Possibilities for anti-colonial education: A comparative study of IBON Foundation and the Elementary Teachers' Federation of Ontario

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Abstract

Education has historically been rooted in colonial subjugation. Throughout the past five centuries, Indigenous people in the Philippines and Canada actively resisted such systems of oppression in their struggles for self-determination. This comparative case study examines contemporary examples of such resistance through a historical lens. Specifically, how organizations like IBON in the Philippines and the Elementary Teachers Federation of Ontario (ETFO) in Canada engage in the production of alternative classroom material as a tool for critical education. I examine how the scope and methods of IBON's production of classroom material such as journals and textbooks reveal its comprehensive analysis of the education system. In Canada, I examine how ETFO's reflexive analysis of education is revealed through its production of the Social Justice Begins With Me literature-based guides. In literature addressing issues in Canada's education system, structural solutions and alternatives are seldom addressed. This paper aims to propose a course of action towards sustainable education for all. Insights from both case studies speak to a need to build power through collaboration to continually challenge state dominance over the education system. I conclude by proposing points of analysis for consideration for a sustainable intervention into education.

Foreword: Relationship of Paper to Plan of Study

The Areas of Concentration in my Plan of Study are settler colonialism and nationalism in Canada, social movements and activism, and children's literature and education. This includes developing insight into the history of 'inclusionary' migration in an era of European settlement and the shift towards 'exclusionary' politics today. Further, I proposed to examine models of knowledge exchange, praxis, consciousness-raising, and popular education to understand movement histories. The final area of concentration explored the potential of children's literature and educational material to teach about colonialism, challenge the hegemonic knowledge production that influences children, encourage children to critically interrogate the world around them, and reveal social relations at the intersections of race, ability, class, sexuality and gender. The learning objectives outlined in the Plan of Study are as follows:

Learning Objective 1.1: To gain a solid knowledge of the history of indigenous nationhood in the context of Canada as a settler colonial state in order to challenge common misconceptions about who migrated, when, who was displaced, and who profited.

Learning Objective 1.2: To gain a solid knowledge of immigration reform and law in order to better understand changes in immigration policy over time.

Learning Objective 2.1: To gain a general understanding of the various ways and processes by which people are driven to engage in community struggle in order to better contribute to community mobilization.

Learning Objective 2.2: To develop a general understanding of the evolution of indigenous and migrant activism in Canada in order to better understand how to resist restrictive and

punitive state policy.

Learning Objective 3.1: To gain a general knowledge of the evolution of the Canadian children's publishing industry of literature and educational material.

Learning Objective 3.2: To gain an in-depth knowledge about different types of social justice interventions made in to children's literature and educational material community in order to understand the efficacy of various strategies.

The research paper – a comparative study of the potential of education interventions in their respective socio-political contexts – fits well in to most of my Areas of Concentration. The paper provides historical context that situates Canada as a settler colony, where the education system historically evolved as a nation-building exercise as an attempt to pacify Indigenous resistance (Learning Objective 1.1). I trace how Indigenous resistance and nationalism were the impetus for the creation of a major part of the education system - residential schools (Learning Objective 1.1 and 2.2). As a point of comparison to education in the settler colonial context of Canada, I turn to the similarly colonial nature of education in the Philippines. An in-depth study of both contexts illuminates active resistance to the education system as an oppressive institution. Exploring grassroots intervention into education in an active movement context like the Philippines highlights the significance of understanding education initiatives in their broader social context (Learning Objective 2.1, 2.2 and 3.2). The limitations of education intervention in Canada then became apparent from this historical framing. The focus of my findings steered away from children's literature to as a tool for anti-colonial education, towards centering educational material more broadly and the possibilities for intervention (Learning Objective 3.1). With regards to Learning Objective 1.2, I was able to acquire a general understanding of immigration history and timeline in the context of the evolution of settler colonialism in Canada. Finally, the overarching theme of this research has been to detail the possibilities of mobilizing towards systemic educational change (*Learning Objective 3.2*). The major research paper fits into the overarching themes of social movementism, education, and settler colonialism to understand how a sustainable movement can intervene in Canada's colonial education system.

Introduction

Antiracist scholars have repeatedly critiqued Canada's attempts to mask its colonial history and reality with apologies, redress, and illusions of a homogenous national identity based on the buzzwords of diversity, multiculturalism, inclusion, and tolerance. Central to perpetuating this rhetoric are the many institutions - public and private - that are invested in the continuation of Canada as a capitalist imperial settler colony. Among these is the public education system and material it propagates. It has been well documented that the publication of children's literature and educational material is tied to national identity formation through libraries, education, cultural policy, and economic policy. Authors, publishers, libraries, schools, and teachers are all instrumental in the maintenance of the good citizen: the nationalist who rejects Indigenous sovereignty or confuses it with multiculturalism, who regurgitates and celebrates national historical myths, and who internalizes the racism they experience.

Every year, over two million students make their way through the Ontario public school system (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2016). This includes one hundred and twenty thousand entering the school system from Junior Kindergarten, and slightly less than two hundred thousand leaving the school system, taking in to account Ontario's 86% Grade 12 graduation rate (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2016). These are the students who, like me, learned of the early 'pioneers' who suffered great losses from settling a 'barren' land, how to find the derivative of a complex function, and, over countless years Europe's role in the attempted defeat of Communism worldwide. Some of these students, either through lived experience, personal influence, or social consciousness, are critical and skeptical enough to challenge much of the historical propaganda thrown at them. Regardless, students will also face the challenge of having their futures set out for them as early as grade nine. Streaming predetermines whether students will graduate into intellectual versus manual work and sets

up their access to postsecondary education early into high school. The gaps in curriculum, as well as other issues in the public school system such as lack of teacher diversity, funding, even policing in schools, have been well documented. Various interventions have taken shape including curriculum reform, community education, running equity workshops, creating supplementary teacher material and establishing alternatives schools. But from the young people in my life I can see that not much has changed. Interventions have not gone far enough. On the weekend, I fill the gap by spending time with my cousins. I make a conscious effort to read them books that reveal the history of colonialism and the stories of Indigenous peoples, not only of Canada, but also of the places our ancestors are from. Not only are these stories are important for us to know, but also to help us make sense of who we are - as immigrants and settlers on land that is stolen from its first inhabitants, and as privileged residents in an imperialist country complicit in the displacement of other people around the world.

Once I began the process of unlearning the decade of Western-centric indoctrination I had received from my public schooling throughout Canada, I came to understand that behind it there was deliberate intention. The gaps in education are numerous and run deep within the roots of the institution as an arm of the settler colonial, capitalist and imperialist state. Today, I engage in this research with a desire to relay to the curious young people in my life the many truths that I uncovered in a decade of unlearning my Western public school education. I need for my cousins to understand that their lives today have been directly shaped by four hundred years of colonial rule over their parents' ancestral land, India. Our families were disjointed and broken from what is known as 'history's greatest migration' stemming from the partitioning of India. Today, imperialisms hand in the perpetual uneven development of our parents homeland, Pakistan, is what made us the privileged few able to access the riches of an Imperialist center that is built off of the backs of colonized people on this land, and

around the world. In my work as an organizer I recognize that liberal approaches to bringing these truths into the education system will not suffice. As an advocate for migrant justice on issues such as immigration detention, criminalization and state policing, I use this research to re-envision the way in which we struggle and aspire to create critical educational content that is valuable to communities. I seek to material that inspires a movement and builds towards a new vision for education in Canada. This research explores the idea that true educational change cannot come without larger socio-political change because each is dialectically related and dependent on the other.

This research is inspired by a desire to explore the possibilities of engaging in a substantive intervention into the education system in Canada. I will examine the potential of two social interventions to challenge the way education is decontextualized, abstracted, and depoliticized when written about, analyzed, and critiqued. The first intervention is the Elementary Teachers Federation of Ontario's Social Justice Begins With Me literature-based equity guide for Ontario teachers and the second is the IBON Foundation's grade school quarterly journals and textbooks for Filipino youth. This research will explore the following questions: What is the potential for children's literature and educational material to teach about colonialism and undo the harm is has done? Does this potential look different given the socio-political context? Are there different ways in which progressive children's educational material can be brought about? And finally, how can we create and disseminate progressive children's educational materials that critically interrogate the social relations of students? Using comparative case studies, this paper explores how grassroots movements engage with the production, publication, and circulation of alternative educational material. Specifically, this research details the analysis, methods, and intent of interventions in their respective social contexts. In doing so, there is potential to shift the conversation to consider how children in Canada are taught about their social relations.

Methodology and structure

My research question requires an understanding of education in two contexts: Ontario, Canada and the Philippines. The Philippines is where the IBON foundation has sustained itself as a site of production, publication, and dissemination of children's educational material for the past 37 years. Born out of grassroots movements resisting Martial Law, the IBON foundation expanded its reach and is deeply rooted across all three regions of the Philippines, making connections with other social justice oriented groups of similar principles. I have identified the Philippines as an ideal site to begin a study of how educational material has grown out of social movements.

