

African Caribbean Presence: Decolonizing Social Work Education

V. C. Rhonda Hackett
School of Social Work, University of Victoria

Abstract

The article discusses the decolonization of social work education from an intersectional African Caribbean lens in the context of ongoing colonization of Indigenous lands and peoples of Turtle Island (also known as North America). An African Caribbean approach to decolonizing social work education raises important questions about the need to attend to the maintenance of the humanity of people of African descent across the diaspora as we engage in this process and project of decolonizing social work education. A gap in social work literature addressing the knowledge, lived experience, and social realities of African Caribbean peoples can be attributed to the centralization of western values and ideas in social work education even as it critiques colonialism and anti-Black racism.

Keywords: African Caribbean, migration, decolonizing, social work education, social injury

I am engaging in this discussion about the decolonization of social work education across many spaces, and it is important that I provide some context to those spaces. I was born in Trinidad and Tobago and my Ancestors are of African and Caribbean descent. I migrated to Toronto, the traditional territory of the Mississaugas of the Credit, that has also been home to many nations including the Anishnabeg, Chippewa, Haudenosaunee, and Wendat peoples. As an arrivant to Turtle Island I am an African Caribbean descendant of stolen peoples, and I respectfully acknowledge that currently I live and work on the stolen traditional territories of the Lekwungen peoples. It is from this understanding of my social location that I begin my exploration about decolonizing social work that interrupts assumptions of exclusion and inequity.

The inclusion, counting, and/or acknowledging of African descendants in the narratives of social work education and practice provides for more nuanced, complex, and intersectional discussions about what it means to decolonize social work. This article presents an African Caribbean decolonizing approach to social work education and practice that seeks to historicize, contextualize, politicize, de-individualize, and de-pathologize the lives of African Caribbean peoples in the lands presently known as Canada (Hackett, 2016). It also challenges the colonial realities faced by African Caribbean peoples in Canada and illustrates the ways in which historical and contemporary colonial policies and practices shape the life choices and chances and individual family and community well-being of African Caribbean peoples.

Anti-immigrant sentiments and racism have long been part and parcel of social work from its development (Sakamoto, 2003). For example, Charlotte Whitton, an early leader in Canadian social work, advocated for eugenics, emphasizing racial purity as did many others at the turn of the 20th century (McLaren, 1990; Rooke & Schnell, 1987). According to Johnstone (2016), Whitton was simultaneously head of the Immigration and Child Welfare Committees of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire and the Executive Director of the Canadian Council on Child Welfare. The Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire was predominantly composed of white upper-class women who promoted white settler values and ideas that exemplified and enacted colonialism (Pickles, 2002). The foundation of social work in Canada was significantly influenced by and built on these ideas of colonialism (Johnstone, 2018) and to change direction, Canadian social work education must now turn toward decolonization to enact socially just social work.

This article advocates for social work education to be decolonized through critical examination and refusal of the ways in which the social work profession and its training programs de-historicize, individualize, depoliticize, invisibilize, and pathologize African Caribbeans in the lands currently known as Canada. The decolonizing framework employed in this article is grounded in research with African Caribbean people in Toronto, a city that is home to the largest population of African Caribbean people in the country. I begin with an exploration of the presence of Black/African descendants in Canada, followed by a discussion of the over-representation of Black/African Caribbeans in child welfare. Additionally, I discuss the ways in which the individualization of social issues de-contextualizes colonialism and its legacies. I also explore the colonial assumptions social work holds about African Caribbean knowledge, and the presence and contributions of African Caribbean social workers and community members.

Erasure from History: De-historicizing the Presence of African Descendants in Canada

There has been inadequate attention paid to the gap between social work education and the lengthy, complex history of African descendants in lands currently known as Canada, with a few exceptions (Bernard, 2008; Este, Sato, & McKenna, 2017; Hackett, 2017). The reality currently is that African descendants continue to live in and across Canada and experience persistent and pervasive racism (James et al., 2010). The presence of the African diaspora in Canada is rooted in colonization, dispossessing wars, empty promises of settlement and citizenship, enslavement of African descendants and, more often than not, forced migration (Mathieu, 2010; Mensah, 2010; Winks, 2014). The enslavement of both Indigenous and African peoples in the 17th and 18th centuries in Canada and the continuing legacies of exploitation and dehumanization (Trudel, 2013) rupture narratives that deny or minimize slavery and colonization as foundational in the construction of Canada as a nation. Ignorance, omission, or denial of the long-standing intertwined colonial histories in, between, and among Africa, Turtle Island, and the Caribbean,

simultaneously serve to uphold dominant histories that deny, minimize, and simplify the realities and continuing impacts of slavery and colonization.

The nation-state of Canada and the presence of African descendants (specifically those from the Caribbean) within its borders are both informed by the ongoing dispossession of Indigenous lands and the institutionalization of inequitable social, political, cultural, and economic relations. From enslavement economies to austerity policies of the International Monetary Fund, these inequitable relations have influenced the presence, movement, and migration of African Caribbeans to Canada. People of African descent did not simply appear in these territories, and the ways in which African Caribbeans particularly came to be here in these territories of Turtle Island are also not disconnected from the centuries of European colonization in the Caribbean. The colonization of the Caribbean region and the majority of the African continent by the French, English, Dutch, and Spanish included the kidnapping and enslavement of African peoples and their forced movement from Africa to Turtle Island and the Caribbean region. The centuries long continual displacement of peoples of African descent into the diaspora illuminates the legacy of the exploitation and dehumanization of Indigenous peoples globally.

