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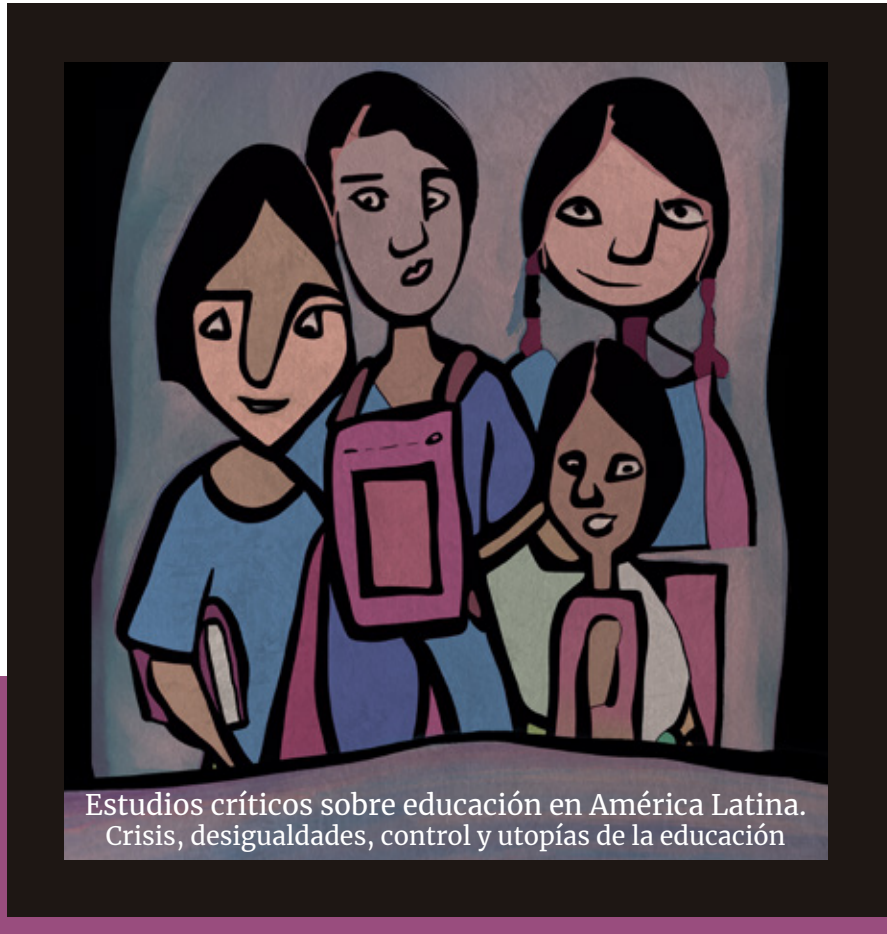

Estudios críticos sobre educación en América Latina. Crisis, desigualdades, control y utopías de la educación

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Coloniality of Power and the Curriculum of Violence: Understanding Contemporary Educational Racism in the Americas

La colonialidad del poder y el currículum de la violencia: comprendiendo el racismo educacional contemporáneo en las Américas

Colonialidade do poder e o currículo da violência: compreendendo o racismo educacional contemporâneo nas Américas

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Abstract

This study shows how the notion of coloniality of power unveils the existence of a curriculum of violence by considering two contemporary cases in the U.S. and Mexico. Current restrictions on the types of content and activities allowed in civics education concerned with race in the U.S., as well as attacks on *normalistas*' bodies and educational institutions in Mexico, show how racism as an international project is attached to a capital system that strategically attempts to disappear (in material and symbolic terms) educators, institutions and curriculum as part of the project of modernity underwritten by a process of coloniality. These two cases are key examples of how certain educational projects are seen as obstacles to the *modern/capitalist/clean* ethos that coloniality longs for but has not yet achieved. As the official scholastic condensation of knowledge, curriculum legitimizes this injury and secures neoliberalism as a rationality of racism at the level of *the truth*. Thus, unpacking coloniality is key to exposing racism as a

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formation that justifies the *progress* of modernity in education since, as the notion of coloniality of power reveals through these two cases, the goal has been to eliminate that which reminds us as a society that we are not, *yet*, the ideal Western one.
Keywords: coloniality of power; racism; violence; curriculum; *normalistas*.

Resumen

En este artículo se muestra la manera en que el concepto de colonialidad del poder devela la existencia de un currículum de la violencia mediante el estudio de dos casos contemporáneos en los Estados Unidos y en México. Las restricciones actuales sobre los contenidos y actividades sobre civismo y racismo en las escuelas en Estados Unidos así como los ataques contra los cuerpos y las instituciones de los maestros normalistas en México muestran cómo el racismo es un proyecto internacional ligado a un sistema capitalista que estratégicamente intenta desaparecer (en el sentido material y simbólico) a educadores, instituciones y curriculum como parte del proyecto de modernidad operado mediante una colonialidad funcional. Estos dos casos descritos son ejemplos clave de cómo ciertos proyectos educativos son vistos como obstáculos que evitan llegar al *ethos moderno/capitalista/limpio* tan ampliamente buscando, pero aún no alcanzado. En tanto concentración oficial del conocimiento, el currículum legitima este hostigamiento, garantizando el estatus del neoliberalismo como la expresión de la racionalidad del racismo al nivel de *la verdad*. Por lo tanto, el acucioso análisis del concepto de colonialidad es clave para develar el racismo como una formación *moderna* que justifica la idea del *progreso*, porque, como muestra el concepto de la colonialidad del poder, *la meta* ha sido violentamente hacer desaparecer todo lo que nos recuerde como sociedad que no somos, *todavía*, esa sociedad occidental ideal.
Palabras clave: colonialidad del poder; racismo; violencia; curriculum; maestros normalistas.

Resumo

Este artigo mostra como o conceito de colonialidade do poder revela a existência de um currículo de violência através do estudo de dois casos contemporâneos nos Estados Unidos e no México. As atuais restrições de conteúdos e atividades sobre cidadania e racismo nas escolas dos Estados Unidos, bem como os ataques contra os órgãos e instituições dos professores normais no México mostram como o racismo é um projeto internacional vinculado a um sistema capitalista que estrategicamente tenta desaparecem (no sentido material e simbólico) educadores, instituições e currículo como parte do projeto de modernidade operado por meio de uma colonialidade funcional. Esses dois casos descritos são exemplos-chave de como determinados projetos educacionais são vistos como obstáculos que impedem o alcance do ethos moderno/capitalista/limpo tão almejado, mas ainda não alcançado. Como concentração oficial de conhecimento, o currículo legitima esse assédio ao garantir o status do neoliberalismo como expressão da

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racionalidade do racismo no plano da verdade. Portanto, a análise cuidadosa do conceito de colonialidade é fundamental para revelar o racismo como uma formação moderna que justifica a ideia de progresso, porque, como mostra o conceito de colonialidade do poder, o objetivo tem sido fazer desaparecer violentamente tudo o que nos lembram como sociedade que ainda não somos aquela sociedade ocidental ideal.