For my six-week long fieldwork, I travelled to various cities and regions across the Philippines. My first stop was in Manila where my time was spent primarily with members of the leftist research institution, IBON Foundation and its educational counterpart, the IBON Partnership for Education Development (IPED). IBON staff took time out of their workday to sit down with me and explain the scope of the work. Before I could talk to anyone in publishing though, I was given a 'national situationer' presentation by Sonny Africa that put IBON's work in the larger socioeconomic context of the Philippines. Later, I was able to ask IPED staff and the publishing team how they saw their roles in the work they do, what is the relationship between the production and publication stage of producing IBON material, and how IBON, historically and currently, engages with community. We had in-depth discussions where IPED staff informed me about their political campaigns around education, the impact of foreign trade agreements on the education system and on people's livelihoods, the corporatization of tertiary education, the barriers of intervening in the public school system, the limitations of the work, and what IBON's work looks like in different regions of the Philippines. From my interview with the publishing team, the staff explained to me the systematic process through which the textbooks and journals are produced, the relationship

between IBON's campaigns and the IPED team, and how political content is fused into the material they write. In total, two formal semi-structured interviews were conducted – one with members of IBON's publication team and the other with the IPED team. I was also given the opportunity to spend one day in the 'field' with an IBON sales representative. I travelled to three different schools to follow up with them about their evaluation period and learn about IBON's sales process and engagement with partner schools.

I had the opportunity to understand IBON's internal work and connect with its allied organizations including the Alliance of Concerned Teachers (ACT) and Educators Forum for Development (EfD). My days with IBON were spent having group discussions with the staff from IPED, the research team, the Executive Director, the workers in the IBON Print Shoppe, the sales and marketing team, and many others over lunch and during events and activities. In these conversations, I shared insights from organizing work in Canada and made connections with the situation of Filipino's locally and abroad. Organizationally IBON also makes time to attend forums, cultural shows, and political mobilizations/vigils, which I was able to partake in. Internally, I contributed to IBON's internal educational discussions, observed the fieldwork of the marketing team, and had in depth discussions with staff from all departments. These opportunities allowed me to engage in informal conversation with IBON members about current events, organizing, and politics while observing first hand the scope of IBON's work. I also relied on IBON's textbooks for all grade levels, archived and recent copies of journals for all grade levels, the IBON website, and insights from informal conversations.

Given the Philippines long history of leftist resistance it made an ideal site for comparison. My trip to the Philippines as part of a broader solidarity visit allowed me to see for myself the larger context in which IBON situates its work. The broad scope of intervention and grassroots approach to education became apparent from my exposure to the

socio-political situation across the country. I later travelled to the field site of IBON's research on disaster rehabilitation, Leyte. My last stop was in the Western Mindanao region to understand IBON's support for the struggle of Indigenous people fighting against foreign mining companies.

Upon my return I sat down to interview members of the Elementary Teachers Federation of Ontario (ETFO). The work of ETFO was chosen because it is a long-running, wide-reaching initiative of educators themselves and because of its use of accessible content (i.e. picture books) to reach students. Background research and fieldwork took place in Toronto, Ontario where the key informants for this research are based. Of the dozens of teacher-driven social justice projects and interventions, the *Social Justice Begins With Me* literature-based guide became the most ideal project to study given its multifaceted nature. ETFO uses the resource guide it published to engage with education curricula, educational material, professional development programs, and equity workshops. It also partners with independent bookstores through which it promotes its recommended book lists on various social justice themes.

I also draw upon my experiences as a student of seven years in the Ontario education system, the work of other researchers, and material written by both the ETFO and IBON for their respective interventions. I conducted one formal semi-structured interview with staff at ETFO who authored *Social Justice Begins With Me*. In my interviews, I asked how they understood their role, how their role was seen by ETFO, what opportunities and barriers contributed to the publication of their guides, what was the relationship between the production and publication stages of the guide, what was the context from which their social intervention came about, and how was the intervention carried out. From these conversations ETFO authors also offered a background of the literature-based guides in the context of education policy in Ontario, the emergence of equity work within the union, their

perspectives on the limitations of the Ontario curriculum, the intention and purpose behind the guides, ETFO's engagement with Faculties of Education and school boards, the response and feedback on the guides, and their personal experiences coming into equity work. I relied on ETFO's *Social Justice Begins With Me* guides for all grade levels, the resource guide and the ETFO website to draw insights for my findings.

This research aims to critically understand education in Canada by placing it in the context of its own, and in relation to other, histories of socio-political struggle. The method employed here stems from Mohanty's *comparative feminist studies model*, which is the product of her extensive critique of Western-centric research. Mohanty advocates a move towards an *international* approach which "foreground[s] not just the connections of domination but those of struggle and resistance as well" (Mohanty, 2003, p. 522). The aim is to build international solidarities and to understand the subject of study "in relation to histories, institutional practice, and collective struggles" (Mohanty, 2003, p. 524). Further, the findings from this research are deliberately placed within the historical context of the respective geopolitical locations of the study.

As a researcher it's critical to spend time situating ETFO and IBON in their historical contexts. Imperialism is the main contradiction in the world right now. It has informed the experience of everybody including research. Tuhiwai-Smith states, "from the vantage point of the colonized, a position from which I write, and choose to privilege, the term 'research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism" (Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999, p. 1). It is then our task as researchers to rewrite history because more often than not our subjects of research are not properly situated in other literature. Tuhiwai-Smith notes, "indigenous groups have argued that history is important for understanding the present and that reclaiming history is a critical and essential aspect of decolonization" (Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999, p. 29-30). Central to not only my method but also the purpose of my research is the process of

decolonizing the history that we are taught through the education system and that is then often perpetuated as researchers and academics. Thus I make a conscious effort to challenge the colonial version of history that I am taught and surrounded by.

In terms of structure, this paper is divided into five sections. The first section has two aims. First, I situate education as an institution in the respective historical contexts of Canada and the Philippines. Second, provide a background of the emergence of the two organizations of interest - the IBON Foundation and the Elementary Teachers Federation of Ontario - to give context to their work in education. Subsequent sections stem from the findings of my fieldwork. The second section explores how IBON and ETFO's intentions of engaging with teachers, production of classroom materials, and broader political engagement is reflective of their respective organizational analyses. The third section goes into detail about how IBON and ETFO's analysis of education informs their respective methods of work. Detailing the intent, methods, and analysis of IBON and ETFO's work is partially an initiative to archive the work of these social interventions, but also to inspire ideas for educators and organizers committed such efforts. In these two sections I assert the necessity of a dialectic approach to understanding intervention in its social movement context. In other words, the impact of ETFO and IBON's work on education must be understood through a conscious study of the histories from which the education system and the organizations emerged. The fourth section takes lessons from the two initial findings to make a case for building dual power as a method of intervention into state institutions such as education. The fifth and final section sums up the findings of research and proposes elements of inquiry for future endeavors that seek to tackle the education system.

In addition to the other shortcomings, I would like to highlight the following limitations of the final research produced. First, I regret not spending more time observing ETFO's work in Ontario through teacher organizing and student engagement. Due to time

limits I was not able to cover the full scope of research as stated in my proposal. While my stated intention was to engage with the Canadian publishing industry, I paid closer attention to the two realms of trade unionism and education because they are the two sociopolitical contexts that ETFO situates itself in. Further, one aspect of IBON's material I was not able to access were its teachers guides for the textbooks and journals which give teachers insight on how to teach the content while still abiding by the curriculum expectations. Lastly, my research would have been strengthened had I taken the time to engage the perspectives of the many grassroots community based organizations and initiatives that work tirelessly to engage many immigrant and working class neighborhoods in radical education to resist their colonial education.

Situating education intervention in Canada and the Philippines

In my pursuit of challenging the education system in Canada, I travelled outside of the social context to look at things anew. Gaining insight into IBON's work and its socio-political context of the Philippines revealed what is possible and necessary to actively build towards transforming education in Canada. In interviews with IBON, I was given a thorough briefing of the organization's work, aims, and methods, which they understand as inextricably bound to the larger struggle in Philippine society. In interviews with ETFO, I was given a background of the emergence of equity work within the union. This will be supplemented with secondary research to historicize the development of education and the work of ETFO. It is from personal conversations and secondary research that I draw the background information presented here. I will begin by sharing the historical context of the Philippines that IBON uses to shape its work, and from which insights will be drawn for Canada throughout the paper. This will be followed by an historical framing of the major contradictions in Canada and the context from which ETFO emerged as an advocate for more equitable education. Tracing the historic emergence of education systems and social movement contexts of Canada and the Philippines is imperative to understand how and why intervention in education is necessary.