The historical presence of African Caribbeans here on Turtle Island highlights Thobani's (2007) illustrative framing of colonial relational tensions between the exalted white settlers, other/unwanted immigrants, and an expectation that Indigenous peoples would not survive colonization. Within this tension, people of African descent were largely unwanted as settlers or citizens and instead generally treated as property. This is exemplified by the enslavement of people of African descent in Canada (Cooper, 2006) and the discussions and debates in Canada and the Caribbean about whether the British West Indies should be sold to the Americans or absorbed into Canada as a province (Hutton, 1953). However, conflating all settlers as identical in positionality in relation to Indigenous peoples globally re-inscribes the exalted subject as the standard against which everyone else's reality is measured. Enslavement experiences and histories of African descendants necessarily warrant a different naming and more nuanced understanding than that of *settler*. African Caribbean poet Kamau Brathwaite's (1973) concept of *arrivants* presents a more complicated understanding of our presence in the diaspora as African descendants. The specificity of navigating anti-Black racism also invites the use of *arrivants* as a term that can distinguish the experiences of people of African descent as particular. Byrd (2011) utilized Brathwaite's (1973) term in her critical examination of the centrality of Indigeneity in any struggle for freedom. Importantly, while a critical Indigenous perspective like Byrd's (2011) acknowledged the distinctiveness of *arrivants* in relation to people of African descent on Turtle Island and their experiences of enslavement, there is no escape from the reality of also being settlers. Being desired or needed are not exceptions to being unwanted settlers, as much as they are materially distinct experiences of being an *arrivant*/Indigenous/settler in these territories. Regardless of whether people of African descent were unwanted, desired or needed, anti-Black racism informs these colonial relational tensions. The presence of people of African descent here on Turtle Island also disrupts the colonial

narratives of erasure and forgetting that plagues the history of slavery and colonization in Canada.

The presence of African descendants in the diaspora is connected to resisting enslavement and to the fight for freedom for people of African descent from colonization. Mensah (2010) chronicled the presence of Black people in Canada beginning with the arrival of Mathieu Da Costa in 1606. Da Costa is noted as the first person of African descent on these lands, working as a translator between Pierre Dugua de Mons and the Indigenous peoples along the coast of Atlantic Canada in the 1600s (Johnston, 2001). Da Costa and his much-sought-after skills as a translator (Johnston, 2001) raise important issues about contact between people of the African diaspora and Indigenous peoples of Turtle Island before and during colonization. Mathieu Da Costa's acquisition of Indigenous languages betrays the silence about the global legacy of slavery and colonization or the pre-existing relations between African people and Turtle Islanders before European colonization. To understand his presence and his skills as a translator necessarily involves excavating and recognizing the history of colonization and enslavement in Africa and its impact on people of African descent.

By the start of the American Revolution in 1776, there were some 500 enslaved Black people in Nova Scotia. Mensah (2010) further explained that white Loyalists who were fleeing the American Revolution brought with them enslaved peoples of African descent to Nova Scotia, followed by the arrival of another 3,000 emancipated Black Loyalists. He noted that the ongoing resistance to enslavement and discrimination led 1,200 people of African descent to return to Africa to establish the settlement of Freetown in Sierra Leone in 1792. Descendants of runaway slaves of Jamaica, known as the Maroons, exemplified the resistance and refusal of people of African descent to be colonized and dominated. Mensah described the deportation of 550 Maroons from Jamaica to Nova Scotia by the British, serving as another example of colonial warring influencing the movement of people of African descent. Additionally, he noted that a further 3,600 enslaved African descendants were baited with promises of settler status and land in exchange for fighting against the Americans in the War of 1812. The British also relocated previously enslaved Africans who ran away from the Americans and fought on the side of the British in 1812–1814, to Trinidad after the war ended. In Trinidad, these colonial marines were known as the Merikins, whose families were given 16 acres of land and their freedom decades before slavery would officially end in the Caribbean in 1838 (McDaniel, 1994). As part of the British colonial settler project, the Merikins participated in the settlement of Trinidad, which created economic benefit for the British colonists (Laurence, 1963). Laurence (1963) described the challenges faced by these colonial marine settlers including: opposition from the planter class, surveillance from an appointed superintendent, and an expectation that they would clear the forest and build and maintain a road that would connect the Company villages.

African Caribbeans in the diaspora reflect the complexity of Indigenous identity. As a result of more than 600 years of colonization and continued colonial

policies and practices, there have been profound losses including the loss of life, lands, cultures, languages, families, knowledge, and connections to Ancestors. These losses and continuing colonial interference have also impacted identity and shaped the production of multiple, complicated hybrid identities that mark the Caribbean.

The Caribbean is one of those places where European colonization (including that of the Spanish, French, British, and Dutch) benefitted from a flourishing enslavement economy and had a genocidal impact on the Indigenous peoples of the region. However, Indigenous peoples continue to survive in the Caribbean despite the pervasive myth of their extinction from the region (Forte, 2006). The specific reality of enslaved Africans in the Caribbean complicates definitions of who is settler and who is Indigenous, and being Indigenous in the Caribbean is complicated by the history of assimilation and hybrid identities (Forte, 1999). What happens to decolonial efforts within social work education when we begin to account for the loss of African ethnic groups in the examination of the history of enslaved Africans? What about those peoples whose ancestral webs are woven of Indigenous peoples of both the African continent and the Caribbean? What happens to the Indigeneity of peoples of African descent after centuries of enslavement? Where does the Indigeneity of people of African descent disappear to in the diaspora? How does a decolonial social work lens problematize myths of Indigenous extinction in the Caribbean and therefore the Indigeneity of African Caribbean peoples in Canada? These and many other questions abound in the turn toward the decolonization of social work education. Moreover, the legacies of the enslavement economy on Turtle Island further complicate how descendants of Africa, wherever they are from in the diaspora, continue to be dehumanized through anti-Black racism (Maynard, 2017). Social work education must take up decolonizing in relation to people of African descent from the Caribbean.

Denial of Humanity: African Caribbean Migration and the Nation-State Called Canada

Social work education needs to address anti-Black racism, issues of freedom and decolonization, and the historical presence of African Caribbean people on Turtle Island, and in doing so, provide more context to the lives of African Caribbean peoples. In this section, I highlight two examples of anti-Black racism faced by African Caribbean peoples in Canada, namely migration and overrepresentation in child welfare. While the migration of African Caribbeans can be counted through documented numbers, an accurate count of the presence of African Caribbean children in the child welfare system has only just begun. From surveillance to social neglect to deportation, African Caribbeans continue to be separated and displaced from one place to another globally and locally.