Palavras chaves: colonialidade do poder; racismo; violência; currículo; professores normais.

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Introduction

Contrary to the claims of conservatives, racism remains a persistent feature of societies across the Americas, structuring institutions and discourses and shaping experiences within and beyond education. Furthermore, in the present we are witnessing the resurgence of more overt and assertive forms of racism globally – not only in growing far-right political movements, but also in contests over teaching. Nevertheless, even as progressive scholars and activists analyze and struggle against contemporary forms of racism, the problem is generally considered too narrowly by the prevailing critical theories. By contrast, we argue that if we consider this problem with reference to the work of Aníbal Quijano, and especially his theses regarding the *coloniality of power*, we can better understand the context, historical trajectory, and fundamental organization of race and racism. In particular, the framework of coloniality of power, as applied to the contemporary context, allows us to appreciate the attachment of racism to the specific temporality of Western modernity (inaugurated in the colonial encounter, as described by Quijano), its complex and reciprocal relationship with capitalism, and its multidimensionality (comprising ontological, material, and symbolic levels).

We develop this argument through a consideration of two contemporary cases: Right-wing efforts against antiracist teaching and curriculum in the U.S., and attacks on teacher training institutions and their students in Mexico. Our analysis elucidates the organization of race and racism across these cases and considers the implications of our argument for theory and practice – with regard specifically to the structure of racial hegemony, the importance of education as a site of epistemological struggle, and the effects of neoliberalism as a mode of coloniality. We argue at once that struggles against racism crucially confront a central axis of capitalism and also that understanding racism within the spatio-temporal context of modernity can permit us to recognize and strengthen the links between different movements oriented against coloniality's diverse determinations across the Americas.

Framework: Race, Racism, and Coloniality of Power

Aníbal Quijano Obregón defined the concept of *coloniality of power* in 1992, indicating three foundational characteristics of this concept: 1) that it is a pattern of domination and power that is, for the first time, global; 2) that as structure and process it continues even after the end of colonialism proper; 3) that the forms of exploitation and domination associated with coloniality still impact the lives of peoples globally after more than 500 years. As Quijano pointed out: "La colonialidad, en consecuencia, es aún el modo más general de dominación en el Mundo actual, una vez que el colonialismo como orden político explícito fue destruido".[1] For Quijano, relations between the peoples of Europe and the rest of the world prior to 1492 were not exported to the rest of the world in their totality. By contrast, coloniality of power became a basic matrix distinguished by its reproduction of *colonial relations* among peoples, without the need for colonialism (as a specific political and

[1] Aníbal Quijano, "Colonialidad y Modernidad/Racionalidad", *Perú Indígena* 13 (1992): 14.

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territorial project) to exist as such. Coloniality constitutes a pattern of power that, for the first time, became global, inasmuch as it allowed Europe (thanks to the economic resources plundered from the Americas) to construct itself as likewise "universal" in symbolic and material terms.

Coloniality of power, then, was more than an ideological supplement with material consequences; rather, it was constitutive of an entire symbolic imaginary. As Quijano put it, coloniality "actúa en la interioridad de ese imaginario".[2] At the same time, as the coloniality of power oriented and delimited norms and possibilities of society, it also set the conditions for social reproduction more broadly. Nevertheless, even if it seeks to obscure its historical origins, coloniality is the product of an inaugural violence and militarism: "La cultura europea u occidental, por el poder político-militar y tecnológico de las sociedades portadoras, impuso su imagen paradigmática".[3]

For Quijano, one of the key elements of coloniality as an apparatus of power is race. As he describes, race is a construct created by European modernity in order first of all to classify populations. The notion of race in its modern sense was born with the European invasion of Latin America. According to Quijano Europeans first used the social construct of race against Indigenous people; later, they would apply it to Black people. At that point, what were originally simple geographic differences (between different regions of origin) became properly racial distinctions that classified groups and organized a structure of hierarchy and domination. As Quijano explains: "Así términos como español y portugués, más tarde europeo, que hasta entonces indicaban solamente procedencia geográfica o país de origen, desde entonces cobraron también, en referencia a las nuevas identidades, una connotación racial".[4] Color would later emerge as a synonym of race, but race was, first of all, an instrument of social classification; only later would the equivalence between race and color appear obvious, and color become associated with systems of domination. In short, race evolved as a result of a complex historical process that was initiated in the European invasion of Latin America. Subsequently, the conception of race was exported to the rest of the world as a foundation for the modern, European, and capitalist world order.

When the indigenous leader Tekun Umam in 1524 thrust his sword into the horse of the Spaniard Pedro de Alvarado, believing that the horse and Alvarado were one being, the notion of race only served to differentiate human groups from animals. (Thus, during the 16th century Bartolomé de las Casas had a debate with Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda to decide whether the Indians were human beings or animals). It was not until the Spanish military completed the invasion of America that racial classification began to create conditions for participation in the new colonies. At that point, a power that at its origin was largely military began to constitute a new social order that worked to conquer more indirectly. As Quijano describes,[5] being close to the colonial power began to be desired because it granted symbolic and material resources, and race became a way of indicating this proximity. The European invasion went from being direct, military, and destructive of societies, to being *indirect and productive* – of a new form of society. Most importantly, this new structure of power allowed for the creation of the modern and capitalist system that would later be exported to the whole world. Therefore, for Quijano, the seed of the current global order was not sown in Greenwich, England, but

2 *Ibíd.*, 12.
3 *Ibíd.*, 13.
4 Aníbal Quijano, "Colonialidad del Poder, Eurocentrismo y América Latina", en *Colonialidad del Saber, Eurocentrismo y Ciencias Sociales*, Edgardo Lander ed. (Buenos Aires: CLACSO-UNESCO, 2000), 202.
5 Quijano, "Colonialidad y Modernidad/Racionalidad", 12-13.

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rather in Veracruz, Mexico, and race played a key role in this process.

Over the last several decades, there has been a blossoming of critical theoretical work focused on race, including in the field of education. Comprising several tendencies, including racial formation theory, critical race theory, intersectionality theory, and others, this scholarship offers important resources for understanding processes of racialization and racism and significantly deepens earlier anthropological accounts of race.[6] These contemporary approaches emphasize the constructedness of race, the centrality of racism as a determinant of social structure and experience, and the pervasiveness of racial violence. At the same time, in their tendency to frame race as a discrete logic (even if this logic has important linkages with other forms of oppression) and in their characterization of racialization as primarily a discursive process, these approaches fail to fully appreciate the complex articulations between race and capitalism. They also generally under-emphasize the global horizon of its development and its determination by the historical experience and condition of colonialism. In this regard, Quijano's work, and above all the notion of coloniality of power, can serve as a foundation for rethinking the analytics that these accounts propose.