It is from the Philippines' long history of colonial occupation that its present day neo-colonial education system emerged. The 333-year legacy of Spanish rule left Filipinos with "ignorance, superstition, [and] hierarchical values," which operated as tools of domination used by the friars (Constantino, 1976b, p. 133). Although a formal education system was established in 1863, primary schooling was primarily for religious education and secondary education was reserved for students of Spanish descent. In 1898, the United States purchased the Philippines from Spain as one of its first colonies along with Puerto Rico and Guam, all for twenty million dollars. This marked the beginning of the American occupation of the

Philippines. US imperialism continued the status of the Philippines as a colony and deliberately overlooked the assertion of Filipinos to establish themselves as a sovereign nation. As a result, Filipino revolutionaries and anti-colonial forces continued their fight against American occupation. The US employed a variety of tactics to enforce its rule upon the Filipino people. Tactics used to quell the armed resistance included military, legal, and finally, the use of education or as Constantino (1976b) put it, 'miseducation'. The church and missionaries also shifted their loyalty to the new ruler and came to assist in the colonial indoctrination of people through the spread of propaganda and the establishment of schools. By establishing a national public school system and implementing English as the medium of instruction, a new era of political indoctrination of Filipino colonial subjects began, this time with the purpose of serving US imperialism. The public school system that the Americans established in the Philippines was "conceived and initially run by soldiers" (George, 1980, p. 65). It was later taken over by missionaries and eventually by some one thousand American civilian teachers who were recruited in the midst of the Filipino-American war to public schools in newly conquered areas to spread imperialist propaganda and cultivate political subservience to the US (George, 1980; Guerrero, 2005).

The Philippines also became a market for US educational materials. US imperial interest in the Philippines was in exploitation of raw materials and in foreign investment of surplus capital in newly acquired territories. In other words it was in US capitalist interest to maintain the feudal character of the Philippines to continue ongoing extraction and export of raw materials while creating demand amongst Filipino people to create a market for the import of US commodities (Guerrero, 2005). Establishing American control over the Philippine education system was instrumental in creating a pool of reserve labour for the US empire's imperialist interests. Rodriguez (2010) highlights how the Philippines labour export policy is rooted in deeper colonial interests. Part of the empire's hegemony over the

Philippines was because it created the conditions for Philippine society to continue to serve US interests. They did so by using the education system in particular to create loyal colonial subjects that would fulfill a need for cheap migratory labour (Rodriguez, 2010).

The advancement of US economic interests through education was achieved through the degradation of Filipino nationalist consciousness in favour of a false democratic consciousness imposed by the US. In his article examining the factors hindering development of Filipino national consciousness by tracing the history and impact of colonial rule, Constantino (1976b) pinpoints the pacification of revolutionary Filipino consciousness to US cultural and education, or 'miseducation' policy. Implementation of this system was effective in its widespread nation-wide implementation, its English language instruction, which facilitated consumption of American capitalist culture, and its colonial content erased the revolutionary history of Filipino's against American rule (Constantino, 1976b). The pacifying education system also sought to distance Filipino Muslims from their religion, which served also as their local governance structures and motivation for resistance to colonial imposition (George, 1980). Rather than gearing education to the needs of national development, "miseducation had effectively concealed the contradiction between colonizer and colonized" (Constantino, 1976b, p. 143). The deliberate project of the education system is evident as colonial indoctrination by the fact that the head of the Department of Education until 1935 was an American (Constantino, 1976b). Since the Philippines is seen by the US Empire as a territory conquered, owned, and under the subservience of the United States, any display of Philippine nationalism or revolutionary thought was actively suppressed and replaced by cultivating political subservience to US imperialist culture. The result was the creation of a new educated class of Filipinos who were either taken up into the American colonial bureaucracy or became a new generation of national elite who were "coached in American ways and ideas" and thus invested in continuation of the status quo (George, 1980, p. 78).

It is precisely because of ongoing imperialist intervention, and distaste for the puppet governments even after the granting of Philippine independence, that widespread unrest grew throughout the twentieth century. Ongoing repression by American colonizers fuelled the establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) in 1930. Inspired by the anticolonial struggles and espoused by Marxist-Leninist thought, the revolutionary movement in the Philippines adopted an orientation that a national liberation movement must have a socialist perspective. Due to heightened militancy, the US-backed Philippine government outlawed the Party in 1931. The CPP was reestablished in December 1968 and its armed wing, the New People's Army (NPA) in March 1969 (Santos and Santos, 2010). The causes of calling for a "national democratic revolution" in the Philippines are identified as economic inequity, poor governance, human rights violations by the state, undemocratic state structures, exploitation of Indigenous minorities, imperialist intervention, and inequitable distribution of land (Human Development Network, 2005). The Philippine national democratic movement celebrated its 48th anniversary this year. In many regions active armed struggle is being waged against the pro capitalist state, which is backed and upheld by the imperialist US. Apart from the armed component, the movement actively organizes peasants against feudal landlords, workers against the comprador class, and the people against the government's labour export policy which is invested in actively sending the Filipino people abroad in service of American interests. Apart from this, the movement also engages in many other sites of struggle including opposition to ongoing American military presence and influence, supporting the struggles of Indigenous and Muslim groups, and against the remnants of feudalism, the power of bureaucrat capitalism, and ongoing US imperialism that pervades the country (Guerrero, 2005).

Inspired by the waves of mass protest against US imperialism in the Philippines and abroad, the 1960s and 1970s saw students, teachers, peasant, and workers come together

against the US war of aggression in Vietnam, the domination of US monopolies in the Philippine economy, and the presence of US military bases on Philippine territory despite former granting of Philippine independence from the US.

Students and teachers rebelled against the reactionary education system, the peasants demonstrated against landlord domination, and students actively supported workers strikes in urban centres. The year of 1970 started off with a series of mass actions involving 50 to 100,000 workers, peasants, students, and intellectuals, advocating the line of the national democratic revolution in the face of active state repression and threats of Martial Law by President Marcos (Guerrero, 2005). The culmination of these events was The First Quarter Storm, student-led demonstrations in Manila against the Marcos government. The official declaration of Martial Law in 1972 was a reaction of the Marcos government to already widespread social unrest (Human Development Network, 2005). It was out of this time of widespread anti-imperialist social movements in the Philippines and abroad, that a specific sector of progressive NGOs was created to subvert the restrictive climate imposed during Martial Law (Africa, 2013). Progressive NGOs of this era emerged out of anti-fascist mobilizations that cut across class lines and involved both Communist and Moro resistance struggles: "Particularly notable and with implications until this day is how these Left-driven NGO and PO efforts were often expressly couched in terms of a larger struggle for systemic change" (Africa, 2013, p. 120). In many ways these NGOs operated from a framework that was inherently anti-state and "engaged in mass struggles with POs [People's Organizations]" (Africa, 2013, p. 125). Alongside the development of radical NGOs were mass-based organizations "developed as units of democratic political power for eventually replacing the State" (Africa, 2013, p. 130).

Writing at the height of the Martial Law era, Constantino rightly argues the need for mobilized towards the creation of a "counter-consciousness" to fend off foreign influence and

prevent perpetual dependence, underdevelopment, and impoverishment of the Filipino people (Constantino, 1976b, p. 144). It was precisely this national democratic left force that took advantage of the period of social unrest to recruit for the movement and used partnerships with liberal organizations to exposed the limits of reformism and government participation (Boudreau, 2004). It has been noted that the circumstances people were forced to endure under Martial Law raised people's consciousness about the need for larger structural change and was the impetus for organizing. In interviews with survivors of Martial Law, Grace Uddin writes "Marcos was the number one recruiter of the NPA,' added one professor because it was the dictatorship that spawned discontent among the people" (Uddin, 2014, p. 248). The quote highlights the impetus that the Marcos dictatorship gave in the expansion of political work and active recruitment of members of the New People's Army. Santos echoes this in a report on the armed conflict in the Philippines stating "Marcos's hard-line response—in particular the suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus and, in 1972, the declaration of martial law—inadvertently served the NPA's recruitment drive" (Santos, 2010, p. 21).

Thus when IBON emerged out of the anti-fascist organizing during the Marcos era, it was widely influenced by the progressive NGOs around it. IBON was born in 1978 simply out a need for information (personal interview, 29 March 2016). A major feature of Martial Law was the closure of a lot of big media outlets. The flow of information to the people was censored. So civil society groups like progressive clergy took it upon themselves to find ways to do media work to engage the public. IBON organized around the people's need for information outside of state-controlled media. At the time, its flagship publication *Facts & Figures* was just a fact sheet. Regardless, it's popular writing style made it widely circulated to schools and was "very very very effective because it tackled socioeconomic issues from the point of view of the people" (personal interview, 29 March 2016). The efforts of IBON

alongside other progressive NGOs was a testament to how even under threat of immense repercussions, people were not afraid to organize. In fact IBON was just one part of the strong anti fascist movement that focused on overcoming the media block.

However, after the 1986 "People power" uprising and the fall of the Marcos dictatorship, international donors pools from International NGOs church-based groups and political parties lost interest in funding political anti-dictatorship NGO causes in the Philippines (Africa, 2013). By the 1990s when civil society funding pools began to dry up, NGOs were rapidly absorbed into the government bureaucracy. It was not until the 1990s that IBON began to write and distribute textbooks as a self-reliance program in order to resist absorbing itself into the state and maintain People's Organizations (POs) as its mass-base. The post- Marcos era saw a split in the ideology of civil society organizations and in between left forces overall. Many NGOs and left-leaning organizations decided that their goals for social change could be achieved through direct engagement with and reform within government structures. In this way many NGOs and people's organizations began to take positions with within government structures and aid programs (Africa, 2013). While many NGOs began to lose their progressive character Africa stresses the importance of NGOs maintaining their "mass- based initiatives, efforts, and struggles" for social transformation (Africa, 2013). It is from this history that IBON emerged unlike other NGOs and civil society organizations, which remain politically neutral and subsume themselves to working within state structures to attain organizational goals. NGOs of the movement however see themselves as accountable to people's orgs and the mass-base. In this way it is evident how IBON stands out from other civil society groups in the Philippines.

