A Decentering Other in the Academy: Disrupting the Ordinariness of Racism and English Native Speakerism in Canadian University Education, and in the Study and Teaching of Writing in Canadian Writing Classrooms

by

Chitra Kumar Karki

A thesis
presented to the University of Waterloo
in fulfillment of the
thesis requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
English

Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 2025

© Chitra Kumar Karki 2025

Examining Committee Membership

The following served on the Examining Committee for this thesis. The decision of the Examining Committee is by majority vote.

External Examiner	**Dr. Tika Lamsal** Associate Professor, Rhetoric and Language University of San Francisco
Supervisor:	**Dr. Frankie Condon** Professor, English Language and Literature University of Waterloo
Internal Members:	**Dr. Barbara Schmenk** Professor, Slavic and Germanic Studies University of Waterloo
	Dr. Jay Dolmage Professor and Chair, English Language and Literature University of Waterloo
Internal-External Examiner:	**Dr. Kim Hong Nguyen** Associate Professor, Communication Arts University of Waterloo

Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public

Abstract

This study is a part of my decentering/decolonial journey—a journey intended to identify, unravel/unsettle, and challenge the nexus of politics and poetics of whiteness, white supremacy, racism, linguistic imperialism, and other forms of injustices in Canadian University education writ large, and in particular, in the study of writing and the teaching of writing in Canada. It has become increasingly evident that the discriminatory practices have negatively affected students, teachers, staff and other people of colour. Historically, this nexus has been under theorized, under-researched and under-addressed in Canadian writing studies and writing instructional practices because of the continuing legacy of colonial ideology, systemic racism, and white supremacist thinking among mainstream writing scholars. The works of majority of mainstream Canadian scholars reveal that there is a persistent tendency to perform and maintain silence, touristic gaze and lip-service when it comes to dealing with some of the central issues such as politics of whiteness, racism, white supremacy, Eurocentrism, linguistic imperialism, and their toxic effects on the racially and variously Othered people in the field.

While mainstream Canadian writing studies scholars have widely discussed the *marginalization* of writing studies as a field and collectively advocated for its emerging disciplinary identity, they have not demonstrated the similar interest and willingness to address the problems of ordinariness of racism, linguistic imperialism, white supremacy, native speakerist ideology, and other discriminatory practices. These issues have historically underpinned the epistemic foundations of the field of writing studies and the institutions that house it. Instead, the mainstream scholars in the field have persistently demonstrated native-speakerist, and Eurocentric tendency to tell only single stories of whiteness that befit and benefit its own members. The onus, then, is left upon marginalized students, professors, researchers, and

their white allies to theorize this nexus of intersecting discriminations through decentering practices.

Studying and addressing the intersecting discriminations within Canadian university education in general and the teaching and learning of writing studies practices in Canada, necessitates an intersectional approach that incorporates, but is not limited to, stories of lived experiences of racism, CRT informed applied linguistic considerations, and critical historical analyses and/or historicization of the field from the Othered perspectives. The intersectional approach offers a unique perspective and strategy to fight the ongoing nexus of intersecting discriminations within the field of Canadian writing studies.

In my effort to decenter whiteness, I have taken up Aja Martinez's hybridizing approach/method to mesh my personal stories of racism with various discursive approaches such as postcolonial theory, CRT informed applied linguistic analysis, historical analysis, and other analytical measures. While this forging of our stories of lived experiences and hybridizing methods are crucial to fight racism, white supremacy, linguistic imperialism, and other discriminatory practices, these methods could face limitations and challenges especially when racial discriminations take more sophisticated and cryptic turns in the future as artificial intelligence of whiteness holds a firm grip in academia or elsewhere. To overcome both old and emerging challenges, nonetheless, our decentering efforts must be unrelenting.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation marks a crucial step in my decentering journey—a process of identifying, unravelling, and challenging the nexus of racism, white supremacy, and linguistic imperialism within composition pedagogy practices in Canadian universities. Completing this dissertation would have been impossible without the immense support of many individuals, both within the field and beyond. Indeed, this work is the direct result of the collective efforts.

Primarily, my deepest gratitude goes to my wonderful supervisor, Dr. Frankie Condon. No words can truly capture how much your support throughout this journey has meant to me. Thanks a lot for reading all the drafts I submitted to you and for providing the constructive feedback and insights. I am deeply grateful for your unwavering support, insightful guidance, and persistent encouragement throughout this process. Dr. Condon, your direct support empowered me to use my own stories as legitimate research materials to examine, debunk, and unsettle the historical nexus of racism, white supremacy, and English native speakerism within writing studies and writing pedagogy practices in Canadian universities.

I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to my committee members, Dr. Barbara Schmenk and Dr. Jay Dolmage for their scholarly, intellectual, and emotional support. Thank you so much for reading my multiple drafts and for providing insightful feedback and thoughtful suggestions. Without your scholarly and intellectual support, this journey would be impossible to finish. To my internal-external examiner, Dr. Kim Hong Nguyen, and my external examiner, Dr. Tika Lamsal, I am deeply appreciative of your careful review and invaluable insights. Thank you for taking the time to participate in my defense.

I am immensely thankful to the incredible administrative staff at the Department of English. I am grateful to former graduate coordinator, Tina Davidson, for her guidance in my

early years. My sincere thanks to Agata Jagielska (Graduate Program Coordinator and advisor), Deb Hergott (Support Services Coordinator) and Maha Eid (Graduate Studies and Research Officer) for expertly managing all the administrative aspects throughout this journey.

I am especially thankful to Dr. Frankie Condon's dissertators, Dr. Stephanie Samboo and Dr. Tommy Mayberry for writing together on Zoom. Dr. Samboo and Dr. Mayberry, your shared ideas and encouragement were important part of this journey.

To my dearest parents, Tej Bahadur Karki and Nem Kumari Karki—words are not enough to express my gratitude for your unconditional love and unwavering support. Even from seven oceans away, your persistent encouragement has been the bedrock for me, my wife, and our two children during all these years. This accomplishment is a direct reflection of your enduring love, support, and the countless sacrifices you have made..

To my wife, Saraswati Thapa—thank you so much for your incredible patience, love, and willingness to share in every sacrifice required to reach this milestone. I'm profoundly grateful for your readiness to stand firm with me during some of the most difficult times in this journey together. Honestly, it would have been impossible to achieve this without you by my side.

To my incredible sons, Abhinav Karki and Adhrit Karki—you were the unfailing source of my energy and motivation throughout this stressful journey. Your laughter, smiles, and pure love were simply unparalleled in guiding me to the finish line. Every moment, big or small, that I shared with you remained indispensable. Watching you grow into smart, strong, and spirited young men over these years has truly amazed and inspired me. This achievement is as much yours as it is mine. Thank you for your patience, Abhinav and Adhrit!!!

I am deeply grateful to my aunt, Tara Karki, and my elder sister, Benju Karki. Your emotional support was invaluable, and the beautiful pictures you sent of our extended family—

especially my parents and late grandparents—were a powerful reminder of the strong foundation that underpins all my achievements.

Finally, I am deeply grateful to all my PhD cohorts, friends, families, and relatives who contributed to the accomplishment of this journey. Thank you all for helping me grow stronger and more resilient.

Dedication

For my grandmother, Bhaba Maya Karki and my grandfather, Chandra Bahadur Karki

Table of Contents

Examining Committee Membership……ii

Author's Declaration……. iii

Abstract……...iv

Acknowledgements……vi

Dedication……. ix

List of figures……...xvi

List of Illustrations……..xvii

List of Abbreviations……..xviii

Chapter 1: Introduction: Decentering whiteness and Racism through Counterstories……1

1.1 Decentering Talk……...1

1.2 The Genesis of My Decentering Journey…….....10

1.3 The Statement of My Positionality: Outsider-As-Insider(OAI) Perspective…….17

1.4 Chapter Division: Story, History and Language……25

Chapter 2: Story…….31

2.1 Story as a Discursive and Decentering Genre…….31

2.2 Stories and Colonial Discourse……34

2.3 Postcolonial Discourse of Stories: Stories as a Vehicle of Survival, Resistance and Reclamation…….36

2.4 Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Counterstories…….....40

2.4.1 What is CRT?.....40

2.4.2 Methods in Critical Race Theory: Interdisciplinarity, Intersectionality and Counterstorytelling……43

2.4.3 Counterstorytelling as a Hybrid Method of Decentering whiteness…….....45
2.5 Contemporary Immigration System in Canada: Diasporic and Critical Race Theoretical Perspective…….46
2.5.1 Canadian Immigration Program and the Discourse of Contemporary Slavery 49
2.6. Threading My Own Counterstories of Racism: Performing Counterstory as a Decentering Act.....53
2.6.1 The First Phase: The Hallucinatory Effect of Racism.....56
2.6.2 The Second Phase: Racism in Canadian Higher Education 65
2.6.3 Racism in University Classrooms: Storytelling as an Antiracist Practice.....68
2.6.4 "I Like Your Laptop, or this Happens…": Walking into the Library of Racism.....83
2.7 The Later Phase: Permanence of Racism.....87
2.7.1 Pandemic Racism 87
2.7.2 "Where are You From?" and "Why Did You Come to Canada?": The Normalcy of Racism in Canadian Financial Institutions.....92
2.8 The Importance and Implications of My Personal Stories.....95
2.9 Critical Race Theoretical Implications of My Stories of Racism 97
2.10 Conclusion……..101
Chapter 3: Language……106
3.1 English Native Speaker Ideological Practices: An Overview……...106
3.2 Native Speaker (NS), Non-native Speaker (NNS), and Native Speaker Ideology (NSI): A Conceptual Framework……..107
3.3 English Native Speakerism as a Colonial and Racist Ideology…….109
3.4 Chomsky's Structural Linguistics and Native Speaker Ideology…….....111

3.5 English Native Speaker Ideology in Nepal: A Historical Background…….112

3.5.1 English Native Speaker Ideology as a Colonial Practice in Nepal……114

3.5.2 English Native Speakerism: A Western Project in Nepal's Educational Planning...115

3.5.3 Issues of Dysconscious Native Speakerism in Nepal……117

3.5.4 A Legacy of 'western' Linguistic Imperialism in Nepal……...120

3.5.5 Intersectional Effects of Native Speakerist Ideology on Ethnic and Marginalized Languages…….124

3.6 Stories of My Encounter with English Native Speaker and Nepali Native Speaker in Nepal….....128

3.6.1 My Nascent Encounter with English Native Speakers……..131

3.6.2 Internalization of Native Speakerism Within My Family…….132

3.6.3 English Native Speaker Ideology (ENSI) as an Underlying Linguistic Principle in Nepalese Postsecondary Education……..135

3.6.4 Stories of My Lived Experiences as a Teacher of English: Unburdening English Native Speakerism……143

3.6.5 Unravelling English Native Speakerism in University…….148

3.6.6 Translanguaging and Code-Meshing as Alternative Strategies to Disrupt Native Speakerism……153

3.6.7 Nativized English in Nepal: How Nepali English Looks Like.....154

3.7 Conclusion……157

Chapter 4: English Native Speaker Discourse in Canada……162

4.1 Overview……...162

4.2 English Native Speakerism as a State Ideology in Canada……...163

4.3 The Native Speaker in Canadian Constitution: Formalizing white Discourse……165

4.4. The Rejection of World Englishes in Canada: Linguistic Imperialism and Raciolinguistic Ideology…….....168

4.5 My Stories of English Native Speakerism in Canada ……. 174

4.5.1 The Early Encounters with English Native Speakerism in Canada……..174

4.5.2 Aerial Native Speakerism……..178

4.5.3 Warning signs of Encountering English Native Speakers on Air…….....182

4.5.4 Raciolinguistic Effects of English Native Speakers Over Non-native English Speakers of Colour ……...185

4.5.5 It is Not Just Me: Collective Stories of Racism……189

4.5.6 "You Speak Good English; Where are You from?": The Dominant Language Ideology of English in Canada……..192

4.5.7 English Native Speakerists in Canadian University Classrooms……..194

4.5.8 Presence of whiteness and English Native Speakerism as an Instrument of Oppression Classrooms…….....197

4.5.9 English Native Speaker (Non)colleagues in Classrooms……..200

4.5.10 Encountering English Native Speaker Students in Class: An Instructor of Colour's Perspective …….....202

4.6 (Under)ground Plurilinguistic Reality in Canada: Revisioning Kachru's Model and De-territorializing Inner Circle English Speaking Countries…….205

4.7 Conclusion……....209

Chapter 5: History……215

5.1 What is History? To begin with……215

5.2 Methods of Historical Analysis: Traditional Historicism vs New Historicism……216

5.3 Discursive History of/in Canada: How Does it Matter? To Whom?.....218

5.4 Eurocentric History of Canada……..221

5.4.1 (Un)learning the Textuality of whiteness in Canadian History Making……...224

5.4.2 Indigenous Perspective on History in/of Canada……..227

5.4.3 Black Presence in Canada and Black Perspective on History of/in Canada…….234

5.4.4 Demystifying Canadian Multiculturalism: Multiculturalism as a Eurocentric Construct……...239

5.5 Conclusion……243

Chapter 6: Unsettling the History of Writing Studies in Canada……246

6.1 Overview……...246

6.2. Writing Studies in Canada: A Brief Critique of Mainstream Canadian Historicization of the Field……...247

6.3 Discourse of Ambivalence of Identity in Mainstream Canadian Writing Studies……. 252

6.4 Colourblind Rhetoric in Mainstream Writing Scholars' Historiography of the Field…….258

6.5. Rhetoric of Instruction as a Colonial Discourse in Mainstream Historizing Practices…263

6.6 Persistence of Colonialism in Canadian Writing Studies: An Outsider's Perspective….265

6.7 Irony of Centre-Margin Discourse: A Perspective from a Racialized Margin…….270

6.8 (Inter)dependency Rhetoric in Canadian Writing Studies: Another Discourse of whiteness……..273

6.9 Mainstream Canadian Writing Studies Discourse Community: A Discourse Community Analysis……276

6.10 Conclusion …….....285

Chapter 7: Conclusion...…….....291

7.1 Pausing; Not Concluding: Decentering/Decolonizing as an Ongoing Journey…….291

7.2 Decentering Technique: Story, Language, and History……293

7.3 Implications of the Dissertation and Future Directions……294

7.3.1 Implication for Canadian University Education……294

7.3.2 Implication for Writing Studies in Canada……295

7.3.3 Theoretical Implication for CRT: A Necessity of Expansion and Diffusion……...296

7.3.4 Implication for Dissertation as a 'western' Academic Genre: Decolonizing/Decentering Dissertation Writing……...297

7.4 Limitations……298

7.5 Future Research Directions……...299

References……301

List of Figures

Figure 1: Braj B. Kachru's Concentric Circles Model.……...206

Figure 2: The Underground Railroad: Next Stop, Toronto!.....234

Figure 3: Mainstream Canadian Writing Studies Discourse Community Map.....276

List of Illustrations

Illustration 1: TV Screen Digital Signages at one of the AU Libraries' Main Circular Desk Desk.....83

List of Abbreviations

AU: Anglophone University

CRT: Critical Race Theory

NNE: Non-standard Negro English

BEV: Black English Vernacular

CDS: Critical Diasporic Sensibility

FSWP: Federal Skilled Worker Program

PNP: Provincial Nominee Program

TFWP: Temporary Foreign Worker Program

EDI: Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion

NS: Native Speaker

NNS: Non-Native Speaker

NSI: Non-Native Speaker Ideology

ELT: English Language Teaching

NELTA: Nepali English Language Teachers' Association

USAID: United States Agency for International Development

UMN: United Mission to Nepal

CCCC: Conference on College Composition and Communication

SRTOL: Students' Rights to Their Own Language

NNEPC: Nepal National Education Planning Commission

USOM: United States Operation Mission

NL: Nepali Language

EL: English Language

NNSI: Nepali Native Speaker Ideology

CanE: Canadian English

IELTS: International English Language Testing System

TOEFL: Test of English as a Foreign Language

BIPOC: Black, Indigenous, and People of Colour

OAI: Outsider-As-Insider

WAI: Westerner-As- Insider

CASLL: Canadian Association for the Study of Language and Learning

CATTW: The Canadian Association of Teachers of Technical Writing

CASDW: Canadian Association for the Study of Discourse and Writing

ESL: English as a Second Language

SLA: Second Language Acquisition

Chapter 1

Introduction: Decentering whiteness and Racism through Counterstories

1.1 Decentering Talk

To me, the term 'decentering' stands for the process of identifying, unravelling, and resisting or unsettling any oppressive forces such as white supremacy, racism, linguistic imperialism, and so forth. From decentering perspective, this dissertation is a part of my decentering/decolonizing research journey—the journey of identifying, unraveling, and resisting forms of racist and colonial practices within and outside 'western' academic institutions. More specifically, this research seeks to uncover, interrogate and resist the normalization of racist, white supremacist, English native speakerist and raciolinguistic ideological practices inside and outside academic institutions in Canada. To navigate ways to identify, interrogate and resist the permanent character of racism and institutionally embedded ideologies of whiteness, I have taken up three broad methods: history, language, and story. The dissertation also uses history, language, and story as a decentering mechanism. To facilitate the decentering act, I have braided theoretical and methodological ideas by drawing from critical race theory (CRT), CRT-informed-applied linguistics, postcolonial theory, and (new) historical analysis, and so forth.

Using new critical historical/postcolonial lens, the dissertation briefly explores national history of Canada as a settler colonial country and examines that Canadian writing studies history, beliefs and practices are consistent with the national history. Specifically, decolonial perspective toward the history of Canadian writing studies suggests that the field as such preserves and promotes politics of whiteness in different ways as to benefit the same

beneficiaries that the settler colonial education had tended to benefit when postsecondary institutions were being initially established. I find that the history of writing studies (whose history itself is scattered, (in)dependent, and therefore incoherent) largely presents itself as a continuation of legacy of the national history of Canada as a settler colonial country. With the perverted logic of silence, silencing, absence, and lip-servicing, what runs beneath the surface of the Canadian writing studies is the politics of whiteness. My experiences as a student and a teacher inside the field of writing studies at a Canadian university are the testimonies to that colonial cultural legacy. I have heard, felt, and seen racist signifiers—both (quasi)linguistic and visual—laid out systematically inside and outside classrooms. Linguistic signifiers include English native speakerist and racist symbols, images and languages used in curriculum set by whitely professors, their classrooms, their communications—written and verbal. The quasi-linguistic signifiers include deliberate linguistic silence or absence about the issues of racism surrounding nationalistic and linguistic discourse of writing studies and the history of (English) education in Canada in general. The visual signifiers contain the semiotic signs, symbols, gestures, and pictures that are immediately (and sometimes only) discernible to the people of colour or to those who have experienced racism, but not to those who are not on the receiving end. One example of the visual semiotic is a digital signage being shown right over the checkout counter on the first floor of one of the libraries in the university where I am currently pursuing this study. Whereas the politics of whiteness gets manifested in various forms such as hiring of faculty and staff, student admission, hidden curricula, teaching, curricular design, assignment grading, and so forth. Overall, the imperial/colonial logic of whiteness and raciolinguistic biases against people of colour who operate through World Englishes, meshing codes[1],

[1] Code-meshing is a linguistic technique through which languages (also known as codes) could be blended. Vershawn Ashanti Young calls it, among other things, “a framework for thinking about the

translanguaging[2], and so forth is the underlying ethos of writing studies, writing pedagogy, and writing practices in Canada.

The dissertation's second area and/or the method to decenter the politics of whiteness in academic institutions and beyond is related to English language. Linguistic investigation of English language involves examination of English language and its ideology of dominance from the theoretical standpoint of CRT-informed-applied linguistics and translingualism. The CRT informed-applied linguistics is a recent development (Kubota, 2020) to examine "how race and language intersect each other and how racism influences linguistic and educational practices" (Kubota, 712). Using CRT driven approach of intersectionality, applied linguistic analysis allowed me to see how language (English in this context) comes being intertwined with race, racism and other social categories and make the domination and oppression further complicated. On the one hand, critical applied linguistics (CRT driven applied linguistics) examines the given language as a primary area of investigation while also bringing into core the social and cultural categories to see how those extra-linguistic categories come enmeshed with language as the vehicle of discriminations. Conversely, applied linguistic lens becomes a critical tool for critical race theoretical investigation of and resistance to racial and other forms of discrimination for which language becomes one of the categories. Taken together, both critical applied linguistics and critical race theory are crucial for uncovering, highlighting, and fighting hidden, and

---

relationship between African American literacy and Standard English" and "also as a as an approach to teaching writing to African American students" (Young, 1). Young, Vershawn Ashanti. "Introduction: Are You a Part of the Conversation." Eds. Vershawn Ashanti Young, Rusty Barrett, et al. *Other People's English: Code-Meshing, Code Switching, and African American Literacy*. Teachers College Press, 2014.

[2] Translanguaging is a linguistic operation of multilingual speakers who can shuttle between and across languages. Suresh Canagarajah relates translanguaging to "linguistic inventiveness" and practice which grants multilingual speaker the linguistic freedom to shuttle freely across languages. To Canagarajah, translanguaging is more of "high level of metalinguistic awareness and linguistic creativity" than of thinking about raw form of communication. (Canagarajah, 328). Canagarajah, Suresh. *Literacy As Translingual Practice: Between Communities and Classrooms.* Routledge, 2013.

systemic forms of oppressions inside and outside academic institutions. While intersectional approach provides critical lens for researchers to examine the interconnection between the embeddedness of racism with English language, but not paying critical attention to the issues of race, gender, class, and power while discussing about the history, structure, uses and, dissemination of English language is to remain complicit with linguicism, racism, and linguistic imperialism and standard language ideology.

Last but not the least area and/or the method of decentering in the dissertation is counterstory. Grounding on critical race theorists' ideas about the use of story for theory and method, the dissertation uses story as not just a medium of sharing experiences but as a critical tool of engagement to unsettle forms of racism, white supremacy, linguistic imperialism, and pedagogical-curricular discriminations that students of colour experience inside Canadian academic institutions. Aja Y. Martinez, one of the leading CRT scholars in the field of rhetoric and composition, promotes the use of storytelling or counterstory "as a rhetorical research methodology and method" (Martinez, *Counterstory . . .,* 2). Just like Martinez gives credit to the pioneers of the CRT scholarship regarding her use of stories and storytelling as a medium to counter the politics of whiteness, this dissertation, too, is reliant on the pioneers in the field of CRT, and uses Aja Y. Martinez's deployment of counterstory as a method and methodology to uncover and fight racism in academic institutions in Canada. Martinez believes that counterstories or any narrative techniques are essential "for minoritized people to intervene in research methods" ("A Plea for Critical Race Theory. . .," 65) which are Eurocentric and therefore benefit only dominant ideological practices. To that end, my counterstories like any other marginalized people's stories are not just the stories that "document the persistence of racism and other forms of subordination" ("A Plea for . . . ," 65), but they carry within them the

suppressed voices and experiences that have been unaccounted for and discredited in the 'western' academic institutions.

Just like Martinez thinks that stories are repertoires of "lived experiences" and are "valued as legitimate knowledge" (66), my personal stories in the dissertation, among other things, contain the combination of my racialized experiences inside and outside Canadian academic institutions and (auto)ethnographic account of my (non)academic upbringing in which English language education has been the core since my childhood. Instead of using a fictional storytelling method, my intention to coalesce various inter-transdisciplinary aspects into a framework of counterstory is due to one of CRT counterstory' unique natures—"a hybrid form of scholarly inquiry"("A Plea for. . .," 69)—through which one can freely embrace any available methods or methodologies of enquiry insofar as the objective to do so is to uncover, interrogate and oppose racism, and all associated politics of whiteness in rhetoric and composition. By embracing the hybrid or multipronged counterstory method of enquiry rather than following the hierarchical nature of Eurocentric research method (such that you need to rigidly follow certain method(s) and methodological approach to live up to the 'western' expectation), I could fluidly and freely (as much as I can) maneuver from one approach to another often-combining multiple viewpoints such as Indigenous, Black, and diasporic. For example, while decentering the whiteness and its various effects on students of colour like me, I have fluidly and freely moved from one theoretical/analytical approach to another—at times trans-continentally(from North America to South Asia and back again), trans-linguistically(Englishes to Nepali and back again) and race-caste dynamics while rooting for the only purpose—the decoloniality to end the persistence of racism, inequality, white supremacy and linguistic imperialism.

To those present and future researchers of colour and those who use CRT as a method and methodology, here is an important implication of using counterstory as a powerful method of investigation inside white dominant academic institutions: be prepared to face the reality that counterstories are constantly monitored, filtered and embargoed in various names as a means to maintain the status quo that only benefits white discourse community and whiteness. Therefore, there is a necessity for a robust epistemic and methodological discussion to fight white embargo and censorship imposed on (counter)storytelling as one of the institutional challenges. Obviously, taking the hybrid and multipronged methodological approach to decenter whiteness does face constant surveillance and epistemic embargo—about which Kubota calls "epistemological racism" ("Confronting Epistemological Racism . . .," 713)— and triggers microaggressions, fragility and inconvenience within the mainstream white scholars who have been trained inside colonial frameworks of western intellectual tradition. Taking the hybrid and multipronged approaches rather than a singular approach facilitates the fight against white surveillance, epistemic embargo, white fragility, and other silent subvariants of racism in Canadian postsecondary institutions in general, and Canadian composition studies in particular.

In the effort to combat the multiple forms and effects of racism in university education in general and writing studies in particular, there are prominent white CRT scholars, writing scholars and critical pedagogists who have been constructively contributing to the field of CRT via self-reflection and advocating for interracial alliance. To that point, building on Sara Ahmed's critique on whiteness and Elspeth Probyn's theorization on the notion of shame, Frankie Condon expands on the theory and rhetoric of shame "as a productive relational force" (Condon, 154) to forge the alliance across racial lines. According to Condon, it is the intense feeling of 'shame' which is "necessary and productive" (155) condition for difficult but

necessary conversation on race, racial relations and racism to happen, especially in rhetoric and composition platforms and practices. It is not the fleeting-excusatory rhetoric of guilt and fragility but the "shame, thus conceived," argues Condon, "teaches the kind of humility that might enable us to stay with the question, to stay with and for one another, to stay at the table" (155).

While Condon's view on the philosophy around 'shame' is critically important for some of the difficult conversations within 'western' institutions, her plea for antiracist alliance predicated on the philosophy of shame should not be misconstrued as 'fragility' or white guilt—the fleeting excusatory rhetoric of whiteness for "maintaining and reproducing systemic and institutional racism" (Condon, 14). One of the implications of Condon's rationalization on and rhetoric of shame is that there exists a particular white discourse community composed of neutral-seeming-mainstream-white teachers, academics and scholars who advocate white fragility within rhetoric and composition studies in North America. The white discourse community supports that oblivion, ignorance, and silence are better choices than having to feel shame for "the history of racism or for our own complicity in that history" and the persistence of that history (Condon, 153). For the white discourse community, it is not the shame as Condon explains but the white fragility that matters the most to maintain and reproduce the vicious cycle of white hegemony and racism.

Unlike shame, white fragility has at least three probable significations. First, fragility, to white people, is an irrational defense strategy (Baldwin qtd. by Young in Condon, *I Hope I Join the Band,* 156) to safeguard their white privilege. Second, and linked to the first point, is that fragility also signifies the mental or emotional response of 'white' people when their long-held privilege or status quo is confronted by those who have endured centuries of racial oppression.

Thirdly, related to the first and the second, fragility is a part of the politics of whiteness through which they play games of innocence and guilt so that they could detour their course of privilege to benefit themselves at the end of the day.

To resist the persistence of racism including toxic white fragility, I have taken a swinging path of hybrid counterstory as a major technique to mesh stories of my raciolinguistic experiences with applied linguistic theory, CRT, postcolonial theory, and so forth. The linguistic counterstories contain my complex acquaintance and survival with English language which have still been shaping my linguistic perception and my relationship with this language to this day. Issues of English language within the linguistic counterstories have been intertwined with the globality of Eurocentric cultural logic of colonial ideology, native speakerism, and more recently the global linguistic neoliberalism—often known as persistent commodification and marketization of English language in the world (Gray and Block, 126). Sharing experiences as counterstories, has allowed me to document and present testimonies of having to go through the permanence of racism of all kinds—colourblind, overt-covert, microaggression, systemic, "epistemological" ("Confronting, Epistemological Racism. . . ," 713), institutional, and so on which otherwise would have been anesthetized or lost if not documented. Rest assured, the racialized experiences function as fundamental element of resistance which "challenges mainstream society's denial of the ongoing significance of race and racism" (Yosso, qtd. in Martinez, "Plea for Critical Race Theory . . ." 65). By documenting my everyday experiences of racism through storytelling, my intent has been, among other things, to unsettle the whitely tendency to deny the ongoing persistence of racism in academic institutions and beyond. Whitely people are those who uphold ideology of whiteness as the "learned ways of knowing and doing

characterized by a racialized (white) sense of oneself as best equipped to judge, to preach, and to suffer" (Pratt and Frye qtd. in Condon, *I Hope I Join the Band,* 34).

While Martinez talks about the value of stories as a research method of resistance to the politics of whiteness or the majoritarian stories created by the mainstream(white) society, her discussion, however, does not address some of the obvious challenges or barriers counterstories face on each step they try to decenter whiteness. Some of the barriers or challenges include the weaponization of existing institutional systems and policies such as ethics and integrity, protocolling, hidden curriculum designed to serve and maintain the politics of whiteness, stylistic and rhetorical discourse concerning the requirements and designing of dissertation as a 'western' epistemological genre, and more importantly, the surveillance under which each counterstory writer must write by making sure that the counterstories are compromised so that the legacy of the white privileges is not destabilized.

In my experience, my stories have not been entirely free from 'white' anesthetization because of the white institutional attempts to control over the substances of my counter-storytelling. Such surveillance forbids researchers or dissertators of colour from employing counterstories as theory and method of resistance. Over the course of this dissertation journey, I received persistent institutional reminders to avoid using (in)direct identifiers which included direct quotes so that the white professor(s) involved in the act of racism are not identified (***note***: I received reminders despite anonymizing the 'white' professors' identity by not calling their names throughout my stories). In addition, the enormity of fear and danger for writing counterstories to expose and resist racism within my own home institution have always been unsurmountable in this decentering journey. Thus, the psyche of perpetual fear coupled with the epistemic surveillance under which BIPOC and LGBTQIA+ people work, teach, write, study and

research could turn a counterstory into an embargoed counterstorytelling, so to speak. Nevertheless, choosing to write stories in hybrid method helps CRT counter-storytellers/writers to take detour to save the decentering contents from being erased and silenced.

1.2 The Genesis of My Decentering Journey

Previously as a graduate student and later as a teacher of English language, rhetoric and linguistics at a university in Kathmandu, I got tremendous opportunities to familiarize myself with some of the world's renowned progressive scholars and their revolutionizing ideas. One of the prominent figures was poststructuralist Jacques Derrida whose subversive idea of deconstruction ignited my nascent decentering awareness that any oppressive structure which privileges certain group of people while discriminating against and dominating others needs to be decentered or dismantled to recuperate the identity of the oppressed. Since then, the idea of deconstruction has left a lasting mark in my mind.

Derrida's idea of deconstruction should not be misconstrued as a destruction of meaning, structure, or elements of structure in a way that any renewal is impossible. Derridean deconstruction should be understood as a critical practice "to reverse the resident hierarchy, only to displace it; to dismantle in order to reconstitute what is always already inscribed" (Spivak, lxxvii). The interpretative gambit of deconstruction which I found particularly impressive was not just limited to dismantling or unmaking any oppressive structure with a center that governs the structure itself, but the deconstruction's recuperating and reconstituting otherwise marginalized and suppressed ideas through rebuilding the structure itself.

Along with Derrida, several other Non-western, Black, and Indigenous scholars bolstered my interest in decentering journey. Homi K. Bhabha's postcolonial discussion on the ideas of hybridity, mimicry, and ambivalence as cultural sites and strategies of resistance or "disavowal"

(Bhabha, 132) for any oppressed identities helped my decentering vision and practice by providing theory and method for my research and teaching. Particularly interesting was Bhabha's idea of resistance as "a strategy for the negotiation of the knowledges of differentiation" (132). And it is through the constructive process of disavowal the existing asymmetrical power dynamics are dismantled, reformed, and reshaped as to ensure rights, equality, and justice for the oppressed.

Likewise, Non-western, postcolonial, Black and Indigenous scholars also helped me expand the scope of my decentering awareness—the awareness that most 'western' epistemological and ontological discourses about the 'west' and Non-west have been constructed based on imperialist-colonialist thinking, and such discourses need to be dismantled in order to understand and reconstruct what has been lost. This awareness was, in part, based on Edward Said' scathing critique on 'western' imperialism and orientalism. Said critiques by arguing that imperialism is nothing more than "the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan center ruling a distant territory and colonialism" (Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 9), whereas orientalism is a 'western' discourse "for dealing with the Orient—dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it" (*Orientalism*, 3). Even more fascinating was Aijaz Ahmad's idea of cultural nationalism or the idea that "each 'nation' of the 'Third World' has a 'culture' and a 'tradition,' and that to speak from within that culture and that tradition is itself an act of anti-imperialist resistance" (Ahmad, 9). Not less impressive was Chinua Achebe's multivalent use of stories as a postcolonial method: to (counter)represent whiteness'—that 'white' people are as dangerous as "locusts" (Achebe, 178) in Africa—to show the dangerous effects of colonialism such as English

Missionary's act of colonizing African people through "religion and education" (231), and to recuperate native people's stories, cultures, and tradition.

Studying Frantz Fanon provided me with better insights on decolonization as still another form of decentering. Fanon discusses about two meanings of decolonization: one requiring violence as a necessary tool for the "[n]ational liberation" (*The Wretched of the Earth*, 33) from colonization and the other one—not requiring violence as a tool of resistance but a persistent and "a complete calling in question of the colonial situation" (36) though "compromise" (61). Fanon, of course, would prefer the first form of decolonization as regards the fight against colonialism for national liberation movement because "colonialism is not a thinking machine" which can only be confronted with greater violence" (60). However, for academic and pedagogic purpose, but not for using them as distinct liberatory strategies for national liberation, hybridization of the two techniques of decolonization—violence and compromise—will offer a non-violent yet effective method to decenter colonial ideological practices. I argue that the hybridization of Fanon's two anticolonial strategies would entail taking only the radicalness or the revolutionary element of violence—"neither sound and fury, nor the resurrection of savage instincts" (Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 20) but persistent and uncompromising struggle on the fundamental purpose of decolonization and yoking the radicalness with strategic essentialist sense of 'compromise'—based on the context, time, and situation which would yield the meaningful anti-colonial and anti-oppressive theoretical and practical framework for examining different forms of inequalities and discriminations based on race, language, class, gender, caste, economy due to ongoing settler colonialism, forms of racism, neoliberalism, and so forth.

The list of the scholars who have left lasting influence upon me is long and naming all of them and their works is necessary but impossible. But, forgetting pioneers and influential

African American scholars such as Toni Morrison, Ralph Ellison, Maya Angelou, Alice Walker, Richard Wright, James Baldwin, Langston Hughes and many others will be a complete disrespect as regards their global contribution to the dissemination of understanding of the discourse of race, race relations, antiracist actions and imaginations which believe that most issues dealing with global inequalities and discriminations are the direct and indirect result of the politics of whiteness and Eurocentric worldviews.

During my Master's degree program in Nepal, I was immensely influenced by Toni Morrison's view on the history of slavery and racism in the US. In *Beloved* for example, Morrison portrays traumatizing legacy of slavery in post-civil rights era in the US. She offers guidance not only for healing the trauma but also for resistance. Morrison's assessment of race that it "has become metaphorical way of referring to and disguising forces, events, classes, and expressions of social decay and economic division—" and her view that "racism is as healthy today as it was during the Enlightenment" is relevant today in North America where homophobia, xenophobia, various forms of racism, anti-immigrant sentiments and all toxic ideologies have been on historic rise especially during and post-covid era(Morrison, 63).

In the field of sociolinguistics, William Labov's sociolinguistic investigation into the myths and racist perceptions on Black English Vernacular (BEV) as a Nonstandard English in the US sharpened my strong willingness to research into colonialist and racist ideologies embedded within English studies in general and English language education in particular. In 1969 article, Labov pointed out racist perceptions held by some of the famous advocates of Standard English ideology such as Carl Bereiter, Basil Bernstein, Jensen, Engelmann, Martin Deutsch, and many other North American education psychologists who falsely produced the idea of cultural and verbal deprivation (Labov, 22) to characterize Black children and their language.

Ironically, William Labov was also not fully free from standard language ideological bias because for him "standard English is the 'proper medium' for formal writing and public communication" (Labov, 39).

Labov's sociolinguistic attempt at unravelling the linguistic bias against NNE (Non-standard Negro English/BEV (Black English Vernacular) in the US ignited my interest in linguistic decentering linguistic imperialism of the so called 'standard' English over other Englishes and languages other than 'standard' English. Likewise, during my MPhil studies in the year 2008 in Nepal, I got a chance to read Braj B. Kachru applied linguistic theory, most popularly known as linguistic model of three concentric circles of English. Kachru's theory provided me with pluralistic awareness that English language is in the constant process of making, and that there are world Englishes rather than one English.

After coming to Canada as a landed immigrant, I saw and experienced two faces of the 'western' world: a superficial face of the 'west' projecting happiness with capitalism at its peak, available opportunities, benefits, and challenges, and the other one is a least publicized-quasi-ulterior face projecting inhumanity—racism, discrimination, inequalities, settler colonialism, and what not. But being here, I also acquired a critical diasporic sensibility (CDS)—the diasporic double consciousness or the consciousness to self-reflect and decenter the 'west' at the same time. Had I not immigrated to Canada, I would never have been able to achieve the sensibility. This awareness also provided me a unique diasporic ability to fluidly shuttle my critical perspective between the place of my origin (Nepal) and host country (Canada). One such example of the shuttle mentioned in the dissertation relates to my examination of English language and English language education in Nepal and Canada from critical applied linguistic perspective in tandem with personal narrative enquiry. As a student and instructor of colour at

AU (The Anglophone University), I have used diasporic shuttle (which I regard as a decolonial venture) as a pedagogical strategy while teaching and learning and as a research tool to decenter the dominant or standard language ideology, and what effects it has upon people of colour like me who speak World Englishes. Joining the Anglophone University (AU)[3]for MA and PhD in English proved to be major turning point regarding the decentering awareness.

Before I immigrated to Canada, I only had read and heard that racism, colonialism, European ethnocentrism and linguistic imperialism exist in Canadian postsecondary institutions. But once within the system, I got the first-hand experiences of forms of racism and their traumatic effects. I was cognizant of the fact that academic institutions in the 'west' were fundamentally Eurocentric, and thus they ('western' academic institutions) maintained and promoted Eurocentrism and imperial-colonial ideology with politics of whiteness at their core. While at the AU, I encountered whitely professors and students who would uphold those ideologies and participate in victimizing students and teachers of colour in classrooms on everyday basis. On the contrary, I also have been fortunate to meet and learn from few progressive scholars at the university. I learnt, they have been actively and openly advocating diversity, anti-racist pedagogy, CRT-informed-applied linguistic theory and practices that would counter the politics of whiteness. Thus, I got opportunities to enhance my knowledge on critical pedagogy, anti-racist pedagogy, CRT, African American rhetorical tradition, and other areas which further contributed to emboldening my decentering awareness. These two ambivalent situations existing inside the university constituted a most important rhetorical context for this present research. Despite the challenges and being an Other at the Canadian university, I flipped around the ambivalence and attempted to turn 'coming-to-and-settling-in Canada' into an

[3] The Anglophone University (AU) stands for any Canadian university including the one where I am currently a student.

opportunity for expanding my decentering knowledge, joining the voices at margins and encouraging other marginalized voices to come forward.

I know that publicly sharing my lived experiences of racism in Canada has never been easy due to fear, shame, and trauma. Deciding to use stories of lived-experience of racism was even more intimidating in the first place because doing so would cost me the huge price to pay—risk my career opportunities where white discourse community is predominant and therefore potentially run greater risk of further marginalization. This anxiety of further marginalization because of this decentering act is still buzzing hard inside my head. I have also realized that this research comes at the cost of another thing yet—that I would have been studying, researching, and contributing to another area of my interest in rhetoric and composition studies and linguistics had I not been through the engage-and-rule strategy of whiteness. The engage-and-rule strategy of whiteness means that so called 'white' scholars and white institutions use myriad oppressive and exclusionary tactics (one of which is racism) as engaging and silencing strategies to restrict racially marginalized people from getting access to and contributing to knowledge production so that white people will be the perennial beneficiaries of all the available privileges.

Despite all odds, nevertheless, what led to the decision to share and use my own personal stories as a CRT method is my antecedent decentering commitment in conjunction with direct or indirect support from few anti-racist compositionists, critical pedagogy scholars and applied linguists working within the university, and the past and present scholars in the field of CRT. Therefore, I believe that using my stories of experiences as a decentering method and making contrapuntal analysis[4] of the Canadian composition tradition and dominant language ideology

[4] In his book *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), Edward Said discusses about "contrapuntal reading" as an anti-imperialist reading or analytical tool to approach 'western' texts and textual practices. This technique, Said argues, "must take of both processes, that of imperialism and that of resistance to it, which can be done by extending our reading of the texts to include what was once forcibly excluded . . ."

embedded within the discourse of English language education helped me identify, unravel, and unsettle permanence of racism, white supremacy, raciolinguistic ideology, epistemic violence, and their pernicious effects upon racially marginalized identities within academic institutions. Using my counterstories as theory and method as opposed to the 'western' epistemic expectations is meant for pushing antiracist conversation further so that the unhindered practices of institutional and epistemic racism at Canadian postsecondary institutions in general and rhetoric and composition studies in particular would be exposed, interrogated, and resisted collectively.

1.3 The Statement of My Positionality: Outsider-As-Insider(OAI) Perspective

This dissertation adopts an Outsider-As-Insider (OAI) stance to examine and dismantle the ongoing nexus of racism, white supremacy, and English native speaker ideology, along with other discriminatory practices in Canada more broadly, and particularly in Canadian writing studies and pedagogy. My OAI position is rooted in my lived experiences of racial and linguistic oppression as a permanent Outsider/Other, yet it is self-affirmed by my liminal Insider status owing to my residential, institutional, and academic standing in Canada, and in writing studies discipline in an Anglophone Canadian university. This ambivalent position offers a unique vantage point for examining, exposing, and resisting the nexus of racism, white supremacy, and linguistic imperialism across Canadian contexts: university education, writing studies, and pedagogy. Recognizing language as a crucial political tool in this decolonial strategy, I embrace a hybrid and ambivalent linguistic path by utilizing my own World English. This linguistic

(66-67). This technique if used in tandem with critical race theoretical methods of intersectionality will provide a powerful critical tool for any of the decolonial textual strategy to identify, expose and resist the intertwined nature of colonial ideology and the ordinariness racism.

choice directly challenges the dominant English language ideology embedded in Canadian writing studies, thereby mirroring and reinforcing my OAI stance throughout this research.

My anti-colonial/postcolonial analysis of Canadian statist history is shaped by my ambivalent and liminal position as a permanent Outsider. This designation reflects the racialized identity assigned to people of color by the gaze of raced-white Canadians, positioning them as 'Other' who do not belong within 'the west.' And the sense of un-belonging is grounded in colonial/racist ideology which affirms that non-white individuals are inherently un-Canadian and, by extension, subject to white subjugation and hatred. Within the white institutional contexts, my identity as a permanent Outsider provides a critical vantage point from which to interrogate the subordinating rhetoric of 'white' Canadians.

From postcolonial theoretical perspective, marginal/interstitial/hybrid space is where the Outsider or the Other resides, and such space is perceived as an ambivalent/tactical stance from which whiteness and/or the 'west' is interrogated, resisted, and negotiated (Bhabha, *The Location . . .*, 4-5; Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies . . .,* 4). However, the situation of ambivalence becomes complex when the Other enters white space, knows the white space INSIDE OUT and writes/speaks about the white space INSIDE OUT. As the Other enters the white space, there is a chance that his/her/their comrades(other Others) start looking at him/her/them differently. As a result, the other Others could suspend the prior camaraderie as a result of which the Other could feel alienated. Moreover, once inside the white space, the intensity of white subordination increases as opposed to being at margin. Such alienation engenders a specific kind of ambivalent identity as a unique tactical site from which Others like me are situated. Thus, this kind of ambivalence becomes unique because the Other is already

interpellated within the 'western' institutions from which he/she/they are supposed to speak and write.

By the same principle of ambivalence, while I am treated as different, outsider, Other and marginalized by 'white' people and white institutions, my outsider-ness, my marginality, and my Otherness are all located/situated/limited within the limitlessness of whitespace in Canada such as university campus, department, classrooms, and Canadian society writ large. However, being within the whitespaces, I also know inside-out about those whitespaces. I term this ambivalence as the Outsider-As-Insider (OAI) position and identity.

Even though, most postcolonial theories sound highly optimistic and overly positive about the possibility of resistance due to hybrid identity of the Othered people, I think that being oppressed and situated in white spaces may not simultaneously guarantee that the Othered individual is aware of his/her/their hybrid identity. Being the Other does not mean being hybrid or ambivalent. At times, the effect of whiteness is unimaginably enormous and unbearable that we—the Others—end up being frustrated and crippled. Total numbing! It is only when the Others can overcome the numbing effect of whiteness in the first place then *We* can resist white supremacy inside out.

Regarding the historical context of writing studies in Canada or English North America in general, the locative indicator–the insider position–should be understood as white or 'western' space. This means that the *insider* is somebody who teaches/studies/researches within Canadian academic institutions where writing studies is situated. My 'withinness' or insider identity in the writing field should also not be misinterpreted as a regular 'insider.' By regular/permanent 'insider,' I indicate to white individuals who, regardless of a variety of intersectional identifications, continue to enjoy and manipulate white privilege as given, directly or indirectly.

Whereas the identity positions of people of colour 'within' that 'inside' is never equal to or the same as white folks as *insiders*. Therefore, my position as an Outsider-As-Insider(OAI) within rhetoric and writing studies is a special sensibility of marginalized identities(much like hybrid identity in Bhabha terms) because such sensibilities can expose "the necessary deformation and displacement of all sites discrimination and deformation"(Bhabha, *The Location* . . ., 112).

But the OAI stance has its own challenges, too. Many oppressed and marginalized experiences suggest that ambivalence or hybridity is not always seamless, pleasant looking and ideally futuristic. There are constant threats and challenges coming from the center (the 'white' governmentality) to the margin in various forms including everyday racism on the ground, systemic discrimination in almost every institution, legal and policy changes made frequently by the state through various state apparatuses to maintain and sustain the status quo, and so forth. The challenges and threats coming from the center that naturally tends to preserve and sustain white privilege make marginal life cumbersome and intimidating so much so that the idea of margin itself is under threat. Therefore, when forms of racism, white supremacy, linguistic imperialism, neo-liberal ideologies, and neo-imperialism are at high tide, it is not always the case that living "in the 'beyond,' then, is to inhabit an intervening space," or the idea that "the intervening space 'beyond,' becomes a space of intervention in the here and now"(Bhabha, 7). The life at the margin, thus, is not always predictably ambivalent and hybrid to facilitate transformative rupture. Hybridizing or ambivalencing acts either require certain felicity conditions such as inter/intra cultural-linguistic alliance or minimum strategic essentialist partnership that builds around the idea of multiple consciousness–awareness that I/we have our originary identities with obvious differences but are slyly aware of the 'western' hegemony,

status quo and domination that need to be resisted to forge hybrid and ambivalent identities of the oppressed. And those felicity conditions need to be formed for the hybridizing acts.

Bhabha's notion of hybridity and ambivalence is important because it suggests that resistance in the interstitial/liminal space is like a commonsense, but it is also real that margins are vulnerable, and they are not all uniform. Based on where we are situated, the threats and challenges are so potent that resistance sometimes is outweighed. For instance, the discourse of hybridity in Non-western locations is very different from the discourse of marginality in the 'western' world. Unique yet, as the reminder of the colonial period, is the situation for margins/beyond/hybrid in settler colonial spaces. The discourse of temporality–whether colonial period or post-colonial era in the Non-west, or perpetuating settler colonial time frame in countries such as Canada makes situations and contexts of margins different. In Canada, for example, people of colour face everyday racism–both overt and covert–systemic discrimination, and enormous uncertainties and economic challenges due to programmatic neoliberal ideological practices "one that systematically protects white privilege, not through overt forms of state sanctioned institutional racism, as in the past, but through the colorblind and seductive rhetoric of free enterprise, free markets, and common sense" (Mascarenhas, 6). The unpredictability inherent within the margins due to spatial-temporal and other reasons therefore makes the OAI stance and perspective challenging for persons of colour in 'western' countries like Canada.

Postcolonial understanding of the hybrid/ambivalent/ interstitial life/site is such that the oppressed can solve problems mathematically and categorically. Postcolonial thinkers such as Bhabha indicate as if the hybrid site is somehow fantastic, and the hybrid life is like living in an interstellar space where no danger is lurking. I do agree with Bhabha and believe, just like every other marginalized and oppressed people do, that the hybrid/ambivalent space should be used as

an effective site for struggle/resistance and identity formation. But I also believe from my own experience and echo to Frantz Fanon that ambivalence/hybridity/margin/beyond is not always predictable–there are unprecedented challenges constantly and centrifugally hurling from the center due to which a sense of survival tops the list of choices at margins and hence turning resistance into a secondary/tertiary option rather than a liberatory obligation. Regarding the unpredictability, Fanon writes, "And then the occasion arose when I had to meet the white man's eyes. An unfamiliar weight burdened me. In the white world the man of color encounters difficulties in the development of his bodily schema" (Fanon, "The Fact of Blackness," 110). But being at margins also resonates with Fanon's actual realization of the subjugation and the relentless facing of the challenges that the "liberatory struggle" starts to take place(Bhabha, 38).

My OAI position is not exactly like Bhabha's description as "neither the one nor the other" (25), but the kind of sensibility which is aware of both sides but residing "at the interstices of structure, in liminality; at the edges of structure, in marginality; and from beneath structure, in inferiority" (Turner, 128). Not all outsiders/marginalized/oppressed identity positions are the same or identical even though all belong to the same margin because the margin itself is a paradigm. What accounts for similarity or difference depends on the originary and racial background(s) one belongs to. My Outsider-As-Insider identity within 'western' academic institutions, and programs such as writing studies is different from Indigenous and Black People whose experiences of victimhood and survival are quantitatively and qualitatively different. Like so many other people of colour who have been living in Canada, I am not only an immigrant person of colour, but I am also an Other. In other words, I am diasporized person of colour who arrived in Canada through the immigration system designed by the Canadian government. I

LEFT my originary place behind and RESIDE in Canada as an immigrant and share this space as a new home.

So, on the surface level, these insider-outsider identities look/sound/feel complex and self-contradictory based on where they are located and functioning as researchers, writers, interrogators, but they are very ambivalent–hence (de)constructive. Thus, my/our identity as immigrant-person(s)-of colour-but-guest makes the idea of liminal space more complex as opposed to postcolonial interpretation of the idea of liminality. My interrogation of the writing studies in Canada is the result of these complex identities.

The OAI should not be mistaken for the 'westerner-As-Insider(WAI). WAI is the status and identity position created through imperial/colonial projects and maintained and perpetuated through continuous marginalization and oppression of OAI. The centrality of WAI is not just due to their "intellect, talent, or humanity . . . that supported their superior status, but largely just the advantages of racism"(Collins, S14). According to this outsider-insider framework, the OAI–the bracketed and marginalized–is conditioned/controlled/patrolled systemically through various measures and systems meant for serving the 'western' expectations–be they 'hidden curricula, protocolling, dead-lining, and so forth. Nevertheless, OAI is also self-proclaimed/made with my/our own ethnocultural and linguistic (though liminal) identity and also rooted to diasporization–concomitantly voluntary and coercive.

The sense of insider identity of the marginalized–that I survive and function inside the 'western' institutions and I know its externalities and internalities –when informed by diasporic sensibility, makes life of OAI more complex. But sometimes, (the sense of) being in the inside befuddles OAI people by forcing them to believe that they are safer inside(because my status is officially/legally recognized as insider that I am Canadian; I have more opportunity here than I

used to have in the palace of origin, that my family is financially secure, and so forth). But OAI people's feeling of safety is either hallucinatory, imagined, or transitory because they always fall outside the underlying principle of the *inside* or the *center* that the guarantees of safety and privilege which is only entitled to the white people. So, "what can be done with the complex liminal identity of the OAI like mine?" should be the question that needs to be asked by those who are living with ambivalence. Just like outsider/liminal identity position, the 'insider' positionality can and should also be utilized as a strategic vantage point with which to resist and negotiate the mainstream or oppressive power of whiteness.

Examining from Outsider-as-Insider (OAI) position and perspective reveals that Canadian writing studies and writing instructional practices are undergirded by the settler colonial ideologies. But looking through the existing white Canadian or Western-as-Insider(WAI) lens provided by scholars such as Nan Johnson, Kevin Brooks, Roger Graves, Clary-Lemon, Louise Wetherbee Phelps, Richard M. Coe, Dana Landry, Russell Hunt and so many others including Christin Taylor(most recently), the representation of writing studies in Canada is found to be completely different–exclusively about Canadian nationalist identity that excludes or misrepresents the Othered identities. From the OAI perspective, the mainstream Canadian (white) scholars' perspective implies the dominance white discourse community, to borrow John Swale's idea of discourse community. If writing studies in Canada is a part of 'western' colonial construct, trying to find out Othered identities apparently remains impossible. This is the reason why I/we do not find ourselves in this history; nor do I find the knowledge, knowledge-making traditions, languages, discourses, cultures of Black, Indigenous, and Peoples of Colour - including those, like me who are multi-and translingual and diasporic ("new" Canadians).

1.4 Chapter Division: Story, History and Language

This dissertation has seven chapters including introduction and conclusion. The introduction section sets the stage for this research on disrupting/decentering the ordinariness of racism in Canada with particular emphasis on the nexus of racism, white supremacy, and linguistic imperialism within composition studies and pedagogy in Canadian university campuses. I found that the nexus has been under-theorized, under-researched, and under-addressed in field of the study of writing and the teaching of writing in Canada, and the CRT informed-decolonial analysis of the history and tradition of writing studies in Canada suggests that the discussion on the nexus of racism and its implications within the study and teaching of writing has been systemically absent. Doing "contrapuntal" analysis (Said, 66) together with CRT informed analysis suggests that the deflection or lack of the sustained discussion on the nexus of racism within composition studies and practices is not any exception but it is a manifestation of the historical legacy of settler colonialism and colourblindness to perpetuate the politics of whiteness in the field of writing studies in Canada.

Chapter two is about story as a method of identifying, exposing, and resisting racism and linguistic imperialism. While stories have been used as the medium and receptacle of human knowledges since time immemorial, stories have also been weaponized for fierce contestation for the representation and domination on one side and defiance, liberation, and reclamation of self-identity on the other between the so-called superior and inferior races of human beings and their cultures. An example of such contestation is Europeans' (ab)use of stories as textual weapons to colonize the Non-west. For their imperial intent at the beginning and sustaining colonization later, the colonizers used their (made-up) stories such as travel narratives, religious sermons, personal memoirs, allegories to subjugate the local and Indigenous peoples in countries like

Canada. To frame imperial/colonial stories, the colonialists "borrowed the conceptual schemes, not necessarily consciously (*My addition*: *I think that the colonialists did so more consciously than not*), from oral narrative, popular fantasy, and ancient sacred books, including those of colonized peoples," and manipulate those stories to feed the colonial subjects as well as their home audiences back in Europe (Boehmer, 16). So, for this anomalous venture of weaponizing stories, colonizers also distorted Indigenous and local stories in such a way that the colonial subjects would accept and internalize their own subjugation. Another important equation in this contestation between the colonizer and the colonized is the use of stories as a method by colonized people to unsettle the imperial/colonial domination for reclaiming the colonized people's lost sovereignty, identity, and cultures. The latter case means that the use of stories for the liberation and reclamation of identities of the oppressed has always been counterpoised to the oppressive stories.

Considering the rebellious dimension of story, the second chapter also expands on the power of personal stories of lived experiences of racism to resist the permanence of racism in the 'west.' By narrativizing my experiences, I have not only tended to utilize (counter)stories for my self-reflection and working through for my personal healing (de-traumatizing is one of the immediate effects of storytelling), but by using my stories as primary materials of investigation and method, I could get some definitive theoretical, stylistic, and methodological liberation from 'Eurocentric' research philosophy to explore, identify, analyze, unsettle, and (re)direct dissertation as a PhD genre. The use of my stories as contents and method for dissertation afforded me a much-needed conduit to express my oppressed voices, to represent the similar voices of the racialized 'Other' like me, and participate in the anti-racist discussion which many would prefer to call HARD-THING to do through dissertating.

Going against the 'western' tradition of writing is particularly difficult given the predominance of Eurocentric rhetorical tradition which puts undue emphasis upon hierarchical structure, persuasion, argumentation, and imagining 'western' audience. For students of colour, performing decentering acts requires emotional readiness to bear challenges and consequences related to their emotional, intellectual, and economic well-being as well. On the one hand, the racially marginalized students of colour are bound to give up and/or comprise their stylistic, linguistic, epistemic, and cultural knowledge to follow the 'western' canons of writings, and on the other, they should face consequences for being different. Thus, chapter two maintains that using stories of lived experiences, racially marginalized students navigate alternative ways to reclaim their cultural, linguistic, and epistemic practices, and thereby contribute to unsettling the-already-outdated and racially biased epistemic practices.

The third and fourth chapters are about linguistic decentering. To decenter the politics of whiteness and racism, these two chapters present English native speaker ideology or standard/dominant language ideology as the underlying characteristics of English language globally, and in particular, the teaching and learning of English in English metropolitan locations. To use critical race theoretical idea of intersectionality and counterstory in conjunction with applied linguistics infers that "race and language intersect each other and how racism influences linguistic and educational practices" (Kubota, "Confronting Epistemological Racism. . ." 712). Meaning that the connection between race and language makes it obvious that English native speaker ideology is as much a racist and supremacist ideology as it is imperialist in motive. In both chapters, for the purpose of decentering native speakerism as racist ideology, I have used hybrid kind of counterstory technique which combines stories, analysis, and contexts relating to my lived experiences of English native speakerism.

The third chapter makes intersectional examination of native speakerism in Nepal—both English native speakerist ideology and Nepali native speakerist ideology. While native speaker ideology in Nepal has its own unique dimension involving local contexts—Indigeneity, ethnicity, castism, religion, culture, and linguistic diversity—available scholarship on the studies of languages and language policies in Nepal indicates that British and American influence have played the central role for the existence and persistence of native speaker ideology in Nepal.

The fourth chapter discusses about issues surrounding linguistic imperialism, English native speaker ideology, standard or dominant language ideology, and linguicism (linguistic racism) as permanent underlying characteristics of English language in Canada and Canadian postsecondary education. In this chapter, I examine oppressive and marginalizing effects of English native speaker ideology upon Non-native speakers of English who are non-white and immigrant. My lived experiences of native speaker ideology within North American university education, publications and conferences illuminate exactly the same perspective Ryuko Kubota holds about the intersection of race, racism, English language, and standard/dominant language ideology (Kubota, 715). Kubota not only finds how "language and race intersect each other in complex power relations" (713) between the white and Non-white identities, but she alarms that "the hegemony of whiteness associated with native speakerism is widespread with the rise of popularity of English language education promoted under neoliberal globalization" (Kubota, 715). In commensurate with Kubota's finding, both chapters demonstrate that racism, politics of whiteness and colonial mentality are the underlying ideologies of English language in Canadian university education. My story of raciolinguistic experiences in the Anglophone University exemplifies this inherent interconnection. Moreover, showing the interconnection between English language, race, and racism is also a part of combatting racism.

Drawing on poststructuralist thinker and historian Michael Foucault, chapter five and six treat 'history' as a discursive field and use 'history' also as a method of decentering oppressive ideologies such as colonialism, racism, and politics of whiteness as those ideologies relate the history of writing studies and writing pedagogy practices in Canada. Chapter five deals with a range of issues pertaining to the epistemological aspects of 'history' and various discourses surrounding the history as a field of knowledge. Building on the Foucauldian notion of 'history' as a diverse and contested field(s) of the production, preservation, and dissemination of certain kind(s) of knowledge, chapter five briefly but critically revisits settler colonial history of Canada to set the stage for chapter six to demonstrate the fact that the history and tradition of writing studies in Canada also have not been estranged from the settler colonial and the white Eurocentric traditions. In light of Foucault's idea of history, the fifth chapter also demonstrates that history can be examined from multiple vantage points. For example, history of Canada as a settler colonial country has certain kind(s) meaning and implications for 'white' people, whereas it means diametrically opposite for Indigenous peoples, Black and others who are not white.

Projecting diverse perspectives to approach history of Canada also allows to intercept hegemonic and singular view of whiteness and (re)establish the other histories oppressed by the centrality of the history of whiteness. Chapter six centres on the CRT based decolonial analysis of the history and traditions of writing studies in Canada. The CRT-based-decolonial analysis of the history of rhetoric and writing studies indicates that whiteness, Eurocentrism, racism, and linguistic imperialism (particularly English native speaker ideology) are some of the principal ideologies and practices that underlie the field of writing in Canada. One of the main arguments I offer in Chapter six is that there exists a shared and obvious pattern of ideas among mainstream white Canadian scholars and historians of writing studies who have historicized the field of

writing in Canada only from mainstream perspective. More problematic aspect in their historization or historical analysis is the mainstream white writing scholars' tendency to remain silent about the ongoing problems relating to settler colonialism, linguistic imperialism, and racism as they historicize the study and teaching of writing in Canada. The mainstream white Canadian writing scholars' tendency to be blind toward or silent about the intersection between race, racism, English language and writing studies in Canada is an example of colourblind and systemic form of racism. This colourblindness and the maintenance of the silence among the mainstream white Canadian writing scholars is the reason why rhetoric and writing studies in Canada is a discursive formation and practice which only benefits the white people.

