, certain topics were deemed

> controversial (e.g., Patriot Act) while others were not (e.g., evidence used to justify invasion of Iraq, Guantanamo Bay detainees).[1]

In the few studies done with young people in the years following the attacks, many similar themes arose among U.S. and Canadian youth as they were asked to make sense of the attacks and their significance. Levesque (2003), for example, found that the young Canadians he studied generally viewed the attacks of 9/11 as significant, but attributed the motivation behind the attacks to be a form of jealousy on the part of Muslims for perceived wealth and sophistication of the United States. However, Levesque found that students using more sophisticated historical reasoning were able to show a better understanding or empathetic views of Muslims (though still as Other), and also recognized that the motivation behind the attacks could be an attempt to raise global awareness of, or challenge to, U.S. imperialism and interventions in the Middle East.

In contrast to the views of young Canadian participants in Levesque's study of potential geopolitical reasoning behind the attacks and the significance, Schweber (2006) found that within a religious education setting young people viewed the attacks through narratives of Christianity to make sense of the attacks. Schweber also noted that through the prayers and discussions of the eighth-grade class she observed that using the narrative schema that God controls all that happens, even events like 9/11, led to a lack of belief in human agency and even the need to do good in the world. Schweber also makes the case that these eighth-graders are not alone but are representative of the large fundamentalist Christian demographic within the United States. In their eyes, 9/11 is a fundamentally religious event. Beyond the use of religious- based narrative frameworks, Schweber also noted that

> The situation is hardly particular to fundamentalist Christian religious private schools… history education in U.S. public schools typically knits events into a narrative framework, and "not … just any old narrative," but into the "dominant narrative of U.S. history—the story of freedom and progress." (166–67)

The dominant narrative of 9/11 within the United States very much fit within the story of freedom and progress; as noted in the studies above, the perception for many was that the United States was attacked because Muslim terrorists hated their freedom and progress. The United States was attacked because of what it stood for – a quest for freedom – and not for its long history of political, military, and economic intervention in the Middle East. This narrative of Muslim terrorists and the spectacle of terrorism, most notably the replaying of an airliner crashing into an exploding building, fueled the notion that America was under attack and needed to take action (Kellner, 2006). This perception and representations of Muslims also reinforced notions of "good" and "bad" Muslims, with the Muslim as terrorist narrative used to justify policy decisions and military actions (Choudhury, 2006).

Beyond these initial studies of how young people made sense of 9/11, few studies examine what has been taught or learned about the events of 9/11 or WoT since. Therefore, we conducted a national survey of secondary teachers to understand how the events of 9/11 and the ensuing WoT are included in U.S. classrooms (Stoddard, 2019). From this survey, which was conducted in late Fall 2018 and included responses from 1047 secondary social studies teachers from across the United States, the themes outlined above remain consistent – even while the students being taught today have no memory of the actual events. The survey was conducted

[1] The USA Patriot Act included provisions establishing the Department of Homeland Security and Travel Safety Administration (TSA) after 9/11 as well as more controversial programs such as electronic surveillance both in and out of the US. Other controversial topics related to 9/11 often missing from the curriculum was the evidence used by the US to justify the invasion of Iraq, namely that Iraq had chemical and biological weapons, and the use of CIA rendition sites and the US Naval Base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, as a site to detain indefinitely combatants captured as part of the Global War on Terror.

using a random sample of 25,000 teachers who were recruited via email to complete an online survey. A subsample of 30 survey respondents were then invited to participate in a follow up phone interview to gain a deeper understanding of how they taught about 9/11 and the WoT and what challenges they faced.

In addition to the themes we observed, our findings illustrate what was actually being taught in U.S. classrooms, including:

1) That teachers overwhelmingly teach about these events on the day of the anniversary;
2) Key topics most often taught include the role of then President George W. Bush, al Qaeda and its leader, Osama bin Laden, and the locations of the attacks; and
3) Many other details of the attacks and WoT are largely missing – most notably an analysis of events leading up to the attacks and controversial issues surrounding the invasion of Iraq, Guantanamo Bay detainees, and the role of the U.S. in the Middle East historically.

The narratives constructed and reinforced throughout these studies reinforce the dominant narrative of freedom and progress in U.S. history, and those details that may challenge this narrative are largely absent. The questions raised by this work, then, are what specific narratives are students encountering about 9/11 in U.S. classrooms – and what form are students encountering them in?

Echoes of Terrorism in U.S. Classrooms Through Moving Images

What emerged in our survey results is a richer understanding of *how* teachers are engaging students in learning about 9/11 and the WoT, and what sources and representations are used most often. Overwhelmingly, 76% of our respondents reported using some kind of documentary or television footage in teaching about these events. This is almost 20% more than the next highest selected practice of talking about a current event in relation to the WoT (58%) or talking about their personal or a family experience related to 9/11 (49%). Teachers did report including a wide range of topics, including the concept of terrorism, Osama bin Laden, the sites attacked (e.g., WTC, the Pentagon, Shanksville, PA), and at least in U.S. history courses, emphasized the role of firefighters and first responders (68%). As part of teaching about the WoT, teachers reported including in some form the conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq at a much higher rate than other more controversial aspects of the WoT, such as the rise of Islamophobia in the United States and the legal battles around detainees held at Guantanamo Bay.

As part of the survey, we collected data through open-ended items that asked respondents to share what films, literature, or other materials they use in teaching the events. These sources overwhelmingly reinforce the themes previously identified—such as the heroism of the day, the United States as victim, and the shock of the attacks. As the previous statistic might suggest, television news footage (e.g., *NBC, ABC*) from the day of the attacks and various documentary films made for the first to even the tenth anniversary dominate the list of sources (e.g., *9/11, 102 Minutes, The Boat Lift, The Man in the Red Bandana)*. What we also found from follow-up interviews with a small sample of the survey respondents is that the predominant way of engaging students on the anniversary of 9/11 each year (for teachers who were alive and teaching or in college at the time) was to attempt to relive their experiences watching these events unfold on screen. These teachers report wanting their students to feel what they felt that day and in the days that followed. Their goal in doing this was to help young people feel the shock and horror many people in the United States felt on the day of the attacks as they witnessed the events in the same way. It is important to note that while their goal is not to traumatize their students, these traumatic images can be unsettling and therefore should be accompanied

by a space for discussion and reflection and to work through their emotional reaction to difficult knowledge[2] represented in these videos (Garrett, 2011; Zembylas, 2014).

Because this data was collected through open-ended items, it is difficult to discern the exact video or documentary being referred to in all cases as some simply reported "YouTube" or "CNN" or "History Channel." Others, however, identified specific episodes of the PBS Frontline series or specific documentaries produced by and shown on the History Channel. The vast majority of the respondents specifically referenced video material focused heavily on news coverage and other footage from the day of the attacks. Beyond the raw news footage that is available online from that day, numerous documentaries or television news specials that were produced for the first, 10th, and 15th anniversaries made up the majority of videos the teachers reported using.

Far fewer teachers reported using docudramas or historical feature films. Those identified most frequently include *Flight 93* (2006) *and The Flight that Fought Back* (2005), which told the story of passengers who attempted to take back control of United flight 93 as it headed toward Washington, DC and ended up crashing into a field near Shanksville, PA. The only other feature film identified by more than one teacher was *Extremely Loud and Incredibly Close* (2011). Other narrative documentary films that use 9/11 as a political subject to explore Bush administration policy (*Fahrenheit 9/11,* 2004) and as a subject of conspiracy theories (*Loose Change,* 2005) were also identified by more than one teacher. Given the relatively small number of teachers reporting to use these types of films, I focus my analysis here on the more commonly used videos that include documentary or news footage of the day of the attacks.

For the news and documentaries used to show the shock and horrors of the day, well over 100 respondents specifically identified a news network (e.g., NBC, ABC, CNN) or more generically a YouTube video from the day. Others identified specific documentaries or news specials produced and released for the first anniversary or one of the key anniversaries after (e.g., 10th, 15th). It is likely that the 76% of U.S. History teacher respondents and over 50% of world history and civics teachers are using a video source that portrays the images of the day of the attacks, including the second plane hitting the World Trade Center, the towers on fire and potentially collapsing into a cloud of debris. It is difficult to know exactly how many of our respondents used particular films or videos as they were not required to identify a specific name and many included a descriptor but not the exact title. The four most frequently identified documentary films include:

1) *9/11* (2002), a film by the French Naudeaut brothers who were in New York making a film about probationary firefighters when the attacks occurred. The film interweaves the perspectives of NY firefighters from the day with street level footage of the attempts they made to save the World Trade Center (WTC) towers and those who worked there. Of note, the film includes one of the only recordings of the first plane hitting the WTC.
2) *102 Minutes that Changed America* (2008), a production from the History Channel that utilizes a large amount of footage captured on the streets of New York during the attacks and tells the story of those who experienced the attacks in the city.
3) *Inside 9-11* (2005), from National Geographic, is a two-episode program (4 hours total) that importantly includes the background and history of al Qaeda leading up to the events as part of Episode 1, and a more common focus on the events of the day as well as the experiences of firefighters and other heroes in Episode 2.
4) *America Remembers 9/11* (2002), CNN production that focuses on the attacks and immediate aftermath with commentary provided by CNN anchors and journalists. This two-episode documentary

[2] Difficult knowledge, as theorized by Deborah Britzman (1998) from a psychoanalytic frame refers to encounters with representations of social trauma, such as Anne Frank's diary.

> includes minute by minute CNN coverage of the attacks with in-depth reporting of the days that followed.

These four specific films were identified between roughly 70 (*9/11)* to over 20 (*America Remembers 9/11*) times. However, given that only a portion of respondents gave us specific titles and others provided rough descriptors (e.g., CNN documentary) we can assume these specific titles are used even more broadly given their prominence in our study.

In addition to these films that focus on the day more broadly, two other films focused on specific incidents from that day. One, *The Man in the Red Bandana*, is a reference to either the longer documentary film (2017) or a shorter ESPN segment that was part of the Outside the Lines series (2016). Both tell the story of Wes Crowther, a young trader who worked in the WTC and who became well known as someone who made multiple trips to help workers make their way through smoke and blocked stairways to escape the building until he perished along with roughly 3,000 others. Another short film identified as a resource is the film *Boatlift* (2011). Boatlift is a short film about the role that ferries and other boats played to evacuate people from Manhattan after public transportation and the tunnels were shut down. The ferries and other boats assisted in evacuating thousands of people from Manhattan on 9/11. The film, narrated by actor Tom Hanks, has a particularly heroic narrative and tone.