In contrast to the analyses of race just mentioned, Quijano emphasizes, in the context of the colonial encounter in the Americas, the simultaneity and interdependence between the invention of race and the capitalist division of labor. More than simply a justification for exploitation, the creation of racial orders allowed for a developed semiology of the social that was articulated to the complex heterogeneity of capitalist production, a system which made simultaneous use of slavery, serfdom, and wage labor—reserving different forms of labor for different racial groups: "Una nueva tecnología de dominación/explotación, en este caso raza/trabajo, se articuló de manera que apareciera como naturalmente asociada. Lo cual, hasta ahora, ha sido excepcionalmente exitoso".[7] For Quijano, the economic, social, and intersubjective are produced together within the colonial reason of modernity. This fundamental historical kindredness between different modes/registers of domination means that it makes little sense to consider race in isolation, even at the level of superstructure, as critical race theory's preoccupation with legal history, for instance, often ends up doing. Furthermore, Quijano's description of race as linked at its origin to the emerging system of capitalism immediately opens the argument onto a global horizon, evoking both the processes of plunder and trade that converged within the Americas (shaping identities and relationships in colonial society) and the broader predatory relationship between the global (European) "center" and (Latin American) "periphery" – a relationship whose very metabolism depended on processes of exploitation anchored in the logic of race.

Omi and Winant describe "racial projects" as racially organized systems of representation and redistribution.[8] Likewise, critical race theorists expose the collaboration of white supremacist ideology and institutions, sacralized in law and policy.[9] The force and ubiquity of race described by these research streams are shared by the structures described by Quijano. However, for Quijano

[6] On racial formation theory, see Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s* (New York: Routledge, 1994). On critical race theory, see Derrick Bell, *Faces at the Bottom of the Well: The Permanence of Racism* (New York: Basic Books, 1992), and Marvin Lynn and Laurence Parker, "Critical Race Studies in Education: Examining a Decade of Research on U.S. Schools", *The Urban Review* 38 (2006): 257-289. On intersectionality theory, see for instance Sumi Cho, Kimberlé Crenshaw and Leslie McCall, "Toward a Field of Intersectionality Studies: Theory, Applications, and Praxis", *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 38, no. 4 (2013): 785-810.

[7] Quijano, "Colonialidad del Poder, Eurocentrismo y América Latina", 205.

[8] Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States*, 56.

[9] Tara Yosso, "Toward a Critical Race Curriculum," *Equity and Excellence in Education* 35 (2002): 93-107.

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racism is more than an arbitrary, if decisive, historical condition; rather, it is linked to a Eurocentric *epistemology* that is coincident with the emerging space and time of Western modernity. Noting that the dualism of Eurocentric thought was imposed on the world at the same time as colonial domination, Quijano writes:

> No sería posible explicar de otro modo (...) la elaboración del eurocentrismo como perspectiva hegemónica de conocimiento, de la versión eurocéntrica de la modernidad y sus dos principales mitos fundantes: uno, la idea-imagen de la historia de la civilización humana como una trayectoria que parte de un estado de naturaleza y culmina en Europa. Y dos, otorgar sentido a las diferencias entre Europa y no-Europa como diferencias de naturaleza (racial) y no de historia de poder.[10]

By contrast, even the notion of "white supremacy", which usefully points to the political dimension of racism, is nevertheless marked by a conceptual aporia with regard to its basic purpose and meaning. The historical-epistemological horizon of Quijano's account, on the other hand, locates racism in the field of Eurocentrism as a fundamental knowledge project, and in the conceptions of mind, body, history, and civilization that belong to that project. The imposition of this knowledge project resulted in a "colonization of cognitive perspectives" – and not only within the elite – in which Black and Indigenous peoples were relegated to the sphere of the "primitive". This represents an organization of thought that goes *beyond ideology* to the extent that it links racism to the very conditions of material and cultural production.

Importantly, Quijano's description of the articulated heterogeneity of capitalism in the Americas – "tanto en términos de las formas de control del trabajo-recursos-productos (o relaciones de producción) o en términos de los pueblos e historias articulados en él"[11] – allows us to see the underlying logic within which *difference* is mobilized and coordinated by power. Coloniality of power, after all, is a system for inventing and investing an array of identities which function together in a constellation of domination. This does not mean that differences of location within this constellation are not consequential, but rather that every identity, in the last instance, is articulated to an encompassing order of power, production, and knowledge. In this way, Quijano's account can help us to contextualize and make sense of the complex opportunism of racism, and the different forms of hostility and exclusion that it generates. While North American theory tends to focus separately on diverse expressions of racism such as anti-Blackness, xenophobia, and white privilege, the framework of coloniality points to the organized totality within which these formations operate like spokes in a wheel. Importantly, we cannot perceive and comprehend this wheel unless we recognize the hub of colonial power and production at its center, from which each vector of social domination radiates.

[10] Quijano, "Colonialidad del Poder, Eurocentrismo y América Latina", 211.
[11] *Ibíd.*, 222.

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Educational Racism in the Americas: Two Contemporary Cases

On the basis of the framework elaborated in the prior section, in this section we consider two important contemporary cases of racism in the context of education—one in the U.S. and one in Mexico. While these cases are different both in their particular dynamics and in their social and historical contexts, they also both participate in significant shared structures and logics of domination – crucially linked, we argue, to the basic matrix of coloniality of power, as described by Quijano. In the projects we describe, elites in both the U.S. and Mexico seek to enforce (through physical, symbolic, and institutional violence) what they announce as the proper *racial time* of society – one in which both non-white peoples and the history of racism itself are relegated to the past. Excavating the links between these racial projects and the deep logic of coloniality makes it possible to deepen prevailing critical analyses of these cases and to place counter-efforts on a firmer theoretical foundation.

Tecnología de Dominación*: Attacks on Antiracist Education in the U.S.*

In the aftermath of the global uprisings for racial justice that followed the murder of George Floyd in 2020, conservatives seized upon school curricula as a crucial issue around which to inflame and exploit white racial resentment. Erroneously labeling all efforts to teach critically about race and racism as "Critical Race Theory", the Right launched a nationwide effort to put pressure on school districts and teachers, and to pass legislation restricting antiracist curriculum. This legislation can be seen as the culmination of a decades-long culture war waged by the Right wing against progressive and critical education. Since *A Nation at Risk*, the 1983 Reagan administration report that is seen as the opening effort in the long march of educational standardization, conservatives have aggressively challenged progressive movements in pedagogy and curriculum.