The IBON foundation has sustained itself as a site of production, publication, and dissemination of children's educational material in the Philippines for the past 37 years. Primarily IBON's organizational purpose is "providing a solid research and education to the

broadest number of people as they take action to build an economy that serve the needs and interests of the Filipino people" (IBON Foundation, 2012). IBON identifies its key areas of work as: research, publications, education & training, media & popular materials, building organizational networks, partnerships with schools, and distributing its content in commercial outlets (IBON Foundation, 2012). Born out of grassroots movements resisting martial law, the IBON foundation has expanded its reach and is deeply rooted across all three regions of the Philippines, making connections with other social justice oriented groups of similar principles. Its focus was to repair the damage of the neocolonial education system on generations of Filipinos, while trying to influence future generations to think differently. IBON's analysis emerged from a movement history, which shapes the way it carries out its work. Today, IBON does all kinds of work in the education sector. It produces and distributes textbooks, activity guides, provides workshops for teachers on a variety of political and education focused topics, and operates also outside of the formal education system. IBON builds the internal political growth of everyone in the organization by doing regular Educational Discussions and supporting the Lumad¹ schools that are currently under attack of by paramilitary for defending their ancestral lands against foreign mining companies, many of which are subsidiaries of Canadian companies. It also actively launches political campaigns on many issues such as campaigning against corporatization of education in favour of sustainable education or against GMO farming in favor of genuine agrarian reform. Advocating against the K to 12 system in favor of the development of a national industry that serves the interest of the people.

All levels of IBON's work including intellectual educational organizing stems from or is rooted in their own the organization's own primary research. The method is rooted in a

¹ Lumad is the Sebuano term for Indigenous that the 18 non-Muslim ethno linguistic tribes of Mindanao adapted to describe their collective identity.

desire to challenge traditional research methods and popular concepts of 'participatory research methodology' to be truly participatory beyond the data gathering and processing steps. The driving force of IBON is its belief that there is no such thing as objective research. Instead IBON employs a method of 'people's research' whereby participants understand that "research is no longer 'of them' but more importantly 'by them'" (IBON Foundation, 2004, p. v). It's important for IBON that research is done by people affected by the issues. For IBON, "the ultimate objective is addressing the key issue of empowerment for the poorest and the marginalized" (IBON Foundation, 2004, p. vii).

In all its education and broader political work, IBON advocates for the implementation of National Scientific Mass Oriented learning. The purpose of National Scientific Mass Oriented learning in both realms of culture and education work is to propagate the concept of people's democracy or national democracy in everyday consciousness. The general awakening of the broad masses of people will come when the concept of people's democracy prevails over the cultural activities of mass movements. This is necessary to counter the overwhelming imperialist feudal and individualistic culture that has been propagated through the centuries of colonial domination, the remnants of which are pervasive throughout the education system (from the curriculum to the issue of streaming) which function to create a particular type of Filipino worker. IBON stands out not only as an organization that has maintained its mass character despite the lure of liberal reform and lack of funding, but also in how its political analysis continues to inform its intervention into issues pertaining to education.

Studying the IBON foundation and how interventions are conceived in a site of active struggle was a way to imagine the possibilities for education in Canada. In this section, I establish Canada's political historical context in which we can understand ETFO's work, aims and methods. I will begin with a broad historical framing of the major contradictions in

Canada. It is from this analysis which education in Canada, and thus any attempt to challenge it, must be understood. This will be followed by a brief overview of the social movement context from which ETFO emerged.

Canada is an imperialist settler colony: a nation state that capitalises off the military occupation of a land justified by logics of racial superiority. It should then not come as a surprise that curriculum and education were founded as instruments in the European's settler colonial project (Battiste, 2013; Carleton, 2011; Kempf, 2006; Willinsky, 1998). A brief review of the history makes it apparent that the public school system and the residential school system were both conceived from the same logic. Christian values and British loyalty were characteristics that the state deemed desirable to inculcate upon its students and future citizens through an education system that "always reflected and reinforced the inequalities of the social systems of which they are apart" (Katz, 1973, p. 17). Egerton Ryerson, Superintendent of Education of Upper Canada between 1844 and 1876 saw political value of school in the formation of character to create good Christian citizens who pledging loyalty to Britain (Jain, 1977). From the time of European settlement through to the present post-9/11 era, the assertion of European sovereignty over Indigenous nations has been resulted in the exaltation of a particular white national subject, which, in turn, is based on the exclusion of the Other - the immigrant of a non-preferred race and the Indian (Thobani, 2007). European sovereignty and occupation of the land began with the initial violence of conquest, was legitimized through the juxtaposition of settler subjectivities with the 'Indian Other'. Racial hierarchies were then ingrained through state institutions and are in present day maintained through a current shared understanding of national identity. Thobani's analysis allows us to understand the development of the institution of public education as part of this ongoing colonial violence.

The colonial administrators handling of Native education is of particular significance in understanding the root of Canadian education. Although Native education began as early as 1786 with the coming of the Jesuits, this was predominantly a project of church partnerships with colonial administrators to carry out its mandate of 'civilizing' Natives into accepting colonial domination. Despite these missions, Indigenous resistance to European occupation and genocide was continuous and widespread.

In particular, nationalist consciousness emerged amongst the Métis, in the 1830s, who were engaged in an economic resistance against exploitation by the merchant class within the Hudson's bay Company, and political resistance to a lack of representation within the colonial state structure (Bolaria & Li, 1988). By the 1840s The British colonial government saw the need to employ Christianity to quell resistance of fur-producing Natives to the Hudson's Bay Company which deliberately kept the interior native population in a "backward pre-capitalist form of labour" to maintain profits through more systematized exploitation (Bolaria & Li, 1988, p. 58). It was at this time that the concept of 'industrial schools' emerged. As of yet, settlers had only established on-reserve common schools for Indigenous children to attend to. However, the concept behind industrial schools in the 1840s, highlighted by superintendent of education Ryerson, was to use Natives as agricultural labour in an attempt to instill in them notions of private and individual ownership of land for the purposes of industrial agricultural production (Milloy, 1999). Canadian government documents from the time reveal official intent being: "the policy of destroying the tribal or community system is assailed in every possible way and every effort made to implant a spirit of individual responsibility instead" (Bolaria & Li, 1988, p. 65). The agricultural training provided in industrial schools was a method of creating class divisions between and within Indigenous nations. State education policy also worked to embed a racial labour hierarchy whereby "Indians and Metis were used for cheap agrarian support labour offered by the

Canadian state to the incoming settlers" (Bolaria & Li, 1988, p. 67). In tracing the history of labour relations between Indigenous people and the settlers, Bolaria and Li add the crucial dimension of the use of racial subjugation in settler colonialism, namely as a function of capitalist expansion.

The material conditions of Natives under British colonial occupation led to the spread of radical ideology and the creation of the Council of the Nation in 1849 which "militarily confronted the power of the Company and the colonial state to deny responsible government and free trade" (Bolaria & Li, 1988, p. 60). The authors note that the political struggle of the indigenous mass base was rooted in the "idea of 'national independence' and ' control over a state' for the purpose of redefining the international division of labor and the direction of capital accumulation was a threat to capital and to the formation of Canada as a nation state" (Bolaria & Li, 1988, p. 65). The nationalist ideology here refers to the collective anti-colonial sentiment espoused by Indigenous groups who saw that "the only way to achieve emancipation and liberation was to separate themselves from the colonial process and to decolonize through a declaration of independence" (Bolaria & Li, 1988, p. 64). The response of the colonial authorities to the Council was appeasement of the reformist elements within the Council by granting of partial rights and representation within government structures

The 1850s and 1860s saw the opening of indigenous lands in the west to occupation and agricultural exploitation towards capitalist interests in Canada with no benefit to the Native populations. Poor assessments of the "progress" of prior "civilization" policies were the basis for the introduction of the 1857 policies of assimilation particularly in the field of education. The colonial government's assessment was that natives were not on the most efficient course to becoming "civilized" and useful as labourers for settler society (Milloy, 1999). This gave birth to the concept of the residential school systems with the rationale for implementing characteristics of "industry and knowledge" into Indigenous communities by

tearing them away from in the influences of Indigenous communities on their way of life. Thus, when prior policies of enfranchisement turned out to be a failure, the government turned to residential schools which "were not established to meet the government's treaty obligations to provide schools (which were supposed to be on reserves), but to further its long- term aim of ending the country's treaty obligations by assimilating its Aboriginal population" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2012, p. 12). In the eyes of the colonial government, education for Indigenous people was only necessary as an alternative mechanism of assimilation and reduction of the native population.