Caribbean Migration to Canada

Canada's immigration policies in relation to the Caribbean reflected colonial business, political relationships, and the rejection of peoples of African descent from the Caribbean except as temporary workers labouring in the areas of domesticity and

agriculture. An example of the long-standing exchange of colonial relationships between the Caribbean and Canada is expressed literally in the marital relationship of Canada's first Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald. Lady Agnes Macdonald, born in Jamaica in 1836, was the daughter of plantation owner Thomas Bernard; she married Macdonald on February 16, 1867. The new nation of Canada encouraged business in the Caribbean as demonstrated by the history of the Bank of Nova Scotia, which opened a branch in Jamaica in 1889 "to facilitate trading sugar, rum and fish" only fifteen years after it began in 1874 and eight years before opening a branch in Toronto (Scotiabank Archives, 2010, para. 4). The history of the bank illustrates the persistent economic relationship between Canadian businesses and the British colonies in the Caribbean. For example, nearly 50 years ago Tower and Brown (1970) estimated that between 60% and 90% of banking in the Caribbean was controlled by Canadian banks (p. 3). Canadian banking dominance persisted; in 2013 three of the largest Canadian banks (Scotiabank, the Royal Bank of Canada, and the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce) accounted for 60% of the banking industry in the region (Ensler, 2017). Other scholars and authors have highlighted the role of Canadian bankers and policy-makers in helping to construct Caribbean banking policies in ways that have inordinately benefited Canadian banks and businesses and contributed to economic dependency in the Caribbean region (Deneault, 2015; Ensler, 2017; Stewart, 1982). For example, while Canada restricted African Caribbean migration, it simultaneously profited from the export of African Caribbean peoples and their labour, as Canadian banks offered remittance accounts for those working abroad in Canadian coal mines (John, 2018).

The global migration of people of African descent, or Black migration, has been underpinned by anti-Black racism in immigration policies, positioning people of African descent as a problem to be managed rather than encouraged for settlement (Bashi, 2004). As Bashi (2004) further contended, the exclusion of people of African descent from entry into the Global North was reflected in the pre-1960s immigration policies of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States that severely restricted Black migration to admittance only as labourers. For example, after changes to the immigration laws in the 1960s, Canada continued to specifically restrict the immigration of African Caribbean women through the implementation of the Domestic Scheme, whereby a small number of women of African descent from the Caribbean were permitted conditional entry into Canada and restricted to employment as domestic workers (Calliste, 1991; Henry, 1994; Satzewich, 1989). Moreover, the criteria to participate in the Domestic Scheme required the women to be young, single, and childless. The documented experiences of the women permitted to participate in the Domestic Scheme reveals intersecting issues of racism, classism, and sexism as well as their resistance to this exploitative immigration program (Calliste, 1991; Henry, 1994; Lawson, 2013; Silvera, 1989). The increased presence of people of African descent and the specific recruitment of African Caribbean women into Canada were directly related to exclusionary immigration policies and practices based on race, class, and gender embedded in colonialism and nation building. Changes to immigration policies in the 1960s that

continued to restrict Black immigration simultaneously occurred alongside resistance to British colonialism in Africa and the Caribbean.

The history of people of African descent in Canada also helps to contextualize the legacy of British colonialism and the hierarchy of dominance between colonies. For example, Calliste (1993) identified not only the exploitation and dehumanization of African Caribbean peoples as migrant labourers in Canada in the early 1900s, but also argued that the African Caribbean women working as domestics and the African Caribbean men working as miners for Dominion Iron and Steel Company were sought after for their labour, and subsequently deported back to the Caribbean during recessions. She noted the exclusionary and anti-Black racism of the immigration policies and practices as competing with the desire for access to cheap labour. Additionally, Calliste (1993) asserted that racist practices of deportation and stereotypes about immorality, inability, and dependency were used to justify the exclusion of African Caribbean peoples from entering and settling in the land now known as Canada.

Barnes (2002) noted the increased deportation of African Caribbeans from Canada to the Caribbean in 1997, after the introduction of the “danger to the public” amendment change to the Immigration Act of Canada in 1995. Importantly, Barnes (2002) articulated how these changes occurred within the context of interracial crime, the racialization of crime, and the criminalization of racialized immigrants, revealing an over-representation of Jamaicans experiencing deportation from Canada and the United States in the late 1900s. The anti-Black racism and anti-Black immigrant sentiments directed at African Caribbeans has been long-standing and is ongoing.

The more contemporary movement of peoples of African descent is not in isolation from the economies of slavery and colonization and resistance to them. For African descendants, anti-Black racism and anti-Black immigrant sentiments continue to be enforced and upheld in Canada. For example, Levitz (2017) reported that in 2010 after the earthquake in Haiti, both the United States and Canada extended temporary protected status to Haitians, which meant they could not be deported to Haiti because it was unsafe. She also reported that Canada had already begun deporting Haitians and that the United States would follow within months. The anti-Black and anti-immigrant policies of Canada and the United States are exemplified in their rejection and deportation of the Haitian migrants/arrivants. It is necessary for social work education to address anti-Black racism and anti-Black immigrant sentiment to move toward decolonization and legitimize its claim to social justice. Social work education also needs to account for the gap in knowledge about the presence and complex history of African descendants arriving in Canada and the ways in which this reflects complacency and complicity with anti-Black racism in Canada.

De-individualizing. The approach to immigration within social work education has largely mirrored the perspectives of individualism and multiculturalism (Yee & Dumbrill, 2003) undergirding Canada’s post-1960s immigration policies. For example, in the 1990s, Canadian social work knowledge production was concerned

with immigrants (Herberg, 1993) and focused on diversity and culture at the expense of addressing racism and colonization. In decolonizing social work education, African Caribbean perspectives bring to light questions about the absence of curriculum addressing colonial realities, the denial of anti-Black racism, and the supremacy of whiteness. The presence of African Caribbean people in Canada cannot be understood outside of the colonization of either the Caribbean or Canada. Given this historical context, efforts toward decolonizing social work education and practice and its relationship to anti-Black racism must include a critical analysis of the colonial histories we stand on and embody as social work educators, students, practitioners, and service users. Such an approach recognizes what Coloma (2017) described as an intersectional relationship between global migration, curriculum, and empire. To move toward decolonizing social work education also means constant attention to who is missing from the curriculum as well as who is naturalized as the immigrant threat to be known, neutralized, and assimilated.

For instance, when social work responds to immigration and settlement as if they are individual problems of adjustment and assimilation, social work education and practice become focused on who is migrating and under what circumstances. Adjustment and assimilation construct and respond to immigration as though it occurs outside of histories of colonization, economic systems of neo-liberalism, and organized politics. The individualistic orientation of social work's focus on adjustment and assimilation does not account for the colonial continuities of the violent displacement of peoples of African descent in the diaspora or the dispossession of the lands of Indigenous peoples. Additionally, it fails to unmask and account for the ways in which there is a reliance on de-historicized and depoliticized views of Canada's nation building and the role of social work in the nation-building project.