"Oh, it's beautiful, it's a great day, today is September 11 blah blah blah"

Teachers who reported using the news footage or films gave us some indication of how and why they were being viewed and what the goals were. This data was collected from both open-ended items in the initial survey and through interviews with a small subset of our sample of respondents. What emerged was the clear finding that not only were the majority of teachers largely teaching about the events of 9/11 and the WoT largely on the day of the anniversary each year, but their main focus was a memorialization of these events and the desire to feel the same shock and horror they felt versus a deeper understanding of how these events have impacted their lives. As one teacher noted, he provides the context of the day and uses news footage starting in the moments before the first plane hits WTC Tower One and the anchors noting "it's beautiful, it's a great day" to illustrate how much of a shock the attack represented.

As students today do not have a direct memory of 9/11, teachers noted shifting how they taught about the events and the role that showing video from the day played in their instruction. One teacher we interviewed noted,

> as we've gotten removed... I will say that topic ten years ago, when the kids were in grade school, and it scared them what they saw on TV, there was a lot more anger and hostility towards Middle Easterners. That has-that has changed quite a bit, but because they personally didn't see that happen that day.

Many teachers talked about sharing their own experiences on the day of the attacks, which focused on their own shock and horror as well as changes that occurred that students may not be aware of given their lack of memory of pre-2001. This included the role of the Transportation Safety Administration (TSA) and airport security in particular. Teachers who were students in 2001 also emphasized their experiences to try to make them relatable, including one teacher from Virginia who noted,

> I share my experience with [students], because I was in 7th grade when September 11th happened. I let the students ask questions about my experience. And then, I tell them, all right, now your assignment, since we live so close to The Pentagon, go home, ask your parents where they were at in the world, what was going on with them, and what their experience for September 11th was.

While the majority of teachers we interviewed referred to using the news footage from 9/11 as a way to experience the day as a form of collective memory, others focused on a more critical approach to examining the news footage and other video accounts. For example, one teacher from Texas asked her students to look at footage from multiple networks from that day and other sources to examine the interpretations of what was going on during the attacks. She noted,

> I have to be really careful and make sure that I find balanced information, and…I could do the bias, and we could look at things from different networks and see, okay, well what's the slant on this one? What's the slant on the other? But I really do have to bring in more articles written... newspaper articles, other material [in addition to the news footage].

Other teachers we interviewed noted that their schools still have a memorial ceremony on the anniversary of the attacks or play a tribute video school wide. While many of the teachers we talked with described different ways that they integrated the events of 9/11 in their curriculum (e.g., as part of a unit on the Middle East), there was a consistent emphasis on engaging students in the events on the day of the anniversary in the schools where they taught. These activities often included teachers sharing their personal experiences and memories of that, and the use of videos of the attacks or other sources to memorialize the events. So, with this intense focus on the events of the day viewed through news media and documentary footage, and the continued emphasis on 9/11 as a memorial as well as historical event, I focus on media that represent these moments using Hall's (1980) interpretive framework of encoding and decoding to explore the intended readings twenty years ago and how this might be decoded in the present. In particular, I juxtapose the news footage from 2001, viewed by many Americans and others around the world, with a widely viewed documentary released in 2002 that illustrates how the story of 9/11 was ensconced in narratives that still dominate this history today in U.S. classrooms.

Encoding and Decoding on 9/11 and One Year Later

In order to understand how people in the United States may have read the events of 9/11, at least the vast majority whose witnessing of the events were on national television, I first present an analysis and synopsis of the extended coverage provided by NBC on the morning of 9/11. What unfolds is not only the shock and horror of the day but the emerging narrative of what 9/11 is, as well as important details that were lost in that dominant narrative and in U.S. classrooms.

"This is so shocking…"

When watching the opening segment of NBC's top-rated morning news show, the Today Show, on the morning of September 11, 2001 the top stories included the possible return of basketball superstar Michael Jordan to the NBA, an unmanned surveillance plane being shot down in Iraq's no-fly zone, and the discussion of the U.S. Presidential Election from 2000 that was finally decided by the U.S. Supreme Court as recounts were ongoing in the state of Florida. On a lighter note, anchor Katie Couric and comedian Tracy Ulman discussed whether or not Couric wore thong underwear and Couric also conducted an interview with singer Harry Belafonte.

At 8:45 a.m., as Couric wraps up her interview with Belafonte they move to a commercial break with a quick pan of the crowd outside of their Manhattan studio. As they pan, you see a Today Show staffer quickly look up as they see and hear something that takes place further down the island of Manhattan. At this moment a large airliner is flown directly into One WTC. As they come back from break, co-anchor Matt Lauer breaks away from his interview of a book author at 8:51 and alerts the audience of the emerging story of a plane hitting the WTC. While the early moments of coverage – which includes a stable image of the two Trade

Center towers from the NBC building in Midtown – include an attempt to figure out what happened and descriptions of the shock from people on ground calling in, by 9:01, Matt Lauer brings up the previous terrorist attack on the tower in 1993 and asks "was this purely an accident or could this have been an intentional act"?

Moments later, at 9:03 as they talk with an NBC producer who lives near the tower, the producer gasps out as the second plane hits the other tower, Two WTC. A large fireball could be seen on the camera feed focused on the towers which had been running constant since soon after the first plane hit. Couric calmly states what many people across the United States are thinking as they watch these events unfold on their televisions – "this is so shocking." Lauer agrees, noting "this is the most shocking video I have ever seen" as they replay the 2nd plane flying into the second tower and then notes more assuredly at 9:05: "Now you have to move from talk about the possibility of an accident to something deliberate that has happened here." By 9:15, there is a report of the planes being hijacked and by 9:17, a more detailed reference to the 1993 bombing of the WTC is included, followed by a reporter from the Pentagon saying that the intelligence community is stating that there were no credible threats of hijacked planes or a terrorist attacks.

Over the next twenty minutes the anchors share reports as they stream in from reporters and U.S. officials on the phone. One report was from a call a reporter had with an employee inside the firm Cantor Fitzgerald in the WTC. When asked what is happening, the employee replied, "we're [blanking] dying - that is what is happening…" The first mention of Osama bin Laden occurs at 9:33, along with the statement "who as far as we know at this minute that he is in Afghanistan," and further reference to previous terrorist attacks by al Qaeda are referenced by 9:40. Moments later, they interrupt and go back to Jim Miklaszewski at the Pentagon who describes what he believes was some kind of explosion at the Pentagon, which is later confirmed to be a third plane. As helicopters fly by, Miklaszewski says, "I am getting a little nervous when I hear an aircraft go by."

By 9:50, U.S. air traffic is shut down and international flights from Europe are being diverted primarily to Canada. Less than ten minutes later, at 9:59, Two WTC collapses live on camera. By 10:05, Osama bin Laden and his network are identified as key suspects, as "the one terror leader who could pull off this kind of attack…" though reporters note, "but it's far too early to be certain." Soon, reports are in that the President and Air Force One are headed back from Florida with an Air Force escort, even while at 10:25 there is a report of an additional hijacked plane headed to Washington, DC with people there being ordered to find shelter (this was later known to be United flight 93 that crashed in Pennsylvania). At 10:29, One WTC collapses and southern Manhattan is enveloped in smoke, debris, and dust. Veteran news anchor Tom Brokaw, who has now joined the Today Show, deliberately states, "The profile of Manhattan has been changed; there has been a declaration of war by terrorists on the U.S." Watching the live broadcast from NBC [or another network], which many of our teachers reported doing in some form, gives a literal bird's-eye view on the events unfolding, while a narrative of terrorism and the likely suspects emerges. Within the period of two hours, U.S. audiences watching the Today Show went from a conversation about Katie Couric's underwear to the collapse of key symbols of New York and American capitalism in the form of the WTC Towers. Government officials and veteran broadcasters essentially issued a declaration of war on the terrorists [and bin Laden in particular]. The encoding of these events occurs in a context of known terrorist threats, given the previous events in the 1990s attributed to al Qaeda affiliates and within the narrative of America as "the strongest nation in the world."

Millions in the United States experienced the shock of the New York anchors and reporters as they watched the events unfold live – even if they were thousands of miles away watching it on TV. As the coverage continues, the focus shifts to firefighters and rescue personnel and the narrative shifts to the lives lost and heroes who emerge from the story in lower Manhattan. While you see narratives emphasizing nationalism and U.S. exceptionalism emerge, you are also exposed to the anchors talking about terrorist events leading up to

9/11, comparisons to domestic terrorism and the Murrah Federal Building bombing in Oklahoma City in particular, and the potential implications for airport security and additional surveillance of foreign nationals in the United States in particular. However, all you see on the screen for hours while this dialogue plays out is the camera feed focused on the WTC towers and then the rubble and dust in the place where they stood. Less than three hours after the first tower was hit, a picture of Osama bin Laden was broadcast across the United States and world. In addition to his picture are reports that he had declared there would be a major attack on a U.S. target three weeks before 9/11 and that he was thought to be in Afghanistan. Bin Laden's image and the reports of his whereabouts are projected in front of a background of thick smoke billowing from the WTC site. At 10:50 am, roughly two hours after the first plane hit, Tom Brokaw proclaims, "The United State will change as a result of all of this…"

In these approximately four hours of coverage, the Today Show hosts and their experts do a better job than textbooks almost 20 years later do in describing key aspects of the events. These include placing the attacks in the context of the growing threat of global terrorism by al Qaeda and Osama bin Laden, the role that Afghanistan's ruling Taliban played in given this group a safe haven, and by placing the attacks in the context of other domestic and international terrorist attacks (e.g., Oklahoma City).

9/11: Echoes of Terrorism

By comparison to the news footage, our second most widely viewed film, *9/11* (2002), is anything but a bird's-eye view. This film uses footage captured primarily on the day of the attacks along with interviews of those who were there. First released six months after the attacks, *9/11* provides a street-level view and helps to cement the focus on New York firefighters and emergency personnel as heroes. Made by French filmmakers and their NYC firefighter partner, who had gained access to follow NY probationary firefighters who were assigned to a station near the WTC, 9/11 accounts for the experiences of these emergency personnel and adds a layer of shock and horror as those near the towers experienced. The film includes one of the few recordings of the first plane flying through Manhattan aimed at One WTC as one of the filmmakers was on a call with their firefighters near the towers and happened to turn his camera on as he heard and saw the plane flying by. This film shows the horrors and shock of the day and has a higher level of encoding narratives than the news broadcast from the day. These filmmakers had their own experiences in the dust and debris – and directly witnessed the collapse of the towers that led to the death of many of the firefighter colleagues. Those experiences are deeply encoded in the film. *9/11* is narrated by Jim Hannon, former firefighter and filmmaker, as well as the Naudet brothers, who filmed the action.