However, resistance continued and in 1869, Riel staged a military overthrow of the colonial Council of Assiniboia, establishing in its place a provisional government. The 1869 armed resistance was rooted in an opposition to the beginning of this westward occupation, dispossession, and exploitation. Riel waged a National Liberation struggle where the oppressed Indigenous people organized and resisted to overthrow the British colonial power and assert control of its own democratic state (Bolaria & Li, 1988). Thus while "the intent of British colonial policy was to create a white Colony with political power and representation in the hands of whites," the very nationalist nature of indigenous resistance² to settler colonialism was in direct contradiction to the colonizer's aspirations (Bolaria & Li, 1988, p. 56). Despite Riel's attempted coup d'état, when the colonial authorities drove Riel into exile in 1870, Manitoba was absorbed into the colonial state structure and recreated as a province.

Continued westward expansion of settlers in the 1870s meant that Indigenous communities saw their land being rapidly signed away, railways cut through their territories, the rapid disappearance of bison and buffalo herds as well as ongoing epidemics of diseases brought by settlers (Milloy, 1999). As a result, the following decades of the 1870s and 1880s

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² This is not intended to homogenize the experience, class interest, perspective, or politic of all Indigenous people at the time or in present day. Rather, the widespread resistance in the nineteenth century fueled the intensification of colonial 'civilizing' policy to placate Indigenous resistance throughout the country.

saw more armed resistance from displaced Indigenous plains communities (Bolaria & Li, 1988). Efforts to placate resistance and intensify occupation of land by the colonial ruling class included the signing of treaties, use of the reserve system, denial of access to land, and economic dependency (Ibid.). The leadership of Prime Minister McDonald's the Department of Indian Affairs took the next step in breaking in their attempt to eradicate any and all Indigenous ways of life by dissolving the tribal structure abolishing First Nations government and eliminating the right to self governance with the introduction of the Indian Act of 1876 and 1880 (Milloy, 1999). In addition to having the power to regulate all aspects of his life and communities, these policies put forth once again the utility of residential schools system in working towards assimilation. Through the Indian Acts, the settler state endowed itself with the juridical power over Indigenous populations. As a result, off-reserve industrial schools, explicitly supervised by non-Indigenous teachers, became precursors to residential schools. The rationale for residential schools came from the strategy to re-socialize Indigenous children and came from the conclusion that the day schools were had not been effective and further that European racial superiority meant that the separation of Indigenous children from their communities was necessary towards this process. The 'Indian Affairs' school inspector, Nicholas Davin, produced the Davin Report in 1879 laid out a vision for implementation of the residential school system based on a visit with US colonial officials and one Indigenous community (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2012).

Given the armed resistance of the four decades prior, By the 1880s, colonial policy concerning Natives took on a new character aimed at directly preventing any further form of resistance. Such intensification of colonial policy towards the forced assimilation and destruction of the Indigenous family came about after in the context of challenges that settlers faced in their project of nation building on its lands. In order to continue appropriation, consolidation, and exploitation of the land, the settler governments sought a solution to pacify

Indigenous resistance to their continued aggression genocide and occupation. In particular the Davin Report suggested the utility of a residential school system in quelling native resistance to colonial policies regulating their communities. The timely release of the Davin Report suggests of using residential schools to quell "anticipated disorder" stemming from the increased displacement, disease, and shortage of game related to rapid westward expansion of settlers (Milloy, 1999, p. 31). Milloy goes further to say it was these conditions that spread native resistance to the settlers occupying their territory and residential schools posed a solution of education as pacification and social control which was seen as beneficial for the development of the nation. Indeed it was the threat of "dangerous elements" (Milloy, 1999, p. 33) of "hostile acts" (Milloy, 1999, p. 32), and "danger posed by Aboriginal distress" (Ibid.). As Milloy notes, "Davin's suggestion that education was pacification, an indispensable element in the creation of conditions for the peaceful occupation of the west, re-occurred and was applied to the long-term development of the nation in general" (Ibid.). Thobani situates the start of residential school policies in both the US and Canada following the 'Indian wars' of the nineteenth century. The fact that the Davin Report was ordered, released, and implemented within the course of a year reveals the urgency within which the residential school system policy was enacted as a direct measure to prevent any Indigenous resistance to the ongoing rapid westward occupation of European settlers. The recommendations in the Report to establish the first residential schools in Canada's West bears further evidence to this claim.

Jointly operated by the church and the government, residential schools taught curricula that was focused on wiping away all traces of Indigenous culture and upbringing was done through academic teachings, learning a domestic labour for girls and agricultural labour for boys, indoctrination in the Christian faith, and indoctrination of colonial propaganda about the dangers of indigenous ways of being. Teachers used relevant provincial

curriculum for about four academic subjects which was later supplemented with practical training for the trades. The teachers and residential schools in effect were agents of social control. J.A. Macrae stated in 1886, "it is unlikely that any tribe or tribes will give trouble of a serious nature to the government whose members have children completely under government control" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2012). Canada's education system has been noted as one of the many government organizations used as an instrument of Native control through forced segregation and assimilation, which works to prevent Native populations from attaining any political social or economic power within the realm of the settler state (Burns, 2000). The indoctrination of students through a school system created to pacify generations of indigenous children, white settlers, and settlers from colonized lands to further consolidate control of the land and resources of Indigenous peoples. The timely implementation of residential schools serve as evidence of the historical purpose of education in Canada is rooted in the suppression indigenous resistance to ongoing appropriation, exploitation, and occupation of the land.

By 1885 when Riel returned from exile as a final attempt to overcome the ruling colonial capitalist class through armed resistance, referred to as the 'Second Riel Rebellion', the weakening of Indigenous resistance had already taken effect. Riel's understanding of Canada's capitalist imperialist and colonial nature motivated his unrelenting attempts to decolonize the land and regain political control for Indigenous people. However, the armed resistance was quickly suppressed, and the colonial state had consolidated itself and improved on its methods of subjugation through the establishment of a centralized bureaucracy, the legislated isolation and dispossession of Indigenous nations from their lands, though military suppression, and through its network of institutions such as education.

Within the first 50 of years of the establishment of residential schools, the number of schools expanded alongside settlers moving west. Westward expansion was economically

beneficial for settlers to build economy, particularly in the prairies, acquisition of land and capture the resources to build a national industry. Canada's colonial legacy of colonial education continues today. Not only in the aftershocks of the residential school program, which did not see an end until the 1990s, but throughout the education system.

Perhaps the most defining feature of the public education system was the separate schooling of Indigenous students, which operated with a particular 'civilizing' purpose. While the public schools were a part of the institutionalization of European sovereignty, residential schools were also established towards this end. It has been documented that in addition to creating separate schools for Indigenous students, the public school system also excluded lower class, children with disabilities (Katz, 1973). Thus the initial school system was meant either as a tool of mobility for a particular class or as a tool of colonial control of Indigenous people. The colonial intent in creation of the public school system is apparent not only in the specific values that the schools were designed to instill but also in their exercise of authority of who was deemed deserving of education as a tool for social mobility or for subjugation. Milloy notes that education policy was driven by the "self-interested needs of the state" motivated by class and racial hierarchies. The relationship in purpose of the education system overall is noted where "residential schools were part of a network of institutions meant to be servants ministering to industrial society's need for lawfulness, labour, and security of property. Education in general, of course, had such a mandate" (Milloy, 1999, p. 32).

Education in the early 20th Century saw heightened nationalist sentiment with a Minister of Education who sought to implement more nationalist character in the Ontario curriculum. The initial formations of national identity were defined in opposition to the threat of American influence with the publication of Canadian specific textbooks for all provinces in order to advance a distinct Canadian history (Jain, 1977, p. 40). In a discussion on

education and the development of national consciousness, Tompkins (1977) outlines how education has been viewed as a tool and socializing citizens to develop a national consciousness that is makes them invested in and committed to ensuring the survival of, invested in promoting the ideals of, and serving the interests of the nation state. Here the school is said to be one of many tools used for political socialization to create a national citizen including "churches military services, patriotic organizations, political parties, the press, and other mass media" which work in conjunction with school curricula and culture to socialize future national citizens (Tompkins, 1977, p. 8). Tompkins observation is in line with Thobani's thesis of legitimizing and maintaining colonial violence through institutional structures such as the education system. From the history outlined here it is evident that Canada's education system has been, and continues to be, a self-sustaining mechanism of the imperialist settler colony that is Canada.

Through a tracing of history it becomes apparent that the public education system of which residential schools were an extension, both served the purpose of creating citizens of European capitalist, colonial, and Christian values to uphold Canada as a nation state and, as institutions of the colonial state, their existence in colonial form legitimized and maintained European sovereignty and capitalist expansion over the land. It also becomes apparent how education, while upholding Canada's capitalist settler also works to conceal it as such.