However, current efforts have an urgency and aggressiveness, with regard to the question of race, that is new. There is clearly a certain amount of political opportunism motivating these conservative projects; nevertheless, calls to ban teaching on structural racism have widely resonated among white people in the U.S., as bills on this topic advance in numerous states and as it becomes a decisive issue in elections, including the recent race for Governor in Virginia. In response, there has been a strong effort among progressive educators and advocates to defend antiracist teaching.[12] However, due to the ideological segmentation that works across the political spectrum in the U.S., the topic of race/racism is often conceptually isolated both diachronically (from the colonial encounter and inauguration of modernity) and synchronically (from the broad project of elite domination). As a result, both liberals and the Left generally fail to recognize the essential relationships between

[12] See for instance, "Pledge to Teach the Truth", *Zinn Education Project*, 2021, consulted in May 2022, available at https://www.zinnedproject.org/news/pledge-to-teach-truth.

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the shoring up of white supremacy, the protection and acceleration of capital accumulation, and the preservation of a popular imaginary of U.S. national exceptionalism. Quijano's analysis of the coloniality of power can crucially help us to uncover the articulations within this assemblage and to strengthen our struggle against it.

A key example of the effort to restrict critical teaching about race is Senate Bill 3, passed in the state of Texas in the summer of 2021. This bill has two main emphases: 1) it restricts the types of activities allowed in civics education in schools, and 2) it seeks to control the orientation and content of teaching about race – as it relates to U.S. history and to the present moment. The thrust of the bill is to restrict curriculum that investigates the central role played by racism in constructing the nation as well as the consciousness of individuals. While widely understood as a political effort to mobilize base voters in the Republican Party in Texas, it nevertheless represents a radical intrusion into teaching with far-reaching implications for students. This is evident in the breadth of the historical understandings it seeks to enforce, which make a particular origin story about the U.S. a matter of law. This bill proposes the cultivation of a "civic knowledge" that includes an understanding of "the fundamental moral, political, entrepreneurial, and intellectual foundations of the American experiment in self-government".[13] With regard to these foundations, the legislation prohibits any required curriculum that suggests that "with respect to their relationship to American values, slavery and racism are anything other than deviations from, betrayals of, or failures to live up to the authentic founding principles of the United States".[14] In describing racism as accidental and inessential in U.S. history, this legislation undertakes a particular narrative construction of historical foundations – that is, of the birth of the nation and the meaning of race and slavery in this context. According to this bill, only on the premise of this official historical narrative can "civil discourse" be elaborated in the classroom. This document is remarkable in that it makes fully visible ideological foreclosures that are usually hidden; in this regard, it exposes in spite of itself the conceptual architecture of what hooks calls "dominator culture".[15]

Indeed, the political-pedagogical work of Senate Bill 3 is inseparable from its preservation of a specific form of *narrativity*, or what Quijano describes as the epistemology of Eurocentrism. Earlier we noted Eurocentrism's particular historicism, which Quijano evokes through "la idea-imagen de la historia de la civilización humana como una trayectoria que parte de un estado de naturaleza y culmina en Europa",[16] and that he also describes as "un evolucionismo lineal, unidireccional" which results in "la distorsionada reubicación temporal de todas esas diferencias, de modo que todo lo no-europeo es percibido como pasado".[17] Importantly, the Right-wing effort to silence critical discussions of race insists on the historical evolutionism that Quijano exposes, within which the founding of the U.S. is presented as an exalted sequence, and oppression is understood as anomalous. Senate Bill 3 expresses its anxiety regarding teaching that seeks to consider the imbrication of identity and histories of racism through a prohibition on required curriculum that would suggest that "an individual, by virtue of the individual 's race or sex, bears responsibility, blame, or guilt

13 Senate Bill 3, 87th Legislature, 1st Spec. Sess., Tex. 2021, Sec. 3.
14 *Ibíd.,* Sec. 5.
15 bell hooks, *Teaching Community: A Pedagogy of Hope* (New York: Routledge), 11.
16 Quijano, "Colonialidad del Poder, Eurocentrismo y América Latina", 211.
17 *Ibíd.,* 222.

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for actions committed by other members of the same race or sex".[18] Thus, in seeking to protect white people from guilt for historical racism, this provision also seeks to enforce the Eurocentric linearity of history – to keep the past in the past. In this context, the threat that critical teaching poses is not only to white people's sense of their own innocence, but also to the epistemological universe they inhabit – that is, to the accustomed order, progress, and reason that is presumed to organize modernity itself. At the same time, Quijano's analysis allows us to see the way in which this Eurocentric historicism discursively seeks to *pull back* into the past (along with the fact of racism itself) precisely those communities ("lo no-europeo") that racism injures.

While critical race theory scholarship emphasizes the importance of attending to the intersectionality of identity,[19] it fails to offer a theory of the structural *constellation* of forms of oppression that Quijano's framework offers.[20] Indeed, for Quijano these forms of oppression (racism, sexism, and exploitation) are not discrete and arbitrary assaults, but rather coordinated expressions of a principle of invention of the social and its "nueva tecnología de dominación/explotación" – the coloniality of power. From the perspective of this notion, it is not surprising that efforts to restrict discussion of racism in schools are linked to a defense of "entrepreneurialism," or that this Texas legislation seeks to prohibits the idea that "meritocracy or traits such as a hard work ethic are racist or sexist or were created by members of a particular race to oppress members of another race."[21] Of course, critical teaching does not aim to disparage merit as such but rather to investigate its specific ideological organization. But as if it were a palimpsest of power's hidden itineraries, Senate Bill 3 in these clauses reveals in spite of itself the link between ideologies of race/racism and the organization of capitalist production (and its "hard work ethic"). Right-wing intellectuals and activists understand the movement for racial justice as a threat to capitalism[22], and at the most basic level, they are correct, even if liberals frame the issues simply in terms of civil rights and censorship. It is not only that capitalism depends politically on racial division within the working class, as a straightforward Marxist analysis would have it, but rather that the rationality of accumulation is linked, from the moment of the colonial encounter and thereafter, to the logic of race, as Quijano shows in his account of the capitalist division of labor. As a result of these deep articulations, critiques of structural racism are felt by the Right as an outrage to its fundamental intellectual and epistemological coordinates.

The coloniality of power thesis was articulated by Quijano with reference to Latin American history and society, and so it should be applied with caution to the U.S. context. However, by the same token, this framework can serve as an implicit reminder to scholars in the U.S. that North America also belongs to Abya Yala and that it is necessary to think hemispherically in order to understand the systems of power and violence we confront across its extent, including in education.[23] The provincialism of Northern liberalism and Leftism is evident in responses to the resurgence of Right-wing racist movements. While progressive organizations and intellectuals correctly point out that

[18] Senate Bill 3, 87th Legislature, 1st Spec. Sess., Tex. 2021, Sec. 5.
[19] Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics", *University of Chicago Legal Forum* (1989): 139-168.
[20] Even as we defend against the Right's attacks on what it erroneously calls "Critical Race Theory" in schools, it is important that we allow ourselves to constructively critique the assumptions in actual university-based critical race scholarship.
[21] Senate Bill 3, 87th Legislature, 1st Spec. Sess., Tex. 2021, Sec. 5.
[22] See for instance William Galston, "A Deeper Look at Critical Race Theory", *Wall Street Journal*, July 20, 2021, consulted in April 2022, available at https://www.wsj.com/articles/kimberle-crenshaw-critical-race-theory-woke-marxism-education-11626793272.
[23] Noah De Lissovoy, "Decolonial Pedagogy and the Ethics of the Global", *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 31(2010): 279-293.