If the Today Show coverage provided the opportunity for inquiry (and possibly fed conspiracy theories), the intended reading of films such as 9/11 is steeped in the dominant national collective memory of the events of 9/11. It starts with Hannon, who is also a firefighter from Ladder 1, the unit the filmmakers were following and located just seven blocks from the WTC, stating "Nobody…nobody expected September 11th." Seconds after this statement, you see the reaction on the ground of people running from the buildings as the first plane struck, and then Ladder 1 firefighters moving into position inside One WTC. Immediately, the narrative is set that the attack was unexpected and unprecedented and cemented the emphasis on heroism of the firefighters and other emergency personnel who responded to the WTC. The story follows Tony, a probie, or probationary fireman, who started with Ladder 1 in the summer of 2001.

The production of 9/11 is more sentimental, with Tony portrayed as an innocent young firefighter. The segment of the film prior to September 11th uses soft music and shows Tony learning how to be a NYFD firefighter. Footage prior to the attacks show the French filmmakers making dinner for the station and making inroads at getting accepted into the stationhouse. On a routine call inspecting a gas leak on the morning of

9/11, one of the cameramen happened to be filming as the first plane went overhead. Their camera captures the first plane crashing into One WTC from only several blocks away. The inclusion of first-person perspectives of the firefighting command and firefighters organizing from the WTC lobby highlights the challenges of the day. Elevators were out of commission, jet fuel poured down the shafts spreading the fire, and crews had to go up 80 stories with 60 plus pounds of gear just to get to the fire and start working.

Far more so than the Today Show coverage, the footage from 9/11 captures the chaos and horror from the streets. One cameraman is filming the reaction of people on the streets as the second plane hits. The other is in the lobby of One WTC filming debris through the windows as it falls after Two WTC is hit. What is truly compelling about the footage in the lobbies is how calmly the firefighters and in particular the commanders are while giving orders and trying to get their crews in position to put the fire out—and the belief that they could do it. Even when the lobby of One WTC is filled with dust, smoke and debris after Two WTC collapses, and the cameraman turns on his light to help everyone see the lobby area and wipes off his lens, the firefighter leadership is shown through a thick layer of dust and smoke ordering all firefighters to get out of the building. Here the film reinforces the horror faced by those on the ground as they realized the other tower has collapsed. Everything and everyone is covered in thick layers of dust. The film highlights the communications failures from the day—the challenges of communications—as cellular networks failed and the dust and debris limited radio traffic.

The toll on the firefighters is documented through this unique perspective on the events. As firefighters start to work their way back to the firehall after the collapse, you see them hugging and happy to see each other alive, and you see some collapsing or throwing up in a garbage can because of exhaustion and exposure to dust and debris. Shockingly, given the losses of the day—including 343 NY Fire Department members—all members of their firehall survived. This may be because they were one of the first units on the scene and were in the first tower to be hit until the mayday call went out to evacuate after Two WTC collapsed.

In the interview footage with these surviving firemen, the narrative of the day as it largely appears in classrooms is cemented. The narrator, filmmaker Hanlon states, "there is so much that we did not know that day—who attacked us and why," in stark contrast to the newscasts attempts to answer those exact questions throughout the day. The film strikes a solemn and reflective tone, in its use of slow motion video and soundtrack in particular. It does not give the rousing nationalistic fervor some other 9/11 films do, but does feed into narratives that persist in curriculum and classrooms. As the firemen begin to work 12 hour shifts in support of the rescue and then recovery modes, our narrator states, "I just realized how evil evil could be." The remainder of the film documents the impact of the attacks and attempts to find survivors and then highlights victims who have been emotionally, physically, and mentally harmed. Less than a year after the attacks, films such as *9/11* establish and reinforce the dominant collective narrative still presented in classrooms around the United States as the story of 9/11. This is a story that emphasizes the surprise and shock of the day, the heroism of firefighters and first responders, and the need for the United States to combat and destroy the threat of so-called evil Muslim terrorists.

Discussion and Implications

The primary goal of the majority of the teachers we surveyed is to help students recognize the power of the events they witnessed in 2001, and to memorialize the losses of approximately 3000 people and the symbols of the WTC and Pentagon. News footage from the day and documentary films were viewed as the best medium to transmit this message and help students feel the way many teachers did in 2001. Decoding these films in today's context, as part of a one-day activity used to teach about and memorialize the victims of 9/11 would likely lead to reinforce several themes. First, that the United States was attacked without any

provocation. Events such as terrorist attacks by al Qaeda should be taught alongside the role that the United States has played in Afghanistan and the Middle East historically. This is not to justify the attacks but to look at the events within the complex historical context. This is particularly important given the so-called Muslim travel ban attempted by the Trump administration, and its effects on students' views of Muslims in the United States (Yoder, 2020).

Second, the narrative that 9/11 would result in the United States declaring war on "evil" feeds into the national narrative of a quest for freedom and progress documented historically in the United States (Foner, 1998). As Journell (2018) and van Kessel (2017) note, this use of evil feeds the narrative of Muslims as terrorists and oversimplifies the context of terrorism and actions of terrorists. This narrative is played out in *9/11* in particular as the film follows a naïve and innocent probie firefighter as he experiences an unprovoked and unwarranted attack by an "evil" group that cost 3,000 U.S. lives—an attack that will provoke the U.S. to act from its moral high ground. If teachers use a film such as *9/11*, given it provides little to no historical context of 9/11 or of terrorism in general, students should explore the concept of evil and students' beliefs about it, as they risk reinforcing rather than challenging students' beliefs about the association of Muslims as terrorists and Muslims as inherently evil.

Third, the themes of these films focus on the traumatic impact of the day on many people across the United States and the world. Many teachers want students to feel some of what they felt that day. Using images and video in this way can be a method for engaging into an event or topic—to use emotion to engage in inquiry or the recognition of peoples' experiences in the past that results in some form of action. As Zembylas (2014) notes, using traumatic imagery in this way can also lead to empty sympathy that is performative, rather than developing understanding or taking action as a result. Without thoughtful debrief, engagement in context, and allowing space for students to work through their reactions to the traumatic imagery from 9/11, the goals of memorialization or using 9/11 as a way to help students consider issues today of continued conflict, or the need for tolerance, may lead to the opposite. Without engaging thoughtfully in the traumatic events and images of 9/11 and those that have come after in the Middle East in particular, we risk reinforcing simplistic narratives of good (U.S.) vs evil (Muslim terrorists) rather than engaging students in a much more complex historical context and series of events.

The stereotypical and dominant portrayal of Muslims as terrorists in U.S. media, such as television and Hollywood films, has already firmly established and sustained this narrative (Ramji, 2005, 2016). It is also reinforced by some news organizations and by the portrayal of terrorism and 9/11 in secondary history textbooks (Journell, 2017; Saleem & Thomas, 2011). This ongoing narrative has then been weaponized in attempts by the former Trump administration in the United States to ban individuals from a select group of largely Muslim countries from entering the country (Corbin, 2017). To challenge this narrative, these representations must be questioned and more nuanced or alternative narratives and perspectives explored. Unfortunately, this likely cannot take place in a one-day lesson on the anniversary of the 9/11 attacks—especially in a time when young people have no memory and little knowledge of these events.

However, we also know from our survey that many teachers report attempting to place these events in historical context (62% US History, 47% World History). World history teachers in particular reported also placing 9/11 as a global event within a broader international historical context (41%). Using clips in particular from the NBC live broadcast, teachers could engage students in identifying questions for generating inquiry while viewing. Doing this, even with selected excerpts of the video, could lead to questions about why the U.S. military was flying over Iraq, why the United States knew who bin Laden was and had been, to some degree, expecting a terrorist act by his organization; how 9/11 compares to domestic terrorism being committed by anti-government and White supremacist groups in the 1990s; and what the likely short-term and long-term actions and impacts may be in the U.S. and internationally (e.g., surveillance, airport security). They can also

use evidence on bin Laden, al Qaeda, and the terrorist attacks the group committed to examine how the ideologies these groups stand for are not those of Islam, nor Muslims in the U.S. or elsewhere in the world. Instead, they represent extreme ideological views resulting from long and complex histories of colonialism and imperialism, capitalism and the Cold War—largely political and not religious ideologies.

Films about historical events often tell us as much about the political and social moment of when they were produced than the history they portray (Stoddard, 2014); as such, using news or other documentary footage from the day of the attacks – pending it is not traumatic for students – makes some sense. As noted above, the historical context explored within that broadcast goes beyond many textbook sections on 9/11. However, framing this viewing within the narrative template of U.S. history and from the perspective of experiencing it as a witness in order to memorialize also frames the decoding. It is not just the ideologies of the intended read that matter but also the influences of time and distance from the events that may influence any decoding (Hall, 1985; Pillai, 1992)—essentially this decoding takes place as an echo to use the metaphor for this special issue. Echoes are always distorted and interpreted from the position of those who hear it and impacted by distance and direction.

It is for this reason that the *West Wing* example from the introduction may seem like they predicted that profiling of Muslims in the US, or the likelihood of increased surveillance after the September 11th attacks. It may seem prophetic in 2021 to compare al Qaeda and other global fundamentalist groups with the Ku Klux Klan after the January 6th assault on the Capital. However, when looked at historically and in the context of 2001, these connections could be - and were - made and debated after watching NBC's Today Show on the morning of September 11th, 2001.

Funding

Funding for the survey study was provided by the September 11th Education Trust. Additional funding for the project was provided by William & Mary and the University of Wisconsin – Madison School of Education.

Acknowledgements

The following faculty and graduate students have worked on some aspect of this study: Diana Hess, Paul Fitchett, Brian Gibbs, Catherine Mason Hammer, Brooks Henne, Taehan Kim, Amy Kuenker, Shannon Murto, Daniel Berman and Leila Walker.

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Canadian Social Studies

canadiansocialstudies.ca

Electronic ISSN 2564-1166

July 2021

Volume: 52 Issue: 2 pp. 89–100

An Analysis of Orientalist Discourse in an Alberta Social Studies Text Resource

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Article Info

Received: February 18, 2021

Revised: May 30, 2021

Accepted: June 10, 2021

https://doi.org/10.29173/css21

ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to explore how the Alberta Social Studies 30-1 textbook, *Perspectives on Ideology* (Fielding et al., 2009) can contribute to orientalist discourse in its presentation of Islam, especially with respect to terrorism, extremism, and illiberalism—three concepts that appear in the Alberta Social Studies Program of Study. Using a content and discourse analysis, the study found three central findings that contributed to an orientalist framing of Islam: a lack of nuanced discussion of Islam; positioning Islam as a source of terrorism; and a lack of acknowledgement of wrongdoing following injustices perpetrated towards Muslims in Canada. This study concludes by offering ways in which social studies curricular support materials may interrogate to disrupt orientalist discourse, and challenges social studies educators to critically examine the limitations of some of the most common resource materials at their disposal.