Thus, using story, language, and history as three major discursive methods of investigation, the dissertation attempts to decenter/disrupt the discourse of whiteness as it relates to Canadian higher education writ large, and in particular, in the field of writing studies and pedagogy practices in university campuses. The rationale behind the decentering is to forge antiracist, anti-immigrant, anti-translingual, anti-oppressive scholarly discussion not just for the sake of creating never-ending binary discourse but for the sake of forging intersectional ways of looking at things which surround us. And doing so will contribute to decolonizing the predominance of colonial and racist mindset and discourses so that the culture of exclusivity is supplanted by the decolonial culture of inclusivity and co-existence where all types of marginalization are questioned and defied as they operate, and as a result the differences are learnt, respected, celebrated.

Chapter 2

Story

2.1 Story as a Discursive and Decentering Genre

> "The truth about stories is that that's all we are."
> —Thomas King, *The Truth about Stories* (2003)

Just sitting down and contemplating for a bit on how many stories exist in written/oral form will get us an answer: simply inconceivable; or billions of them. If one should provide a rough estimate about the number of stories in the world believing that are over eight billion people in the world ("Current World Population," 2024), and each individual has at least a story to share, then there are over eight billion stories in existence. Let alone myriad other surviving stories of those who passed away. Millions of people have millions of stories; thousands of communities have thousands of stories; as many countries as many stories. The world has its own stories. So does the universe. In other words, the world has an unimaginable number of stories.

A common human perception tells us that not all stories are earnest, worth discussing, useful, and meaningful for life or human existence. Likewise, not all stories are harmful, toxic, subjugating, misleading, and misrepresenting. There are stories that support and promote human existence unlike the ones that tend to destroy Othered existence. There are stories that promote social cohesion unlike the stories that cause social disintegration. There are stories that recuperate and heal unlike the ones that aggravate pain. Overall, stories are of diverse and dualistic nature based on which continuum of social, ideological, and political power dynamics they belong to. For example, colonizers or oppressors' stories are oppressive and subjugating in nature, whereas stories belonging to the colonized, oppressed, and marginalized are resisting and

recuperating kind. The power dynamics is also important to understand as to whose stories are heard or whose stories are disparaged or rejected.

Thomas King, the prominent Indigenous scholar and storyteller, points to the dualistic nature of stories. He states that stories, on the one hand, provide ontological and epistemic values for the existence of human beings (particularly for Indigenous peoples), but he warns that "they are dangerous . . . [s]o you have to be careful with the stories you tell. And you have to watch out for the stories that you are told" (King, 9-10). King's view indicates that stories are not always unequivocally positive; their nature, purpose, and assigned roles can render them dangerous.

Apart from Thomas King's way of looking at stories, there is another dimension of stories—the discursive dimension. Primarily, the discursivity in stories arises because of the linguistic elements present or used when stories are composed or told. In pragmatics, discursivity is also called language(s)-in-use. The term 'discursive' or 'discursivity' is derived from or relates to the term 'discourse' in cultural studies/sociology and linguistics. In applied linguistics and sociolinguistics, discourse relates to "language-in-use" or (extra)linguistic elements "to enact specific identities and activities" (Gee, 7). In simple terms, any statement or a group of statements which is longer than a sentence and use(s) certain elements of language(s)—phonological, lexical, semantic, syntactic, tonal, and so forth—to fulfill certain purpose is a discourse. But in cultural studies, the term discourse is perceived as a rule governed system of representation (Foucault, *The Order of Things*, 90). The concept of discourse in philosophy was immensely popularized by twentieth century French philosopher Michel Foucault. By relating the concept of discourse to language, power and knowledge Foucault would argue that "discourse is merely representation itself represented by verbal signs" to construct knowledge or truth. In other words, discursive practices are enacted through (extra)linguistic statements

"composed of signs" (Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge*, 55) to (re)produce knowledge/truth about certain things. Knowledge thus constructed will either be used as power to dominate certain group of people or to resist dominating power based on who produces discourses. For Foucault, discourses should not be limited to mere linguistic constructions, but they should be understood as "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (*The Archeology* . . . 54) or any network of practices that use language(s) to create ideas or truth. From these two definitions—linguistic and sociological—discursive dimensions in stories arise from the fact that stories use language and specific (extra)linguistic elements to fulfil certain purpose.

When stories are created/written or narrated, a great linguistic dramatization takes place such that different (extra)linguistic elements or units—phonemic, tonal, syntactic, lexical, semiotic, semantic, and so on—get synchronized to form utterances or statements thereby constituting "one tightly organized unified story" (Gee, 142). In course of producing the unified story, a storyteller/writer selects, mobilizes, and foregrounds certain linguistic elements over others in order not just to get a message across, but quite interestingly, to enact the performance of social activities (whether play or work or both) and to scaffold human affiliation within cultures and social groups and institutions" (Gee, 1). From discourse perspective, then, stories are more than just linguistic formations. As discursive formations, stories have the ability to transcend the set linguistic or communicative boundaries to create, deconstruct, decenter, and reclaim identities and ideas for the same discursive reasons as they create, dominate, misrepresent and hegemonize. Here are some general discursive aspects of stories depending on the types of discourse they cater to or fulfil.

2.2 Stories and Colonial Discourse

> Now when I was a little chap, I had a passion for maps. I would look for hours at South America, or Africa, or Australia, and lose myself in all the glories of exploration. At that time there were many blank spaces on the earth, and when I saw one that looked particularly inviting on a map (but they all look that) I would put my finger on it and say, `When I grow up, I will go there.' The North Pole was one of these places, I remember. Well, I haven't been there yet, and shall not try now. The glamour's off. Other places were scattered about the Equator, and in every sort of latitude all over the two hemispheres. I have been in some of them, and . . . well, we won't talk about that. But there was one yet-- the biggest, the most blank, so to speak-- that I had a hankering after. (Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, 7-8)

The above extract is from Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1899), and the speaker is Marlow, the main character. In the passage, Marlow speaks about the European desire to colonize the Non-western world as a childhood desire. Isn't it stupefying to think that European colonizers who had all the necessary logistics of war took to stories as one of the major weapons of their colonizing mission apart from deployment of business and military? While it may seem inconceivable, stories can be used as weapons and shields in a battlefield. The history of European colonialism indicates that European colonizers identified and used stories as a textual weapon to colonize the Non-west. In the process of colonization, European colonizers created their own stories to mis/dis-represent the Non-western people as uncivilized and barbaric.

The colonizers weaponized stories in two ways: creating and disseminating colonial stories and appropriating and/or uprooting local stories so that the colonized subjects would become amnesiac about their culture and eventually follow colonial culture, language, and religions. The colonizers appropriated and/ or distorted local stories to push colonial subjects into being self-made orientalist about themselves—the never-ending world of illusion and self-recrimination that Europeans are like God or the most civilized people in the world but colonized as uncivilized, barbaric, and estranged. Thus, stories played the role of a catalyst—to give impetus to their colonial project on the one hand, and on the other, to slow down or turn around the

colonized subjects' psychology in such way that the latter would rely on colonizer's stories of (dis)representation rather than their own local, cultural, and ancestral stories about who they were.

Late colonial stories like George Orwell's "Shooting an Elephant" were final attempts to save the dying empire. Even though Orwell's stories are often interpreted as a critique on the self-destructive nature of the empire: "the Whiteman turns tyrant it is his own freedom that he destroys" ("Shooting an Elephant," 62), the main question was whether Orwell rejoiced or lamented by writing the colonial story of a dying British empire. Viewed from postcolonial standpoint, Orwell's lamentation on the nearing loss of British Raj in the East outweighs his self-criticism of the empire. Orwell's demonstration of the killing of the elephant (the British empire) was more of a symbolic gesture to the British rulers that the British empire was under threat so that colonizers could find out something to keep the empire staying on. Orwell "did not want to shoot the elephant" (63), because he knew the value of the living elephant (living empire) "was worth more than any damn Coringhee coolie," a Burmese being killed by the animal (68). In fact, he wanted to "avoid looking a fool" (68) by killing the animal. Orwell's story of the fallen elephant, like many other colonial stories, supports the postcolonial idea that stories were used as an ambivalent vehicle for colonizing, misrepresenting and "collecting information and exercising power" (Boehmer, 14).

Colonial ambivalence before and during the heyday of European colonialism was Janus-like figure that acted/meant in contrastive ways which Bhabha would relate to English colonialism speaking with/in forked tongue (*The Location of Culture*, 85). An example of the colonial ambivalence is the Europeans' justification for their imperial venture was a civilizing mission, but the manifest intents were subordination, domination, economic gain and

establishing white supremacist identity through creating the discourse of 'savage' Other. In a unique way, the late colonial ambivalence, nevertheless, has an additional feature of seeming self-critique. For example, Orwell's white character expresses affirmation on "the futility of the white man's dominion in the East" (Orwell, 62). Orwell expresses utmost wrath about the natives by calling them "damn Coringhee Coolie" but at the same time rejoices on their death at the end of the story exclaiming that he "was very glad that the coolie had been killed" (67). Thus, any colonial stories produced and disseminated by 'white' served the colonial motive of domination, subordination, and white supremacy over the 'Non-white' Europeans via those ambivalences.

2.3 Postcolonial Discourse of Stories: Stories as a Vehicle of Survival, Resistance and Reclamation

> Literary resistance, under these conditions, can be seen as a form of contractual understanding between text and reader, one which is embedded in an experiential dimension and buttressed by a political and cultural aesthetic at work in the culture. And 'resistance literature,' in this definition, can thus be seen as that category of literary writing which emerges as an integral part of an organized struggle or resistance for national liberation. --Stephen Slemon ("Unsettling the Empire: Resistance Theory for the Second World")

"At its most powerful, colonialism is a process of radical dispossession," writes Seamus Deane, a postcolonial critic (Deane, 10). In the previous section, echoing to Deane's statement about colonialism, I discussed about the fact that European colonizers utilized stories as critical tool for dispossessing and subjugating colonial subjects. The colonizers used stories to misrepresent the Non-west and Nonwestern people as uncivilized, exotic, and barbaric to create orientalist discourse. Orientalist discourse served as a means for colonizers to subjugate colonial subjects, "authorise European Atlantic power over the Orient" (Gandhi, 144), and satisfy the home audience's appetite for tales of colonial triumph. In the above passage, Stephen Slemon, a postcolonial critic, "de-scribes" (45) the nexus between the reader and text and highlights the

significance of resistance literature for liberation struggle. From Slemon's perspective, stories are a stronger form of resistance tool of the oppressed "to free themselves from the oppressors or for "national liberation" (Slemon, 107), and the European's textual (mis)representation about Non-western people and places. Additionally, the colonized people used stories as recuperation strategy to reclaim their lost, twisted, torn, broken or devasted (hi)story due to colonization.

Following the formal collapse of European colonization, natives used story and storytelling as means to delve into their lost history, (re)tune the broken strings and threads of native melodies, depict their stricken conditions, revive native skills, and counter colonizers' representation of their homelands. For instance, in *Things Fall Apart*, Chinua Achebe uses story and storytelling as a method to reclaim African cultural and linguistic identity. Through storytelling, Achebe reinvigorates traditional Nigerian cultural practices, values, and local languages by recounting the life, valor, and cultural practices of the central character Okonkwo who represents Igbo culture and vehemently opposes British colonialism. Taking up story as a method Achebe has two main intentions: to resist the British colonialism and revive traditional Nigerian cultures and languages.

Regarding linguistic aspect of resistance, Achebe hybridizes metropolitan English with local Nigerian dialects with which to facilitate the local readers to approach the African stories with ease while making it difficult for the metropolitan readers to understand it. Here is an example how Achebe relexifies English language with local Nigerian dialects including Igbo.

"Eze elina, elina!
Sala
Eze ilikwa ya
Ikwaba akwa oligboli
Ebe Danda nechi eze
Ebe Uzuzu nete egwu
Sala"
(Achebe, *Things Fall Apart,* 79)

Without providing any translation of Igbo dialect, Achebe nativizes English language as a means to recuperate local Nigerian languages as a textual means and effectively resist the predominance of the imperial/colonial language (British English) by restricting them from accessing the meaning of the text which is only decipherable to the Nigerian Igbo speakers. The ambivalent strategy—to facilitate access for African readers while making it linguistically inaccessible for white European readers—is Achebe's tendency to treat stories as postcolonial discourse. In the process, Achebe relexifies[5] colonizer's English into Nigerian indigenous structures as a tool to reclaim the lost African linguistic identity through stories. In addition to relexification, there are myriad other places where Achebe uses Igbo language without direct translation. The transliteration is, however, used to let Euro-phone readers know that their linguistic hegemony has been challenged. Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* is an exemplary text to demonstrate that stories are postcolonial tool to strike back colonialism and re-claim their lost cultural traditions and identities.

Analogous to postcolonial writers, Indigenous peoples around the world used stories not as mere abstractions or fictions. To Indigenous peoples, stories are not mere weapons, but they are living, spiritual and epistemic aspects of their identities. Similar to postcolonial utilization of stories for resistance to colonialism and recuperation of lost cultural and linguistic traditions, Indigenous peoples have been using stories as sacred ancestral means/practices of transmitting

[5] Relexification is a situation of linguistic transference according to which lexical changes occur or made to occur when a language changes into another. In such changes there is the change in words or lexicon without having to change the existing grammar. Postcolonial writer and critic, Chantal Zabus argues that the linguistic terminology such as transference or transmutation are not enough to capture the African writers such as Chinua Achebe's linguistic nativization of "Europhone text" (Zabus, 314). She points out that there is something unique linguistic reclamation is taking place when African writers such as Achebe take recourse to native Nigerian syntactic structures with Europhobe lexicons.

their Indigenous epistemologies. Similarly, they have also been using stories as survivance strategy (Vizenor, 2008)—to survive but also to defy settler colonialism at the same time. "Native survivance is an active sense of presence over absence, deracination, and oblivion; survivance is the continuance of stories, not a mere reaction, however pertinent," writes Vizenor (1). Native survivance stories, are directly "prompted by natural reason, by a consciousness and sense of incontestable presence that arises from experiences in the natural world" (11). Given below is an excerpt from Gerald Vizenor's "Aesthetics of Survivance: Literary Theory and Practice," in which he demonstrates how native stories are used as survivance strategies. According to Vizenor, Charles Aubid, eighty-six-year-old Anishinaabe individual who testifies as a witness in a US court:

> Charles Aubid, for instance, declared by stories his native presence, human. rights, and sovereignty. He created a crucial course and sense of survivance. in federal court and defied the hearsay of historical precedent, cultural ethnologies, absence, and victimry.
> This inspired storier was a sworn witness in federal court that autumn more than thirty years ago in Minneapolis, Minnesota. He raised his hand, listened to the oath for the first time in the language of the Anishinaabe, Chippewa, or Ojibwe, and then waved, an ironic gesture of the oath, at United States District Judge Miles Lord. Aubid testified by visual memory, an inseparable sensibility of natural reason, and with a singular conception of continental native liberty. His stories intimated a third person other than the apparent reference, the figurative presence of a fourth person, a sui generis native discourse in the oral language of the Anishinaabe. That native practice of survivance, the storied presence of a fourth person, a visual reminiscence, was repudiated as hearsay, not a source of evidence in common law or federal court precedent. (2)

Despite "the objection of the federal attorney," (2) the judge agreed to listen to Aubid's testimony as a hearsay, but not the evidence because "the court could not hear as evidence what a dead man said, only the actual experiences of the witness" (2). Nevertheless, Vizenor mentions that Aubid demonstrated his resistance to the judge's remarks pointing to "the legal books on the bench . . . and shouted that those books contained the stories of dead white men. 'Why should I believe what a White man says, when you don't believe John Squirrel?'"(3). Aubid's

counterargument proved so persuasive that the judge agreed to consider Indigenous stories as testimonies when Aubid linked the US justice system to whiteness. Charles Aubid's testimony as an Anishinaabe witness suggests that Indigenous peoples use stories not only for the sake of transmission of Indigenous epistemologies and existence but also as a tool to assert "native presence, human rights, and sovereignty" (Vizenor, 2).

Thus, Colonized people have been using stories as a tool to strike back the European colonizers and to revive the cultural heritage twisted and broken by colonialism. In so doing, the colonized peoples take to native contents and forms while also hybridizing/nativizing metropolitan languages. Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* (1958) shows that stories could be used as a postcolonial tool to fulfill both purposes. Achebe makes decolonial attempts by depicting the socio-cultural detriments caused by British colonialism and also by showing the resistance practices of Nigerian people through characters such as Okonkwo who "refuses to conciliate the Christian missionaries" (Boehmer, 181). Similarly, Indigenous writers such as Vizenor highlights that stories are survivance and decolonial strategies: to exert Indigenous presence and resist the ongoing settler colonialism through storytelling as survivance strategy.

2.4 Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Counterstories

2.4.1 What is CRT?

Critical Race Theory (CRT) emerged in 1970s as a movement "to confront critically the most explosive issue in American civilization: the historical centrality and complicity of law in upholding white supremacy" (West, "Foreword," xi). Rooted to civil rights movement scholarship and critical legal studies (CLS) movement, critical race theory emerged as an alternative way of examining and combatting racism. While critical race theory shares many

similarities with civil rights movement scholarship and critical legal studies in terms of their anti-racist approach and agenda, the pioneers of CRT such as such as Derrick Bell, Kimberle Crenshaw, Alan Freeman, Richard Delgado, Mari Matsuda, and Patricia Williams, Cornell West, and many others were "frustrated with the presuppositions of the conventional scholarly legal discourse" (Crenshaw et al, xviii) and expressed their dissatisfaction with the slow racial progress being achieved (or not achieved) with those two previous movements. The pioneers viewed that the explosive problems of racism in the US, therefore, would not be tackled in the absence of an alternative theoretical and methodological approach which is critical, intersectional, all-inclusive, and "antithetical" (Said qtd. in Crenshaw et al. iii) in approach and objective. Hence, critical race theory started as an alternative scholarship and movement to challenge the multifaceted issues of racism in the US. No sooner had it just started in the 1970s than critical race theory become one of the most widely studied field, theory, and method(olgoy) to tackle various forms of discrimination.

Critical race theory has some fundamental principles relating to the identification, unravelling, and challenging forms of racism in 'western' societies, particularly in North America. Firstly, most CRT scholars argue that racism is an oppressive ideological construct systemically designed to maintain and perpetuate white supremacy while marginalizing and victimizing/othering people of colour. Secondly, CRT holds that racism is not an aberration of the norm (which many liberal whites would think), but the permanent national character that underlies (non)academic institutions and practices in the 'west' (Derrick Bell, 1982; Delgado and Stefancic, 2000; Martinez, 2022). Thirdly, critical race theory unravels and challenges "the liberal notion of colorblindness" (Martinez, "Why Critical Race Theory Matters?," 26) which adheres that racism no longer exists, and therefore merit but not racial or ethnic background of a

person should be the basic criterion for providing opportunities or benefits. Fourthly, critical race theory embraces inclusive but intersectional approaches in its fight against racism. To that point, CRT as an expansive field welcomes and promotes cooperative efforts and activism among scholars, activists, students, and researchers from any (racial/ethnic/gender) background. Last but not the least is the idea that CRT regards people of colour as "organic intellectuals" (Gramsci qtd. in Matsuda, 63) of the field, and "adopting the perspective of those who have seen and felt the falsity of the liberal promise can assist critical scholars in the task of fathoming the phenomenology of law and, defining the elements of justice" (63).

Since its emergence, Critical Race Theory's scope has expanded to address the global effects of whiteness such as linguistic hegemony and neo-imperialism. As a movement and critical discipline in many law and humanities departments globally, CRT has achieved significant attention and popularity that "critical race theory is no longer new, but it continues to grow and thrive. Once limited to the discussion on the issues of racism in relation to Black-white binary, CRT now has diffused into various subdisciplines beyond the binary to deal with various other experiences of people from different racial background" (Espinoza and Harris, 440). CRT's scope includes LatCrit as a separate subfield, along with a growing body of scholarship such as AsiaCrit which explores the varying forms of oppression among people of diverse racial backgrounds, including those with Asian and Arabic heritage in North America

Given its substantial expansion in scope and popularity, CRT's theoretical and methodological contributions can be widely adopted by diverse marginalized communities globally to confront various forms of discrimination.For instance, intersectionality, and counter-storytelling, foundational to Critical Race Theory, serve as important theoretical and methodological instruments for examining various forms of oppression worldwide, particularly

in contexts where racism and white supremacy are not directly present. To that point, CRT's intersectionality can be one of the crucial approaches to examine issues of Dalits (oppressed identities based on caste system) in South Asia where castism has been used as a means to victimize a certain group of people who have been tagged as Dalits and marginalized on the basis of caste, but not on the basis of race. For instance, only considering conventional feminist approach to analyze issues of women indiscriminately in the so-called Third World cannot address issues of Dalit women (subaltern women in South Asian countries) because issues of Dalit women are entirely different than mainstream women (upper/middle caste women) across caste lines. However, CRT's intersectional approach would help to properly identify issues of oppression on micro level and offer ways to fight the discriminations faced by Dalit women as opposed to Dalit identities.

2.4.2 Methods in Critical Race Theory: Interdisciplinarity, Intersectionality and Counterstorytelling

Critical race theory holds that countering/decentering racism entails interdisciplinary, diverse, and intersectional strategies. As an interdisciplinary strategy, CRT shares natural affinity with other areas of scholarship such as postcolonialism, critical cultural studies, critical applied linguistics, critical pedagogy, and many other (sub)fields which promote "antithetical knowledge," the kind of knowledge which is produced by the oppressed to resist the "prevailing orthodoxy" including racism (Said, *Covering Islam,* 149). Likewise, CRT promotes intersectionality as an alternative approach to examine, unravel, and decenter multiple forms of discrimination intersecting with race. CRT holds that "Single axis framework" (examining only one dimension of oppression) unlike intersectional approach, focuses primarily on one aspect of racism such as race while ignoring other aspects of oppression such as gender, class, ethnicity

and so forth (Crenshaw, 139). Focusing only on a single issue and ignoring intersections of multiple issues at the same time distorts diversely racialized experiences of people of colour and ultimately "marginalizes those who are multiply burdened, and obscures claims that cannot be understood as resulting from discrete sources of discrimination" (Crenshaw, 140).

Another important critical race theorical method is storytelling. The CRT scholars like Derrick Bell, Kimberle Crenshaw, Richard Delgado, Patricia Williams, Mari Matsuda endorsed stories as multivalent tools to counter racism. "The cure is storytelling," writes Richard Delgado, and goes on to explain that "stories, parables, chronicles, and narratives are powerful means for destroying mindset-the bundle of presuppositions, received wisdoms, and shared understandings against a background of which legal and political discourse takes place" (61). Most recently, CRT scholars like Aja Y. Martinez have been using and promoting the use of counterstories of the racially oppressed identities in pedagogy and composition fields with the view to subverting institutional and other versions of racism in academic settings. Since racism is a subjective experience, and storytelling involves the predominance of subjective investment, critical race scholars find (counter)storytelling as an effective antiracist tool which offers them analytical freedom to examine various aspects of racism, their effects, and ways with which to unsettle racism.

Following the path of the pioneers of CRT such as Derrick Bell, Richard Delgado, Patricia Williams, Cornell West, bell hooks, Alan Freeman (a white scholar in the field) in promoting storytelling as antiracist theory, method and practice, Mexican American CRT scholar Aja Y. Martinez's urges scholars in the field of rhetoric and composition to use (counter)stories because "[a]s an interdisciplinary method, CRT counterstory recognizes that the experiential and embodied knowledge of people of color is legitimate and critical to understanding racism that is

often well disguised in the rhetoric of normalized structural values and practices" (Martinez, "A Plea For Critical Race Theory . . .," 69). There are two main reasons why storytelling has been treated as a central method and methodological approach in CRT. One of them is that personal and collective stories of racism provide authentic testimonies in fighting against racism. Secondly, CRT (counter)storytelling "critically examines theoretical concepts and humanizes empirical data while also deriving material for counterstory's discourse, setting, and characters from sources. These include, but are not limited to, statistical data, existing literatures, social commentary, and authors' professional/personal experiences concerning the topics addressed" (69).

2.4.3 Counterstorytelling as a Hybrid Method of Decentering whiteness

I have discussed previously that stories are discursive because they can enact identities and activities to fulfil certain purposes that storytellers intend. From a discursive point of view, stories have been used by powerful people and institutions to create, support and sustain dominant ideologies and their practices such as imperialism and colonialism historically. Likewise, stories can also be discursively used to oppose dominant ideologies, and create, support, and sustain marginalized and oppressed identities.

In their efforts to unsettle racism, white supremacy, dominant ideologies of whiteness, the predecessors of present scholars in the field of CRT identified the underlying discursive potentials of storytelling and have been using and promoting it as an effective antiracist strategy. Following the footprints of the scholars in the critical race theoretical scholarship, I am also utilizing my personal stories of racism as a decentering technique and a necessary source of knowledge to examine, debunk, and resist forms of racism I have experienced in Canada.

More specifically, to decenter the politics of whiteness and forms of racism in Canadian university education and beyond, I have chosen to follow Aja Martinez's CRT counterstory as "a hybrid form of scholarly inquiry," (Martinez, "A Plea For . . ., 69). The hybrid counterstory telling in fact "critically examines theoretical concepts and humanizes empirical data while also deriving material for counterstory's discourse, setting, and characters from sources" (Martinez, 69). Due to the hybrid nature of my counterstorytelling as a method, my readers will see the combination of theory, analysis, criticism, literature, and my personal stories. The following section presents my personal stories of my experiences, reflection, and analysis of those experiences which tend to identify, expose, and unsettle racist practices in academic institutions and beyond.

2.5 Contemporary Immigration System in Canada: Diasporic and Critical Race Theoretical Perspective

> (There is a Nepali proverb: १२ बर्षमा त खोला पनि फर्कन्छ | The proverb's nearest translation in English: Even a river returns to its origin after 12 years of flowing down. It has been over 12 years since I came to Canada as a landed immigrant, but no, I have not been able to return where I had come ever since.)
>
> --*My own statement about how diasporas feel*.

Theorists of diaspora studies agree that one of the characteristics of diaspora or diasporization is to have a profound longing for return to their place of origin from host countries, but they have been conditioned by their inability to return (Braziel and Manner, 9; Stuart Hall, 245). To diasporas of all kinds—coerced or (pseudo)voluntary—return to their place of origin "is like the imaginary in Lacan—it can neither be fulfilled nor requited, and hence is the beginning of the symbolic, of representation, the infinitely renewable source of desire, memory, myth, search, discovery . . ." (Hall, 245). Even though my diasporization was pseudo-voluntary (because my diasporization in Canada was not just as a result of my own volition but it was

ignited by neoliberal/neocolonial immigration policies of 'western' countries), I too have had the endless desire to return to the place where I had come. But like most diasporas, I have also been conditioned by my own "(un)ability of return" (Karki, 4). As diasporas, we have only limited alternatives to our inability to return. We have either a choice to veil ourselves within an imaginary/fictional return which is dreamlike or return digitally through mediascapes such as social media or to constantly synergize our actions and racialized immigrant existence with the help of the endless desirability of the return. The third option is more constructive way to respond to our inability to return to the places of our origin.

Most people in the Non-west constantly create "phantasmic images" (Bhabha, 43) in their minds such that the 'west' is like heaven where living is easy. Non-westerners immigrate to 'western' countries following the 'western' "sloganization" (Schmenk et al. 169) that the 'west' is the only place where everyone has equal access to opportunities to make life better and happier. Following the same 'sloganization,' I was one among many others to immigrate as a landed immigrant to Canada. I didn't immigrate to Canada for exceptional reasons such as war, natural disaster, and civil war. Neither was I the asylum seeker for being threatened/coerced to leave the country of my origin due to war, disaster or something else. I voluntarily immigrated to Canada by meeting all the necessary criteria set forth by Canadian government's immigration program called Federal Skilled Worker program under a highly skilled category of professor.

Historically, Canada introduced Federal Skilled Worker Program (FSWP) in 1967 when race-based discriminations in immigration policy were abolished. "Buttressed by an official multiculturalism policy entrenched in Section 27 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the Multiculturalism Act, 1988," (Triadafilopoulos, 5), Canada ramped up immigration programs such as FSWPs with the view to bringing educated, trained, and

experienced labour force as permanent residents targeting developing countries. After reviewing immigration policies that Canada could no longer resolve ever growing labour shortages by depending on 'white' people from parts of Europe 'Canada turned "increasingly to the non-white areas of the world for immigrants" (Walker, 23). The official adoption of multiculturalism policy in 1971 and passing of the Multiculturalism Act in 1988 by Canadian parliament played crucial role in (re)shaping immigration policies and programs in Canada and bring people from around the world to meet its own domestic needs. But the changes in the polices were done with utmost racial caveat according to which any change in immigration policies and programs should be limited to fostering the growth of the population of Canada but without impacting on white Canadian population. Mackenzie King, the tenth Canadian prime minister explicitly stated that:

> the people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration, to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population. Large-scale immigration from the Orient would change the fundamental composition of the Canadian population. Any considerable Oriental immigration would, moreover, be certain to give rise to social and economic problems of a character that might lead to serious difficulties in the field of international relations. (King qtd. in Mooten, 40).

This remark by King demonstrates the fact that the foundation of Canadian immigration policies is overtly racist because racism itself is the perpetuation of legacy of slavery. King's orientalist and racist attitudes in this remark should not be dismissed as a mere aberration. Instead, they should be interpreted as the perpetuation of settler colonialism, which serves as an ideological underpinning for Canadian institutions and policies that treat non-white people as subordinate and problematic. Moreover, the above assertion also demonstrates that racism underpins immigration policies in Canada historically despite any number of changes being made in those policies.

Although the Federal Skilled Worker (FSW) program has undergone numerous changes to its selection criteria and processes since its introduction in 1967, its foundational Canadian

perspective remains the same. From critical race theoretical perspective, Mackenzie King's remark indicates that 1967 immigration policy overhaul in Canada is a manifestation of interest convergence principle which is one of fundamental aspects of the politics of whiteness (Bell 1980; Delgado and Stefancic 2000; Martinez 2022). Interest convergence is such a principle of whiteness according to which white people and their institutions accommodate interests of Non-white people such in "achieving racial equality" only to the extent that such interest of Non-white people "converges with the interests of whites" (Bell, 523). Critical race theoretical examination of the principle of interest convergence in FSW programs and changes in those programs allows us to determine that Canada promotes immigration of people of colour from Non-white countries to Canada only to the extent that such immigration will benefit Canadian labour market shortages but will not disturb historical population structure of white people.

2.5.1 Canadian Immigration Program and the Discourse of Contemporary Slavery

Critical race theoretical perspective helps us understand the nexus between contemporary Canadian immigration programs and historical context of slavery and indentured labour which the Europeans justified using ideology of racism. In regard to the nexus, ideas of CRT help us understand that colonial/imperial era slavery including indentured labour and post/settler-colonial era immigration systems in Europe and North America have racism as their core principle of oppression. Many whitely Canadians reading this dissertation could forthrightly deny any connection between Canadian immigration programs such as FSWPs and (neo)slavery. They could argue by saying that slavery in the context of North America is an American thing historically, and conflating Canadian immigration programs with slavery or any probable residue of slavery in the least is erroneous and unfounded because Canada is the first such country in the world to adopt multiculturalism as a national policy to promote and celebrate diversity.

However, the white disavowal of the nexus between Canadian immigration historically and (neo)slavery practices is inconsistent with the reality on the ground because racism "merely an odious holdover from slavery" (Bell, 9) has been persistent and widespread issues in Canada even today. Because racism is intrinsically connected with slavery and colonialism and racism and settler colonialism are persistent realities in North America, by the same principle of equivalence then, the legacy of slavery in these countries turns out to be real as well. Thus, the nexus suggests that there is hardly any institution, policy and program including immigration program which is immune to the legacy of slavery. Rather, such policies and programs have taken new shapes of slavery to compensate for what Canada and other former or settler colonial countries missed by officially abolishing slavery long ago.

Modern day immigration system can be compared with bait-fishing. Similar to bait fishing technique, 'western' countries utilize/weaponize modern-day web-technology and all other infrastructures as baits to lure (un)skilled people to immigrate to their(western) countries. A difference between bait-fishing and neo-imperial immigration system of 'western' countries is that the former instantly kills fish but the latter promises security but oppresses immigrant and migrant workers using racism or other oppressive (non)state apparatuses as control mechanisms. Thus, after having been enticed by various baiting immigration techniques spread by the 'western' countries like Canada, people (myself included) in the global south voluntarily and easily submit to the 'western 'immigration lures thinking that life in the 'west' is just and prosperous. From CRT perspective, therefore, the modern-day immigration programs of the 'west' are largely designed to bring people from the global south to keep the 'west' prospering and maintaining their dominance over Non-white people and the rest of the world.

In the imperial/colonial era, the ‘west’ would go to the Non-west to capture and forcefully transport colonized people to the ‘west’ and enslave them. But in the neo-imperial/neo-colonial era today, the ‘western’ countries have equipped themselves with all the technological infrastructures needed to create situations so that millions of Non-white people including students and adult alike turn themselves to the ‘west.’ Involuntary immigrants want to take refuge in Canada and other ‘western’ countries because they find their lives have been imperiled by unexpected causes such as famine, wars, natural disasters, and so on.

Examining the intrinsic connection between immigration and racism in Canada, Obokata notes that “migration programmes”—such as temporary foreign worker programs—"serve as a breeding ground for contemporary forms of slavery” (Human Rights Council, 10). Obokata’s report discusses at length about effects of immigration programs in Canada upon different people including Indigenous peoples and argues that “[t]he legacies of colonialism, a lack of meaningful self-determination and fiscal sovereignty, criminalization, poverty, inequality, and systemic racism combine to curtail the opportunities for decent work for Indigenous individuals and normalize violence and discrimination perpetrated against them, leaving them highly susceptible to contemporary forms of slavery”(5). Obokata’s report is emblematic of the ‘western’ countries’ neo-liberal immigration system as a contemporary form of slavery, but different than the colonial era slavery.

Since colonialism, racism, and slavery are ideologically intertwined systems, and major foundations underpinning all kinds of system in Canada, Canadian immigration programs such as FSWPs, PNPs or TFWPs are not essentially different than (neo)slavery practices in terms of exclusionary, oppressive, and racially discriminatory treatments immigrant people of colour get from ‘white’ people and ‘white’ institutions. Beyond doubt, Immigrant people of colour like me,

who have come through FSWPs or PNPs, cannot remotely be compared with enslaved and indentured people in terms of the enormity of violence and inhumanity the latter people had to live through. Of course, immigrant people who have come to Canada under modern day immigration system are allowed to live permanently, acquire Canadian citizenship after few years of stay, and enjoy more privileges and freedom than those who have temporary status. But based on the kinds of discrimination and treatment many immigrant people experience in Canada, modern-day slavery is not completely different in essence than colonial era slavery due to the legacy of ongoing white supremacy, existing settler colonialism and "entrenched racism" (Human Rights Council, 12). As a result, all persons of colour including Indigenous peoples have been the victims of exclusion, oppression, marginalization, criminalization, and various other forms of discrimination.

To show the nexus with and comparison between Canadian immigration programs and (neo)slavery does not mean to suggest that the brutal and odious system of slavery is still ongoing in Canada in ways it used to victimize Black and Indigenous peoples, indentured/forced labour, and other varieties of people from Asia and Africa trafficked into North America (the US and Canada) and Europe. The point, however, is that even long after the abolition of slavery, the "odious holdover of slavery" (Bell, *Faces at the Bottom . . .*, 9)—known as racism and all forms of racial discriminations—are still persistent realities which victimize Black, Indigenous, and immigrant people every day. I argue that the concealed purpose of Canadian immigration policies and programs as opposed to what is stated (that there is no discrimination based on race, colour, ethnicity and gender) is to help Canada and its white people to be more prosperous, strong, and permanently dominant through oppression, exploitation, and marginalization of Non-white people who have come to Canada as immigrants. In conclusion, modern day immigration

systems that particularly target Non-western people of colour are neo-slavery strategies to offset the loss that these 'western' countries had incurred after the traditional slavery was abolished.

2.6 Threading My Own Counterstories of Racism: Performing Counterstory as a Decentering act

Sharing, recording, telling the often in-coherent stories of my lived experiences of racism since my arrival in Canada as a Nepali immigrant, and most recently as a doctoral student of colour in a Canadian university is, in part, the direct result of having to bear the immense burden of continuing to store all countless everyday experiences of racism—big and small. By narrating the stories of racism my intent is not just to let loose those continuously accumulated stories so that I could feel better socio-psychologically (which is true, too). But my major intent is to use stories as a decentering mechanism or CRT method to uncover, examine and decenter/resist institutionalized forms of racism inside and outside Canadian academic institutions, particularly in the university where I am currently a student.

While writing these stories, I have often felt burdened with the fear that this decentering act could potentially cost me severe future setback. Nonetheless, the feeling of fear has been compensated by the subsequent feeling that continuing to store the racialized stories and not sharing with our allies or holding back or acting like nothing has happened is more harmful than the fear of being victimized in the future as a result of writing back. Our hesitation to speak out/write back or pretended contentment not only aggravates the racial oppression, but such inaction means that we participate in our own oppression, and thereby further reinforce white supremacy and racism. Using quietness as a political measure is constructive but just remaining calm as a coping mechanism to endure racism is self-destructive.

Sharing my lived experiences of racism is much like opening a door for a caged animal to graze in a fenced field but return and get caged back again. Meaning, as I open the door of my memory to let go my experiences and get written down, I feel momentary relief, satiation, and energy but I can simultaneously feel that sharing the experiences comes at the cost of (re)traumatizing myself and an awareness of the fear that these experiences are not the end. Each moment of trauma resulting from etching the experiences of racism, however, is followed by my hope that the "actual symbiosis" (Hochschild qtd. in Bell, 10) of racism and liberal democracy which undergirds the fundamental functioning of the 'western' society gets resisted.

As I narrate my experiences drawing from my storied memories, I feel the sense of urgency to counter the ongoing nature of racism in Canada and Canadian postsecondary education. But I equally feel that there is a necessity to envision consolidated efforts to end racial oppressions to forge a just and equitable society where each one of us feels safe and free unlike caged animals that are set free for a moment but are brought back to the cage again.

The purpose of sharing stories of racism should not just be for the sake talking about the problem, but for trying to contribute to ending the vicious cycle of systemic racism designed by white people for their own vested interests and benefits. In most recent times, racism has reached a pathologized state as it has evolved over time just like bacteria and viruses have evolved resisting antibodies. Therefore, debunking and resisting racism not only liberates Non-white people from forms of oppression, but such practices will cure white people's own pathological condition.

Like every immigrant person of colour in Canada has a background history of their arrival, I had my own–to have a better future for my newly growing family. Even though I read in books and heard through my teachers' lectures that Canada is a settler colonial country where Black

and Indigenous peoples have suffered, but we are equally disillusioned by hallucinatory images relating to different indices such as happiness index, neo-liberal logic of per-capita income and other highly schematized pictures that have been circulated through webs about Canada. In these hyper real worlds, it is particularly easy to be duped by the distorted reality ever flowing through digital media.

Before I came here as a landed immigrant more than twelve years ago, I learnt that Canada had recently updated and fast-tracked Federal Skilled Worker Program (FSWP) with plenty of titles of professions under which we could be eligible to apply and come to Canada. FSWP was a points-based system, and one needed to score at least 67 points or higher to be selected. I chose to apply under the category of professor/teacher because I had been a professor at a university for many years and had been teaching as a lecturer of English in many private colleges in Nepal. So did many of my friends, who also chose to immigrate to Canada under many other categories. After successfully scoring more than enough points based on the required criteria—education, work experience, language, and age—I immigrated to Canada as a permanent resident. My decision to leave the country of origin, parents, relatives, friends, and the job which I liked the most was not made for random reason. I decided to immigrate to Canada thinking that I could get a better future for myself and my growing family.

Over these twelve years of my stay here in Canada, I have learnt a lot about what it means to live in a 'western' country—particularly a country that is fraught with the legacy of settler colonialism. Over these twelve years, I had a clear understanding of Eurocentric hypocrisy (also known as colonial ambivalence) in 'western' countries like Canada. Homi K. Bhabha calls it "ideological Eurocentricity" (Bhabha, "The Commitment to Theory," 31). (Re)living here, I found that these countries "sloganize" (Schmenk et al., 26) freedom, democracy, independence,

multiculturalism, equality, and justice as their founding principles to sell their images on global scale with which to befool the Non-western people on the one hand, while on the other, they normalize inequalities, discrimination and injustices based on race, gender, ethnicity, and Indigeneity to maintain the ongoing settler colonialism, white supremacy, and other dominant ideologies. Just like any immigrant person of colour, I/we have been (re)living within the weird zone(borderline) created by the 'western' hypocrisy—the sloganization of prosperity and the ground reality in reverse. Over-12-year-of-living in Canada also suggests that there is a sense of urgency on the part of people like us and white allies to examine, "de-sloganize" (Schmenk et al., 84) and combat the continuing hypocrisies, and their effects on oppressed identities. By sharing my stories of racism, I tend to voice for the 'de-sloganization' or the disruption of the Eurocentric hypocrisies, white supremacy, and other dominant ideologies that are deeply imbedded within Canadian society in general and university education and writing studies in particular.

2.6.1 The First Phase: The Hallucinatory Effect of Racism

Regarding my first landing in Canada, I recall a moment when I/we were lining up for my/our turn to be present at border service agent in a Canadian International airport for screening interviews as a part of port-of-entry procedures. Me and my wife were probably the only Nepali waiting there. Of course, there were many more people of colour waiting in the line too. At our turn, we walked up to the border service officer. The officer was white and was speaking so fast in 'native' English that I would hardly understand half of what they were saying.

The officer required us to present our travel documents, and we did. When I presented my travel documents to the officer, they started by asking my name. To my embarrassment, the officer grimly said that they couldn't catch my name even though I repeated many times. I

cannot recall how many times I had to repeat it. Each time I said my name Chitra[tʃi:trɑ] in which the initial sound [tʃ] was mistaken as /s/ and the interdental consonant (in my language) /t/ was mistaken as palatal /t/. While being asked to spell letter by letter, the spelling was another spectacle worthy of watching. The officer was not cooperating. For example, my [tʃ] was their /s/; my /h/ was their /s/, and so forth until I was asked to finally print my name. The spectacle lasted sometime while other people behind us were glaring at us. Total embarrassment and a sense of humiliation!!! When I look back now, it was not only the kind of question they asked which made us feel embarrassed, but their discriminatory bodily and tonal semiotics further but surely aggravated my/our situation at that moment. As they were looking at me/us, they were running their eyes from top to bottom of our bodies as if we were some antiques in a museum. I could feel their micro aggressions by reading their facial and verbal gestures.

To my surprise though, when the same officer would speak to white persons in front of us, they were very polite and friendlier. The jovial conversations they were having while going through the screening interviews was starkly different from the ones I/we experienced. I could glean from their conversations that they were talking like friends or families. I would see white travelers coming and going without many interruptions and those weird moments.

Any person of colour who has 'poor' English proficiency or for whom English is an additional language would just have to wait for a bit in line for a coffee to see how racism normally operates. I have witnessed countless such occasions when people of colour are treated differently or humiliated by white customers standing in line or coffee baristas as opposed to white people who are treated like friends or family members. White baristas smile, laugh and spend a few minutes chatting with white customers as they serve food to them but when it comes to Non-white customers, the same barista's behaviour and gestures completely change in a

matter of second. The differential treatment of 'white' coffee baristas with persons of colour based on race at coffee shops indicates that racial discrimination is normal in Canada. To whitely or racist white people, racism gets triggered so quickly that it does not need a moment to think and rationalize. Just seeing a person of colour or a person speaking accented English and standing in front of them is way enough.

Here is a piece of story relating to my experience of racism in a Canadian coffee shop. One sunny morning, I was in a line-up for coffee at a popular coffee shop in Calgary few days after I arrived in Canada. When I entered the restaurant, I noticed that most employees were white. Ahead of me were two or three white folks waiting for their turn and few more stood behind me as I was waiting. The baristas who were serving customers at that moment were white and I could clearly notice that their smiling faces were radiant when they would speak to white folks while greeting and receiving food order. As I was waiting for my turn, I saw that the barista and those white customers were chatting casually as if there were close acquaintances. They chatted for good couple minutes. "How are you GUYS? The barista greeted them with an elongated tone at the end. "How may I help you?" They added . I think they ordered some kind of coffee and some food I don't, in fact, remember. The conversation didn't end there. They kept talking about random topic like work and stuff which I didn't bother a lot. More Interesting was when other associates joined in the conversations. The conversations were mixed with laughter and noise. So jovial, so friendly, wow!!! I guessed they had known each other for a long time.

But when it was my turn and they prompted me to place my order, her radiant smile turned into a deadly grimace right away. The barista's smile was gone for good as I stood right in front of them. Their "how are you GUYS?" "How may I help you" abruptly changed into a hasty "what can I get for you?" The voice had noticeable hoarseness as they spoke without any direct

eye contact. I felt as if they were in a rush to get the order and get rid of me. It was my maiden visit to a Canadian coffee shop. I even did not know that one can get varieties of coffee. I said, "Can I get a small cup of coffee?" The barista stared at me, raised her eyebrows up and went on quickly, "What kind of coffee do you want? Mocha, espresso, double-double or regular?" I was confused. I started blushing. I recall from my initial days in Canada that facing a white person (even a white kid) and hearing them speak English would already instill some strange fear within. It was worse than other moments because there were other white people standing and staring at me. I started feeling too uneasy when she became angry. I thought coffee would be coffee with whatever milk/cream it came with. I vaguely recalled from previous customers saying *double-double* or regular but that did not cross my mind as to what kind of coffee that would be. I just wanted a small cup of coffee with a little bit of sugar and milk.

Before I explained what I wanted, the barista was too fast and ruder. She went on something like this: "Seeee *the people behind youuuu and come back once you know what you want, okayyyy!!!!!*" I checked the line behind but there were hardly five people. I couldn't even process into my brain what she said. I was startled momentarily, and my mind went blank seeing her face getting cloudier. I was already sweating, and I said to myself, "No more coffee man, come here next day with your friend. I had no gut to question, defy, or resist. I said, "I will come back after I decide." But I didn't return that day for coffee. In fact, I did not go to the coffee shop for another week until one of my friends offered to go. When I shared my experience with him the other day, he laughed and comforted me saying, "just ask double-double! And that is it."

A person with a minimum awareness about racism would immediately notice that I was racially discriminated at the coffee shop. Even though I was aware about the situation that that white person was differently treating me, I was not racially conscious enough about my own

victimization. I mean, it did not occur to me immediately that I was being racially discriminated against by the barista in that coffee shop. At one point I got a guilty conscience thinking that it was me who was wrong confusing the barista and not being very specific about the coffee order. But later, as I contemplated on the incident, I felt "this is the way things are in Canada." From critical race theoretical perspective, my experience at the coffee shop is an example of the ordinariness of racism in the white North America.

Here is another piece of my story related to my job search and workplace experience. This story could resonate with any job search and workplace experiences of many new immigrant people of colour who feel frustrated to see their qualifications and years of experiences being ditched in Canada or in any 'western' country. This experience is consistent with the restaurant experience shared just above. When I settled down a bit after arriving in Calgary, I navigated ways to find a job that would help our living. I was a professor/teacher back in Nepal and tried my luck to find similar job by visiting employment agencies and government funded organizations which would help new immigrants to find a job. I perceived that people like us who are 'Non-native' speakers of English, educated, skilled, and trained in any foreign countries other than 'western' countries are considered de-skilled. Through them, I learnt that we needed to upgrade our education, trainings, and skills to meet Canadian standards and requirements. Doing so would require us to spend months and years to get so called Canadian education and Canadian work experience. Thus, seeing no prospect of getting any job related to my experience, I ended up starting to work as a general labour in a gigantic warehouse in Calgary.

When I started working in the warehouse, I became aware that so many of my friends and immigrant people of colour had been working for minimum wages not in incommensurate with their academic qualifications, work experiences, and expertise. Majority of us were highly

qualified individuals such as professors, teachers, doctors, nurses, engineers, and accountants in our countries of origin, but most of us had similar job search experience—that we were denied from getting similar jobs and positions in Canada because workplaces and organizations had hiring practices which would only prefer Canadian qualifications and experiences, and thereby regard us as de-skilled. Considering and accepting international qualifications and experiences for immigration purposes but forthrightly disregarding and rejecting them for high skilled jobs for persons of colour represent underlying hypocrisies and racist practices in 'western' countries like Canada. I slowly figured out that getting our own field-and-experience related jobs in Canada is equivalent to '*grinding stones with teeth*' (in Nepali proverb) because people like us skilled and trained outside any 'western' countries are automatically considered de-skilled for any white-collar jobs in Canada. As I reflect now, I perceive that de-skilling is an aspect of racist ideology in the 'west' to marginalize immigrant people of colour for the purpose of maintaining the predominance of whiteness in Canada.

While working in a warehouse in Calgary, I witnessed and experienced myself that many white co-workers and supervisors were treating Non-white people differently than they were treating with white people. Often, I would hear them speaking rudely using demeaning expressions such as "you folks…, do this, do that . . . right?" or "Can't you speak clearly?" or "You have accent." The rudeness in their verbal expression was accompanied by their physical gestures which included frowning, staring, not answering questions related to the specific job, and so forth. Initially, I was frustrated, scared and angry to myself. Then, like other immigrant people working there for many years, I slowly and gradually became accustomed to those discriminatory and oppressive behaviours of the white people.

On the contrary I witnessed countless scenes where white people would behave with other white people in a friendly manner. Either at work or lunch time, white co-workers would tend to have a good relationship with other white persons more easily instead of having a good relationship with persons of colour. They would look friendly, nice, polite, and easy going with one another.

While working in the warehouse, I also witnessed and experienced the internalization of racial discrimination and its longitudinal impacts in the life of people of colour. Internalization of racism occurs when racism is so much normalized that it becomes an integral part life of persons of colour and take racism for granted as if it is the way of life. Many immigrant people working there were even not aware of the racial discriminations and would look content with how white people were treating them. Having negative feelings about ourselves because of the continuing racist practices everywhere would undermine our ability to prosper and resist the discriminations. Instead, we would verbally duel and compete with each other to get white people's favour. Worse yet, we would psychologically harm ourselves while at home rather than fight for our identity, rights and justice.

Of the past experiences of discrimination I faced, the one I am going to share here reveals that racism is deeply ingrained and normalized within white communities. Even teenage white kids dysconsciously or consciously (probably learning from their home and school) practice racism. It was a sunny summer evening in Calgary while I was returning home from a twelve-hour-shift work. When I got off the train and was walking, I encountered a bunch of white teenagers sitting by the side of street. As I just walked past those boys without being mindful of their presence, they came a little closer to the sidewalk and started looking at me strangely and started talking about me. I do not recall what they said. I did not care too much thinking that

those were little kids. But as I walked further, they giggled, and one of them threw small piece of rocks at me. When I stood still a bit and asked them what they wanted, they looked more aggressive and started swearing. I immediately felt that it was unsafe to remain there for too long. I left without looking back toward them. This incident speaks volumes about racism being a normal household phenomenon in white North America.

Not too long after the incident of the encounter with the teenage white boys, I experienced another but a different kind of racism. One late afternoon, I was returning home by bus after grocery shopping. The bus was full except for a few spots in the front rows where seats were designated for elderly people or people with disability. I was standing by the rear exit holding onto a post. After about ten minutes of travel, I saw two empty spots just behind the priority seating area and took one. An elderly gentleman sat next to me. We greeted each other and chatted for about a good fifteen to twenty minutes until he got off the bus before me. The discussion was nothing serious. I felt it was just ordinary that old people would socialize more quickly. I felt a deep sense of respect when he sat next to me and started chatting a bit.

When we exchanged our 'Hello!' he smiled with his gently quirked lips and asked, "Where are you from? I replied, "I am from Nepal." Have you heard about Nepal?" I asked. He took few seconds before he retorted with sympathetic tone, "Yes, I do. It is between China and India. Poor country! I visited Nepal years ago." And he added, "Nepal is incredibly beautiful country. People are nice but poor." To that, I just nodded and explained to him a little bit about my place of birth in Nepal and the life I spent in Kathmandu. I appreciated him that he remembered his visit to Nepal quite well.

The conversation, then, switched to my status in Canada when the person enquired, "How did you come to Canada?" "Are you a refugee?" I was surprised a bit upon hearing the last

question. I thought he could have seen/met people like me in his neighborhood who were with refugee status. Or by default, he would have thought that it is only through refugee programs that people like us could end up coming here. I answered, “I did not come to Canada as a refugee. I am a landed immigrant.” I briefly explained to him the process of how I came here. He was surprised to learn that people like me could come to Canada as a permanent resident. But there was no sense of grimace or aggression in his face all the while I was talking about. Before he got off the bus, he complimented me saying, “You speak good English, where did you learn?” “You liked my English? I learnt English at school,” I replied. I thanked him for his compliment as he slowly got up from his seat to get off the bus.

In retrospect, my meeting with the white person on the bus was an example of entrenchment of racial bias or racial stereotyping in Canadian society writ large. The encounter with the elderly individual on the bus was different than the incident at coffee shops or workplaces or airport. The elderly person’s perception about me also exemplifies that racial discrimination is so deeply embedded in Canadian society that majority of white people use whiteness as a standard to identify who is Canadian and who is not. In practice, if you are white, you are not ever stopped and questioned about your nationality within Canada or any ‘western’ countries unless you are crossing national border or boarding an airplane. The elderly person on the bus would probably not have any direct intention to discriminate when he appreciated my English or commented upon my country of origin and so forth. In fact, his racist perception about me that I am not from Canada and his raciolinguistic assessment of my English that I speak “*good English*” were cemented by the legacy of Eurocentric and ‘white-only’ worldview in Canada as it comes to Canadian vs. non-Canadian identities.

Thus, my encounter with the old man on the bus was significant because it suggests that racism is deeply embedded in the white North America. The prevalence of racism is more pronounced among white individuals who have not received formal or informal training about anti-racist practices at home, within educational institutions, or in professional environments. The normalization of racism also suggests that presence of Non-white people in Canada is the aberration of the 'white' norms. Had there been any white person instead of me sitting next to the old individual, the conversation would have been completely different. The older individual on the bus would never have asked another white individual, "Where are you from?" and he would never have to complement ways in which white Canadians speak English.

2.6.2 The Second Phase: Racism in Canadian Higher Education

Consistent with the stories of racism from my preliminary days in Canada the stories I am going to share in this section are my experiences of racism during my middle years (the second phase)[6] of living in Canada. The second phase represents the duration of my living in Canada which covers most of my student life—first as an MA student and later as a PhD student at the Anglophone University. To me, these middle years are seminal years during which time I got immense opportunities to gain experiences about discourses on race relations, antiracist rhetoric, critical pedagogy, African American rhetorical tradition, translingualism, and native speakerism. And it is during these years I have got a firm grasp of the fact that racism is "a permanent part of the American landscape" (Bell, *Faces at the Bottom . . .,* 92). But during these years, I also learnt that racism is the fact but not fiction when it relates to university education in Canada. Above all, I got first-hand experiences of various forms of racism including epistemic racism and how they

[6] I have periodized my stay in Canada for my own convenience.

circulate around every (non)academic spaces including but not limited to Canadian university campuses, offices, finances, courses, hiring practices, admissions, hidden curricula, pedagogy practices, libraries, classrooms; and the list goes on.

During this second phase as a student, instructor, and researcher, I became theoretically informed and experientially affirmed, grounded and cognizant that racism is "hardly based on logic,"(Bell, 62) which is composed of and functions through specific structures such as justice system, education, educational institutions, policing, housing, law, etc. to maintain supremacy of white race. During these years I learnt a lot about racism and its various faces in Canada and how it operates as a norm regardless of location, context, and institutions where whiteness is present. And if there is no presence of whiteness, racism functions invisibly and indirectly in an internalized manner so much so that 'Non-white' people self-impose racism upon themselves and each other.

Stories of my experiences of racial discrimination in Canadian postsecondary education start with a narrative of my admission to the Anglophone University(AU) as a MA student. The university offered me admission to an MA program in rhetoric instead of PhD despite knowing that I applied for PhD program in rhetoric and communication stream. I had submitted all my academic credentials of MA and MPhil in English from a publicly funded university in the country of my origin—Nepal. I also presented documents showing that I had a decade of experiences of teaching various courses in MA in a university. Despite knowing all these, I was offered the admission to MA program stating in the letter of offer that I was not considered for the doctoral program because I needed to re-do Canadian MA program in Canada to be qualified for PhD admission. It was hilarious but I accepted. This was the first moment when realized that

Non-white students coming to Canada from the so-called developing countries are considered academically and linguistically deficient in Canada.

On the first day of graduate classes at AU, when I was asked to introduce myself, I shared my academic and professional background back home and my story of admission to the AU. Some professors and classmates were amazed to hear the reason why I ended up getting admission to MA, but not PhD. I do not think that any regular Canadian students with Canadian credentials would have ever been required to pursue an MA in English for a third time in a row before starting any doctoral program.

The department asked me to submit the required IELTS (International English Language Testing System) scores for admission despite knowing that I am a permanent resident of Canada and have MA and MPhil degrees English in combination with over a decade long teaching experience of English language and literature at graduate level. It was ridiculous, wasn't it? My story of the admission to the Anglophone University(AU) demonstrates that Canadian universities discriminate students of colour coming from the so-called developing countries or countries falling in the 'outer circles' or 'expanding circles'(Kachru, 4). Such biased attitude indicates that 'western' universities have been guided by imperialism, English native speakerism, and 'western' ethnocentrism.

Soon after I started taking classes at AU and talked to some of my friends from other countries where English is used as the official language, they shared similar stories too. It struck my head that I was not alone to have been discriminated against just because we didn't acquire master's degree program from the 'western' countries. But, when I shared this with other students including white who had their credentials from Canada, they were surprised and laughed

with wonder—how come a person with two MAs does not get admission for PhD but just another MA.

My admission story echoes well to Tommy Mayberry's remark that people who are marginalized in universities are "equity-denied in the academy as well as equality-granted" (Mayberry, 4). In Mayberry's view, my AU's (The Anglophone University) offer of admission to MA program which I did not want is equivalent to equality-granted but not equity. From the perspective of somebody who has gone through racism in university classrooms in Canada, granting equality to people of colour in the Canadian education system signifies the politics of neo-liberal colour display in classrooms and webpages which eventually benefits the discriminatory system itself. From Mayberry's standpoint again, providing admission and allowing students of colour to remain in the system signifies equality being granted at the cost of the denial of equity. The denial of equity for marginalized identities in Canadian academia demonstrates the intrenchment of the politics of whiteness, meaning that the privileges are primarily reserved for white people. Mayberry's experiential analysis of the structural irony in Canadian academic institutions helps explore the inherent rhetoric of discriminatory ambivalence in 'equality-granted-but equity denied' politics. Those who have experienced racism, and all other forms of discrimination can feel the effect of ambivalence between granting of equality and denial of equity. Presented below are few instances of racism operating in Canadian University education.

2.6.3 Racism in University Classrooms: Storytelling as an Antiracist Practice

In her acclaimed essay titled "The Personal is Political" Carol Hanisch remarks that "personal problems are political problems" (76) because they are rooted to social, political, and economic situations of the often marginalized and oppressed identities in societies. According

Hanisch's remark, private experiences of the oppressed identities because of systemic inequalities, asymmetric power relationships, and discriminations based on gender, class, race, ethnicity and so on are not just limited to private experiences, but they represent collective experiences of people who have similarly marginalized and oppressed. In other words, for any problems or personal experiences to be political, they should be connected to issues of social, political significance. From Hanisch's standpoint, my personal experience of racism I have got in the Canadian university where I am currently a doctoral student should not be taken as an exception or an exceptional case but should be treated as common problem that other students of colour suffer every day and everywhere in Canadian universities that needs collective efforts on the part of those who are allies and those who have participated in perpetuating the problem of racism.

My experience of racism at the Anglophone University began on the very first day of the Fall 2014 semester. I took a seat in my class, but other students had already filled most of the room. The seating was meticulously organized around a huge roundtable at the centre of the classroom. Most of the students sitting there were white except for two students of colour. After a minute, entered a pleasant-looking-white professor and took a seat right beside the podium. The introductory class started with the professor introducing themselves as *Professor A* before we were asked to introduce ourselves. For anonymity, I call them *Professor A*. I use pseudonyms such as *Professor B, Professor X, Professor Z* so on and so forth to stand for the real professors whose courses I have attended and those who are discussed in my (counter)storytelling in this dissertation. To that point, *Professor A, Professor B, Professor C, Professor X or Professor Z* are not just imaginary but they are real persons who represent many-many white/whitely professors irrespective of gender across Canadian universities or Canadian post-secondary institutions.

As the professor settled themselves on the chair right beside the podium, they looked around the table where there were only white students except for me and another student of Asian background. No sooner had students started their introductions I sensed that the professor was more open and interested to listening to the white students than to two of us—who were the only persons of colour. *Professor A* would jump in and talk with the white students and smile at them as they were introducing but she did not display the same attitude toward us. The professor shared their experiences, chuckled often, and said something to which only white students reacted by laughing for some time. However, on the other hand, the professor would not even turn to the students of colour. Let alone talking to us. While each white student was introducing in typical Canadian English (of which I guess I could understand about half of what they were saying in rapid-fire manner.), the professor would jump right in and compliment or add something or explain more about anything they found themselves interested in. So would other white students do. It looked as though they were like one family. When it was our turn to introduce, there was a quick and disinterested round of applause. One could notice the two contrastive scenes: one being the side of whiteness as engaged, livelier and elongated and the other side being Non-white received as peculiar, disinterested and just a little portion of formality. The former would conjure up a scene where birds of a feather flock together whereas the latter one would visualize a scene a crow amongst the flock of cranes/swans. I felt despair seeing the discriminatory behaviour of the whiteness in the class.

A month into the semester passed with similar experiences in *Professor A* class. I felt that being in the class for three hours was not only uncomfortable, but it was suffocating. I was in a sheer dilemma about continuing the class comparable to a bear imagery in Nepali proverb: भालुको कानः न छोढ्नु न समात्नु वा न निल्नु न ओकल्नु। The proverb loosely translates into something like this in

English: *A bear's ear: neither you can leave it, nor can you hold onto it long*. *You can neither swallow, nor can you throw out*. This Nepali proverb is close to the English proverb: *Damned if I do and damned if I don't.* I felt exactly like the proverb sitting in the class of *Professor A*. Nevertheless, my mind could not process what to do next because it was my first-time in Canadian university, and being in a classroom of a white professor was already a challenge. I was not fully aware nor was I told by anybody that I could switch or withdraw from the course. It was only after the end of the semester that I came to know that I could opt out and take another course instead. Neither did I dare to resist due to the fear already implanted inside me at the time of accepting the offer of admission that failing to achieve less than 85% would knock me out from joining the PhD program.