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initiatives against antiracist curriculum mobilize white paranoia to further marginalize communities of color,[24] their inattention to the historical and geographic horizon of the problematic of *coloniality* means that they are unable to fully appreciate the material, ideological, and epistemological systems that these reactionary educational projects aim to defend. In the battle over Senate Bill 3, liberal advocacy organizations in Texas framed the issue as an attack on diversity training. While this is true, how might the defense of critical teaching about race be deepened through a reckoning with the long history of authoritarian state racisms throughout the Americas, and through an exploration of the colonial modes of production (of capital, nation, and identity) that these racisms have worked to support? As Quijano writes in an analysis of the politics of culture, "En otros términos, no solamente el orden cultural como tal aparece como un orden de dominación, sino también que a través de eso expresa el orden de dominación en los otros ámbitos de la existencia social. Se presenta, así, como una dimensión junto a otras de la estructura global de dominación."[25] If we are to confront racism in the present, we must grasp precisely the complex imbrication of dimensions of domination in which it is embedded.

Internal Colonialism and Assaults on the Normalistas *in Mexico*

Internal colonialism[26] and institutionalized racism have resulted in the destruction of the normal schools (teaching training institutions) in Mexico. As Quijano explained, the idea of race was constructed before the idea of color; gradually, societies in the Americas created an equivalence between color and race.[27] At the same time, through the notion of coloniality of power, Quijano showed how the social hierarchies of colonialism did not disappear even with the ending of colonialism proper in the 19th century. In this section, we consider the notion of coloniality of power in relation to the effort in Mexico to eradicate the normal schools. As in the case of the initiatives in the U.S. against antiracist teaching that we just described, this elite project in Mexico aims to insist on what we might call a certain *racial time* of modernity. As Quijano describes, against radical impulses and articulations, elites cling to a notion of democratization that "se gestione solamente al interior de la cultura dominante".[28] Thus, starting in the 1980s, the Mexican government has tried to eliminate the normal schools, which have prepared *normalistas* (teachers trained in these schools) to educate people in poor, brown, and Indigenous communities. Little by little, *normalistas* became agents of change in these communities; eliminating the normal schools is an effort to eliminate the poor, dark, rural face that reminds Mexico that it is neither "modern" nor white, as it would like to be.

In the case of Mexico, the *normalistas* teachers went from being an army of teacher-missionaries teaching literacy to becoming a historical subject and agent of change[29]. One of the most important

[24] See for instance Francesca López, Alex Molnar, Royel Johnson, Ashley Patterson, LaWanda Ward, and Kevin K. Kumashiro, *Understanding the Attacks on Critical Race Theory* (Boulder, CO: National Education Policy Center, 2021).

[25] Aníbal Quijano, "Dominación y cultura (notas sobre el problema de la participación cultural)", en *Aníbal Quijano: Cuestiones y Horizontes*, Danilo Assis ed. (Buenos Aires: CLACSO, 2014), 673.

[26] Pablo González Casanova, "Sociedad plural, colonialismo interno y desarrollo", *Revista América Latina, Centro Latino-americano de Pesquisas em Ciências Sociais* 6 (1963): 15-20.

[27] Quijano, "Colonialidad del Poder, Eurocentrismo y América Latina", 202-203.

[28] Quijano, "Dominación y cultura…", 687.

[29] Raul Olmo Fregoso Bailón, "Los normalistas en el pensamiento latinoamericano: de las pedagogías críticas a las decoloniales. De Simón Rodríguez a Ayotzinapa", en *América Latina en el Orden Mundial Emergente del Siglo XXI. Del Avance autónomo a la regresión heterónoma*, Alberto Rocha Valencia ed. (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2021), 426.

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promises of the Mexican Revolution of 1910 was the distribution of land and the provision of education to the Indigenous, rural and illiterate population. José Vasconcelos created the *Secretaría de Educación Pública* (SEP) (Ministry of Education) in 1921 as well as the Cultural Missions program through which hundreds of teacher-missionaries were sent to the most remote regions in Mexico.[30] In 1928, the Ministry of Education published the administrative norms which outlined the connection between the rural normal schools and the cultural missions. By the end of 1924, there were already seven cultural missions operating in the cities of Puebla, Colima, Mazatlán, Hermosillo, Monterrey, Pachuca and San Luis Potosí.[31] Lauro Aguirre founded the Escuela Nacional de Maestros (National Teacher School) in 1925 and subsequently the Ministry of Education created rural and urban normal schools throughout Mexico.

The important point to highlight in this historical trajectory is that even as the teachers who graduated from the normal schools brought education to rural and Indigenous villages, they also became activists working in these communities against the local landowners.[32] This had two key consequences: on the one hand, normal schools began to reflect in their curricula this critical perspective that aimed to support poor communities; on the other hand, hundreds of *normalistas* have been assassinated or imprisoned up to the present day. By 1970, the *normalistas* had fully claimed their identity not only as teachers but also as social historical subjects working to eliminate economic, racial and political inequalities in rural areas. Through extensive research in Mexican newspapers and magazines, Raby found that numerous teachers were killed for their work as social activists in remote communities between 1931-1940.[33] For example, the magazine *La Voz de México*, a magazine of the Communist Party of Mexico, published the case of teacher Ubaldo López Bernabé, assassinated on April 16, 1939 in Zacualpan, Veracruz for organizing Indigenous communities to take land from local landowners.

Over time, normal schools began to be seen by the Mexican government and society as dangerous institutions that produced social agitators. In this way, the identity of the *normalista* was historically forged: an educator who not only works in the classroom but also in the community to fight for social change, and against the wealthy.[34] An illustrative case was the guerrilla and political party, Partido de los Pobres (*Party of the Poor*), created by the *normalista* Lucio Cabañas Barrientos, active from 1963 to 1974 in Indigenous areas of the state of Guerrero. While the guerrilla operated by Barrientos worked in rural communities, the guerrilla *Liga Comunista 23 de Septiembre* operated in urban spaces. Barrientos' guerrilla developed to such an extent that it managed to trap Senator Ruben Figueroa in the mountains of Guerrero and the government had to undertake a military campaign approaching the scale of that carried out in Vietnam in order to put an end to the uprising. *Normalista* Lucio Cabañas Barrientos clearly stated in one of his manifestos how his guerrilla was fighting against racism:

30 Ramón Eduardo Ruíz, *El reto de la pobreza y el analfabetismo* (México, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1977), 37-45.
31 Federico Lazarín Miranda, "Las Misiones Culturales. Un proyecto de educación para adultos (1923-1932)", *Revista Interamericana* 4 (1996): 110.
32 Alicia Civera Cerecedo, *La escuela como opción de vida. La formación de maestros normalistas rurales en México, 1921-1945* (Toluca: Gobierno del Estado de México, El Colegio Mexiquense, A.C., 2008), 254.
33 David L. Raby, "Los maestros rurales y los conflictos sociales en México (1931-1940)", *Historia Mexicana* 18 (1968): 203.
34 Raul Olmo Fregoso Bailón, "Los Normalistas en el pensamiento latinoamericano", 427.