This is the historical perspective from which we must understand education in Canada and therefore serves as the starting point for any intervention. But first, since ETFO is a labour union, I situate its work in education also within the history of labour organizing. In the early twentieth century labour unionism was a purposeful tool in cross-sector organizing. The ability to conduct a wildcat strikes was a powerful tool in building working-class solidarity across sectors. Wildcat strikes are strikes that occur without the union leadership authorization and could occur in between negotiating agreements. It is through these rank-

and-file initiated strikes that also made sympathy strikes possible, where a union can cause a work stoppage in solidarity with other striking workers even from other industries. The most memorable in Canadian history was the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919, where 30,000 unionized and nonunionized workers walked off their jobs (Hewison, 2013). The Strike ignited a series of sympathy strikes across the country. The mid-40s was a period of wave of strikes from big manufacturing workplaces, namely the 99-day strike of more than 11,000 workers of Ford Motors in Windsor, and 86-day strike of 2000 workers in Hamilton (UNIFOR, 2013). In 1946, in response to the increasing wave of labour strikes, Justice Ivan Rand implemented the Rand Formula, that mandated mandatory for all employees who benefit from a union to pay dues, whether they agree to become a member of not. This was the enforced "compulsory dues check-off" (UNIFOR, 2013, p. 27). The Rand Formula has ensured a steady source of income for unions, and allowed stewards to dedicate their time in address workplace issues that winning over workers to sign-on to the union. But the legislation mandated unions to "maintain discipline among the membership and responsibility for preventing wildcat strikes" under any conditions. Unions will be punished if wildcat strikes occur. For example, the BC Teachers union conducted a 10-day wildcat strike in 2005, and was fined by BC supreme court \$500,000 for illegally striking. Some labour activists regard the Rand Formula as a "template for labour relations in Canada" (Hewison, 2013). The formula has resulted in a watering down of politics of the trade union movement -- advancing the working class struggle in Canada and worldwide. Rather, it legalized the "incorporation of the trade unions into a co-management role between labour and capital" (Kalturnyk and Naylor, 2007). The 1950s marked the purging of communists and revolutionaries in major trade unions, and the establishment of the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) in attempts to gain anti-communist hegemony over the labour movement. Kalturnyk and Naylor (2007) argue that since that era, the labour movement in Canada has overtly limited any efforts for

workers in Canada to gain any substantial political power, in exchange of successfully bargaining for "bigger piece of the pie".

The roots of the union work come from its predecessors: the 1888 formation of elementary teachers union Lady Teachers Association of Toronto which fought for better wages and improved working conditions. At the time their issues were large class size and the responsibility of teachers to as primary caretakers of the school in addition to their teaching duties. An ETFO local notes on its website that "Teachers' unions before 1973 were characterized...by non-militancy and steady increases in membership" (ETFO Durham, nd.). In 1973 when over 80,000 teachers staged an illegal walkout to protest anti-teacher legislation, they did so with the support of students and other workers (ETFO Durham, nd.). It was in the 1980s that women's suffrage, equal opportunity, equal pay, hiring and paid maternity leave signaled signs of equity organizing during the baby boom era. However, an external policy, Rae's Employment Equity Act that forced school boards to establish hiring of racialized groups which subsequently diversified union membership.

There has been an active struggle within ETFO union for at least the past two decades— akin to a mini social movement taking place amongst teachers within the union. The authors recounted milestones in anti-racist organizing amongst teachers within ETFO. The first 'racialized members retreat' organized in the 1990s resulted in a reflection on the lack of representation in the curriculum, over racist experiences of members, and the need for reflection of lived experiences in school curricula. ETFO provided a platform for members to organize towards creating more inclusive schools so their lived experiences would not be experienced by future generations of students. Members who attended the racialized members retreat returned to their union to put forth a proposal for an annual antiracist education conference. Since the 1990s ETFO has mobilized many of its members to engage in equity education work through this conference (personal interview, 1 June 2016). Upon

implementation of Ontario Premier Bob Rae's 1993 common curriculum, the Ministry began to offer workshops, which many members attended to deepen their analysis of equity in education (personal interview, June 1). It was in this moment that the initial guide was created for teachers. The common curriculum served as inspiration for the original literaturebased guide Untying the Knots of Prejudice as a tool to help teachers implement the new curriculum expectations. These gains however were short lived when conservative Premier took power and repealed the Employment Equity Act, removed the Anti-Racism Secretariat, and revoked equity policies and goals in curriculum documents (Anderson and Ben Jaafar, 2006). ETFO reacted to this news by releasing a second version of the literature-based guide, Erasing Prejudice for Good, and expanding its equity work in education in protest (personal interview, 1 June 2016). The predecessor union's Anti-Racism and Equity Committee also released a report condemning the conservative changes to curriculum, and asserting a complete revision of the curriculum focusing on the main themes of: critical thinking, environmental awareness, media literacy and diversity in education (Aoki-Barrett, Baker, Hallman-Chong, Morgan & Walker, 2001). After ETFO's amalgamation in 1998, its constitutional mandate upon its inception from its predecessor unions, is to "foster a climate of social justice in Ontario" to work towards "anti-poverty, non-violence and equity". It was in 1999 that the executive adopted a formal definition of equity (Constitution, n.d.).

It is through this long history of teacher union activism in Canada ETFO emerged and can be understood today. The intention of placing ETFO in its historical union context is to better understand its work today. In particular its equity work within the union - with ETFO members and prospective members - pushes the agenda of labour unions across Canada. Racialized and minority members have pushed to have propelled ETFO's political work through their own initiative. Today it is not generally within the framework of a labour union in Canada to recognize disparities of race and class amongst its membership. The fact that

members within the union engage in causes to advance an equity framework amongst its membership is indicative of a higher level of consciousness around the need to disrupt the current education system. Details about ETFO's interventions in education will be explored in coming chapters.

Grounding the work: Analysis as Practice

The previous sections set up the historical context from which we must understand the work of ETFO and IBON's social justice interventions into education. Drawing upon my fieldwork, I will now enter into a detailed discussion of the interventions themselves. I will paint a broad picture through a discussion of the full scope of the intervention, the analysis that informs the work in various sectors, the way in which the work is carried out (ie. methods), and how each organization sees the aims of its work. In working through these findings I reflected on how IBON and ETFO's work is situated in the social movement contexts in which they operate. I will frame my reflection on the dialectical relationship between interventions at the institutional level and people's movements at the societal level, through a discussion of three major findings.

First, an organization's analysis of society is what informs its intervention. A concrete analysis of the historical processes and structures that shape any societal issues being addressed is the underlying factor that guides organizational work. Any limitations of the work can be traced back to a limitation of analysis. This can be directly observed through both IBON and ETFO's intentions of engaging with teachers, production of classroom materials, and broader political engagement.

IBON Foundation – Teacher Engagement

Teachers play a central role to both IBON and ETFO's work. They are instrumental both in the facilitation of progressive content but also as their own social force. Taken from the youth movement, the nationalist, mass-oriented, scientific education model, which IBON terms Transformative Education, is an education model geared towards social transformation. The foreword to IBON's textbooks states that Transformative Education is "a means to further develop the knowledge, skills and values of teachers towards equipping their role of molding young Filipinos who shall carry the commitment to help build a progressive society

and nation" (Dela Cruz & Laggui, 2014a, p *iii*). The starting point of the transformative education paradigm is to inform teachers about the necessity of challenging their own miseducation. Thus, the basis of IBON's education work is recognition that their role in the struggle for sustainable education is part of an ongoing struggle for pro-people education. Teachers are the targets for implementation because "transformative education from our understanding is a historical process where we change people" (personal interview, 29 March 2016). The implications of this undertaking are immense, but IBON sets a high standard for its work because it cannot ignore the "hundreds of years of colonization in our mind" (personal interview, 29 March 2016).

Since IBON staff is not frontline education workers, they make a conscious effort to keep their ear to the ground by regularly hosting teacher seminars and workshops, working closely with teachers unions and organizations, and hosting their annual National Educators Conference. Consistent engagement with teachers occurs through seminars and workshops. The topics can range from the basics of implementing Transformative Education, to understanding their take on the national situation, to political discussions on specific social issues like climate change, elections, or the new K to 12 system. Alliances with teachers unions and organizations play a central role in shaping the consciousness of teachers beyond issues in union work around their own labour conditions. For example, the Educators Forum for Development (EfD), a relatively new initiative, is "a network of 100 schools nationwide advocating transformative education", consisting of teachers from IBON's partner schools engage in political campaigns on education such as the Stop K to 12 campaign. IBON also hosts forums for EfD teachers, most of who work in private schools, to raise the level of consciousness around issues of education and encourage them to engage other teachers. The Alliance for Concerned Teachers (ACT), a People's Organization (PO) that functions as a non-traditional union bringing together teachers across the country also works closely with

IBON. Africa defines PO's as membership-based organizations, which, if politically active, are organized along class or sectoral lines (Africa, 2013). While ACT teachers organize to advance their collective interests around their working and teaching conditions, they also facilitate political engagement amongst its members and students. For example, ACT teacher's work with IBON to host widely successful annual poster competitions on social issues where the winners are featured on the IBON calendar. IBON and ACT together are also piloting a nationalist school in an Indigenous community where teachers also engage in political issues of the Lumad community, which will be discussed in greater deal.