At each group discussion session for about 15 minutes, the professor would prefer to talk to white students by calling their names often and engage in discussion with them for prolonged period. But the professor would not demonstrate the same attitude toward students of colour. They would speak too fast and often use European/Western cultural registers (particularly, Christianity, food, folklore, tradition, music, and so forth) unexplained. As weeks went by, things became so discernable to me that the professor might have felt that there was no need of terminological explanation and contextual clarity because they knew that 'the white' students were aware of the meaning and the context. It seemed to me that the professor had no awareness of the presence of the translingual students in their class. From applied linguistic perspective, the way the professor was considering the use of English was the obvious example of Standard English ideological bias coupled with Eurocentrism. Seeing all those discriminatory attitudes of the professor and the white students, I realized that students of colour were treated as mere objects or invisible persons who do not need professors' attention in Canadian postsecondary

institutions such as AU where racism, Christianity, Eurocentricity, and English dominant language ideology are un(spoken) norms which underpin their institutional foundations. It was not an aberrational experience, so to say it.

Regarding assignment grading and feedback, *professor A* was very particular about grammatical correctness. The professor's feedback was mainly on grammar and sentence structure rather than ideas. They were very picky about the use of article 'the,' word choice and sentence collocations. In other words, the grade they provided was basically predicated on the correctness of English.

Throughout the semester, I kept on thinking–"how is it possible that a professor who is so dignified and published can be racist?" How is it possible that white professors are so ignorant of fact that racialized students also know that they are racially discriminated in classes? Why some 'white' professors even don't know that? As teachers, they must understand the classroom ecosystems and explain culturally sensitive jargons and registers to multicultural/multilingual students in their classes.

The treatment of the professor with white students was clearly different. When *Professor A* and white students would talk, it would feel as if they would talk openly and freely, whereas when Non-white (especially those whose English is considered broken or bad) talked, they would be subjected to inattention. Their eye contacts, bodily gestures, and the kind of close engagement I witnessed in the *Professor A*'s class was enough to tell me that racism was so real in the university I was attending. From critical race theoretical perspective, these questions are by no means any difficult and extraordinary to answer. Looking through CRT lens, the professor who deliberately participated in racializing students of colour in their class was not ignorant, neither were they under pretentious. I felt that, to Professor A, it was the business as usual to

treat their students of colour differentially based on race because in majoritarian societies and institutions, “racism is ordinary, not aberrational—“normal science,” the usual way society does business, the common, everyday experience of most people of color in this country”(Delgado and Stefancic, 7) .

On college campuses and in classrooms, systemic racism is so normalized and commonplace that it isn't just "white" professors or staff who perpetuate it. White students also participate, both consciously and through a dysconscious acceptance of dominant racial norms. For instance, white students do not find it comfortable socializing with Non-white students in classroom and outside. The weirdness about the dynamics of racism in classroom is such that even anti-racist sounding white students also seem to swing to the other side of the isle when taking personal advantages.

In *Professor A*’s class as well as in other classes, most white students either wouldn’t talk to and sit next to persons of colour or exhibit reluctance while talking and participating in discussion and socialization whereas among their own discourse community, they would get along easily, be ready to talk to, sit next to and participate in discussion. My experience as a student and instructor indicates that most white students often sit together, except when they do not find seating space left next to another white student. and chat more naturally with other white colleagues. In other words, a person who is literate about antiracism or a person of colour who has experiences of racism can quickly notice the racist outlook in the class by just looking at the ways white and Non-white students sit separately.

Apart from in-class experiences of racism, here is another subtle but important and quite common question we persons of colour get asked which is relevant for the discussion on the ordinariness of racism. In Canada or in any ‘western’ countries, questions of nationality or origin

such as “where are you from?” are frequently asked by white people to persons of colour in academic and non-academic contexts alike. These questions do not just relate to white people’s curiosity about identity, but they are racist questions specifically asked to humiliate persons of colour and their identities. I have been asked these questions by white colleagues or co-workers countless times. Many of my white colleagues either in class or outside ask “where are you from?” because being Brown or Black is not directly proportional to being Canadian in white people’s mind.

The other day in the same semester, I met another white professor (not *Professor A*) in connection with assignment and the first question I was asked was the same: “Where are you from? Do you need any paperwork for your status?” I was just taken aback to see that the idea of whiteness has been so much embedded that even without any racist intention, racism unravels itself. I spent the total semester as a stranger with *Professor A* and many other professors’ classes. Thus, circling back to Hanicsh’s statement that if the personal is political, then the racial discrimination I faced in the *Professor A*’s class was not isolated. It also means that racism is a common and ordinary problem in every Canadian university since racism undergirds all Canadian institutional foundations.

My experiences of having to go through racism in *Professor A*’s class or other classes echo Vershawn Young’s powerful reflection in the book, *Performing Antiracist Pedagogy in Rhetoric Writing, and Composition* (2017) where he explains that “too many people, I think, resist forging even casual friendships, let alone deep ones, with people of color who challenge their established ways of thinking and being. And when some do forge relationships, they sometimes take a paternal or maternal stance toward their friends, even when those people of color are more accomplished or older than they are. It is a real trip” (IX). Young’s critique resonates with the

entrenched experiences of most Non-white people and scholars. The critique also demonstrates the general tendency of even liberal sounding white people who appear to be anti-racist allies but are complicit with the legacy of whiteness.' This is the ordinary character of racism in the 'western' society.

I had another similar experience of racism with a different white professor–*Professor B*–at the same university. This was during the Fall Semester of 2017 when I started my PhD program in English. I decided to register on a course that would align with my area of interest for my doctorate. I found *Professor B*'s course very relevant. This time, I did a quick search about the professor background and rating, but I didn't get a single clue as regards their racist attitudes. In fact, when I met the professor on the very first day, I felt the professor was helpful, nice and would treat everybody equally.

But when couple of weeks passed by, *Professor B* started showing their true picture–the picture of a racist professor. I got some tiniest discriminatory signal from the professor on the very first day of the class that semester, but I just let that go thinking that—no it was nothing racist. The racist behaviour of the professor started like this: the professor asked us to register our names for solo presentation as stated in the syllabus we were provided. When it became apparent that no one had signed up for the second week of class presentations, I offered to take that slot. The professor promptly recorded my name. On the day of the presentation, I was allotted 15 minutes by the professor. Although I attempted to adhere to the time limit, I exceeded it by approximately one minute and was consequently stopped. There was nothing wrong about me being stopped right on time, but what surprised me the most was when the professor did not bother even when other students (white) went over by nearly a half-hour or more in their presentations. Similarly, *Professor B* would give few feedback on the spot after my presentation

that were clearly indicative of racist intent based on the linguistic commentary they passed. The bodily gestures and the language the professor used were rude and indifferent which was clearly the demonstration of what critical race theorists call “racial microaggressions” (Davis, 145; Martinez, *Counterstory* . . . 47). A racial microaggression is a type of racism in which racist white individuals show "one of those many sudden, stunning, or dispiriting transactions that mar the days of women and folks of colour” (Davis, 145). I do not think that other students belonging to the majority race in the class could even get a clue that the Professor B was inflicting racism upon me because racist behaviours like the one they did—racial microaggressions—are usually disguised, swift and indirect, and therefore not noticeable to the majority race in the class. After I realized that I experienced racial bias in the class, I spoke to couple other Non-white classmates about what happened, they replied that they noticed the professor’s racist attitude toward me. Moreover, they also talked about the fact that they shared similar experiences with the professor. The more I attended their classes, the more their discriminatory behaviours started getting exposed.

Worse was yet to come. The other day, I received an email from Professor B containing a blatant form of racism. The professor’s email was a direct response to one of the respectful salutations I had used as address them. In my email to them, I had used certain honorifics (such as ‘Respected’) to salute as a part of showing my respect for the professor and the position they had. I had no intention to make them feel embarrassed. In the email, however, the professor explicitly criticized me for not following proper North American generic conventions of email while addressing professors in Canada and using honorifics and adjectives borrowed from Non-western cultural-communicative conventions. Students in my culture frequently use honorifics such as "respected" when addressing professors and teachers, reflecting the high regard in which

these educators are held for their role in producing and disseminating knowledge. But in response, the professor failed to understand my side of the rhetorical context and directly criticized me for using those words. I am not going to write a whole lot about the discourse of genre here. But regardless, genres operate differently in different rhetorical and cultural contexts. Emails, letters, or public speech, private and public meetings are all genres of communication that operate differently in different cultural and rhetorical contexts. Their blatant refusal to accept other cultural beliefs, values and practices is nothing but an example of the persistence of the overt form of racism and colonial mentality toward students of colour in Canadian universities.

Just like 'white' people in North America have their own forms of address or salutation, we, Non-white people also have our own form(s) of salutation, address and greeting to indicate honour and respect. For example, we use certain honorifics such as प्रिय(Priya) which is most closely equivalent to 'Dear' in English to salute friends, persons of acquaintance or of equal status, junior members in family, relatives, neighbours, and so on. Whereas elevated honorifics such as आदरणीय(Aadaraniya) माननीय (Mananiya) श्रीमान(Shreeman), whose English equivalence is 'respected,' are used to salute elders, officers, professors, lawyers, teachers and other dignified persons–whether socially or professionally. However, the professor's intent was explicitly assimilationist, Eurocentric, and therefore explicitly racist because any person aware of racism in North America can easily infer from the professor's commentary that the professor wanted Non-white, Non-western, and Non-Christian students in North American classroom to follow along 'white'/North American culture.

Moreover, anybody who is a person of colour, or any anti-racist individual can clearly see *Professor B* loathes other cultures and holds the imperialist belief that anybody residing in North America should follow 'white' European culture. The professor had never mentioned in the class

anything about how they wished to be addressed or what kind of language to use in email communication. Neither did the professor state officially anywhere in syllabus nor did the department nor the University state their linguistic and cultural expectations from students concerning the so called North American forms of address. I have been using those adjectives myriad times to address other professors, and they have never expressed any dissatisfaction for being addressed in the ways I have addressed Professor B. In contrast, my use of honorifics or salutations, derived from my cultural repertoire, posed no concern for these other professors.

Even though racism in *Professor B*'s class was always there, the professor would tend to disguise themselves as a good professor in front of the class. However, it is us—students of colour—who were very aware of the professor's racist attitude and treatments. Often, the professor would take covert technique including email and in-person meetings to victimize the students of colour so that they would avoid being publicly known as racist professor. The professor would comment upon our Englishes and cultures in ways to make us feel self-ashamed. To them, English language would mean Standard English, and any aberration from the standard was bad and deviant. These attitudes demonstrated the facts that *Professor B* upheld an ethnocentric, English monolingual and native speakerist perspective.

That was not all about *Professor B* regarding their racist treatment toward the students of colour. In the same semester, *Professor B* emailed me a graded copy of my assignment with feedback. As far as I recall about the paper I submitted to them, I made use of words and syntax from South Asian context—particularly Nepali linguistic context—which, I think, would not hinder any English language speakers from understanding my argument or ideas. The professor expressed their extreme disgust with my English and directed me to follow Standard English used in Canada or any other inner circle countries such as England, US, Australia, New Zealand

should I decide to make my academic career in North America. The professor's fixation on and utmost disgust with my English in the assignment rather than ideas and their disgust really surprised and irritated me than ever before because the professor inflated their commentary on few grammar aspects such as my lexical choices and syntax while not focusing on my ideas, arguments, method, and theory. The final sentence of the feedback didn't just demonstrate that the professor was obsessed with the so called 'Standard' English, but they plainly threatened me that I would not be able to publish any of my articles in North American/ 'western' journals and I would not get any departmental support for hiring in Canada if I use the kind of *'accented'* English I wrote the assignment in. Just to let my readers know that the English I used in the assignment was just like the *'accented'* English I am writing here in this dissertation. In the feedback, the professor went on to comment that they were aware of the varieties of English, but the professor pointed out that any use of such varieties in North American universities is not entertained.

The returned copy of the submitted assignment was all smeared with bubbles, strikethroughs, and underlines. The way *Professor B* evaluated the paper clearly demonstrated their adherence to dominant language ideology or English–the idea that only English spoken by white in the 'inner circle'('western') countries is the perfect English and the World Englishes are imperfect and incorrect. The professor's native speakerist imperative that I follow North American English as the only standard and correct English demonstrates their rejection of and intolerance to World Englishes. The tendency to reject varieties of English or World Englishes which people like us operate in should be understood as the professor's demonstration of "interlocking realities of racism and linguicism experienced by diverse racialized members in higher education" in her attitude toward students of colour in the professor's class (Kubota et al,

759). The professor's commentary is significant because the linguistic imperialistic belief and racism which the professor exhibited through their commentary on my paper and the racist treatments the professor exhibited throughout the semester is a manifestation of persistence and ordinariness of linguistic imperialism, white supremacy and systemic racism Canadian university education. To 'white' people like *Professor B*, any deviance from the norm of whiteness is deficient, uncivilized, and unacceptable.

Moreover, *Professor B*'s feedback can be examined through critical race-informed applied linguistic perspective to show that the professor was guided by monolingual, racist and colonial ideology of native speakerism. Native speakerism, according to Adrian Holliday, is a pervasive ideology within ELT characterized by "the idea that so-called "native speakers" are the best models and teachers of English because they represent a "Western culture" from which spring the ideals both of English and of the methodology for teaching it" (1). The native speaker ideological bias and racism exhibited by the professor further othered people of colour. By putting North American English at default mode, Prof. B apparently wanted to consider the English language spoken by white American and Canadian people as superior and other forms of English as inferior/deficient languages. *Prof. B* stated that they were aware of "different forms of English," but nowhere did they appreciate those variations (Prof. B) as they commented. That said, the professor's colonial perspective was intended to stifle voices of the marginalized students further.

Apart from the professor's treatment with students of colour, the Anglophone University has EDI (Equity, Diversity, Inclusion) policy statement on its website stating that the university works "with students, faculty and staff to advance anti-racism and equity through evidence-based policies, practices and programs"(Office of Equity, Diversity, Inclusion, and Anti-racism). The

university has professors offering courses on anti-racism, Paulo Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed, postcolonial theory, Indigenous studies, gender studies and so on. This presents a clear irony: the university, while publicly advocating for anti-racism, simultaneously normalizes racist practices within its own structure. The persistent racial victimization experienced by students, professors, and staff of color across university premises—from classrooms to offices and libraries—is compelling evidence of the institution's failure to effectively address systemic racism. Given that the foundational history of postsecondary institutions in Canada is inseparable from the history of whiteness and racism—a history mirroring that of the nation itself—it follows those institutional practices, including hiring, student admissions, curriculum content, the privileging of specific ideas, and the distribution of resources, are all shaped by the broader discourse of whiteness in Canada.

For many, particularly those who have not experienced this kind of discrimination themselves, these events may be hard to believe or even imagine. Or even the people who have undergone through these trials of racism on many occasions of their life will still find it hard to name, or attribute to anything that is within the continua of racism with minimum of qualification(s)—let alone publishing and resisting such discriminations in an academic setting—because it is often so subtle and structural in nature that any attempt to call it a racist practice is either made fun of or is mystified. Professors A and B serve as representative examples of the deep-seated racism within Canadian universities, a problem that is particularly evident in my current institution. Those who are ignorant about or are complicit with racism might disagree claiming that my framing and portrayal of Prof. A's treatment of me was a result of my own personal bias and reluctance to come forward to befriend the professor and the peers. Moreover, they could also argue that *Prof. B* was not racist because they just tried to help people like me

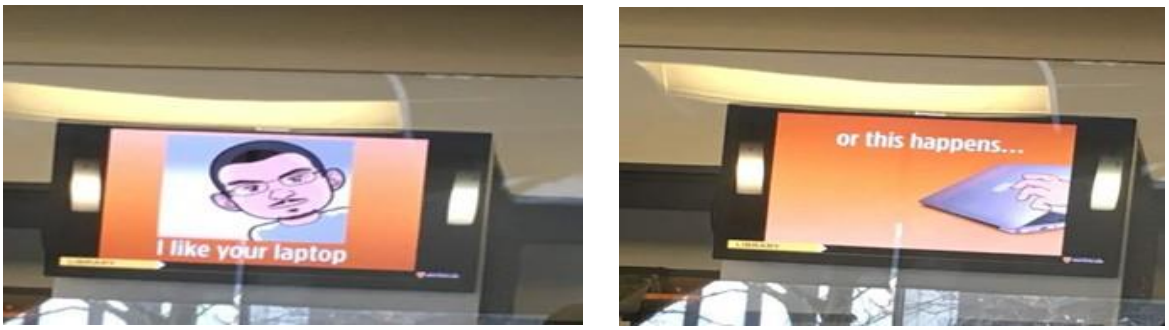
whose English is 'bad/imperfect' English in North America where everybody should speak 'one' English– the Standard English–instead of many forms of English if they must exist and progress. In other words, those who still have second opinions about these professors believing that there is no such thing as racism in either of the professor's mannerisms is because they have neither been victims of racism nor have they ever seen how racism would look like because they have color-blindness or often is also the possibility that they are the real perpetrators of racism themselves.

From a critical sociolinguistic and anti-racist perspective, the views of *Professor A* and *Professor B* are grounded firmly on linguicism which Labov calls "deficit theory" or "verbal deprivation theory" (21,55). Deficit theory or verbal deprivation theory is unambiguously a racist hypothesis which makes a bizarre argument that Non-white or African American people and their children suffer from verbal deprivation due to cognitive and "personal deficiencies" rooted to their culture and heredity. In a specific Canadian context, Patience Elabor-Idemudia rightly puts, "through its institutions and systems of schooling, Canada has realized and maintained a reproduction of Anglo-dominated ideology and social order without much public awareness or open fanfare" (192). In Elabor-Idemudia's view, both professors were astute enough to practice racism in class without providing any direct and public notice to students in classes. It is racially discriminatory to make negative comment on other people's languages simply because other people speak different forms of English and belong to different cultures. The professors' differential treatment with white students and students of colour—particularly those who speak English as an additional language—demonstrates their adherence to Eurocentricity, white supremacy, linguistic imperialism, and native speaker ideological bias toward 'Non-native' speakers of English. Additionally, the professor's consistent patterns of racist attitudes in their

classrooms toward students of colour can be equated with what Joyce E. King calls 'dysconscious' form of racism– "a form of racism that tacitly accepts dominant white norms and privileges. It is not the absence of consciousness (that is not unconsciousness) but an impaired consciousness or distorted way about thinking about race" (King qtd. in Condon and Young, 4).

Anti-racist writing, rhetoric, and pedagogy scholars Frankie Condon and Vershawn Young (2017) use Joyce E. King's terms "dysconscious racism" to criticize the obscuring trajectories of discrimination, like the ones I have experienced (4). Thus, from Labov, Elabor-Idemud's, Condon and Young and many other anti-racist scholars' viewpoints, the two professors' (non)sense that my English is ill-formed, illogical, ungrammatical, and therefore unacceptable in North America is firmly grounded on the same deficit theory and verbal deprivation theory which Labov discusses. The racism I have experienced in Professor A and Professor B classes are not just sparse and aberration, but it means racism is normal and it is everywhere in university spaces including libraries. Given below is a short portrayal of racism which unfolds itself as we enter a library as a sacred academic space.

2.6.4 "I Like Your Laptop, or This Happens . . .": Walking into the Library of Racism



(Illustration 1: TV Screen Digital Signages at one of the AU Libraries' Main Circular Desk)

Since joining AU, I have frequently visited the library situated directly across from the English Department. During these visits, my gaze has often been drawn to the television screen mounted above the front desk, which faces the main entrance. Also, it is through the same entrance that hundreds of visitors–students, researchers, librarians, staff and professors of all races, ethnicity and colour–enter the library every day and at least glance once at the screen, if not pay close attention to each slide that switches to the next after every 20-30 seconds. Also, each floor of the library has a TV screen set right over the entrance/exit, and the same slides would run simultaneously on all the screens. In this anecdote, I am not going to discuss the people and books in the library but about a little message of a digital signage shown on the TV screen which I found racially discriminatory. This little signage, to me, demonstrates that racism even resides inside library space. This is nothing extraordinary to see the outright display of racism inside library because racism is systemic, and it is structural foundation of the university an institution, let alone library.

Each time I stopped by the front desk/counter to check out books, I would often not care about what was being shown on the screen because I already knew which floor to go and how to navigate around to find a quiet place to read. Usually, when I entered the library or stood in line to check out books at the encounter, I would hardly see any visitor paying any close attention to the information displayed on the screen. It looked as if every visitor minded their own business, and everybody would walk their own way as I would normally do unless I/we/they wanted to learn specific information about floor setting in the library or specific knowledge/event related information. Like everybody else, I never paid a close attention to all slides. I cared to read only the slides that my eyes briefly fell on while waiting at the check-out desk or while waiting at the elevator to go up or down. Based on the limits of what I saw and read, I assumed that the slides

were informative about university events, library floor plan, fire-safety, emergency procedure, and so forth. Each time my eyes fell on the screen when I entered the building, I would hardly be able to go through a couple of slides. I took it for granted that all the slides would contain similar information for visitors.

But in the summer of 2019, I happened to pay a close attention to all the slides. On that specific day, while I finished checking out books at the front desk located on the first floor and was waiting for a friend of mine, my eyes suddenly got stuck on images about theft in the library. I immediately felt that there was something wrong in the signage related to the image of a person to represent a thief. “Something was absolutely not right about one of those slides,” I spoke to myself even though the message was especially useful. The slides changed so quickly that I had to wait another few minutes until they came back on. When the slides below containing the image of the thief came back on, I suddenly became alerted, paid a close attention, and noticed the pictures chosen to signify the laptop thief are stereotypical representations of persons of colour like me.

The pictures displayed on the screen over the check-out counter inside the AU (the Anglophone University) library feature a person of colour (probably of Asian descent) with dark hair, dark-brown eyes, thin dark eyebrows, a dark pencil mustache, a dark little soul patch under the lower lip, and rounded tip of nose with flared-looking base. At one glance I felt as if the picture in the signage matches me. Both slides demonstrate the minimalist use of descriptive words confirming that the person shown on the screen is a thief. The digital signages deliberately foreground visuals over the use of scripts so that the viewers will be tempted to visualize racial stereotypes of thieves and associate those stereotypes with Non-white students.

Upon observing the racially motivated images, I promptly notified the three female library associates, who were also people of color, working at the service counter. Initially, their response suggested that they did not perceive any issue with the images. But when I explained to them about the racial stereotypes chosen to depict a hypothetical thief, they immediately came to the realization that there was something wrong with the pictures. I asked them if they could inform the person-in-charge of the library, and then they agreed.

It was clear that whoever selected or designed the images for the theft-prevention signage engaged in a racist act. Although the signage's intended purpose—to educate library visitors on preventing the theft of electronic gadgets—is commendable, the use of racial stereotypes to portray a thief is a deliberate act of racism.

Since the incident happened right before Covid-19 outbreak, I did not visit the library for about a year due to Covid-19 restrictions. Over the course of time, I thought that library administration removed those troubling images. But when I visited the library after one year, I saw the same signage on the screen over the check-out desk. I checked with the librarian to see if they would consider removing or doing something with those stereotypical images, and they said that they could only bring this to the manager's notice. When I visited the library again in January 2022, the same images were still sliding through the screen.

While the use of those racist visuals inside one of the major research sites of the Canadian university is strange and hard to look at and digest for people of colour who are aware of racism. The regular use of such images in academic spaces, however, reinforces Derrick Bell's famous statement that "racism is an integral, permanent, and indestructible component of this society"(Bell, x). One of the meanings of the negative stereotypes used to portray persons colour as thieves is that racial "stereotypes were developed primarily to rationalize the oppression of

Blacks" (Crenshaw, 1371) and other people of colour. From CRT viewpoint, attaching certain racial stereotypes to view Non-white people as bad people and disseminate those ideas accordingly in academic spaces is the underlying character of white institutions. Thus, the unhindered use of the racist images inside the AU library exhibits oppressive strategy of whiteness over Non-white students.

2.7 The Later Phase: Permanence of Racism

The lived experiences of racism recounted in this later phase, particularly those during and after the COVID-19 pandemic, reinforce the Critical Race Theory (CRT) tenet that racism is a permanent and normalized feature of Canadian society. The stories narrated in this later phase represent a selection of experiences, as a comprehensive account of every form of everyday racism would be both exhaustive because racism is a pervasive, permanent, and foundational aspect of the 'western' world.

2.7.1 Pandemic Racism

When Covid-19 outbreak was first declared in Yuhan, China in December 2019, the virus spread like wildfire killing over 6.9 million people in the world since the start of the pandemic. While the virus killed many millions of people irrespective of their racial background in the world, the anti-Asian racism, xenophobia, anti-immigrant sentiments started spiking in the 'west' blaming that it is the Asians (Chinese) people who spread Covid-19 viruses. A notorious example which fueled the anti-Asian rhetoric in the 'western' world was when the US president Donald Trump named Covid-19 virus, "the Chinese Virus,"(Human Rights Watch). The anti-Asian rhetoric further unleashed anti-immigrant sentiments in the 'west.' Asia Advocacy Director, John Sifton issued warning that "racism and physical attacks on Asians and people of Asian descent have spread with the Covid-19 pandemic, and government leaders need to act

decisively to address the trend" (Human Rights Watch). In other words, white supremacists found Covid-19 pandemic as an opportune time to weaponize racism wherever and however possible.

Like many people of colour experienced racism during the pandemic, I experienced few worst forms of racism. One of them is related to my former land-lord's racist behavior, and the other experience is related to a racist white neighbour and what happened after. I was so much shocked to learn that the landlord's racist behaviour toward us and other Non-white residents of the building intensified as soon as the Covid-19 started.

I knew that the landlord had a racist attitude toward people of colour residing in the building because he would often but indirectly comment upon ways we would talk, cook, and other aspects of our culture we observed. Any person of colour would get a clear sense of his differential treatment with people of colour (new immigrants) and white people residing in the building. He would be more friendly and polite with white residents whereas he would often react and speak rudely with Non-whites. Even though his behaviour was racist from the day I started living at the building, I did not care because I thought it was not too much impacting my everyday life.

But when the pandemic kicked in, he started expressing his micro-aggressive behaviour more frequently and directly. He started bothering me and my family on an everyday basis. He would come to us with made-up complaints such that another neighbor is irritated with the smell of the food we ate and noise. At other times, he would knock at our door saying "Hey, your kids make a lot of noise at night. Teach them to walk softly. You should discipline them. Tuck them into bed early *blah, blah, blah*. It is hard for other neighbors to sleep and work. I will keep losing

money if they move out because of noise coming from your house." His irritating behaviour just kept getting worse rather than getting better.

Nonetheless, none of his complaints were true except for the fact kids make normal noise—they are louder as they walk, talk, play, etc. Any normal adult human does know that kids make noise, do fun activities that are noisier than adults at times, and cry at night when they feel uneasy. "Any ordinary noise of children should be taken as normal and should be tolerated by neighbors. Or else they can consider moving to a quieter place where there are no children," I answered. I reminded him that his increasingly hostile treatment toward us is discriminatory because his conduct with others who were white was exactly opposite. I talked to a white couple who also had kids, but they said the landlord would not complain. The landlord would never bother about any kind of noise coming from the white residents in the building.

As his discriminatory treatment kept increasing rather than getting better, me and my family were psychologically tortured. My kids started getting scared and I lost track of my research. I was not sure, but it could be his indirect kind of constructive eviction attempt on his easy targets—particularly immigrant tenants of colour who are easily susceptible to racism. As opposed to rent-gauging eviction, in constructive eviction a landlord uses various tactics like the one my landlord did by making the tenant's life miserable so that the tenant is forced to move out. By using such tactics, the landlord like ours could rent it out to another tenant at a higher price. I continued to live in the same building for one year by bearing all what he would say and do (at times he would go as far pitting one tenant against another so that he was not involved directly) because moving out during the pandemic was not easy. Finally, when his abusive behaviour became intolerable and Covid restrictions were slackened a bit, we moved out as a result.

The second incident was in November 2020 when I answered a few quick knocks on the door on the Diwali night at around 10 PM. When I answered the door, I found myself standing in front of a group of police who were armed. We were speechless and scared when we saw a group of police standing at the door of my residence.

My mind could not process for a while because we had not committed any crime. We had just finished Diwali *puja*(ritual) when I heard the knock on the door. Diwali is one of the biggest festivals of Hindus. It is celebrated with lights all around, making *Rangolis* (*a hand designed circular artform made with bright colour powders, flour, and other materials with diyas (an oil lamp). Rangoli is considered as a sacred Hindu artwork drawn at the front of the main entrance to welcome Laxmi, the Goddess of prosperity*. S*ome Rangolis have* ***Hindu swastika sign*** *drawn at the centre whereas others have an image of lotus. The Swastika is one of the holiest and important symbols which is drawn by Hindu priests at most rituals and worships*.). With a befuddled state of mind, I asked with fear, "May I know what happened?" One of the police officers pointed to the Rangoli and asked in the high-pitched tone: "Who made it and why is the symbol(swastika)? I immediately figured out what happened. Whoever called the police could have suspected that the image was antisemitic. The officer retorted, "One of your neighbors called the police about this image related to hate, and we are here to respond to that call."

Fear engulfed me when I heard the police officer say they were in front of my residence to investigate us regarding the Diwali sign. I was sweating and my heart was pounding fast and louder. In the meantime, I saw my kids standing by me and my wife, watching us and the police officers talking. I could feel the tremor in my older child's face. Seeing not just one or two police officers, but multiple of them, I felt that they were going to arrest me.

Then I gathered some energy to explain to them that the artwork in front of them is called *Rangoli*, a holy sign that is drawn at the front of the main entrance on Diwali night as part of the celebration and worship. I explained to them in detail the importance of the artwork of *rangoli* with the Hindu Swastika at the center. I told them that without the sign any Hindu ritual is considered incomplete. When I explained to them everything, one of the officers urged me to erase the Hindu Swastika right away.

I took the chance to educate them about the significance of Hindu Swastika on the Diwali festival. I, then invited all of them inside and offered to examine the main Diwali *puja* site at one corner of our living room. As I explained to them the value of the artwork outside and the Diwali celebration, police nodded and thanked me for the information. Before the police officers left, they asked me to wipe the drawing by the following morning which we did. I felt a big shy relief as the police officers left the scene. When they left our place, I talked to my wife thought they could have arrested us because policing and justice system is not immune from systemic racism (Report of the Standing Committee on Public Safety and National Security, 65). Since things didn't escalate any further, the unexpected didn't happen. Early next morning, my wife hurried outside and wiped out the artwork clean without leaving any mark of the Hindu's holy symbol.

The policing incident that occurred to us on the Diwali night in 2020 represents the entrenchment of systemic racism in policing, (non)state apparatuses in Canada and 'western/white' society in general. The person who called 911 and the officer at the dispatch could have avoided the situation had they tried to put the complaint in contexts of the Hindu festivals because the sign that bothered the caller (who could have been white individual) was accompanied by lights and whole lot of artworks surrounding the sign. The caller could have just knocked on the door in the first place and talked to me before informing the police. Likewise, the

officer at the dispatch should have asked the callers more questions regarding the sign given that it was Diwali night.

This incident strengthens the critique of Canadian multiculturalism that multiculturalism in Canada is superficial ideology which was introduced to conceal discriminations so that they could bring in more immigrant people of colour, but just to maintain the continuing status quo of 'white' Christian supremacy. It also means that any non-Christian cultural traditions in Canada and the 'western' world is perceived as an anomaly. Thus, my encounter with the police on that Diwali night suggests that famous Canadian buzzwords such as mosaic, multiculturalism, diversity, and differences are just a form of 'white' rhetoric to hide racial prejudices.

2.7.2 "Where are You From?" and "Why Did You Come to Canada?": The Normalcy of Racism in Canadian Financial Institutions

On July 7th, 2022, I visited a bank in Kitchener to remit funds to my parents in Nepal, accompanied by my six-year-old child. As I waited my turn, I observed a middle-aged white teller interacting with clients. I noted that this individual demonstrated a friendly and respectful behavior with their previous clients, most of whom were white, engaging in frequent conversation and smiles. But the cashier's smiling face transformed into a grimace as I stood right in front of them. I did not bother when I noticed the interaction because such scenes are normal and everyday occurrences in white Canadian society. I was in a rush to get my things done and had no intention to talk any further with the cashier. As usual, they greeted me with 'Hello! 'and I greeted them back with my 'Hello!' Prior to my turn, I saw that the cashier was humorous, funny, and smiling, particularly with white clients. I didn't pay much attention to how they were behaving. When I told them why I was there, they asked me a few required questions to verify my account. I noticed the cashier's face was full of micro-aggressions and they were

asking me questions. But I did not mind their racist attitude because I had been used to those behaviours of the white people.

Even though most questions the teller asked me were truly relevant to the banking procedure for processing remittance, the last two questions were very bizarre because they are racially motivated. The teller asked me "Where are you from?" While the person asked the question, I could read fury in their face. The level of rudeness they were demonstrating in their tone and aggression I could see in their face was indicating to me that I was dealing with another racist individual that day. Instead of asking me where I was from, they could have indirectly asked "Where would you like to send the money, to whom and why? These questions would also serve the teller's purpose if they really wanted to know my background, wouldn't they? Or else they could have put their aggression off and talked to me in ways they behaved with white clients.

The question, "where are you from?' would have given a completely a different meaning and perspective had a Non-white individual asked me because persons of colour belong to the same continuum in racial power dynamics in Canadian contexts. Being asked by a person of colour would indicate bonding and amiability between racially marginalized people where whiteness has socially been constructed as the measure of all things. Nonetheless, the same question asked by an unfamiliar or a least familiar white individual could carry a racist undertone because, to them, whiteness is the only race that represents Canadian nationality.

The last question I was asked was so bizarre that I could not even figure out why they had to ask in the first place. No sooner had I answered their previous question, they quickly added, "Why are you here in Canada?" which, in fact, was not necessary to ask based on the nature of my purpose of the visit. I had never been asked the final question they had asked. I never

expected that such questions would be asked in the bank. Momentarily I was just agape to hear the question in the first place. “Why do you want to send the money and to whom?” would be good enough to know about the transaction. Worse yet was when a white female individual sitting on chair at a far corner in that hall answered, “…*because of free health care…welfare money…blah, blah*” even before I tried. When that white female individual replied in an instant the teller who was helping me just smiled upon hearing the answer they were looking for. The teller nodded and I was speechless momentarily.

After a moment, I filtered through my brain, collected courage and replied to the teller and the lady at the corner, “This is how racism looks like. You both are racist.” I did not want to push the conversation more because my little child was with me when all that was happening. When the branch manager (also white) overheard what was happening, they came up to me and tried to defend their employee instead of taking care of the employee. I told them that the teller and the client at the corner made racist remarks about me. The manager defensively remarked that the teller had no racist intent asking me the question, ‘why did I come to Canada? A racist never says that they are racist. They apologized only after I asked them to check the video recording or else, I would call the police. My little one was witnessing all that was happening.

A little later, I called the police to file a complaint. The officer who received the call was probably another white person. They refused to register the complaint saying that the incident does not qualify registering because it does not involve any threat to me. I have read news online multiple times about local police asking public for help to investigate about a random person stopping by a stranger and talking. Why is it that the incident I had to encounter at the bank didn’t qualify whereas others did? The answer however is not difficult: A racist supports another racist, but no other way round. The police officer ensured me that they would follow up with the

case and get back as soon as possible. But I haven't heard anything from the police since then regarding the follow-up. One of the reasons why the incident was taken so dismissively was because of the normalization of racism in Canadian society.

Putting lived experiences of racism into North American context and examining them from critical race theoretical perspective helped me generalize that white people in North America use racism as a weapon to maintain the status quo. Because racism is a construct designed historically by white people to maintain their privilege and status, how and when racism is deployed rests on the "psychology of whites' thinking" (Bell, *Faces at the Bottom* . . .177). Based on my lived experiences and the experiences of others which I have heard and read, the psychology of racism operates on institutional and personal levels. On an institutional level, whiteness is historically entrenched as a system and therefore it is invisible. Institutional racism continues to exist unless it is challenged and transformed institutionally though mutual and cooperative efforts of its beneficiaries and victims of racism. My lived experiences of racism in the bank or in the university campus are all manifested forms of white mentality. Resistance to forms of racism on personal levels is also difficult given that such personal manifestations of racism are protected by institutions such as bank, university, policing, businesses, policing, businesses, justice system, governmentality, and so on.

2.8 The Importance and Implications of My Personal Stories

The stories I have presented above in the chapter range from the moment I checked in at a port of entry (this is where people entering Canada must report) for the first time to my early days, to workplace, to residence, to inside and outside university classrooms, and to almost every place. Not all stories of racism get written, shared, or spoken out loud. Most stories of racism just go unheard of. It does not mean that those who do not write or share or speak about their own

stories of racism or hide have not been the victims of racism. What it means however is that racism has forced them to keep their mouth and brain shut up. Sharing and writing our individual and collective stories are liberating act on the other hand.

Let us suppose for a moment that any stories of racism need to be quantified based on the assumption in a way that each racialized individual has at least one story of racism to tell. Then the number of stories of racism from Canada would be in millions. According to this assumption each person of colour has innumerable stories in real life. Based on the 2021 census, "three racialized groups alone accounted for more than 16.1% of Canada's total population. These groups are South Asians (2.6 million; 7.1 percent), Chinese (1.7 million; 4.7 percent) and Black people (1.5 million; 4.3 percent)" (Statistics Canada). A simple calculation of 1:1ratio of story and racialized individual gives 5.8 million stories of three racialized groups alone. Considering the figure, my stories are a part of the 5.8 million stories of racism, so to speak. Ideally, there could be far-reaching consequences if countless stories join to resist discriminations and mainstream white discourse community subsequently participate in decolonizing their own minds, then Canada will be a country free of racial discrimination and be a country where diversity but not multiculturalism will underpin what it means to be Canada as a country.

Let's bear in mind Derrick Bell's short story, *The Space Traders* in which Bell utilizes imaginative science fiction and allegory as a method of counterstorytelling to counter American majoritarian(white) people's solution to racial problem in America—that "the blacks are sent away" (Bell, 165) from America back to Africa (extraterrestrial land in the fiction). In line with Bell's method, then, if millions of stories of lived experiences of racism together with stories from white allies emerge by forming composite stories, then antiracist fight can get a new momentum toward countering stock stories of the 'whites. That said, my attempt here is to

encourage other people like to come up and join to decenter institutional and epistemic racism we have become victim of.

2.9 Critical Race Theoretical Implications of My Stories of Racism

From critical race theoretical perspective, the stories I shared above suggest multiple areas and aspect of racism. One of the basic tenets of CRT is to foreground the idea that racism is not aberration or coincidence but a permanent and underlying character of the 'western' world (Bell 1992; Delgado and Stefancic, 2000; Crenshaw, 1989; Martinez, 2015, 2022) in general and North America in particular. Though CRT is all-encompassing when it comes to examining and combatting racism and all other forms of discriminations caused by politics of whiteness as a legacy of European colonialism. According to CRT, racism is not only normal, but it is also omnipresent. In her 2022 article, Aja Martinez presents eight tenets CRT scholars have provided in their works: "1. Permanence of Race and Racism 2. Challenge to Dominant Ideologies 3. Interest Convergence 4. Race as Social Construct 5. Intersectionality and Anti-essentialism 6. Interdisciplinarity 7. Centrality of Experiential Knowledge and/or Unique Voices of Color 8. Commitment to Social Justice" (Martinez, "Why Critical Race Theory . . .?," 26).

My stories exemplify many of the CRT characteristics. According to CRT scholars, storytelling is one of the most powerful ways of combatting racism. If stories and their interpretations are textual practices of representation in colonial discourse (Boehmer,16), (counter)storytelling/writing is a decolonial critical race theoretical practice which "challenges mainstream (*my addition: settler colonial/Eurocentric*) society's denial of the ongoing significance of race and racism" (Yosso, 66). From critical race theoretical perspective, my stories are meant for challenging the "majoritarian" (Yosso and Solórzano, 27) viewpoints—such

as the ones held my *Professor A* and *Professor B* that my English and writing are deficient simply because I speak a different kind of English.

The stories listed in the first phase as an immigrant person of colour are stories of racism at nascent stage where people of colour still have a hazy impression about whether they have been victims of racism. To that point, I had a confused state of mind during my initial days in Canada as an immigrant even though I knew that I could distinguish between discriminatory and non-discriminatory treatments. My initial experiences—whether at a Canadian airport when an officer asked me embarrassing questions about my name or streetcar experience in Calgary where the old white man commented on my origin and language or coffee shops experiences of having to be treated differentially—point to but one singular fact that racial discrimination is normal or is underlying state ideology which 'white' people follow as a norm for their own benefit. Racism in Canada is so normal that the white people practicing racism either know that it is white people's right to do so, or they may not be aware that they are performing racism.

As pointed out by CRT scholars, storytelling is one of many CRT methods/methodologies to challenge racism, white supremacy, and majoritarian stories of the 'white.' My choice of storytelling as a method has offered me "flexibility with which to discuss key concerns" with racism (Martinez, "Core-Coursing Counterstory . . .," 404). With story as a technique, I clearly felt that I could move the way I wanted while also maintaining focus and honesty about what I experienced and how I experienced. While other methods would work within a single framework, stories have provided me multiple dimensions to examine the omnipresence of racism in Canada. I could swing back and forth between my place of origin to Canada and back again, bring in language, race, gender, pedagogy, history, and all sorts of discourses within the multifaced framework of storytelling. At moments of writing those stories for their permanence,

I could feel that I was in the act of resistance with the help of the force stories provided me. Kimberle Crenshaw argues that "single-axis framework" of analysis (such as race being treated different from gender or vice-versa) is "limiting inquiry to the experiences of otherwise-privileged members of the group" (Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection . . . ," 140). According to Crenshaw, taking recourse to the single-axis framework unlike storytelling would only benefit "the most privileged group members" while further marginalizing "those who are multiply burdened" (140). Because single axis theoretical framework is inadequate but harmful, Crenshaw and other CRT scholars offer intersectional approach as the alter(ultra)native method to fight intersecting experiences of discriminations rather than the idea that each experience of discriminations needs to be examined and addressed in isolation.

While Crenshaw and other CRT scholars call the approach theory of intersectionality to address intersecting experiences of oppression, I offer to name the theory, the *theory of transversal*. In mathematical terms 'intersection' means meeting of two lines, but the term *transversal* means intersection of multiple lines even at distant points. To me, the term 'transversal' better captures what Crenshaw proposed in her 1989 article "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics" where she defines the term 'intersection' as "interaction of race and gender" (140) including but not limited to in-home cultural taboos and patriarchy. My use of the term 'transversal' then is to complement the meaning of intersection defined by CRT scholars. Using transversal-intersectional approach in my stories I could narrate my multidimensional experiences which included transversal experiences that consist of language, race, immigration (each immigrant from different country of origin has different experience of racism in the 'west'), diaspora, economy, and distant points of intersections that I carry with me

from my own country of origin. Because experiences of oppression are expansive and therefore transversally intersectional, there are now many branches of CRT such as LatCrit, AsiaCrit and so forth to address the expansive forms of oppression. I would say there could be SACrit(South AsiaCrit) CRT which could specifically try to address issues of people of colour coming from South Asia in North America, so to speak.

From critical race theoretical point of view, my stories tend to forge antiracist rhetoric in academics through storytelling as a method. I have narrated experience of having to undergo through the trauma of being in a class of multiple white professors including *Professor A* and *Professor B* who have directly or indirectly performed their racist attitude. Some performed racism subtly and 'dysconsciously whereas *Professor A* and *Professor B* were very overtly racist who commented upon my language saying that the English I spoke is deficient. In my stories I have also presented direct and tangible evidence of how university as a white institution promotes and sustains racial stereotyping. By sharing my stories, I tried to present first-hand (therefore legitimate) experiences of racism to inform the colourblind white people that racism is rampant and normal in Canada, whether it is inside or outside universities. With these stories, I also have tried "to interrogate the effects of racial bias that actively impede success and retention in rhetoric and composition for marginalized students" (Martinez, "A Plea For Critical Race Theory Counterstory . . . ," 68). With these stories, I have tried to show that my experiences of racism are intersecting in different ways than the stories of other people who come from different racial, cultural, linguistic, and other backgrounds. The two chapters below will include accounts of linguistic discrimination and native speaker ideology related to English language from two geographical location: one from the place of my origin and the other one is from Canada.

Very closely intertwined with my stories of racism are issues of English language—particularly 'standard' English dominant ideological bias or the native speakerist bias which is historically rooted to European nationalistic and colonialist discourse globally. In the chapters to follow, I will discuss about native speaker ideological discourses pertaining to English language and its various dimensions. One of the important dimensions of native speaker ideological bias which many critical applied linguists agree with is racialization. Chapter 3 will elaborate on my examination of English native speaker discourse in Nepal followed by 'native speaker' discourse in Canada in chapter 4.

2.10 Conclusion

In this chapter I regarded story as an area and a method of resistance to oppression. I considered (counter)story as a decolonizing, decentering and antiracist method to challenge Eurocentrism, racism, linguistic imperialism, and other forms of discrimination against people of colour in Canada and Canadian campuses. To discuss decolonization, decentering and antiracism through (counter)story as field and method, the chapter began with general discussion on multidimensional and discursive nature of story. To that point, I examined stories' political connection with colonial and postcolonial discourse, critical race theory, Indigeneity, diaspora and immigration, and so forth. More specifically, this chapter focused on postcolonial and critical race theoretical dimension of (counter)story telling as a decentering/decolonial field and/or method to identify, expose, and disrupt colonial mentality, racism and linguistic imperialism in Canada as a settler colonial country and Canadian university education in particular

Although stories have been used both as a medium of transmission and receptacle of human knowledge since ancient times, they also have been (mis)used as tools by oppressive

forces such as colonizers for the purpose of representation, domination and subordination of the oppressed. But stories, too, have been used as weapons by the oppressed, marginalized and colonized people to counter the misrepresentation, domination and subordination done upon them to reclaim their lost/vulnerable identities. In other words, there has been an ongoing political and ideological battle between stories of those who oppress to remain in power and those who want to defy the oppression for liberation, identity, and justice. For example, the Europeans used stories as one of the most reliable textual weapons to dehumanize at first and then colonize the 'Non-west and Non-western people. The Europeans used stories as a vehicle to legitimize their inhuman colonial actions so that they could continue to maintain their control over the colonized. In their colonial mission, the colonizers (mis)appropriated and/or distorted local and indigenous stories and manufactured new stories or used their existing stock stories to create false knowledge about the colonized as the Other, uncivilized and exotic awaiting to be subjugated and civilized.

Whereas the colonized people also took to stories as a most reliable weapon to unsettle the imperial/colonial domination for reclaiming the colonized people's lost sovereignty, identity, and cultures. For example, in Turtle Island, Indigenous peoples have been using survivance stories to fight against the ongoing settler colonialism on the one hand and to survive, reclaim and perpetuate their Indigenous languages and cultures on the other. Critical race theoretical use of stories—particularly counterstories—is another example in which the racially oppressed people use various (counter)story measures to fight against whiteness and various forms racism. That said, the utilization of stories for the fight for liberation and reclamation of identities has always been counterpoised to the oppressive stories.

To demonstrate critical race theorical use of stories in this chapter, I have shared and used the stories of my lived experiences of racism as a decolonizing, critical race theoretical and applied linguistic method/weapon to exemplify the use of stories as a decentering, disrupting, and resisting practices against whiteness, white supremacy, racism and linguistic imperialism in Canada and Canadian university campuses. The shared counterstories represent most (but not all) of my experiences of racism right from the day I arrived in Canada as a landed immigrant up until the moment of writing these sentences, meaning that my stories of racism shared in this chapter firmly echo to what Derrick Bell said long time ago that racism is permanent and normal in the 'west.'

To discuss about the permanence of racism in Canada, I allocated my stories roughly into three stages. The first stage would cover my initial days in Canada when I was navigating survival strategies. In my initial/formative stage I learnt that it was normal to be treated as a deskilled person even though I possessed higher qualifications and years of experience brought from my country of origin. But, despite my awareness that I was being racially discriminated in almost every place I visited and worked—the enormity and normalization of racism in Canada would often put me within a weird delirium. Often, I would feel that I was a victim of racial discrimination, but the pervasiveness of the racial discrimination would sometimes blur my sensory receptors resulting in the failure of my discernment of racism and would, in worse moments, lead me to the self-incriminatory feeling that it was not them but me and my judgement that were wrong. This hallucinatory effect of racism is becoming ongoing reality even today because the pervasiveness or racism is also ongoing. My stories of racism in the second phase, unlike the first phase, demonstrates my critical awareness about various aspects of racism which underlie Canada as a country in general and Canadian university education in particular.

In particular, the stories in the second phase tell my experiences of racism during my student life as a MA and PhD student at the Anglophone university in Canada. It is in this section I have narrated my stories related to the two white professors—Professor A and Professor B—who treated students of colour like me differentially based on our racial, cultural, and linguistic background. The stories included and discussed in the third or later phase are about my experiences of racism during, and post-Covid-19 period. In this section, I have narrated few stories of racism I experienced at my former residence building where the white landlord and law enforcement officers treated me/us unfairly and differentially based on our racial and cultural background. The third phase also consists of stories of racism related to my experiences at a reputed bank in Kitchener.

Thus, in this chapter I have analyzed my stories of racism from critical race theoretical perspective and have argued that my stories tend to forge antiracist rhetoric in academics through storytelling as a method. I have narrated experience of having to undergo through the trauma of being in a class of multiple white professors including *Professor A* and *Professor B* who have directly or indirectly performed their racist attitude. Some performed racism subtly and 'dysconsciously whereas Professor A and Professor B were very overtly racist who commented upon my language saying that the English I spoke is deficient. In my stories I have also presented direct and tangible evidence of how university as a white institution promotes and sustains racial stereotyping. By sharing my stories, I tried to present first-hand (therefore legitimate) experiences of racism to inform the colourblind white people that racism is rampant and normal in Canada, whether it is inside or outside universities. With these stories, I have tried "to interrogate the effects of racial bias that actively impede success and retention in rhetoric and composition for marginalized students" (Martinez, 68). With these stories, I have demonstrated

that my experiences of racism are intersecting in different ways than the stories of other people who come from different racial, cultural, linguistic, and other backgrounds.

While I deployed (counter)story telling as a decentering area and device in this chapter to expose, interrogate and oppose forms of white oppressions such as racism in Canada and Canadian university education, I will begin with linguistic decentering and linguistic decolonizing in the following chapter —chapter three—by focusing on the context of Nepal. In chapter three, I will offer general theoretical discussions on some of the major ideas concerning Native Speakerism (NS), Native Speaker(NS), Non-native Speaker(NNS), dominant language ideology, Standard vs Non-standard languages, so on and so forth. Using CRT informed applied linguistic perspective I will examine various issues of English native speaker ideology in Nepal with the help of my own lived experiences which I will share and critically analyze later in the chapter. The purpose of foregrounding various issues of native speaker ideology and English native speakerism (ENS) in Nepal has at least two purposes: The first and the major purpose is to set the stage for linguistic decentering/decolonizing in chapter four where I will examine English native speakerism in Canada as a colonial, Eurocentric, white supremacist and racially discriminatory perspective. The second purpose is to argue that (English) native speakerism has been universalized as a 'western' imperial/colonial, white supremacist, and racist ideological construct to maintain control over Non-western countries.

Chapter 3

Language

3.1 English Native Speaker Ideological Practices: An Overview

In the previous chapter, I discussed about story as a discursive genre of resistance and used my personal stories of racism as a method to examine, unravel, and resist various forms of racism which persons of colour experience in Canadian society in general and Canadian universities in particular. In this chapter, I will particularly discuss about language as a discursive genre and use it as a decentering method to examine, unravel, and resist linguistic imperial and racist practices which exist in Canadian society at large and Canadian university campuses and classrooms. Particularly in this chapter, I will discuss native speaker ideology, its various dimensions, my own experiences of having to live through the ideology, and finally my analysis.

There exists a rich body of scholarship in the field of applied linguistics pertaining to native speaker ideology in general and English native speaker ideology in particular. Therefore, I will limit myself to some of the fundamental concepts surrounding the ideology. At first, I will introduce the concept of native speakerism and then discuss its intricate connection with colonialism, white supremacy, dominant language ideology, language standardization and racism. Moreover, with the help of my understanding on native speakerism as a racist ideological construct, I will examine my own lived experiences of English native speaker ideology's presence back in Nepal as I was growing up and pursuing my career as an English teacher, and here in Canada as an immigrant student of colour to whom English is an additional language.

3.2 Native Speaker (NS), Non-native Speaker (NNS), and Native Speaker Ideology (NSI): A Conceptual Framework

Native speaker ideology (NSI) is a monolingual and racist concept which believes that linguistic competence related to a language—particularly a native/national language of a nation state—is innate and relates to specific ideals such as race, citizenship, and nation-state. According to the belief, a native speaker is born into a particular language of a nation-state and is perceived as an ideal speaker of that language with "a complete and possibly innate competence in the language" (Pennycook, 175).

Native speaker ideology (NSI) is a belief which prescribes and describes a specific set of 'western' ideals attributable to a native speaker of a given language, and based on those ideals, the ideology isolates others who are not native speakers of that language. Some of the basic 'western' ideals associated with native speaker include "perceived superiority of their linguistic competence. . . in the areas of accuracy, fluency, range of vocabulary, and knowledge of cultural nuances of the language" (Kubota, "Rethinking the superiority of the native speaker . . . ," 234), whiteness, and a 'western' nation-state.

Originally, the idea of native speaker (NS) started with European nationalist and colonial/imperial discourse. As such, the idea of native speaker was invented to connect a certain group of people to a specific nation state and recognize them through a common language spoken and used in that specific nation state. The native speakerist ideals were constructed to conceptualize and identify only certain group of people as belonging to a given nation-state and isolate others as non-native. For example, an English native speaker is a white individual born into an any of the inner circle English speaking countries such as British, Canada, USA, Australia, and New Zealand. Whereas a person of colour born into those countries cannot be a

considered as an English native speaker because "[b]oth race and nativeness are elements of "the idealized native speaker" (Pennycook, xiii).

Native speaker "concepts tend to imply that a language is inherited (genetically or by inclusion into a homogeneous social group), that there is a close correspondence between holding citizenship of a country and being the native speaker of one mother tongue, that the inheriting of this language automatically confers a high level of proficiency in all domains of the language, and that there is a rigid and clear distinction between being a native speaker and not being so" (176). Pennycook suggests that native speaker ideology (NSI) is associated with a nationalist ideology which directly connects a given language with discourses surrounding national identity, racial/ethnic supremacy, linguistic dominance, and standardization. Based on the native speaker ideology, a non-native speaker is somebody who does not belong to the racial group of native speakers and thus is not perceived as having innate linguistic competence of the language of the native speaker. In other words, a non-native speaker is perceived as an inferior and deficient speaker of the given language.

Native speaker ideology is a fallacious and a fuzzy ideological concept which promotes the idea of linguistic homogeneity on the one hand—such that a given language has a specific speech community composed of homogenous group of people native to that particular language and they share common racial, ethnic, national, and communal origin—whereas the idea of linguistic homogeneity is predicated on the structuralist principle of binary relation between native speaker (NS) and non-native speaker (NNS).

Native speaker ideology has a far-reaching consequence for native speakers and Non-native speakers alike in various fields. According to the ideology, being a native speaker of a given language *A* means that the person is entitled to any available linguistic, cultural, and

economic opportunities within that speech community of language *A* because the person is native to that language. In contrast, being a NNS of the language *A* is considered as the 'Other" or outsider of the speech community of the language. Discursively though, the idea of native speaker ideology turns out to be complicated and fuzzier because a person who is considered NNS of a given language can be a NS of another language to which they are also entitled to all available linguistic, cultural, and economic benefits. A native speaker of one language can be a non-native speaker of another language.

The idea of native speakerness has been challenged in "the ever naturally evolving, 'multilingual' situation" (Baker, 144) or plurilingual linguistic situations where a person speaks more than one language followed by modern translingual contexts where a person constantly traverses across languages and subsequently unsettles the very idea of the ideology and upholds it as a myth. Furthermore, the native speakerist ideology has been widely confronted by critical applied linguists who argue that native speaker ideology, particularly English native speaker ideology, is inherently racist and dominant language ideology globally because it has been historically used to strengthen and justify British imperialism/colonialism.

3.3 English Native Speakerism as a Colonial and Racist Ideology

Often used in applied linguistics to demonstrate linguistic imperialism (language-based domination and subordination) of the 'west' over the 'Non-west,' native speaker (NS) and non-native speaker (NNS) are politically constructed concepts to represent unequal power-relations. The concept of English native speaker as an idealized speaker of English—who is perceived as the only standard, correct and perfect English simply because the person is white and is born to one of the 'inner circle 'English speaking countries—and others who do not fall under the criteria are linguistically inferior, incorrect, incompetent, and therefore they are not on par with

the so called native speakers of English is linguistically inconsistent, racially discriminatory and ideologically colonialist concept. Therefore, the native speaker ideology is as much nationalist as it is colonialist and racist in orientation and effects.

Since the binary concept of native and non-native speaker concept comes from standard language ideology according to which "certain norms of linguistic forms (e.g., Standard English) and cultural knowledge (e.g., white middle-class culture) are legitimate and others are not" (Kubota, "Rethinking the superiority . . .," 234). Those who do not fall within the norms specified by the standard language ideology are known as non-native speakers of that language.

Colonialist assumptions underlying these binary il(logic) are predicated on linguistic and cultural deficit model which has to do with a range of (non)linguistic areas—perceived linguistic proficiency vs deficiency, eloquence vs. incompetence, racial and cultural belongingness, geography (e.g., 'west' vs. 'Non-west'), 'white' vs. 'Non-white,' and so forth. Based on this racist and colonial concept, English native speakers are automatically entitled to all the cultural, economic, and linguistic benefits which non-white people who also speak English. Thus, being a native speaker of English is not just a matter of being able to sell their English globally and be affluent simply because they are white and born into their English speech community, more importantly, the concept allows them to have cultural, economic, and political power over non-native speakers of English who are non-white.

The native and non-native English speaker binary must be understood within the context of European colonialism. The dichotomization between these terms resonates 'western' colonial construction of Manichaean dichotomy to (mis)represent the 'west' as civilized and superior at the cost of inferiorizing the 'Non-west as the 'Other,' exotic, uncivilized, and so forth. In light with this construction, being a native speaker of any language, 'western' European languages in

particular, places them on privileged position that allows all the benefits that a language can offer if the language belongs to the people who are in power versus who are deprived of being privileged. In other words, the power relation between native and non-native speakers of a language exhibits status—class, power, capital and so forth—rather than just communicative purposes. Secondly, native-speaker concept of a language is exclusionary because it only imagines the existence of a homogenous speech community with specific racial and cultural, and historical background.

3.4 Chomsky's Structural Linguistics and Native Speaker Ideology

In structural linguistics, native speaker and non-native speaker are perceived as important concepts for structural/grammatical formulation of a given language. Any linguistic principle for Chomsky "is concerned with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogenous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance"(Chomsky, *Aspects of the Theory* . . . 3). To Chomsky, only native speakers and hearers of a homogenous speech community possess linguistic competence of a given language to produce grammatically perfect utterances and understand them unhindered. Chomsky's argument that ideal native speakers and hearers are a necessary precondition for having linguistic principles with which a given language function is a native speakerist ideology. From Chomsky's monolingual standpoint, only a native speaker is the only legitimate and authentic person to possess linguistic competence of the given language under investigation and non-native speakers are deprived of the competence.

From critical applied linguistic point of view, Chomsky's proposition is problematic because Chomsky's language acquisition and operational(hearer-speaker) model is based on dominant language ideological bias. To follow Chomsky's linguistic principle is to assume that non-native speakers of any language can never possess linguistic competence or underlying structure to produce perfect utterances. In a way, Chomsky's model is informed by standard language ideology and language deficit model which denies multilingual, plurilingual, and translingual competencies of diverse language users who shuttle between languages and use languages more productively and creatively than a monolingual speaker.

3.5 English Native Speaker Ideology in Nepal: A Historical Background

English Native speakerism in Nepali context is (in)directly connected with the beginning of English Education. Historians and philologists suggest that English Education started in Nepal with Christian missionaries' arrival in the seventeenth and eighteenth century (Giri, 2014 & Kalapura 2008). According to Giri's investigation, the arrival of the first English missionary in 1661 in Kathmandu valley marked the beginning of English language education, and the Sugauli Sandhi (Popularly known as Sugauli treaty between British and Nepal) of 1815 greatly spurred the promotion of English language and English language education possibility in Nepal. Jose Kalapura presents quite a similar historical trend for the commencement and promotion of the root of European education to colonially oriented European missionary presence in ancient Nepal in 1769.

> Christian presence in Nepal began with the arrival of the Franciscan missionaries (Order of the Capuchins) of the Province of Picenum, Italy. The Mission originally named the 'Tibet Mission' was sanctioned by the Propaganda Fide in 1703, and was undertaken by a six-member team in 1704. The team set sail from Leghorn in Italy, reached Iskendrum in Turkey, trekked through the Middle East, sailed through the Persian Gulf, called at Pondichery and landed at Chandernagore in Bengal. Then they sailed to Patna by the Ganges, took the land route through the Bettiah kingdom (north Bihar), and reached Kathmandu, capital. . .. It may be noted that the founding of the Christian Mission in Nepal was bounded up with the Capuchin Mission in Tibet. (Kalapura, 881)

Unlike Giri, Kalapura situates beginning of the European mission in Nepal and the whole of South Asian countries including Tibet into a larger colonial/imperial framework. The Capuchin Mission of Italy (1715-1769) across the South Asian region was a part of the larger European colonial project to spread Christianity, Western culture, and education—much like European colonization in Africa, Americas, Asia, and Australia. In other words, Giri's research on English education and Kalapura's study of early European missions suggest that the history of European education and languages in Nepal seems to be consistent with the history of European arrival in India.