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> 13. [Luchamos por h]acer valer el derecho de los campesinos que la clase rica llama "indios" que viven en las montañas desde que la dominación española los expulsó de sus tierras a tener trato igual que todos los mexicanos. Unirse todos en la lucha contra la discriminación racial en todo el mundo y principalmente con los negros, con los mexicanos y chicanos y otras minorías raciales en los Estados Unidos.[35]

Events like this caused the Mexican government to begin to destroy normal schools by taking away their budgets and by propounding the idea that these schools belonged to Mexico's rural past and that the future was a process of privatization to make teacher training more efficient. The real goal has been to eliminate the historical social actor that is the *normalista*, inasmuch as these teachers have been agents of change in the classroom and in rural communities since 1921[36]. More recently, on September 26, 2014, 43 *normalistas* from the Normal School Isidro Burgos of Ayotzinapa, Guerrero, were kidnapped and disappeared in Iguala Guerrero, which was a tragedy with international resonance.[37] The case of the 43 *normalistas* shows how the Mexican narco-state continues to murder teachers, especially in Indigenous and poor areas.

This history demonstrates a long-standing and systematic racism that materializes in violence against teachers because they work with the poor, "ugly," rural populations of a Mexican society that wants to believe it is "modern" and neoliberal. The *normalistas* are still under attack even today, as evidenced by the case of the students of the Escuela Normal Rural Mactumactzá in Chiapas who were imprisoned on May 18, 2021. These recent events show how the current cultural politics related to education continues to have a strong racial and national identity component in Mexico; this violence represents an attempt to eliminate a social actor that reminds Mexico of what it has not been able to become: a white, clean, and modern country (if, as we have described, elites in the U.S. have been in a sense more successful in shaping the space of schooling according to an epistemology of whiteness, nevertheless the terms of the racial consensus in education remain contested in both countries).

As explained by Quijano,[38] although colonialism officially disappeared in most Latin American nations at the end of the 19th century, *coloniality* has continued to shape social hierarchies up to the present. The idea of race has been used historically to identify and classify disposable labor forces, and subsequently to form a color-race equivalence. In Mexico, this process of internal colonialism is expressed in the effort to eliminate the normal schools and *normalistas.* This historical and contemporary assault is an indication of how racism is allied both with neoliberal capitalism and with a Mexican national identity that does not want to admit its Indigenous present. The continued existence of normal schools reminds Mexican society that it has not been able to overcome the "past" in which Mexico was poor and Indigenous; likewise, with the passage of time, being a *normalista*

35 Lucio Cabañas Barrientos as cited in José Natividad Rosales, *¿Quién es Lucio Cabañas? ¿Qué pasa con la guerrilla en México?* (México City.: Editorial Posada, 1974), 93-95.
36 Raul Olmo Fregoso Bailón, "Los normalistas en el pensamiento latinoamericano", 430.
37 Carmen Chinas and Jaime Preciado Coronado, *Reflexiones sobre Ayotzinapa en la perspectiva nacional*, (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2017), 15-17.
38 Quijano, "Colonialidad y Modernidad/Racionalidad", 12-13, and Quijano, "Colonialidad del Poder, Eurocentrismo y América Latina", 202-203.

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became synonymous with being rural, poor, and dirty.[39] Quijano's framework of coloniality of power analytically connects race, class and identity; in particular, it is important to note that the legacy of colonialism has a great deal to do with the construction of *national identities*. Thus, Mexican society seeks the disappearance of the *normalistas* so that it can say to itself that it is no longer rural and poor; that is, the *normalistas* prevent Mexico from arriving at the "modern" identity it longs to, but has not yet achieved.

Discussion

Race, Identity, and Invasion

A crucial lesson that emerges from our analysis of these cases in the U.S. and Mexico, through the lens of Quijano's work, is that racism is embedded in a broad logic of power that works at once at the level of the material (through the discipline of state violence and exploitation of labor) and at the level of the symbolic (in the persistent pathologization of non-white peoples and cultures). Importantly, the attacks from the Right on antiracist teaching in the U.S. emerged as a response to widespread protests in 2020 against police violence targeting Black people. Elites understood intuitively the link between a defense of the state's right to violence and the policing of understandings of race and racism in teaching. In this regard, legislative efforts like Senate Bill 3 in Texas aim not simply to protect white privilege, but rather to shore up an entire rationality of the social, upon which the distribution of violence, privilege, and resources depends. Likewise, the attacks on the *normalistas* in Mexico, even in their baldness and brutality, should also be understood as *assaults on teaching* – since education is perhaps the crucial mediator of society's key ideological common senses. A century ago, Woodson described how organized violence against African Americans and the Eurocentrism of the curriculum collaborated to reproduce the racial order of the U.S.[40] Similarly, in relation to racism in the present, in contrast to the familiar formula for hegemony in which consent to domination displaces coercion as the essential mode of power, it is clear that consent and coercion are continuous and inextricable, as organized police terror against the marginalized is echoed in the violent requirements and erasures of the official curriculum and its learning objectives.

Quijano's work allows us to see the articulation between these diverse moments of violence as well as their connection to an epistemology that simultaneously seeks to discursively relegate to the past both Indigenous/non-white peoples (as captured by "backward" ways of being) and the reality of racism itself (as supposedly belonging to an outmoded stage of capitalism). In other words, race and racism are attached to the very temporality of modernity, in a way that scholars of race often fail to recognize. In the field of education, critical race theorists invoke a central analytical

[39] Mexico's society created the commonly known phrase: "*Eres maestrito de pueblo*" ("You are a small-town teacher") to define what being a teacher means. As the phrase notes, an equivalence was made between "being a teacher," the diminutive "maestrito" (small teacher), and the pejorative label "de pueblo" (town-teacher); that is, if you choose the teaching profession, you are going to become an inferior being *(maestrito)* destined to work in rural and Indigenous villages. One of the most emblematic characters of Mexican popular culture, *Cantinflas,* made a movie about teachers entitled *El profe* (The Teacher) in 1971 in which the main character travels many hours to reach a rural and remote village. This character has a visibly stained face and wears a markedly dusty suit, just like his desk and the faces of his students. *Cantinflas,* reinforced in this film something that everyone in Mexico already knew: that being a teacher was the same as being "dirty."

[40] Carter G. Woodson, *The Mis-Education of the Negro* (New York: Classic House, 2008), 8.