The historical presence of African Caribbeans in Canada highlights the cultural bias in social work education that does not require students to know about or engage with the histories, knowledges, and realities of African Caribbeans specifically, and people of African descent more broadly. The standardization of western epistemologies and ontologies in social work education, vigorously critiqued by Indigenous scholars (Sinclair, Hart, & Bruyere, 2009), contribute to the production of what Alcoff (2007) described as wilful ignorance. By utilizing multicultural approaches, social work education simultaneously leaves inequitable hierarchies of social, political, and economic relationships uncontested and issues of racism unaccounted for (Yee & Dumbrill, 2003). Multicultural approaches to immigration and settlement tend to hide racism, specifically anti-Black racism, by ignoring and/or flattening the politics and histories of colonialism and enslavement enacted on Turtle Island. When colonialism and racism are left unchallenged, social work education risks using multiculturalism in ways that contribute to constituting and representing African Caribbeans as unimportant and invisible. These kinds of representations that rely on erasure, omission, dehumanization, and responsabilization of individuals in social work practice and education amount to what Spivak (1988) referred to as epistemic violence, that challenges ideas about who can speak for whom and under what conditions.

Epistemic racism. Even though critical social work education theorizes about race, racism, and colonialism, this work seems to have stalled. Jeffery (2005) described a frustration about effective results on the part of social work faculties and professors in predominantly white institutions when teaching anti-racism. In addition, there is a kind of uncertainty within critical social work education about how to move beyond the theory toward action for change. Social work faculty members and students in predominantly white institutions studying issues of race, racism, and decolonization have theorized about it but seem less energetic about taking up the practice of implementing change at the institutional and micro levels. However, theory without practice does not create change; rather, it helps to maintain the status quo and perpetuate the same dynamic of unmarked and uncontested hierarchical relationships of domination. The leadership of Indigenous scholars in decolonizing social work is apparent on this account of plaiting theory, practice, and positionality together (Baskin, 2016; Sinclair et al., 2009; Tamburro, 2013). Additionally, Tuck and Yang (2012) have argued for the need to do more than theorize about decolonization and through their writing surgically remove excuses or escape routes from white settlers who would deny being implicated in colonization and decolonization. Therefore, shifting our theorizing epistemologically in social work education to decolonizing necessitates also shifting the practical application of this theoretical framework. This shift in theorizing must also inform a shift in the practice of social work. I explore this idea of practice further in the next section.

State-Funded Separations:

The Over-Representation of African Caribbean Children in Care

The continuity of whiteness as the norm in social work education and practice is also evident in state-sponsored separations, exemplified by the over-representation of Black children in child welfare. Social work interventions guided by western epistemologies and ontologies have contributed to the over-representation of children and families of African descent in the child welfare system. Social work as a profession and the education of social workers have been rooted in more than a century of colonial knowledge and nation building upon the unceded territories of the Indigenous peoples of Turtle Island. The professionalization of social work has relied heavily on assimilationist hierarchies of oppressions that categorize and essentialize western ways of knowing and being as the standard against which all others have been compared. The cornerstone to that professionalization is social work education, which has also been dominated by western ideas, beliefs, and values about family, community, health, and well-being. Social work education must address this issue of African Caribbean over-representation in its turn toward decolonizing.

In 2013, 41.8% of the children in care of the Children's Aid Society of Toronto (CAST) were Black, despite Black children and youth only accounting for 8.5% of the city population (Children's Aid Society of Toronto, 2015). Moreover, CAST's disaggregated data for the country of birth for Black parents of children in care shows that more than 47% are from the Caribbean. This is only one agency operating in the city of Toronto, meaning that a true representation of the total number of

Black children in the care of child welfare agencies in Toronto (home of the largest population of African Caribbean peoples) is not currently available. In the region of Peel, the story of over-representation is repeated, as Black people compose 12% of the population of Peel, yet 22% of the children in care are Black and 17% identify as Caribbean (Peel Children's Aid Society, 2016). Of the 49 Children's Aid Societies in the province of Ontario, only the CAST and Peel Children's Aid Society (PCAS) have released their data relating to their involvement with Black children and families and to the number of Black children in their care. This under-reporting is a limitation of the data shared about this over-representation of children and families of African descent in child welfare, as it does not account for all of the Children's Aid Societies. The reality of the ongoing over-representation of African Caribbeans in child welfare is a symptom of social work's enforcement of western epistemological and ontological beliefs and values.

Additionally, the legacies of colonialism and enslavement are obfuscated in social work education's lack of knowledge about the experiences of and practice with African Caribbeans and about their presence in Canada. Opening up to multiple ways of knowing and being creates room for the contributions of African Caribbeans to the decolonization of social work education. There is a lack of awareness about African Caribbean ways of knowing, being, and doing, reflected in the gap in knowledge about African Caribbean service users' perspectives (Clarke, 2011). The impact of migration for families from the Caribbean matters in that their migration experiences often include separations (Phoenix & Seu, 2013; Smith, Lalonde, & Johnson, 2004). The majority of African Caribbeans migrated to Canada in the 1970s (Plaza, 2004); and for many this included serial migration, during which children experienced protracted separations from their parents (predominantly women) and uncertain reunifications as part of their migration to Canada. Alarming, practices of imposed separations from family members are repeated for African Caribbean children and families, who are more likely to be separated for longer when they are involved with child welfare (CAST, 2015; PCAS, 2016). Social work education's wilful ignorance contributes to a de-contextualizing of African Caribbeans, their knowledge, and experiences of intergenerational survival of the violent legacies of enslavement and colonization. This kind of contextualization shows the deep roots of colonial nation building along with the anti-Black racism embedded within over-representation (Phillips & Pon, 2018). The othering of African Caribbean scholarship by social work education risks suppressing their contributions to the decolonizing project.

Decolonizing Social Work Education—In This Place

Of the 94 calls to action of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015), the first five are directed to child welfare governing bodies and workers, primarily social workers, demanding a reduction in the number of Indigenous children in care. This report has implicated social work education and practice in the legacy of colonial harm and the necessary decolonial repair and reconciliation needed, which has also been formally acknowledged by the Canadian Association of Social Work Education (2017) and the Canadian Association of Social Workers (2019).