There have been lasting effects of European imperialism/colonialist ventures in South Asia in many areas including culture, education, language, political system, and so on. Pinpointing the early Euro/Anglo-Nepali contact is difficult, but the official contact was established between British and Nepal when British East Indian Company established its British Residency (like modern day embassy) in Kathmandu in 1801 and Anglo-Nepal war which lasted for two years from 1814 until 1816 until a treaty (aka Sugauli Treaty) between Nepal and British India was signed in 1816. As a result, Nepal had to cede vast amount of land to British India. Thus, even though there was no direct British colonial rule in Nepal, British left lasting influence on different aspects of life in Nepal—economic, cultural, religious, political, linguistic, and so on since the war.

It was after the Anglo-Nepali war English language education formally began when Jung Bahadur Rana, the first Rana prime minister (also known as the self-proclaimed *Maharaja* or a virtual king) established the first elementary school (Durbar High School) in Nepal in 1854. The establishment of the school was linked with British colonial impact because the rulers felt a desperate need to introduce English language and English language education knowing that they

had to maintain good diplomatic relationship with British rulers in India. The primary aim behind opening the school was to teach English language and offer English. Hence, English native speaker ideology entered English language education in particular and education system as a whole.

Thus, the official provenance of the English native speakerism in Nepal including other South Asian countries is (in)linked with British colonization and its ongoing legacy in different forms and representations. Namely, native speaker ideology is deeply imbedded reality in teaching and learning of English language in Nepal. The idea of native speaker is deeply internalized in Nepal in that whiteness and Europeanness are considered as primary characteristics of English language competency and standard. Today, English native speakerness is supported indirectly through British Council, American culture centre and other non-governmental organization and the concept imbedded with the ideology has been normalized.

3.5.1 English Native Speaker Ideology as a Colonial Practice in Nepal

From applied linguistic viewpoint, English native speakerism, as an ideological construct in Nepal, is concerned with grammatical and accentual correctness. Based on this notion, existing grammar translation method of ELT in schools and campuses of Nepal can be taken to the influence of native speakerist ideology. In my own case, I took English language exams having more than forty percent (sometimes more than 55 percent) grammar related questions such as British phonetics, finding out syllables in words, word stress, intonation, converting speech patterns in sentences, voicing, question tags and so forth during my high school and college level education.

Though the purpose of teaching English in Nepal can be "... seen as an effort to enable them [learners] to exchange their ideas and views with those who use English and at the same

time to acquire knowledge, ideas, skills and techniques imparted formally and informally through English . . ." among majority of educated public there is still a belief that speaking English language is associated with the ideology of "superiority" (Malla, 12). To put it another way, proficiency in British or American English is considered as a cultural capital in Nepali society which grants a superior social status. For instance, a person's English proficiency is equivalent to superior 'western' intellectual property and having greater socio-economic exchange value compared to speakers of other languages in Nepal.

3.5.2 English Native Speakerism: A Western Project in Nepal's Educational Planning

Western ideologies "have historically shaped dominant language policies and practices . . .," which are ". . .further reproduced in minoritized language policies and practices" in Nepal (Phyak, 114). One such direct impact is on the construction of Nepali language (NL) as the one and only language of instruction in schools in 1953. This was done under direct recommendation of NNEPC (Nepal National Education Planning Commission), popularly known as Wood Commission. The commission was led by USOM's (United States Operation Mission) representative Dr. Hugh D. Wood who was entrusted with the full responsibility of directly supervising and recommending language policy to the then government of Nepal. Dr. Wood, the architect of the commission recommended Nepali Language (NL) to be the one and only national language as the medium of instruction in schools: "if the younger generation is taught to use Nepali as the basic language, then and greater national strength and unity will result" (NNEPC, 97). He gave a controversial statement about American language policy: " . . . two hundred years before, the very problem had started then in the face in the United States of America, which at that time had a multiplicity of spoken languages: but that after the War of Independence, English

was given due prominence as the medium of instruction and that today there is no problem of language" (Wood qtd. in Awasthi, 23). Wood's statement that "there is no problem of language" is problematic because in the US "language is being used as a proxy to discriminate on the basis of race, citizenship status, and ethnicity" (Horner et al. 309) and English monolingual policy in the US has been institutionally challenged as Students' Rights to Their Own Language (SRTOL) passed by CCCC(Conference on College Composition and Communication) in 1974.

From postcolonial perspective, the objective of Wood Commission was imposition and/or transference of colonial or "non-Nepali ideology of a monolingual nation-state, "the way Macaulay envisioned about British English language's role in India (Awasthi 23). Many Nepali education scholars including Lava Deo Awasthi relate Wood Commission's recommendations to Macaulay's Minutes of 1835 in English India. The basic spirit of Macaulay's Minutes was to establish English language as the official language in India by replacing Hindi and other Indigenous languages in order to create " . . .a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect . . ."(Macaulay qtd. in Awasthi 24). Awasthi finds striking similarities between Macaulay's Minutes and Wood Commission when he puts: "both the Macaulay Minutes and Wood Commission had the same mission. They followed the same course of assimilation, destruction, perpetuation, possession, and restriction to establish a monolingual nation-state.

Both Minutes and Wood commission reports are the reflections of the underlying agenda borrowed from the West. Macaulay tried to achieve the purpose of Anglicizing India by employing the "downward filtration model,' whereas the NNEPC attempted to expand and Nepali through a 'direct prohibition method' under the pretext of national unity . . ." (27). This means, Nepal entered a new form of surrogate linguistic colonialism. Meaning that British

linguistic imperialism was imposed upon Nepali rulers to (in)directly colonize the marginalized languages and cultures as a result of Wood Commission's direct presence in monolingual language policy making. The Wood Commission contributed to suppressing promotion and strength of the multilingual/plurilingual situation in Nepal. The Wood commission's impact on language policy has been so strong that its recommendations have still been adhered to by Nepalese governments in one way or the other even though Nepal has recently entered the federal system. The imposition of Western native speakerist ideology by the Wood commission in Nepal is direct or conscious native speakerism because the intention of imposing Western ideology is direct.

3.5.3 Issues of Dysconscious Native Speakerism in Nepal

English language teaching in today's context in Nepal has been principled and practiced on a different native speakerist ideology, which relates to "dysconscious" native speakerism. I borrow and appropriate "dysconscious" from Joyce E. King's terms "Dysconscious Racism" used in Condon and Young's book *Performing Antiracist Pedagogy in Rhetoric Writing, and Composition*. Joyce E. King relates "dysconscious" to racism and defines dysconscious racism as "a form of racism that tacitly accepts dominant White norms and privileges. It is not the absence of consciousness (that is not unconsciousness) but an impaired consciousness or distorted way about thinking about race" (4). Dysconscious native speakerism is impaired or a tacit form of native language ideology in English language teaching practices in Nepal is imposed by organizations such as the British Council. In consequence, like all other forms of oppressive ideologies, the dysconscious native speakerism is internalized and carried forward by Nepali English teachers, Nepali educational organizations such as NELTA (Nepali English Teachers'

Association), and so forth, to the extent that the ideology eventually becomes permanent and localized linguistic character.

Tacit or impaired form of native speakerism is deceptive because it remains invisible at the surface level. For example, British Council's English teacher training programs look as much encouraging and contributory on the surface as they are damaging and ideologically biased because they tacitly promote English (British) only language as the medium of instruction in public schools across the country. Though British Council claims that it is the United Kingdom's organization to build "connections, understanding and trust between people in the UK and other countries through arts and culture, education and the English language,"(British Council Nepal, "Who we are? . . ., para.1) its apparent objective, however, is to impose and spread linguistic imperialism of English in the world.

Alison Barrett MBE, the director of Education & Society, East Asia at British Council, makes explicit the objective of British Council in her "Foreword" to *English Language Teaching in Nepal: Research, Reflection and Practice*: "The British Council's mission is to promote knowledge and understanding between the UK and countries around the world. Language is an invaluable tool for helping people build trust and understanding with others, and so the development of English has been fundamental to our mission since our creation in 1934" (VII). Regarding the policy of making English as the only language of instruction for classroom purposes, Berrett further reassures, "In a context complicated by linguistic diversity such as in Nepal, however, the choice of language of instruction is never simple, and English is often considered the best option" (VII). This assumption justifies British Council's underlying intention to interfere into language policy formulation(s) Nepal.

Though any explicit reference of native speakerist ideology looks untenable when it comes to English language speakers in Nepal, there are relatively a smaller number of people speaking English as their first or native language. To evaluate British Council's role in language teaching from dysconcious native speakerist perspective means that British Council 'dysconsciously' imposes Anglo-centric native speakerism by another strategy of funding and providing various academic and logistic supports to NELTA to organize teachers' training programs and international conferences, organizing English language teaching programs with which to 'dysconsciously' compel teachers and students to hold English only monolingual belief in multilingual and/or plurilingual classroom contexts. This is "dysconscious" native speakerist ideology of establishing and/or internalizing one form of English as superior and considering existing variations of English based on those multi-languages as deficient and inferior. On the whole British Council's role in English language teaching and learning is more a matter of impeding translingual fluidity and movement "in a pedagogic context to make meaning, transmit information, and perform identities using the linguistic signs" at their disposal" (Creese and Blackledge, 109).

Native speaker ideology imposed by British Council through systematic/programmatic English language related activities creates an invisible milieu for English only (mostly British English) language of instruction that tacitly compels speakers of other languages to imbibe English language as a medium of instruction, and in the long run, poses a threat to unique multilingual/plurilingual Nepali multi-ethnic identities.

An instance of dysconscious native speakerism can be found in Prem Bahadur Phyak's PhD dissertation where he presents auto-ethnographic research on Nepali and English language's influence on language education in schools and local communities and relate these languages

having “cultural, economic, and symbolic capital in the Nepali dominant public sphere” (Bourdieu qtd. in Phyak 9). As a “dysconscious” teacher of English, Phyak puts:

> I was not critically aware of the sociopolitical, educational, and cognitive issues linked with my own language policing. All private schools in the town had introduced English-as-a- medium-of-instruction policy and had hired teachers from the neighboring country, India, as they were perceived to have better English proficiency than Nepali teachers . . . When a teacher at the school, I wrote some of the attractive brochures to promote our school and distributed them among the parents in the town. For three years, I was a neoliberal ideology broker for the benefit of the owner of the private school. My role as language ‘police’ not only contributed to but also erased their multilingual voices, identities, and cognitive investment in learning. (17)

Phyak’s own introspection as a tacit imbiber and participant in English only-as-a-medium-of-instruction (EMI) unveils how far ‘dysconscious’ native language ideology has been deeply rooted to language education in Nepali hinterlands. This case is a synecdoche of current language education in multilingual/plurilingual Nepal.

3.5.4 A Legacy of ‘western’ Linguistic Imperialism in Nepal

> Local dialects and tongues other than standard Nepali should be banished from the school and playground as early as possible in the life of a child.… The study of a non-Nepali local tongue would mitigate against the effective development of Nepali, for the student would make greater use of it than Nepali, at home and in the community, and thus Nepali would remain a ‘foreign’ language. If the younger generation is taught to use Nepali as the basic language, then other languages will gradually disappear, and greater national strength and unity will result. (National Educational Planning Commission Report, 1956, pp. 96–97)

The above excerpt is drawn from the first ever education report in Nepal. The report shows one language one nation policy while being indifferent toward the vulnerability of local and Indigenous languages to extinction. This report was drafted based on the USAID’s (United States Agency for International Development) representative Hugh B. Wood recommended that Nepal follow a one-language-one-nation policy.

Hugh Wood was commissioned as an advisor to the ministry of education in the early 1950s to offer the government a national plan of education with which to strengthen the

nationhood rather than promoting education for marginalized communities. The 1956 education planning commission's report demonstrates that Nepali state was oriented toward implanting British colonial style language policy according to which English is the language of imperial control. In other words, the monolingual policy was not only a part of educational policy, but also a state building strategy based on Nepali language (the national language of Nepal) that would work as a weapon to assimilate the non-Nepali, non-Khas-Aryan people. Even though there are discoursal differences in scholarship regarding Khas-Aryan as a collective linguistic and cultural identity, majority of people agree that present day Nepali language, which is used as the only official language, is the language spoken historically by people of Aryan and Khas ethnicities in Nepal.

Despite having constitutional provision of linguistic equality for the languages spoken in Nepal as languages of the nation, many language scholars agree that Nepali language (not languages of Nepal) enjoys the same privilege and power over Other languages, their dialects, and ethnolects. That means Nepali native speaker ideology (NNSI) is an ongoing reality. Like English native speaker ideology, NNSI has similar purpose of maintaining and sustaining hegemonic control over non-native speakers of Nepali language. The English language has imperial/colonial intent to establish and maintain its hegemony by influencing all other forms of Nepali peoples' (native speakers of Nepali language and native speakers of over hundred Indigenous languages) states of affairs—social, economic, multicultural, religious. Indigenous and Madhesi scholars call it an aspect of internal colonialism carried forward by the founders of the country over Indigenous and Madhesi (ethnically distinct peoples living in most of the southern plains of Nepal). By treating Nepali language as an element of hegemonic statist culture in Nepal for hundreds of years, Marohang Limbu, a scholar in South Asian Kirat (Yakthung)

rhetorics, often relates this statist linguistic ideology with "para-colonization" (561) which he calls "Khas Aryan (including Indian) cultural, linguistic, and religious colonization in Nepali and Indian contexts" (Marohang, 4).

From native speaker ideological standpoint, Nepali language's historical status as the only national and official language has jeopardized the so called unifying idiomatic expressions such as–"Nepal is common garden adorned by multiple languages, cultures, and religions" by leading to extinction of so many Indigenous languages (Phyak, 219). From the point of view of the damaging effect of dominant language ideology, native Nepali speaker ideology can be correlated with Native English speaker ideology. Both are othering mechanisms of marginalized peoples and their languages. As a discriminatory and prejudiced colonial ideology, the native speakerism not only fosters "linguistic inequalities of languages" (Phyak, 219), but by creating the inequalities, the ideology establishes monolingual hegemony overall by annihilating the historically existing Indigenous epistemologies which Boaventura Santos calls epistemicide (Santos qtd in Phyak, 219).

Phyak further underscores that Indigenous languages have been historically marginalized and ghettoized by rulers and people who promoted Nepali native speaker ideology in the name of monolingual Nepali nationalism until the 1990s (Phyak, 220). Secondly, English native speaker ideology has played a significant role as an internalized civilizing doctrine according to which being able to communicate fluently in English language became a matter of civilized personality as opposed to Nepali language in public. As already oppressed by the Nepali native speaker ideology, ethnic and Indigenous languages have become doubly victimized and terrorized by the linguistic imperialism of the English language in the name of its growing internationalization/globalization. The third is the expressed suspicion on the growing use of

Hindi as a lingua franca or second language between multilingual non-native speakers of Nepali language along southern border and beyond because of burgeoning social media use, enormous influence and popularity of Bollywood movies, songs, sitcoms in addition to religious, cultural, and linguistic similarities between the two countries. And of course, the rising economic and political status of India in the global political scene has played a definite role. Even though much has been discussed about the history of Nepali-only monolingual native speakerist ideology, excessive valorization and privileging of English in school and postsecondary education, and their harmful effects on ethnic and Indigenous languages in Nepal have been discussed by many Indigenously and ethnically conscious linguistic scholars such as Marohang Limbu, Uma Pradhan, Ram A. Giri, Prem Phyak, to name a few.

It is a bit pertinent here to lay out a very brief background information on Nepal-India relation which functions as a rhetorical context to help understand the historically perceived but least rigorously studied “threat of Hindi" (Pradhan, 50). Historically, Nepal and India share an open border without requiring their citizens to present a passport or any necessary identification to freely travel and work in either of the countries. Often used political rhetoric to represent India and Nepal relationship is *Roti-Beti relation* or *Roti-Beti ka rista* (in Hindi). Meaning, the relationship between the two countries is based on the age-old family, work, language, and marital relationship between people of the two countries.

Any research relating to linguistic investigation of Hindi language vis-à-vis languages spoken in Nepal—particularly the ethnic and Indigenous languages near India-Nepal border—might present researchers with an opportunity to see impacts of Hindi language. There are certain occasions when political leaders (non-Terai-Madhesi) have been very suspicious of the use of Hindi language on public forum and parliamentary proceedings or oath takings by

Madhesi leaders[7]. Growing use of Hindi as a second language in Nepal is discussed vis-à-vis Nepali national identity and direct influence of India. Available research including that of Uma Pradhan and others suggest that it is imperative to examine the intersectional effect of Hindi language on Nepali languages—at least to gauge the probability of impact. Language education researchers in Nepal seem to be mainly centering on the perceived as well as the politically discursive notion of the increasing use and demand of Hindi in Nepal as a threat.

Pradhan, in *Simultaneous Identities* (2020) examines the existing debate on Hindi in Nepali political spectrum with respect to the received fear that speaking and using Hindi as a second language or lingua franca in Nepal would indicate to the direct political interference of India (51). However, Pradhan neither examines nor points to the past and present linguistic research that explore the connection between Hindi language and historically under privileged Indigenous languages such as Newari, Limbu, Rai, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Tharu, Magar, Gurung and countless others that have remained historically minoritized. Even though Pradhan's essay does not discuss evident consequences of rapidly increasing use of Hindi as mother tongue(native) or second language upon other marginalized languages, I think taking intersectional approach to gauge the effect of increasing use of Hindi on Indigenous languages—along southern border in Nepal—can provide new linguistic insights related to the need for promotion of the Indigenous linguistic identity vis-à-vis linguistic dominance of the neighboring countries.

3.5.5 Intersectional Effects of Native Speakerist Ideology on Ethnic and Marginalized Languages

Nepal is a multilingual-multicultural country with 123 languages and 125 ethnic identities (Pradhan, 32). Despite tremendous linguistic and cultural diversity, Nepali native speaker or

[7] Madhesis are constitutionally recognized as diverse and distinct ethnic identities in the southern plain of Nepal.

Nepali monolingual ideology has been the reality, historically. The federal constitution of Nepal 2015 (the most recent constitution) states that only “Nepali language in the Devanagari script shall be the official language of Nepal" (*The Constitution of Nepal 2015*, 9). Even though the constitution seems to have granted some sort of linguistic tolerance at the state level saying that a “State may, by a State law, determine one or more than one languages of the nation spoken by a majority of people within the State as its official language(s), in addition to the Nepali language” (9).

The inherent rhetoric within the official language policy of the country is that the so-called mainstream language (Nepali) has been given a central space both at federal and provincial levels. On the contrary, non-obligatory phrases such as “a State may” and “in addition to the Nepali language” are used in the constitution to characterize local ethnic and Indigenous languages as subordinate or optional (9). The rhetorical implication of the use of such semiotics in the constitution is to perpetuate the statist tendency to marginalize the ethnic and Indigenous languages. Although the federal constitution, 2015 seems progressive because it, in the least, recognizes the existence of other languages as “the languages of the nation" (9), but the statist tendency to privilege only one mainstream language by marginalizing others is to uphold the linguicist/hegemonic ideology over/against ethnic and Indigenous speech communities. Moreover, the use of inevitability markers such as “shall be" instead of low possibility “may" for the Nepali language is indicative of the statist bias toward the ethnic and Indigenous languages that had historically and severely been neglected and subordinated by Nepali native speaker ideological bias held by people of *Khas-Aryan* origin with the view to promoting ‘one-nation-one language’ ethnocentricity (Marohang Limbu, 4). Such statist rhetoric emboldens nothing but the monolingual and Nepali native speaker ideology. Thus, Nepali language has been

constitutionally established as a dominant language, whereas other Indigenous and ethnic languages have been pushed further aside to the margins.

To better understand the intricacy of linguistic subordination of ethnic and Indigenous languages in Nepal, the theoretical idea of intersectionality in critical race theory (CRT) is immensely helpful. The term 'intersectional' is derived from critical race theoretical (CRT) concept of 'intersectionality' developed by Kimberle Crenshaw in 1989 "to respond to failures of 'anti-discrimination' laws in dealing with racial, gender, and economic discriminations faced by African American women in racialized hiring" (Crenshaw qtd. in Karki, 2021).

The theory of intersectionality was envisioned by Crenshaw and was subsequently used by others interested in CRT to examine racial discrimination which intersects with other forms of discrimination. However, the idea of intersectionality can also be appropriated to evaluate caste and language related discrimination that also have connection with other forms of discrimination in a given location/context such as Nepal where the discrimination is based less on race than on caste and ethnicities. Using the intersectional window of analysis, one can decipher how ethnic and Indigenous languages have been subjected to intersections of double-triple-forms of marginalization.

As opposed to the intersectional approach of investigation, single axis analytical framework such as linguistic investigation alone would only provide linguistic discrimination of standard Nepali language against ethnic and Indigenous languages and their varieties. But using the intersectional window of analysis would offer as many multiple angles as possible to navigate as many as possible (and unpredictable forms of discriminations) such as caste-based discrimination, social stratification (prestige vs non-prestige). Since one of the important methods of doing intersectional study is through stories of actual experiences of the people who

have been discriminated against, doing such analysis can unravel otherwise hidden forms of discrimination relating to categories such as class, social stratification, gender, and many others. Intersectional approach also helps to find out that overly increasing use of English as the only language plays a role.

According to CRT intersectional approach, language, culture and politics are interconnected, and they constitute rhetorical context for any sociological study of languages. To understand the growing influence of Hindi language in Nepal or in other countries surrounding India, it is equally imperative to examine the growing political influence and significance of India across the region as well as the global political world order, most recently. Political influence also carries a linguistic influence or vice-versa. Even though my concern here is not to offer an extensive study on political and linguistic interplay and their implications inside (a)symmetrical power relationship between Nepal and India, but there are definite linguistic precedents that one can glean from within India's own historical past that it had to succumb to the enormous linguistic subordination to European colonization. Indian political influence in the region, particularly in Nepal in the context of this writing, could also be a reason for growing linguistic influence. It is for this reason, scholars like Uma Pradhan inadequately examine historical reception of Hindi in Nepal as a "threat" to Nepali "nation building" (Pradhan, 50). Despite Nepali nationalistic perspective toward Hindi, Pradhan finds that there is a rapid increase in the number of people reporting Hindi as their second language. That there is an increasing awareness and interest among language scholars to study Hindi language, its status, and its political implications, but to what extent ethnic and Indigenous languages across geographical and political borderlines have been harmfully impacted intersectionally, has not quite been a subject of investigation. Thus, any impact of asymmetrical power relations between countries,

societies, and identities needs to be put side by side linguistic aspects to understand any possible harmful effect of Nepali, English, Hindi, and others on ethnic and Indigenous languages in Nepal.

Thus, treating one language as dominant and others as marginal has a political purpose of maintaining and sustaining statist hegemony—the hegemony intended to foreground and establish a certain language as the language of the nation and others perceived as 'the other.' The hegemonic tendency eventually grants social, cultural, and economic privileges to some as inborn rights whereas it victimizes others who do not belong to the dominant speech community. The hegemonic tendency also subjects the marginalized people to perennial oppression and pauperization as being 'heredity deficit'. This kind of linguistic discrimination selectively done on certain kinds (class/race/culture/language) is called linguicism according to Tove Skutnabb-Kangas. Skutnabb-Kangas coined the term 'linguicism' in 1980s to refer to linguistic imperialism as "ideologies and structures that are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources between groups which are defined on the basis of language" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 30). In Skutnabb-Kangas' view, any kind of native speaker ideology is hence a form/expression of linguicism. Native Nepali language speaker ideology is linguistically and culturally oppressive over other languages, and therefore it is linguistically genocidal.

3.6 Stories of My Encounter with English Native Speaker and Nepali Native Speaker in Nepal

My childhood experience of learning English was mixed with fear, fascination, failure, and prestige. I remember during my school years that fear of the English language was instilled into

our minds. Being able to pass or fail in English as a subject and being able to speak and write English correctly or not was a matter of success and failure in life.

The education system within which I grew up was predicated on the assumption that having English proficiency or a near English native speaker's competence was a sign of being intelligent and brilliant in every field of education. In high school[8], we were told in classes that passing or failing English language courses would determine future course of a person's life. English and language were (they still are) two major courses on language alongside Mathematics and Science. Failing English would mean that all doors of educational opportunities were closed for good, leaving yourself locked up behind iron bars. As students, stigma and fear were ingrained in our childhood minds that English was equivalent to failing or succeeding in life. In general, failing English exams were considered equivalent to global cognitive failure, so to speak. The unparalleled amount of importance given to teaching and learning of English language, therefore, was the effect of the continuing legacy of English native speaker ideology in language education systems and policies in Nepal, historically.

Since the day I started learning to read and write in English up until the undergraduate level, English language curriculum and pedagogy practices focused more on grammar and structural correctness than on ideas and creativity. Grammar focused pedagogy and structural correctness were responsible for failing majority of students qualitatively and quantitively. To my experience, evaluation of students' exams was mainly based on grammatical correctness

[8] I attended primary(grade 1-5) and lower secondary(grade 6-7) in one location and high school(grade 8-10) in another school. Some students would go to a school for grade 1-3 and then attend another for 4-5, still another for grade 6-7, and so on. Going from one to another was not a matter of fun. I would always be a nightmare—walk (sometime barefooted) about an hour and half to school and the same amount of time back home. Worse than mine—Some of my friends would walk for two hours to school and two hours back home every day. And of course, particularly during monsoon, we were not sure enough if we could safely return home because we would have to cross swelling-up creeks that had no bridges. Nobody would predict as to when flash flood would occur in the creeks. All we were bound to do was to push ourselves into the fast flowing down-streams or else to wait for hours until the water level would go down. As I am recalling this, I have goosebumps coming up on my arms.

rather than contents, ideas, critical thinking, and creativity. The examiners/teachers would view that students' code-meshing practices based on their own heritage or mother languages for creative and constructive demonstrations of answers were deviational and incorrect. The examinations would just evaluate retention of grammatical rules rather than allowing students' freedom of using those rules together with other languages for creative utilization of those languages in English.

In the 1970s and 1980s, "80 to 90 percent failed the SLC examination because they failed in English" (Malla qtd. in Bista, 6). Many failed in English, not because they could not speak and write, but because they couldn't read, write, speak English correctly. The standard measuring rod of the correctness was by following exactly the way English was written and spoken by native speakers of English. To that point, we never ever saw the so-called English native speakers in class in my school life, but the ghost of English native speaker never ever left us in classes, and everywhere English language was being used.

In retrospect, all I could see happening in English classroom back then was a teacher doing the mimicry of white English, and we as students followed suit. To us as students, non-white(Indian and Nepali) English teachers became firmly imprinted in our imagination as a proxy of whiteness and native speakers of English. The fear of English was implanted not only by teachers, family members, neighbours, and relatives, but by the education system that had always been privileging the status of English language on top of all the nationally and locally spoken languages. Being able to speak and write English correctly was an ordeal for so many students. I assume that the degree of fear of English now has changed so much that English language in Nepal has become "an expanding circle variety" (Giri, 193) historically. The ever-

growing dominance of English in countries like Nepal demonstrates the global valour of the English language as opposed to local and national languages.

3.6.1 My Nascent Encounter with English Native Speakers

Throughout my elementary education from grade 1 to grade 5, we were taught that learning to use English was possible through understanding and internalizing rules of grammar (British English) that included, but not limited to, correct use of phonetics, tense, imitate intonation and word/sentence stress like a native speaker of English, voicing(active/passive), speech(learning to change direct speech into indirect and vice versa), parts of speech, sentence types, and so forth.

As a form of pedagogy, English teachers would urge us to copy 'correct' English sentences and forms of English expressions from English texts and grammar books multiple times in a printable lined paper so as to memorize them and verbalize later in the class. Failing to understand, internalize, and use English correctly would have harmful consequences for students. Failing to write grammatically correct sentences and failing to speak grammatically incorrectly or speaking by mixing our own tongue (even by mistake) would be considered liable for corporal punishment.

I vividly remember a moment when I was given a physical punishment by an English teacher who banged my head on desk just for turning to left or right and committing some grammatical errors in my sentences. Often, English teachers would get students to walk out of the class, line up outside against the school wall, and flog them simply because of not being able to use grammar correctly. Most remarkably, failing in English was a matter of disgrace and likened with cognitive deficiency even if a person performed way better in other courses. And the trauma associated with the fear with/of English was so immense. Speaking and writing English grammatically correctly in British English was rewarded and viewed as the evidence of

high academic performance in school. Even today, being a proficient English communicator is viewed and equated with cognitive superiority and intellectual prowess.

Back then, English was not (it is still the reality even today) just considered as a language, but a major academic course equivalent to Mathematics and Science. Failing to succeed in English as subject and not being able to use (rather than speak in everyday life) English following correct grammatical structures was considered as a cognitive deficit. There used to be reported cases of students ending up with corporal punishments and paying money either for failing to speak English 'correctly' or speaking their heritage languages. Those failing to acquire a threshold grade in English were considered as a complete failure. As a result of the failure, they would be deprived of getting admission to post-secondary education.

English language in Nepal has been often compared with 'iron gate' to success in life. The heavy emphasis on English language as a cultural/economic capital suggests that English native speaker ideology is an internalized norm. The failure and success in life that come attached with English means that, as a non-native speaker of English, a person is supposed to correctly follow British English in all communicative skills—speaking, reading, writing, listening. The hegemonic assumption about English—that it is not just a language, but as a marker of socio-economic and cultural capital—proves the opposite linguistic actuality despite multilingual/plurilingual linguistic reality. This all said, there is a monolingual native speakerist ideology in English language teaching (ELT) and learning in Nepal.

3.6.2 Internalization of Native Speakerism within My Family

The idea of instilling fear into children's mind was to overtly exaggerate the importance of English. Similarly, the idea of charm about English was also a primary reason why children like

me were immensely fascinated toward English. The fascination was based on the imagined privileges it would grant people if they would be proficient in English.

The fascination about English was transmitted rather than infused into my childhood mind by my grandfather because he himself was fascinated by the value of being able to communicate in English in the first place. I still have a fun-childhood memory of my grandfather[9] talking to me about the value of English while I was taking warm-up sleep with him on a wide lobby (Nepali: *Dalyan)* at the front of the house on an old-rustic-king-size couch made of thick hand-crafted wooden planks with a headboard nailed on the wall and wooden legs firmly planted on even size pieces of rocks as to balance and stop from wobbling. As far as I know people would always tune in their radios to listen to notional and international news broadcast in Nepali at seven in the evening and eight in the evening for English news after finishing their day of work. As for me, it used to be my exciting moment to spend some time with my grandfather. Right after dinner at seven, I would sneak to the lobby, lay beside my grandfather and get ready to listen to his stories and news on the radio. During these moments, my grandfather would talk to me with great seriousness, imparting wisdom and guidance that I could apply later in my life.

Back then, we had an antique, battery-powered Panasonic radio with a tiny handle, a worn-out leather covering, and a little knob on the side for switching stations. I remember it only had amplitude modulation (AM)—there was no FM back then. The radio's sound was strong only in the morning or evening, which our neighbors also enjoyed since there were so few radios in the neighborhood where I grew up. My grandfather was particular about English news at eight

[9] My grandfather was an architectural overseer (aka assistant engineer at that time). When I was a child, I used to hear my neighbours and villagers call him *upershet* or *upersyat*—the local translingual way of saying the word— 'overseer.' Until today, even when I visit my village, I find some of my villagers call me—the grandson of *upershet* or *upersyat*).

when he would ask me to pay close attention to what the news reader saying. I could figure out that he wanted me to learn English language. He used to say: "नाती, एङ्ग्लिश पढियो भने ठुलो मान्छे बनिन्छ, सरकारी जागिर पायिञ्छ, पैसा कमिन्छ। राम्रो संग एङ्ग्लिश सिक! सुन्त: यो एङ्ग्लिश बुझ्छस?" ("My grandson, pursuing English will provide you with opportunities to be a great person—help you get government jobs, earn money, prestige, and above all, make your life better. Can you understand what he is saying in the news"). I would answer yes even if I just could understand a few sentences And the other day, he would share this with neighbours: "You see . . . my grandson can understand English and also can speak!!!!" And they would be amazed. Ever since then, listening to English news at 8 PM each day was my fixed routine, and I would always cherish the way they would speak English over the radio. I would sometimes imitate their pronunciation and look for word-meanings in a pocket-size English-to-Nepali dictionary we only had at home. Even though they were occasional talks at bedtime, the value of English was already getting imprinted onto my childhood brain.

However, my grandfather himself never attended any formal school or colleges for education because there were no schools or colleges to join at that time in the place he grew up to adulthood until he joined the military service. He grew up at a time when there was an autocratic Rana regime that had forbidden public from acquiring literacy/educational opportunities. His ability to speak 'broken English'(speaking English by mixing Nepali words and phrases with Nepali accent) was due to the type of work he was doing at Nepal military. My grandfather's fascination with English in my family history and my own increasing attraction toward English as I grew up was not just a unique incident.

My grandfather's personal fascination with English was a representation of the national fascination about English in Nepal. Historically, Jung Bahadur Rana (the first Rana prime

minister, often known as *Shree tin Maharaj*) who is credited for introducing English officially is claimed to have a tremendous interest with English and western education when he came to power. Of course, historians agree that his interest in English was also guided by his belief that establishing diplomatic ties with British India and Queen Victoria was a necessity to preserve Nepal's independence. And English education was the central element to that necessity. While his historic visit to Britain in 1850 (Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 2114195),[10] Jung Bahadur Rana, brought two teachers from England and established an English elementary school at his residence to provide 'Western' education" (Pradhan, 49) to his family and close relatives thinking that learning to communicate in English and acquire 'western' education was the "marker of class and loyalty" (49). To that historical point, my grandfather's installation of the value of English into my mind was a representation of the continuity.

3.6.3 English Native Speaker Ideology (ENSI) as an Underlying Linguistic Principle in Postsecondary Education in Nepal

Being a recent secondary school graduate longing to pursue any of the science programs in the place where I grew up had no other option than to go either to the capital city (Kathmandu)

[10] Jung Bahadur Rana (real name: Bir Narsingh Kunwar) was the first Rana prime minister of Nepal. He visited Britain from 1850-1851 under the invitation of Queen Victoria. Historians believe that it was the first ever high-level visit even though he was a de facto ruler by calling himself *Shree Tin Maharaj* (like a king himself) by assuming Monarch's authority. It is believed that he maintained conciliatory strategy with British India for Nepal to exist as an independent country when whole of South Asia was under British rule.

Source: Royal Collection Trust website: https://www.rct.uk/collection/themes/trails/the-prince-of-waless-tour-of-india-in-1875-6/maharaja-sir-jung-bahadur-rana

or few other campuses located in the southern plains in Nepal. And the trend was such that those who could afford to pay for tuition and living would opt for Kathmandu as their first choice. Living in the capital city for most people like us coming from remote and outlying places with little, moderate, no income would just have been a dream or else impossible. Lots of sacrifice and financial burden one had to bear if they didn't have enough family support. I fell under the latter category of the people even though our family's everyday survival was not so much of a problem compared to many of my village friends who had difficulty living—let alone school or postsecondary education, to be honest.

Having sacrificed my deepest fascination with Science (particularly astronomy) and good English education in the capital city, I decided to join a one and only local campus at our district headquarter (over six kilometres of commute on foot from my home village) taking up English literature as major in faculty of Arts thinking that I could at least be an English teacher and make family living easier. Even though my renewed desire to be a teacher was contrary to my grandfather's initial dream of me (that he had always wanted me to pursue anything in science and be proficient in English). The campus I went to had hardly few part-time teachers (including underqualified-- those without master's degree) teaching only a few courses. They were all full-time administrative employees at government offices or high schools (*Living the life of a farmer in an outlying part of the country with a small chunk of land would yield only enough to survive for a year around if the land were fertile and weather favorable. What else could I expect from them, but to support them instead if I would be able to stand on my feet and earn!!!*).

The only source we family had been relying on was rapidly drying up. Me and my sisters would always look up to our grandfather and grandmother if we needed any support (nothing fancy) which they would happily fulfil. However, grandfather had already retired. Little money

he became able to collect from his job was diminishing, pension he was getting was getting slimmer, and more importantly, he was ageing rapidly. The Annual survival cycle became a reality. Like us or even worse than us, there were countless people in my neighbourhood who would struggle every day to make their living. It still is!!!!!!! Hope things will change in the near future!!!!! In other words, my grandfather gave up, and so had my parents, and so did I.

I chose to join an intermediate program with an English major in a local campus. Going to the college every morning walking for about two hours (if you could walk faster) was a solid adventure and fear. Everyday routine was to wake up early in the morning before dawn, get ready, and walk along the trail that would pass intermittently through woodlands and sparsely lying houses before reaching the college at 6 (that is when the college would start) located at the district headquarter.

I remember either my mother or father would accompany me until I passed the forest near my house and joined other student-friends from villages who were also walking to the college. In fact, all trails coming from different directions and villages leading to the headquarter would meander and merge into the main trail in an hour walk. It was then lone walkers would get company for the remainder of the journey. However, winter mornings made commuting difficult; days would not break until classes started at six, leaving me with a two-hour journey from my village to the district headquarter. While on the walk, we would witness only calmness with occasional twittering of just waking up birds, sudden scuttling noise of wild animals (jackals, foxes, rabbits and so forth), insect buzzing, bats clicking, and gentle breeze blowing past your face to calm us down. The search for the native speaker was horrendously costly.

The first class to attend after the adventurous journey to the campus was a grammar-heavy compulsory English course with required textbooks from British publishers such as Oxford and

Cambridge. The professor of English would speak English imitating an English native from Britain. The professor would go twisting and fluttering his tongue hard when he had to say [-*r*] sound words aloud. He would funnily ask us to do the same which nobody could do except for mixing English with codes or accents with Nepali or their own tongues. *Broken English again*!!!! English would break as we speak, and people still could make sense. The professor would recommend saying, "If tongues get dry of verbs, make do with a verb of your own language and add progressing marker -*ing*, if nothing occurs to your head!" Reproducing sentences, memorizing grammar rules, and using them; being specific about tense markers, prepositions, articles, and so forth were self-made rubrics of evaluation of assignments.

As expected, I spent two years doing my intermediate degree with a major in English literature, economics, and political science. Everything I learnt about English literature was uncritically about British and American writers, their works, and their language. It was extremely difficult and challenging to make sense of the highly sophisticated English (standard English) of English literary genres compared to my high school experience. All books were directly from British or American publications. Contents were completely foreign to me—that there was not a single stuff related to the context, culture, and languages I was familiar with. Paradoxically, I was boastful of myself thinking that I was learning about firsthand 'sophisticated' English (weapon) of white people and culture, but deeper inside was a deadly fear confronting those contents ornately written in British English that I had never encountered ever before. I had to completely rely on an English dictionary to decipher lexical meanings of words—one on one—but also found myself alienated in pages due to contextual and cultural dissonance.

A classic example of self-demeaning English text from one of the English courses in the intermediate degree was George Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion* where the idea/ideal of English

native speakers is so powerfully upheld. The belief that a gifted human being is someone who speaks native language of Shakespeare and the Bible, but not others is the English native speakerist ideal. Doing this sort of reading without having sufficient and appropriate tools (critical applied linguistic knowledge, postcolonial or any a critical tool) to critically view, easily turned us susceptible to the English native speaker belief in one way or the other since childhood.

Rather than abating the effect of experience accumulated during school years and childhood, the postsecondary teaching and learning of English fueled the ideology even more. More importantly, this kind of reading without any critical knowledge, infused sorts of self-hatred that I was not able to speak 'good' English. Ironically, nevertheless, to those of us who were already well into the English language for making it their career, it ignited further desire to brush up our English and sound much like a native speaker. For instance, in the first act, an aristocratic-toxic-white-masculinist character Henry Higgins, who introduces himself as the "author of Higgins's Universal Alphabet" yells at Eliza Doolittle, a poor flower girl, calling her:

> A woman who utters such depressing and disgusting sounds has no right to be anywhere--no right to live. Remember that you are a human being with a soul and the divine gift of articulate speech: that your native language is the language of Shakespeare and Milton and The Bible; and don't sit there. crooning like a bilious pigeon. (Shaw, Pygmalion, Act I, 20).

And again, Henry Higgins:

> You see this creature with her kerbstone English: the English that will keep her in the gutter to the end of her days. Well, sir, in three months I could pass that girl off as a duchess at an ambassador's garden party. I could even get her a place as lady's maid or shop assistant, which requires better English. That's the sort of thing I do for commercial millionaires. And on the profits of it I do genuine scientific work in phonetics, and a little as a poet on Miltonic. lines. (20).

The message of the excerpt is unobtrusively linguicist and native speakerist because Shaw intertwines English language with British nationalism and Christianity. Shaw's assumption is

that anybody speaking in non-Shakespearian, non-biblical way is “depressing and disgusting” and hence equivalent to “crooning like a bilious pigeon” (20).

Without having some kind of critical tool to be made available for students or critical knowledge discussed in class before or after reading, we students would easily be tempted to self-humiliate the type of English we had had, and all sorts of psychological dualities that would ensue as a result. Worse yet was the teacher’s uncritical appreciation Shaw’s attempt to indoctrinate “proper English” (Shaw,103) and English phonetics into his readership. Like everyone else, I would be more motivated toward further improving my previously acquired English to achieve near Native English-speaking persona similar to Eliza Doolittle who uplifts herself from “depressing and disgusting” and “curbstone English” (20) to ‘perfect’ or middle-class English that had “middle class morality” (morality that says you have to live for others but not for yourself) with the help of Henry Higgin’s teaching of universal English phonetics. Here is the little excerpt about the linguistic uplift of the poor girl, Eliza Doolittle:

> It's not because you paid for my dresses. I know you are generous to everybody with money. But it was from you that I learnt really nice manners; and that is what makes one a lady, isn't it? You see it was so very difficult for me with the example of Professor Higgins always before me. I was brought up to be just like him, unable to control myself, and using bad language on the slightest provocation. And I should never have known that ladies and gentlemen didn't behave like that if you hadn't been there. (Shaw, 111).

By portraying Doolittle’s “transcendence” (132) from the status of a flower girl and a “daughter of a dustman” (104) to a middle-class English native and being able to speak ‘standard’ British English, Shaw demonstrates the cultural and economic capital of English language globally through literature. It is because of being able to learn to speak Prof. Higgins’s type of English, the poor flower girl becomes able to be someone who gets a ‘better job,’ and hence acquires native English middle-class citizenry. That said, my acquittance and affiliation with English over three decades in Nepal as a student and a teacher suggests that the idea of English language

teaching or English education in general resonates with the similar perspective George Bernard Shaw holds in the play—that being able to possess 'standard' English is socially and economically uplifting, the like of which Eliza Doolittle could do after taking rigorous English lessons with Prof. Higgins.

Back in the days when I was an undergraduate and graduate student, it was not a professor who would design course syllabi. It was the curriculum centre which was a different unit in the university that would formulate subject specific syllabus and curriculum to be followed by affiliated colleges and campuses across the country. A selected group of teachers/professors would meet for few days and finalize without taking into consideration actual teaching faculty's input and advice. Once final, the syllabus would last for years until somebody at the curriculum design unit would want to review and change. Most of the textbooks of English (both compulsory and major) in undergraduate courses were from British, American, or Indian publications with readings by English writers except for few that were by Indian writers such as Rabindra Nath Tagore and R.K Narayanan. Let alone readings related to Nepali literatures, cultural and linguistic diversities, and so forth. Only a reading I remember we did was a story called "A Tale" by B.P. Koirala. Despite the existence of numerous Nepali writers and texts with a distinct local literary flavor, the curriculum and syllabi were drafted based on native English speaker ideological bias. This perspective posited that only materials written by 'native' speakers from their home countries constituted authentic resources for teaching "perfect" English. What we learnt about English in undergraduate was solely about British and American culture. Teachers would take only those texts written by British and American writers as the most authentic manifestation of English language. Trying to speak with British and/or American

accent and correct grammar used to be valued a lot. Nonetheless, any deviation from British and American English would be treated as bad English.

The unremitting emphasis on English language and near native English proficiency has lasting psycholinguistic effect and consequence on students like us—such that whose mother tongue we spoke, how we looked like, which country we were born in would be immediately felt being trivialized and sense of demotivation would be higher no sooner anything is heard about Europeans or whiteness. This is called the internalization of European domination. I still vividly remember moments of visiting a British-missionary-run hospital (United Mission to Nepal (UMN)) near my house (a little more than an-hour-walk away) where I would see 'white' doctors and nurses working. As children we would imagine that they belonged to one European country (Britain) because they spoke different English than were used to. As it turned out, many of them were from European countries other than Britain. What contributed to this perceived generalization about whiteness is the fact that teachers and students alike would view English and whiteness uncritically. Sounding like British, looking like Europeans, and dressing like Europeans used to be viewed as the fundamental measuring rod of success. Over emphasis on privileging British English and European cultural texts during the secondary and post-secondary education had already laid the foundation stone of whiteness as an ideal for which everybody would pine. Imitating a near 'native' English accent and wearing a tie-suit (suited-booted like British) would already demonstrate that your resume for a job is way stronger than others who do not speak, behave, and look like you.

My Experience with English language and literature took a slight turn at the MA program in the university I attended. For the first time, we got to do a full-credit-non-Western studies course that was a complete departure from the Anglo-American tradition as far as the content

and context were concerned. It was fascinating to learn about non-Western epistemological development happening in the global 'Non-west' that included texts from South Asia, West Asia, East Asia, Africa, Indigenous writers from North America, and so forth. It was for the first time I got a chance to familiarize myself with diverse forms of postcolonial theories as a direct response to the 'western' hegemony for hundreds of years in the 'Non-west.' However, Anglo-American courses were in dominance. Even though teachers and students would occasionally mesh English with Nepali and/or other vernacular languages during informal meetings outside the classroom, English native speaker ideology would always hold the central space—whether it be a medium of instruction or overall pedagogy practices. Being able to communicate in 'good' English with near 'native fluency' would be viewed and valued as a matter of cognitive ability intelligence, and as a result they would immediately stand out in class as intelligent. Conversely, lacking good English would be treated as weakness. We would have to pay a hefty price in final exams for not following proper grammatical rules as prescribed in English grammar.

3.6.4 Stories of My Lived Experiences as a Teacher of English: Unburdening English Native Speakerism

I spent over a score of years teaching English in Nepal by being both as a transmitter of English native speakers, and also ambivalently as a person trying to defy it. English language I have been dealing with has constantly been shaping me, but it is also being shaped by me. My journey as an English teacher began when I arrived in Kathmandu in my late teens. Seeing just a slim prospect and with a view to following half my dream and my full renewed dream of being a teacher, I entered the capital city out of desperation. What else you could do if you have no other option than use whatever you have in reserve to survive in the alien city (For majority of poor village youth, going to the capital city was not only a matter dream, adventure, and fascination,

primarily it was a matter of horror—if you could survive on your own by doing whatever you would get; not that what you wanted. Or else you are bound to return to where you came from (Your dream ends there; dream not deferred).

It was just a few months of staying in the city while in the first year of my Bachelor's, I was immensely delighted to have found a job at a privately run English medium school I call *School A* to teach English from Kindergarten to ninth grade for living. I stayed there for a year and then switched to another school called *School B* where I spent about three years until I finished bachelor's degree with English and political science majors.

The day when I was hired, principals of both schools provided me a clear instruction: That no matter where we were situated within the school premises, we (teachers and students alike) were supposed to speak only in English. I still recall the principal of the school *A* urging me to speak only English: "Sir, this is an English medium school. I stress that you will speak good English with students as well as with other teachers, especially in front of students." I didn't get angry at what the principal just said, nor was I frustrated at all. Instead, I was elated because I had been already enthralled to be an English teacher in a private school. I said to myself, "now, you have got a chance to improve your English and will get a good paying job in a while."

Similar was the experience in school *B*. School *B* was way stricter regarding English only environment. There was not so much surveillance in School *A* as it was in school *B*. In school B, teachers would have been assigned specific duty to make sure if students were speaking English or not. If found speaking in Nepali or their own mother tongues, both students and teachers would have to pay a small amount of money as fine. Breaking the rule often would result in students getting corporal punishments.

Both schools had multiple English textbooks (none of them written by Nepali writers; most of them were Indian print versions by British publications) along with separate grammar workbooks and mandatory books prescribed by the government that everyone across the country would have to do. All books were from international publishers—mainly British reprinted in India for cheaper cost. It however does not mean that there was a scarcity of English textbooks written by Nepali writers. The reason for choosing British and American textbooks for English courses was the schools and parents would believe that only imported English textbooks are authentic.

Even though, there were quite a few private schools where English textbooks by Nepali writers were introduced, there was no change in linguistic perception toward reflecting multilingual and translingual reality on the ground, which many language researchers call "Nepali English" (Giri, 2014; Hartford 1996)[11]. We, the English teachers were more habituated to tracking grammatical errors of students more than actual contents in their writing. There would be a significant penalty for students *committing* grammatical mistakes. Nearly 30%-60% marks would have been deducted based on the severity of 'the problem.' Both schools offered remedial classes for those students with extra fees. From a financial viewpoint, schools would collect thousands of 'rupees' (Nepali currency) from parents just for grammar of their kids. Each reading was followed by assignments and activities including English conversational skills, and each skill was intended to improve grammatical correctness. One of the main reasons why

[11] Giri offers historical overview of English language teaching in Nepal since Rana time—that is when English was imported by the first Rana prime minister of Nepal. Ever since then, Giri argues that English has a special space in educational planning or education policy making. He also highlights that English, once known as foreign language, has now become a second language by displacing/replacing other native languages. He points out that there is pervasive use of English but also shows that English in Nepal has its emerging characteristics as well.

parents would send their children to private English schools was because they wanted to see their kids speaking fluently. But the government run public schools would not use English as a medium of instruction for all subjects except teaching English as a subject. Obtaining excellent grade and proficiency in 'standard' English would be considered a ladder for better job opportunities.

After I finished my MA, I turned myself into being a full-time English teacher. I taught at a number of schools one after another *poli(ce)shing* my English and attempted to land on places where I could get a permanent job. Of many schools I worked for, school *C* stands out in my long-term memory because that is where I spent over three years teaching English at secondary level before I finally got an opportunity to work as a university lecturer of English for master's degree later.

School C was no exception in regard to the entrenchment of native speaker ideology attached with English. Pedagogy, textbooks, learning objectives, and curriculum were not so different from previous two schools. I spoused and implemented the existing perspective toward English that a successful English teacher's duty and role is to make sure that their students internalize British English grammar, communicate eloquently, and visualize English native speaker from Anglo-American country as a Platonic ideal that one would look up to.

Acquiring 'Non-western' anti-colonial linguistic and theoretical discourses in graduate courses was one thing and trying to implement those ideas in classroom pedagogy or education in general was like a nice beginning of a fictional story. Prior to me, other teachers had also followed English native speakerness, and so did I. The idea of grammatical correctness and having English proficiency were valued as a great asset just like the previous two schools. The

only difference I experienced in the school *C* was that teachers and students were not forced to speak English outside classrooms.

In higher secondary level (10+2 or plus two colleges that would include grade 11 and 12 levels) [12], students had to take two mandatory English courses regardless of programs they were in. Grade 11 had three required textbooks—*Meaning into Words*, *The Magic of Words*, and *Link English*. Likewise grade 12 had two—*Meaning into Words* and *Heritage of Words*. Both sets of *Meaning into Words* (grade 11 and 12) were from Cambridge university press with the view to enabling students to understand various aspects of English grammar and structures.

Learning to write and speak English grammatically correctly was a major learning objective of English courses in both grades. *The Magic of Words* and *The Heritage of Words* were compilation of stories and essays with the view to improving comprehension skill, communication skill and analytical skill. Except for few, most readings compiled into those books only depicted 'western' culture, contexts, and characters. Any readings dealing with Nepal were written by a 'western' writer having a 'western' perspective. My experiences of teaching English to those grades for many years suggests that the concept of standard English was the undergirding philosophy behind choosing those texts for higher secondary school.

The rationale underpinning the choice of the 'western' reading materials for enriching comprehension and analytical skills of students for whom English is a foreign or international

[12] When I was a student and teacher, secondary and higher secondary schools were considered differently. A school could run up to grade 10 with the permission of ministry of Education and each year at the end of 10th grade students were supposed to pass SLC (school leaving Certificate examination administered by SLC board of Nepal) before they go to postsecondary education—grade 11 and 12 or intermediate university programs of their choice. After new education act 2016 (aka 2073 BS in Nepali calendar) was enacted SLC has been renamed as Secondary Education Examination (SEE). Also, after the new act was introduced, all universities have phased out intermediate programs that used to run until 2016. However, high schools now can simultaneously run grade 11 and grade 12. They must pass grade 11 and 12 exams or intermediate exams in order to start university.

language had to with the apparent internalization of the British linguistic imperialism and English native speaker ideological bias on the part of those who essentially set the curriculum in Nepal. The curriculum designers should have been under the impression that reading materials such as 'western' stock stories and poetry written by 'western' writers were the most authentic English reading materials to be included in English curriculum to help boost students' communicative skills in English.

Even though I had good postcolonial theoretical insights on English language as imperial vehicle of control and hegemony, just like every other English teacher, I too participated in passing the native speaker ideological bias by teaching English grammar and 'western' texts as the vehicle of English knowledge. In fact, my participation in the process of transmitting the ideology did not happen in vacuum; it all happened at the cost of myself other fellow English language teachers being the victim of native speaker ideology for ages. The effect of native speaker ideology, the predominance of standard English ideology and 'western' imperialism is inter-generational linguistic phenomenon as far as teaching and learning of English language in Nepal.

3.6.5 Unravelling English Native Speakerism in University

Teaching English at undergraduate and graduate level was slightly different than teaching at higher secondary level. But the idea of English native speaker ideology was deep-seated at all times. The positive side of teaching at undergraduate and graduate levels was that I could feel a sense of freedom about how I would speak English while teaching. Moreover, I didn't have to teach under surveillance as opposed to high-school teaching experience. I found the same with students in postsecondary levels that they were also in a more relaxed environment as far as speaking English was concerned. The fact that students were not directly and always

hypercorrected by teachers was more liberating in comparison with high school teaching. I noticed that students would mix/mash/mesh their own heritage languages and speak English more fluidly with some exceptions in which students and teachers would (sub)consciously hypercorrect. Overall fear *of/with* English was noticeably low among students and teachers.

Teaching postcolonialism, applied linguistics and sociolinguistics at graduate level was one thing, but doing away with my entrenched adaptation with English native speaker bias that began since my childhood was completely a different story. It is because the idea of native speakers had historically been entrenched/embodied within English education. And of course, it was so much hardened within my personality as an English teacher—the spectre of the ideal that I needed to speak 'perfect' English—didn't leave me ever behind while as a student, teacher, and professor of English at university where I spent many-many years.

The linguistic ambivalence which always prevailed within me and of course within everyone else doing English courses in graduate studies was the very awareness that people speak world Englishes rather than the English native speaker ideological belief that only English used by white people in 'the inner circle'(Kachru, 1992) is the most authentic English and the corresponding espousal of the same native speaker ideology that I needed to speak and write the so called 'standard' English. Ironically though, no matter to what extent I defied and critiqued linguistic imperialism associated with English language and all the associated ideological underpinnings while teaching, writing, and marking exams and assignments, I/we could not do away with the historically existing internalized English native speaker ideological bias towards ourselves. As it turns out, instead, I/we were promoting and enriching the native speakerism and linguistic imperialism of English, so to speak.

My ambivalent connection with English was as if the brain was weirdly split into two halves. One side of the brain was completely drawn to English native speaker belief since childhood, and the other side was newly informed anti-English native speaker informed by postcolonial epistemology while as graduate student and teacher. No matter how hard I would try to yoke together or dissociate them from each other, the native speaker side would predominate in most academic landscapes—teaching in class, drafting academic papers in English, grading student assignments, and supervising dissertating students.

My native speaker ambivalence can be compared with a Non-white person speaking or trying to imitate 'standard' English to teach translingualism or code meshing in class. Or it is like a translingual scholar from South Asia speaking in accented 'North American English' at CCCC while the topic of presentation is South Asianness or decolonizing English in writing studies. Or it is more like me googling for 'better/correct' words, idioms, or expressions for this writing while the perspective I hold is anti-English native speakerist, anti-racist and anti-linguicism. I google words and check whether those words make the desired sense to my English audience. And the other day, my friend and I, who is currently teaching at a US university, meta-lingualize on each-other's writing—we talk about languaging in our writings, suggest lexical and syntactic choices to make sure that those words better fit or modify if they don't make do. The focus, however, is generally angled toward linguistic correctness based on our internalized native speaker bias. All the layers of my mind—conscious, subconscious, and unconscious—remain at vigil as I native speakerize my writing, 'so to speak.' This is nothing more than the viciousness of internalizing the spectre of the ideology. This nature of being extra vigilant to make sure at least I could demonstrate 'English proficiency' through making specific lexical choices and imbibing 'standard English' is the result of perpetual internalization of English native speaker

ideology since childhood despite my firm commitment to defy it. Therefore, the challenge facing us today is twofold: on the one hand native speaker ideology or standard language ideology in teaching and learning of English should be defied at all costs by everyone involved in research and pedagogy irrespective of colour, but on the other, it is also imperative that colonial ambivalence of the ideology we English non-native speakers of colour imbibe in speaking and teaching English also need to be defied. Or there is still a third one—that the ambivalence of native speaker ideology can be constructively deployed to unsettle the very root of ideology from where English native speakerness emerges.

Even though use of English in graduate and undergraduate classroom was more liberal as opposed to elementary and higher secondary education, I could see that native speaker ideology was still present. Teachers and students would pay very high attention to correct use of English in terms of lexical choice, grammar, and pronunciation. Presumably, any teacher or student speaking fluently with correct grammar, fast, without switching to their own vernacular (e.g., Nepali) used to would be considered as a brilliant teacher. Students' responses to their professors such as "हेरत, यो टिचरले कस्तो खतरा इन्लिश बोलेको यार!क्या खतरा प्रोफेसर!!!!" ("Look at this teacher! What a *danger*(brilliant) English he is speaking! Such a brilliant professor!") were quite common among students and professors. And those speaking slowly, stumbling, or switching often to their own native language despite their strong and excellent performance on contents and ideas would be felt as incompetent or incapable speaker of English.

Ambivalently, I was not immune to the embodiment of the standard English ideology myself when I started university teaching at graduate level. I had a deeper feeling that I had to enrich my English even more than ever before. I knew that use of a wide range of English vocabulary, grammatically correct sentences, near native English accent, fluency, and

"knowledge of cultural nuances of the language" (Kubota, "Rethinking the Superiority . . .," 234) were the markers of a competent English teacher who would overdo/hypercorrect specific English phonemes in certain polysyllabic English words such as 'ability' that end with 'ity.' According to the Oxford English Dictionary the word 'ability' is pronounced as /əˈbɪl.ə.ti/, but some of us would hypercorrect English phonemes /ə/ for /ɪ/. As a result, those of us being conscious of English native speaker would say the word 'ability' as: [əˈbə.lə.ti] or [əˈbə.lə.ti] with no syllabic coherence. Another such example is the word 'responsibility'/rɪspɑn.səˈbɪl.ə.ti/. We would consciously overdo the vowel /ə/ for the fourth vowel /ɪ/ located between /b/ and /l/ in the word and pronounce it as /respɑn.səˈbəl.ə.ti/. The non-native speakers' tendency to hypercorrect linguistic elements to sound like English native speakers is an example of internalized form of English native speaker ideology. Once any ideology is internalized, a person is automatically inclined to overdo the ideology despite having critical awareness of the fact that overdoing aspects of the so called 'standard' English is equivalent to supporting English native speakerism.

All four major genres of English literature in both undergraduate and graduate levels were mainly about 'western' people and culture—mainly Anglo-American ones. Teaching drama was about teaching William Shakespeare, Henrick Ibsen, Bertolt Brecht, and so forth; teaching essay was about teaching Plato, Aristotle, Derrida; teaching poetry was about teaching Keats, Coleridge, and so forth. Never do I distantly remember teaching Nepali and south Asian dramatic, poetic, and linguistic tradition at the same length and importance. Any history of knowledge we were supposed to teach at undergraduate level had nothing to do with the Non-west or the place we belonged to. It seemed as if learning to do with local cultures, languages, and tradition was never within the English department's jurisdiction in a country where English

language was not even a lingua franca. Let alone English as a native language!!!! But being aware of speaking ‘standard’ English in terms of lexical choice, accent, and so forth would consciously/subconsciously/unconsciously prevail while teaching in class or beyond.

Reflecting on my many years of teaching English in Nepal, I have found that the central focus of all these courses—especially the English major—was to foster an Anglo-American native speaker ideology. This ideology promotes the idea that English is correctly spoken and written only in the way "white" people do in "Western" metropolitan locations. Whereas any tiny aberration from ‘standard’ English linguistic norm—whether related to contents or form—by students would be considered as incorrect. As a teacher of English language and literature, I would consciously hypercorrect utterances if felt grammatically incorrect. Even though teaching grammar was not mandatory for English majors, I was habituated to closely paying attention to students’ writing to see if sentences would follow internalized ‘standard’ English grammar. Grammar (hyper)correction was a default rule of writing for both students and teachers alike.

3.6.6 Translanguaging and Code-Meshing as Alternative Strategies to Disrupt Native Speakerism

Translingual approaches to teaching English, translanguaging, and code meshing can be considered as crucial mechanisms of disrupting monolingualism and native speakerism in English language education in Nepal. Translingualism provides “a framework for understanding the fluidity of modalities and languages, a framework that we can use (as I intend to do in this study) to further understand how . . . students draw on their linguistic experiences to make meaning” shuttling independently and naturally through their languages (Gonzales 2). Translanguaging is a translingual strategy in which multilingual speakers have “ability to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages as . . . integrated systems' ' (Canagarajah,

402). Conceptually, translanguaging is "a naturally occurring phenomenon" in multilingual communities because the speakers so naturally switch back and forth between languages as if they are in an integrated language system. While doing this, multilingual speakers do not consider multi-languages as separate systems—but as a unified whole. In this respect, translanguaging is a literacy or rhetorically effective communicative practice that destabilizes 'native-speaker' fallacy and native speakerist ideology of considering speakers of a language having a unique socio-cultural capital and speakers of other languages as inferior, deficient, and hence deprived of the cultural capital. Similarly, as a translingual strategy in multilingual classroom, Vershawn Ashanti Young's conceptualization of "code-meshing" as an "alternative vision of language" is a "route that integrates academic English with their own dialects and that simultaneously seeks to end discrimination" ("Linguistic Double Consciousness," 56). Like translanguaging, code meshing is another approach for "disempowered" students to (re) claim cultural and linguistic identities in countries like Nepal. In code meshing, marginalized languages, and privileged languages(s) are strategically meshed together as a measure of (re) asserting the former's meaningful presence and defying the linguistic predominance of the latter. In a sense this is a politico-linguistic approach to deconstruct 'native speakerism.'