It is through this engagement with teachers that IBON staff are able to learn first hand the conditions of students and teachers in the education system. They then use this information to further advance their work based on the social conditions on the ground. For example, IBON staff shared the response they received from a public school teacher after a visit with the Monobo tribe, who were living outside the city of Davao, defending large scale mining and displacement of Indigenous people as beneficial for development:

"Some teachers, their eyes were open and then during the after activity we processed them there was this one teacher who said that, you know there's always a pro and con of development. What she was trying to say was, there's a logic in the government decision to evict the Indigenous communities ... The kind of education that was indoctrinated in generations of Filipinos that development should be like this, no one should be hindering development. Its sad. The work is cut out but it's also our motivation to continue doing what we do ... that's our job how to enlighten the backward thinking teachers who were indoctrinated with neoliberal education." (personal interview, 30 March 2016)

By taking teachers from their partner schools on immersion trips to see first-hand the issues of Indigenous communities impacted by mining, IBON is able to increase its capacity in carrying out organizational mandate. Further, engaging teachers this way is critical to ensuring teachers role in educational transformation is not limited to individual attitudinal shifts. Rather, exposure trips demonstrate a deeper ethic of mobilizing that takes teachers beyond the issues within their classrooms to understand these both on a national scale, and connect these with other social issues. IBON effectively builds partnerships with more

progressive teachers through ACT and EfD by exposing them to work beyond their labour needs. The most advanced teachers also help to distribute its textbooks, engage in political campaigns and spread the mandate of sustainable education.

Best understood through its historical materialist framework, IBON makes sense of the anecdote presented above as an example of the miseducation of Filipinos through four centuries of colonial education. This example makes it apparent why IBON's analysis Transformative Education framework intentionally centres the role of the teachers as agents of change. Recognizing that teachers have received years of colonial and neoliberal education themselves, IBON sees the necessity of transforming and re-educating teachers so they can replicate themselves to their students as pro-people educators (personal interview, 29 March 2016). Thus IBON's analysis is evident in its engagement with teachers, which understands the work of transforming education as part of a larger trajectory of ongoing societal change working to undo the damage wrought by colonization and remould.

IBON Foundation - Classroom material

Materials used in the classroom and for take-home work such as textbooks, workbooks, and activity sheets are a key part of a student's learning. This is the content that students regularly reference and study from for tests and exams. Textbooks and supplementary material serve as a vehicle through which IBON's *analytical implementation* of the curriculum engages students to "enhance critical thinking" and "bring them to reality" (personal interview, 29 March 2016). *Analytical implementation*, in many ways, *is* the intervention. IPED staff explained the concept behind their materials in the following way: "when you see that the family of the former dictators has reclaimed their place in this society then there's something utterly wrong with what we're doing. So now we're compelled by the situation" (personal interview, 29 March 2016). The candidacy of a second generation of

Marcos' family compelled IBON, which was founded out of opposition to the first Marcos' regime, to release an anti-Marcos promotional poster in its textbooks (see Appendix A).

Born out of the people's need for free press during the Martial Law era, IBON's publications were distributed in schools and were well received. It was from this social context that IBON began to produce textbooks and comics as classroom materials. IBON situates itself in the progression of a society developing through people's struggle, such as that which the organization itself was born out of. Because of its organizational history, the starting point of intervention was in social studies, as it allows them to also re-center history as the development of social struggle. The original project of spreading the seeds of propeople perspective was in effect a project of documenting a correct, pro-people version of history and refuting the story that the state propagates. IBON aims to be integrative and expand its analytical implementation framework to textbooks in subject areas other than social studies, such as languages, science and math, a process which has begun to an extend in the elementary journal content. Social studies, however, is the focus of its Kindergarten to Grade 10 textbooks. The textbooks cover a comprehensive range of topics while following the curriculum outlined learning competencies. In this way, IBON is able to intervene in the whole curriculum and shape students' understandings of Filipino identity beginning in Grade 1, Nationalism in Grade 4, and Asian and World History in Grades 7 and 8. Through this, IBON uses its textbooks to impart a critical understanding of the entire Philippine curriculum.

Through the exchange of material, IBON maintains its relationship with partner schools as well as its influence in the substantive private school sector. IBON manages the delicate balance of trying to gain support and commitment of partner schools while challenging the legacy of colonial education in the Philippines. If the school is not willing to take on a textbook contract then other interventions such as the journals or seminars for

teachers are offered, to present content to students and faculty in an accessible form that meets them where they are.

In its journals, IBON deliberately reflects information about its larger political campaigns for students to learn about people's movements "to deepen or enrich their lessons in social studies" (personal interview, 30 March 2016). If IBON as an organization is involved in a campaign around a particular issue it may be featured as a constant topic in journals for all levels. For example, when IBON takes part in a political campaign, such as that for consumer rights, pro-people economics or organic farming, an article or activity highlighting the issue or providing an analysis of the solution is consistently present section at all levels of journal issues (personal interview, 30 March 2016). The journals also include special announcements about major political actions taking place around the issues of oppressed peoples in the Philippines, such as notice of a *lakbayan* (day-long march) of Indigenous peoples to urban centers. One *lakbayan* occurred as part of their campaigns to end state violence against Lumad communities (personal interview, 30 March 2016).

In all of its elementary level textbooks, and many journal issues, IBON engages with the concept of sustainable education. Because IBON sees itself as part of a larger struggle, it attempts to relate to students by addressing their primary social conditions - their classrooms, schools, and teachers - and attempts to make students aware of the issues that impact them on a daily basis. Examples of engagement in topics of sustainable education will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

Here I will discuss how IBON relays messages of social struggle. Consistently woven throughout all material, the commitment to highlighting people's struggles against oppression is evident. The early years textbooks begin with basic concepts of helping others and highlighting problems in the student's surrounding environment. However, later years' textbooks and journals go into greater depth to highlight the ways people's resistance

throughout history has shaped the world today. IBON doesn't wait long to introduce children to the idea of speaking up for their rights. The Grade 1 textbook on *Identity*, one of the expected learning outcomes of Lesson 3 on 'The Rules of the Family' is "even a child can be part of making rules in a family" (Dela Cruz & Laggui, 2014a, p. 71). The section continues on to say that children can state their ideas for the house that serve as guides for everyday life. Highlighted are the importance of helping others, sharing, calmly resolving disputes with siblings. An end-of-chapter test poses the question: "Your relatives in the province were victims of the past storm. They have nothing to eat and nowhere to get their needs. What will you do?" (Dela Cruz & Laggui, 2014a, p. 79). The question is pertinent to the Philippine context where the subtropical climate brings heavy rain seasons. Such a question and the multiple choice options prompts children to understand the scope of of 'helping others in need' - from assisting one's mother with groceries to assisting victims of a natural hazard who are often neglected by the government. Finally, in Lesson 3 of Unit 4 'My Environment and me', a discussion about the importance of the uses of land and water suggests ways to protect water resources. One of the recommendations is to "Join in actions to protect our water resources. Ordinary people are not the only ones doing damage to our water resource. Factories and water transportations bearing poisonous chemicals bring greater damage to water resources" (Dela Cruz & Laggui, 2014a, p. 170).

The Grade 3 and 4 *Sibikomiks* uses a comic strip to tell a story about a farming community whose lands were covered from a volcanic eruption. As small-scale farmers without enough individual capital to recover their land, the community banded together to create a farmers organization (See Appendix B for example of Grades 3&4 *Sibikomiks* on community organizing). The comic presents an accessible and anecdotal way to demonstrate the significance of working communally to build strength in numbers. In this way, the farmers now have an organization that can work towards collective needs and protect their

lands and livelihood. Yet another example of highlighting people's movements is in the Grade 5&6 Philippine Currents January-March 2016 issue entitled 'Revolutionary Filipino Women.' The overarching theme for the issue is highlighting the contributions of women in "the long history of struggle by the Filipino people against foreign rule [which] is the source of our tradition of democracy and justice" (Andaquig, 2016, p. 3). The significance of centering women working towards national struggle is a much-needed departure from seeing advancements of women as simply making gains in government or corporate roles. Rather, the examples of women taken from throughout history are celebrated for performing particular tasks in the revolutionary anti-colonial struggle against the Spanish, namely: hiding arms and documents for revolutionary documents, collecting funds, caring for other women fighters, providing medical care, and acting as guards during underground meetings, and participating as fighters themselves even sometimes against the will of their husbands! The journal articles show students that women's rights can, and have historically been, advanced through their involvement in people's struggles. The roles of women highlighted are significant not only in their revolutionary implications but also given the existence of patriarchy under Spanish colonial rule.

Finally, the Grade 9 *Economics for Filipinos* concludes by highlighting the need for a pro-people economics that addresses the basic needs of the welfare of the people. After a detailed discussion of micro and macroeconomics and national development, Chapter 10 concludes by highlighting the importance of addressing the immediate needs of Filipinos. People's movements are noted as essential components. The rights of workers in improving their methods of production stem from the realization that "it is important for workers to take control over industries to defend and protect their rights and welfare" (Africa & Santos, 2015, p. 405). The chapter concludes by noting "these pro-people social and economic measures are vital first steps that concretely build the pro-people alternative from the ground up" (Ibid, p.

407). Therefore, even in a discussion of economics, IBON notes that it is the efforts of people's movements that will free them from their oppression.