Indigenous scholars in social work have long been leading the fight of decolonizing social work education and practice through, for example, matters of law, epistemology, ontology, and pedagogy (Absolon, 2011; Baskin, 2016; Blackstock, 2011; Sinclair et al., 2009; Tamburro, 2013; Weaver, 2014). The responsibility to repair the situation of over-representation is for all of social work; however, Indigenous scholars have provided important foundations upon which this conversation about decolonizing social work is currently being engaged. They have challenged and continue to directly challenge whiteness as the standard against which Indigenous peoples have been measured and which has been used to determine who gets to be the knower and the known (Sinclair, 2004). The continued challenge of and advocacy against the inequitable treatment of Indigenous children in child welfare is a constant reminder of the epistemological and ontological colonialism that underpins it (Blackstock, 2015). Non-Indigenous social work education has tended to marginalize the work involved in fighting to decolonize the discipline and the advocacy to Indigenize it.

The scholarship on decolonizing social work by Indigenous scholars provides an excellent foundation from which to continue asking questions of social work education. For example, social work scholars focused on understanding the experiences of African descendants' involvement with child welfare in Ontario have challenged the omission, surveillance, and lack of accounting for the over-representation of African Caribbeans in child welfare (African Canadian Legal Clinic, 2012; Clarke, 2011, 2012; Phillips & Pon, 2018). Social work practice has in the past justified and continues today to justify the separation of children from families when it enforces settler colonial values about family and nation building informed by racism and assimilationist ideas (Thobani, 2007). These practices of breaking apart families by separating children from their relatives relies on colonial epistemologies and ontologies that dehumanize people.

Known and Knower

Social work education in predominantly white institutions must refuse to go along with the naturalizing of representations African descendants and Indigenous peoples as problematic (Tuck, 2009; Tuck & Yang, 2014) rather than knowledgeable; this includes refusal of the naturalized notions of Indigenous peoples and peoples of African descent as those in need of social work services rather than as social workers and social work scholars. In other words, social work education needs to change who is presented as the knower and the known in the classroom. Decolonizing social work education involves having educators who are more reflective of racialized and Indigenous populations. A change in the social work faculty and student populations amounts to a good start in transforming who gets to be the knowers and the known. Importantly, the small presence of racialized and Indigenous faculty in social work education on its own does not interrupt their ongoing experiences of inequity in Canadian universities (Henry et al., 2017).

The importance of noting who is in the classroom continues to be relevant when employing a decolonizing approach to social work education. Some changes to

the student body of social work prompted the exploration of decolonizing pedagogy in relation to international social work (Razack, 2009). In addition to having racialized and Indigenous students from within Turtle Island, decolonizing social work in Canada also means dealing with continued changes in the configuration of students in the classroom who are themselves or their families from the Global South. Variations of colonial legacies from the Global South would enrich decolonizing social work education. Students from the Global South mirror complex colonial relationships: those who are descendants of colonial settlers, like the Spanish, French, and/or British; students who are racialized; students who identify as having both colonial settler and Indigenous ancestry.

Significant complexity is added to decolonizing social work education that must account not only for the presence and Indigenous peoples of Turtle Island, but also the peoples from the Global South in the classroom as students and as instructors. Students from the Global South, for example, need to know and learn about, and most importantly from, Indigenous peoples on Turtle Island. Decolonizing social work education involves addressing interlocking systems of domination (Hill Collins, 2000) in relation to people from the Global South. Decolonizing social work education needs to include learning about the legacies of enslavement and colonization in order to more adequately inform work with communities of African descent in the diaspora and with racialized communities more generally. The long-standing concern about the over-representation of children of African descent in child welfare in Toronto (the traditional territories of the Mississaugas of the Credit) and Canada highlights this problematic reality (CAST, 2015; United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2012, 2016). Employing an intersectional lens means looking at the relationship between systems of race, class, gender, ability, age, sexuality, and citizenship (Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016) in the decolonizing of social work education.

Decolonizing Framework

A decolonial approach to social work education in Canada in relation to African Caribbean peoples would, at its core, assume and demonstrate a respect for the dignity and humanity of African Caribbean peoples. Situated historically, the acute problem of the over-representation of children and families of African descent involved in child welfare can also be understood intersectionally. Of the people identifying as Black in the 2011 National Household Survey approximately 42% lived in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA; Statistics Canada, 2013). Additionally, the Black Experience Project (2017) reported that 46% of participants in their study identified ethnically as Caribbean. A significant portion of the African Caribbean Canadian population lives in the GTA, as compared to anywhere else in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2013). Identity and ethnicity are both significant concerns for peoples of African descent (Black Experience Project, 2017); however, issues of identity are complicated by the ways in which identity is named and documented. For example, being of African descent captures the heterogeneous nature of the identity/categorization based on “Blackness” but does not attend to ethnic differences and the specificity of African Caribbean experiences. Attending to and

addressing the specificity of African Caribbean ways of knowing, being, and doing rather than ignoring it would contribute to humanizing the lived experience and realities of African Caribbean peoples on Turtle Island.

A decolonizing framework questions the assumptions about who should carry the costs for society's hierarchical and inequitable organization of access, resources, and life chances. These assumptions are articulated in the concept of social injury (Hackett, 2016) which refers to "the unequal distribution of social responsibility for the problems of inequity" (p. 24), in this case reflected in the lives of African Caribbean people in Canada and the anti-Black racism and disparities they face. To begin to address the invisibilizing and dehumanizing of African descendants, a decolonized social work education must account for the distinction between the experiences of enslaved African descendants and those of European colonial settlers, who literally only counted enslaved Africans as property. The people of African descent on Turtle Island have had experiences that included being enslaved, refugees, war veterans, settlers, immigrants, and citizens. These identities and categorizations reflect associated inequitable social hierarchical relations that ranged from being displaced, treated as chattel, or marginalized. Furthermore, these identities and categorizations have been attached to ongoing denials of humanity and inequities in relation to colonization across Turtle Island, Africa, Europe, and the Caribbean.