3.6.7 Nativized English in Nepal: How Nepali English Looks Like

Even though English native speaker ideology has been internalized and normalized by students and teachers of English for academic and classroom teaching-learning purposes, there is an increasing tendency among Nepali English speakers to nativize/translingualize/Nepalicize English language mainly on informal and non-academic contexts. Linguists in Nepal agree that the English language was used as an established lingua franca or second language with which to communicate between and among peoples of diverse speech communities, but most recent

studies suggest that English has now been used by a far greater number of Nepali population than ever before as a second language (Giri, 198).

Despite the dominance of English native speaker ideology, nativization of English in Nepali context is also increasing. In fact, there exists variety of English called Nepali English (some linguists call it *Ninglish*) in Nepal but its characteristics and linguistic rules have not been systemically researched and documented in order to be able to use them for official and pedagogy purposes.

Presented here are some of the linguistic(syntactic, phonetic and semantic, lexical) characteristics of Nepali English which many linguists agree. One of the common examples of hybridized English in Nepal is the use of present continuous tense markers 'is/am/are' for non-present continuous temporal contexts. Colloquially, in the utterance "Hey, what are you doing these days? would perfectly be understood to be an equivalent present perfect continuous marker when '*have been +ing'* are sought as perfect continuous markers in the so called 'standard English.' Also, use of negative marker '*No*?' is often used as question tag for any utterance irrespective of subject and verbs. Similarly, the lack of causative marker 'have, get, make' to represent action done by an agent other than the recipient action is quite uniquely Nepali way of hybridizing English. For example, in the utterance: "*Did you cut your hair*?" *Or I cut my hair today*" implies the same as "*Did you get your haircut*?" or *I got my hair cut*."

The absence of causative expressions in those utterances is well received by listeners as things done by agents, but not by subjects. The common use of 'isn't it' as a question tag for statements such as "*They have gone to work, isn't it*? irrespective of subjects and auxiliary verbs is also quite common and well received in informal speech contexts. Similarly, widespread use of present progressive tense markers on all different types of temporal contexts is quite a

common syntactic characteristic of Nepali English. For instance, 'I am teaching at this college' could contextually mean "*I have been working for a while now*" in much the same way as it would also mean the present action of teaching. Understanding the kind of temporality vs duration implied by such expressions would require a hearer to understand what context the person is referring to and what has been said before such assertions. Similarly, repetition of words for emphasis such as "*so, so, so . . .*" *"little"* is another characteristic of Nepali way of speaking English.

Ram A. Giri finds that there is a tendency among Nepali speakers of English to nativize English by unusually modifying lexical items such as through pluralization of already plural lexicons or adding suffixes. For instance, Nepali English lexical entry for 'proud' is 'proudy' and, 'children' for children. Giri terms this as "unusual use of words": Proudy" as in "he's proudy" when the speaker means to say "he's proud" or "he's not helpful. Directress (for director); Pluralization of plural form: Children's, Peoples" (Giri, 200). Unique yet is the appropriation of English common titles *Sir, Miss and Madam* to be used at the end of people's name to respectfully address teachers in schools, colleges, and universities. There words have also been used to respectfully address a person with public authority and professions. In school there is a common tendency among teachers and students to address a teacher by adding 'sir'/ सर.

A person with the first name—"Ram" is addressed or called as "Ram Sir" or an unmarried female individual with the first name "Geeta" is addressed or called as "Geeta Miss" and a married female individual is addressed as " Geeta Madam" but not as "Sir Ram," "Miss Geeta," and "Madam Geeta" respectively in speech contexts rather than in written English. Interestingly, the word *'Sir*' is used as a highly honorific pronominal to replace the name of a teacher. For instance, students would say, *"Sir, may I go out?"* rather than *"name of a teacher, may I go out*?

Notwithstanding these newly emerging hybridized/nativized Nepali characteristics, my personal experience together with experiences of others suggest that the notion of 'standard' English or the ability to speak English in near 'native speaker' is always a governing ideal when it comes to uses of English in formal contexts and settings such as classroom teaching and learning, publishing, government offices, and so on and so forth.

3.7 Conclusion

In chapter two, I focused on story as a broad area and/or method to decenter Eurocentrism, white supremacy, racism, linguistic imperialism as evident in Canada. In chapter two, I discussed and analyzed my stories of experiences of racism which I have gone through as an immigrant person and a student of colour. To set the stage for (en)countering discussion on the issues of native speakerism in Canada in general and university education in particular, in this chapter, I have picked up on language as a decentering field and/or method. For linguistic decentering/decolonization, I have centered my discussion on native speakerism in general and English native speakerism as a colonial/imperial and racist ideology. At the start of the chapter, I highlighted some of the important theoretical insights concerning native speakerism as a racioinguistically oppressive ideology. These insights included in the discussion belong to some of the prominent (critical) applied linguists such as Alastair Pennycook, Adrian Holliday, Ryuko Kubota and others who directly relate native speaker ideology with Eurocentrism, colonialism, racism, and discourse on nationalism. In particular, my discussion on native speakerism is inclined more toward CRT informed applied linguistic analysis of native speaker ideology.

Often used in applied linguistics to demonstrate linguistic imperialism (language-based domination and subordination) of the 'west' over the 'Non-west,' are native speaker (NS) and non-native speaker (NNS) as politically constructed concepts to represent unequal power

relations of people based on their perceived ties with a given language. For example, a native speaker of English is perceived as a white individual and has root to British and European origin. To that point, the binary concept of native and non-native speaker concept comes from standard language ideology which regards that "certain norms of linguistic forms (e.g., Standard English) and cultural knowledge (e.g., white middle-class culture) are legitimate, and others are not" (Kubota 234). And those who do not fall within the norms specified by the standard language ideology are known as non-native speakers of that language.

Few other important assumptions underlying these binary il(logic) are predicated on linguistic and cultural deficit model that has to do with a range of (non)linguistic areas—perceived linguistic proficiency vs deficiency, eloquence vs. incompetence, racial and cultural belongingness, geography (e.g., 'west' vs. 'Non-west'), 'white' vs. 'Non-white,' and so forth. By extension, such discriminatory concepts have far-reaching consequences in pedagogy and literacy practices. For instance, in an American or Canadian classroom, any white teacher speaking in English or American accent is treated and received as an ideal teacher because "NS teachers' linguistic expertise (?)(this question mark is mine) in so-called Standard English is equated with their teaching expertise" (Kubota, 234). Notions of native speaker and non-native speaker of any language in a given context are not value neutral and apolitical identities since being a native or non-native speaker of a particular language almost always assumes ethical(close) ties with imagined and real "nation states" (Pennycook, 1994; Kubota 2009) and existing or past power relations.

Apart from general theoretical discussion on native speaker ideology, I have included sections in the chapter that relate to my years of ingrained experiences of having to grow up with English native speaker ideology (ENSI) and its lasting effects and consequences in Nepal—

particularly the continuing legacy of the ideology in Nepal, just like in any South Asian country, is so much embedded due to the continuing presence of English native speakerist satellites such as British Council, American Cultural Centre and other INGOs which have (in)directly influenced national language policies which also includes language policies for education.

There are few reasons why I chose to discuss about native speakerism in Nepal. By presenting my stories and analysis of the issues of native speakerism in Nepal I hoped to demonstrate that native speakerism in Nepal has a historical context directly and indirectly connected with the presence of British Raj and its expansionism in the huge swath of present-day South Asia even though Nepal was never directly ruled by British. These sections on Nepal in this chapter also infer that idea of native speakerism in Nepal is homogenizing, standardizing, and monolinualizing ideology which, in effect, attempts to decimate many Indigenous, ethnic, local and regional languages, and their varieties which do not have any national/official privileges. With my experience-based analysis of the native speakerism in Nepal, I also wanted to demonstrate that English native speaker ideology has a global characteristic related to accent, grammatical correctness, pronunciation, proficiency and standardness based on cultural-economic capital associated with whiteness, Britishness, and Europeanness writ large. Moreover, my rationale behind talking about native speakerism in Nepal also is guided by my understanding that English native speaker ideology as a colonial ideological construct can be juxtaposed with native speaker ideology and associated discourses in Canada. One of the outstanding differences I discerned from the juxtaposition of English native speaker ideology in Nepal and Canada is that the latter has direct historical nexus between settler colonialism and racism to benefit whiteness and whiteness related politics, whereas native speaker ideology in

Nepal has less to do with direct connection with racism and more to do with global linguistic imperialism associated with English language.

English native speaker ideology (ENSI) and Nepali native speaker ideology (NNSI) in Nepal have profound impacts upon marginalized languages. Due to the perpetuation of English native speaker ideology, English language education in Nepal is heavily westernized/Eurocentric with most English language teaching(ELT) and pedagogy practices being grounded on the idea of grammatical and structural correctness and English language proficiency to be measured by looking up to a white native English speaker belonging to any of the inner circle(Kachru) English speaking countries. Most English texts books are brought in from British or American publications. As a result, local textbooks written or anthologized by Nepali are not included in curriculum believing that only the books published in/by Inner Circle countries are authentic and valid. Concerning NNSI, Marohang Limbu, a Nepali scholar in South Asian Kirat (Yakthung) rhetorics, uses the phrase—"para-colonization"(561) and views that there is cultural-linguistic domination of majoritarian Nepali speaking people, whom Limbu calls Khas-Aryan and Indian origin people, over other Indigenous and ethnic speaking people and their languages.

Thus, should Nepal's language education be guided by the nation's diverse linguistic ecology and defy the legacy of English and Nepali native speaker ideology, Nepal has to cogently and officially allow students and teachers to practice translanguaging and code meshing because translanguaging in Nepal is a natural phenomenon according to which multilingual Nepalese speakers shuttle between languages more naturally as they communicate between themselves belonging to diverse speech communities.

This all said about native speaker ideology as a Eurocentric, nationalist, colonial/imperial and racist construct, and its continuing legacy in Nepal, the following chapter will focus mainly

on discourses centering on native speaker ideology in Canada in general and Canadian university education in particular. While examining discourses of NS and NNS in Canada, I will also share and examine my own stories of lived experiences of English native speakerism as a colonial, white supremacist, and racist construct.

Chapter 4

English Native Speaker Discourse in Canada

4.1 Overview

In the previous section I discussed about issues of English native speaker ideology in Nepal. I highlighted the fact that native speaker ideology has impacted on general practices of teaching and learning of languages, particularly English language in Nepal. I also indicated that examining discourse of standard language ideology or native speaker ideology in Nepal or in any South Asian countries requires that we put into context the relationship between English language education and European colonialism in South Asia. In this chapter, I will explore issues of English native speakerism in Canada with respect to my own lived experiences in a Canadian university where I have been a student. The intention behind using my experiences of native speakerism in Canada, in this section, is to decenter native speakerist nature of whiteness.

English native speaker ideology in Canada should be examined by putting the ideology alongside the history of Canada as a settler colonial country, linguistic imperialism, and white privilege, and racism. English native speakerness is a colonial and racist concept which has historically undergirded Canadian academic and non-academic institutions and contributed to marginalizing Non-native speakers of English who are Non-white immigrants. Moreover, English native speaker ideology has profound consequences for both white and Non-white people. For white people in Canada, the concept of native speakerness related to English grants them cultural and economic capital of dominance and success whereas the ideology regards and predisposes (Non)native and Non-white speakers of English(more specifically newly arrived immigrants) to be permanently deficient, racioinguistically stigmatized, marginalized, and deprived of the linguistic privileges that white people enjoy just because they are white and

speak white. On the contrary, though, people of colour cannot get to be eligible for native speaker related privileges despite the fact that they are more proficient English speakers simply because they are not white and not native to English. To ‘white Canadian understanding, any native speaker of English is someone who is white and is born to English language. Therefore, in the chapter, my general intention is to examine, expose and decenter/resist English native speaker ideology and its practices in Canada in general, and in teaching and learning of English language, writing studies, and pedagogy practices in Canadian universities.

4.2 English Native Speakerism as a State Ideology in Canada

Examining standard language ideology in Canada as one of the inner circle English speaking countries requires that the history of English language in Canada be put into the historical context of settler colonialism and Indigeneity. The origin, or the confederation of Canada as a country was only possible through massive destructions done upon Indigenous peoples’ existence—at physical, cultural and linguistic levels—by forcing Indigenous peoples to assimilate into European culture, religion and languages. Since there is already a robust recorded history and literature available relating to the connection between English language as the imperial/colonial tool and the origin of Canada as a settler colonial country, I am not going to include the evolutionary history of English language in Canada, its connection with settler colonialism, and Canadian nationalism. Exploring native speaker ideology in Canada also requires that we examine other (extra)linguistic factors such as immigration of Non-white people from global south, globalization, neoliberalism, internationalization of education, racism, and so on.

“The prevalence of ideologies of native speakerism” (Tavares, 3056) in 'inner circle' English-speaking countries like Canada is rooted in the history and ongoing legacy of settler

colonialism, Eurocentrism, and linguistic imperialism. These ideologies allow white people to use the English language as a tool to subordinate people of color. The persistence of this dominant language ideology and native speakerism in Canada ensures that white people remain the primary beneficiaries of the cultural, economic, and political advantages that the English language provides.

The English language dominant ideology in Canada means that English spoken and used by white people is the standard and ideal. White people and institutions use native speaker ideology to judge whether English spoken by Non-white is good or bad and proficient or deficient. The English dominant language ideology, built by and for white people, is the raciolinguistic ideology, which posits that non-native English speakers are linguistically deficient due to their non-white racial identity..

From native speakerist perspective, a person of colour who speaks English as a mother/father tongue, or first language is not considered as proficient in the same way a white individual who speaks English as the native language. Because the person is white and their speech/writing falls within linguistic standards set by white people themselves, their English is considered as normal and standard, whereas World Englishes used by non-white is perceived as abnormal and deviant from the white norms because the Englishes are not used by white people. Therefore, the raciolinguistic worldview held by white people in Canada is grounded on the whitely logic of 'verbal deprivation' with which to assert and maintain supremacy of whiteness (Labov, "The Logic of Non21).

The examination of linguistic hegemony in Canada entails studying British imperialism and ongoing settler colonialism. The connection between colonialism and English shows that English native speaker ideology or linguistic imperialism of English is the perpetuation of the

legacy. From the colonial perspective, the perpetuation of the legacy as a colonizing tool also means that English language was neither imported nor was desired by the Indigenous peoples. English, French and other European languages did not emerge in North America. It is European colonists who used them as colonial tools of subjugation and control. White people may argue that English should be treated purely as a language as such, and any nexus between English colonialism in Canada is anachronistic. Such views are prescriptive and purist in intention which advocate 'standard English' as a norm. The lack of willingness to examine English and other European languages in Canada in isolation from their colonial affiliation is to be complicit with raciolinguistic prejudice against 'non-native' speakers of English who are not white. The omnipresence of English native speaker ideology in academic institutions in Canada exemplifies the purist, prescriptivist, and raciolinguistic viewpoints.

4.3 The Native Speaker in Canadian Constitution: Formalizing white Discourse

Native speakerism is one of the commonest linguistic ideological practices in Canada. The commonness of the concept is made possible not just by a group of people or institutions, but it is ensured by the constitution itself through officialization of the two languages: English and French. Section 133 of the Constitution Act 1982 carries forward language related provision of British North American Act 1867. The apparent parallelism between the constitutional protection of the privileges of English and French as the only official languages is the same as the constitutional protection of the privileges of Nepali language as the only official/national language of Nepal. The Constitutional Act of 1982 states that English and French are the only languages which "shall be used" in any parliamentary proceedings:

> Either the English or the French language may be used by any person in the debates of the Houses of the Parliament of Canada and of the Houses of the Legislature of Quebec; and both those languages shall be used in the respective records and journals of those Houses;

> and either of those languages may be used by any person or in any pleading or process in or issuing from any court of Canada established under this Act, and in or from all or any of the courts of Quebec. (British North American Act 1867, Section 133; Constitution Act 1982, section 133, 40)

When Canada officially adopted the Official Languages Act in 1969, the constitution guaranteed the "linguistic autonomy" and "linguistic homogeneity" (Dollinger and Clarke, 450) of English and French rather than their heterogeneity. Hence, the Canadian constitution recognizes them as the only official languages to be used throughout Canada. Section 16 through to Section 20 of the constitution elaborate on "equality of status and equal rights and privileges" between English and French languages "in all institutions of the Parliament and government of Canada" (Constitution Act 1982, Section 16.1, 51).

Particularly problematic about constitutional provision about language is the deliberate silence or absence of explanation about the fact that there are marginalized varieties of English operating among diverse linguistic communities in Canada. Such varieties of English would include (but not limited to) Indigenous varieties, Black English, South Asian varieties, Caribbean varieties, Guyanese creoles, Chinese English, African varieties, and myriad others. These realistic variations of English are not mentioned, promoted, and used elsewhere in any legal and constitutional undertaking. Nor does their existence make any political headlines in national politics. As a result, the trickle-down effects of the native speakerism in Canadian constitution have directly transpired into educational and academic institutions where students of colour are taught and forced to learn only one "Canadian English" (CanE) or English used in inner circle countries. The moments when students operate (write or speak) in their own varieties or nativized varieties are immediately vetted upon, corrected, and humiliated.

European variations of English such as Irish English have played role in creating further English subvariants (Clarke, 210). Applied linguistic research on Irish English and other

European variations in Canada suggests that these variations do not have the same status as Standard Canadian English and hence they are subject to linguistic discrimination. However, people of Europeans descent speaking (sub)variants of English in Canada do not have to experience the raciolinguistic discriminations. The difference between European based English variations and Non-white varieties in Canada involves the element of race and racism. In other words, race and ethnicities intersect with English concerning Non-white varieties of English, whereas the former 'white' European based English varieties such as Irish English are devoid of racial politics and racism. Put differently, the difference between the two forms of varieties is the difference created by raciolinguistic ideological bias against one and the absence of bias for another. From raciolinguistic perspective, therefore, European varieties of English cannot be considered as marginalized varieties of English as opposed to Sandra Clarke's discussion in the essay "The Role of Irish English in the Formation of New World Englishes: The Case of Newfoundland." In the article, Clarke examines Irish English historical connection, and discuses at length about the effect of Irish English (IRE) upon British English which led to "the development of New World Englishes" in Newfoundland(210). While Clarke valorizes Irish English and its historical legacy in Canada, she does not discuss about IRE's connection with settler colonialism, and its participation in the victimization of Indigenous peoples. This tendency to maintain silence with regard to the nexus between settler colonialism and European languages, while only valorizing the historicity of European linguistic heritages signifies the inheritance of settler colonial mentality.

4.4 The Rejection of World Englishes in Canada: Linguistic Imperialism and Raciolinguistic Ideology

Even though a vast number of people speak Englishes because of their multilingual background, there is a deep-rooted Eurocentric bias toward world Englishes in Canada. The linguistic bias toward Englishes in Canada is historically connected with white people's statist adherence to Canadian bilingualism (only English and French). Canadian bilingualism (English and French) is regarded as a unifying signifier of Canadian nationalism. The statist linguistic bias against diverse Englishes and other languages in Canada stems from the combined effects of linguistic imperialism and the raciolinguistic discrimination perpetuated by white people against Non-white populations.

The linguistic imperialism in Canada also demonstrates attitudinal bias toward multiple varieties of English in Canada. The statist bias caters to the long-held legacy of privileges of white native speakers of English and French. The state's colorblindness and English native speaker bias toward World Englishes has harmful consequences for people who speak varieties of English in public and private spaces. The statist denial intends to privilege those who have already been privileged and deprives the underprivileged of gaining access to academic and job opportunities. The result is raciolinguistic de-skilling (that not having native speaker competence/performance means that the job opportunities for racialized speakers of English are far too slim or none) of people of colour who speak Englishes or English as an additional language.

The linguistic oppression within Canadian public institutions, such as parliament and courts, stems from their exclusive reliance on English and French as official languages for all formal proceedings. Use of other languages or English varieties in Canadian public institutions

face procedural and legal challenges, and there could be legal consequences for not following Canadian language policy. Similarly, private state apparatuses such as colleges, campuses, churches, workplaces, coffee shops, etc. are ideologically biased—if not directly repressive—to the extent that failing to speak/write proper English or Canadian English will result in traumatizing effect for racialized 'Non-native' speakers of English. Part of the reason why students of colour end up failing or getting low grades or end up tagged as poor academic performers in class, or become victims of self-humiliation or self-loath, or are deprived of getting better jobs as per their 'international' or Canadian credentials is the manifestation of oppressive-ideological nature of the private state apparatuses.

Canadian constitutional provision of English and French as the only two official languages shows that the linguistic hegemony is legitimized over other languages. Privileging only two languages over myriad other languages suggests that the native speakerism is a state ideology. Native speaker ideology is made apparent at the very outset of the preamble of the Official Languages Act, 1985:

> The Government of Canada is committed to enhancing the vitality and supporting the development of English and French linguistic minority communities — taking into account their uniqueness, diversity and historical and cultural contributions to Canadian society — as an integral part of the two official language communities of Canada, and to fostering full recognition and use of English and French in Canadian society. (Official Languages Act, 1985).

Issues of race and racial references are not explicitly stated in the above excerpt. However, the excerpt indirectly suggests that English and French linguistic minority communities refer to mainstream white communities who speak English and French. The explanatory cues such as: "their uniqueness, diversity and historical and cultural contributions to Canadian society"(Official Languages Act, 1985), tells us that they are native 'white' Canadians of British and French origin, respectively. Moreover, the Act puts Non-native speakers of English and

French or speakers of other languages than English and French in complex and ambivalent position when the Act speaks about the "Rights Relating to Other Languages" in section 83(1) and 83(2):

> 83 (1) Nothing in this Act abrogates or derogates from any legal or customary right acquired or enjoyed either before or after the coming into force of this Act with respect to any language other than English or French, including any Indigenous language.
>
> Maintenance of linguistic heritage
>
> (2) Nothing in this Act shall be interpreted in a manner that is inconsistent with the maintenance and enhancement of languages other than English or French, nor with the reclamation, revitalization and strengthening of Indigenous languages. (55).

While the Official Languages Act guarantees the linguistic rights of Non-native speakers of English or speakers of other languages than French and English in Canada, the Act does not adequately elaborate on how the rights related to other languages are protected, maintained, enhanced. On the one hand, the Act foregrounds and idealizes official languages—English and French—but underprivileges minoritized languages by not explicitly stating how other languages need to be maintained and sustained. The tendency to foreground one and background or invisibilize another is an aspect of multiculturalist ideology of lip-servicing which only benefits the majoritarian community of people, but not the racialized identities.

Racialized immigrant people's experiences of having to lose their full or partial heritage languages implies that constitutional lip-serving does not guarantee meaningful protection of marginalized varieties of English or other languages unless all languages including the official languages are treated equally in real life. Just stating that rights of marginalized languages and language varieties will be protected and preserved, cannot guarantee the protection and maintenance of the oppressed languages unless the state puts all the languages on equal footing in practical sense. The Canadian constitutional rhetoric of protection and promotion of marginalized languages is equivalent to mere lip-servicing because the fundamental principles of

the constitutions are underpinned by native speaker ideological bias against people who are not white or those Non-native speakers of English and French.

The discrepancy between Canadian constitutional provision to safeguard marginalized or minority languages, and the actual implementation of the provisions in reality is an example of the ambivalence of linguistic settler colonialism. Ambivalent linguistic settler colonialism refers to a settler colonial strategy concerning the use of colonial language in which the colonizers sustain and impose their colonial languages upon the colonized subjects through misleading discourses such as multiculturalism as a neo-colonial ideology and diversity as an act of mere lip-service.

The intent underlying the ambivalent linguistic settler colonialism is to protect, maintain and promote the majoritarian languages and cultures through those (neo)colonial discourses. On the one hand the discourses lay out provisions stating that all marginalized cultures and languages will be protected and revitalized and treated as equal, but on the other those provisions are not actualized. Such ambivalent tendency in the 'west'—particularly in settler colonial countries like Canada—is an example of *interest convergence* in critical race theorical term. Critical race theoretical idea of interest convergence means that "white elites will tolerate or encourage racial advances for [people of color] only when such advances also promote white self-interest" (Crenshaw et al qtd. in Martinez, 27).

Another harmful aspect of English and French native speaker ideology is connected with the linguistic and cultural genocide caused by white Canadians upon Indigenous peoples by weaponizing English and French language as an imperial/colonial tool. The worst ever consequence of the effect of native speaker colonial ideology was manifested in the residential school system designed to erase the existence of Indigenous languages in Canada and replace

them with English and French languages. Catholic churches functioned as colonial agents to annihilate Indigenous language and their cultures by forcefully separating Indigenous kids from their parents hundreds of miles away.

To sum up, the discourse on native speaker ideology in Canada as a settler colonial statist ideology is constitutionally and historically grounded on the idea of bilingualism in Canada. Canadian bilingualism is hailed as very sensitive and indispensable national symbol of unification/unity among English and French Canadians who are similar but distinct in terms of their European roots, and thus "are often diametrically opposed" (Rotstein, 109). Native speaker ideology is in Canada is promoted also to blanket fissures between Francophone and Anglophone 'white' nationalisms as well. Historically, there is a very little doubt that Pierre Trudeau's government adopted Official Languages Act and declared that "English and French to be the two official languages of Canada" (Government of Canada, "History of the Official Languages Act")[13] to quell the growing separatist and cessationist sentiment among Francophone Canadians.

Native speaker guided bilingualism in Canada is a divisionary, exclusionary and homogenizing strategy to linguistically identify all newly arrived immigrants as a part of English Canada or French Canada. For instance, persons of colour who decide to settle in predominantly English-speaking provinces such as Ontario become a part of English Canada and those who choose to live in predominantly French speaking provinces such as Quebec become a part of

[13] Government of Canada. "History of Official Languages Act." The article presents timeline with respect to Official Languages Act and background for the adoption of the act. Even though the article does not present any critical information that relates to two forms of Canadian nationalism: Anglophone and Francophone. Neither does it hint anything at the-then Canadian government's attempt to quell the secessionist movements in Quebec through forming a royal commission to recommend on Canadian biculturalism and bilingualism.

French Canada. Thus, native speaker ideology (NSI) in Canada should not just be taken as a linguistic reality that English and French languages dominate other languages because Canadian demography reflects the same. But NSI should be examined by putting side by side the ongoing settler colonialism, its genocidal effects on Indigenous languages, and hegemonic perspective of Canada as a country toward Black people, Indigenous peoples and other immigrant people of colour and their languages.

The perspective outlined above argues that native speakerism in Canada is not merely a linguistic preference but a racially discriminatory, oppressive, and Eurocentric ideology. From a critical race theory (CRT) and applied linguistics standpoint, this ideology is a form of linguicism, a term for discrimination based on language or dialect. This framework posits that the concept of the "native speaker" is a social construct that normalizes and privileges the language of white, European-descent individuals, particularly in English-speaking countries like Canada.

The native speaker ideology functions to subordinate individuals who speak English with an accent or dialect that does not conform to the accepted white Canadian standard. By doing so, it creates a racial hierarchy where linguistic competence is directly tied to racial identity. This ideology often manifests in the form of microaggressions, biases in hiring practices, or outright exclusion of persons of colour or people who speak English varieties or other languages. The raciolinguistic bias ultimately impacts the social, economic, and professional wellbeing of racialized communities.

The following discussion examines native speaker ideology in Canada through my lived experiences. As an immigrant person of color for whom English is an additional language, my

personal narrative provides a crucial, humanizing perspective on the oppressive nature of this ideology within broader Canadian society and, particularly, in university education

4.5 My Stories of English Native Speakerism in Canada

In this section I will present and examine a few of my lived experiences of English native speaker ideology. The experiences relate to academic and non-academic spaces in Canada. While telling, I will draw on antiracist-anti-linguistic perspective with insights drawn from Applied linguistics theory on native speaker ideology, critical race theory's notion of counterstory and intersectionality, Kachruvian three concentric circle model as a self-serving and simplistic model to look at existing and growing number of "varieties of English worldwide"(Jenkins, 159), postcolonial linguistic theory, Vershawn Young's theory of code meshing and translingualism or anything that proves helpful to debunk/destabilize native speaker ideology that underlie/undergird Canadian (non)academic institutions so deeply.

4.5.1 The Early Encounters with English Native Speakerism in Canada

My personal stories of native speaker ideology start with my first arrival at a Canadian airport as a landed immigrant in Canada. I got an intense feeling of having binary emotions taking over me—fear, anxiety, despair, sense of alienation on the one hand and excitement and hope on the other. The bowl filled with these emotions was inexplicable. Equally but strangely embarrassing were moments at border service to process entry and residency cards. My goodness knows how many times I had to say my name, and each time I would repeat, they would say different names. Then the officer looks at me over the bridges of his glasses and asks me to spell my name letter by letter. I could clearly see grimace and fragility in the officer's face. Each time

I would say the consonants [tʃ], [r], and [h] sounds one by one, they would not get them right. They would write /ʃ/ for [tʃ], [a] or [r] and [s] for [h].

I started sweating due to the feeling of not being able to spell the letters correctly. I murmured inside myself: "what the *h..l* going on here!!!!what is going to happen now onwards as I start off the life of an immigrant!!! "Whether I don't know how to spell, or they don't understand how I spell or sound out," I murmured within. I went on: "I spent years teaching linguistics/sociolinguistics, language, literature—all in English and everybody would decipher." The officer would not bother to slow down while speaking and neither did they cooperate to make sense of what was being exchanged between them and me. It felt as though I was being taught English alphabets for the first time.

I remember another moment after a few days of our arrival in Canada when we were lining up to do applications for health cards at an office (I don't know exactly what was the name of the office). The line was not too long. Majority of them were people of colour and very few were white. Most people working there were white too. Strange was a moment when a white female officer sitting on an elevated chair at a semi-circular-bar-like desk would behave and speak very differently with white clients. In addition to asking task related questions and entering information on the computer, the officer would spend a few minutes chatting with them as if they were so familiar; it looked as if they were their neighbor, friend, or relative.

But when it was people of colour including myself, the officer's gaze and tone would drastically change when they noticed that we were speaking with immigrant English (English as an additional language). I felt as though they presented themself as a ruling elite and treated us like unwelcome individuals. The way they were speaking to me or any other person of colour in

front of them would give a clear indication of their fragility and discomfort for having to face/encounter/look/see someone who speaks 'alien' English and Non-white individuals.

I could feel that the officer was looking so much in a rush to get things done sooner than the later to feel comfortable dealing with the next white client waiting in the line. I could also feel that the officer was finding it hard to face us in the line. This incident represents the fact that linguistic discrimination in the 'west' is not just solely limited to the type of English we speak, but the whole range of racial elements that come together with English or other languages we speak. Given below are reproductions of interactions between the white officer and a white client and the white officer and me. The conversations below demonstrate how people of colour are treated distinctively as opposed to 'white-to-white':

> The 'white' officer to a 'white' client: *Hellllllooo!!!.... how are youuuu?(the phatic function of communication does not end there. The greeting is complemented by day-making smiles/smileys. And what follows after is quick succession conversation that is unrelated to the rhetorical context at the moment). Wow, I liked your coat blah blah blah…the weather is so good outside . . .blah . . .blah...blah.*
>
> The 'white' client to 'white' officer: *I am doing great!!!!!How is it going? Thank youuuu!! You know I purchased this at . . . and my mom said……blah blah blah. (Both spend over two minutes doing a nice talk. As for me, the nervousness was pounding within me when I witnessed the fusion of her English and whiteness.)*

1. White officer-to-me*:(There was no such thing as greeting to begin with. They start off with an introductory question. The officer was not smiling at that moment while talking to me. Of course, I was not expecting them to. But the instant emotional alteration from smiling while talking to a white individual to an annoyance on their*

face as they were talking to me and other people of colour is not least surprising as I evaluate that moment from the vantagepoint of now. I didn't necessarily think in that critical way on that very occasion because I was already governed by nervousness and fear of having to face somebody like them. Getting the thing done and getting out from there was what was going on inside my brain). Your name please? And what is your address?

Me*: My name is C…. K., and the address is blah blah blah. . ...*

(First, I picked my turn and then did my wife. When me and my wife said our names and address, the officer would abruptly pause and glaringly ask us to repeat until the moment we had to spell our names and address in writing. In fact, it was a sheer struggle for my spouse. We had to repeat over three times, our first and last names.)

The 'white' Officer*: (Quickly; without even looking at us) Wait until 4-10 business days for the cards to arrive at your address. (That was it) (the phrase 'business days' was unfamiliar to me till then. I knew about weekdays and weekends, though. We had one weekend day back home. Even the terms—'back-home'—was newly acquired and the embedded meaning was nostalgically diasporic)*

Me and my wife: *Thank you!!!(The officer does not reply! And that was the end of the interaction) (This happened a few days after we arrived in Calgary, Alberta.)*

The white person was so quick to get the thing done—they would ask for our names and address There was no sense of politeness in their utterances. Moreover, there was a clear indication of hatred reflected on their facial expression and bodily gestures—they would constantly twitch their face, look sideways and jerk their shoulders each time I would answer the officer's

questions and ask for extra information. I felt as though they were in a polluted environment. In other words, their verbal indecency was coupled with bodily gestures. Even though I was not able to filter through what was going on inside my head—THIS IS THE WAY HOW THINGS ARE IN CANADA—and it is my responsibility to get my message across in English and say/spell my name (in)correctly; it is not 'them.'

Slowly and gradually when I witnessed the recurrence of such linguistic behaviours of white people, I realized that things should not be the ways they are in Canada, and it is not only me, but everyone involved in the speech acts should equally put their efforts to get messages across. I can relate this incident to countless other similar incidents. I do not remember how often I am asked to introduce myself either in academic or non-academic speech contexts when I am supposed to perform my name-saying act over and over again to be followed by a racist question: "*Where are you from?* The most recent one and worst yet: "*why are you here for*?" was when I was at a local bank in Kitchener.

4.5.2 Aerial Native Speakerism

I do not remember how many times I have encountered white people over telephone conversations. But few of them are in my long-term memory. The week after I first arrived in Canada, I received a call from a healthcare professional who wanted to talk to me about a follow-up appointment. As soon as we exchanged our greetings the person started sounding good at the beginning. But no sooner had they known that I was speaking a different English than they started speaking to me in a different way—sympathetically at first and rudely later when they thought they didn't understand few things I told them about our health background and so on. They would intermittently interrupt me and ask me to repeat what I said to the point that I was frustrated completely to give up. They didn't have to see me in person to know where I was

from, but just a bit of linguistic hint would ensure them that I was not from Canada. Thereafter, their way of talking to me completely changed into an oppressive tone. As they knew I was not a Canadian, they asked, "Where are you from? Your name is interesting!" When I answered their questions, the person would ask me disturbing questions like "how you ended up coming here…. *blah blah*…" I honestly answered those questions. But as I look back today, I find those questions racially discriminatory.

The above telephone conversation between the officer and I suggest that racism operates in multiple ways and multiple forms. One of the strangest ways racism functions and oppresses persons of colour is through air. Aerial racism is also a form of racism in which white people recognize persons of colour by hearing over telephone or new media even without having to see person of colour. The racism works though recognizing voices of people of colour and treat them very differently than people who are white. A person of colour might wonder if they can escape direct form of 'racial profiling' (John Baugh, 155) or being victim of linguicism by choosing telephone or digital means of communication instead of in-person meeting. The desire to shift from in-person to digital or tele-communication mode to escape experiences of racism will have a person of color to get to another form of racism rather than none.

If you a person of colour, the moment you greet with "hello!" and spell out your name and utter a few words or sentences, it is more than enough for 'them' to recognize and then to racialize you. You do not need to get to hear racist slurs or direct forms of verbal attack. Soon enough you will immediately be noticed or linguistically profiled as Non-white without having to be present in front of them. They will humorously repeat your name at least 3-4 times before they start the conversation. Nevertheless, they will never ever slow down as they speak which shows that they are deliberately not conscious (rather 'dysconscious') of their audience to whom

they are talking. The type of tone they use as they talk gives a clear indication that you are a victim of linguistic discrimination.

Ordinarily, it is difficult to predict as to what is going on inside people's mind, but a person of colour to whom English is not the first language or lack inner circle (Kachruvian notion of native speaking countries) accent will immediately figure how a 'white' person is going to treat you as you talk to them at the other end. You might wonder: How to know that white people are discriminating against you on the phone? Or how is it possible to identify that it is white person talking to you over the phone. It is not so difficult in countries like Canada, USA, or any other white 'western' countries to guess whether the person calling you is white or Non-white. One can simply imagine that if you get a call from any high paying physically less demanding and/or security sensitive white-collar workplaces such as government offices or public services, hospitals, police department, transportation, municipalities, local governments, community services, chances are that you are most probably called by a 'white' person. Even before they call you, they also know who you are and what your background is just by looking at your name, if that does not work, they could sense through your voice as soon as you speak to them. On our end though, once we know we are talking to a white person, particularly a white native speakerist, you get your nervous breakdown in an instant and communication breaks down as a result.

At the Anglophone University where I have been a student, I also have experiences regarding few professors indirectly expressing their curiosity regarding my status in Canada. This white curiosity suggests, by default, what is in white people's mind or white system in university—that a person of colour is not a Canadian; if you are a person of colour and your English is 'accented,' then white system always considers you as an international because for

them skin colour and language you speak are testimonies of being a foreign individual no matter how many generations you have been living here. But this skin-and-language rule does not apply to white persons eve if they are not Canadians. This is why, I do not ever get surprised when a white professor/administrator/student/colleague asks me, "*What is your status in Canada or did you renew your status, or did you get work permit? Do you need my recommendations? Blah blah . . .?"* Questions like these are apparently racist and discriminatory even if the person asking me those questions thinks that they had no bad intention or they were not racist by asking those questions because what impels white people to ask those questions to persons of colour is the legacy of systemic racism and colonial mentality that grew up

With regard to the issue of aerial form of racism, white person on telephone conversations either already have information about who you are, or they have their own set protocols to treat white and 'Non-white' distinctively when they find out about you from your accent that "vary substantially in terms of prosody, phonetics, and phonology" from theirs and also your unique grammatical properties" (Baugh, 155). That means there are definitive communicative indications coming from your mouth to inform the white minds that you are not white, or you are definitely a person of colour, and hence you need to be treated definitely. For instance, when they greet and you greet them back and say your name, and if your name is not European or Christian sounding, you would feel that they will function as if they are struggling to say your name. They will repeat your name at least 2-4 times. And probably they will laugh afterwards.

If a white person over the phone is racially motivated, they might ask you where you are from just to make sure. If your accent is the same as theirs, they might base the motif of the conversation on the pre-existing information about you. Baugh regards that linguistic profiling is not opposed to racial profiling, but an auditory equivalence of racial profiling though language.

John Baugh defines linguistic profiling or preferential linguistic profiling as "linguistic discrimination based on speech or writing" (155) when white people (ex)communicate to Non-white through telephone, scripts, or writings they find unique to white people. Baugh further states that "linguistic profiling is more finely tuned to diversity among Americans than are dissatisfactory racial classifications that have been used in the courts and for controversial social and educational policies based on race" (155). The racial profiling and linguistic profiling "can have devastating consequences for those US residents who are perceived to speak with an undesirable accent or dialect" (155). So, even if we avoid in-person meeting or encounter, digital and telecommunication media encounters are not immune to racism and its consequences, so to speak. What I can infer is that racism experienced via telecommunication is not less than in-person encounters.

4.5.3 Warning Signs of Encountering English Native Speakers on Air

For a person of colour situated in the 'west,' it does not take a while to figure out how you are being treated—explicitly arrogantly or with seeming "linguistic adoration" (Baugh, 155). The moment I receive a call or make a call with regard to getting service or business solicitation, I already get a sense into my head—whether the person I am talking to is a native speakerist or not. There are few things which would infer whether the person is linguistically discriminatory or not. The first thing to notice is whether there is a change in the callee's/caller's tone as they identify me/us when I/we say our names. Secondly, 'those' probable 'white' persons on the virtual meetings quickly transition from naturally polite to suddenly arrogant or from feeling comfortable at the beginning (until they realize that they are talking to a person of colour or Non-native speaker of English) to feeling very irritated or uncomfortable. On many occasions I have found that 'those' people with racist intention would be willing to drop call sooner once they

sense from my/our name(s) and accent(s) that I/we am/are not white. Thirdly, they would try to harass me/us by asking me to repeat my name and spell my names multiple times to the point that I already feel guilty of my own identity at times or feel embarrassed so that they would turn that rhetoric of harassment to persuade or dissuade—to fulfill their goal. They also sometimes make fun of your name and laugh when I/we say my/our name(s). Fourth indicator to tell me that the person holds native speaker bias or racist intention is when they try to correct my English while I am talking without me asking them to do so as if their way of saying is correct and mine is not. It is quite tricky to notice that I am being victimized of English as a dominant language ideology or English language imperialism is when they speak to me in very noticeably sympathetic tone—making me feel as if I am helpless or I do not know anything or am an illiterate individual. It is the same as when I stand in front of any racist white individual, the first reading they make about me is by looking at my face or hair or how I speak.

Any sympathetic racist I have happened to encounter over phone or zoom would shift speech gear from naturally friendly and formal to unusually and pretentiously humbling and overtly and mournfully formal. I have seen many a time that those sympathizers spontaneously shift back to their natural order right away when they speak to their white counterparts. And when they shift back to their natural gear, it feels as if "whites tend to treat one another like family, at least when there's a choice between them and us" (Bell, 56)[14]. *People of 'white' race*

[14] In "The Racial Preference Licensing Act," Derrick Bell creates the fictional character to inspire him on issues confronting racism in the US. Through this parable, Bell refers to 1896 US supreme court ruling on Plessy v. Ferguson that allowed "separate but equal" status (Bell, 47) for whites and African Americans and legalized racial segregation on local and state level. But through this imagined story Bell reinforces the idea the racial segregation is a reality in a different form. With the help of Swiftian sarcasm being evident in the parable of "The Racial Preference Act," Bell points to the fact that there are state sanctioned discriminatory provisions which allow white Americans to take advantage of and manipulating laws as to treat with Black people or other people of colour as per their white interests.

flock together! The 'white'-family-resemblance is the manifestation of what Bell refers to as "white nepotism" predicated on the age-old racial hatred of Black and other people of colour.

Here is another experience of ariel form of racism. It was not a long time (probably three years ago while I am writing these sentences) I received a call from an outreach worker about getting community services for myself and my children. No sooner had I heard the person speak to me, the kind of accent they were talking to me and the name they said than gave a clear indication that they were a Canadian white English native speaker. I got confirmation about my guess when they visited my home after a few days. Instead of being rude or authoritative, they presented themselves as a sympathetic individual in their tone and gestures.

Over the phone, they asked me to confirm my first and last name as a way of verifying my identity to which I did not find any problem. We greeted each other as a part of the speech act. When asked, I repeated my name quite a few times, but they could not catch up. "Could you say that again?" was the answer from the person. Every time I would say my name, particularly my first name, they would gently mutter a different name than mine. I would say, *Chitra* [ʧi-trə] sounding /t/ not as alveolar fricative or palatal, but /t/ in Nepali, or *Devanagari* as interdental [t] immediately followed by alveolar [r]. But the white person would repeat my name as [si-trə] or *Sitra*, so to speak. Afterwards, when that did not work, I spelled my name slowly. They go, "um! you mean h/? not /s/? and blah blah…. It went on for about a couple good minutes until they were correct in spelling, let alone sounding my name out in full.

My interaction with the outreach worker began with an inquiry that immediately highlighted a racialized view of my identity. Before discussing the purpose of our call, they asked, "You speak good English, where are you from? Are you from India?" This experience demonstrated an immediate and unprompted encounter with native speaker ideology. I answered,

"I am from Nepal." No sooner had I taken a pause, they went on, "Wow! I have met (*they meant help*) many Nepalese refugees from there?" From this conversation, a person with some of critical awareness or anti-racist consciousness easily can infer that there is a racist intent in that 'wow' expression.

If you are a person of colour, you are in no way perceived as a Canadian in 'white' Canadian mindset. What I could glean from the conversation I had had with the support worker was that the introvertly racist white mindset to silently discriminate against people of colour. To that end, another important tenet of whiteness is to tag collective identity to persons of colour and treat them in the same way. For instance, to presume that all south Asian are Indians and all Nepalese in Canada are refugees is to racialize persons of colour because of their failure to understand how diverse South Asia is despite the fact that most South Asian seem similar culturally, racially, and linguistically. The tendency to give collective identity to certain group of people who are Non-white is to facilitate their racist intent rather than demonstrate respectfulness to South Asian identity. To such silent form of racio-linguistic ideological treatment (Flores and Rosa, 150), John Baugh calls it "linguistic adoration" which arises when 'white' English native speakerists take recourse to "forms of linguistic admiration of "beautiful speech" or other positive linguistic attributes that we might feel are somehow lacking in ourselves" (Baugh, 164).

4.5.4 Raciolinguistic Effects of English Native Speakers Over Non-native English Speakers of Colour

Under sugar-coated language of a white sympathizer belies the same native speaker ideological bias toward English Non-native speakers of colour as the ones that are extrovertly racist. It is not just me alone to get such experience, but I have heard many people of colour sharing similar experiences while they encounter 'white' people who talk nice and act nice, but

they have underlying racial bias in their superficial politeness. At times we happen to end up with facing micro-aggressions and other times it is I have heard stories of experiences from many of my friends, colleagues, and community members of colour that they get threatened even if they hear 'white' persons or native English speakers speak extremely politely during phone conversations. A part of the reason 'beautiful speech' of a white speaker is scary to people of colour is because they automatically associate lived experiences of racism with whitely accent—whether polite or authoritative.

Little after the encounter with 'white' persons on telephone (much like in-person encounter) racio-linguistically impacted person of colour takes to the abrupt and subconscious transition of speech from fuller and complete sentences to mono syllabic 'yes' or 'no' with incoherent expressions coupled with bodily reaction of shivering and sweating. This has happened to me on a number of occasions. Such racio-linguistic trauma leads Non-native English speakers of colour (specially newly arrived immigrant people of colour) to an instant urge for dropping phone conversations rather than keep going; agree rather than argue; remain compliant rather than discuss. Thus, the paralyzing effect of the white speech phone is the result of the linguistic profiling and English native speaker ideology that is underpinned by white supremacist thinking and the legacy of settler colonialism in Canada.

Moreover, just saying/returning 'hello' or exchanging phatic expressions such as 'how are you? I am doing good" are enough to tell 'white' people who they are talking to and how they are going to speak and behave with me during the conversation. As a person of colour I sense that they turn immediately arrogant as soon as they notice that I am not a native speaker of English either from the way I speak or by means of profile they already have reviewed before they called me. They talk and keep throwing whitely accented utterances keeping me in an oddly

broken communication state when I take recourse to monosyllabic answers in 'yes' or 'no' or nervously broken-down utterances—sometimes inconsistent with contents I really wanted to put in. The instant urge to cut down the phoneline (this is the translation of Nepali way of saying—hang off) rather than hang on is so intense while facing a 'white' English native speaker who is racist.

The urge to either keep quiet or cut the conversation short by swerving the discussion toward the level of comfort zone in talking is a common experience. As for me, the awareness of the fact that I am talking to a 'white' individual and its impact on the communicative purpose of the conversation is more marked and consequential when the encounter is with a white person representing government, banking, or service related. The effect of internalization of native speakerness for persons of colour, particularly new immigrants and gendered individuals of colour is profound because they would be more susceptible to compliance rather than getting engaged in conversation due to the fear of English native speakerness coupled with previous experiences of racism.

As I have stated previously, one of the commonest warning signs of toxic/racist English native speakerness one could ever face over the phone conversation or at in-person meeting with white people is the fact that they ask you to repeat my/your name repeatedly to the point you feel self-embarrassed. Sometimes, they would politely ask you to let them call you however they feel comfortable in naming. For example, if your name is Krishnamurti, they would say, "May I call you Kris?" which sounds like an English name, which, of course, they are more used to being called or calling others throughout their lifetime. If you say your name 'Hari'/hərɪ/ (so simple to say: /hərɪ/), they will ask you: Sorry! I did not get your name! Did you say, 'Harry'(/hærɪ/)? They would ask you to repeat yourself to the extent that you confirm to their calling you 'Harry.'

Thus, we get used to it so much that an English sounding name becomes the only name we introduce ourselves with. That is why, it is not surprising why even first-generation Canadians or immigrants assume or give their kids English sounding first names once they settle in Canada or in any 'western' country. Sometimes commonsense does not need explaining.

If the first few phatic sentences I utter would be enough to trigger the 'white' minds to start their linguistic profiling, just a few sentences they utter and the way they utter will give me a reciprocal feeling that they are exhibiting dominant language ideology. Dominating tone, high pitch, vocal gestures that includes racially intended condescending terminologies or expressions of white sympathies, *verbal shrugging* (I use the term '*verbal shrugging*' to equate telephone or digital conversation where a racially motivated white person talks using awkward monosyllabic terms such as *well…okay… no idea….*as a short-cut to give the person of colour verbal cues that they feel uncomfortable talking or keep the conversation going on with the in-person meeting where a racist white person freaks out by constantly shrugging their shoulders or looking away as physical gestures.), and their indifference towards the fact that there is a person of colour at the other end who is speaking a different English than theirs are some of the cues to look for if I am treated badly over the phone by a white person. Such gestures—whether over telephone or digital and in-person situations—are the result of their hatred toward Non-white individuals.

Nelson Flores and Jonathan Rosa's idea of *racio-linguistic ideologies* can be used to investigate linguistic discrimination based on racial background—the kind of overt and covert kinds of discriminatory behaviour of white people I have encountered over telephone, digital or in-person contexts since I arrived in Canada. By taking recourse to critical race theory, Flores and Rosa argue that there is natural interconnection between race and language, particularly so when it comes to whiteness and linguistic imperialism in the Americas (Flores and Rosa, 622). It

is very crucial therefore to understand and unravel the intersectionality between language and race to have a "more robust understanding of the historical and structural processes that organize the modes of stigmatization" (622) and also to denaturalize the link between race and language as to offer some kind of linguistic justice for Non-native' English speakers of colour who are tagged as lacking linguistic competence (Bereiter and Engelman 1966 qtd. in Rosa and Flores, 621).

4.5.5 It is Not just Me: Collective Stories of Racism

I have witnessed and experienced linguistically threatening and hostile speech acts on numerous occasions since I arrived in Canada as a landed immigrant. When white people speak to other white people of whatever linguistic backgrounds, accents do not matter. What matters is whiteness. Over a decade of my experience of living in the English native speakerist country suggests that native speakerists (like the female officer mentioned before) take the accent asymmetry of white people for granted and use whiteness to compensate for the linguistic asymmetry of white people. What my early experiences of racism suggest is that there is a noticeable linguistic discrimination between white native speakers of English and those who are Non-white in Canada.

I am not alone to voice concerns with regard to 'standard English ideology' or linguistic imperialism as a reality in North America in general and Canada in particular. It is not surprising. Any immigrant of colour who comes to Canada with English as a first, second, third or additional language may have gone through linguistic shock in addition to cultural one—that the way they speak English is derided and inferiorized by Canadians who believe that their English is the only authentic English.

Stephanie Samboo, an English language educator and scholar specializing in ESL, antiracist pedagogy and translingualism, shares her arresting story of how she felt about her English when she immigrated to Canada and joined a college as a teacher of English for academic writing. As a native speaker of English in Singapore—a home to varieties of English including Singapore English, "which was essentially based on British English, and the informal variety"—Samboo gets stunned and embarrassed to find out that one of her 'white' colleagues "commented that my pronunciation of /deɪtə/ (day-tuh) was incorrect and told me that the correct pronunciation was /dætə/ (dah-tuh)"(Samboo, 5). This incident, she realizes, proved to be a revelation for her to the kind of linguistic prejudices that is so entrenched among white Canadians. Being a new Canadian of colour and to make her life easier in college teaching as well as everyday living in private and public spaces, she confesses that she tried to shift her way of talking from Singapore English to Canadian English—syntactically and phonemically. Here is a part of her story where she admits that she had no other way than to 'canadianize' her English:

> This incident made me realize that particular varieties of English are privileged over others in Canada and that I needed to make modifications to my English if I wanted to belong in my adopted country. So, I proceeded to "learn" Canadian English and conscientiously used trunk instead of boot to refer to the storage space in my car and began to tap the t in the word party instead of saying /ˈpɑr.ti/. I became paranoid and self-conscious about my pronunciation of words and made a conscious effort to use the Canadian lexicon. Needless to say, I did not feel a sense of belonging in my workplace and in my adopted country. (Samboo, "Why I Am Hype About . . . ," 5)[15]

What can be inferred from this above excerpt is not that she was exhilarated to learn to speak with 'white' Canadian English, but it was her (like everyone else who is immigrant person of

[15] Samboo, Stephanie. "WHY I AM HYPE ABOUT TRANSLINGUALISM." TESL Ontario, Contact Magazine, April 2018. http://contact.teslontario.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Samboo-Translingualism.pdf. In the article, Samboo tells an arresting story about her experience of being a victim of Canadian English native speaker ideology or Canadian dominant language ideology that considered her English as being not at par with Canadian English. Or in other words, she reports that her Singapore English is incorrect despite her having English as her first language in Singapore. She clearly asserts that this is just not a matter of language being different, but her skin colour that associates her English as she speaks

colour) exigency to try to fit in the system. But as it turns out, the forced 'Candianization' of her English did not last because she found that the problem was, in fact, not in language, but it was rooted to the deeply entrenched ideologies of linguicism or systemic racism, white supremacy and settler colonialism in Canada.

Educator Samboo gets the real revelation which she calls "an epiphany" when she realizes the linguistic mimicry, she had been performing was wrong and "marginalizing and silencing" her own students of colour and "their multilingual voices" (Samboo, 6). She, then, learns that it is not the 'standard' Canadian English that is helpful for her students of colour to succeed but what she calls the "[t]ranslingual disposition" (Sambo, 6) or the free-flowing movement between their way of speaking and writing English to the so-called Canadian English and other languages that would enable them to be expressive and meaningful. So, Stephanie Samboo's narrative illustrates that if white native speakers encounter any Non-white people in any speech contexts, they feel uncomfortable with other people's presence and speech as it becomes aberration of white norms and enact their white superiority syndrome through language at the beginning if it is an academic institution.

According to Samboo's narrative, any linguistic paranoia observed in white individuals we encounter is the reflection of their feeling of being insecure, challenged, and fragile, thinking that 'Non-native' speakers of English are posing threat to their (pre)existing white linguistic and racial privileges. In Robyn DiAngelo's phrasing the enactment of linguistic discrimination is 'white fragility.' By white fragility, DiAngelo means it be "the sociology of dominance: an outcome of white people's socialization into white supremacy and a means to protect, maintain, and reproduce white supremacy,"(119) which is why it "functions like bullying" upon Non-white people (DiAngelo, 118). Thus, Canadian English native speaker ideological bias that Samboo

experienced as a teacher in her campus and a general person of colour speaks to the racial and linguistic bully that every other person of colour experiences on daily basis in universities, campuses, and classrooms where there is the presence of whiteness. Any aberration from whiteness in the appearance of participants in front of 'white' native speakerists is what makes them insanely fragile. The truth is: any discriminatory linguistic treatment based on how one sounds when they speak/write differently than white native speakers/writers is a manifestation of racism, linguistic imperialism, and white supremacy.

4.5.6 "You Speak Good English; Where are You from?": The Dominant Language Ideology of English in Canada

If you are in Canada, and you are from Non-white English-speaking countries or other None-white countries where English is used just as a second language or foreign language, you may have confronted whitely people (Frye qtd. in Condon and Young, 9) judging, admiring, or deriding your English such as "*you speak/write good English, where are you from? Or you speak accented English. I am not getting what you are trying to say, blah, blah, blah*." These kinds of whitely people who judge our culture and language are those who uphold the ideologies of whiteness and "generally consider themselves to be benevolent and good-willed, fair, honest, and ethical"(Frye qtd. in Condon, *I Hope I Join the Band*, 34) and others are not. When a white person with white normative thinking says "*You speak good English*" you would suddenly be swollen up large like a balloon with pride and exhilaration. But if we hear the opposite, we might feel depressed all day, and our day is done spoiling our dinner and start thinking how we could make our English better. But, nevertheless, if we are at least aware of English native speaker ideological bias in Canada, we will start scratching our head at least, feel upset and start strategizing when we must face native speakers again. The belief underlying dominant language

ideology of English is that English spoken by white people is the ideal English whereas English spoken by people of colour is imperfect, deficient, and nonstandard. The implied logic dominant ideology of English ambivalent because it wants non-native speakers of English be interpellated within the linguistic paradigm set by white Canadians, but being there as inferior.

If the ironic statement such as "You have a good English" is followed by complementary questions such as "where you are from?" then we—the persons of colour can notice that we are in a racio-linguistic situation. It also means that we are under the linguistic surveillance based on how we speak and how we appear to them. Tavares observes, "[t]he ideology of native-speakerism elevates speakers of English as an L1 to the highest position socially and linguistically simply on the basis of one having acquired English since birth" (Tavares, 3054). But ironically, despite any number of efforts we, the Non-native speakers of colour, put in order to uplift ourselves toward the direction of L1 from L2, L3, L4, so on and so forth, we will always be considered as inferior in comparison with white native speakers. Therefore, in fact, our linguistic assimilation efforts or trying to sound like 'white' is absurd and problematic.

Before I landed in Canada, I did barely question myself about my English while in Nepal. I learned English from childhood, successfully passed two graduate degrees in English, taught English language and literature for nearly two decades in private and public institutions including graduate studies with linguistics, poetry, Rhetoric, and so forth as major areas of teaching and never questioned by students about my ability to speak English. But when I landed in Canada the pride shattered when I found that 'white' people do not really like/understand the way I was speaking English. I can vividly remember several occasions in wide variety of spaces including university where 'white' professors, administrators, coffee baristas, managers, supervisors, doctors, nurses, schoolteachers (of my kids) would feel uncomfortable with the type

of English I was speaking/writing. I remember a random white person making racist remark—you speak good English, where are you from—while I was on train coming from downtown Calgary to my residence. I did not feel bad at the beginning when he said so, but what he said following my answer that contained my place of origin was very discriminatory. He went— "Oh, you speak English in Nepal!!!How did you learn? Your accent is a hard and sentences are a bit off though!! I almost missed a stop because his remark kept me ruminating on why he said so. I cannot pinpoint as to how many other times and where 'white' peoples—some of whom were younger than me too—jerked their shoulders but said that I spoke good English. Meaning really did not like my English.

The linguistic mimicry, if not used strategically and ambivalently, is not a solution, but a linguistic toxicity that causes harm to oneself and communities of colour thereof. And I am one of them who has encountered multiple times the white speakers who appreciate right in front me my English but mean something else. I have also encountered many such white people who comment upon my spoken and written English as 'incorrect,' 'deficient, and accented.

4.5.7 English Native Speakerists in Canadian University Classrooms

Native speakerist ideology that undergirds Canadian universities, campuses, colleges, and any academic institutions is not a hidden character or a mere coincidence. To put it more directly, native speaker ideology is one of the defining features of Canadian academic institutions. From the perspective of an immigrant student of colour to whom English is an additional language, English native speaker ideology functions as a strict gatekeeper—to provide or freeze access for immigrant persons colour to join Canadian academic institutions. Getting or not getting required points at Canadian language benchmark tests or IELTS (International

English Language Testing System) that would ascertain the journey through the ideology all along.

I had to go through the same standard English ideological trial before joining the Anglophone University despite providing them with enough credentials (MA and MPhil in English from Nepal) including professors' recommendations coupled with my teaching experiences of over a decade. Taken together, I thought that all the materials sent to the university would not only sufficiently convince the selection body that the courses I learnt and taught were in English-only medium but also could signal that I was able to communicate/articulate in English and engage with some of the pressing issues of the discipline I belong to. It is only when I arrived, entered, and started taking some graduate courses, my untested insights that there is a linguistic imperialism which undergirds 'western' academic culture turned out to be true.

Right from admission process through the PhD journey, I have been stumbling upon English native speakers everywhere in the university. Since I have already discussed and shared my experiences of having to live through the linguistic discriminations in the previous chapter on stories of racism in Canadian university, I am not going to repeat the story here again in detail. The *Professor A*'s commentary on my assignment focusing more on grammatical structures than on ideas was native speakerist ideological bias of the professor toward me. Similarly, *Professor B*'s overt distaste toward my English was an example of serious native speakerist bias. *Professor B* overtly comments upon my English by stating the professor does not prefer other varieties of English than North American English and goes as far as threatening that the department does not muster any support for future job search. There were other professors whose focus was more on trying to push me toward Canadian English. I noticed a pattern of thinking among many other

professors who would overtly promote native speaker ideology in classes through various means and measure ranging from selections of readings to one-on-one conferencing to directly negating Other Englishes than Canadian/American/British, and so forth.

It is, however, not just me alone to report having to go through traumatizing effects of native speakerness inside university campus's classrooms and everyday life beyond university premises. In his 2022 article "Neoliberalism, native-speakerism and the displacement of international students' languages and cultures," Vander Tavares investigates problems of native speakerism in Canadian higher education by examining "how the lived experiences of three multilingual international students at a Canadian university were impacted by ideologies stemming from neoliberalism and native speakerism within higher education"(3045). By interviewing three international students from South American countries to whom English is additional language, Tavares found out that native speaker ideology is a fundamental ideology in Canadian university education which contributes to creating "feelings of apprehension, intimidation and self-doubt" (3054).