KEYWORDS

curriculum; secondary education; Islamophobia; terrorism; content analysis

An Analysis of Orientalist Discourse in an Alberta Social Studies Text Resource

As we approach the twentieth anniversary of the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001 (9/11), high school students in today's classrooms were not alive to experience it firsthand. Instead, their perception of 9/11 is shaped by media portrayals (e.g., film and television), classroom discussions, and textbook representations. This paper explores the ways in which the primary textbook for grade 12 social studies in Alberta, *Perspectives on Ideology* (Fielding et al., 2009), takes up an orientalist[1] framing (Said, 1979, 1997) of 9/11, which results in orientalist portrayals of Muslim individuals and communities. This curriculum document was redesigned and implemented in the early 2000's, a time where the memories of 9/11 were still fresh in many minds, so this paper inquires as to the extent to which commonly-used (and government approved) course materials use orientalism to tether Islam to violent extremists who claim Islam, and how such a framing produces and reproduced ongoing racialization of Muslims.

The textbook, published in 2009, was produced to support a revised social studies curriculum in Alberta (Alberta Education, 2007). The historical context of the development of the textbook is significant to the portrayal of Islam: much of the curriculum and textbook development work occurred just a few years after the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York City and the Pentagon in Arlington County, Virginia; and the plane crash in Stonycreek Township, near Shanksville, Pennsylvania on 9/11. Far from coincidental, I argue that the textbook reflects the media portrayals of Islam and the racialization of Muslims in general, as well as West's dominant narrativization of Muslim women and girls (Hoodfar, 1993; Bullock & Jafri, 2000) through colonial innocence and sexist attitudes that persisted before 9/11 (Said, 1997), and that have since intensified (Sajid, 2005). Furthermore, the textbook uses 9/11 as its primary case study to unpack terrorism and illiberalism, two concepts that are a part of the current Alberta social studies curriculum (Alberta Education, 2007, p.23). Consequently, the textbook reinforces harmful pre-existing stereotypes about Islam and Muslim individuals and communities (Beydoun, 2018; Corbin, 2017), and may influence the ways that students in Social Studies 30-1 might perceive Islam and Muslim individuals and communities. Given the potential for harm, I propose potential pedagogical strategies for classroom teachers to interrogate the discourse, encourage critical thinking, and dismantle stereotypes about Islam and Muslims.

Social Studies Textbooks

Many social studies educators use textbooks as a main instructional resource in the classroom. Textbooks tend to convey the dominant culture's ideological beliefs, values, assumptions and worldviews (Apple, 2000; Howley, et al., 2013; Peled-Elhanan, 2010). Ideologies can be used to justify the actions of one group towards another group, or to legitimate power, superiority, authority over a group of people (Neumann, 2014). Textbooks can reflect corporate interests that have a hand in shaping educational policy decisions, such as curriculum development (Neumann, 2014), and have agentic qualities that can actualize oppression and inequities through their material representations (Nelson et al., 2021).

In social studies education, textbooks often reflect grand narratives (Schick & St. Denis, 2005; Stanley, 2006), mythistories (Letourneau, 2006), heroification of prominent political or historical figures (Loewen, 1995), or the villainification of single actors (van Kessel & Crowley, 2017; van Kessel & Plots, 2019). These ideological filters influence the portrayal of historical events, such as the Holocaust (e.g. Lindquist, 2009), or the ways that particular groups of people are portrayed within historical narratives (e.g. Brown & Brown,

[1] While Said's (1979) original work capitalized the term "Orientalism," the capitalization of this term today is problematic in that it centers colonialism and whiteness. Borrowing from Hawkman and Shear's (2020) justification for de-capitalizing "white/whiteness," and given the intention of this paper to draw attention to the potential harms that can result from orientalist framings, I have chosen to de-capitalize orientalism and its iterations in this paper, with the exceptions of when it appears at the beginning of a sentence or when present in a title.

2010). Given this ideological filter, many social studies textbooks used in Canada and the United States tend to favor European or Western perspectives and highlight Western—many times male—historical or political figures (Loewen, 1995; Woyshner & Shocker, 2015). Recently, a broader range of diverse perspectives, including those of Muslim individuals and communities, have been included in textbooks, but are unfortunately, primarily portrayed in light of conflict and violence (Eraqi, 2015) or acts of terrorism (Saleem & Thomas, 2011), thus reinforcing negative stereotypes and perpetuating Islamophobia (Selod, 2015). Furthermore, textbooks may reflect the media's tendency to overgeneralize Muslims after 9/11 by deliberately or inadvertently presenting monolithic representations of groups with broad ethnic, national, and cultural differences (Rana, 2011); by conflating Arabs and Muslims (Joseph et al., 2008); or by combining racialization and gender identity to reinforce harmful stereotypes (Selod, 2015). These representations, either singularly or combined, produce and reproduce stereotypical "single stories" of Muslim individuals and communities (Saleh, 2017), and may be augmented by students' encounters with other kinds of single stories present in both fiction and non-fiction literature (Marshall & Sensoy, 2009).

Alberta Social Studies Curriculum and Policy

In Alberta, social studies textbooks are resources that are custom-designed to specifically reflect the curriculum. Because the textbooks in Alberta are a direct reflection of the curriculum policy document, the textbooks, themselves, are policy artifacts and subject to policy analysis. A critical approach to policy analysis considers the differences between what is presented in policy and what is practiced in reality (Diem et al., 2014), how policies have changed over time, the purpose for changes in policy, and the ways in which policy documents tend to reinforce the dominant culture (Burke, 2004). To help understand educational policies (i.e., relating to curricular documents and textbooks), a critical approach can shed light on how curriculum reflects discourse—the production of knowledge and "truth" (Ball, 1993), and more specifically, as Dwayne Donald has noted, "what knowledge we consider to be of most worth" (UAlberta Sustainability, 2020, 8:05).

The Alberta Social Studies Program of Studies is the curriculum policy document that guides social studies education in all public schools in the province. The current Program of Studies for education in Alberta was implemented between 2005 and 2009, and emphasizes the importance of active citizenship, an appreciation of cultural diversity and pluralism, and a commitment to democratic ideals (Alberta Education, 2008). Following an issues-based approach, the curriculum also prepares students for participating in democratic life by engaging them in critical and historical thinking, considering multiple perspectives, and exploring controversial topics and issues (Alberta Education, 2007; Mundy, 2007). Moreover, this curriculum reflected a post-9/11 lens on foreign policy and international relations, an economic shift toward globalization, and a societal and cultural shift towards the values of tolerance, diversity, pluralism, and multiculturalism, particularly "liberal multiculturalism," which focuses on tolerance and acceptance of differences rather than systemic inequities propagated by differences (Martell & Stevens, 2021; May & Sleeter, 2010). At the time of implementing this curriculum, Alberta was at the height of an unprecedented oil boom, resulting in a surge of immigration to Alberta thus, increasingly communal diversity (Mundy, 2007).

The development and rollout of the current curriculum also occurred in the shadow of 9/11, a time when many feared copycat terrorist plots and attacks, especially ones threatened or committed by "foreign actors." Journell (2018) argued that terrorism is an important, challenging, and necessary topic in social studies education because at this point students only know life after 9/11, and that many students' lived experiences may have been shaped by policies, laws, or attitudes that emerged in its aftermath. *Perspectives on Ideology*, the resource that was analyzed in this paper, addresses 9/11 as a case study, and features critical thinking activities, emphasizes the exploration of multiple perspectives on issues, and engages students in controversial issues. Not surprisingly, as the textbook was published in 2009, some of the issues featured in the textbook are now outdated, or they reflect what Hess (2009) referred to as the "tip," where an issue that was once controversial is now more or less settled.

The senior high curriculum is organized around a series of open-ended essential guiding questions (Related Issues) and categories of general and specific outcomes: Values and Attitudes, Knowledge and Understanding, and Skills and Processes. Ideologies are the central theme of Social Studies 30-1. The course

engages students in a multi-faceted comparative analysis of democratic liberalism alongside other political and economic ideologies. While the overarching essential question for the course reads, "To what extent should we embrace an ideology?", the question implicitly asks students to what extent they ought to embrace liberalism. In the context of the course, liberalism is defined as an ideology that constitutes those principles related to individualism, personal freedoms, democracy, and civil liberties, as well as equal opportunities to pursue these principles (Fielding et al., 2009).

Salient to this study is Related Issue 3, which asks students "to what extent are the principles of liberalism viable?" (Alberta Education, 2007, p. 23). Related Issue 3 asks students to consider the ways in which the viability of liberalism is maintained amidst these challenges. Three concepts—extremism, terrorism, and illiberalism—are specific "Knowledge and Understanding" outcomes in the Program of Study for this advanced-level Grade 12 course (Alberta Education, 2007) that can perpetuate orientalism. The curriculum lists "terrorism" and "illiberalism" as examples of contemporary issues for which the viability of liberalism may be in question. This part of the course draws on the events and reverberations of 9/11 as case studies to illustrate the tensions between liberal and illiberal actions taken to protect liberal democracy. Knowing that the terrorists' actions during 9/11 were extremist and counter to the principles of liberalism, and given negative stereotypical and bigoted media portrayals of "Muslim terrorists" (Beydoun, 2018; Corbin, 2017), the curriculum positions the textbook to adopt an orientalist (Said, 1979, 1994) framing to engage students in the Related Issue question.

Orientalism

This study draws on Said's (1979, 1994) groundbreaking theoretical framework of orientalism. Orientalism describes the presence of a Western Eurocentric ("occidental") perception of the East or "orient" that has pervaded public and media discourses in the West. Orientalism describes discourse that perpetuates simplistic representations and tropes of the East that reinforce Western cultural hegemony and "institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles" (Said, 1994, p. 2). The East attempts to establish itself as dominant by creating a stark contrast between itself and the East, reinforcing an "us" versus "them" binary (Watt, 2012). Orientalist representations and tropes of the East reinforce ideas and beliefs that the West upholds safety, security, and familiarity, and that Eastern ideas, beliefs, and people as dangerous, threatening, and strange. Orientalist rhetoric about acts of extremism, terrorism, and illiberalism has contributed to the racialization of Muslim men and women and has propagated acts of violence against Muslim communities (Naseem et al., 2016; Said, 1997). These attitudes are especially apparent in news media (Watt, 2012) and have resulted in an increase in anti-Islamic hate crimes since 9/11 (Byers & Jones, 2007), such as the Québec City mosque shooting in 2017 (e.g., Zine, 2021), and have informed recent U.S. immigration policies such as the "Muslim ban" that were implemented under the Trump administration in 2017 (e.g., Sisemore & Iatoui, 2018).