Decolonizing without attending to anti-racism, and specifically addressing anti-Black racism, effectively sidesteps the specificity of oppressions faced by people of African descent. Social work education and practice with African Caribbeans requires theory that is connected to practice and an understanding of the interlocking matrix of power (Hill Collins, 2000) that also accounts for anti-Black racism. The decolonizing framework utilized in this article was developed through my research with African Caribbean participants from the GTA exploring issues of family separation and reunification utilizing individual interviews and focus groups (Hackett, 2016). The qualitative study had 27 participants, with 25 identifying as African Caribbean, contributing toward the development of a theoretical framework that attends to historicizing, politicizing, contextualizing, collectivizing, de-pathologizing, and de-individualizing while writing ourselves into the stories of, for, and about African Caribbeans. It is also a framework from which the lived experiences of African Caribbean people in this land currently known as Canada may be better understood instead of being pathologized for surviving histories and legacies of colonization and enslavement.

For example, a decolonizing approach in social work education would support a more collectivist approach, rather than an individualist approach to addressing the interlocking issues of oppression. Decolonizing social work education would link the political, social, and practical; knowledge from communities of African and African Caribbean descent offer valuable lessons for this kind of work. Gooden (2008) detailed the community and political organizing in Black communities in Toronto as necessary and inseparable from the history of anti-Black racism. Specifically, she identified the West Indian Federation Club and the Home Service Association as

formal examples of African Caribbean community organizing geared toward helping members of the community; while Este (2004) pointed to the organizing work of Black churches that wove together the political, social, and practical needs and concerns of Black communities. Additionally, peoples of African descent not only organized to advocate for change and freedom from anti-Black racism, but also organized as a way of providing help to each other. These examples highlight ways in which the helping efforts of communities of African descent were based in a collectivist approach that attended to the connection between their political, social, and practical experiences.

In addition to those more formal ways of organizing help within the African Caribbean community there were informal practices documented in my study (Hackett, 2016). For example, a participant from the study decided to create a kind of communal living with her siblings. After getting divorced and raising children on her own she decided to create a new family configuration that reflected the closeness of how they lived in the Caribbean. She moved with her sisters into a large family home, all sharing in the financial, emotional, and mothering responsibilities as they raised their children together.

We decide to buy a house on our own. So, we bought one big house ... over 5,000 square feet ... and we finished the basement so that's another 1,000 square feet. So now you have seven bedrooms, seven bathrooms home, right ... so now you have my sister and her two boys, that's three rooms, me and my two girls, and my oldest sister. So, we all lived there for 12 years ... Because it was big and we had our space and we living rooms, three floors so nobody is in anybody's way and the kids get along quite well. (Interview #5)

Another example of informal helping in the study was offered by a focus group stakeholder who, as a school principal of African Caribbean descent, would provide after-school sessions for African Caribbean students and their families experiencing the challenges of reuniting after lengthy separations in the context of having limited to no community resources available to support them. Instead of individualizing and pathologizing the actions of family members who were struggling, the principal acted to provide support to the whole family.

I mean when I was an administrator in the school, then I would try to call in what community resources I know because I don't want it to get there, because once it gets to child welfare, then it's just everything breaks up, and then people are very regretful of, you know, so you try to hold it in the school. That's why we had an office there for counselling, and so I could call the JCA or call, you know, Griffin Center or somewhere to get, you know, to try to intervene and try to get the parents to agree to that. (Focus Group)

The principal's knowledge of the separations and reunifications experienced by families from the Caribbean contributed to her enactment of an integrated collectivist African Caribbean way of helping to divert families away from entanglements with

the child welfare system. Highlighting examples of formal and informal helping practices in African Caribbean communities within social work curriculum can help to broaden and transform how social work students understand and engage with African Caribbean peoples and knowledges in their future practice. Moreover, the epistemological and practical contributions of African Caribbean helping has much to teach social work in resisting the pull toward individualism so coveted by neo-liberalism and other colonial agendas.

The decolonization of social work education confronts the anti-Black racism that positions the sufferings of African descendants as natural, along with the lack of response and/or the over-focused response on African Caribbean families, which results in their over-representation in child welfare. Furthermore, the decolonization of social work education shifts away from reifying an individualistic orientation of understanding the realities facing African Caribbean communities, which focuses on individual levels of pathology, change, and responsibility at the exclusion of the political economy of oppression.

Conclusion

This article has argued for the decolonization of social work education through a decolonizing framework that historicizes, politicizes, collectivizes, and de-pathologizes, with a focus on peoples of African descent broadly and African Caribbean people specifically, while acknowledging the ongoing presence and realities of Indigenous peoples in the lands now known as Canada. I have examined African Caribbean experiences, including the erasure of their presence as people of African descent from Canadian histories, denial of their humanity and dignity, and separations of their families from each other (including through over-representation in child welfare) that illuminate the relationships between colonialism, anti-Black racism, and anti-immigrant policies. Currently, social work education continues to be conflated with whiteness; this is especially expressed when it defaults to taken-for-granted curriculum and practices as the standard. The presence of people of African and African Caribbean descent as social work instructors, students, and practitioners contributes significant knowledge to the turn toward decolonizing social work education.

References

- Absolon, K. (2011). *Kaandossiwin, this is how we come to know*. Winnipeg, MB: Fernwood Publishing.
- African Canadian Legal Clinic. (2012). *Canada's forgotten children: Written submissions to the Committee on the Rights of the Child on the third and fourth reports of Canada*. Toronto, ON: Author.
- Alcoff, L. M. (2007). Epistemologies of ignorance: Three types. In S. Sullivan & N. Tuana (Eds.), *Race and epistemologies of ignorance* (pp. 39–58). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