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pillar that states that racism is a structural feature of U.S. society,[41] but this principle at the same time abstracts from the *longue durée* of modernity and its global-colonial geography. (For instance, hostility to Latinx people in North America in the past and present cannot be understood apart from a specifically colonial and hemispheric effort to erase Indigeneity in the Americas.) In addition, the reduction of racism in much scholarship to a passive structural feature of society overlooks the active and assertive character of racism as an ongoing process of invasion and injury.[42] As a repository of official knowledge, the curriculum repeats this injury and aims to secure domination at the level of *the truth*. Thus, coloniality operates in education not only at the level of social structure but even at the level of the onto-epistemological conditions of possibility for society.

In this context, while a narrow "identity politics" can distract attention from broader systems of power, it is also important to recognize that racial identities are linked directly to the "nueva tecnología de dominación/explotación"[43] of colonialism and its characteristic forms of intersubjectivity. Identity is always social.[44] The crucial task, then, is not to dismiss race and racial identities as ideological artifacts, but rather to understand the context that has produced them in its full breadth and depth: what we might call the *space-time* of coloniality. In this regard, we need to recognize that battles over legislative efforts like Senate Bill 3 are not simply secondary skirmishes on the feverish surface of the culture wars but rather essential struggles located at the very heart of the logic of power. In its efforts to restrict antiracist teaching and curriculum, power asserts its prerogative to set and maintain an underlying rationality of the social – namely, coloniality – a rationality that determines at once the felt senses of superiority or inferiority of different racial groups as well as the course of social reproduction and the differential distribution of resources that goes along with it. In this way, racism is not just "cultural" but also economic, social, and architectural.

At the same time, it is crucial to expose the connection of this struggle around race to its broad historical, political, and epistemological context, so that we can link it to struggles against other moments of domination. The racism that reduces Black, Indigenous, and other people of color in the U.S. and Mexico to fragments of "bare life"[45] that can be killed arbitrarily, and thus to a condition of *ontological poverty*, is a repetition in a different register of the meagerness and precarity that is the miserable allowance ("means of subsistence" in Marx's terms) that capitalism offers to working people. Coloniality is an invasion and plunder that reduces people materially as well as spiritually, and that works across ways of being as well as ways of knowing. Education, as we have described, is a crucial site of this process of plunder. On the terrain of teaching and elsewhere, we need to fight back against all of its assaults, but we need to do so in a way that reveals their shared participation in this mode of power inaugurated in the colonial encounter and then refined and multiplied in every domain of society throughout the modern era. This is in part to build a project of solidarity that works across differences, but it is also to recognize a fundamental *sameness* that the overwhelming

41 Jessica T. DeCuir and Adrienne D. Dixson, "'So When It Comes Out, They Aren't That Surprised That It Is There': Using Critical Race Theory as a Tool of Analysis of Race and Racism in Education", *Educational Researcher* 33 (2004): 27.
42 See Noah De Lissovoy, "Injury and Accumulation: Making Sense of the Punishing State", *Social Justice* 42 (2016): 52-69; and "Against Reconciliation: Constituent Power, Ethics, and the Meaning of Democratic Education", *Power and Education* 10 (2018): 125-138.
43 Quijano, "Colonialidad del Poder, Eurocentrismo y América Latina", 205.
44 Linda M. Alcoff, *Visible Identities: Race, Gender, and the Self* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 90.
45 Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, D. Heller-Roazen trans. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998).

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majority share, to the extent that we are injured and exploited by a society and epoch that never stops proclaiming its virtue, advancement, and efficiency.

Neoliberalism and the "Rationality" of Racism

The cases discussed in this paper show how racism has been *dressed up* by power, and then sometimes brutally *undressed*, as needed. In this process, the doctrine and project of neoliberalism has often been the mask that racism has taken on in order to present itself as a rational and necessary project. Racism is not only a perspective but also an international an imperial project[46], and has therefore required a cover of rationality and scientificity in order to cohere with the dominant narrative of social and educational progress. In fact, however, racism attacks the possibility of genuine education by controlling the curriculum, dismantling liberatory educational institutions (as in the case of the normal schools in Mexico), and even violently assaulting teachers, as we have described. Racism is a *modern* formation, which looks forward towards "progress," which is understood as Western and white, so that whatever reminds it that it is not what it wants to be is attacked.

The notion of coloniality of power is crucial for understanding twentieth-century racism. As Quijano showed,[47] colonialism did not disappear but instead found a way to hide in other practices and narratives – in particular, those of the market, including neoliberal discourses promoting foreign investment, de-emphasizing internal development, and insisting on external fiscal balance and the elimination of public subsidies as the key to ending poverty. Starting in 1973, neoliberalism became the shape of racism as an international project. Subsequently, in the 1980s, neoliberalism functioned as a program that imperialism used to re-colonize Latin America after the decline of the dictatorships that it had financed in the region. Modifying the brutal face of racism represented in the region's authoritarian regimes, imperialism launched neoliberalism as a neocolonialist racism now dressed up in a discourse of "rationality" and "efficiency".[48] As we noted earlier, for Quijano "La colonialidad, en consecuencia, es aún el modo más general de dominación en el Mundo actual, una vez que el colonialismo como orden político explícito fue destruido",[49] and neoliberalism (in its implicit or explicit racism) has been a crucial expression of coloniality in Latin America. However, officially the goal has not been the recolonization of Latin American nations; instead, the narrative has been: we give them neoliberalism to help them become modern, to become civilized.

However, neoliberalism and its "rational" racism has nevertheless shown traces of the brutality it had ostensibly left behind, perhaps as a strategic exercise in the use of violence in specific cases. Senate Bill 3 in Texas and the attack on the Normal Schools and the *normalistas* in Mexico demonstrate a racism that is hidden in a discourse of progress and objectivity but that has also been connected to a brutal violence brought to bear on human bodies, as in the case of the police brutality that cost the life of George Floyd, among other African-Americans in the U.S., and in the case of the 43 disappeared *normalista* students in Guerrero and the imprisoned students of the Escuela Normal

46 Nelson Maldonado-Torres, *Against War, Views from the Underside of Modernity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 89.
47 Quijano, "Colonialidad y Modernidad/Racionalidad", 12-13, and "Colonialidad del Poder, Eurocentrismo y América Latina", 202-203.
48 Raul Olmo Fregoso Bailón, "Hacia algunas alternativas del neoliberalismo en América Latina", *Contextualizaciones Latinoamericanas* 2 (2009): 12-15; Jorge Vergara Estévez, "La utopía neoliberal y sus críticos" *Polis* 6, (2003): 1-25.
49 Quijano, "Colonialidad y Modernidad/Racionalidad", 14.

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Rural Mactumactzá in Chiapas. Although neoliberalism is supposed to be rational and progressive, it has privatized people's symbolic universes allowing both for this brutality to be legitimized and for it to act as a form of discipline in relation to social movements.