Multiculturalism in Canada and Orientalism

Canada has a global reputation for being a multicultural nation. Canada's multiculturalism policy is distinct to the country's national identity, and thus, multiculturalism is referred to multiple times within the program of studies. These references are characterized by liberal multiculturalism (May & Sleeter, 2010) and often position multiculturalism alongside other citizenship education values such as pluralism, respect for diversity, and a desire for social cohesion (Alberta Education, 2007). At face value, Canada's multiculturalism policy and its related values present a vision for a shared, equitable sense of belonging and a unified Canadian national identity. However, this multicultural lens obscures the ways that race and culture intersect with systemic oppression (Ladson-Billings, 2003; Martell & Stevens, 2021). For example, these policies also reflect Indigenous erasure from the settler-colonial state (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013), and renders "Other ethnic groups" as "mere cultural communities peripheral to the now-acknowledged 'two founding races,' the French and the English" (Haque, 2010, p. 81). In other words, Canada's liberal multiculturalism policy discourse reflects orientalism, emphasizing cultural hegemony and Othering while simultaneously deflecting the roots of racial and cultural systemic oppression through the emphasis of multiculturalism as a virtue for

good citizenship in Canada. Ultimately, because this multicultural lens persists in dominant Canadian culture, it is inevitably reflected in social studies curriculum.

Canada's population is increasingly diverse and multicultural. In 2011, those who identify as Muslim accounted for 3.2% of the total population in Canada, and visible minorities accounted for 19.1% of Canada's population (Statistics Canada, 2018). It behooves teachers to consider their approach to teaching their students about multiculturalism. As orientalist attitudes tend to persist via liberal multiculturalism, May and Sleeter (2010) suggests shifting away from viewing multiculturalism through a liberal lens, and instead challenge educators to consider a critical lens to multiculturalism, which "gives priority to the structural analysis of unequal power relationships, analyzing the role of institutional inequities, including, but not necessarily limited to racism" (p. 10). Critical multiculturalism can support other critically reflective engagements such as anti-racist work and critical pedagogies (e.g. Gibson, 2020; Gorski & Dalton, 2020), which can thwart orientalist framings that might appear in classroom resources.

Methodology

This study draws from both content analysis (e.g., Krippendorff, 2004) and discourse analysis (e.g., Rogers, 2011). Content analysis is concerned with the study of the text itself, separate from the context (Hardy et al., 2004), whereas discourse analysis considers the process of communication (Tesch, 2013) and how the text produces meaning through the social reality, or context, from which it is situated. Gebhard (2017) reminded us that discourse analysis does not provide a summary or narrative, but rather informs how texts function to produce knowledge. Foucault (1982) emphasized that knowledge production is driven by power relations. This study engages both kinds of analysis to examine not only the extent to which Islam is included in the textbook discussion, but also who determined the inclusion or exclusion of Islam, how Islam is discussed within the social and temporal reality of when the textbook was produced, and how Islam is featured in the context of the textbook's topics and themes.

I collected data by identifying key words to guide my search for where Islam is mentioned in the textbook. To guide this search, I used the textbook's index, and manually scanned each individual page for the following terms: Islam, Islamism, Islamic Law, or Muslim. I marked the physical pages of the text with sticky notes in order to record specific details about the location of the term in the textbook (e.g., page number, chapter, heading, etc.). For each place where I identified a mention of one or more of the above terms, I recorded the page number, the chapter, and the heading under which the term was located. I recorded all of my findings in a spreadsheet. In total, Islam or its related terms was mentioned a total of 22 times in the text, with 15 of the 22 located within Related Issue 3: "To what extent are the principles of liberalism viable?" Given the essential question in Related Issue 3, which asks students to consider the extent to which liberalism is viable, it is evident that within the textbook, students are repeatedly asked to consider this question alongside Islam.

Findings

Three significant findings reflect an orientalist framing of Islam as a threat to the viability liberalism emerged from the discourse on Islam in the textbook, which are: a lack of nuanced discussion of Islam; Islam named in relation to terrorism, terrorist groups or extremism; and a lack of admission of wrongdoing on the part of liberal governments towards Muslim individuals accused of terrorism. Overall, these findings suggest that the textbook resource contributes to a discourse that perpetuates the racialization of Muslim individuals and communities.

Little Nuance to Discussions of Islam

There is little evidence of a nuanced discussion of Islam as a religion throughout the textbook, especially in comparison to the textbook's discussion of Christianity. Though the course focuses on political and economic ideologies and is not a religion course, when compared to Christianity, little time is spent describing Islam as a religion at all. In contrast, the textbook attends to some of the nuances within the Christian faith, such as mentioning a brief history of Christianity (p. 67) and describing some differences between

Protestantism and Catholicism (pp. 67-68). Specifically, the textbook addresses the "Christian Right" as a distinct group of Christians whose religious beliefs strongly inform their political views (p. 290).

Overall, the textbook lacks a nuanced discussion of Islam. For instance, the textbook does not distinguish between Islam as a faith and those who use Islam to advance political ideologies, and makes little distinction between Islam as a faith and the mis/understandings of Islam as claimed by violent extremists (Lipka, 2017). In fact, the textbook explicitly connects political ideology with so-called *Islamism*: "Islamism uses the tenets of Islam and Islamic law as the basis for a political system" (p. 36), but does not explain in what ways this differs from the faith of Islam. This narrow framing, reinforced by simplistic media portrayals could mislead students with little knowledge of Islam to conflate the two. Additionally, the brief discussion of "Christian Democracy" a few lines above, implies a contrast in values between it and Islamism. The juxtaposition of these two binaries, Christianity/Islam, and Democracy/Islamic Law perpetuate an orientalist framing of "us" versus "them," and hegemonic (mis)perception that the West is free and the East is oppressive.

One notable exception to the overall lack of nuance occurs when the textbook attempts to address some of the reasons why some Muslim women choose to wear the veil. Supporting the orientalist imagination of Muslim women, Bullock and Jafri (2000) explain that the idea of the "Canadian woman" has been constructed in contrast to the idea of "third-world woman," and the hijab can signify "Otherness" (p. 35). Furthermore, the West often fixates on the hijab as a symbol of women's oppression, suggesting that (especially veiled) Muslim-Canadian women embody "un-Canadian" values (Bullock & Jafri, 2000, p. 37), and are "often storied by the media and in literature as any combination of the following: poor, uncivilized, oppressed, meek, exotic, suspicious, less-than, and primitive" (Saleh, 2017, p. 38). The textbook does not interrogate the existing public discourse that wearing the hijab defies "Canadian values," however, in one instance it makes a brief reference to possible political or social reasons why Muslim women and girls wear the veil: "...the wearing of hijabs, the headscarves worn by some Muslim women as an expression of modesty, as a symbol of faith, and *sometimes as a sign of their commitment to Islamic movements or groups, whether social or political* [emphasis added]" (p. 390). In reality, Muslim women and girls practice hijab for a multiplicity of reasons (Saleh, 2017, p. 39) including but not limited to, declaring one's faith in a visible way, demonstrating modesty, or being perceived as respectable (Ruby, 2005). Despite this, the textbooks make explicit connections between the faith of Islam and political movements claiming Islam which may perpetuate misunderstandings. This suggestion is reinforced by the placement of a photograph of a veiled woman juxtaposed with the bolded keyword, "illiberal" in the preceding paragraph (Fielding et al., 2009, p. 390). The combination of the photograph and the bolded text draw the reader's eye, perhaps reinforcing the orientalist framing perpetuated in media and public discourse that Islam opposes and threatens liberalism (p. 390).

Islam as Terrorism

The textbook augments existing discourse about terrorism and Islam by providing scant examples of terrorist actions that are connected to any other groups other than Muslims (with the exception of the October Crisis that took place in Quebec in 1970), despite numerous references to the concept of terrorism. It discusses this connection both generally, as in describing "pro-Islamic forces in the Middle East" (Fielding et al., p. 363), specifically naming Hezbollah as an "Islamic political and paramilitary organization" (p. 455) as well as al-Qaeda (pp. 320-321; 413) and the Taliban (pp. 322 -323) as terrorist organizations that have claimed Islam. In addition to being associated with terrorism, the Taliban is also named as committing human rights abuses against women, which violates liberal principles (pp. 322-323); and Al-Qaeda is mentioned several times and connected with other curriculum keywords like extremism (p. 413) and the "war on terror" (pp. 320-321). Taken together, the intertwined portrayal of these terrorist organizations alongside references to Islam reinforce mis/understandings about violent extremists who have claimed Islam, and reflects the orientalist framing that the primary threat of terrorism in the West exists as a result of foreign actors from the East.

The absence of other relevant examples of terrorism (e.g., the Oklahoma City Bombing) perpetuates existing Western post-9/11 discourse that associates Islam with radical Islamic terrorist groups as threatening to liberalism, and reinforces the orientalist "us' versus "them" binary. One potential consequence of an absence of discussion of other examples of terrorism besides those committed by violent extremists who claim to be

Muslim is that students may perceive terrorism as acts of violence committed solely by "foreign actors," and negate or downplay the harms that result from violent acts of domestic terrorism, such as the sieging of the U.S. Capitol Building on January 6, 2021 (e.g., Freiman, 2021). In 2020, more than 67% of terrorist plots and attacks were committed by domestic terrorist groups promoting far-right extremism (Jones et al., 2020). Bearing in mind that the textbook was published in 2009, it would behoove teachers to have students consider the ways in which acts of terrorism committed by other groups call into question the viability of liberalism, especially in light of recent events.

Lack of Acknowledgment of Canadian Wrongdoing

The textbook downplays the Canadian government's actions regarding the violation of a Muslim man's individual rights as a result of the Canadian government enforcing post-9/11 national security measures designed to prevent terrorism. Maher Arar, a Syrian-born Muslim Canadian citizen was subjected to racial profiling, torture, and detainment as a means for the Canadian government to glean intelligence about potential terrorist plots against Canada and the U.S. Arar was returning home from a vacation when he was arrested in New York on charges of terrorism. Under the heading, "Complexities of Liberalism in Practice," the text discusses Arar's case, summarizing that, "Three years later a Canadian commission found no evidence that Arar had any terrorist connection" (Fielding et al., 2009, p. 368). Despite evidence of the Canadian government engaging in ethnic and Islamophobic profiling to raise allegations of Arar as a terrorist *because he is a Muslim,* the textbook does not name that Arar was profiled because he is Muslim. Additionally, the term "complexities" in the heading, as opposed to words like "violations" for example, functions to soften the impact of the violence and violation of rights perpetrated by the Canadian government towards Arar. Describing this case study as an example of liberalism's "complexity" downplays and even excuses Canada's actions, implying that defending Canada from terrorism sometimes is a moral dilemma with "complex" collateral damage, and Arar was an unfortunate victim of such. Arar's case is mentioned again under the heading "Canada's No-Fly List." The reference to a no-fly list implies not only a security threat, but foreign terrorism similar to 9/11. As Arar is mentioned here again, the textbook reinforces the association between Arar and terrorism, even though Arar was found innocent (CBC News, 2007; Shane, 2005).