- Barnes, A. (2002) Dangerous duality: The “net effect” of immigration and deportation on Jamaican in Canada. In K. Mirchandani & W. Chan (Eds.), *Crimes of colour: Racialization and the criminal justice system in Canada*. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press. doi:10.3138/j.ctt2tv1ct
- Bashi, V. (2004). Globalized anti-blackness: Transnationalizing western immigration law, policy, and practice. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 27(4), 584–606. doi:10.1080/0141987042000216726
- Baskin, C. (2016). Strong helpers’ teachings: The value of Indigenous knowledges in the helping professions (2nd ed.). Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholars’ Press.
- Bernard, W. T. (2006). *Fighting for change: Black social workers in Nova Scotia*. East Lawrencetown, NS: Pottersfield Press.
- Black Experience Project. (2017) *The Black experience project in the GTA: Overview report*. Toronto, ON: Author. Retrieved from <http://edu.yorku.ca/files/2014/06/Black-Experience-Project-GTA-OVERVIEW-REPORT.pdf>
- Blackstock, C. (2011). The Canadian Human Rights Tribunal on First Nations Child Welfare: Why if Canada wins, equality and justice lose. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 33(1), 187–194. doi:10.1016/j.childyouth.2010.09.002
- Blackstock, C. (2015). Social movements and the law: Addressing engrained government-based racial discrimination against Indigenous children. *Australian Indigenous Law Review*, 19(1), 6–19.
- Brathwaite, K. (1973). *The arrivants: A new world trilogy: Rights of passage; islands; masks*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Byrd, J. A. (2011). *The transit of empire: Indigenous critiques of colonialism*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Calliste, A. (1991). Canada’s immigration policy and domestics from Caribbean: The second Domestic Scheme. In J. Vorst & Society for Socialist Studies (Eds.), *Race, class, gender: Bonds and barriers* (Rev. ed.; pp. 136–168). Toronto, ON: Garamond.
- Calliste, A. (1993). Race, gender and Canadian immigration policy: Blacks from the Caribbean, 1900–1932. *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 28(4), 131–148. doi:10.3138/jcs.28.4.131
- Canadian Association of Social Work. (2019). *Statement of apology and commitment to reconciliation*. Ottawa, ON: Author. Retrieved from https://www.casw-acts.ca/sites/default/files/Statement_of_Apology_and_Reconciliation.pdf
- Canadian Association of Social Work Education. (2017). *A statement of complicity and a commitment to change*. Ottawa, ON: Author. Retrieved from <https://caswe-acfts.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/ComplicityApproved.pdf>
- Children’s Aid Society of Toronto (CAST). (2015). *Addressing disproportionality, disparity and discrimination in child welfare: Data on services provided to Black African Caribbean Canadian families*. Toronto, ON: Author. Retrieved

- from <http://www.torontocas.ca/sites/torontocas/files/baccc-final-website-posting.pdf>
- Clarke, J. (2011). The challenges of child welfare involvement for Afro-Caribbean families in Toronto. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 33(2), 274–283. doi:10.1016/j.chilyouth.2010.09.010
- Clarke, J. (2012). Beyond child protection: Afro-Caribbean service users of child welfare. *Journal of Progressive Human Services*, 23(3), 223–257. doi:10.1080/10428232.2012.719119
- Coloma, R. S. (2017). “We are here because you were there”: On curriculum, empire, and global migration. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 47(1), 92–102. doi:10.1080/03626784.2016.1254505
- Cooper, A. (2006). *The hanging of Angelique: The untold story of Canadian slavery and burning of old Montreal*. Toronto, ON: Harper Collins.
- Deneault, A. (2015). *Canada: A new tax haven* (C. Brown, Trans.). Vancouver, BC: Talonbooks.
- Enslar, Y. (2017, May 20). Canadian banks dominate Caribbean’s unsavoury financial sector [Web log entry]. Retrieved from: <http://rabble.ca/blogs/bloggers/yves-englers-blog/2017/05/canadian-banks-dominate-caribbeans-unsavoury-financial>
- Este, D. C. (2004). The Black church as a social welfare institution: Union of Montreal’s Black community, 1907–1940. *Journal of Black Studies*, 35(1), 3–22.
- Este, D., Sato, C., & McKenna, D. (2017). The coloured women’s club of Montreal, 1902–1940: African-Canadian women confronting anti-black racism. *Canadian Social Work Review*, 34(1), 81–99.
- Forte, M. C. (1999). Reviving Caribe: Recognition, patronage and ceremonial Indigeneity in Trinidad and Tobago. *Cultural Survival Quarterly Magazine*, 23(4).
- Forte, M. C. (2006). Extinction: Ideologies against Indigeneity in the Caribbean. *Southern Quarterly*, 43(4), 46–69.
- Gooden, A. (2008). Community organizing by African Caribbean people in Toronto, Ontario. *Journal of Black Studies*, 38(3), 413–426. doi:10.1177/0021934707309134
- Hackett, V. C. R. (2016). Families building nations or nations building on families? An exploration of how African Caribbean immigrants (re)construct family in the context of immigration and oppression in Canada (Doctoral dissertation). University of Toronto, Toronto, ON. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/1807/76506>
- Hackett, V. C. R. (2017). African Caribbean migration: A better life. *Affilia*, 32(3), 407–412. doi:10.1177/0886109917715243

- Henry, F. (1994). *The Caribbean diaspora in Toronto: Learning to live with racism*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Henry, F., James, C., Li, P. S., Kobayashi, A. L., Smith, M., Ramos, H., & Dua, E. (2017). *The equity myth: Racialization and Indigeneity at Canadian universities*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press.
- Herberg, D. C. (1993). *Frameworks for cultural and racial diversity: Teaching and learning for practitioners*. Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholars' Press.
- Hill Collins, P. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment* (2nd ed.). London, UK: Routledge.
- Hill Collins, P., & Bilge, S. (2016). *Intersectionality*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Hutton, E. (1953, April). The West Indies want to join us. *MacLean's*. Retrieved from: <https://archive.macleans.ca/article/1953/4/15/the-west-indies-want-to-join-us>
- James, C., Este, D., Thomas Bernard, W., Benjamin, A., Lloyd, B., & Turner, T. (2010). *Race & well-being: The lives, hopes, and activism of African Canadians*. Black Point, NS: Fernwood Publishers.
- Jeffery, D. (2005). 'What good is anti-racist social work if you can't master it?': Exploring a paradox in anti-racist social work education. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 8(4), 409–425. doi:10.1080/13613320500324011
- John, T. J. (2018, January 9). Canada's financial dominance in the former English Caribbean colonies (FECC). Washington, DC: Council on Hemispheric Affairs. Retrieved from <http://www.coha.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Canada-COHA-paper.pdf>
- Johnston, A. J. B. (2001). Research note: Mathieu Da Costa along the coasts of Nova Scotia: Some possibilities 1. *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society*, 4, 152–164.
- Johnstone, M. (2016). The pervasive presence of the discourse of white civility in early Canadian social work in immigration services (1900–30), *The British Journal of Social Work*, 46(6), 1724–1740. doi:10.1093/bjsw/bcv104
- Johnstone, M. (2018). Settler feminism, race making, and early social work in Canada. *Affilia*, 33(3), 331–345. doi:10.1177/0886109918762518
- Laurence, K. O. (1963). The settlement of free Negroes in Trinidad before emancipation. *Caribbean Quarterly*, 9(1/2), 26–52.
- Lawson, E. (2013). The gendered working lives of seven Jamaican women in Canada: A story about "Here" and "There" in a transnational economy. *Feminist Formations*, 25(1), 138–156. doi:10.1353/ff.2013.0002
- Levitz, S. (2017, November 11). U.S. decision to end temporary status for Haitians has Canada on alert for asylum seekers. *The Star*. Retrieved from