To critique the native speakerist ideology, Ryuko Kubota et al. highlight that native speaker ideology is a racist construct to benefit majoritarian students. Kubota et al. use critical race theoretical lens for applied linguistic analysis of their participants' stories of lived experiences of racism with respect to English language in Canadian higher education. They find out how experiences of racism "are intersected with language, communication, and semiotic representations" (Kubota, et al, 764) and racialized students of colour "are seen as linguistically deviant and deficient by White listening subjects despite their competence in English" (760). Whether it is Tavares' study of native speaker ideology in a Canadian university or is it Kubota Kubota's CRT informed applied linguistic analysis of native speakerness in Canadian higher

education or my own lived experience of having to live through the English native ideology, English native speaker ideology is a Eurocentric, white supremacist, colonial, and raciolinguistic construct designed to benefit white people, their purpose, and their institutions.

4.5.8 Presence of whiteness and English Native Speakerism as an Instrument of Oppression in Classrooms

Professor B whom I have often mentioned in Chapter 2 to talk about my experience of racism has been sitting in my long-term memory. To recall the encounter with the professor, it was the first year of my PhD program when I attended a course called *Instrument* (this is a pseudonym of a course I attended with them). From day one, the professor was biased toward me. They would not respond to my presentation in a polite manner. They would directly comment in the class that what I presented was not the way it had to be. I could sense their frustration. Initially, I thought—maybe I was making some mistake right there; maybe the way I appeared, the way I talked or maybe I put my views on certain issues completely in contrast with theirs. Their view on postcolonial ambivalence was wrong in my opinion when they denied my opinion about being the side of postcolonial resistance as Bhabha would argue in relation to hybridity. When I shared with another friend of colour about what *the h*.... was going on with the professor about me, she too shared her own stories of being badly treated. And another colleague of mine who is also a person of colour shared a similar experience about her.

In one of the assignments, I handed to them, *Professor B* provided a very infuriating comment directly targeting my English language. It was then I realized the pattern of their discriminatory behaviour mainly toward students of colour. In a comment section, *Prof. B* asserted that they had been aware that many students coming from other countries operate in different English, but they did not try to understand and/or to accept the use of other Englishes in

their class and assignments. *Professor B*'s explicit native speakerist bias was stated clearly at the end of the feedback where the professor warned that I should not ever use Non-standard English for any academic purpose in Canada in particular and North America in general. The professor's commentary was indicative of the fact that Prof. *B* represents the voice of the oppressive white institutions and practices in North America.

Everybody knows that there is a lack of space in everybody's writing. It is true that there are typos—on syntactic, lexical, organizational, and so forth. I know that I could have made it better in terms of presentation had I got enough time to revise a few drafts. Meanwhile, I also have seen awful first, second and even final drafts by white students, professors, and scholars that have several grammatical errors if one must look at writings from a purist and prescriptive view such as the one held by the above professor. I also do know that writing has stages of revisions, editing, polishing, ditching (if not felt satisfied for submission) or the idea that revision is a never-ending process. I can criticize Derrida and Homi K. Bhabha's writings if I criticize just for the sake of criticizing. I could point out by stating that Derrida and Bhabha's writing suffer from heavy verbosity and unintelligibility as regards common readers' access to their ideas. I can find loopholes everywhere if I only want to find weaknesses rather than strengths. From a translingual and critical applied linguistic perspective the professor commentary heavily suffers from North American 'standard' English ideology toxicity and native speakerist ideological bias toward Non-native speakers of English toward those translingual students of colour. The professor's commentary, in fact, is a direct rejection of Other Englishes than so-called North American white only English.

The above experience illustrates the prevalence of English native speaker ideology in Canadian university education. The piece also speaks about the toxic effect of the dominant

language ideology of white Canadian 'native' speakers of English on the 'Non-native' speakers of English in Canadian university classrooms. If any person of colour is complemented by a white person saying that our English is good, we need to think that the person who says so is linguistically paranoid, ambivalent, and ironic about other peoples' Englishes. We take such ironic 'white' compliments for linguistic evaluations and momentarily blow ourselves up like a balloon, we reach home and feel embarrassed as we take a moment to reflect why the 'white' person said, "Wow!!! You speak good English!!! where are you from? And then the balloon inside us implodes. The linguistic judgement: "You speak good English" assumes standard or dominant language ideology in Canada. When dominant language ideology gets constitutional recognition, promoted, and practiced by the state, the ideology naturally percolates into educational institutions as well. What is generally perceived as Canadian culture, Canadianness, Canadian nationalism, Canadian writing studies, Canadian language policies, so on and so forth are all rooted to politics of whiteness and continuing legacies of settler colonialism.

We have to say or spell our names multiple times—to a frustrating extent—to get them recorded correctly if we get a call by a white native speakerist or meet a white native speakerist. Many a time, we give up and go with the way they want to call us that they find comfortable with. And ironically, we receive their compliment, "You speak good English!!....You-have-good-English" as compliments from 'white' folks at numerous places—workplaces, coffee shops, grocery stores, on bus, and so forth. I have also felt, seen and experienced 'white people' expressing unfair gestures of discomfort and fragility with my/our ways of speaking struggling to figure out and quick to correct as they speak to me. Such instances speak to the idea of native speaker ideological bias in particular but racism in general. Their appreciation is never worth a proud moment because I would later get a sense that they, in-fact, are deriding my English or the

way I was speaking. Whenever I encounter a so-called 'standard' English or Canadian English even today, my ears start fluttering and my mouth starts muttering to scramble together the sense that they are trying to pass through my ears no matter whether the person is liberal white, or antiracist ally or pure native speakerist, to be honest. This is because of the long-held trauma of racism which is permanently settled in one corner of my head. The 'raciolinguistic' trauma gets triggered subconsciously when I hear a white person talk to me at the very moment. Nevertheless, my frigid mouth slowly starts to open rather than shut and ears settle rather than flutter once I find out the white speaker of English talking to me is an ally and a co-communicator—that they are not only tolerant of Other Englishes but actively participating in the act of code-meshing Nepali-South Asian-Coloured English with Canadian English. The journey goes on, but the fear and anxiety remain. I never had to go through this kind of racist linguistic or racio-linguistic trial back in the place where I come from even though the struggle with learning and dealing with English in Nepal was complex and weirdly discriminatory.

4.5.9 English Native Speaker (Non)colleagues in Class

It is not only teachers but students too, who have the quality of native English ideological bias toward Non-native English speakers of English in Canadian universities and campuses. While as a student and an instructor, I have numerous experiences of having to see white students believing only on 'standard English language' as the only correct English and all other forms of English as the deviations or incorrect.

I vividly recall the very first day of my MA program in the Fall Term of 2014 in Canada. The name of the course was *R* (pseudonym), and the professor was white. The classroom looked full except for a few seats remaining at the rear. I did not count but there were probably over thirty or forty students in the class. As I quickly glanced from one rear to the front, majority of

that huge class were all white except for very few of us (probably 4) who were persons of colour. Feeling awkward and nervous I slowly sneaked into the rear and took a seat next to a Non-white student. Later I found out that the person was also a newly arrived immigrant just like me.

It was one of my first experiences of sitting in a classroom full of white students and listening to a white professor speaking in standard English in Canada. In the beginning I would find it really hard to follow along the lecture the professor was delivering, follow up discussions and white students talking so fast that I felt as if a car is speeding up way over the limit with all the noise it produces as it speeds up: Vroom, Vroom!!!!! I felt as if the professor and white students alike would take their language for granted believing that there is just one English in the world, and everybody needs to understand it. As days passed by, I clearly saw in the classroom that the dominant language ideology of English was coincided by the professor and other white students racializing behaviour. Throughout the term I witnessed a pattern of white people's behaviour in the classroom—that white students and the professor would normally be disinclined to speak with persons of colour. But on the contrary, they would talk with each other for hours without any hesitation. So, it was not just their adherence to 'standard' English ideology that astonished me the most but the white people common tendency to avoid sitting next to persons of colour and have an engaged conversation or a desire to talk with them unless they find seats where other white students are sitting. *Nevertheless, I can discern that where we sit or with whom we sit is purely a matter of personal choice, but this behaviour is important because it indicates something more than just sitting—racially discriminatory attitude of white people toward persons of colour—particularly those who do not speak English in ways Native speakers of English do.* Meaning, race, and language are intersecting elements when it comes to racio-linguistic discrimination no matter whatsoever is the context.

4.5.10 Encountering English Native Speaker Students in Class: An Instructor of Colour's Perspective

This particular story I am sharing here relates to my experience as an instructor of English for undergraduate students. Over the past years at the Anglophone University, I have taught many courses on academic writing, rhetoric, technical communication, linguistics, and so on. I have instructed in-person and online versions of those courses. I have done TA and GA helping other professors who teach multiple sections a semester.

Throughout my teaching journey as an instructor in Canada, I have had many occasions when 'white' students do not treat teachers of colour who speak different English or accented English as an authentic teacher/professor. Many racially biased students think that being white and being a native speaker of English is equivalent to authenticity and knowledge. To them, any deviation from their norm is illogical and irrational. To them, seeing a person of colour entering the classroom is extraordinary because the education system they grew up in only indoctrinated them the supremacist idea that knowledge is only equivalent to whiteness; and the rest is an exception or an aberration. To them, being knowledgeable and authentic would mean: whether a person is white or not; whether a person is native speaker of English or not, whether a person speaks like white or not.

Every time I enter a class full of white students, I automatically feel burdened with the self-awareness of my colour, and the type of English I speak. In other words, entering a class full of white students engenders fear and insecurity because of the background of the spectre of whiteness always haunts seeing those students—most of whom are also genuinely friendly, helpful, cooperative and antiracist. It is equally false to claim that every white person is racist. It is also not true that the feeling of intimidation or the self-awareness of our racial and linguistic

identity is because of these students who have not done any harm or have no racist intent. There is nothing wrong simply because there are white students. Nevertheless, it is also true that white supremacy is so pervasive that there is unseen influence of whiteness because of the historical legacy of white supremacy and racism in Canada. Therefore, just a presence of a white person irrespective of their attitude and perspective—racist, antiracist or neutral—is enough to threaten a person of colour. The situation is more challenging for a person of colour teaching a class where majority white students speak only standard English and hate or defy other Englishes

It is due to the feeling of being unsafe in white dominant society or college/university classroom coupled with experiences of having to face racism on everyday basis, many persons of colour take to a course of linguistic assimilation or mimicry of whiteness due to the awareness of being insecure. But even the proficiency does not suffice unless the person is white.

As a teacher of rhetoric, I could sense that there is greater enthusiasm among 'white' students when it comes to doing readings from 'western' white writers such as Aristotle or cicero, but the same degree enthusiasm is scarce when it comes to readings about 'Non-white' or Non-western societies. In one of the past semesters, I offered a course which contained readings as well as audio-visual materials with heavier presence of varieties of English, white students were surprisingly quiet. When asked to participate in discussions, they would take short-cut and detour the topic of discussion toward something else that would avoid issues pertaining to racism and Englishes. General impression of mine about majority of white students in every semester I teach my own syllabus is that they are not comfortable with the idea of Englishes and discussion on the existence of varieties of English.

For instance, when students were offered to do Vershawn A. Young's "Should Writers Use They Own English?" I found not only white students but also students of colour reacted that

Young had grammatical errors. Their argument that the essay had grammatical error was guided by their long held 'standard' English only perspective—white or even Non-white students alike—because they had never been exposed to critical thinking about the whole notion of 'standard' and 'Non-standard' English. Unlike majoritarian students, most Non-white students were found very open to such discussions and showed greater interests in learning about the fact that there are different Englishes.

The problem of linguistic racism is not of an individual student who feels uncomfortable talking about racism. The problem emanates from Canadian educational system which promotes English native speaker ideology right from elementary school system. Multilingual children of colour, especially those who speak their own home language at home are often tagged as speaking deficient English when they automatically mesh the 'standard' Canadian English with words and inflections from home language.

A Nepali Canadian child going to grade 1 or 2 might have a noun followed by a verb in their utterance or in writing. Many children (including my own sons) tend to not have 'the correct' subject-verb agreement in terms of number. They might have plural subject followed by singular verb or vice- versa, to which Canadian trained 'white' or Non-white teachers alike would consider as grammatical error—let alone teaching them about linguistic reality that there are many more possible Englishes that people speak. This is how the children are whitewashed from the very beginning. Getting to read Vershawn A. Young's piece on code meshing suddenly in undergraduate level is a terrible shock, so to speak. Therefore, it is not unexpected why white students get fragile or freak out when they confront texts which directly challenge whiteness or their long held English native speakerist ideology. Through white pedagogy practices, reading materials they are exposed to everyday, socio-cultural semiotics they see, read, and hear on

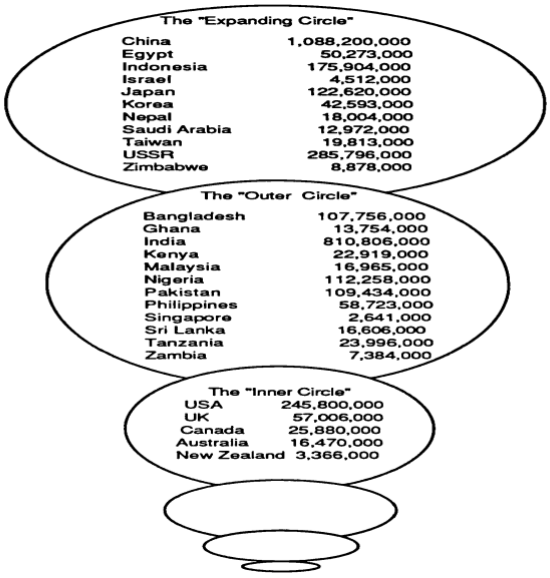
various media such as TV commercials; white and even Non-white students build and cement their assumption that whiteness is the norm, and everything needs to be examined from 'white' European worldview. By the same equation, they internalize that any act, belief, and value system that does not abide by rules and standards set by white institutions is not only aberration but heredity or cultural deficit.

4.6 (Under)ground Plurilinguistic Reality in Canada: Revisioning Kachru's Model and De-territorializing Inner Circle English Speaking Countries

According to Braj Kachru's concentric circle model, Britain, United States of America, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand are the inner circle English speaking countries. Kachru's three-circle-model of English is based primarily on pluralistic logic of linguistic diversity and "the global spread of English" (Kachru, 3), as a result of "diverse sociocultural contexts and diverse uses of the language in culturally distinct international contexts" (5). Even though Kachru does not clearly spell out what those culturally distinctive international contexts are, he proposes the idea of multiple Englishes(aka World Englishes) rather than one English given the fact that English is spoken and used differently in diverse sociocultural contexts and locations globally.

In today's context, Kachru's model presented below is significant only to the extent it provides at least a rudimentary lens to view the global landscapes of English language use in countries like Canada where there is a global flow of Englishes from other countries to Canada due to immigration and internationalization of education. Moreover, the model serves to ascertain the fact that English language as such has been ever expanding. Kachru's model however turns out to be problematic in its structural presentation and insufficient to track the ever-increasing presence of World Englishes coming from outer and expanding circles to inner

circle countries like Canada and the US. Given below is the model developed by Braj Kachru to examine the existence and diffusion of Englishes rather than one English:



(Figure 1: Braj B. Kachru's Concentric Circles Model)

According to Kachru, the three-circle model is diffusive/centrifugal but hierarchical linguistic model which not only represents dynamics of English language as ever expanding and plural, but it represents power dynamics between countries based on ways in which English is used. The inner circle represents Eurocentric, white dominant countries where perceived native speakers are white born into English language, outer circle represent the countries that were previously colonized by British, and the third circle signifies developing countries where English language is used as international/foreign language for specific purpose. If inner circle represents 'western' countries from where diffusion of English language starts and spreads into remaining circles, outer circle represents the formally colonized countries where English language was enforced and hence spoken as native/official language, and the expanding circle represents infinite spread from the previous two circles for various reasons. Kachru's three circle model also holds postcolonial perspective which means inner circle represents 'we' and remaining two represent

'Other.' This binary concept is important to examine how all the circles are in hierarchical relations in which the inner circle has historically treated countries in other circles and Englishes spoken as used there as inferior, deficient, and imperfect. From diffusion standpoint though, the expanding circle offers linguistic insights to observe how far and/or how fast English has diffused with how many different Englishes or (sub)varieties of English and for what reasons the spread is continuing to happen faster now than ever before.

The model, however, has received a range of criticisms from applied linguists and translingualists for failing to represent the overlapping nature of the concentric boundaries which Kachru thinks are distinctive. The model fails to critically nuance the emergence and expansion of Englishes inside inner circle countries even though it still contains theoretical and methodological relevance to examine the widespread use of Englishes in multiple forms and purposes.

From the Kachruvian model, Nepal is placed within an "expanding circle," whereas Canada is an 'inner circle.' On the flipside, Nepali English, South Asian Englishes, or immigrant Englishes have traveled (beyond Kachru's imagination) back to so-called inner circles. These inward bound movements of World Englishes have made the boundaries not only fuzzy but impossible at the same time. This does, however, not negate the Kachruvian model because it still provides an important critical linguistic window to view ontological and "sociolinguistic reality of world Englishes" (9).

One of the striking implications of the diagram is to point out the idea that there is no single, uniform, and ideal English (Kachru believes that purist pundits/English native speakerists adhere to only the type of English spoken and used by white people in the UK, the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand as the perfect English). By having the subversive linguistic rationale that

there are ‘World Englishes” rather than ‘the English,’ Kachru’s argument echoes to Bakhtin’s notion of heterogeneity and linguistic poststructuralist belief on multiplicity. To a greater extent, Kachru’s applied linguistic model of three concentric circle model represents the linguistic realism that English is probably the most diverse and heterogeneously spoken and used language in post imperial/colonial era. However, one thing Kachru didn’t sufficiently explain is the fact that the hierarchical English language world-order his model imagines will also be challenged because of newer form of globalization(aka ‘Non-westernization of the ‘west’ due to factors such as hemispheric migrations of multicultural/multilingual peoples from global South to the global North immigration, changing political world-order in which countries from global south such as China, India, South Africa, and so many other countries have been exerting influence over the ‘western countries. When the flow of multilingual-multicultural people and their World Englishes move downwards toward the inner circle in much the same way the English language diffused and spread outward into inner circle historically, the concentric circular boundaries become blurry and porous. For instance, due to increasing trend of immigration of multilingual and multicultural people from developing world, Canada’s status as an inner circle country is made complicated due to the fact that there all Kachruvian concentric circles are present. There are majority white speakers of English who consider themselves as authentic native speakers, whereas there are incredible number of people from outer and expanding circle who speak World Englishes. In that sense, Kachruvian three-circle model is not able to fully account for all the (extra)linguistic changes taking place so rapidly within and between those circles due to modern global phenomena relating to world politics, immigration, multidirectional global flows of ideas and people together with increasing internationalization and marketization of education.

To sum up, through the interconnected and diffusive concentric circle model, Kachru demonstrates massive diffusion or spread of English language outward the countries that have root to Britain or European cultural, racial, and linguistic heritage. Kachru thinks that "the reasons for the diffusion and penetration of English are complex" (5) and holds that there are "diverse sociocultural contexts"(5) for the growing users of English, special in countries of the 'expanding circle. 'However, he does not substantiate on those contexts, neither does he talk about why and how reasons are complex to account for the diffusion. The model still makes sense and is relevant to examine why the concentric circles are maintained today as ideological constructs by the inner circle countries such as Canada where native speaker ideology and dominant language ideology relating to English is a national-historical character and has a common racial and sociocultural root to whiteness and Europeanness.

4.7 Conclusion

In chapter 3, I discussed about native speakerism as a European nationalist, colonial/imperial and racist ideological construct. Nevertheless, this chapter opened up with theoretical discussion on native speakerism as a monolingual, purist, discriminatory, colonial and racist ideology which has often been used to inferiorize 'Non-native' speakers of a given language which is considered as native. Native speaker ideology holds that there are certain speakerist ideals to conceptualize and identify only certain group of people belonging to a given nation-state and isolate others as 'non-native.' And based on such discriminatory and binary conceptualization, Non-native speakers are racio-linguistically marginalized. The general theoretical discussion, then, led to English native speakerist ideology(ENSI) to talk about the global nature and consequences of English native speakerist ideology in general followed by ENSI's historical legacy, present state and its consequences in Nepal. To further demonstrate and

critical-applied-linguistically examine the rhetorical context of the ideology, I drew extensively upon my own lived experiences of having to grow up and make my academic career under the hegemony of English native speaker ideology. Among other things, one of the purposes of the chapter was to dig an avenue to demonstrate certain parallelism between globality of English native speaker ideology as being so historically evident in Nepal and the entrenchment of English native speaker ideology as a colonial, Eurocentric, racist, and white supremacist construct in Canada. The present chapter, however, is not so distinctive from chapter three, but it is an expansion of the previous chapter to demonstrate how English native speaker ideology is an imperial/colonial, white supremacist, and racist construct in Canada which is a representative inner circle country from the point of view of a South Asian immigrant experience of the ideology.

From the juxtaposition of my experiences of the presence of English native speaker ideology in Nepal and the presence of ENSI in Canada, I have gained the insight that English native speaker ideology operates differently in different countries despite its common characteristics regarding how English language and its white speakers are perceived, treated and used as ideal speakers and users of English language and others are not . Some of the differences have to do with the involvement of ethnicity, casteism, race, and racism. In countries like India and Nepal or outer and expanding circles (according to Kachruvian scheme of three concentric circle of English) where there is no direct presence of whiteness, English native speaker ideology has less to do with racism and more to do with Non-white people's collective imagination about English native speaker as an ideal that the British colonizers had implanted during their imperial/colonial mission. The lack of racist elements in non-white outer and expanding circles is because English is spoken and used by people other than 'white.' In sharp contrast, English

native speaker ideology is intrinsically connected with racism, white supremacy and linguistic imperialism in Canada or inner circle countries of English. To that end, English (also French) language in Canada does have apparent white cultural capital and often used in academic or non-academic contexts as a colonial apparatus (because it is so easily and freely available and usable too for 'white' people in the inner circle countries) to silence, oppress, or victimize Non-white, non-Christian, non-European, Black, Indigenous, and immigrant people of colour.

Secondly, English native speakerists in the *outer circle* unconsciously function as surrogate of the metropolitan English native speaker countries—the conscious and unconscious followers, supporters, and advocates of the ENS in the outer and expanding circle countries become agents/vehicle of the ENS ideology even without having actual presence of 'white' English native speakerists. For instance, during British Raj, English colonial officers such as Lord Macauley "initiated planned activity for introducing the English language into South Asian education" (Kachru, 500) with the view to create English surrogate subculture with a "class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect" (Macaulay qtd. in Kachru, 506) through Indian middle-class people known as *Babus* (once highly prestigious term is now received as offensive because the colonizers often used this term to demean Indian English speakers as subordinate English spoken by the colonized Indians). Later, the British tagged the English spoken by the middle-class Indians as *Babu English* (*Baboo English)* "marked by excessive stylistic ornamentation, politeness and indirectness" (509) to represent a sense of linguistic subordination.

However, in post-independence era, the inner circle countries found out another way of forging the NES ideology into expanding circles—through neo-linguistic imperial institutions such as the British Council, American culture centres, Peace Corps, and so forth. British Council

in Non-English-speaking countries helps perpetuate "myths about the significance and necessity of learning English and in ensuring that English has outstripped the teaching of other languages worldwide" (Anne Burn, 10, April 2013)[16]. Similarly, Peace Corps' is an American agency running its projects related to English education[17] in countries like Nepal where it aims to "enable students to attain communication skills in English necessary to access academic and/or professional opportunities" ("Projects in Nepal," npg.). This statement is ideologically biased with assumption that students or teachers without English are deprived of any professional development or access to academic and professional opportunities without 'western' native English (the type of English Peace Corps believes is native to the Kachru's inner circle, but not deviant/nativized/pidginized/creolized forms of English). Moreover, such absolutist assumption also illustrates 'white/western' supremacist native speaker ideological bias toward the Non-'white' countries, their people, their own national and local languages. and global varieties of English (such as South Asian English, Indian English, Nepali English and so forth). More ambivalent about those agencies is that they do not consider nativized versions of English or world Englishes across the world as identifiable and authentic English. Overall, these agencies' actions indicate that they cater to the same linguicist ideology of the *inner circle*.

[16] Burns, Anne. "Is English a form of linguistic imperialism?" *British Council*. 10 April 2013 - 14:51. In the article, published on British Council website, Burns criticizes English speaking countries' major educational agencies such as British Council for being the vehicle of linguistic imperialism. She quotes Phillipson who is radically defiant of linguistic imperialism of the 'west.'

[17] In 1992 publication *Teaching English as a Foreign Language*, a teaching manual for volunteering individuals to teach English, Peace Corps states that the "host country requested an English education project to improve opportunities for future development. English language skills provide access to information and technology from around the world. While your students are learning English, they also have an opportunity to stretch their minds in new ways. Through communicative activities, they have their ideas challenged and they are exposed to an active style of learning. And working with enthusiastic Peace Corps Volunteers like yourself, students and teachers raise their aspirations and ideas of what is possible to achieve" (Peace Corps, npg).

Adherence with and temptation to the so called 'standard' English in countries like Nepal is enormously increasing in much the same way as the tendency to nativize/Nepalicize/hybridize also has simultaneously been taking form shape in non-academic, non-pedagogic, non-professional, or informal sociocultural contexts. The contributing factors for the growing interest in 'standard'/native English include massive upsurge of new media and social media at the turn of 21st century, private school's overt emphasis on English, immigration, recent spike in number of postsecondary students choosing to study abroad in countries where English is the official/native language (because postsecondary students or people considering immigration to English speaking countries must secure required IELTS and TOEFL score as an eligibility criteria). Additionally, the postcolonial upswing in promotion of 'standard' English language is also because of "cultural homogenization" (Appadurai qtd. in Karki, 4) or 'westernization' of Non-western countries through promotion of 'western' languages and cultures by core English speaking 'western' countries.

In contrary with outer circle or expanding circle, exploring English (also French) native speaker in Canada entails consideration of racism, white supremacy, linguistic imperialism, settler colonialism and so forth because experiences of Indigenous, Black and 'Non-white immigrant people of colour suggest that native speakerist ideological bias is a reality. Forms of racism, whiteness, and native English speaker ideology in Canada come in full package to racio-linguistically (Nelson Flores and Jonathan Rosa, (racially+linguistically) *colonize* the so-called non-native speakers of English who are Non-white. There is, however, another angle of linguistic discrimination in Canada concerning white non-native speakers of English, which I am not exploring any further because effects of English native speakerism on white non-native speakers is more a matter of English proficiency, performance, and discourse on second language

acquisition rather than racism. Any critical examination of the English native speaker ideology without taking into consideration its ties with British imperialism/colonialism (includes settler colonialism), European ethnocentrism, racism, and white supremacy remains incomplete. Failing to analyze the imperial/colonial cause embedded withing the ideology is not only insufficient but represents complicity with the 'white English ideology,' linguistic racism, and white supremacy. From Robert Phillipson's point of view, such indifference or reluctance to incorporate imperial/colonial ethos associated with English language is to support "the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages" (47). Let alone the dismantlement of the dominant language ideology or linguistic imperialism.

While the present chapter has discussed about unlearning, decentering, and dismantling native speakerism as raciolinguistic, colonial and white supremacist practices through CRT informed applied linguistic theoretical perspective, in the subsequent chapters(five& six), I will focus on history as another area and method to decenter whiteness in Canada. Chapter five will focus on history in general as an epistemic and ideological discourse followed by various discourses around the history of/in Canada. Whereas the sixth chapter will be specifically dealing with my critical(decolonial/antiracist) examination of writing/composition studies history(brief) and certain historicizing practices within mainstream Canadian writing studies scholarship.

Chapter 5

History

5.1 What is History? To begin with…

> History, so far as it serves life, serves an unhistorical power. While so subordinated it will and ought never, therefore, become a pure science like, say, mathematics. But the question to what degree life requires the service of history at all is one of the highest questions and concerns affecting the health of a man, a people, a culture. For with a certain excess of history life crumbles and degenerates, and finally, because of this degeneration, history itself degenerates as well.

Friedrich Nietzsche, On the advantage and disadvantage of history for life, 14)

In this section, I will use history as not just a field of study but a decentering mechanism to expose, unravel and resist colonial/imperial historical practices in Canada. Above words are from Nietzsche's work relating to his inquiry into history and its (ir)relevance to human life. History is relevant to the extent that it serves common people who are not at power. Any history talk begins with a preliminary question: what is history? People generally understand that 'history' is a (study of) written account of past events to show changes, continuities, and discontinuities over time. By this assumption, a history can refer to an account of events related to the origin of the universe (be it events (re)shaping the universe since the big bang). It could of course be a geogenic account of the Earth and its evolution. Or to simply put—natural history. But here I am discussing Sapiens(human) history of a specific kind.

The idea of 'history' should be understood in two distinct ways: the history of a state or statist History (initial *h* is capitalized intentionally) and the other is the history from below or the history representing voices and identities of the marginalized people. Similarly, the term history is understood and conceptualized differently by different peoples based on their geographical, historical, and cultural background. Yuval Noah Harari defines history as a *story* of cultural

development (*Sapiens* . . ., 25). By cultural development he means evolution of techniques with which human beings(sapiens) structured their ways of survival and through their 'cognitive,' 'agricultural,' and 'scientific,' developments over the course of a few thousand years (Harari, 25). For Michel Foucault, a history is a story or discourse of representation made by people in power to validate their rule over the ones who are powerless. Foucault notes that since history is constructed to serve purposes of those in power, it is temporal—power structure or people in power changes, so does history. In that sense, for Foucault, history cannot be "the compilation of factual successions or sequences as they may have occurred (*The Order of Things*, 237). In other words, history is a discursive formation which contains historical representations of those who are powerful and as a rule invite resistance on the part of those who are dis/mis/represented.

For Friedrich Nietzsche, history is directly connected with life. He states that when "life crumbles and degenerates, and finally, because of this degeneration, history itself degenerates as well" (14). Even though Foucault and Nietzsche hold differing opinions upon the notion of 'history' they seem to agree that 'history' as such is not absolute—it is subject to disavowal and change. The inevitability of resistance to 'history' or its downfall is because it always seeks to serve the power of the authority or state. History and power are connected sites.

5.2 Methods of Historical Analysis: Traditional Historicism vs New Historicism

There are two methods of historical analysis: traditional historicist and new historicist analytical methods. The former seeks to explore historical events as they unfold from the very subjective perspective of the person doing the analysis. The traditional historical approach to study history based on close reading tends to present worldview in a limited sense foreclosed by unitary perspective as to "the celebration of genius (Gallagher and Greenblatt, 9). In contrast, the new historicist approach to history directly questions the veracity of traditional historicist

tendency as hegemonic and offers to revamp the history from multiple angles. New historicist perspective is an alternative perspective, which, unlike old historicism, "scrutinizes the barbaric acts that sometimes underwrite the high cultural purposes and asks that we not blink away out complicity" (Veeser, XI). New historicism is useful to re-examine contexts such as settler colonialism because it is "subversive in critique and destructive in impact" (Veeser, X), just like post/anti colonial theory and method.

For example, using traditional historical analysis of settler colonialism in Canada would only (re)paint the same picture that Eurocentric white Canadians had already painted (re)arguing "lands in Canada were legally vacant when Europeans arrived on their shores"(Burrows, 1) and it was turned into a unified country by great European explorers. But, upholding a new historicist perspective will challenge such colonialist rhetoric of *terra nullius* through constant interrogation from heterogenous angles including those Indigenous peoples, and will subvert such narrative as mere justification of colonization. Unlike the old historicist method of writing/analyzing history, the new historicist approach is similar to the post/de/colonial and critical race theoretical method of inquiry given its cross-disciplinary, multidimensional, interrogating, and subversive characteristics.

Some critics, however, accuse that new historicism is reductive and anti-intellectual because, for them, it "may incapacitate scholarly armature of proof and armature" because new historicist method privileges non-traditional genres such as stories while at the same time 'renegotiates" and "dissolves" privileged genres and insights into old " historical complex"(Veeser, xii). In contrast, Gallagher and Greenblatt argue that "new historicist readings are more often skeptical, wary, demystifying, critical and even adversarial" (Gallagher and Greenblatt, 9). Those who denounce new historicism by accusing it to be reductive and 'anti-

intellectual' are "conventional scholars–entrenched, self-absorbed, protective of guild loyalties, and turf, specialized in the worst senses"(Veeser, ix). Therefore, since new historicism goes against conventional knowledge, the new historicist insights are useful to examine the history of writing studies in Canada by turning settler colonialism into a historical complex which has been continuing to marginalize and oppress BIPOC and gendered identities.

Assuming a new historicist perspective to (re)examine the history of composition studies and its practices in Canada also means that the history needs to be put against the backdrop of settler colonialism in the past as well as in the present to expose the otherwise hidden politics othering inside writing studies culture in Canada. Such analytical framework would also help justify the exclusionary politics of whiteness as a major underlying ideology which has pushed the voices and identities of/from the margins into absent present. Juxtaposing the history of Canadian Writing studies with the larger history of Canada would give readers some speculative and comparative glimpses of how both histories are rooted/routed to the Eurocentrism, settler colonialism, 'white' nationalism, and linguistic imperialism that contributed to forming Canadian nationalism, so to speak. Moreover, leaving the Canadian rhetoric and writing history un-interrogated means that we are all complicit with the politics of whiteness and participate in the act of our own marginalization in the field. It is the self-inflicted injury.

5.3 Discursive History of/in Canada: How Does it Matter? To Whom?

The term 'discourse' is a linguistic register that implies a particular use of language in and between sentences in a given context through which language users participate to (re)generate or (re)present a certain meaning or idea or knowledge. Any discourse entails plural sentences, their interrelation(s), and a particular context so that certain ideas get expressed or represented. But,

when rhetorical contexts, purpose, medium, participants and perspective of the participants change, then the discourse changes as well.

Differences between discourses or discursive conditions arise when contexts, perspectives, ideologies, and socio-cultural identities which contribute to creating a particular discourse differ. The difference between any two discourses or discursive formations means that both discourses adhere to different ideological perspectives and different worldviews with which to examine a particular topic of discussion. Moreover, one of the major factors responsible for any discursive formation or creating difference between discourses is existing power relations between participants of a given discourse. It also means, then, if power dynamics changes, discourse also changes.

By relating discourse to representational practices through language use, Norman Fairclough points to "alternative and often competing discourses, associated with different groups of people in different social positions" (17) because of existing hierarchies or asymmetrical social relation(s) in a given community or communities make it possible for having diversity of discourses or representations. Similarly, it is likely that even one discourse community (which shares common values) can have alternative or different or contesting discourses or representations of ideas on the same issue if people in the same community perceive the world and use language differently. Discourse also refers to how knowledge is constructed in a specific social system to fulfill a particular intent or purpose. In other words, discourse requires 'intent' as an element to be able to justify the construction of the specified knowledge. As such, discourses can be found anywhere, where knowledge is constructed.

From a discourse studies point of view, there is a difference between 'history *in* Canada' and 'history *of* Canada.' History *of* Canada is related to the history of Canada as a country since

its confederation in 1867 and the historical precedents that led up to the origin of the country and its aftermath. Moreover, the idea of 'history of Canada' tends to erase Indigenous history in the first place and foregrounds Europeans' history instead. Exploring and understanding the troubled history of Canada involves juxtaposing the discourse of settler colonialism—origin of European (British and French) colonization in Canada, its maintenance, and its detrimental consequences—with historical realities of dispossessed and marginalized peoples which includes Indigenous peoples, Black people, and all immigrant people of colour. Whereas in the phrase—history *in* Canada—'history' represents a container of all possible histories in Turtle Island. 'History *in* Canada' refers to recognition of Indigenous peoples' history (in which Indigenous peoples understand and perpetuate their understanding of their self-generated history, but not what outsiders imposed on and interpreted their history to be) in the first place followed by settler colonial history and other histories of marginalized people. Using 'history-in-Canada' notion, I privilege the history of Indigenous peoples in the first place while also critiquing the settler colonial history of Canada and its larger consequences. Similarly, using history-of-Canada view I could identify the origin and then interrogate and subvert the historical legacy of oppressions in Canada.

As regards the 'history *of* Canada', quite well-known early originary colonialist discourse suggests that the North American continent was both "an obstacle or an objective" for the 'European explorers' (Scott, 25). The obstacle discourse means that their first arrival in North America was accidental while navigating the route to what Scott W. See calls "the riches of Asia" (25). Colonial interpretation of the obstacle refers to the vastness of the Indigenous peoples' lands which the Europeans had never imagined before. North America is nearly three times larger than Europe, and present-day Canada alone would be equivalent to "roughly the size

of the European continent . . .” (Scott, 8). This vastness presented them with the ever-increasing hostility that their idea to explore and colonize would be inadequate to match the nature and the extent of landmass and Indigenous knowledge of cartography and navigational map making. The European idea behind North America as an objective is associated with their material motive or the motive of possessing the land for supplying resources to Europe and eventually settling there. In that light of materialist/colonialist thinking, European explorers and settlers took North America as a place of wonder that they had never seen before. This all said, just like language and story as fields and methods, new-historicist and postcolonial examination of history and historical discourse surrounding Canada offers decentering opportunity to explore, debunk and resist the persistence of Eurocentrism.

5.4 Eurocentric History of Canada

Canadian history is routed/rooted to Eurocentric heritage with two different European linguistic and cultural background. One is British and the other one is French. In other words, the evolutionary history of Canada is the combination of Anglophone and Francophone histories built on Turtle island. However, in spite of existing linguistic and cultural differences between the two identities, Canadian history in general is rooted to common Eurocentric cultural tradition and whiteness.

Francophone Canadians’ connection with their roots, origin, and culture goes back to France, but 1759 English conquest over French left Francophone Canadians with unique Francophone sensibilities that “would lead to persistent conflict between two particularistic visions, two alternative visions of Canadian history” (Resnick, 26). Two important aspects underpinning Francophone sensibility in Canadian history are notions of marginalization and uniqueness. On the one hand, Francophone Canadians believe that they are culturally and

linguistically marginalized in Canada with the fear that they are being absorbed by Anglophone Canadian cultural and linguistic traditions, and on the other they believe that they should maintain their Francophone identity in Canada. While francophone Canadians demonstrate their "appetite in French Canada" (27), Anglophone Canadians connect Canada's history with British monarchy and values believing that Canada was founded by British monarchy and people of British origin. However, from Non-European perspective, what made it possible for the co-existence of both identities is their shared history and culture—settler colonial history, their common European roots, and cultural heritages. Settler colonialism is the common ideological foundation that has put them together, historically.

Canadian settler colonial history is a textual venture of self-representation and justification for colonization in Canada. Settler colonial history presents whiteness and Europeanness as being superior, civilized, and their rule in Canada being the manifestation of colonial ideology of "Civilizing Mission or the Whiteman's Burden" to civilize the Native peoples (Bhabha 83). Similarly, the colonialist historiography is also an incessant textual desire to (re)produce British/French colonial culture by "the strategies of exclusion" (Boehmer 76) of accounts of their violence and catastrophe over the Native peoples or by the colonialist politics of inclusion of the colonized peoples as "less human, less civilized, as child or savage, wild man, animal, or headless mass"(76).

By extension, the politics of inclusion and exclusion in settler colonial history of Canada—whether Anglophones or Francophones—was essentially guided by the same colonial logic of justifying and projecting their 'white' identities as civilized and rational onto the constructed identities of the colonized as 'other' and uncivilized. Any colonial/statist history presents events in a vertical manner in a system where everything is viewed and decided by a phallic centre. In

other words, statist history buttresses phallocentric worldviews. By equation, statist history of Canada is the (his)tory of 'white' peoples and their colonial/imperial adventure—their arrival(accidental/planned) and their encounter with the lands and the peoples that they found exotic. However, the 'white' history does not present another side of the reality that the Indigenous peoples in Canada also found that Europeans were exotic.

Secondly, statist history of Canada is the history of glorification of the 'white,' their arrival, settlements, encounters, wars, educations, farming, culture, languages, and everything related to Europeans. In 'white' ethnocentric understanding history of Canada is the summative history of different Europeans coming together in a new place that was not theirs. For them, this history is also the summation of their deeds they have done in present day Canada, which otherwise was not possible to conduct in their places of origin. So, learning about Canada or any settler colonial country is also learning about White Europeans.

Claude Bissell's history note summarizes the presence of Europeanness in Canada. In the note he states that "Canada was a European country in a North American environment" (4). While to anglophone Canadians including Vincent Massey, a Canadian High Commissioner (1935-1946), chairman of Royal Commission (1949), the Governor General (1952-195), and the ardent loyalist to British monarchy and Europe, Canada was England, and to Francophone whites, it was France. And to the rest of white people who do not identify with either party would associate it with idealized Europe and 'western' world. According to 'white' Canadians, "to be a Canadian was to adapt the European tradition to the peculiarities of the new world (Bissell 4).

5.4.1 (Un)learning the Textuality of whiteness in Canadian History Making

(Un)learning the discourse of whiteness necessitates the understanding whiteness as a colonial/political/racist construct. Whiteness in Canadian history is a colonial/political construct to identify white settlers as 'superior,' 'civilized,' and 'exploring' race. The construction of the concept is predicated on their assumed but differential identification with Indigenous peoples as 'inferior,' 'uncivilized,' and 'barbaric.' While the formative meaning remains permanently the same in Canada, whiteness as a colonial and racist construct has been received and used differently (directly/indirectly/systemically) in the ways it fits and benefits white people in general as a matter of privilege. The potency of whiteness as a privilege has a political, cultural, economic, and judicial bearing to perpetuate and strengthen 'white' hegemony over Non-white populations. Therefore, the basic (un)learning of the logic of whiteness in Canada means that white people consider themselves as superior, and their actions need no justification, whereas the people of other races are subordinate, and their actions need to be judged from the parameters set by 'white' people.

Secondly, unlearning white nationalist discourse in Canadian history implies the ancestral background of white Canadians. From this nomenclature, being Canadian means either being Anglophone and Francophone Canadians. The presence of whiteness in Canadian history suggests that whiteness and Europeanness are co-referential denominators—each referencing the other when it relates to their colonial legacy, their values, political system, and their ways of looking at the Non-white identities. From non-White, postcolonial and anti-racist point of view, all forms of whiteness or 'white identities'—whether anglophone or francophone—are subsets within the general continuum of whiteness. This also means that the white nationalist or settler

colonial discourse of Canada does not necessarily discriminate between which site(s) of the continuum they belong.

(Un)learning the logic of white presence in Canada is not too difficult, and the route to understanding the history of Canada as a country is not too winding and convoluted because the presence of whiteness in Canada or the settler colonial history of Canada is not too different than its presence in Asia, Africa, America, and elsewhere. In other words, the presence of whiteness in the world in general and Canada in particular follows only the colonial/imperial logic. So, by ideological equivalence of colonialism, understanding the history and nature of European colonization in a colonized country also helps unlearn a lot about the settler colonial history of Canada.

European colonizers carried with them and used the same ideologies of colonialism everywhere they went under the guise of exploration and trade. There were localized differences with regard to operations of the colonization, but colonized peoples all around the world had similar personal/historical narratives of their colonized experiences—having to lose land, cultural and linguistic decimation such as the residential schools in the history of Canada and plundering of natural resources in India and Africa. One of the differences between countries like Canada and other previously colonized countries is this: Unlike most previously colonized nations that have gained independence, Canada continues to experience the ongoing reality of settler colonialism.

(Un)learning the history of Canada requires narrating the colonial history of Canada. Even though originary story of Canada and what played out into the making of the legacy of present-day-Canada is not too lengthy, taking up this longue durée of Canada as a country since its federation or even prior to the point of Indigenous peoples' encounter with the Europeans, is a

broad venture here and doing so is to reproduce the same thing over again. However, critical Canadian history can be approached with perspectival differences of peoples of different racial backgrounds who have been living here.

From the perspective of many white Canadians, the nation's founding is an epic of their ancestors' adventure, courage, and perseverance. This narrative of struggle often highlights frequent wars with both one another and with Indigenous peoples. From this perspective of whiteness, the formation of Canada is the result of "energetic Europeans to explore and settle." (Scott 25). This unlearning of the history of Canada also suggests that colonialism converts the unusual into the ordinary and vice versa by the false colonial rhetoric—absenting the presence and presenting the absence.

Whereas unlearning 'history in/of Canada' from Indigenous peoples' perspective provides a diametrically opposite picture about Canada. Indigenous peoples lived in present-day Canada for thousands of years. If Canadian history for whiteness is replete with accounts of European adventure, bravery, and universalization of their colonial acts (as if their arrival, settlement, and rule in North America were natural human phenomena), for Indigenous peoples, Canadian history is the history of devastation and loss of Indigenous peoples' history, languages and cultures. Learning about the history of Canada from Indigenous perspective is to read the history from below—the perspective of Indigenous peoples as colonized. Looking at the history of Canada from below also means to highlight the understanding and interpretation of the history of Canada from the perspective of the colonized.

Stories of Indigenous peoples tell that during the initial stage of arrival in the Indigenous land (which European historiographers call the New World), Europeans started with trade relations with the Native peoples, and then slowly used military force coupled with their colonial

policy of divide-and-rule, and faking treaties to take the full control of the land. It was the most common colonial tactic of the Europeans everywhere they went. For instance, British and other Europeans went to India in the name of trade first. And once settled there for business, they established contacts and forged alliances with the local tradesmen, corrupt magistrates, and rulers by giving them what wholesome money and goods they wanted. They also used the military force to finally subjugate the total landmass of India. Portraying the vicious picture of plunder, Shashi Tharoor exemplifies that:

> The British had subjugated a vast land through the power of their artillery and the cynicism of their amorality. They displaced nawabs and maharajas for a price, emptied their treasuries as it pleased them, took over their states through various methods (including, from the 1840s, the cynical 'doctrine of lapse' whenever a ruler died without an heir), and stripped farmers of their ownership of the lands they had tilled for generations. (Tharoor, 3).

This small anecdote relating to colonial India relates to the settler colonial history in Turtle Island (present day Canada). The first came European Vikings followed by the swarm of warring Europeans including Spanish, Portuguese, British, French, and so many other European settlers. No matter who came to Turtle Island, they used the similar colonial strategies of divide-and-rule through "a commercial and military alliance" (Government of Canada: "The Treaty of 1667: Rebuilding the Franco-Aboriginal Alliance"). Those were manipulative actions or fake alliances intended to divide the Indigenous peoples themselves so that Native peoples would pit against each other instead of fighting with Europeans with a unified Indigenous force. The colonial strategy of alliance and division eventually paved the easy way for Europeans to force Indigenous peoples to surrender their land which later had to become present day Canada.

5.4.2 Indigenous Perspective on History in/of Canada

One of the most important points about historical awareness for Indigenous peoples in Canada is the idea that they are the first humans ever to live in the whole of North America

including present day Canada. Indigenous existence in Turtle Island predates the arrival of non-Indigenous peoples, especially European settlers by thousands of years. The Indigenous perception of history in Canada has two aspects: Indigenous historical awareness about their own existence or Indigenous history/storying and their perspective toward Canada as a settler colonial country due to which they had to lose their native land. From Non-white perspective, what this ambivalent perspective means for Indigenous peoples is that historical awareness of Indigenous people is inevitably connected to land and therefore is the part of their existence. Indigenous historical awareness is important for their truth and reconciliation journey with Canada by (re)establishing connection with their land, healing the genocide, recuperating, and preserving their cultures, traditions, and languages.

Unlike settler colonial or statist undertaking, the historical awareness of Indigenous peoples in Canada underlies their deepest and sacred connection with the land and the inter/transgenerational transmission of that awareness and (re)living the idea of their existence through storying(oral or written) as a purely Indigenous cultural tradition. Indigenous understanding of history or Indigenous history is not merely just a matter of recording/recounting/studying of their ancestral past or events that unfolded as they came to terms with the settler colonizers, but it is an indispensable and sacred(spiritual) part of their survival (native survivance) at present and into the future in much the same way they had lived the past.

History in Indigenous sense is not related to temporal disconnects, discontinuities, and progressions different from other non-Indigenous critical historians' prognosis about history's nature being discontinuous and disruptive (Foucault, *Archeology of History*, 2). Indigenous history is an amalgam of all sorts of stories that are suffused with practices that transcend the

temporal boundaries between past, present, and future. Through the transcendence (not to be confused here with western metaphysical idea of unreality) Indigenous history solemnly embraces historical past as a living present.

By constantly reliving the past through storytelling practices, Indigenous peoples and scholars also believe that they not only want to inform their present and future generations about who they are, what their ancestral background was and what responsibility they have had toward their culture, tradition, and land. Through (hi)storying, they equally remind the future generations about the importance of (hi)storying as way to work though their traumatic past of having to lose ownership over their own existence and land, having to withstand the massive loss of thousands of their women and children, and having to experience cultural genocide as a result of the ongoing settler colonialism.

Since the magnitude of the loss is so enormous, Indigenous peoples have demonstrated through various sacred Indigenous practices—storytelling, talking circles, dance, music, drumming, and so forth—that the healing of the trans/intergenerational trauma also requires enormity of speaking about and sharing those experiences among the community members and beyond. Even though sharing stories is also done through writing in modern times, the commonest tradition has always been orality. It is crucially important to learn that just like talking circles represent cosmological sense of interconnectedness and infinitude of human relations, and Indigenous stories as histories also exhibit similar endlessness and interrelatedness.

Leslie Marmon Silko reminds that stories "aren't just entertainment/Don't be fooled/They are all we have, you see/All we have to fight off/Illness and death. You don't have anything/If you don't have the stories" (Silko qtd. in King 120). Regarding stories/histories as a life-giving force, Silko's telling highlights the importance of storytelling as a purely Indigenous way of

preserving, protecting, and spreading a vast array of Indigenous historical knowledge and lived experiences.

Aside from the fact that stories and storytellers have sacred space in Indigenous existence in Canada or in North America in general, Indigenous stories as histories also have political dimension. The political dimensions underlying the Indigenous history are motivated by their desire to recuperate their lost history as well as their near extinct languages, culture, and tradition to provide hope for future Indigenous generations. In course of recuperating their history, Indigenous scholars have directly or indirectly countered the European false representation of the Native peoples as "people have always been an exotic, erotic, terrifying presence" (King, 105).

Indigenous peoples countered the colonial discourse by unraveling the real intent of colonialist such as Horace Greely that Native peoples "must die out—that there is no help for them" (Greely qtd. in King 109) or harsh assimilatory statements of Sir John Macdonald, the first Canadian prime minister, that the manifest intention of Canadian legislation such as Indian Act is to "assimilate the Indian people in all respects with the inhabitants of the Dominion, as speedily as they are fit" (Macdonald qtd. in Miller, 254). Greeley, Macdonald, and other colonialists' assertion—that the Natives need to be assimilated-otherwise-decimated—is nothing remarkable because it is one of the commonest and central aspects of all forms of European colonialism.

The significance of the Indigenous histories' debunking myriad European lies, rests on their delineation of the nasty ambivalence underlying the settler colonial discourse or 'white' Canadian history' as a colonial discourse—Europeans' proclamation of their mission to civilize is directly contradicting to their real intent of eradicating the Native populations and their cultural traditions. As a part of the decolonizing aspiration, Indigenous histories intend to demystify the imperial project of creating idealized pictures of European traveler figures such as

Columbus in North American imagination. For instance, white Canadian historians in Canada would paint the picture of Columbus as an ancestral hero or adventurous figure to have 'discovered' North America, but for the Indigenous historians he is a miserable and helpless character with imperial fancy and intent. For instance, Indigenous scholar Jeannette Armstrong deconstructs North American idealization of Columbus and other 'explorers' as heroic and adventurous. Armstrong mocks at and portrays them as macabre figures through her poetry which is her contribution to Indigenous history:

> Out of the belly of Christopher's ship
> a mob bursts
> Running in all directions
> Pulling furs off animals
> Shooting buffalo
> Shooting each other
> …
> Pioneers and traders
> bring gifts
> Smallpox, Seagrams
> "and rice krispies
> Civilization has reached
> the promised land. (Armstrong, "History Lesson" qtd. in King, 23)

The poet historian uses satire as a technique to make decolonial critique of European history by depicting European 'explorers' as a random mob without any sense of civility and moral sense of respect. Armstrong demystifies Eurocentric Canadian history by reversing the ambivalence of colonial discourse and by likening white Europeans to a mob of plunderers "shooting buffalo/shooting each" and spreading "smallpox, Seagrams, and rice Krispies"(Armstrong qtd. in King, 23) all across the Native land so as to destroy.

The ambivalent desire of settler colonialism to remember things only to the extent that benefit its rule in Canada and forget the ones that are counterproductive to its perpetuation is also against basic psychological justification that effects of actions and events reside deeply in human memory. Canadian historian Jim Miller believes that, if the reparation of the Indigenous-settler

relation needs to be done, it is only by seriously revisiting "the roots in the contact with Indian society" (Miller, 69). But for Indigenous peoples' history as a record of past events and experiences should not be understood in a narrow psychological sense. The Indigenous memory of the past events and sorrows inflicted by colonialism reside in the Indigenous unconscious (equivalent to mass psychology for Freud, 200) and gets expressed when similar event(s) trigger the traumatic memory as scientific rule of thumb. Nevertheless, sharing of the experiences stored in the long-term Indigenous memory through storying/historying has the nature and ability to heal and resist. Moreover, Indigenous history as opposed to settler colonial history is a way of live—the survivance strategy in the face of continuing settler colonialism.

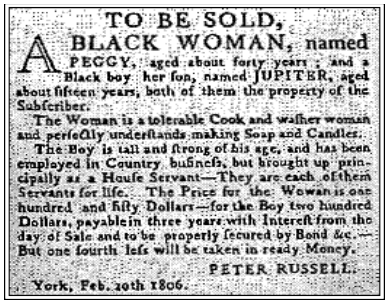
The ordinariness of history for Indigenous peoples and scholars has multipronged objectives. With history and historical consciousness, Indigenous peoples keep themselves informed about their responsibility toward land, culture, language and community. Similarly, they intend to enliven past treaties regarding Indigenous land ownership and let non-Indigenous peoples know that those treaties have been breached for the settlers' benefit. The reification of history in Indigenous sensibility is not just the matter of celebratory ritual but it is deeply tied with the Native sense of survivance. Native survivance is the entrenched affirmation of their existence and "a sense of native presence over absence, nihility, and victimry" (Vizenor, 1) as a form of resistance to ever present settler colonialism in Canada. Therefore, Indigenous history or their understanding about what constitutes history as opposed to settler colonial understanding of history is the endless transmission of knowledge about their land, the culture, languages, and the survivance.

If the European sensibility toward Canadian history is characterized by pride, heroism, adventurism, nation formation, and memorialization of their glorious relation with the Europe

that they cherish, Indigenous sensibility toward the history of Canada as a country is characterized by traumatic past, the loss, the absence, the diasporization in their own Native land. And on the other, their sensibility is equally guided by decolonial/anti-racist sentiment to pine for recovering the Native space to ensure peaceful, equitable, just, and harmonious society for all who share their land based on the traditional Indigenous philosophical ideas such as “common pot” (Brooks, 5). The concept of "common pot" is a central principle of Indigenous philanthropy. According to this idea, "whatever was given from the larger network of inhabitants had to be shared within the human community" (Brooks, 5). This highlights a fundamental value of collective responsibility and shared resources, where the well-being of the group takes precedence over individual gain.

Other marginalized groups in Canada have their own experiences and perspectives regarding the history in/of Canada. Black and immigrant peoples of colour such as African, East Asian, South Asian, West Asian, Latin Americans, or anybody who does not identify themselves as being ‘white’ and Europeans are some of the marginalized people include but are not limited to Black people and other immigrant people of colour share similar diasporic experiences of having to through alienation, marginalization, discriminations, racism, mis/dis-representation, and absentization. Therefore, should history of/in Canada be examined fairly and squarely, it is important that the presence of Blackness and immigrant peoples of colour be represented by aligning them with the trajectory of their existential and experiential (hi)story in the country. Situating Indigeneity, Blackness, and immigrant people of colour in the process of interrogating Canadian history is a decentering act as well.

5.4.3 Black Presence in Canada and Black Perspective on History of/in Canada



TO BE SOLD,
A BLACK WOMAN, named
PEGGY, aged about forty years; and a Black boy her son, named JUPITER, aged about fifteen years, both of them the property of the Subscriber.

The Woman is a tolerable Cook and washer woman and perfectly understands making Soap and Candles.

The Boy is tall and strong of his age, and has been employed in Country business, but brought up principally as a House Servant—They are each of them Servants for life. The Price for the Woman is one hundred and fifty Dollars—for the Boy two hundred Dollars, payable in three years with Interest from the day of Sale and to be properly secured by Bond &c.—But one fourth less will be taken in ready Money.

PETER RUSSELL.

York, Feb. 20th 1806.

Figure: 2 *The Underground Railroad: Next Stop, Toronto!* (This is a fugitive slave advertisement issued by Peter Russell; the Upper Canada Administrator of the early 19th century not only demonstrates the existence of chattel slavery in Canada but also exemplifies the magnitude of racism in the making of Canadian history. Source: Shadd, Adrienne.)

Embracing decentering pragmatism in Canada requires a holistic engagement with the history of Blackness in Canada and acknowledging all its fundamental aspects. The African centric approach to study the history of Black people vis-à-vis Canadian history should include all aspects of Black presence in Canada—existential, experiential, cultural, and linguistic. This also means that the history should not be understood only in a limited sense—only by projecting its historical background of slavery and subjugated experiences due to European colonialism. Studying the history of Blackness in the Americas entails foregrounding Afrocentric cultural, linguistic, and rhetorical traditions (Asante, 23). These traditions are as vast, robust, and diverse as Black peoples themselves are—the diversity stemming from their rootedness and routedness to various African geo-cultural locations. African based languages, religious values, spirituality, traditional knowledge system, music, art, literature, their philosophical beliefs, and orature are traditions that Black people have kept alive in the face of settler colonial cultural hegemony for centuries in Canada.

History of the presence of Blackness in Canada goes way prior to the confederation history of Canada. Available records suggest that Mathieu de Coste, a multilingual speaker, and a

talented interpreter from France was the earliest Black person to arrive in Canada "in 1608 to serve as interpreter of the Mi'kmaq language to the governor of Acadia"("Black Canadians," para.1). However, a large number of Black peoples came to Canada in the 18th and 19th century, especially around the civil war and war of independence in the US. In *The Underground Railroad: The Next Stop is Toronto!* Adrienne Shadd et. al provide a demographic information of the Black peoples coming to Canada, particularly upper Canada:

> Black people in York came from diverse backgrounds and origins. There were those of Loyalist background, and there were both free Black people and slaves within this population. There were African American fugitive slaves. Some free African Americans made York their home during this early period. Also, sprinklings of Caribbean Black people existed within this pioneering population. (Shadd et al. 11-12)

Among those diverse Black people, there were loyalists who got their freedom by fighting on behalf of British during the American war of independence. When the Fugitive Act was passed in 1850, they took 'underground railroads' to enter Canada thinking that it was a free country. Similarly, white loyalists brought enslaved Black people to Canada, too. According to Black history in Canada, white people of all background—farmers, rich or middle class—held Black peoples as slaves:

> Several important persons like Peter Russell, Administrator of Upper Canada following the departure of Simcoe, were slaveholders. William Jarvis, the first Sheriff of York, also owned slaves. Slavery was not officially abolished in York and Upper Canada until after the British government's 1833 Emancipation took effect. (Shadd et al, 12).

The reason "enslavement of African peoples was a legal instrument" was because the white Europeans in Canada, just like in the US, used slavery as a system to "fuel colonial economic enterprise"(Henry-Dixon, para.1). Richard Pierpoint was one of the earliest Black loyalists to enter Canada. He was of a Senegalese descent captured in Africa and brought to America as a slave in the mid 18th century. Harriet Tubman was another freedom seeking Black woman and abolitionist to come to Canada in 1851. Peggy Pompadour was the enslaved Black woman who

arrived in Canada in 1793 through an underground railroad. Pompadour was the abolitionist owned by Peter Russell, the administrator of Upper British Canada. In the history of Black presence in Canada, Peggy Pompadour is considered as a legendary figure for her resistance to slavery. She was jailed in Toronto for anti-slavery activism by her owner.

Contrary to many 'white' Canadian assumption that slavery is an American thing, and any discussion of slavery with respect to Canada is anachronistic, the above list of Black people and their arrival in Canada indicates that the opposite is also is true–that slavery is a part of the history *in/of* Canada. The enslaved Black people were either carried by the white loyalists, or they were (re)captured by white Canadians in Canada. Just like Indigenous peoples' narratives of their encounter with Europeans are crucial to navigate the gravity of the harms caused by European colonialism, the history of Black presence in Canada is a critical testimony to further understand the operationality of European colonialism as a whole. The anecdotes of the early arrival history of Black people in Canada and the inhuman treatment they received from their white masters also exhibits anti-Black racism is a part of the history *of/in* Canada. Given below is the example through which Barrington Walker presents the perpetuation of anti-Black racism in post-emancipation eras in Canada:

> In the post-emancipation period (after 1833) Blacks enjoyed legal freedom; and yet, during this period the law's role in their lives was ambiguous and the quality of the freedoms they enjoyed was limited. While anti-Black discrimination was not supported by positive law in Canada, throughout Canadian history the law tended to passively support white supremacy by accepting the conditions that allowed it to thrive. (Walker, 3)

The above extract is an example of interest convergence from CRT perspective. Interest convergence is an aspect of whiteness according to which "white elites will tolerate or encourage racial advances for [people of color] only when such advances also promote white self-interest"(Crenshaw et. al qtd. in Martinez, 27). Demonstrating interest convergence in

politics of whiteness, Walker points out that anti-Black racism is systemic and embedded character inside the Canadian legal system.

If anti-Black discrimination is an important aspect that needs to be examined while doing the history of Black presence in Canada, Black resilience and resistance to the discriminations are equally, and at times, more dominant characteristics of the history of Black presence in Canada. Black people exhibited abolitionist and anti-racist activism in Canada during the 18th and 19th century to end all forms of discrimination in North America despite being abused and threatened of being imprisoned. Black activists such as Peggy Pompadour were jailed in 1803 for her incessant defiance to slavery. Late 18th century case of Chloe Cooley, an enslaved Black woman in Ontario, is also as important as Peggy Pompadour. Like Pompadour, Cooley's resistance to her master, William Vrooman and his attempts to forcefully contain her is often regarded as a transformative activism for ending slavery in British colonies, particularly in Canada (Cooper, 17).