Furthermore, the textbook uses the passive voice to discuss Arar's experience. Raibmon (2018) explains that the passive voice is often used in textbooks, and "in nearly every instance, it obfuscates rather than clarifies" ("Who did what to whom?" section). In this case, the passive voice is used to obfuscate the role of the U.S. and Canadian governments in Arar's torture. While the textbook states that, "Arar was questioned, held, and eventually deported to Syria" (Fielding, et al., 2009, p. 403), it does not state that it was the U.S. authorities who deported Arar. When the textbook states, "he was tortured and held in Syria until October 2003" (p. 403), it fails to mention that Arar was held in Syria for ten months because Canadian authorities perceived him to be a threat, despite a lack of evidence, and denied him entry back to Canada (p. 403). Failing to mention that Arar was *innocent*, as well as the textbook's passive voice, reflect the ways that orientalism frames the West as not only superior, but presents the interests of the West as virtuous (Said, 1994), and justifies the actions the actions of the Canadian and U.S. governments. As a result, the passive voice reinforces public and media discourse that associates Muslims with terror organizations, while also protecting Canada's supposed benevolent and democratic values.

Discussion

Despite fervent efforts on the part of many individual teachers to be critically reflective as they engage in anti-racist and other forms of critical pedagogy in their classrooms (e.g., Gibson, 2020; Gorski & Dalton, 2020), Othering of Muslims persists in Alberta schools (e.g. Abdul-Jabbar, 2019, Amjad, 2018). Additionally, this study confirms that high school students are exposed in (not so) subtle ways to discourses from learning materials and resources that normalize the association between Islam and violent extremists who claim Islam. Given that humans tend to uncritically accept information, stories, and perspectives that align with our worldviews (Williams et a., 2012), and be defensive when presented with other worldviews (van Kessel et al., 2020), educators need to be aware that some high school students may perceive examples of terrorism and extremism as worldview-threatening. In an attempt to defend themselves from worldview threat, humans may

exhibit defensive behaviours, such as derogation or scapegoating of an "Other" to protect their worldview (van Kessel et al., 2021). Because orientalism inherently Others those associated with the East, discourse that connects Islam with terrorism may be perceived as worldview-confirming to some, and may go unchallenged. Furthermore, because media and public discourse in Canada continues to affirm simplistic representations of Islam (Haque, 2010; Watt, 2012), non-Muslim students who read worldview-confirming information about Islam may not critically question or criticize those representations without prompting.

To this end, teachers must take an active role in interrogating these simplistic yet harmful representations with their students. However, despite its flaws, there are some reasons why some teachers may continue to use the textbook resource. From an equity standpoint, textbooks provide students with convenient access to resources for learning. Because *Perspectives on Ideology* is a government-approved, custom resource for the entire Social 30-1 course, the textbook is also an adequate resource for students to explore other themes related to the course. Additionally, teachers who are perhaps new to teaching this course may rely more heavily on the text resource as it aligns with the Program of Study. While teachers may choose not to abandon the textbook for many reasons, teachers may overlook the ways this textbook falls short of accurately representing the multiplicities and complexities of Muslim individuals and communities. Regardless of intention, the overgeneralized representations of the faith of Islam, alongside the narrow portrayals of Muslim individuals and communities that exist in the textbook, serve to perpetuate harmful stereotypes. Therefore, it is imperative that teachers actively pursue opportunities to engage students in questioning and critiquing the simplistic representations of Islam in the text in the classroom context. This study offers evidence for how seemingly benign materials, such as textbooks, may indeed lack the cultural competence necessary for socially just teaching and learning.

The textbook resource in this study provides only limited and narrow representations of Islam and Muslims, which have the potential to perpetuate the Othering of Muslim individuals and communities. This fraught portrayal may open up the opportunity for teachers to acknowledge the ways in which "single stories" of Muslims (Adichie, 2009; Saleh, 2017) exist in the textbook, and elsewhere, and contribute to harmful stereotypes. To compliment this exploration, teachers might also consider using counter-stories (Madden, 2019) to supplement the textbook resources (i.e., portrayals of Islam or Muslims that defy these representations). Additionally, teachers might have students consider case studies disrupt the idea that terrorism and extremism are caused by foreign actors, and add to the conversation the resurgence of domestic terrorism, particularly the rise in far-right extremism in recent years (Jones et al., 2020). For example, students could explore the ways in which the viability of liberalism was threatened in the U.S. during the Oklahoma City Bombing (e.g. Cooper, 2020), continues to be questioned by the siege on the U.S. Capitol in 2021, and remains precarious at the intersection of far-right conspiracy theories and their infringement on civil liberties, such as the outcomes of democratic elections (e.g. Levine, 2021). Teachers might also engage students in unpacking the ways in which the freedom to practice the Islamic faith has been threatened by terrorism in liberal societies, such as the Quebec mosque shooting (e.g. Kassam & Lartey, 2017), and the terrorist attacks on two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand (e.g. CBC News, 2019). Using these kinds of case studies, students might interrogate the discourse around the media portrayal of this act of domestic terrorism, including how the media shied away from referring to Alexandre Bissonnette as a terrorist, instead referring to him as the "mosque shooter" (The Canadian Press, 2020).

Conclusion

This study highlights the ways in which the presence of orientalist framings of Islam in the Social 30-1 textbook are both explicit and insidious, which can augment mis/understandings between Islam as a faith and violent extremists who have co-opted Islam. As part of a larger body of research that critically examines the content of social studies textbooks, this paper acknowledges that despite shifting values in Canadian culture and in curriculum that embrace diversity and multiculturalism, orientalist framings persist in classroom resources and materials, which may produce or re-produce racist attitudes about Muslim individuals and communities. As a result, I hope that this study will invite both teachers and students to engage in critical thinking and dialogue about how the selection of resources can shape our understandings and frame our

discussions of race and racialized groups. Overall, the aim of this study was to challenge social studies educators to critically examine the limitations of some of the most common resource materials at their disposal, and actively challenge students to think critically about how authoritative texts like textbooks might perpetuate harmful discourse and stereotypes.

Acknowledgement

The author wishes to thank Dr. Alexandre Da Costa for his gracious feedback and encouragement to publish this article.

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Canadian Social Studies

canadiansocialstudies.ca

Electronic ISSN 2564-1166

July 2021

Volume: 52 Issue: 2 pp. 101–109

Mark Bingham: The Making of a Gay Hero and Queer Remembrance After 9/11

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Article Info

Received: April 6, 2021

Revised: June 9, 2021

Accepted: June 20, 2021

https://doi.org/10.29173/css24

ABSTRACT

In this article, the author recounts some of the events that occurred on September 11, 2001, when four doomed airlines crashed after being hijacked by 19 Al-Qaeda terrorists, resulting in the deaths of 2,977 people in New York, New York, at the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia, and on an empty field in Shanksville, Pennsylvania. It is at this latter location, where United Flight 93 crashed killing everyone onboard, including 31-year-old Mark Bingham, an openly gay businessman and member of a small group of people who, it is believed, wrested control from the hijackers and brought the plane down. In the years post-September 11, Bingham has become known as a modern-day hero by the various queer communities, while also garnering a high level of notoriety among many mainstream people as well. The author maintains, however, that Bingham's hero status simultaneously contributes to the dismissal and erasure of countless other queer people, primarily Black, Brown, and transgender, who have also performed heroic acts throughout modern U.S. history. Without diminishing the actions Bingham and the others took on board United Flight 93, the author questions why this particular gay man is remembered, while countless other queer/trans people of color remain largely unknown.

KEYWORDS

queer; Mark Bingham; Marsha P. Johnson, transgender, LGBTQ, 9/11

Introduction

The horrific events of Tuesday, September 11, 2001, are well documented and seared into the memories of many people across the United States and around the globe. On this fateful day, Al-Qaeda terrorists hijacked and crashed American Airlines Flight 11 and United Airlines Flight 175 in New York City and a third plane, American Airlines Flight 77 into the Pentagon, located in Arlington, Virginia. Given the media coverage of the two planes that crashed into the North and South Towers of the World Trade Center, those images—the moments of impact, the explosions, and subsequent collapse of both buildings—are etched into the collective memories of this nation. For some, these memories are centered on family members, friends, and even perfect strangers whose lives abruptly ended that day. We cringed as we imagined the sense of panic turned quickly into hopelessness as thousands realized that they were going to die. We watched in agony as individuals jumped from the burning towers in a desperate attempt to avoid the smoke and flames. For others, the shock of an attack on U.S. soil and the impending fear of what might happen next embody the memories of that day. And then there are those individuals, fellow U.S. citizens, who remember September 11 as the day they became the target of hate-driven, anti-Muslim speech and actions because far too many people in the United States equated Muslim (and even the perception of that identity) with "terrorist."

Given these collective memories, people can still vividly recall where they were and what they were doing—some twenty years later—when they first heard about and later watched on television what had taken place just minutes earlier. And for some, what they witnessed was in real time, given the seventeen-minute time span between American Airlines Flight 11 crashing into the North Tower at 8:46 a.m. (EST) and the collision of United Airlines Flight 175 into the South Tower at 9:03 a.m. The third plane, American Airlines Flight 77, slammed into the southwest side of the Pentagon, located in Arlington, Virginia, at 9:37 a.m., killing 184 people working there (Bergen & Levy, 2011). The final plane, United Flight 93 crashed into an empty field in Shanksville, Pennsylvania, at 10:03 a.m. just minutes after the South Tower of the World Trade Center collapsed. Unlike the previous three airplanes, United Flight 93 did not reach its intended target—believed by many to be either the White House or the U.S. Capitol—because of the actions of several passengers onboard who seized control from the hijackers and brought the plane down. When the dust settled, some 2,977 individuals had died on September 11, leaving millions of people living in the United States shocked by the audacity of an attack on U.S. soil, saddened by the loss of life, and fearful over what might happen next. In the days following the tragedy, however, a sense of unity coalesced among communities across the United States when a common enemy, Osama bin Laden, was identified as the mastermind behind the attacks. Regardless of one's gender, race, or sexual orientation, bin Laden's image became a symbol of evil, while the actions he ordered provided a rationale for the anti-Muslim sentiments that swept across the U.S. landscape.

Unable to avoid—and equally complicit in—the waves of anti-Muslim sentiment that emerged, many individuals within the various lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) communities felt this sense of unity as well.[1] They shared feelings of fear and sadness alongside others, and many who identified along the queer spectrum died that day.[2] Among them were David Charlebois, first officer onboard American

[1] Though I most often use "queer" to fully represent the vast array of possibilities across gender identities and sexual orientations, "LGBTQ" signifies the manner in which most of my sources for this paper referred to these various identities in 2001. Gay refers to male-identified individuals with a sexual attraction to other men, the identity Mark Bingham self-proclaimed. It is not my intention to ignore or erase people who possess more nuanced gender and sexual identities.

[2] While the exact number of LGBTQ people who died on September 11, 2001, can never be known, Rawles (2019) provides the reader a list that offers some sense of the gravity of the loss that fateful day. He also discusses Angelfire.com, a site dedicated to "The Lovers Who Awaken Each Morning without Their Gay Patriot & Hero beside Them."