As neoliberal racism obsessively looks towards the future, towards "progress" (that is, towards the white and "efficient") it tries to eliminate the curriculum, educational institutions (such as the normal schools) and bodies (such as those of the *normalistas*) that are brown, and that are taken to belong to the past. Therefore, to destroy racism, it is first necessary to dismantle the bases of racism – that is, the Western notion of modernity and its idea of progress. This structural racism (which remains overt and brutal in specific cases) organizes itself as an attack against *ordinary beings* who challenge the metanarrative of the quality of the *extraordinary* in neoliberalism's great modernizing projects.[50] As previously pointed out, racism is an international project, which seeks to sustain itself in "important" social actors (international organizations, Western nations, and economic doctrines). At the same time, it disappears and annihilates the *ordinary beings* that it inferiorizes. (In this connection, we note that the 43 *normalistas* of Ayotzinapa were not officially murdered but simply disappeared; even now, nobody knows where they are). In short, neoliberal racism thinks it is "important" and "international," and it despises the *ordinary*, "ugly," brown subjects that would strip racism of the mask that covers it.

Conclusion: Coloniality, Utopia, and Imagination

In this study, we have described the relationship between race, capitalism, and Quijano's notion of coloniality of power, and we have shown how contemporary cases of state violence demonstrate the connections between these social processes. The attempts to ban curriculum on structural racism through Senate Bill 3 in the state of Texas and the attack on the normal schools and the disappearance of *normalistas* in Mexico show how racism is linked to a capital system that strategically assaults education and educators as part of the project of coloniality. These cases in the United States and Mexico illustrate how racism is tied to narratives of modernity (especially in the context of neoliberalism) that seek to obscure the fact that "progress" in capitalism works to maintain a dominative social order and to reorganize teaching on the model of a colonial plantation.

In this context, on the one hand, it is important to understand racism in broad historical and geographic context; narrow or provincial accounts of race – even from critical perspectives – risk misreading the nature of the social challenge that we confront. In particular, abstracting racism from the contexts of capitalism and coloniality, and from the hemispheric context of the difficult history of the Americas as a whole, makes it impossible for us to see its determining ground and rationales, and thus to challenge the system of which it forms a part. On the other hand, considering social domination from the perspective of the notion of coloniality of power at the same time *foregrounds* the question of race – including the politics of racial identities, as these are tied to production in material and symbolic terms – as a crucial axis around which the functioning of the system of

[50] Raul Olmo Fregoso Bailón, "Poetic epistemologies and *normalistas* teachers in the decolonial turn: Pedro Mariscal, Martin Adalberto Sánchez Huerta and Gloria Nahaivi reflect on the pandemic", *Revista Historia de la Educación Latinoamericana* 23 (2021):77.

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capitalism-coloniality is organized. This means that struggles against state racism, in particular, must be central to revolutionary projects in practice, and that investigations of racism must be central to radical intellectual work.

If the instance of race shows that radical theory and practice need to attend to crucial relationships between the material, symbolic, and epistemological, it also suggests that praxis must be more than instrumental in its orientation – indeed, that it must engage a utopian aesthetic and imagination. Coloniality is a totality that organizes experience, understanding, and social reality at once, and as such it must be confronted by the imagination, not merely by a set of radical policies or prescriptions. According to Quijano, "la utopía (...) implica, de ese modo, una subversión del mundo, en su materialidad tanto como en su subjetividad", and thus a "subversión del imaginario"[51]. The condition of racism is not autonomous in this regard, but rather represents a site for critical inquiry into the very organization, at the level of ways of being and knowing, of modernity and its constitutive dichotomies. The rationality of race, which is a rationality of opposition and inferiorization, is tied to a modernist cognitive order characterized by "la separación dicotómica sujeto-objeto; la linealidad secuencial entre causa-efecto; la exterioridad e incomunicación entre los objetos".[52] In challenging this order, we cannot recourse simply to instrumental rationality but rather we have to engage an aesthetic sensibility that, in a utopian gesture, can *imagine beyond* modernity. This means challenging the liberal impulse to reduce politics to policy, and it means challenging forms of "scientific" socialism that are skeptical of radical engagements in the aesthetic and spiritual domains.

In this regard, we can understand initiatives like Senate Bill 3 in Texas as efforts to protect both a set of privileges as well as a basic colonial imaginary against threats to it that emerge from the inherently generative movement of peoples, cultures, and desires in the context of globalization, a movement which reaches powerfully into schools. This movement is pictured, through the lens of whiteness, in distorted and paranoid fashion, as cultural displacement, but elites are nevertheless correct that the movement and creativity of the multitude represents a challenge, inasmuch as migrations constitute "universos culturales que también penetran y reconstituyen los 'centros' del poder global".[53] Furthermore, at risk in the cultural fervor and flux that takes over the metropole, as well as in grassroots antiracist movements, is not just the hierarchical arrangement of racial identities but even their ontological organization. Doesn't the Black Lives Matter movement, for instance, threaten both the whiteness of the political order as well as the disavowed psychic foundation for white people's durable identities? In this context, restricting the horizon of education becomes an important priority for elites in their effort to defend against a utopian imagination. On the other hand, if teachers become truly radicalized, as in the case of the *normalistas* in Mexico, they can contest orders of knowledge and subjectivity which anchor the very intelligibility and integrity of power.

The long view that we argue for here both reveals racism's true historical scale and at the same opens a space for hope, insofar as it shows that racism has a historical beginning. Thus, seventeenth

[51] Aníbal Quijano,. "Estética de la Utopía", en *Aníbal Quijano: Cuestiones y Horizontes,* Danilo Assis ed. (Buenos Aires: CLACSO, 2014), 734.
[52] *Ibíd.*, 737.
[53] *Ibíd.*, 738. Quijano comes remarkably close here to more recent theses on the revolutionary-utopian potential of globalization. See Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire* (New York: Penguin Press, 2004).

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century Quechua political thinker Guaman Poma de Ayala wrote: "There is no justice in this kingdom of the Indies (...) there is nothing but sorrow for the poor Indians, punishment and shaming".[54] The violence and oppression that Guaman Poma documented and denounced as a fundamental pillar of modernity's economic, political, and symbolic logic, has been continuous from his time to our own. And yet he wrote as well of a time before this imposition, and of the righteousness and greatness of the Indigenous people of Tawantinsuyu. His account, like that of Quijano, reminds us that racism and domination are not natural or eternal conditions, but rather the specific inventions and effects of colonial invasion. We can and must analyze and unravel these inventions, in schooling and beyond, as part of the inauguration of a new epoch beyond the order of coloniality. In this project, teachers, teacher educators, and education scholars have a crucial role to play, and we hope that our project here can help to clarify the terrain and orient our collective efforts to intervene in it.

[54] Guaman Poma de Ayala, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing, D. Frye, Trans., 2006), 222.

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