Similarly, 1960s' Africville incident of "the ghettoization and subsequent demolition of Africville" Black community by Africville municipality was a horrendous reminder of anti-Black racism. After the demolition was done, the Black peoples organized themselves and launched street protests and lawsuits against the municipality of Africville, Nova Scotia. Nevertheless, the incident is also a stronger reminder of the Black people's resilience to keep up their thriving community, and resistance to the systemic anti-Black racism (Walker 202).

The presence of Blackness in the history of/in Canada should be understood in three ways: as a historical fact that the history of the presence of Black people in Canada precedes the Canadian confederation and the foundation of Canada as a country and 'white' prosperity squarely rest on the presence of Black people. Similarly, the presence of Blackness needs to be

examined through the historical oppression inflicted upon Black people. And last, but not the least, Black presence should be recognized from the point of view of the Black people's contribution to resisting the ongoing legacy of racial discrimination and white supremacy.

In the deeply problematic history of Canada whose backbone is settler colonialism and racism, the history of Black presence is very old and important but also an undermined category in the statist historical tradition. The brief recapitulation of the history of Black peoples' history in Canada suggests that Black presence in Canada is not just a few decades or even a couple of centuries old. It is much older than the confederation of Canada as a country itself. Beginning of Black peoples' presence in Canada is not out of adventure or natural tendency of peoples to immigrate to other countries for better livelihood or better economic opportunities, as is the reality for many immigrant diasporas. The history of Black presence in Canada is directly connected with European colonization in Africa and Americas which means that white Europeans enslaved and weaponized Black people to further their colonial/capitalist intent of plundering Indigenous land. Throughout settler colonial history of Canada or in a settler colonial imagination, Blackness have always been treated as the inferior race no matter how diverse and rich linguistic and cultural traditions Black peoples have had. In order to subjugate the racially oppressed Black people, settler colonialists have always used the colonial ideology of ambivalence to control Black bodies.

Despite enduring centuries of vulnerabilities, tortures, senseless discriminations, injustices, deprivations, and loss of live, culture, tradition and language, people of African descent in Canada have exhibited their perseverance to survive, thrive and make Canadian society a better with the stronger sense of communal culture that they had brought with them from Africa centuries ago. On top of all, Black presence in Canada is synonymous with unified resistance to

'white' supremacist ideological bias, forms of systemic racial discrimination and injustices. So, what made them so resilient and resistant to the unimaginable horrors in the history of humankind caused by the 'white' cruelty, and barbarism is the Black People' ability to follow and retain Black "intellectual, linguistic, and cultural traditions"—traditions that have been deeply rooted to orature, trickster, music, animism, and so forth (Kinloch and Thomas 163). It is due to this exceptional confluence between shared historical experiences of victimhood, survival and resistance practices of Indigenous peoples and Black people, Blackness and Indigeneity historically intersect in Canada.

5.4.4 Demystifying Canadian Multiculturalism: Multiculturalism as a Eurocentric Construct

In Canada, multiculturalism is hailed and epitomized as a unique and inseparable national identity. 'Mosaic' is an-often-used term by white people to characterize and valorize Canadianness. One of the reasons why Canada is perceived as a synonym for multiculturalism is because it is the first country to ever mention multiculturalism in its constitution in 1983 and to pass Multiculturalism Act by Canadian parliament in 1988 (Wong and Guo, 2015; Brosseau and Dewing 2009). Making critical examination of Canadian multiculturalism suggests that "the ethnocultural diversity of the Canadian population" (Statistics Canada) needs to be done by keeping in mind the historical legacy of Canada as a settler colonial country. The history of the discussion of ethnocultural diversity in Canada can be traced back to the very early years of the confederation (Wong and Guo,1).

Multiculturalism has a whole range of significations. One of the significations is to promote diversity while also maintaining national unity. But multiculturalism is a statist and ideological construct in Canada such that the settler colonialists wanted to maintain 'white'

nationalism by establishing and maintaining cohesion among different white Europeans' vis-à-vis Indigenous peoples, Black peoples, other immigrant peoples of colour in the name of multiculturalism. So, the early envisioning of multiculturalism as an ideology was the strategy to reflect white European interests and their own cultural and linguistic diversity—not that of the Indigenous, Black, and other indentured immigrant peoples of colour.

There are certain premises which contributed to introducing multiculturalism as a national policy in Canada. First premise for multiculturalism to be the official national policy was directly related to the settlers' necessity to maintain internal cohesion among themselves—especially between Anglo-Canadians and French Canadians. Canadians felt that there was a necessity to envision the policy of multiculturalism in Canada to address the "growing political discontent and unrest amongst the French in Quebec against assimilationist policies of Anglo-conformity" (Wong & Guo, 2). This protest is also known as the Quiet Revolution in Quebec.

To address the cessation movement in Quebec, Bilingualism and Biculturalism body was formed in 1963 by Lester B. Pearson, the 14th Canadian prime minister. The commission submitted its final report in 1969 with recommendation on having bilingualism—to use English and French as official languages throughout the country. Additionally, the commission's report became foundational to mention multiculturalism as an official national policy in the Canadian constitution in 1983 and later passed the Multiculturalism Act in 1988 with a view to respecting all the minority or non-white cultural identities. This context justifies that multiculturalism in Canada has a direct connection with settlers' own micro- management.

Many critics of multiculturalism argue that multiculturalism is a renewed settler colonial ideological strategy to manage increasing cultural diversity in Canada in the name of superficial manifestation of respect and inclusion of the diversity. In other words, multiculturalism in

Canada is essentially a racist ideology designed to benefit white people and European cultural diversity through multiculturalism as a manifest statist policy. Sociologists Augie Fleras and Jean Elliott offer some poignant critiques on multiculturalism:

> 1. Multiculturalism is divisive: it undermines Canadian society (identity and coherence) by promoting cultural diversity at the expense of national unity
> 2. Multiculturalism is marginalizing: it ghettoizes minorities, their aspirations, and commodifies culture by invoking cultural solutions to structural problems
> 3. Multiculturalism is essentializing: it fossilizes differences and envisions Canada as a collection of autonomous ethnic groups that are self-contained, determining, and controlling
> 4. Multiculturalism is a hoax: it does not address the root cause of inequality as it is a symbol without substance that promises much but delivers little except to delude, conceal, evade, or distort
> 5. Multiculturalism is hegemonic: it does not empower minorities but rather contains them as it is an instrument of control that achieves consensus by manipulating people's consent without their awareness. (Fleras & Elliott qtd. in Wong & Guo, 6)

These critiques of multiculturalism are important because they help us understand the underlying ideological underpinnings which shape white Canadian perceptions of diversity. Most importantly, multiculturalism in Canada is a " tool of control and containment" of immigrant populations as well as "a political instrument to achieve political goals" to benefit majoritarian population in Canada (Fleras, 7). In Fleras and Elliott's view, multiculturalism is a statist ideology or re-renewed version of imperialism/colonialism. As a policy, Canadian multiculturalism tends to preserve and promote cultural-racial diversity and ensure that freedom, equality, rights, and responsibilities are equal for all. The pioneers of the policy claimed that it was designed to guarantee freedom and equality for all. Multiculturalism "is the very essence of Canadian identity. . .. we have two official languages is not to say we have two official cultures, and no culture is more 'official' than another," remarked Pierre Trudeau (Trudeau qtd. in Hugh Donald Forbes, 44).

Even though Trudeau advocated cultural secularism in his policy statement, he self-contradicted when he stated that "there are two main ethnic and linguistic groups; each is too strong and too deeply rooted in the past, too firmly bound to mother-culture, to be able to engulf the other. But if the two will collaborate at the hub of a truly pluralistic state, Canada could become the envied seat of a form of federalism that belongs to tomorrow's world. Better than the American melting-pot"(Pierre Trudeau qtd. in Hugh Donald Forbes, 35).

Utterances such as Trudeau's are "branding, labeling and sloganizing" (Bach, 70) tactics to lure immigrants of colour into Canada, and thereafter to trap them into viciousness of racism, marginalization, and oppression. In reality though, European cultures are more equal than others. For Trudeau, his firm affirmation that there are two main ethnic and linguistic groups . . . each is too strong and deeply rooted in the past" is to say that the existing biculturalism/bilingualism is unequivocally more important than the futurism—whatever is or is not possible ". . .if the two will collaborate at the hub of truly pluralistic culturalism" (55). The contradiction inherent in the ideological construct of multiculturalism exemplifies the multicultural ambivalence— to have multiculturalism as national policy to respect diversity on the surface, but to have a priori (settler colonialism-based reasoning) intention to re-enforce Canadian biculturalism and bilingualism.

Thus, multiculturalism in Canada contains ambivalent ideological underpinning to maintain European ethnocentrism through the manifest display of respecting and preserving cultural differences. On the one hand, official multiculturalism policy states that Canada "reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society and acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage"("Canadian Multiculturalism Act 1988," 3), and on the other, the practice on the ground speaks completely

different reality where some people are more equal than others and some cultures (of Europeans) are more important than others.

While it sounds and looks nicer to have branding of multiculturalism, its underlying biases, racism, inequalities, and injustices toward BIPOC communities and their cultural practices in fact show nothing more than the ambivalent nature of the policy on the ground. The liberal whites who support multiculturalism would reason that multiculturalism does not pose any threat because its underlying ideology is undergirded by Canadian biculturalism and bilingualism. And the 'white' supremacist, European ethnocentric actors or the opponents of multiculturalism believe that multiculturalism has proved to be harmful or a failure because they associate it with the sense of threat to their existing power privileges. Also, Non-white scholars have exposed hidden ideological biases and incompleteness within existing policies and practices of multiculturalism. Thus, Canadian multiculturalism in general is not free from biases, flaws, and forms of criticism. Does this then mean that multiculturalism is irrelevant or is it amid an epistemic crisis? This is important sociological question which needs further enquiry.

5.5 Conclusion

My discussion in the preceding chapter was on language as a decentering field and method with particular concentration on native speaker ideology as an imperial/colonial, Eurocentric and racist ideological construct. In this chapter, I have mainly focused my attention on discourses of history in/of Canada as another area and method to decenter settler colonialism, whiteness, and various discourses surrounding the politics of whiteness. In so doing, I have tried to examine historical dimensions in Canada relating to many historical points of connection—'white' European settler colonial historical tradition, Indigenous history and its historical tradition, and history of the presence of Blackness and Canadian multiculturalism.

One of the arguments I have made is that there are perspectival differences regarding different people's understanding of history as it relates to Canada as a country. 'White' settler colonialists (aka statist) interpret and justify Canadian history as an upshot of Europeans' adventure (they call it discovery or making). Another historical dimension in Canada has to do with often neglected, underestimated, mis/dis/represented historical history of Black presence. After having gone through Black scholars and historians' viewpoints about their history and general Canadian tendency in nationalist historical tradition, it becomes quite apparent that, history of Blackness has three dimensions: presence of Blackness preceding the Canadian confederation, study of history of Blackness as history of enslavement different from other persons of colour, and history of Blackness and Black people's struggle against anti-Black racism. History of Black presence in the making of Canada as a country and their horrendous sacrifices and sufferings because of slavery needs (re)righting/writing with restitution. Yet, another dimension in the history of Canada is multiculturalism as a Eurocentric-colonial ideology which is directly related the presence of immigrant peoples of colour.

The discussion in this chapter focuses on history as discursive formation, its significance for historical analysis, and more importantly history of/in Canada. The purpose behind my engagement with Canadian history in general in this section is to remind/inform readers that historical contexts in Canada are very important to understand historical tradition(s) of any institutional or (non)academic practices. In particular, I wanted to give my readers(particularly those who are not too familiar with/about Canada) some background information about Canada and its various identities. And knowing Canadian history from multiple perspectives would help us to understand the field of writing studies in Canada and its historicization by mainstream Canadian writing studies scholars. With this equation in mind, my focus in the upcoming chapter

will center around this statement: that history of Canadian writing studies, rhetorical traditions, and writing pedagogy traditions and practices are all predicated on the historical legacy of settler colonialism, white supremacy, English/French native speakerism, and racism. Thus, examining or writing about history of Canadian education in general and specific fields of studies such as rhetoric and writing studies from Non-white and racially marginalized perspectives would need to reckon Canadian settler colonial history beforehand because Canadian education as a whole was founded on the legacy of European settler colonialism. And this legacy is ongoing.

Chapter 6

Unsettling the History of Writing Studies in Canada

6.1 Overview

In chapter five, I examined the settler colonial history of Canada. I argued that master narratives of Canadian history are grounded on Eurocentrism and whiteness. The stock stories of Canadian history venerate early European settlers/colonists as adventurers, saviors, and pilgrims. These stock stories legitimate settler ethos and its attending impulse to steal Indigenous land and colonize Indigenous Peoples. Taking postcolonial-intersectional approach to briefly revisit history *of/in* Canada, I intended to decenter Eurocentric Canadian history. The main purpose of the master narrative of Canadian history is to establish white-only history or history of whiteness in Canada through complete disavowal, decimation and 'otherization' of other peoples' history in while glorifying the history of white people. A master narrative is "a single story," (Adichie, 5:07-19:16) which only has and promotes only one perspective—the dominant perspective of white people—which valorizes white people while demeaning Indigenous, Black and immigrant peoples. I have also pointed out that having a single story/history and rejecting others' stories/histories has harmful consequences. As Adichie mentions single stories "robs people of dignity" (13:58- 14:00). Single stories reject and/or miniaturize existence of other people while accepting and promoting the existence of only one type of people—white people, their culture, and tradition. For instance, single stories such as stories written by 'white' people about Canada have robbed Indigenous peoples' cultural, linguistic, and existential identity and dignity. They have also robbed identities of Black and other marginalized people of colour including gendered identities. Thus, taking decolonial stance to write about Canada's complex history as I

understood, I tried to decenter single stories of whiteness and their dominant ideology by showing that there are multiple stories histories of other peoples in making Canada's history. By building on the previous chapter's postcolonial and new-historicist view on settler colonial history of Canada, this chapter seeks to decenter/decolonize Canadian writing studies history by arguing that writing studies history and writing related practices in Canada too demonstrate the legacy of the history of settler colonialism, linguistic imperialism, colourblind racism, and the politics of whiteness. In addition, I will use my own ambivalent positionality as an Outsider-as-Insider in order to decenter the writing studies history in Canada and the practices of writing studies in university like my own.

6.2 Writing Studies in Canada: A Brief Critique of Mainstream Canadian Historicization of the Field

So much has already been written about the history of writing studies in Canada by mainstream(white) Canadian writing scholars exhibiting mainstream 'white' Canadian perspectives. Some of the major sources of history of writing studies and practices in Canada are Roger Grave's *Writing Instruction in Canadian Universities*(1994), Roger and Heather Graves's *Writing Centres, Writing Seminars, Writing Cultures: Writing Instructions in Anglo Canadian Universities(2006)*, Nan Johnson's *Nineteenth Century Rhetoric in North America*(1991), Richard M. Coe's "Anglo-Canadian Rhetoric and identity," Kevin Brooks' " National Culture and the First-year English Curriculum: An Historical Narrative of English Studies in Canada"(2006), Louise Wetherbee Phelps' "The Historical Formation of Academic Identities: Rhetoric and Composition, Discourse and Writing"(2012), Dale Jacobs & Jay Dolmage's "Engagement, Integration, Collaboration: Composition at the University of Windsor"(2006), Jennifer Clary-Lemon's "Shifting Tradition: Writing Research in Canada"(2009), *Cross-Border*

Networks in Writing Studies (2017) by Derek Muller et al., Dana Landry's *Writing Studies in Canada: A People's History*, Christin Wright Taylor's *"Sorry If My Words Aren't Right": Writing Studies' Partnership with Second Language Writing to Support Translingual Students in the Anglo-Canadian Classroom* (2021), CASLL's (The Canadian Association for the Study of Language and Learning) archived materials from 1982-2015, CASDW's (Canadian Association for the Study of Discourse and Writing) archived articles, and Janet Giltrow's "Writing at the Centre: A Sketch of the Canadian History"(2016). These documents provide a comprehensive overview of both the mainstream Canadian perspectives on writing studies and the dominant pedagogical trends that have shaped the field throughout its history.

"Writing instruction has been an integral part of Canadian University education from the foundation of the classical colleges in seventeenth century Quebec to the present . . . ,"(10) notes Roger Graves while surveying the history of writing instruction in Canada. This statement highlights the fact that history writing pedagogy practices is not young as many would tend to think. While the writing pedagogy practices is coterminous with the history of Canadian postsecondary institutions that housed it, the rhetorical context against which rhetoric and writing studies developed was made possible by the unique "cultural pressures-Anglo-Canadians striving to establish and protect an identity separate from an American one; French-Canadians striving to remain distinct from both American and English Canadian influences"(Graves, 14). Graves' statement, however, contradicts with other mainstream scholars who believe that writing studies is still a relatively young field, and is in search of its definition and identity (Phelps, 3; Clary-lemon, "Shifting Tradition . . ., 98)

The idea of nascent/emerging state of the field of writing studies in Canada comes from scholars who relate the developmental discourse with "ongoing struggle for professionalization

of the field of rhetoric and composition/writing studies as it may come to be known) in Canada "(Clary-Lemon, 98). American writing scholar Louise Wetherbee Phelps's keynote at Wilfrid Laurier University in Waterloo in 2012 is the testimony to the belief that the field is in the struggle for disciplinary identity (Dolmage 143; Clary-Lemon 104), gathering and solidifying definitional scholarship and architectural structuring of the program. Louise Wetherbee Phelps, at the start of her keynote, not only reinforces the importance of " 'program architecture renewal,' which included critically assessing its programs, articulating levels of the curriculum, and charting future directions for the department", but also identifies that writing studies and rhetoric in Canada is "an emerging field seeking both definition and visibility"(3).

From mainstream Canadian writing studies scholars' perspective, the disciplinary growth of the field of writing studies in Canada has three characteristics most mainstream Canadian writing studies historians seem to agree in their research. The most striking one which "would resonate throughout Canadian rhetorical scholarship" is ambivalent Canadian nationalism which Clary-Lemon calls "nationalist anti-American sentiment"(Clearly-Lemon, "Shifting Tradition," 95). Secondly, European cultural-linguistic tradition is another major theme of most writing studies and writing related research because of complex historical relation between Francophone and Anglophone populations and their institutions on whose foundations writing studies in Canada was born and evolved. As Roger Graves historicizes writing studies in Canada, he discusses English and French linguistic-cultural traditions and their roles in shaping university education, overall educational programs, their purpose, and their impact on writing. Graves states that "early French and English Universities had as principal purposes the defense of their respective cultures. The French sought to protect their culture against British influences . . .The English sought to establish institutions that would save their youth from the evils of

republicanism rampant in the rebel colonies to the south (Graves, qtd. in Harris 11). The third, feature which is not too distinct from the previous two features, is known as acculturation or shifting of tradition (Clary-Lemon, 94) from traditional rhetorical practices toward professional education and knowledge making (Graves, 1993; Clary-Lemon, 2009; Landry, 2016)

The first and the most important feature of the historical narratives written by the mainstream Canadian scholars is their tendency to examine writing studies and writing related practices in Canada from what they called unique(ambivalent) Canadian nationalist perspective. From an outsider or outsider-as-insider(OAI) perspective, this tendency is a deliberate attempt to forge Canadian identity or Canadianness in the discourse of writing studies in North America in particular and writing/composition studies on the global stage (Roger Graves and Heather Graves, 2006).

Canadian identity discussed by mainstream writing studies scholars signifies two interdependent identity categories. The first is white nationalist Canadian identity founded on Europeanness meaning that Canada is a separate nation with distinctive political-historical characteristics connected to British identity, and secondly, Canadian identity also refers to "academic identity"(Phelps, 5) or "disciplinary" identity (Jacobs and Dolmage, 143), which means that rhetoric/writing/composition studies in Canada as unique and different than rhetoric and writing studies and practices in America. The governing idea of Canadian nationalistic ethos in writing studies, among other things, crops up from the common Canadian habit of mind to project Canadian identity as being different than American identity in most respects including writing. In other words, Canadian ambivalent oppositional rhetoric of seeking/sounding to be different from native English-speaking Americans is what characterizes Canadianness in writing studies historiography in Canada.

Richard Coe, too, demonstrates the idea of Canadianness and emphasizes on the fact that Canadian national identity and writing/composition specific identity cannot be studied in isolation("Anglo Canadian Rhetoric . . .," 850). He presents whole ranges of US-Canada differences to view them as guiding Canadian context for writing studies. The differences he discusses include geographical, cultural, historical, economic, professional, political, and ideological to name a few from his article "Anglo-Canadian Rhetoric and Identity: A Preface"(2006).

Like other prominent Canadian rhetoric and writing scholars, Coe's fixedness on the rhetoric of difference is best exemplified when he refers to Northrop Frye's assertion that "Nine-tenths of the time the responses of my American students are identical with Canadian students"(Frye qtd. in Coe, 850). To Coe, it is the "Frye's tenth time" that "concerns us here"(Coe 850). Coe goes beyond linguistic differences (*to outsiders or outsider-insiders, Canadian and American English do not sound distinctive*) and lays out differences that range from historical, political, economic, cultural, geographical contexts, and so forth:

> Even a slight acquaintance with the geographical, historical, and economic distinctions between the two countries helps one comprehend the socio-cultural differences. One should understand, first of all, that English Canada begins with a great nay-saying. While the United States was born in the same eighteenth-century republican revolution as was modern France, Canada was born in Counter-revolution. (852)

This quotation highlights the antithetical intent in Coe's search for the multifaceted distinctions between American identity and Canadian identity as a rhetorical move to forge Canadian identity. For Richard Coe and most mainstream Canadian scholars "Frye's tenth time" stands as a grand Canadian symbol of difference. Frye's 'tenth time " has to do with multifaceted identity distinctions of Canadians as opposed to Americans. There is a unifying voice among mainstream Canadian scholars that writing instruction, writing practices, and writing studies in Canada have not evolved exactly the same way as is the case with the US and the US model of composition

studies (Roger and Heather Graves, 1993; Clary-Lemon, 2009; Hunt 2006). Russ Hunt, like many other mainstream Canadian scholars—past and present—is a vocal advocate for 'anti-Americanism in Canadian writing studies. He argues that "The apparent rejection of the American model of composition is … the single most important fact about instruction in, and study of, writing and reading in Canadian Universities. (Hunt, 371-72). Thus, Anti-American rhetoric in mainstream writing studies history in Canada which most scholars agree is one of the unique Canadian writing studies' identities.

6.3 Discourse of Ambivalence of Identity in Mainstream Canadian Writing Studies

The desire for the distinctiveness to create Canadian identity in Canadian writing studies manifests ambivalence to the discourse of Canadian nationalist discourse–that Canadians, on the one hand, want to be distinctive from Americans historically culturally, and linguistically but they also suggest that the Canadian identity–be it national or academic or writing studies related–is dependent on the American factor(AF). In mainstream Canadian imagination, American factor (AF) is such that overall economic life and foreign states of affairs of Canada are directly proportionate to unique Canadian relation with or its reliance on general American protectionism towards its northern neighbour(Canada) based on what most mainstream Canadians and Americans believe as cultural and historical asymmetries. The US, however, does not behave the same way with its southern neighbor, Mexico. In conservative US imagination there is "[an] impenetrable, physical, tall, powerful, beautiful, southern border wall" (Trump qtd. in Mason, 3) but Canada is not "[our] big problem" and therefore "I would not build a wall on the Canadian border" (Trump qtd. in Cris Iorfida, *CBC News*). The Trumpian conservative imagination demonstrates that race (whiteness) undergirds the rhetoric of shared cultural and linguistic

similarity between the US and Canada. Whereas US-Mexico does not follow along the American discourse of race line.

Within the mainstream Canadian discourse community of rhetoric and writing studies, the ambivalence has three common qualities. Firstly, the idea of Canadian identity in the field of writing studies in North America in particular is only possible when American model is rejected. Secondly, they argue that Canadian writing instruction/studies is unique based on the ground realities/national realities are different and unique. Thirdly, there are Canada-US "cross-border networks "or "Canada-US writing studies interdependencies" (Mueller, Williams, Phelps, Clary-Lemon, 6) while also arguing that the struggle for existence/identity of Canadian writing is possible only at the cost of their rejection to the US model. All these three features that characterize Canadian writing studies discourse community perception are built around Canada's ambivalent relation with the US.

A most recent mainstream Canadian writing studies historian, Clary-Lemon agrees with renowned Canadian writing and rhetoric historians and states that "the development of rhetoric and composition as a discipline in Canada has had an entirely different set of exigencies and institutional outcomes than in the United States"(94). This means that Canada and the United States are different in terms of the history of the development of the field. However, as a part of the perpetuation of the legacy of the ambivalence, she finds that the relation between the two countries is in "push-me-pull you" rhetorical situation ("Shifting Tradition . . .," 97)—be it Canadian writing scholars networking practices through conferences such as CCCC or navigating their career opportunities or publishing their scholarly materials, and the list goes on.

Clary-Lemon's 'push-me-pull-you' rhetorical situation also projects a grim picture for Canadian scholars who have the US as a major venue for professional growth but not choice left in the home country:

> However, unlike the American counterpart of the National Council for Teachers of English (NCTE), there is no one organization, convention, or conference that unites the interests of all of these groups on a regular basis; the closest venue for such work is at the annual Congress of the Humanities and Social Sciences, which welcomes in one place scholarship from all humanities disciplines. A recent development of the Canadian Association of Teachers of Technical Writing has been a name change aimed at remedying this perceived lack of center; in 2008 they became the Canadian Association for the Study of Discourse and Writing (CASDW). (Clary-Lemon, 96)

This dilemma demonstrates the ambivalent mindset of Canadian writing scholars in general. Whether this ambivalence is programmatic or is it just a confused state of mind, mostly evident when faced with a bigger crisis of existence, is yet another area to look for, which I am not too much concerned about here. Though Clary-Lemon and other mainstream scholars establish the idea that the history of the development of writing studies and writing pedagogy practices in Canada is distinct disciplinary identity it is equally (inter)dependent on the US-Canada networking practices among mainstream Canadians and Americans. This long discussion on the ambivalent nationalist identity of writing studies as a discipline with respect to Canada's relation with the US leads to another feature of writing studies in Canada: rhetorical and cultural tradition.

The mainstream Canadian writing scholars depict rhetorical and cultural traditions as important signifiers of writing studies in general. Rhetoric and culture are often considered as intersecting/overlapping intellectual practices. Among other things, rhetoric(mainly 'western') is treated "as a mere instrumentality" as well as "an object of discourse"(Tyler and Stecker, 21) to explore the persuasive dimension of human behavior, and culture is perceived more in generality in ways Raymond Williams defines it as "a whole way of life, material, intellectual and

spiritual"(Williams, xiv). But the often-overlapping nature of culture and rhetoric that resonate in writing studies in Canada has its root in European rhetorical and cultural tradition.

Early writing historians Nan Johnson and Henry Hubert highlighted that composition studies in Canada as well as in the US has originary connection with classical rhetorical tradition before the Nineteenth century and belletristic tradition thereafter. Henry Hubert is probably the first Canadian historian who presents the in-depth historical study of English studies in Anglo-Canadian universities during the Nineteenth century while Nan Johnson presents the 19th century rhetorical tradition in North America (the US and Canada). Both scholars argue that the development of writing/composition studies in Canada and the US is rooted to classical (Greco-Roman) rhetorical tradition of the 18th century and British and Scottish tradition and was considered subsidiary to English studies. The "Composition was subsumed under the study of English literature in the first year; often composition was not specifically taught, existing only as feedback on essays of literary criticism," notes Henry Hubert in his pioneering work *The Development of English Studies in Nineteenth Century Anglo-Canadian Colleges*. The shift to British rhetorical tradition in Canadian writing pedagogy practices during the 19th, 20th and also the 21st century with heavy emphasis on using rhetoric as an instrument(belletristic) to analyze literary texts is quite a remarkable feature of Canadian desire to distinguish themselves from American composition studies. The rhetorical shift toward the British model in the 19th and 20th century is characterized by Canada's "enduring ties to Britain . . . with writing instruction manifesting itself through the study of rhetoric and belles-lettres"(Graves and Graves, 11).

British cultural-rhetorical tradition in writing studies in Canadian universities and colleges is to preserve and perpetuate British colonial heritages including Christianity (the role of churches in establishing Anglo Canadian universities and colleges is an explicit testimony of the

religious influence on Canadian higher education in general and writing culture in particular) as well Eurocentric legacies carried over through settler colonialism. Even though the shift toward classical and British rhetorical and cultural tradition is ongoing character of writing/composition practices given the amount of emphasis that English literary texts receive inside writing classrooms in Canada, the most recent writing historians Heather and Roger Graves (1993; 2006), Dale Jacobs and Jay Dolmage (2006), Jennifer Clary-Lemon (2009), Louise Wetherbee Phelps(2012), Dana Landry (2016) discuss about another shift taking place in writing studies–the turn to knowledge making and professionalization (Clary-Lemon's one of the five topoi of writing studies research in Canada).

The third or most current trend/turn as it is understood among the most recent writing scholars is inevitably linked with "academic identity" (Phelps, 4), "meta-discursive discipline"(Dale Jacobs, 129), or Jay Dolmage's serendipitous discovery about rhetoric and composition field in Canada as being futuristic, "inclusive" and "multidisciplinary" (Dolmage, 141, 142) formation. The mainstream Canadian historians have discussed the third character–the turn to professionalization and the idea that writing/composition studies is less about grammar correction or remedying strategy as myth but as an independent academic field for knowledge production– by highlighting most recent changes that are taking place in the general Canadian perspective toward the importance of writing pedagogy practices (Landry, 53).

These scholars also discuss about the prospect of the turn with respect to challenges they have been facing regarding the formation of the field as a unified independent entity, having/enriching their own publishing platform, field related career prospects (Most Canadians go to the US for teaching and non-teaching jobs), lack of large-scale composition-pedagogy related conferences like CCCC in the US and so forth. Clary-Lemon is one of the scholars to

discuss about the challenge of not having the Canadians' own "central organization that serves as a locus for the range of diverse interests in postsecondary writing research and teaching" and "concrete center for scholars to meet and exchange ideas . . . particularly given Canada's huge landmass"(96-97).

In his 1994 book *Writing Instruction in Canadian Universities*, Roger Graves highlights professionalization and knowledge-making discourse as not being very distinct from the fact that writing instruction in Canada is closely connected with its ethical role to support Canadian higher education institutions or universities viewed as being "defenders of the culture"(2). He explains that the most recent turn/trend to professionalization and knowledge production is the result of 1991 report's findings presented by Dr. Stuart Smith-headed-commission to "study the ability of universities and colleges to provide education appropriate to the needs of Canadians in the 21st century"(1). Graves finds Smith's report important because it "stresses the need for a connection between writing and knowledge making, a connection that includes specialized writing skills and specialized knowledge" as value added to the previously perceived role of rhetoric and writing as preservers of Canadian culture and tradition to which rhetoric played a crucial role. The turn to professionalization and specialized knowledge making has been widely practiced in most Canadian Universities in different names and forms such as WID, WAC, writing centres, and so forth as technology and knowledge specialization started becoming a norm at the close of the 20th century. In similar vein, Tania Smith perceives that the recent turn/trend in composition/writing pedagogy practice unique because it welcomes "genres that are seen as politicized, practical, or utilitarian" (320) English departments have traditionally neglected thinking of those areas of genres as against Canadian loyalist heritage marked by "original conservatism" (Frye qtd. in Coe 28).

Even though rapid changes have been taking place regarding writing traditions at the turn of the 21st century (Clary-Lemon, 2009; Tania Smith' 2006), the historical research done by the mainstream Canadian scholars suggests that the field has not been as independent and robust as its US writing tradition. Writing pedagogy and practices are still scattered across disciplines, take shelter under departments of English, writing centres and other disciplinary units and quite often "look south of the border to find precedents and patterns for the growth of the field"(Smith, 322). That being said, the mainstream writing scholars have historized continuities and discontinuities related to writing studies as a field and highlighted the importance of the (in)dependence/interdependence of the field from its emergence until the most recent times.

6.4 Colourblind Rhetoric in Mainstream Writing Scholars' Historiography of the Field

Despite all the inside stories of continuities and discontinuities, there is a tendency within Canadian writing studies mainstream discourse community of scholars' tendency to effectively foreclose even the possibility of discussion on racial issues, settler colonialism, European ethnocentrism, linguistic imperialism and all forms of systemic discriminations against all marginalized identities that includes but not limited to LGBTQI+ people in their historical narratives as well as writing related pedagogy philosophy and practices. The tendency to erase/silence the discussion on forms of racism, ongoing settler colonialism, white supremacy, and linguistic imperialism and so forth within the field in Canadian postsecondary writing practices, nevertheless is not an aberration from the norm; but it is a norm in itself historically. There is an incredible dearth of sustained discussion and critical reflection among the mainstream Canadian writing historians and scholars regarding how the settler colonialism and racism have shaped the field and contributed to /erasing/absentizing /silencing the

presence/voices/identities of the marginalized people from the scope of composition historiography.

Roger Graves in his 1991 book *Writing Instruction in Canadian Universities* and Roger and Heather Graves' 2006 edited book *Writing Centres, Writing Seminars, Writing Cultures: Writing Instruction in Anglo-Canadian Universities* discuss at length about the origin and evolution of writing instruction/studies within the context of the history of universities and colleges in Canada. Both Heather and Roger Graves point out that the universities within which the writing instruction in Canada developed have a direct connection with European tradition. They talk about various aspects of the connection of writing instruction with universities and colleges "as church institutions, as citadels of national culture(*my emphasis: British imperial culture is what one can imply from Graves' rendition*.)"(Graves, 10) including that writing pedagogy practices in Canada were deeply rooted to European rhetorical tradition (specifically British tradition toward the end of 19th century and well into the present) and the field contributed to the defense of "central beliefs of western society and its powers to instill moral values in students"(2).

But from the OAI point of view, their historiography remains discriminatory because they obscure or fail to see marginalized identities and marginalized discourses while historicizing writing studies in Canada. The absentization of the already oppressed and racialized identities and their issues is not an aberrational act but a part of deceptive rhetoric of whiteness in the field of writing studies in Canada and its historiography. The absentizing rhetoric of whiteness also means that the mainstream white scholars engaged in the field of rhetoric, communication, and composition are not ready to talk critically about issues of race, racialization, racism and toxicity

of whiteness, native speaker ideology because they find that such discussions are counter-productive for them and are counter-intuitive to their long held white ideological bias.

Some mainstream white scholars occasionally come forward to discuss bout issues of race, racialization, and racism when they see benefit by participating in those conversations. Or sometimes those sporadic participations of the mainstream writing scholars in discussions on racism are an act of lip-servicing—just to make people of colour feel that they are up against racism, which in fact is not the case. Or sometimes such participation is the result of their reluctant response to a call by acclaimed scholars of colour who continuously call white scholars who prefer to remain complacent, quiet and colourblind regarding antiracist or decolonial discussions. Most of such sporadic discussions and participation are limited within conferences, group talk and some publications which they require for their own benefit, promotions and self-uplift; but not with the serious intention to contribute for change.

An example of the above scenario is when American compositionist and advocate of antiracist composition pedagogy Victor Villanueva put out a call particularly to white scholars and teachers in the field toward the end of his 2006 article, "Blind: Talking about the New Racism" urging them to not "remain so frightened of controversy that 'pc' means 'policed conversation,' turning a blind eye, safe in silence," but to "[b]e bold . . .please think of the silence, expose it, looking at the Master's Tropes," because "[b]ehind it there is a material reality—the reality of racism, still present, and not that new after all"(18). In the article, Villanueva discusses at length about new racism—new form of racist practice in which race and racism are submerged into other issues in such a way that race and racism also disappear. He explains that "new racism embeds racism within a set of other categories—language, religion, culture, civilizations pluralized and writ large, a set of master tropes (or the master's trope)" (16).

So, when the call was out in a writing centre journal, Canadian mainstream writing scholar, Jennifer Clary-Lemon breaks her silence through 2009 article "The Racialization of Composition Studies: Scholarly Rhetoric of Race since 1990." In the article, she offers her reasons for writing about race by stating that "we may also benefit from turning an inward gaze to our own language of "race"'(Clary-Lemon, W2)." Clary-Lemon's article to examine issues of race and racism is a response to Villanueva's call, to be exact. But such abrupt awareness of race and racism within mainstream Canadian writing scholars, like Clary-Lemon and their esoteric presentations about the problem paints a clear picture of colourblindness or "sightlessness" (W13) of racism and white supremacy which are some of the dominant characteristics of mainstream Canadian writing scholarship. Therefore, the tendency to remain safe and complacent in silence and do a bit a lip-service about the foundational problems such as colonialism and racism together with their perpetuation underlie the very backbone of writing instructional practices

While mainstream Canadian writing scholars regard Roger and Heather Graves as important writing studies historians, and their historiography is often used as authentic source materials to understand the history and nature of writing studies in Canada, to Non-western, Non-white and advocates of antiracist composition practices, Graves' historiography turns out to be yet another iteration of a white historian's romanticizing (re)account.

Furthermore, there is an increasing tendency among majoritarian writing scholars in Canada that they uphold 'lip-service' ideology and a touristic approach toward racism, and (post/de/anti) colonial discussion within the field. To further discuss on the tendency, I am going to take an example and spend some time discussing on *Writing Studies In Canada*: *A People's History* (2016) by Dana Landry, a majoritarian Canadian writing scholar. In one section, she mentions the term 'colonial' and dedicates a subchapter on "colonial history" to elaborate on

history of Canadian writing studies. But she ends up deflecting the whole discussion on something else that has nothing related to postcolonial analysis.

By reading just the title alone, readers could apparently guess that she offers her engaged discussion on colonial-postcolonial debate in Canada. Readers could naturally expect that Landry would offer her critical opinion on settler colonialism as an ongoing reality in Canada. But as it turns out, to the readers' surprise, the phrase "colonial history" is used for the sake of using it. There is no sustained discussion on coloniality, nevertheless. Neither does she elaborate anything on the connection of writing studies with colonial background at all. What Landry does however is that she swiftly touches on one linguistic element of coloniality–'Standard English" ideology as myth but without having to really dwell on the idea of colonial history. She states that "student writing is deficient and writing instruction is remedial are rooted in the essentialist belief that good writing is good writing and in discourses of language standardization and prescription in the U.K. in the mid-1870s" (26).

Rather than criticizing/critiquing the existing tradition and existing beliefs held by some of the prominent scholars such as Carl Bereiter[18], she offers her lip-service— just by shallowly connecting colonialism with the old British colonial tradition (which is accurate) and deflects the discussion away from "colonial history" toward "the loyalist nationalistic discourse of the belletristic tradition"(Landry, 29). As a result, Landry cannot make a sustained discussion on colonialism. Let alone the idea of settler colonialism on whose foundation the whole postsecondary institutions and institutional practices such as rhetoric and writing were predicated on.

[18] American educationists Carl Bereiter, S. Engelmann, B. Bernstein, A. R. Jensen, Carl Bereiter have been directly criticized by William Labov in his article "The Logic of Non-standard English," 1970 for holding their racist and cultural deficit views against Black children and Black English speakers.

Instead of having a sustained critique on the tradition, Landry quickly rushes to end the section with Canadian anti-American sentiment as a defining character of the writing studies in Canada citing Russell Hunt's statement that "apparent rejection of the American model of composition instruction…[is] the single most important fact about instruction in, and study of, writing and reading in Canadian universities"(Hunt qtd. in Landry, 29). In her analysis, she does not include references to (post)/anti-de-colonial theoretical notion which otherwise could have given her an angle to critically analyze the colonial history of writing studies in Canada. Nor does she mention any Indigenous, Black, or other marginalized scholars in discussion about the term 'colonial.' What makes her analysis least effective is her deliberate silence or "sightlessness" toward the victims of the colonial ethos.

When she connects the 'Standard English" ideology with British tradition, Landry does not even bother to explain the term 'colonial' and how it is connected with the history of writing studies in Canada. Thus, Landry, like other mainstream white Canadian writing scholars, takes the term "colonial history" lightly in a way that her colonial discussion becomes another lip service. Therefore, the enormous absence of discussion on race, racism, settler colonialism, white supremacy, and linguistic imperialism need to be exposed in order to better reflect what accounted for the emergence, evolution, and present state of affairs in the field of writing studies in Canada.

6.5 Rhetoric of Instruction as a Colonial Discourse in Mainstream Historizing Practices

Let's examine the naming discourse of the field by Roger Graves—one of the prominent mainstream Canadian writing scholars—to anchor the discussion toward the field's relation with colonial discourse. In his book *Writing Instruction in Canadian Universities* (1994), Graves

produces and reproduces his predecessors' historicizing argument that Canadian higher education had a single most purpose: to defend English and French tradition (Graves 11). Graves builds history of writing studies around the discourse of 'instruction,' which presupposes hierarchical order. He names the history "a history of writing instruction" (10) in the book *Writing Instruction* . . . From a critical discourse standpoint too, any discourse "does not merely reflect social processes and structure but is itself seen to contribute the production and reproduction of these processes and structures" (Machin and Mayr, 24). Moreover, naming as an act "is more than the signifying process – it is a performative act of exercising power" (Karki, "Diasporas intersect . . .," 2). By presenting only one dimension of the history, Graves only presents the processes and structure of writing instruction in Canada. In other words, he contributes to the perpetuation of the process and structure through his uncritical depiction of Canadian history and reinforcing what his predecessors have already produced or reproduced.

Graves' use of the term 'instruction' hints at the historically existing Eurocentric hierarchical relation between those who instruct and those who receive the instruction. On the visible plane of the discursive continuum white people are those who instruct(order) and those who receive the writing instruction(get ordered). There is still another invisibilized dimension to his portrayal of the term 'instruction' in Canadian context: those absent identities or invisibilized students, researchers, people of colour, other marginalized identities and their allies who also have been present in the continuum are silenced are absent in the discursive formation of writing studies in Canada.

The reason Roger Graves calls it 'history of writing instruction in Canadian universities,' resonates with colonial power dynamics rather than learning as practice sharing knowledge between people involved in the very process. While this etymological discussion is just

metalinguistic, Roger Graves's uncritical illustration of writing 'instruction' is an "integral part of Canadian university education from the foundation of the classical colleges in Seventeenth century—Quebec to the present"(Graves, 10). Graves' remark on the history of Canadian writing instruction suggests that there is a connection between colonialism and Canadian university education because most universities and colleges in Canada, whether before or after the confederation–were established as Christian institutions to assimilate Indigenous peoples on the one hand and " to provide the population of Quebec" an access to understand French culture and ancient languages"(Graves, 10). Hence, if writing instruction proved to be an integral part in the history of Canadian higher education, then, writing also became an integral part of the colonial system in general—whether for the purpose of colonizing the Indigenous or updating the white populations with European languages, culture, and tradition.

6.6 Persistence of Colonialism in Canadian Writing Studies: An Outsider's Perspective

> "History is the long and tragic story of the fact that privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily" (Martin Luther King, "Letter from Birmingham Jail" 2)

Indigenous scholar Marie Battiste rightly asserts that "the concepts of racial superiority, discrimination, and racialization have been an integral part of the tactical strategies and tools of colonialism, the defining ideology of Canadian education,"(Battiste, 133). If racism and colonial legacy is the foundation upon which the whole Canadian education emerged, then it is not surprising to know that writing studies and writing instruction practices in Canada are no exception. Being as an Other and OAI in the field of writing studies my way of examining the writing studies will be different from the one that is done by the typical insider.

The interrogation, disruption, and decolonization (in the way Marie Battiste perceives the decolonization)[19] of Writing studies history and writing studies practices in Canadian postsecondary entails putting the history of writing studies into the overall Eurocentric Canadian educational system and examine critically the politics, poetics, and the impact of Eurocentric tradition inherent in the field. This work not only requires unearthing and un-searching its Eurocentric foundation that has historically informed its emergence and evolution, but it does require intersectional efforts to challenge the perpetuation of the racist and Eurocentric ideologies and make. To that end, my interrogation through this writing represents a challenge or writing back from a racially marginalized/diasporic individual of colour to whiteness, 'racism, and Eurocentric tradition within the field. This interrogating act represents a voice trying to intersect with "Other" marginalized voices and identities in order to push anti-racist pedagogy and practices.

Part of the reason why I feel that there is a necessity to interrogate, rethink, reimagine, and write back the history of writing studies in Canada is due to the fact that mainstream(white) Canadian writing studies scholars have uncritically presented the history of writing studies in a

[19] Battiste, Marie. *Decolonizing Education: Nourishing the Learning Spirit*. Purich Publishing Ltd., 2013. In the book, Battiste asserts that "Decolonization then is a process of unpacking the keeper current in education: its powerful Eurocentric assumptions of education, its narratives of race and difference in curriculum and pedagogy, its establishing culturalism or cultural racism as a justification for the status quo, and the advocacy for Indigenous knowledge as a legitimate education topic. It is the channel for generating a postcolonial education system in Canada and disrupting those normalized discourses and singularities and allowing diverse voices and perspectives and objectives into "mainstream" schooling(107). She also provides decolonizing strategies based on Indigenous knowledge, knowledge making, epistemologies with which to make Canadian education diverse, inclusive, and useful for all. Battiste's understanding of decolonization is not to totally negate Europeans from Canadian education, but it "represents a fundamental shift in thinking of decolonization as a process that belongs to everyone. As such, it has huge implications and possibilities for re-imaging our relationships as envisioned in treaty and/or embedded within Canada's Constitution, as Canadians and as world citizens in the context of the natural world, which sustains all of our existence. The work is unfinished"(9).

protectionist manner or what Nietzsche would call the Antiquarianism. According to Nietzsche, Antiquarian historians know only how to preserve life, not how to generate it. Therefore, it always undervalues what is coming into being because it has no instinctive feel for it" (Nietzsche, 13). Like Nietzsche's antiquarian historians, the mainstream Canadian scholars of writing studies project events, actors, pioneers, and beneficiaries in ways that serve and pertain to whiteness without having no feel for the projection of history from really marginalized perspectives.

However, as I interrogate the writing studies history from its emergence to the most recent times in Canada, I am not going to regurgitate what the existing mainstream writing studies scholars have done. Doing so is to (re)create another iteration or re-production of mainstream discourse. While I rewrite and interrogate in this chapter, I will try to examine the Canadian writing studies and writing practices by placing them against the very foundation that started and accelerated it–colonialism, settler colonialism, native speakerism, linguistic imperialism, anti-Indigeneity or European ethnocentric education system (Battiste, 2013). Rewriting becomes necessary when historical facts have deliberately been twisted, hidden, broken, faked, or misrepresented.

This critical interrogation unravels the "enormous absence" of race and race related discussion in Canadian writing studies and writing instruction practices. The fact that writing studies' emergence and evolution in post-secondary institutions in Canada is intertwined with the perpetuation of the legacy of white Europeans—particularly Anglophone and Francophone Canadians' need for the promotion and preservation of linguistic, religious, and cultural traditions in Turtle Island, historically. What becomes apparent in the mainstream historical narratives is that emergence and development of writing studies in Canada is intrinsically

connected with whiteness and settler colonial people. Canadian Writing studies pioneers and proponents have been white. The post-secondary institutions where the field developed and served were all white. Moreover, culture and tradition the field of writing studies in Canada tended to serve have been white as well.

Mainstream Canadian writing historians state that writing studies in Canada is youngest of a kind and has remained dependent on the US just in many ways Canada as a country depends on for its economic prosperity and safety. Also, the conventional wisdom among mainstream Canadian scholars of writing studies is such that Canadian and US writing pedagogy and practices should be treated and examined as being interdependent as two good neighbours existing side by side. But, nevertheless, they argue that the emergence and evolution of writing instruction, pedagogy and writing studies in Canada is unique compared to the US counterpart given the 'unique' politico-historical background of Canada as a country.

The mainstream Canadian writing scholarship holds that the uniqueness of Canadian writing instruction is linked with Anglophone and Francophone identities living as one nation and their shared values which are regarded as core Canadian values and identity. Another but recent strand (but not so different) of the conventional Canadian wisdom is a tendency among liberal sounding white Canadian writing instruction scholars that tends to either remain blind about the effect of whiteness in the field and push the uncritical knowledge as if writing studies in Canada is altruistic and has nothing to do with the perpetuating discrimination in the field. In other words, the revamped white ideology is the ideology of cross-border network of whiteness. The white-only ideology is held by scholars such as Clary-Lemon et. al. in their book *Cross Border Networks in Writing Studies* (2017).

The two colourblind ethos in Canadian writing studies are pushed by mainstream writing studies scholars such as Dana Landry who claim that history of writing studies is people's history, or the history of white Canadians, so to speak. But who are those people in Landry's imagination? Whose history is she referring to? Answers are quite obvious.

Even though Landry does not explicitly state as to who the people she is referencing to in her 2016 doctoral dissertation, *Writing Studies in Canada: A People's History,* but the people or scholars she is talking about are white, and the history she is talking about is the history of whiteness in writing studies in Canada. It is because ideas she draws upon to historicize Canadian writing studies are explicitly white Canadian scholars who similarly fail to talk about the historical and existing nuances in writing instruction, ideology, and practices.

Mainstream Canadian writing scholars' emphasis on cross-border networked practices among the US and Canadian scholars apparently implies the cross-border networked practices between and among white scholars and teacher in Canada and the US, historically. There is no sense of awareness among the mainstream Canadian writing scholars about racialized identities and most pressing issues of racism in their demonstration of cross-border networking practices Clary-Lemon et al. discuss about. The scholars and the discussions they hold are all white with deliberate absentization, colour-blindness, and "sightlessness" (Clary-Lemon, W13) on the marginalized voices and their contributions to writing studies in Canada.

Against the conventional and mainstream white Canadian wisdom and practices, I argue that writing studies history in Canada cannot be put aside and examined in isolation from Canada's settler colonial legacy which majority of mainstream writing scholars tend to avoid, just like the US scenario aligned with European ethnocentrism, colonialism, anti-Blackness, anti-Indigeneity, 'standard' language ideology, and so forth. In other words, epistemological and

ontological grounds on which writing instructions, pedagogy and practices have been standing and operating in Canada are systemically shaped, informed and perpetuated by the same legacy of settler colonialism, Eurocentrism, racism, and white supremacist thinking. Thus, the history of writing studies in Canada (just like the history of the country itself) is the perpetuation of the legacy of settler colonialism, white supremacy, Eurocentrism, English native speaker ideological bias towards 'non-native' speakers of English, racism, so on and so forth.

6.7 Irony of Centre-Margin Discourse: A Perspective from a Racialized Margin

When mainstream Canadian writing scholars talk about the emergence and evolution of writing studies, their discussions mainly centre around the ontological discourse of disciplinary identity or "struggle for professionalization of the field of rhetoric and communication,"(Clary-Lemon, 2009). To validate the perspective, they argue that writing studies in Canada is professionally and institutionally marginalized, liminal or underdeveloped (Clary-Lemon, 2009, 96; Roger Graves 1994; Dana Landry, 2016, 207 ; Mueller et.al 2017, 12; Giltrow, 81; Taylor, 2021, 19; Susan Miller, 1991) believing that the field has not been realized as an independent academic discipline except for the writing studies program at University of Winnipeg as a trial.

'Liminality' and 'marginality' are politically charged terminologies which represent unequal power relations between those who are at center and those who are at margins. For instance, in Canadian context, white people are at the center, and the rest of the populations are at the margin. These terms are basically used by the mainstream writing scholars to refer to disciplinary identities or the idea that writing studies as a field and people working there are identified as liminal, and marginal as compared with other disciplines such as English studies. From postcolonial perspective, using terms such as liminality or marginality (Landry, 2016; Whalen, 2004; Giltrow, 2016; Miller, 1991) to characterize the "marginalized"(Whalen, 2) status

of rhetoric and composition as a field in 'western' locations such as Canada is a misappropriation of the postcolonial terminologies. The problem, nevertheless, lies in the majoritarian scholars' lack of intention towards sufficient nuancing of those political terminologies. While Landry, Giltrow, Miller, Whalen, Graves, Clary-Lemon, and others examine the historical development of the field from liminal or marginal viewpoints, they fail to talk about multiply marginalized and liminalized identities which include Non-white population and their issues in the field. The discourses of liminality and marginality in the majoritarian scholars' historiography are racially exclusionary, so to speak.

From postcolonial perspective, the mainstream (white) writing scholars' voice for marginality sounds more like an outcry for distinct disciplinary identity within 'white' institutional/academic discourse without having to talk about identities of colour systemically oppressed by white people and institutions. The use of marginal discourse to characterize Canadian writing studies is colour-blind toward marginalized and oppressed people and their identity. While it is true that writing instruction/studies/ pedagogy practices have not received as wide national attention in Canada as it is the case in the US, it is also equally true there is an enormous absence of the critical discussion related to issues of racism, white supremacy, linguistic imperialism, and all sorts of discriminations people of colour encounter within the mainstream writing studies community. The dismissal of the discussion of all sorts of discriminations and marginalizing practices within the field of writing practices while also talking about the marginalization of the field as opposed to other disciplines makes the writing studies narrative ironical, ambivalent, and hypocritical.

Writing studies as a discipline provides a unique rhetorical context where people of all background–Indigenous, Black, immigrant teachers/students/staff of colour, white women, white

people of different gender identities experience discrimination together with almost no recognition of their labour. They have no reasonable financial incentives, and no independent academic unit to help them thrive toward independence or "a movement from the margins to the core, carrying students who were once said to 'need help' and now are said to "struggle"(Giltrow, 12). While people working in the field of writing feel that they have been historically discriminated in areas concerning career progress, institutional and academic recognition, and so forth, but there are students, peer tutors, staff, and faculty of colour who have been racially marginalized by their white colleagues, white students, and white institutions that they are working collectively and contributing collectively to the field. The mainstream Canadian writing scholars' rhetoric of absence as regards the pressing issues of racism, whiteness, white supremacy and linguistic imperialism faced by persons of colour in the field unravels the mainstream writing scholars' contradictory, racially oppressive, and linguistically ironic attitude as they uncritically substantiate the marginalized identity of the field of Canadian writing studies

The recourse to liminal discourse is a necessary perspective to analyze the marginalized experiences of people of all backgrounds. However, in the course of making liminality analysis of the field, Canadian writing scholars such as Tracy Whalen and Janet Giltrow do not go deep inside the very nuanced experiences of the racially discriminated faculty, students/ teachers/peer tutors of colour. The mainstream Canadian writing scholars really fail to unravel white privilege, English native speaker ideology or linguistic bias, systemic racism, and all sorts of discrimination within the marginalized field. Because there is an apparent absentization of racial discourse in writing centres/writing studies' own marginalized narratives, the Canadian writing

scholars' use of the politically sensitive terms turns out to be more like a 'white' grievance rather than epistemic discourse.

To sum up, the mainstream Canadian writing scholars' 'mimicry' of postcolonial theory/critique in their appropriation of the terminologies such as 'marginalization' to analyze/historicize writing studies in Canada (or North America) as a marginalized field of studies and claim that mainstream writing scholars are marginalized professionals compared to other 'Other' academic institutions just resonates reverse-racist ideology of their own marginality. From the postcolonial gaze, the mainstream Canadian writing scholars' recourse to appropriation of those postcolonial concepts is not just a misappropriation by coincidence, but a distortion of colonial ambivalence. They have not used the appropriation to critique colonialism, which, in fact, initiated and perpetuated their own historicity. Ordinarily, colonial ambivalence, which is an "unwelcome" (Ashcroft, 13)[20]condition created by the colonizers own act with which to present the colonizers themselves as benefactor or saviour whereas they treat the colonized as Other– "almost the same but not quite" or quite ironically 'not quite/not white" (Bhabha, 127, 132) with the view to sustain colonial rule. This colonial ambivalence is the apparent characteristics of the mainstream writing scholars in Canada.

6.8 (Inter)dependency Rhetoric in Canadian Writing Studies: Another Discourse of whiteness

Regarding the examination of writing studies in Canada, there is a tendency among mainstream writing scholars to use US writing instruction and practices as default stance to form

[20] Ashcroft et al. *Key Concepts in Postcolonial Studies*. Routledge, 1998. In explaining about the nature of ambivalence in colonial discourse, the authors subscribe to Homi K. Bhabha's notion of ambivalence as a condition that arises when colonizers intend to turn colonized as compliant subjects or "Other" of colonial rule or through strategic undermining of difference between the colonizer and the colonized. But the result of the colonial discourse is such that the colonized become ambivalent, but not honest complaints.

opinions. Such view also supports that any writing related practices in Canada are just a mirror image or ripple effect(s) of US writing historical tradition. To that point, a most generalized view outside North America (also within) about North America is such that North American writing tradition is equivalent to the US writing tradition and practices in the same way Indianness is taken for granted as South Asianness in the Western world. Americanness as a default vantagepoint to examine writing studies in Canada gets traction because most mainstream white Canadians and Americans alike believe that both countries share similar, originary, cultural, political, and linguistic values.

Many mainstream Canadian and US writing scholars point to geographical border effects along with historical, cultural, and linguistic homogeneity as contributing factors for the nexus. Clary-Lemon and others examine the connection between the two countries from what they call– 'networked' perspective—and recognize writing pedagogy and practices in Canada being predicated on the rhetorical tradition of "cross-border networks" (Mueller et. al, 2017). Be it Andrea Lunsford arrival in Canada in the 1980s as a professor in University of British Columbia or American educational psychologist Carl Bereiter's [21] joining University of Toronto or be it Canadian writing scholars studying and serving in US universities—all are perceived as examples to push the Canadian discourse of cross-border networking practices.

Mainstream Canadian scholars such as Clary-Lemon and others simultaneously remark that has been the historical tradition of cross-border network between Canadian and US writing scholars and researchers despite differences between the two countries' writing traditions. What

[21] Carl Bereiter and Siegfried Engelmann are two American Education psychologists who have been heavily criticized by African American and applied linguistic scholars for inventing anti-Black, anti-racist verbal deprivation and cultural deficit rhetoric arguing that Black children ``have no language of their own." It is astonishing to see that Carl Bereiter has not been criticized by the mainstream white Canadian writing scholars for his attitude toward Black English.

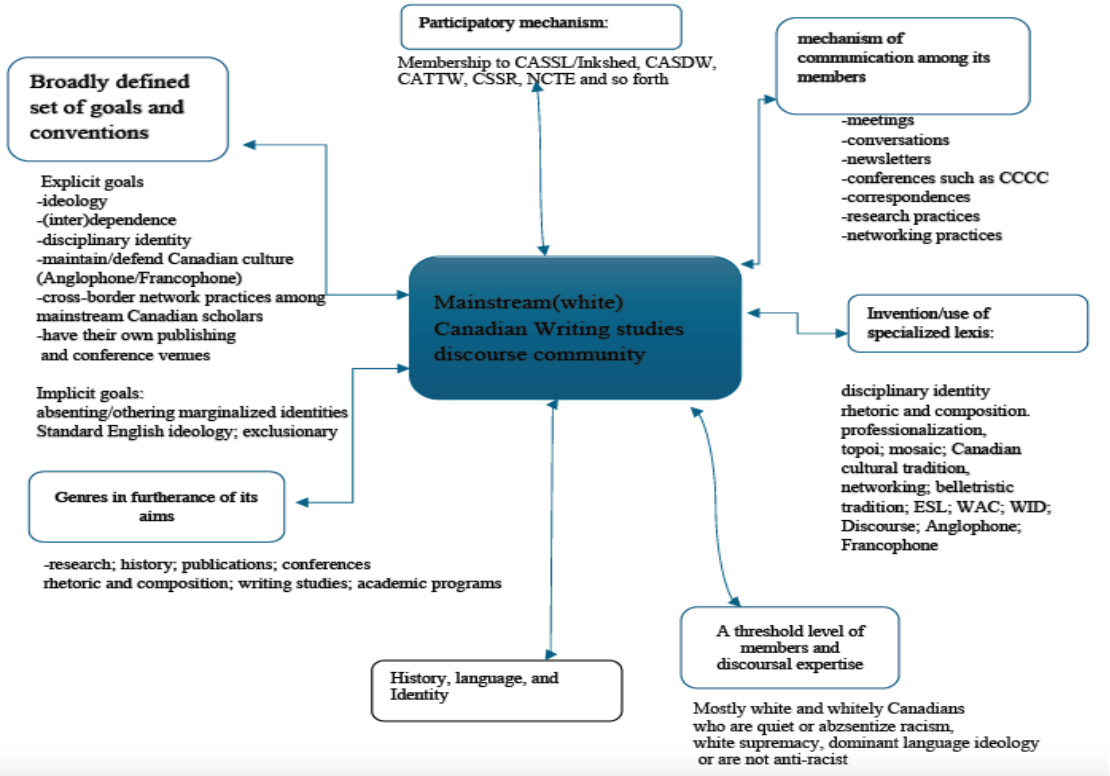
stands out to Non-white scholars is the fact that the philosophy and ideas of cross-border network between the US and Canada are predicated on the politics of whiteness or cross-border networking practices of whiteness because the people who are involved and mentioned in such the networking practices are white. Similarly, it is also apparent from Mueller et al.'s book that the issues and topics discussed as regards the cross-border networking practices in Canada relate to whiteness.

Likewise, prominent mainstream Canadian scholars such as Roger Graves, Nan Johnson, James Reither, and Russell Hunt and others hold their nationalistic ethos to strive for identity—-that Canadian writing instruction and writing practices are unique compared to the US writing historical tradition given its own historical necessity and milieu. Part of the reason behind the struggle for existence in Canadian writing studies history is their " anxiety of influence" (Bloom, 6)[22], or inferiority complex or historical reality vis-a-vis the US as an (inter)dependent counterpart but not as a protector and forerunner with regard to the field.

[22] Harold Bloom considers anxiety of influence as a theoretical idea in poetry that most famous geniuses have as a poetic quality to be distinct from their predecessor in terms of contents, theory or style. It is a special kind of awareness of belatedness that provides inventive direction to poets or creative/critical geniuses not necessarily by severing the predecessors' influence and traditions but by constantly arguing and debating to be different. Regarding the possible misgiving about the idea, Bloom warns that "any adequate reader of this book, which means anyone of some literary sensibility who is not a commissar or an ideologue, Left *or* Right, will see that influence-anxiety does not so much concern the forerunner but rather is an anxiety achieved in and by the story, novel, play, poem, or essay. . ."(Bloom, XXIII).