Airlines Flight 77 that crashed into the Pentagon; Father Mychal Judge, a gay Catholic priest and chaplain for the New York City fire department, who was killed by flying debris while he ministered to first responders (Baume, 2020); Sheila Hein, a resident of Maryland who died at the Pentagon while working for the U.S. Army's finance and budget office; Eugene Clark who worked for a consulting firm on the 102nd floor of the South Tower, who left a voicemail to his partner of nearly 14 years, Larry Courtney, saying, "Don't worry, the plane hit the other building. I'm OK. We are evacuating" (Heath, 2019); Daniel Brandhorst, Ronald Gamboa, and their young son, Daniel, who were returning home to Los Angeles from a vacation at Cape Cod when United Airlines Flight 175 slammed into the South Tower; and the list of LGBTQ people who lost their lives that day goes on and on (Rawles, 2019). But among the many LGBTQ people who died on September 11, 2001, one person has become a symbol and representative of those LGBTQ Americans who died, Mark Bingham. In this essay, I focus on who Mark Bingham was and how he became the "gay hero" remembered in the wake of September 11. In addition, I indicate how Bingham's remembrance as hero is problematic because the image he portrays essentially ignores and dismisses large portions of present-day LGBTQ people and their determination to remain visible – namely queer people of color and those who identify as non-binary or transgender. For these individuals, another (s)hero must also be remembered.

Who Was Mark Bingham?

He has become perhaps the first openly gay, great American patriotic idol, and certainly an emblematic figure in the gay community. — Ed Vulliamy, December 1, 2001

Born May 22, 1970, Mark Bingham was only 31 years old at the time of his death on September 11, 2001. Known early on as "Jerry" after his estranged father, he later changed his name to Mark when his mother and greatest fan, Alice Hoagland, gave him the opportunity to do so when they left Miami for a cross country move to Redlands, California, in 1980. After a few years of bouncing from place to place as work for Alice and places to live became available, Bingham found himself enrolled at Los Gatos High School in Los Gatos, California, an affluent area where as a sophomore, he took up rugby as his sport of choice.[3] The high school rugby team afforded Bingham the opportunity to travel overseas, and in the ensuing years, he was recruited to play his beloved sport at the University of California, Berkeley, where he and his teammates won two national championships. While in college, Bingham joined and later became president of Chi Psi fraternity and was known to all as the life of the party. Barrett (2018) reported that, "Friends say that he had a Clintonian ability to bring people out of their shells, to make them feel like no one else was more important. He made a concerted effort to be both the life and the lifeblood of all his social circles" (p. 43). It was also during these college years that Bingham revealed to his closest inner circle of friends and to his mother that he was gay. Upon graduation in 1993 with a degree in the social sciences with an emphasis on International Relations, Bingham landed a job with Alexander Communications, a high-tech public relations firm in San Francisco and later with 3Com, another public relations firm in the area. Given his successes working for these two firms, Bingham founded his own company in 1999, the Bingham Group, a public relations firm based in San Francisco, and by May 2000, had secured a private office space on Lafayette Street (Milton, 2020).

During this period when his business ventures were booming, Bingham still found time to participate in rugby, and while he was initially against the idea of pulling together an all-gay rugby team for fear it would not be accepted by the rugby union, the San Francisco Fog coalesced and had its first practice in October 2000. During the summer of 2001, the Northern California Rugby Football Union accepted the Fog as a permanent member. Upon learning this, Bingham wrote the following email to his teammates:

> When I started playing rugby at the age of 16, I always thought that my interest in other guys would be an anathema — completely repulsive to the guys on my team — and to the people I was knocking

[3] Part of the Silicon Valley, Los Gatos is located in the San Francisco Bay Area at the southwest corner of San Jose in the foothills of the Santa Cruz Mountains.

> the shit out of on the other team. I loved the game, but KNEW I would need to keep my sexuality a secret forever. I feared total rejection…. Now we've been accepted into the union and the road is going to get harder. We need to work harder. We need to get better. We have the chance to be role models for other gay folks who wanted to play sports, but never felt good enough or strong enough. More importantly, we have the chance to show the other teams in the league that we are as good as they are. Good rugby players. Good partiers. Good sports. Good men. (Regents of the University of California, 2002, para. 7–8)

Despite the tone of this email, Bingham did not consider himself a gay activist. His former partner of six years, Paul Holm, told *The Advocate*, "Mark was very proud of being a gay man, but it wasn't the first thing he would define himself as" (Barrett, 2018, p. 45). Politically, Bingham supported Senator John McCain during his 2000 presidential bid, knowing that McCain opposed hate-crimes legislation and the Employment Non-Discrimination Act. While Bingham maintained these particular political leanings, his personal life saw him enjoying the dating scene as he looked to the east coast to open a new satellite office for the Bingham Group in New York City (Barrett, 2018). In fact, he spent the evening of September 10, 2001, at the residence of Matt Hall, a man Bingham had met a few months earlier and with whom he was solidifying a new relationship. The next morning the couple overslept, and following a harrowing drive to the airport, Bingham was the last person to board United Flight 93 for the trip back to San Francisco. Hall reported, "He called me at 7:40 a.m. and said, 'Hi, thanks for driving so crazy to get me here. I've made the plane, I'm sitting in first class, and I'm drinking a glass of orange juice'" (Barrett, 2018, p. 46). Hall wished Bingham a good trip and ended with, "Give me a call when you get there." Given how that particular morning unfolded, Mark Bingham never made that phone call.

United Flight 93

Unlike the three other airlines that hijackers used as flying missiles to bring down the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center and to crash into the Pentagon, the fourth airplane, United Flight 93, did not reach its intended target. Instead, it crashed into an empty field in Shanksville, Pennsylvania. Evidence obtained from both the cockpit voice recorder and the flight data recorder, in combination with the official report delivered from the 9/11 Commission indicate the series of events that took place once Bingham hurriedly found his seat. The flight was delayed because of airline traffic at the busy Newark Airport and sat on the tarmac for some 41 minutes before finally taking off at 8:42 a.m., just four minutes before the North Tower was hit just a few miles away in New York City (Vulliami, 2001). Approximately 30 minutes later, the flight was hijacked by four terrorists, and from the 37 phone calls made from onboard the airline between 9:28 a.m. and 10:03 a.m., we have an accounting of what took place. From the various passengers onboard, we know that the hijackers wielded knives, had a bomb, stormed the cockpit, and forced the passengers to the back of the airplane (Flight 93 National Memorial, 2015). One passenger and one flight attendant were killed and two other individuals – likely the captain and first officer – lay dead on the floor. We also know that the passengers were aware that the World Trade Center and the Pentagon had been attacked. At 9:37 a.m., Mark Bingham called his aunt because he knew his mother was staying there. The call lasted 2 minutes 46 seconds, and Bingham shared the following:

> [to his aunt] This is Mark. I just want to tell you I'm on a plane and it's being hijacked. [moments later talking to his mom after confirming that he was on United Flight 93] This is Mark Bingham. I want to let you know I love you. I love you all. I'm on a flight from Newark to San Francisco and there are three guys who have taken over the plane, and they say they have a bomb. I'm calling you from the air phone. (Flight 93 National Memorial, 2015)

At moments during this call, Bingham was distracted by what appeared to be people speaking to him nearby. Perhaps it was in those few minutes the plot was formed to (re)take control from the hijackers. What is known for sure is that at 9:57 a.m., Bingham, with fellow passengers Tom Burnett, Jeremy Glick, and Todd Beamer, stormed the cockpit. The cockpit voice recorder captured the struggle that endured for about six minutes before the plane crashed at 10:03 a.m.

The Creation of a Gay Hero

I feel that in general the average American doesn't have any idea who Mark Bingham is. Everyone knows Todd Beamer because he had a wife, he was heterosexual, he had a story, the great American family. But we just didn't hear that much about Mark Bingham.

— Michelangelo Signorile, a gay journalist, January 16, 2002

In the days and weeks following the crash, it was not Bingham who stood out among the four individuals who stormed the cockpit; instead, it was 32-year-old Todd Beamer, who famously uttered the words, "Let's roll" before he and the others executed their plan. At the time, those words were often repeated and symbolized the heroic actions that followed. Vulliamy (2001) reported, "The words [were] everywhere. They have become America's favorite, bittersweet and articulate bumper sticker. They were used by President Bush to dispatch his bombers to the mountains and deserts of Afghanistan—but they resonate further than that." The thirteen-minute conversation between Beamer and telephone switchboard operator, Lisa Jefferson – the same call on which Jefferson overheard, "Let's roll"—reveals that Beamer was a religious man, a father of two, and that his wife was pregnant with their third child. In fact, Beamer is said to have called Jefferson at GTE phone company instead of calling his wife because he did not want to upset her. Beamer was in fact, the epitome of the hero the United States needed at the time—a straight, White, family guy who was a God-fearing Christian. One news outlet described Beamer as "a family man from rural New Jersey with a Lord's Prayer bookmark in the Tom Clancy novel he had onboard" (Vulliamy, 2001). The following July (2002) all four men were awarded the Arthur Ashe Courage Award presented by ESPN, complete with a moving voiceover from actor Tom Hanks (Associated Press, 2002). While this national event did not overtly reveal the sexual orientation of any of the recipients, it is noteworthy that the widows of both Todd Beamer and Jeremy Glick spoke at the event, solidifying their esteemed heterosexual status. There was no one present to represent Bingham and his identity as a gay man went unspoken and unknown by the vast majority of the nationwide audience. The erasure of Bingham's gay identity had begun and would have likely continued without some type of intervention.

That intervention came in the form of friends, family, and teammates back in San Francisco campaigning to keep Bingham's memory alive. Bingham's mother, Alice Hoagland,[4] became an outspoken activist as the San Francisco Fog, Bingham's former rugby team, successfully lobbied the International Gay Rugby Association and Board (IGRAB) to host an international rugby tournament that soon was named the Mark Kendall Bingham Memorial Tournament. This biennial event attracted eight teams in the inaugural 2002 event that took place during Gay Pride Weekend in San Francisco. The event garnered nationwide attention including coverage on ESPN and was won by the San Francisco Fog. Bingham's mother presented the team with the winning trophy. The Fog were repeat champions in 2004 and by 2006, the tournament saw continued growth with 22 clubs from six countries competing for the prestigious Bingham Cup. Though cancelled in 2020 due to COVID-19, some 148 teams representing 20 countries from around the globe had planned on competing in this rugby tournament that stands as a living legacy of Mark Bingham's life.