- <https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2017/11/20/us-decision-to-end-temporary-status-for-haitians-has-canada-on-alert-for-asylum-seekers.html>
- Mathieu, S. J. (2010). *North of the color line: Migration and Black resistance in Canada, 1870–1955*. Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Maynard, R. (2017). *Policing Black lives: State violence in Canada from slavery to the present*. Winnipeg, MB: Fernwood Publishing.
- McDaniel, L. (1994). Memory spirituals of liberated American soldiers in Trinidad’s “company villages.” *Caribbean Quarterly*, 40(1), 38–58.
- McLaren, A. (1990). *Our own master race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885–1945*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press—M.U.A.
- Mensah, J. (2010). *Black Canadians: History, experiences, social conditions*. Halifax, NS: Fernwood Publishing.
- Peel Children’s Aid Society. (2016). *Diversity, equity, and inclusiveness at Peel CAS*. Retrieved from http://www.peelcas.org/documents/1018p_Race%20Data%20Infographic_Rev%20July7.pdf
- Phillips, D., & Pon, G. (2018). Anti-racism, biopower, and governmentality: Deconstructing the suffering of Black families involved in child welfare. *Journal of Law and Social Policy*, 28, 81–100.
- Phoenix, A., & Seu, B. (2013). Negotiating daughterhood and strangerhood: Retrospective accounts of serial migration. *Feminism & Psychology*, 23(3), 299–316. doi:10.1177/0959353512473954
- Pickles, K. (2002). *Female imperialism and national identity: The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.
- Plaza, D. (2004). Caribbean migration to Canada: Mobility and opportunity 1900–2001. In S. Courtman (Ed.), *Beyond the blood, the beach and the banana: New perspectives in Caribbean studies* (pp. 91–111). Ian Randle Publishers.
- Razack, N. (2009). Decolonizing the pedagogy and practice of international social work. *International Social Work*, 52(1), 9–21. doi:10.1177/0020872808097748
- Rooke, P. T., & Schnell, R. L. (1987). *No bleeding heart: Charlotte Whitton, a feminist on the right*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press.
- Sakamoto, I. (2003). Changing images and similar dynamics: Historical patterning of foreignness in the social work profession. In R. Saunders (Ed.), *The concept of the foreign: An interdisciplinary dialogue* (pp. 237–279). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Satzewich, V. (1989). Racism and Canadian immigration policy: The government’s view of Caribbean migration, 1962–1966. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 21(1), 77–97.
- Scotiabank Archives. (2010). *The Scotiabank Story: A brief history of Scotiabank* [Web page]. Retrieved from <https://www.scotiabank.com/ca/en/0,,476,00.html>

- Silvera, M. (1989). *Silenced: Talks with working class Caribbean women about their lives and struggles as domestic workers in Canada* (2nd ed.). Toronto, ON: Sister Vision Press.
- Sinclair, R. (2004). Aboriginal social work education in Canada: Decolonizing pedagogy for the seventh generation. *First Peoples Child & Family Review*, 1(1), 49–61.
- Sinclair, R., Hart, M., & Bruyere, G. (2009). *Wicihitowin: Aboriginal social work in Canada*. Black Point, NS: Fernwood Publishers.
- Smith, A., Lalonde, R. N., & Johnson, S. (2004). Serial migration and its implications for the parent–child relationship: A retrospective analysis of the experiences of the children of Caribbean immigrants. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 10(2), 107–122. doi:10.1037/1099-9809.10.2.107
- Spivak, G. C. (1988). Can the subaltern speak? In C. Nelson & L. Grossberg (Eds.), *Marxism and the interpretation of culture* (pp. 271–313). Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Statistics Canada. (2013). *Immigration and ethnocultural diversity in Canada: National household survey, 2011* (Statistics Canada cat. no. 99-010-X2011001). Ottawa, ON: Author. Retrieved from <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/as-sa/99-010-x/99-010-x2011001-eng.pdf>
- Stewart, W. (1982). *Towers of gold, feet of clay: The Canadian banks*. Toronto, ON: HarperCollins Canada.
- Tamburro, A. (2013). Including decolonization in social work education and practice. *Journal of Indigenous Social Development*, 2(1), 1–16. <http://hdl.handle.net/10125/29814>
- Thobani, S. (2007). *Exalted subjects: Studies in the making of race and nation in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Tower, C., & Brown, C. A. (1970, July). O Canada, he stands on guard for thee. *MacLean's*. Retrieved from https://archive.macleans.ca/issue/19700701/#!/&pid=0_2
- Trudel, M. (2013). *Canada's forgotten slaves: Two hundred years of bondage* (G. Tombs, Trans.). Québec City, QC: Véhicule Press.
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission. (2015). *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to action*. Winnipeg, Manitoba. Retrieved from http://trc.ca/assets/pdf/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf
- Tuck, E. (2009). Suspending damage: A letter to communities. *Harvard Educational Review*, 78(3), 409–427. doi:10.17763/haer.79.3.n0016675661t3n15
- Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2012). Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 1(1), 1–40.

- Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2014). Unbecoming claims: Pedagogies of refusal in qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 20(6), 811–818. doi:10.1177/1077800414530265
- Weaver, H. N. (2014). *Social issues in contemporary Native America: Reflections from Turtle Island*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Winks, R. (2014). *The Blacks in Canada: A history* (2nd ed.). Montréal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Yee, J., & G. Dumbrill. (2003). Whiteout: Looking for race in Canadian social work practice. In A. Al-Krenawi & J. R. Graham (Eds.), *Multicultural social work in Canada: Working with diverse ethno-racial communities* (pp. 98–121). Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press.

Author Note

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to V. C. Rhonda Hackett, School of Social Work, University of Victoria, Victoria, BC, V8W 2Y2, Canada. Email: rhackett@uvic.ca