Bloom, Harold. *Anxiety of Influence*. 2nd Ed. Oxford University Press, 1997

6.9 Mainstream Canadian Writing Studies Discourse Community: A Discourse Community Analysis



(Figure 3: Mainstream Canadian writing studies discourse community map based on John Swales' discourse community model)

While explaining the history of Canadian writing studies in the previous section, I named mainstream (white) Canadian writing scholars and historians the 'mainstream Canadian writing discourse community. As evident from their writings related to Canadian writing studies practices, these mainstream Canadian scholars and historians include (but not limited to) Henry Hubert, Nan Johnson, Roger Graves and Heather Graves, Russell Hunt, Kevin Brooks, Tania Smith, Janet Giltrow, Jennifer Clary-Lemon, Louise Wetherbee Phelps, Doug Brent, Dana Landry, Christin Taylor (most recently) and the list goes on. The reason for lumping these majoritarian mainstream Canadian writing scholars and historians into one homogenous

discourse community is because this community of scholars share the "center of a set of ideas" (Herzberg qtd. in Swales, 21) tending to serve majoritarian community of people.
From OAI (Outsider as Insider) perspective, mainstream scholarship is "white racist construct" (Kynard, 2023, "That's like the WHOLE ASS internet"). In addition to whiteness, systemic racism and "raciolinguistic othering" constitute another centrality of the cluster of ideas held by the mainstream discourse community (Kubota et al., 76).

John Swales, an American sociolinguist, sketches out six defining characteristics of a discourse community that include. "a broadly agreed set of common public goals," "mechanism of intercommunications among its members," "participatory mechanisms . . . to provide information and feedback," "possesses genres in the communicative furtherance of its aims," "has acquired its some specific lexis," and finally " has a threshold level of members with a suitable degree of relevant content and discoursal expertise"(Swales, 466-473).

Examined from Swales model, mainstream Canadian writing scholars fulfill most or all of the characteristics to be qualified as a discourse community that has a common purpose and goal. The history of Canadian writing studies is written by the mainstream white Canadians suggest that those people involved in the making or narrativizing the history of writing studies in Canada are white people, share same/similar values believe on same/similar culture, tradition, and ideology; operate under specific discoursal conventions or specific ways they use language and follow "rules . . organizational patterns, styles, methodologies, and even nonverbal mannerisms,"(Moxley) to reflect their shared values, ways of research, and exclude others that do not fall under those conventions.

According to the above map (refer to figure 3), the mainstream Canadian writing studies scholars form a discourse community. This is not to argue that there is such an officially

registered and publicly identifiable unified national community of scholars with its name 'mainstream/white Canadian writing scholars' community." Nor do I claim that there is a Canadian writing scholars' community which has explicitly written in its mission statement that the community only serves whiteness and whitely community of Canadian scholars who believe in whiteness and Eurocentrism in whatever form. However, from marginalized perspective and John Swales' discourse community framework, the mainstream Canadian writing scholars can be considered and analyzed as a mainstream(white) Canadian discourse community.

Writing studies history indicates the historical existence of a mainstream/white writing studies scholars' community in different forms and names such as Inkshed/CASLL, CATTW, CASDW or ACCUTE, NCTE or networking practices about which Derek Mueller, Andrea Williams, Louise Wetherbee Phelps, and Jennifer Clary-Lemon would prefer to call "cross-border collaboration"(1). From a Swales' perspective, any discourse community is unique because it has its own specific set of rules, common values, and commonly-agreed-upon-discoursal conventions. Since each discourse community is unique, the mainstream discourse community excludes other communities or practices that do not abide by its common rules or "discourse-specific conventions"(Swales, 467).

From this discourse community perspective and also from the perspective of margins, while the mainstream/white writing studies discourse community includes all the like-minded Canadian writing scholars, the map excludes Non-white, anti-racist and anti-traditionalist white Canadian writing scholars who have also been fighting racism and all sorts of discriminations in writing studies field in Canada and beyond. For instance, a long-time anti-racist activist and scholar in the field of rhetoric and composition, Frankie Condon (To confine Condon within the narrow limits of rhetoric and composition field is an understatement.) cannot be within the

mainstream white Canadian writing scholars' discourse community because she is against the discoursal conventions of the community. Her activism, research and community practices suggest that she belongs to anti-racist discourse community within writing studies in Canada and beyond. Condon's statement in her book *I Hope I Join the Band* (2012) is a classic example of anti-racist call which invites her colleagues(symbolic of all people like her) "to join the band: to gather in solidarity, with joy and determination, with intentionality, openness, and mindfulness in the struggle against racism"(2). From the discourse community perspective, Frankie Condon's book as a whole and her call to action in particular—to join the band for the fight against racism and all sorts of systemic discrimination–indicates that there exists another discourse community which is up against the mainstream white discourse community in the field.

In terms of ideology, the mainstream Canadian writing studies discourse community hinges on and serves to colonial legacy of whiteness and forms of racism such as color-blindness with which to absentize people of colour and other marginalized groups of people. While absentizing, dis/misrepresenting or condescending the Non-white presence in the field, the mainstream Canadian writing studies discourse community foregrounds and fosters the Canadian side of whiteness.

A discourse community has a defined set of goals as we can see in the above figure. The set of goals created by the like-minded people "may be inscribed in documents (as is often the case with associations and clubs), or they may be more tacit"(Swales, 471). In case of mainstream/white Canadian writing scholars' discourse community, the goals are either inscribed in newsletters such as Inkshed/CASSL, or books and journal articles by members of the community. Roger Graves in his book *Writing Instruction in Canadian Universities* points to nineteenth century rhetorical tradition and writing instruction practices and reports that

"Canadian universities felt their responsibility to defend the culture (Either French or English)"(Graves, 2). However, what is interesting according to Graves, is the "[p]art of the legacy of the past that affects writing instruction in Canada is the split between views of universities as defenders of the culture and views that universities as servants of the utilitarian goals"(2). Whether it is the utilitarian goal such that writing instruction should cater their services to professional fields "such as engineering, nursing, business, and education"(2) or it is it the cultural goal to defend Canadian culture–English and French–or its goal is to produce specialized knowledge, the general understanding of the people involved in the field is to carry the historical legacy forward.

Writing studies, historically, had been silent about everyday problems faced by marginalized peoples– students of colour, Indigenous students, and ESL students whom Kevin Brooks calls "non-traditional students" (110). And to use Brooks' logic, which is mainstream logic, only white and native speakers of English and French are traditional students who fall into mainstream framing. The absence of discussion on racism, linguicism, whiteness, settler colonialism, and other issues faced by the marginalized identities in writing studies history and writing instruction practices in Canada indicates that the mainstream Writing studies discourse community is complicit with Canadian statist ideological bias toward the Non-white and other marginalized identities and support Eurocentric/Anglocentric colonial ethos.

Marshall d'Avray's 1862 address at the University of New Brunswick indicates that colonial ethos has been the underlying character of English and composition studies in Canada. In the address, d'Avray highlights the importance of Anglocentric tradition and talks about English language and literature as "a study full of charm to the eager enquirer after an accurate acquaintance with the language and literature of that great country to which we all turn with

pride and affection" (d'Avray qtd. in Graves, 21). This assertion by d'Avray still characterizes writing studies' goals and the ways it is being practiced in Canadian universities.

Another broadly defined goal among the mainstream Canadian writing scholars' discourse community is their desire to have a Canadian identity–the mainstream Canadian identity filled with "nationalist and anti-American sentiment" (Clary-Lemon, 104). It is Russell Hunt, a mainstream Canadian writing and rhetoric scholar, who explicitly states the anti-American Canadian nationalist sentiment which Clary-Lemon regards as "the most unifying theme of writing and rhetoric in Canada:

> The apparent rejection of the American model of composition is … the single most important fact about instruction in, and study of, writing and reading in Canadian Universities. In Canada, as in Britain and the continent, and for similar complicated social and historical reasons, it's generally, and without a great deal of reflection, been assumed that postsecondary students already know how to write, or should, and if they don't, well, it's up to them to learn. (371-372).

The anti-American sentiment Hunt expresses in the above extract is not, in fact, the rejection of the whiteness, and other 'shared tradition' that both countries have been founded on. The Anti-American sentiment among Canadian mainstream writing studies is ambivalent. On the one hand the scholars such as Hunt oppose Americanization in Canadian writing studies–particularly first year writing programs as a popular culture–but, simultaneously, they also valorize and seek cross-border (inter)dependencies.

According to Swales, a discourse community uses certain noticeable participatory mechanisms in order to meet any specific goals. It is impossible to imagine the existence of a discourse community if there is no way they can meet or get together. Any form of participation–in-person, or virtual–is a requirement for interaction among the community's members so that the community can exchange ideas and information. "The participatory mechanisms will vary according to the community meetings, telecommunications, correspondence, newsletters,

conversations, and so forth," writes Swales (472). Based on the model, some of the most noticeable mechanisms of participation of the community are meetings at conferences such as CCCC, correspondence through newsletters, networking as research practice, formal organizations such as Inkshed/CASSL, CASDW and so forth. *Inkshed* was an exemplary newsletter that was started in 1982 by Jim Reither and Russell Hunt (both are mainstream Canadian rhetoric and writing scholars) and quickly became a central hub for mainstream Canadian rhetoric and writing/composition scholars to discuss rhetoric and writing related practices in Canada. Andrea Williams notes "[t]he role of conferences such as the Conference on College Composition and Communication, Inkshed, and the Canadian Association for the Study of Discourse and Writing (CASDW)," and demonstrates the importance of those institutions "in providing communities that support more advanced scholars"(Williams, 47).

Historicizing narratives and research of the mainstream Canadian writing studies scholars' discourse community indicates that the various mechanisms of participation such as newsletter correspondence, meeting and presenting at conferences and so forth have been serving the *third* requirement of a discourse community "to exchange information through which to come together . . . to inform each other and all those matters that affect our intellectual and professional lives" (Reither, 4.1.1). Jim Reither further explains that the purpose of the mechanism of communication such as newsletter correspondence was also "examine the issues and problems . . .that face teachers of composition and literature. We would suggest, challenge, argue and criticize" (Reither, 4.1.2). But their historicizing accounts (of Reither, Roger Graves, Nan Johnson, Clary-Lemon and so forth) indicate that the issues and problems they discuss directly serve to the community they have represented historically, but not the communities that do not fall within mainstream/white Canadian writing studies scholars' discourse community.

As the fourth and fifth criteria, the white discourse community uses its own specialized genres and genre specific lexis or registers. The heavy emphasis on rhetoric as a major genre in the nineteenth century Canada was "modeled on British rhetorical tradition, a tradition designed to educate "English gentlemen" and those who aspired to upper-class professions such as education, medicine, law, theology, and politics"(Johnson, 44). The guiding philosophy of the British rhetorical tradition is about maintaining and sustaining 'English way of life" (Johnson, 46). The heavy emphasis on British rhetorical tradition of 19th century Canada is still the reality in spite of the claims of the mainstream Canadian writing scholars such as Clary-Lemon that there is shifting tradition in rhetoric and composition studies. Similarly, for various purposes the white discourse community also uses specialized lexis such as "shifting traditions." Among other specific lexis, most common terminologies used by them are rhetoric, writing studies, writing instruction, identity, national culture, margin, networking, Anglophone, Francophone, professionalization, specialized knowledge, disciplinary identity, and so forth. However, what is so rare/absent in their deployment of the lexis related to the genres is the fact that the genres and lexis they have used historically do not address or relate to issues directly related to translingualism, race, racism, whiteness, Standard language ideology, and so forth.

Even if the non-traditional lexis is used by more progressive sounding mainstream Canadian scholars such as Christin Taylor, they are not sufficiently nuanced. Taylor's 2021 doctoral dissertation uses host of non-traditional lexis such ESL, translanguaging, 'international students', native English ideology, "translingualism," "Euro-centric and white supremacist ideology," so on and so forth(Taylor, iv) but her inclination to remain smartly uncritical about Graves and other mainstream Canadian writing studies historiographers turns the values of those terminologies counter-productive, ineffectual, shallow, touristic, and racist as a result. For

instance, she discusses about English native speaker ideology in Canadian university and evaluates the ideology only from the point of view of language but leaves racism as an absent category. She states,

> [i]n addition to using reductive labels to identify the students who are in need of further language development, the Stubley report displays an ideological framework of native speakerism by framing students as "defective communicators" . . .In their landmark paper for the Modern Language Association, Firth & Wagner address the bias in second language acquisition (SLA) research toward the learner as an abstracted being who has problems communicating. (Wright, 71)

As Taylor spends time and space on explaining about the problem of native speaker ideology and the need for translingualism, she fails to critically examine the connection between native speaker ideology, racism and colonial thinking that undergird the field she represents. What is even more problematic about Taylor's rendering is that she assumes/appropriates counter-story-telling style (CRT) in a chapter titled "Self-Location."

In the chapter Taylor talks about her most uncomfortable moment about an opening address by Asao B. Inoue at the CCCC 2019 conference which she attended. In the same section, Taylor specifically reacts to a part of the Inoue's address where he directly addressed all white academics saying: "you perpetuate racism and white language supremacy not just through your words and actions, but through your body in a place like ... your classrooms, despite your better intentions"(Inoue qtd. in Taylor, 21). Taylor reacts to this statement by saying that she found the statement "downright painful" and "troubled one of my deeply held identities: I am a third culture kid. I spent my childhood and teenage years between Canada, Haiti, the United States, and England. I know the disorientation of culture shock, the grief of being the outsider physically and culturally. And yet, in all of these places, I have been white, always the colour of privilege" (21). Taylor finds herself being "troubled" and "painful" by Inoue's address because she relates to her own shuttling-identity-across-countries-but-as-a-white. From anti-racist perspective, her

extreme reaction/retaliation to Inoue's direct address to her and people like her manifests her "white fragility" (DiAngelo, 2), which turns her co-option of counter-storytelling as method into ambivalent choice which denigrates those persons of colour who uses the CRT counterstory method for their identity and resistance.

Thus, from Swales' discourse community perspective, it is evident that mainstream Canadian writing scholars share some of the common values, practices, beliefs, and objectives. Most of all, the mainstream Canadian writing scholars hold an ambivalent attitude toward Canada-US writing studies relations. Secondly, whiteness is the underlying ideology of the community based on which, mainstream Canadian writing studies and scholarly networks have been built. Thirdly, most mainstream Canadian writing studies scholars' works demonstrate politics of color blindness as a common tenet. Hence, the purpose of the discourse community mapping is to unravel and unsettle how mainstream discourse has been operating in Canadian writing studies as a field, and then to initiate decolonial discussion regarding the writing studies practices in Canada.

6.10 Conclusion

In Chapter five I picked up on 'history' as a decentering/decolonial field and strategy to unlearn/unsettle history of/in Canada. Using history as a discursive formation I tended to revisit the history of/in Canada and infer that Canadian history is problematic such that history of/in Canada as a settler colonial country is contextualized and viewed in ideologically different perspectives—Eurocentric/settler colonial, Indigenous, Black, and immigrant/diasporic. By basing my perspective on the decolonial historical standpoint in chapter five, in this chapter too, I have examined the history of writing studies from anti-racist/decolonial perspective. I have self-proclaimed and named my perspective—the perspective of OAI(Outsider-As-Insider)—

arguing that I, as an immigrant student of colour, always hold as the Othered or marginalized identity in writing studies as a field or discipline(whether emerging or fully established) dominated by mainstream or white discourse community of scholars. Doing the critical race theory informed analysis of writing studies in Canada provided me an insight—that the general history of writing/composition practices in Canada is also fraught with ideologies of settler colonial ideologies and racism which includes colourblindness and politics of absentization in the historicizing epistemic practices of the mainstream writing scholars. My experiences accumulated over last few years as a student at the Anglophone university, which I have narrated in the section, represent and exemplify the perpetuation of the colonial and racist ideologies.

For any critical examination—particularly decolonial/CRT informed examination—of the history in/of Canada or historical examination of any states of human affair, not examining settler colonialism, racism, and whiteness as a foundational aspect will make the research incomplete. Not paying attention to or skewing the most troubling history of settler colonialism and its continuing legacy at present in Canada (particularly related to Indigenous peoples, Black and other immigrant peoples' victimhood) only serves the status quo which mainstream Canadians would prefer to have. Mainstream Canadian writing scholars historicizing narratives exhibit the skewing tendency toward most troubling historical realities–including colonialism and racism–that also contributed to the formation and shaping of writing instruction practices in Canada. Post/anti/de-colonial and/or critical race theoretical ideas are useful tools to unsettle and disrupt those ongoing colonial/imperial practices.

Some readers/scholars from the mainstream discourse community might wonder if it is necessary to question writing studies history from a marginalized or postcolonial perspective if the field and its scholars have been marginalized compared to other disciplines such as English

studies in the country. Or they might still wonder: can't we find a marginalized perspective within mainstream writing studies scholarship? Or what constitutes a marginalized/de/anti-colonial perspective and what does it mean to push the anti-white discourse within the writing studies field? Whereas others might still have a question beyond doubt: what is the goal of pushing 'anti-white' rhetoric or the logic behind seeking presence/voice of marginalized identity inside the mainstream discourse that has systematically cemented absentization of the marginal identities?

Answering the above questions requires that one abandons prejudiced mainstream mindset. Of course, writing studies in comparison with other disciplines is marginalized in Canada or elsewhere in terms of equipping the field with financial support, human power, opportunities, and overall growth of the people involved in the field–irrespective of their background. But the mainstream writing studies scholars' silence about or indifference toward the historically oppressed identities–Indigenous, Black, other person of colour, gendered, and so forth–demonstrates that the mainstream Canadians who dominate the field uphold colonial/imperial ideological bias in various forms. One of them is systemic promotion of rhetoric of absence or absenting rhetoric. We can find the presence/voices of the marginalized or the oppressed in mainstream discourse, but they are found in a twisted and miserable form–absent identities in the mainstream discourse in writing studies as deficient identities. In fact, true representation of marginalized identities can only be found in fringe discourses–such as the one that Dr. Condon writes in *I Hope I Join the Band, Everyday Writing Center* or Vershawn Ashanti Young's "Shouldn't Writers Use They Own English," *Your Average Nigga: Performing Race, Literacy and Masculinity,* and Dhruba J. Neupane's 2018 PhD dissertation, *Plurality, promises and practice: A case of Nepali immigrants' transliterating and translanguaging in Canada*, to name

a few. One of the main constituent elements of the de/post/anti-colonial perspective is its inherent tendency to expose forms of discrimination including racism against the marginalized and oppressed identities and thereby decolonize the mainstream discourse that has been dominating writing studies and pedagogy practices in Canadian post-secondary education.

From post/de/anti-colonial perspective, Canadian writing studies and its history written by the mainstream Canadian writing scholars demonstrates that the Canadian context of writing instruction is intertwined with settler colonial legacy, whiteness, and 'western' cultural tradition (English and French) in various names and forms. The deliberate departure from 18th century classical rhetorical tradition to *belletristic* tradition in Canada emphasizing on British rhetoric and literary texts and canons during the 19th century and after justifies the Eurocentric fervor in Canadian rhetoric and writing culture. Similarly, the dominance of white scholars in the formation and development of writing studies and pedagogy practices, absenting/discrediting Non-white scholarly presence in the field, tendency among mainstream scholars to privilege Standard English/French as cultural capital and treating World Englishes as deficient languages, white-only (cross-border) networking culture among mainstream scholars in the field, indifference toward decentering whiteness in writing studies curricula across universities, and so forth are some of the remarkable characteristics of mainstream culture in Canadian writing studies

As suggested and examined in this chapter, there are some important ways to assess settler colonial legacy and its relationship with Canadian writing studies. One of them is to examine the originary history of the field and how far along the field has gone in distancing itself from that origin. Roger Graves' statement is important to draw an equation between settler colonial legacy and writing studies history in Canada. Graves very clearly lays out that "[w]riting instruction has

been an integral part of Canadian university education from the foundation of the classical colleges in the seventeenth-century Quebec to the present"(Graves, 10) and almost all (my way of saying all) Canadian universities (previously known as King's colleges), which housed writing instruction practices, had direct originary connection with British and France. Not only that, but those institutions were also founded to serve the British and French cultures. This is an example of Eurocentric connection which is still the case–whether latent or manifest–in Canadian universities. Eurocentric rhetoric (British and classical) has been used in writing studies to complement/fulfill cultural goals of the universities. It can be inferred from the mainstream historicizing narratives that there are some changes in orientations (particularly techno-business-professional focus), but historical tradition and culture in writing studies have not changed. The section on discourse community map and its analysis justifies the status quo– the writing studies in general does not indicate shifting ideological tradition.

Nevertheless, a question still persists which needs additional research: Is the future direction in Canadian writing studies is about shifting the trend or breaking the trend? or breaking is shifting or vice-versa. While the answer seems complex given the current and most volatile global and local scenario, the major future direction should be toward course correction. Or to be specific, the dominance of whiteness or the idea of mainstream thinking should be challenged from within and outside in ways it has been operating for years. If the historical status quo continues into the unforeseeable future without major disruptions, we are all on a collision course. We, the marginalized discourse community together with all allies irrespective of racial background have a role to play to avert it.

In the following chapter I will offer general summation of what I have done thus far in this dissertation regarding the decentering roles which we, the Othered identities and our allies are

supposed to play in order to debunk and unsettle the colonial practices of whiteness and establish an all-inclusive discourse community where diverse identities have their safe and critical spaces to study, research and prosper academically.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1 Pausing; Not Concluding: Decentering/Decolonizing as an Ongoing Journey

In this conclusion chapter, I am taking a pause or a moment to reflect on my decentering, decolonial/resistance journey of doctoral dissertation. When I take a pause here and contemplate, I find decentering as a persistent, exigent, and difficult act of recognizing, exposing, examining, and combatting problems created and perpetrated by those in power to inflict harms upon those who are powerless, marginalized and already marginalized. Decentering is persistent act because its binary opposites—oppressions and marinizations—are more persistent than ever before. Decentering is exigent because not doing anything about the toxic and dangerous effects of whiteness and racism, and their consequences would keep the status quo of whiteness going and cement their legacy as to continue oppression against the racialized and variously marginalized identities trans-generationally and permanently in the 'western' society. However, decentering action is very arduous because such act is to be conducted by those who are defenseless to fight against those who are super-powerful holding all the state powers and resources at their disposal. Thus, decentering is a journey, which is formidable, but the journey which is exigent.

Decentering/decolonial journey is also a practice and process of correcting ourselves by identifying, examining, exposing, and combatting our own actions and ideologies which could have caused harms upon other people. Our own internal decentering is also exigent if we participate in decentering whiteness and fight racism. As persons of colour, we also need to stop our own biases against each other relating to our own ethnicities, gender identities, languages, and cultures. In facing whiteness, we must stop sounding hypocritical about our stance and

continue to fight against our internalization of racism by coming out and letting our stories of lived experiences free and get them heard in public. And we should use our stories as methods to counter racism, white supremacy, and linguistic imperialism of English. I also believe that those who are our allies have their own obligations to be vigilant about their unconscious racial bias and constantly decolonize themselves by avoiding white fragility. There are liberal sounding white scholars who should decolonize themselves more because they just speak a bit at conferences and seminars and publish a couple articles about race and racism in journals for the sake of sounding nice but do nothing in their classrooms and community where they deal with persons of colour. The anti-racist lip-service should end. Thus, the decentering is a matter of exigency for the oppressed and their allies rather than a preference today when evils of racism, anti-immigrant sentiments, anti-diversity, anti-gender movements, anti-rights movements, far-right activism, white supremacy, linguistic imperialism, and other forms of conservatism have been on historic rise in the 'west,' particularly in North America.

Before I embarked upon this dissertation as a decentering genre of discourse, I had reckoned a deep-seated nexus between racism, white supremacy (of various kinds) and linguistic imperialism in Canadian society, Canadian universities writ large, and in particular Canadian composition studies and pedagogies practices, historically. I, too, believed that the nexus has been under-theorized, under-researched, and under-addressed particularly relating to the study of writing and the teaching of writing in Canada. As I started reading more and more about writing studies history in Canada and scholars who have actively been writing in historicizing the field, I have been increasingly been aware that the mainstream writing scholars in Canada are found to be indifferent toward seriously discussing about the nexus between race, race relations, racism, whiteness , settler colonialism, English native speaker bias with actual marginalization,

oppressions, and victimization of persons of colour and different gendered who are also the citizenry within the field. This dissertation is an attempt to show the rhetoric colourblindness in the field and open up discussion about the intersecting discriminatory practices within the field which is seated within Canadian institutions where systemic racism and linguistic imperialism are normalized.

7.2 Decentering Technique: Story, Language, and History

In order to decenter politics of whiteness, I have used three intersecting areas and methods: personal story, language, and history. I used (counter)stories of my lived experiences as method and methodology to examine racism and linguistic imperialistic practices in Canadian society and university education. In the section of story, I subscribed to pioneering critical race theoretical scholarship by paying more attention to Aja Y. Martinez's concept of counterstory telling "as a hybrid form of scholarly inquiry"("A Plea for . . . ", 69) or an "interdisciplinary research approach"("Core Coursing Counterstory . . .", 405) which allows a CRT researcher the freedom of making methodological choices, the choices that correspond to their lived experiences of racism, areas of research, and their purpose of disrupting racism in Canadian university education and beyond. Likewise, I took to history and historical analysis as another area and method to demonstrate the fact that the persistence of racism, white supremacy and linguistic imperialism in every nook and corner of Canadian universities which include but not limited to administrative offices, libraries, classrooms and pedagogy practices, classes, and so forth is nothing other than the ongoing legacy of settler colonialism. The third area and method of investigation is 'language,' particularly English native speaker ideology which is racist, statist, static, and white nationalist ideological construct to dominate persons of colour and to allow white people to be the permanent beneficiaries of multidimensional benefits that English

language has to offer. Thus, taken together, story, history and language as interdependent areas and methods of decentering, I could understand how whiteness constructs its oppressive apparatuses pertinent to (non)academic institutions alike to racialize, marginalize, miniaturize, and absentize people/students of colour on multiple fronts. And these interdependent methods and areas of decentering helped me understand the fac that these areas and methods could help racialized people and students " to intervene in research methods that would form master narratives based on ignorance and assumptions about minoritized peoples"("Core-Coursing Counterstory . . .404).

7.3 Implications of the Dissertation and Future Directions

7.3.1 Implication for Canadian University Education

There are multiple implications of this dissertation for different areas and different people. One of the most obvious implications is decentering whiteness and dismantling forms of racism including systemic racism in Canadian university education system and infrastructure in the field of Canadian composition studies. From my lived experiences, racism is "a central, permanent, and "normal"(Martinez, 26) part of Canadian university spaces which include but not limited to administrative offices, libraries, classrooms, hidden curriculum, and so forth. Just performing lip-service and pretending to retrofit university infrastructure to address issues of diversity and racism, but not doing anything about underlying colonial ideology of whiteness, white privilege and dominant language ideology of English have turned university education in Canada further exclusionary. So, decentering/decolonizing university education is an exigency, and doing so will help make the inclusive and just.

7.3.2 Implication for Writing Studies in Canada

Research implications for Canadian writing studies as a field and writing instruction teaching and learning of writing in Canada are not too different. To that end, decentering whiteness, and inclusivity are important implications of this dissertation for writing studies in Canada. As has become evident from examining the history of the evolution of writing studies in Canada, it is not surprising to see the persistence and ordinariness of racism in Canadian writing studies because most writing instructions, writing related knowledge production and writing related practices take place in Canadian universities and university affiliated institutions are systemically racist and colonialist and where majoritarian people have been leading the field.

Another related implication has to do with *visibility of diversity* of multiply marginalized students of colour and other marginalized identities in the field. This dissertation's emphasis on visibility of students of colour in writing related programs stems from the fact that whiteness —either in terms of race or language—is underlying equivalence of Canadianness. As such, mainstream Canadian scholars have been putting whiteness at the forefront and centre of composition studies in Canada with regard to historizing the field, designing and crafting writing related policies, curricular philosophy, syllabus, writing pedagogy, and choosing specific kind of people as its citizens and beneficiaries while being colourblind towards and/or invisiblizing and discrediting Non-white identities, their cultures, languages, and knowledge. Therefore, the implication of visibility I am discussing here directly contradicts Dana Landry's worry about the notion of visibility as disciplinary identity. Moreover, as another implication for Canadian writing studies is to decolonize the historicizing perspective which only tells one single story(Chimamanda Adichie: "The Danger of a single Story") of whiteness and its cross-border interdependencies(Clary-Lemon et al, 2017) which, as a result, have made students, instructors,

scholars, tutors, and other people in the field more vulnerable rather than empowering. But on the contrary, disrupting/decolonizing majoritarian perspective or telling multiple stories and multiples sides of stories will give a completely different picture of the field—the picture which depicts diverse stories including counterstories, diverse identities, its own self-critique that the field is undergirded by the politics of whiteness, and also the picture devoid of white supremacy, racism, and linguistic imperialism.

7.3.3 Theoretical Implication for CRT: A Necessity of Expansion and Diffusion

I have read and used critical race theory as a most pertinent theory to decenter and fight forms of racism in the 'western' society in general and composition studies practices in Canada. One of the important ideas of pioneering scholars of CRT is to put race, race-relation, and racial discrimination at the centre "in studying and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power" (Delgado and Stefancic, 2). Moreover, I have found Aja Y. Martinez's use of hybrid counterstory telling as a combination of interdisciplinary angles and approaches is so alluring for persons of colour studying complicated problems of racism in academic institutions and programs where lip-servicing and superficiality predominate to address diversity and equity related issues. In addition to the fac that CRT is rich, relevant, and exigent for racialized identities and other similarly minoritized identities, the field needs to further diversify and diffuse in order to outreach areas and disciplines where CRT is unheard of as a theory and method. It also needs to expand transnationally, trans-linguistically and transracially so that complex issues such as castism and intra-racial discriminations can be examined with its methods and insights such as intersectionality and counterstorytelling.

7.3.4 Implication for Dissertation as a 'western' Academic Genre: Decolonizing/Decentering Dissertation Writing

Decentering dissertation as a 'western' academic genre is one of the crucial implications of this dissertation. The 'western' understanding of writing dissertation involves withholding researcher's agency. Let alone their stories and experiences being primary source materials because 'the 'western' understanding of dissertation is to be objective and evidence-based system which is devoid of the presence of the researcher's personality. Moreover, the 'western' understanding of a successful dissertation is predicated on the belief that the genre is strictly rule governed, and dissertations are expected to live up to the expectations of 'western,' white, and Eurocentric audiences. According to the 'western' academic belief and practice, a dissertator needs to abide by 'western' institutional standards and to satisfy 'western' epistemic discourse community of scholars. The assumptions that "we have to operate in Standard English and follow Standard English grammar—but not *accented Englishes*; follow argument-based writing; follow hierarchization of structure, and most importantly suspend the influence of a researcher's personality and identity," are some of the remarkable features of 'western' dissertation writing practices. More importantly, the epistemic racial bias prevalent among many whitely and Eurocentric scholars manifests in their tendency to dismiss and discredit the uses of personal stories of racism of people of colour as legitimate research method and/or research materials. They believe that personal stories of experiences of racism are susceptible to fabrication and therefore cannot be considered as research methods or evidence to substantiate claims. Therefore, the epistemic racial biases prevalent in 'western' dissertation writing practices need to be further discussed and defied in line with critical race theoretical assumptions, CRT informed applied linguistic principles together with translingual and translanguaging practices.

Thanks to my supervisor who has been enthusiastic about the idea of decentering Eurocentric culture of writing dissertation and encouraged me to use my own lived experiences as primary materials and method to engage with some of the troubling problems of race and racism in Canada. English, I have used in the dissertation is not on par with the so-called Standard English. Many a time, my 'western' readers will have to remain stuck/struck/stumbled/mumbled, and in worst case scenario, to horribly panic in the course of grasping and witnessing the-often messy/ digressed/disorganized/disorderly ideas and structure. However, in fact, the messiness and disorderliness, in fact, correspond to my lived experiences of racism and my use English here in Canada and back in the place of my origin when I was a child, leaning to familiarize with English as a language of power, prosperity and prestige. The approach I have assumed throughout this dissertation to decenter the English disciplinary practices in Canada, the method of research I have chosen, the type of *broken/accented/Non-white English* I have used in writing this dissertation, are already against the grain in 'western academia. It has been quite a challenge.

7.4 Limitations

The dissertation has few limitations. These limitations are related to areas, methods, and theory. In terms of area, I have chosen to decenter racism, white supremacy, linguistic imperialism in Canadian society, Canadian university education in general and teaching and learning of compositions in Canada. I have used critical race theory, critical applied linguistics (particularly native speaker ideology), postcolonial theories (particularly hybridity and ambivalence), and new historicism as theoretical insights, and I have subscribed to Aja Y. Martinez's utilization of hybrid method of counterstorytelling as decentering and dismantling technique. To that point, I have only used my personal stories of racism, but occasionally I have

referred to similar but published stories of my fellow friends of colour to examine that racism and linguicism are pervasive and originary. Regarding history, I have not gone too much into detail about historicizing Canadian writing studies, but I have limited myself to critically evaluating some of the important mainstream writing scholars' historicizing practices and their discourse community practices supporting their own community networking. Finally, at times, I have traveled back and forth to my place of origin in my mental space in search of roots and sources which have important impacts upon my diasporic stories here in Canada. In particular, being able to put together my stories related to learning and teaching of English from the place of my origin provided me with a window to understand the universal nature of English native speaker ideology.

7.5 Future Research Directions

This dissertation is a part of my decentering journey which involves identifying, examining, exposing, and resisting the nexus between whiteness, forms of racism and linguistic imperialism in Canadian society, Canadian university education, and in particular, the teaching and learning of writing in Canadian university. I have a stronger feeling that research like this is more exigent now than before to decenter whiteness, particularly in the field of Canadian writing studies so that the field will transform itself into being inclusive in true sense because the persistence against critical race theory, diversity, anti-racism, and other activisms supporting variously marginalized identities are on steep rise. Secondly, this research envisions that future researchers of colour will make a full utilization of their stories of lived experiences as methods to confront racism. Thirdly, apart from the individual contribution like this—which is very worthy in itself—there is a greater need of collaboration of critical race theoretically

counterstories for collective efforts on behalf of students, teachers, and researchers of colour together with their inalienable white allies for effective decentering of whiteness.

Finally, when we collectively enter into another era where *artificial intelligence* has recently gained rapid momentum, our future research should also be oriented toward using available benefits of AI to navigate around getting quick access to information and other tools, but we should also be bracing for another form of racism—the *crypto racism* in which whiteness also weaponizes AI to subjugate and marginalize persons of colour more viciously in the future than ever before in various spaces and disciplines. I suspect that *crypto racism* could be more dissimulating, more blinding, and more powerful than any form of racism as it may not require the (in)direct involvement of 'white' people to weaponize whiteness. The future decentering fight for critical race theorists and researchers, therefore, could possibly be a fight against artificial intelligence of whiteness and its impacts upon already racialized persons of colour, and other marginalized identities.

References

Achebe, Chinua. *Things Fall Apart*. Anchor Books, 1994

Adichie, Chimamanda N. "The Danger of A Single Story." YouTube, uploaded by TED.com, Oct 7, 2009, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D9Ihs241zeg

Ahmad, Aijaz. *In Theory: Classes, Nations, and Literatures*. Verso, 1992.

Armstrong, Jeannette. "History Lesson." Thomas King. *The Inconvenient Indian*. E-book ed., Doubleday Canada, 2012. Apple Books

Asante, Molefi Kete. "African American Studies: The Future of the Discipline." *The Black Scholar*, vol. 22, no. 3, 1992, pp. 20–29

Ashcroft et al. *Key Concepts in Postcolonial Studies*. Routledge, 1998

Awasthi, Lava Deo. "Importation of Ideologies: From Macaulay Minutes to Wood Commission." *Journal of Education and Research*, vol. 1 no. 1, 2008. 21-29.

Bach, Gerhard. "Slo(w)ganization. Against the Constant Need for Re-inventing the Discourse on Language Education: The Case of 'Multiple Intelligence.'" Sloganizat*ion in Language Education Discourse: Conceptual Thinking in the Age of Academic Marketization*. Eds. Barbara Schmenk et al. Multilinguals Matter, 2019

Baker, Victoria. J. "Being "multilingual" in a South African township: Functioning well with a patchwork of standardized and hybrid languages." *The Native Speaker Concept: Ethnographic Investigation of Native Speaker Effects*. Ed. Neriko Musha Doerr. Mouton de Gruyter, 2009.

Battiste, Marie. *Decolonizing Education: Nourishing the Learning Spirit*. Purich Publishing Ltd., 2013.

Baugh, John. “Linguistic Profiling.” *Black Linguistics: Language, society, and politics in Africa and Americas*. eds. Sinfree Makoni, Geneva Smitherman, Arnetha F. Ball, and Arthur K. Spears. Routledge, 2003.

Bhabha, Homi. K. *The Location of Culture*. Routledge, 1994.

--- “The Commitment to Theory.” *New informations*. Number 5, Summer 1988.

--- “Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse.” *October*, vol. 28, 1984, pp. 125–33. JSTOR, .

Bell, Derrick A. “Brown v. Board of Education and the Interest-Convergence Dilemma.” *Harvard Law Review*, Jan. 1980, Vol. 93, No. 3 (Jan. 1980), pp. 518-533 https://www.jstor.org/stable/1340546

--- *Faces at the Bottom of the Well: The Permanence of Racism*. Basic Books, 1992.

Bissell, Claude. *The Imperial Canadian: Vincent Massey in Office.* University of Toronto Press, 2016

Bista, Krishna. “Teaching English as a Foreign/Second Language in Nepal: Past and Present.” *English for Specific Purposes World*, vol. 11, no. 32, 2011. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED530898.pdf

“Black Canadians.” *Government of Canada*. https://www.bac lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/immigration/history-ethnic-cultural/Pages/blacks.aspx

Bloom, Harold. *Anxiety of Influence*. 2nd Ed. Oxford University Press, 1997.

Boehmer, Elleke. *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*. 2nd edition. Oxford University Press, 2005

Braziel, Jana Evans & Anita Mannur. “Nation, Migration, Globalization: Points of Contention in

Diaspora Studies." *Theorizing Diaspora A Reader*, edited by Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur. Blackwell Publishing, 2003.

Brooks, Kevin. "National Culture and the First Year English Curriculum…" *Writing Centres, Writing Seminars, Writing Culture* . . . Eds. Roger Graves and Heather Graves. Inkshed, 2006.

British Council Nepal. "Who we are? What we do?" https://www.britishcouncil.org.np/who-we-care-what-we-do

Brooks, Lisa Tanya. *The Common Pot: The Recovery of Native Space in Northeast*. The University of Minnesota Press, 2008

Brosseau, Laurence, and Michael Dewing. *Canadian Multiculturalism*. Library of Parliament, Parliamentary Information and Research Service, 2009.

Burns, Anne. "Is English a form of linguistic imperialism?" *British Council*. 10 April 2013 - 14:51

Burrows, John. "The Durability of Terra Nullius: Tsilhqot'in Nation v. British Columbia." *UBC Law Review*: Vol. 48: Iss.3, Article 2. (2015)

"Canadian Multiculturalism Act 1988." *Minister of Justice*, R.S.C. 1985, c. 24 (4th Supp.) [1988, c. 31, assented to 21st July 1988] https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/PDF/C-18.7.pdf

Canagarajah, Suresh. *Literacy As Translingual Practice: Between Communities and Classrooms*. Routledge, 2013.

Canagarajah, Suresh. "Code-meshing in Academic Writing: Identifying Teachable Strategies of Translanguaging." *The Modern Language Journal*, Vol. 95, No. 3, (Fall 2011), 401-417.

Clarke, Sandra. *Dialects of English: Newfoundland and Labrador English*. Edinburgh University Press, 2010.

Clary-Lemon J. “Shifting Tradition: Writing Research in Canada.” *The American review of Canadian studies*. 2009;39(2):94-111. doi:10.1080/02722010902848128

---. “The role of Irish English in the formation of New World Englishes: the case from Newfoundland.” *Focus on Ireland*. ed. Jeffrey Kallen. John Benjamins, 1997.

---. “The Racialization of Composition Studies: Scholarly Rhetoric of Race since 1990.” *College Composition and Communication*, Vol. 61, No. 2 (December2009), p. 367

Chomsky, Noam. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. The M.I.T Press, 1965.

Coe, Richard M. “Anglo-Canadian Rhetoric and Identity: A Preface.” *College English,* Dec. 1988, Vol. 50, No. 8.

Collins, Patricia Hill. “Learning from the Outsider Within: The Sociological Significance of Black Feminist Thought.” *Social Problems*, Oct-Dec. 1986, Vol. 33, No. 6, Special Theory Issue (Oct. - Dec. 1986), pp. S14-S32

Condon, Frankie. *I Hope I Join the Band: Narrative, Affiliation, and Antiracist Rhetoric.* Utah University Press, 2012.

Condon, Frankie, and Vershawn Ashanti Young, editors. *Performing Antiracist Pedagogy in Rhetoric, Writing, and Communication*. University Press of Colorado, 2017

Conrad, Joseph. *The Heart of Darkness*. Blackwood’s Magazine, 1899. Rpt. by Icon Classics, 2005.

Constitution Act, 1982, being Schedule B to the Canada Act 1982 (UK), c 11.

Cooper, Afua "Acts of Resistance: Black Men and Women Engage Slavery in Upper Canada, 1793-1803." *Ontario History*, vol. 99, no. 1, 2007, pp. 5–17. doi:10.7202/1065793ar

Coulthard, Glen Sean. *Red Skin White Mask*. University of Minnesota Press, 2014. 1-24

Creese, Angela and Adrian Blackledge. “Translanguaging in the Bilingual Classroom: A Pedagogy for Learning and Teaching?” *The Modern Language Journal*, Vol. 94, No.1 (Spring, 2010), 103-115.

Crenshaw, Kimberle Williams. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum*: Vol. 1989: Iss.1, Article 8.

---. “Race, Reform and Retrenchment. Transformation and Legitimation in Anti-discrimination Law.” *Harvard Law Review*. Vol. 101.Number 7, 1988.

Crenshaw, Kimberle, Neil Gotanda, et al. *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement*. The New Press, 1995.

“Current World Population.” *Worldometer*. https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/world-population-by-year/

Davis, Peggy C. “Law as Microaggression.” *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge*. Eds. Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic. Temple University Press, 2000.

Deane, Seamus. “Introduction.” *Nationalism, Colonialism and Literature*. Eds. Terry Eagleton, Fredric Jameson and Edward W. Said. University of Minnesota Press, 1990

Delgado, Richard. “Storytelling for Oppositionists and Others: A Plea for Narrative.” eds. *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge*. 2nd Ed. Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic. Temple University Press, 2000.

Delgado, Richard, and Jean Stefancic. Critical Race Theory: An Introduction. New York University Press, 2001.

Diangelo, Robin. *White Fragility: Why is it Hard for Talking about Racism.* Beacon Press, 2018.

Dollinger, Stefan and Sandra Clarke. “On the autonomy and homogeneity of Canadian English.” *World Englishes*, Vol. 31, No. 4, pp. 449–466, 2012.

Espinoza, Leslie, and Angela P. Harris. “Embracing the Tar-Baby: LatCrit Theory and the Sticky Mess of Race.” *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge*. 2nd Ed. Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic. Temple University Press, 2000.

Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Grove Weidenfeld, 1963.

---. “The Fact of Blackness.” *Black Skin White Mask*. Trans. Charles Lam Markmann. Pluto Press, 1986.

Fairclough, Norman. *Analyzing Discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. Routledge, 2003.

Fleras, Augie. *The Politics of Multiculturalism: Multicultural Governance in Comparative Perspective*. Palgrave, 2009.

Flores, Nelson, and Jonathan Rosa. “Undoing Appropriateness: Raciolinguistic Ideologies and Language Diversity in Education.” *Harvard Educational Review*, 85, 149–171

---.“Unsettling Race and Language: Toward Raciolinguistic Perspective.” Language in Society 46, 621–647. 2017.doi:10.1017/S0047404517000562

Forbes, Hugh Donald. *Multiculturalism in Canada: Constructing a Model Multiculture with Multicultural Values*. Palgrave, 2019.

Foucault, Michel. *The Order of Things: An Archeology of Human Sciences*. Editions Gallimard, 1966. Rpt. by Routledge e-Library, 2005

---*The Archeology of Knowledge*. Tavistock Publications, 1972. Rpt. by Routledge, 2003.

Forbes, Hugh Donald. “Trudeau as the First Theorist of Canadian Multiculturalism.” *Multiculturalism and Canadian Constitution*. ed. Stephen Tierney. UBC Press, 2007. 27-50

Gallagher, Catherine, and Stephen Greenblatt. *Practicing New Historicism*. The University of Chicago Press, 2020.

Gandhi, Leela. *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction*. 2nd Edition. Columbia University Press, 2019.

Gee, James Paul. *An Introduction to Discourse Community*. Routledge, 1999.

Giltrow, Janet. "Writing at the Centre: a Sketch of the Canadian History." *Canadian Journal for Studies in Discourse and Writing/Redactologie*, [S.l.], v. 26, p. 11-24, dec. 2016

Giri, Ram A. "Changing faces of English: why English is not a foreign language in Nepal." *Journal of World Languages*, 2014. Vol. 1, No. 3, 192–209. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/21698252.2014.989643

Gonzales, Laura. "Multimodality, Translingualism, and Rhetorical Genre Studies." *Composition Forum*, vol. 31, Spring 2015, compositionforum.com/issue/31/gonzales-multimodality-translingualism.php.

Graves H, Graves R, eds. *Writing Centres, Writing Seminars, Writing Culture: Writing Instruction in Anglo-Canadian Universities*. Inkshed Pub., 2006.

Graves, Roger. *Writing Instruction in Canadian Universities*. Inkshed Publications, 1994.

Gray, John, and David Block. *Neoliberalism and Applied Linguistics*. Routledge, 2012

Green, L.C & Olive P. Dickason. *The Law of Nations and the New World*. University of Alberta Press, 1993.

Hanisch, Carol. "The Personal is Political." *Notes From the Second Year: Women's Liberation*, edited by Shulamith Firestone and Anne Koedt. Radical Feminism, 1970.

Hall, Stuart. Hall, Stuart. "Cultural Identity and Diaspora." *Theorizing Diaspora A Reader*. Eds. Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur. Blackwell Publishing, 2003.

Harari, Yuval Noah. *Sapiens: A Brief History of Mankind*. Harper, 2011.

Harris, Angela P. Harris. "Foreword." *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction*. Eds. Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic. New York University Press, 2001.

Hartford, B. S. "The Relationship of New Englishes and Linguistic Theory: A Cognitive Based Grammar of Nepali English." *South Asian English: Structure, Use and Users*, edited by R. J. Baumgartner, University of Illinois, 1996, pp. 88–103..

Henry-Dixon, Natasha. "Black Enslavement in Canada." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 09 February 2022, *Historica Canada*. www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/black-enslavement. Accessed 12 July 2024.

Holliday, Adrian. "Native Speakerism." *The TESOL Encyclopedia of English Language Teaching*. Edited by John I. Liontas. John Wiley & Sons, 2017.

Horner, Bruce, et al. "Language Difference in Writing: Toward a Translingual Approach." *Faculty and Staff Scholarship*, 2011, ir.library.louisville.edu/faculty/67

House of Commons. "Systemic racism in Policing in Canada: Report of the Standing Committee on Public Safety and National Security, June 2021." *43rd Parliament*, 2nd session.

Human Rights Council. "Report of the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of slavery, including its causes and consequences, Tomoya Obokata." *United Nations General Assembly*. A/HRC/57/46/Add.1. Distr.: General. Accessed, 22 July 2024.

Human Rights Watch. "Covid-19 Fueling Anti-Asian Racism and Xenophobia Worldwide: National Action Plans Needed to Counter Intolerance." Human Rights Watch, 2020. https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/05/12/covid-19-fueling-anti-asian-racism-and-xenophobia-worldwide. Accessed, 3rd July 2024.

Hunt, Russ. “Afterword: Writing Under the Curriculum.” *Writing Centres, Writing Seminars, Writing Cultures: Writing Instruction in Anglo Canadian Universities*, edited by Roger Grave, Inkshed, 2006

Iorfida, Chris. “Trump Has No Interest in the Wall between Canada, U.S.” | *CBC news, CBC/Radio Canada*, 26 Feb. 2016, www.cbc.ca/news/world/trump-canadian-us-border-wall-1.3465155. Accessed 23 April 2024.

Jacobs, Dale and Jay Dolmage. “Engagement, Integration, Collaboration: Composition at the University of Windsor.” *Writing Centres, Writing Seminars, Writing Culture: Essays on Writing Instruction in Canadian Universities*. Eds. Heather Graves and Roger Graves. Inkshed, Pub. 2006, 121-146.

Jenkins, Jennifer. *Global Englishes: A Source Book for Students*. Routledge, 2014.

Johnson N. *Nineteenth-Century Rhetoric in North America / Nan Johnson.* Southern Illinois University Press; 1991.

---. “Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in the Canadian Academy: Historical Analysis.” *Writing Centres, Writing Seminars, Writing Culture: Writing Instruction in Anglo-Canadian Universities*. Eds. Roger Graves and Heather Graves. Inkshed, 2006

Kachru, Braj B. “World Englishes and Applied Linguistics.” *World Englishes*. Vol. 9. No. I, pp. 3-20. 1990.

Kalapura, Jose “Nepal Inscribed: Christian Missionaries In Nepal in the 18th Century.” *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol. 69 (2008), pp. 881-903

Kangas-Skutnabb, Tove. *Linguistic Genocide in Education—Or Worldwide Diversity and Human Rights?* Laurence Erlbaum Associates, 2000.

Karki, Chitra Kumar. “Diasporas intersect in Turtle Island: examining diasporic intersectionality in Canada from critical race, postcolonial and Indigenous perspectives.” *Diaspora Studies*. 03 Jun 2021. DOI: 10.1080/09739572.2021.1935562

---.“Subaltern Photography’s Mediascapes: Alternative Modernities and Countercultural Implications.” *Journal of humanities and cultures studies R&D*. Vol.5, No.1| 10 Feb 2020. https://www.jsrd-humanities.com.

King, Martin Luther, Jr. “Letter from Birmingham Jail.” Penguin Classics, 2018

King, Thomas. *The Truth About Stories: A Native Narrative*. House of Anansi Press, 2003.

Kinloch, Valerie, and Donja Thomas. “Language, Literacy, and Education.” *The Routledge Reader of African American Rhetoric*, edited by Vershawn Ashanti Young and Michelle Bachelor Robinson, Routledge, 2018, pp. 248–56.

Kubota, Ryuko. “Confronting Epistemological Racism, Decolonizing Scholarly Knowledge: Race and Gender in Applied Linguistics.” *Applied Linguistics* 2020: 41/5: 712–732.

---. “Rethinking the superiority of the native speaker: Toward a relational understanding of power.” *The Native Speaker Concept: Ethnographic Investigations of Native Speaker*. Ed. Neriko Doerr. Berlin: Gruyter, 2009.

Kubota, et al. “Your English is so good”: Linguistic experiences of racialized students and instructors of a Canadian university.” *Ethnicities* 2023, Vol. 23(5) 758–778 DOI: 10.1177/14687968211055808

Kynard, Carmen. “Not New To This/True To This: Black Language, the Internet, Southern Roots, and the Failed Entrenchments of Whiteness.” *Education, Liberation & Black Radical Traditions for the 21st Century*: Carmen Kynard's Teaching & Research Site on Race,

Writing, and the Classroom. March 20, 2023. http://carmenkynard.org/true-to-this/ Accessed 18 May 2024.

Labov. William. "The Logic of Nonstandard English." *The Myth of Cultural Deprivation*. Ed. Nell Keddie. Penguin Education, 1973

Landry, Dana. *Writing Studies in Canada: A People's History*. 2016. The University of British Columbia. PhD Thesis. Retrieved from https://open.library.ubc.ca/collections/ubctheses/24/items/1.0308778.

Limbu, Marohang. "Delinking, Relinking, and Linking Methodologies: A Glimpse of Kirat-Yakthung (Limbu) Language, Writing, and Literacy." *Journal of Global Literacies, Technologies, and Emerging Pedagogies.* Volume 4, Issue 1, March 2017, pp. 560-593

Machin, David, and Andrea Mayr. *How to do Critical Discourse Analysis: A Multimodal Introduction.* Sage, 2012

Martinez, Aja Y. *Counterstory: The Rhetoric and Writing of Critical Race Theory*. NCTE, 2020.

--- . "A Plea for Critical Race Theory Counterstory: Stock Story vs. Counterstory Dialogues Concerning Alejandra's "Fit" in the Academy." *Performing Antiracist Pedagogy in Rhetoric, Writing, and Communication*. Eds. Frankie Condon and Vershawn Ashanti Young. University Press of Colorado, 2017.

--- . "Why Critical Race Theory Matters?" *Ethnic Studies Review*, Vol. 45, Issue 1, pp. 23–32

---. "Core-Coursing Counterstory: On Master Narrative Histories of Rhetorical Studies Curricula." *Rhetoric Review*, Vol. 38, No. 4, 402–416,

Mascarenhas, Michael J. "WHERE THE WATERS DIVIDE: NEOLIBERAL RACISM, WHITE PRIVILEGE AND ENVIRONMENTAL INJUSTICE." *Race, Gender & Class,* Vol. 23, No.

3-4, Environmental Injustice, Identity, Culture, Sexuality, Education, Crime, and Literature Issues (2016), pp. 66-25. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26529206

Mason, Kristoffer, "The rhetoric is on the wall: A multimodal study of the U.S.– Mexico border through image narratives." 2018. Undergraduate Thesis. Retrieved from https://digitalcommons.tacoma.uw.edu/gh_theses/49.

Matsuda, Mari. "Looking to the Bottom: Critical Legal Studies and Reparations." *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Informed the Field*. Eds. Kimberle Crenshaw, Gary Peller, and Kendall Thomas. The New Press, 1995

Mayberry, Tommy. *Queen of the Academy: Academic Drag as Pedagogy and Praxis*. 2022. University of Waterloo, PhD dissertation.

MBE, Alison Barrett. "Foreword." *English Language Teaching in Nepal: Research, Reflection and Practice.* Ed. David Hayes. British Council, 2018.

Miller, J. R. *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens*. University of Toronto Press, 2000.

Miller, Susan. *Textual Carnivals: The Politics of Composition*. Southern Illinois UP, 1991.

Mooten, Nalinie. "Racism, Discrimination and Migrant Workers in Canada: Evidence from the Literature." *Policy Research, Research and Evaluation Branch, Government of Canada*. Accessed June 11, 2024. https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/reports-statistics/research/racism-discrimination-migrant-workers-canada-evidence-literature.html

Morrison, Toni. *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*. Vintage Books, 1992.

Mueller, Derek N. et al. *Cross-Border Networks in Writing Studies*. Inkshed, 2017.

Moxley, Joseph M. “Discourse Conventions.” *Writing Commons*. 2023 https://writingcommons.org/section/discourse/discourse-conventions

Nepal, Ministry of Law, Justice, and Parliamentary Affairs. *The Constitution of Nepal*. 20 Sept. 2015.

Nepal National Education Planning Commission. *Education in Nepal*. The Bureau of Publications, College of Education. 1956.

Nietzsche, Friedrich. *On the Advantages and Disadvantages for Life*. Trans. Peter Preuss. Hackett Publishing Company, Inc. 1980

“Office of Equity, Diversity, Inclusion and Anti-racism.” University of Waterloo https://uwaterloo.ca/equity-diversity-inclusion-anti-racism/

Official Languages Act, R.S.C., 1985, c. 31 (4th Supp).

Orwell, George. *Shooting an Elephant and Other Essays*. Penguin Books, 1936. Apple Books.

Patience, Elabor-Idemudia. “Equity Issues in the Academy: An Afro-Canadian Woman's Perspective.” *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 70, No. 3, Black Women in the Academy: Challenges and Opportunities (Summer, 2001), pp. 192-203

Peace Corps. *Teaching English as a foreign language to large, multilevel classes*. Peace Corps' Information Collection & Exchange (ICE), 1992.

---. “Projects in Nepal.” https://www.peacecorps.gov/nepal/projects/.

Pennycook, Alastair. *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language*. Routledge, 2017.

Phelps, Louise, Wetherbee. “The Historical Formation of Academic Identities: Rhetoric and Composition, Discourse and Writing.” *Canadian Journal for Studies in Discourse and Writing 25:1 Spring 2014*

Phillipson, Robert. *Linguistic Imperialism.* Oxford University Press, 1992.

Phyak, Prem Bahadur. 'For Our Cho: Tlung': Decolonizing Language Ideologies and (Re)Imagining and (Re) imagining Multilingual Education Policies and Practices in Nepal. Diss. *University of Hawaii*, 2016. 6 April 2018. Web.

Porter, John. *The Vertical Mosaic*. In Michael Roe. Multiculturalism, Racism, and the classroom. Canadian Education Association 1982.

Pradhan, Uma. *Simultaneous Identities: Language, Education, and Nepali Nation*. Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Reither. Jim. "Epistemic News Lettering; Or Inkshed as a Mode of Learning." *Inkshed*. Volume 4, number 1. February 1985

Resnick, Phillip. *The European Roots of Canadian Identity*. Broadview Press, 2005.

Said, Edward. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1993.

--- *Orientalism*. Penguin Books, 1991. (reprinted)

--- *Covering Islam. How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World*. Vintage Books, 1997.

Samboo, Stephanie. "WHY I AM HYPE ABOUT TRANSLINGUALISM." *TESL Ontario* | CONTACT Magazine. April 2018

Schmenk, Barbara, et al. "Sloganization: Yet Another Slogan*?" Sloganization in Language Education Discourse: Conceptual Thinking in Academic Marketization*, edited by Barbara Schmenk, Stephan Breidbach and Lutz Küster, Multilingual Matters, 2019.

See, Scott W. *The History of Canada*. 2nd edition. Grey House Publishing. 2011

Shadd, Adrienne et al. *The Underground Railroad: Next Stop, Toronto*! Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2002

Shaw, George Bernard. *Pygmalion*. Icon Classics, 2005.

Slemon, Stephen. "Unsettling the Empire: Resistance Theory for the Second World." *Postcolonial Studies: A Reader*, edited by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, Routledge, 1995, pp. 32–40.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Zed Books Ltd. 1999.

Smith, Tania. "Recent Trends in Writing Instruction and Composition Studies in Canadian Universities." *Writing Centres, Writing Seminars, Writing Culture: Writing Instruction in Anglo Canadian Universities*. Ed. Roger Graves. Inkshed, 2006

Solórzano, D and Tara J. Yosso. "Critical race methodology: counter-storytelling as an analytical framework for education research." Qualitative Inquiry, 8(1), 2002. 23–44

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "The Translator's Preface." *Of Grammatology.* Jacques Derrida. John Hopkins University Press, 1997

Statistics Canada. "Canada at a Glance, 2022: Racialized groups." Accessed on July 7th, 2024.

Swales, John. *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings*. Cambridge University Press, 1990

---. "The Concept of Discourse Community." *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings*. Cambridge UP, 1990.

Tavares, Vander. "Neoliberalism, native-speakerism and the displacement of international students' languages and cultures." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. 2024, VOL. 45, NO. 8, 3045–3058 https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2022.2084547

Taylor, Christin. *"Sorry If My Words Aren't Right": Writing Studies' Partnership with Second Language Writing to Support Translingual Students in the Anglo-Canadian Classroom*. 2021. University of Waterloo. PhD Thesis. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/10012/17684

Tharoor, Shashi. *An Era of Darkness: The British Empire in India*. Aleph, 2016.

"The Work of the TRC." *The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*. https://nctr.ca/about/history-of-the-trc/truth-and-reconciliation-commission-of-canada/. Accessed, 3rd August 2025.

Triadafilopoulos, Triadafilos. "The Foundations, Limits, and Consequences of Immigration Exceptionalism in Canada." *American Review of Canadian Studies* 2021, VOL. 51, NO. 1, 3-17

Turner, Victor. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. 3rd Ed. Aldine Transaction, 2011.

Tyler, Stephen, and Ivo Strecker. "The Rhetoric Culture Project." *Culture and Rhetoric*. eds. Ivo Strecker and Stephen Tyler. Berghahn Books, 2009

Veeser, H. Aram. *The New Historicism*. Routledge, 1989.

Villanueva, Victor. "Blind: Talking about the New Racism." *The Writing Center Journal*. Volume 26, No. 1 (2006)

Vizenor, Gerald. *Survivance Narratives of Native Presence*. University of Nebraska Press, 2008

Walker, Barrington. "Introduction: From a Property Right to Citizenship Rights-The African Canadian Legal Odyssey." *The African Canadian Legal Odyssey*, edited by Barrington Walker. University of Toronto Press, 2012.

West, Cornell. "Foreword." *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings That Formed the Movement*, edited by Kimberley Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, et al. The New Press, 1995.

Whalen, Tracy. “Introduction: Rhetoric as a Liminal Space.” *RHETOR*-Volume I (2004) <cssr-scer.ca/rhetor>.

Wong, Llyod, and Shibao Guo. “Revisiting Multiculturalism in Canada: An Introduction.” *Revisiting Multiculturalism in Canada: Theories, Policies and Debates*, edited by Llyod Wong and Shibao Guo, Sense Publishers, 2015.

Williams, Andrea. “Voicing Scholars’ Networked Identities through Interviews.” *Cross-Border Networks in Writing Studies*, edited by Mueller Derek, et al. Inkshed, 2017.

Williams, Raymond. *Culture and Society*. Anchor Books, 1960.

Yosso, Tara J. *Critical Race Counterstories Along the Chicana/Chicano Educational Pipeline*. Routledge, 2006.

Young, Vershawn Ashanti. “Introduction: Are You a Part of the Conversation?” *Other People’s English: Code-Meshing, Code Switching, and African American Literacy*, edited by Vershawn Ashanti Young, Rusty Barrett, et al, Teachers College Press, 2014

---. “Linguistic Double Consciousness.” *Other People’s English*, edited by Vershawn A. Young, et al. Teachers College Press, 2014.