In many ways this international rugby tournament and the annual reminders by gay media outlets keep Bingham's heroic actions and his gay identity in the foreground, but primarily within LGBTQ communities where he is most holistically remembered. Within the mainstream collective consciousness, his name may be associated with the group that helped take down United Flight 93, but Beamer's "Let's roll" certainly garners far more recognition because it provokes heroic feelings for not giving in to the demands of a deadly enemy, while simultaneously placing the wellbeing and lives of others before your own – the very definition of a hero. Some may even question the importance of remembering that Mark Bingham was a gay man, and at the time various pockets of the gay community expressed ambivalence. Said gay journalist, Michelangelo Signorile, "On the one hand they [gay community members] say: 'Why focus on it?' And, on the other hand, they say, 'We want people to know' " (Nieves, 2002). But Bingham's sexual orientation along with the LGBTQ identities

[4] Alice Hoagland died on December 22, 2020, at her home in Los Gatos, California, from complications caused by Addison's Disease. She was 71 years old.

of the many other queer victims of 9/11 is completely relevant when one recalls that in 2001, openly gay men and lesbians did not live equal lives in the United States: they were unable to marry, unable to adopt children, and openly gay people were barred from military service. The importance of identifying gay heroes became especially important, gay advocates say, when the Rev. Jerry Falwell and the Rev. Pat Robertson asserted just two days after the attacks that an angry God had *allowed* the terrorists to succeed because the United States had become a nation of abortion, homosexuality, secular schools and courts, and the American Civil Liberties Union. Said Judy Wiedern, editor in chief of *The Advocate*,

> When you ask what difference does it make if the heroes [who died on September 11] were gay, I say I agree with you. That's precisely my point. They were just like everybody else. So, we ask, why is it that when they died, they were equal to everyone, but had they lived, they would not have the same equality as heterosexuals?' (Wiedern, 2001)

But Why Mark Bingham?

Mark knew how to use his size and would get into situations without thinking about it – which used to amuse us and scare us. I think he knew himself that was not anyone's idea of a typical gay man.
– Hani Durzy, friend of Mark Bingham, September 11, 2017

Mark Bingham boarded United Flight 93 on September 11, 2001, an accomplished gay businessman with a zeal for life and a love for rugby, and he died later that same morning as a modern-day gay hero. His sacrifice cannot be understated, and the visibility he and the stories about him have afforded LGBTQ communities should never be ignored. In a seemingly prophetic email Bingham wrote to his San Francisco Fog teammates just weeks before he died, he says in part:

> Gay men weren't always wallflowers waiting on the sidelines. We have the opportunity to let these other athletes know that gay men were around all along – on their little league teams, in their classes being their friends. This is a great opportunity to change a lot of people's minds, and to reach a group that might never have had to know or hear about gay people. (Schofield, 2020)

And whereas I agree with Schofield (2020) that the image of Mark Bingham disrupts certain long held, and incorrect, stereotypes that *all* gay men lack athletic abilities, physical strength, and are effeminate in their demeanor, one must still question why Mark Bingham and his particular body—6 feet 4 inches, weighing 225 lbs.—represents gay heroism. One must wonder how his particular White, masculine, athletic body and his particular ways of expressing his (cis)gender has become a preferred way of being for so many of us who identify as gay and male. Without question, a certain brand of queerness is reified in the image and heroism of Mark Bingham, while other possibilities remain unseen and consequently undesirable. To be perfectly clear, just as Todd Beamer's famous quote, "Let's roll," gained such tremendous traction because he embodied a particular (and preferred) image—straight, White, husband, father, Christian—so too does Mark Bingham's story. Various sectors of the gay community and gay media outlets have uplifted and maintained a specific way to enact one's gayness because of its proximity to being straight just as the larger, mainstream community uplifted a specific brand of heterosexuality because of its proximity to the ideal American. Accordingly, it seems apparent that "straight, White American" remains an idealized identity, one that should be revered and one that deserves to be remembered as "hero" within the United States.

Heroism of Black/Brown and Trans Bodies

The truth is that transgender women of color were leading the fight, not the generic white knight invented in a recent film version of the events. – The Equality Archive in reference to Stonewall

As long as gay people don't have their rights all across America, there's no reason for celebration.
– Marsha P. Johnson (August 24, 1945 – July 6, 1992)

Despite the narrowly defined type of gay hero personified by Mark Bingham, many people who did not look like him have performed heroic acts over the years. And while there are any number of faceless, nameless individuals of color who have made the ultimate sacrifice for the benefit of others, the focus here will be on one particular historical moment and one individual whose story stands as one among many that remain untold and unknown. The moment to which I am referring centers on the police raid that took place on June 28, 1969, at the Stonewall Inn, one of the few bars in Manhattan where people of the same gender could (usually) dance and socialize together without harassment from the police.[5] On this particular night, a police raid occurred with the intention of openly shaming the patrons who were present, but this time the folks inside fought back, sparking days of protest and marking the beginning of what has become known as the modern LGBT Liberation Movement. From this moment on Christopher Street was also borne the annual celebration of Gay Pride activities, now celebrated on an international stage. Though some modern films depict the most prominent actors of this rebellion as White, cisgender men, the true sheroes were Black and Brown drag queens who often performed at the Stonewall Inn. One of these individuals was Marsha P. Johnson.

First known as Malcolm Michaels Jr., Marsha P. Johnson was born on Aug. 24, 1945, in Elizabeth, New Jersey, to working class parents. Her father worked the assembly line for General Motors, while her mom worked as a housekeeper and attended to her six siblings. In interviews Johnson gave before her death, she reported that she was wearing dresses by the age of 5 but gave that up after being sexually assaulted by a 13-year-old boy in the neighborhood. Johnson graduated from high school in 1963 at the age of 18 and promptly moved to New York City, where she then began to drop "Malcolm" and use Black Marsha, a persona she created as a drag performer, activist, and survivor on the streets of Greenwich Village. Later, she adopted the surname "Johnson" in recognition of a favorite Howard Johnson's restaurant where she liked to hang out and her middle initial P stood for "pay it no mind." Tall and slender with dark brown skin, full red lips, and a knack for commanding attention, Johnson often wore colorful outfits that were assembled from what others discarded, "red plastic high heels; slippers and stockings; shimmering robes and dresses; costume jewelry; bright wigs; plastic flowers and even artificial fruit in her hair" (Chan, 2018). One can imagine the flare with which she confronted police officers that June night at the Stonewall Inn, a night where she and others like her demanded that their space be protected, and their identities recognized as fully human.

Despite the historical whitewashing that has taken place, in the immediate years following Stonewall, Johnson's local notoriety soared. In 1970, Johnson and good friend Sylvia Rivera[6] co-founded the Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR), a group dedicated to helping homeless young drag queens and trans women of color. Together, they were known as pillars of the gay liberation movement, and their radical actions for LBGT justice in New York City – at City Hall and on Wall Street – were important precursors for AIDS activism in the 1980s, especially for the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP). According to Susan Stryker, professor of gender and women's studies at the University of Arizona,

> Marsha P. Johnson could be perceived as the most marginalized of people—black, queer, gender-nonconforming, poor. You might expect a person in such a position to be fragile, brutalized, beaten down. Instead, Marsha had this joie de vivre, a capacity to find joy in a world of suffering. She channeled it into political action, and did it with a kind of fierceness, grace and whimsy, with a loopy, absurdist reaction to it all. (Chan, 2018)

Johnson, in direct contrast to Bingham, did not embody the physical attributes typically expected of heroes. She was transgender, Black, and physically unremarkable, while also perceived as poor and downtrodden – certainly not in close proximity to the idealized "American hero." In other words, Johnson may have acted

[5] David Carter's (2010) book, *Stonewall: The Riots that Sparked the Gay Revolution*, is considered by many to be the most complete and historically accurate rendering of the events at Stonewall in 1969.

[6] Sylvia Rivera was a 17-year-old Puerto Rican drag queen who, like Marsha P. Johnson, was present and led the rebellion at the Stonewall Inn. A long-time activist in New York and good friend to Johnson, Rivera spoke out loudly against racism and sexual violence. She died in 2002 at the age of 50.

bravely and with conviction when she confronted police at the Stonewall Inn and later as she advocated for the homeless and trans women of color, but she did not look like a "hero."

Whose Body Will Be Remembered?

Twenty years have passed, and one must not forget or take lightly the heroism of Mark Bingham or the sacrifices of those many other queer individuals whose lives were taken on September 11, 2001. But I ask that we also honor the life of Marsha P. Johnson and the *many* others who share her Black/trans identity as we remember Stonewall and her early advocacy for Black and Brown trans people, which paved the way for AIDS activism in the early 1980s. This is particularly significant given what happened on July 6, 1992: Johnson's body was pulled from the Hudson River, near the Christopher Street piers. Though authorities quickly ruled her death a suicide, those who knew and loved her questioned this finding and the cause of death was reclassified as a drowning by undetermined causes. In 2012, authorities decided to take a fresh look at the case, and it remains officially open.

Mark Bingham's sacrifice took place publicly, and he is remembered in large part because of the strong advocacy from his mother, his rugby teammates, and the International Gay Rugby Association and Board, which paved the way for annual remembrance when this country commemorates 9/11. Meanwhile, Marsha P. Johnson's sacrifice occurred quietly, without fanfare, and without the support of an international organization. But equally significant, Bingham is remembered as a hero given the particular images and feelings that are evoked when one imagines the essence of "hero." Though she was unpacking the meaning of what it means to be human in the following quote, Sylvia Wynter's (2015) words are instructive when we extend the question to, "What does it mean to be a hero?"

> The problem of the Human [or Hero] is thus not identity-based per se but in the *enunciations* of what it means to be Human—enunciations that are concocted and circulated by those who most convincingly (and powerfully) imagine the "right" or "noble" or "moral" characteristics of Human and in this project their own image-experience of the Human into the sphere of Universal Humanness. The Human is therefore the product of a particular epistemology, yet it appears to be (and is accepted as) a naturally independent entity existing in the world. (p. 108)

Though Johnson's life is now receiving some recognition,[7] social studies education must do more to highlight the pivotal role she played and work toward disrupting and undoing harmful master narratives that dictate who counts as a hero and who is worthy of being remembered. Further, the field must do more to bring to light a modern-day social ill that Johnson's untimely demise represents. Her death reminds us of the many nameless, faceless people wrapped in Black, Brown, and trans bodies that are still vulnerable and all too often considered unmemorable and disposable. In a report the Human Rights campaign titled, "A National Epidemic," the group cited the recent murders of over 150 transgender people in the United States with the vast majority of them – some 91 percent – identifying as Black transwomen. We must end the silence that consumes recognition of these tragedies and take an active stand against the continued, senseless murders of Black and Brown transwomen here in the United States and around the world. The memory of Marsha P. Johnson demands no less.

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[7] In 2017, David France directed the documentary film, The Death and Life of Marsha P. Johnson, which chronicles Johnson's participation in the Gay Liberation and transgender rights movement in New York in the 1960s and 1970s.

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