Students can easily grasp concepts and ideas that are rooted in history. Even at a young age, by the time students get through the whole curriculum they have the skills and knowledge to agitate others and engage in a struggle that will propel society forward. All the examples noted from IBON's textbooks and journals demonstrate IBON's core understanding of society as a progression of social struggle. This centering of people's movements and highlighting of oppressed communities in textbooks and journals is an intentional part of IBON's work. IBON authors are guided in their writing of social studies textbooks and journal content, by the imperialist motives behind the education system as it stands. Education must be based on a historic study of the situation of the Philippines to understand what the country needs to develop. The curriculum, they argue, "is not designed for that long-term or strategic purpose. It's always what does the global market need? What does the globalization require of the smaller countries, or the poorer countries" (personal interview, 29 March 2016).

IBON's work is crucial in engaging students in K-10 to provide them with a people's perspective of society that state education would not provide. IBON's critique of statemandated curriculum that seeks to challenge students to critically reflect on, and interrogate, their schooling. In this regard, engaging students in discussions of sustainable education and the importance of social struggle highlights IBON's firm grasp of its goals and its strategies towards the fulfillment of those goals. Thus, IBON not only embraces a historical materialist perspective to guide its own organizational work, but also recognizes the importance of engaging students in such an analysis of their own education.

IBON Foundation - Broader political education

Teachers are instrumental in carrying out the work in interventions to education. Education does not start or end in the classroom. However, empowering students and teachers to become more participatory citizens is central to the principles of nationalist, massoriented, scientific education. Complementing the demands of student and youth organizers, IBON's vision of education is dialectically related to IBON's understanding of effecting change by building people's power. A mandate of progressive education is inextricably bound to engaging in broader political work. IBON not only promotes a people's perspective of history in its social studies textbooks, but also actively takes lessons from its own work. That is to say, IBON's analysis of the progression of history that it advances in its classroom materials is the same concept that guides IBON's organizational and broader political work.

IBON actively engages in political work in many ways. It has taken the lead by launching a campaign cross-sectoral campaign this year tackling the neoliberal education system. Centered on the call to stop the new K to 12 program, the campaign seeks to mobilize people around pushing the government to address the real gaps in the education system. The threat to the education system comes not only in the introduction of technical streaming through senior high school, but also of subsidization of private schools despite ongoing neglect of the public school system. IBON explains that the state has taken advantage of the inaccessibility and overcrowding of public schools to boost the private education sector (personal interview, 29 March 2016). A voucher system called the Government Assistance for Students and Teachers in Private Education (GATSPE) program provides grants and subsidies for private education through the joint US-Philippine Fund for Assistance to Private Education (FAPE) (Philippine Government, Department of Education, 2012). IBON fears that the Department of Education will not be able to address the gap of public schools unprepared to offer senior high schools, leaving students in limbo while refusing to invest in

sustainable development of the public school system. Furthermore, IBON understands the introduction of K to 12 as tied to state interests of joining the Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP). TPP members have an interest in capturing the education system to supply the market desire for cheap docile labour, i.e. streaming into technical subjects to go abroad. Instead, the Educators Forum for Development (EfD) advocated, "basic education must instead contribute to the building of a self-reliant economy, based on genuine agrarian reform and national industrialization" (IBON Foundation, 16 May 2016). IBON's holds the position that the change to K to 12 intends to:

"...instill in us that the world is not changing at all. That capitalism is the only society there is and the only way you can cope with capitalism is to have social protection, to have inclusive growth, so people can have something from the growing economy. And basically they're trying to instill in us that in the global market the niche of the Philippines is to basically export our laborers. Basically our niche is to provide cheap medical services, tourism, that's their development model that they want the Philippines to have and that's basically what is happening right now." (personal interview, 29 March 2016)

IBON has taken it upon itself to challenge and undermine the dominant thinking that travelling abroad is a service to the country. At the root of the 'Stop K to 12 Campaign' is the understanding that the Philippine education system is inherently colonial in nature. IBON understands the necessity of resisting neoliberal globalization that stifles the country's development, creating the condition for massive out-migration of Filipino to work abroad.

While IBON understands that a more progressive analysis can be advanced through its educational materials, they also simultaneously agitate teachers and builds ongoing resistance. For example, building a network of teachers through the Educators' Forum for Development (EfD) allows IBON to share their analysis with teachers and mobilize them to be politically engaged in these issues. I attended an IBON-EfD hosted seminar-forum 'Election 2016 and the education agenda' on April 29, 2016. The forum engaged teachers from their partner schools in a discussion about strategies and reasons to take a stand against the K to 12 program. In a statement released after, EfD and IBON reported:

"Progressive teachers' network Educators' Forum for Development (EfD) asserted that the K-to-12 program is unconstitutional and illegal, and renewed calls for its suspension in a seminar-forum. Days away from the May polls, the educators also challenged electoral candidates to scrap the pro-big business K-to-12 and stand for national, mass-oriented, and scientific education" (IBON Foundation, 2 May 2016).

Building networks such as EfD allows IBON to advance its perspectives on the corporatization of education system and discuss relevant campaigns. The detailed explanation of IBON's analysis of neoliberal education presented here demonstrates how such a framework necessarily informs its interventions in schools and its broader political work around education. In other words an analysis that takes into account underlying structures straining public education allows for strategic intervention.

Functioning as organic intellectuals the movement, IBON's hub of researchorganizers initiates political campaigns around issues they deem pertinent. They also actively engage teachers outside and beyond the classroom. Such initiatives are rooted in the idea that once the limitations of the education system are understood broadly in their sociopolitical context, informed interventions can be coordinated to address the complex web of issues. One of IBON's key efforts, as mentioned previously, is towards building sustainable education while supporting other efforts that align with its mandate. Through IBON's direct engagement with other sectors and POs, the organization has been able to mobilize support for both its broad ranging political goals. For example, IBON actively immerses itself in the cause for Indigenous self-determination and in the fight for sovereignty of Lumads over their ancestral domain. The Alliance for Concerned Teachers (ACT) - a non-traditional teachers union and People's Organization - and IBON together carry out the mandate of sustainable education. In addition to actively organizing resistance to neoliberal reforms, both organizations also work towards building self-sustaining community-based alternatives. Working closely with the Lumad schools to sustain community initiatives is part of this mandate. Whereas public government-run schools and private schools are oriented towards

producing export-ready labour, Lumad schools serve the purpose of building strong communities that can resist foreign exploitation of their ancestral land. Lumads are resisting state attempts to undermine their community-organized schools. These are schools have been constantly under attack from paramilitary groups hired by private corporations seeking to expel the Lumads from their ancestral lands. Defending community-run schools is critical to sustaining the needs of the Lumad people to protect their land for generations to come. With the onslaught of foreign mining companies that resulted in land dispossession, the Department of Education is complicit by systematically denies the accreditation applications of the Lumad schools (personal interview, 30 March 2016). Meanwhile, government military forces run counterpart schools in the community which "teach Manila-centric education and a colonial education" (personal interview, 30 March 2016). Lumad schools are tagged as 'training schools' for the New People's Army (NPA) and have consequently became targets of military and paramilitary attacks. The counterinsurgency program intended to quell the NPA legitimizes this form of direct attack on Lumad sovereignty (KARAPATAN, 2005a). The faculty and staff members were also tagged as suspected members of NPA, and several of them have been harassed and became victims of extrajudicial killings (KARAPATAN, 2015b). Despite facing the obvious physical threat and instability in these regions, IBON's support for the grassroots schools is unwavering. The expansion of the grassroots schools is indicative of the strength of the Lumad community and the threat that they pose to the state's capitalist interests. Following its pro-people agenda, IBON continues to propagate the issue and shed light on the Lumad community's fight for self-determination. IBON, ACT, and its allies thus continually send trained teachers to work and support in these Lumad schools and its Save Our Schools network. IBON also supports Lumad schools in other ways: first, IBON provides them materials and textbooks; second, IBON facilitates political immersions for teachers in Educators Forum for Development (EfD) with the Lumad communities to raise

consciousness and mobilize support; third, IBON lends advise to Lumad school administrators in curriculum development in order to be eligible for Department of Education accreditation; fourth, IBON discusses Lumad issues during their teacher seminars; and lastly, and they announce Lumad campaigns in their quarterly journals. Fulfilling its mandate of sustainable education, IBON does not only echo the issues of Lumad grassroots schools as a major campaign, but also takes these connections and reflects the issues in all its work. IBON textbooks have also regularly included information about Lumad history, culture, and traditions of resistance - a deliberate recognition of the Lumads as a sector of Philippine society who resisted colonial rule and yet continue to be amongst the most oppressed.

In addition to material support of this type, IBON's strategy is to continually cast a wide net and consolidate as many people as possible over time. This way, the struggles of Indigenous communities in the far-flung rural areas, specifically with militarization, poverty, displacement from their lands, and lack of livelihood, are brought to the attention of urban dwellers. Dense Third World urban centers allow for mass-based support to be mobilized around Lumad demands to scrap the Mining Act of 1995 and further to raise material supports to sustain Lumad schools. Meanwhile, the task of the Lumad POs in Mindanao are to continue organizing around their basic conditions, which involve establishing communal farms for livelihood and community schools that educate future generations of their histories and traditions. They believe that the transfer of these knowledge's and skills are necessary for their peoples' fight for their ancestry land.

IBON's active commitment to addressing the issues of Lumad communities stems from their commitment to supporting the efforts and needs of the people, as well as building alternatives to education. IBON also works with ACT to pilot nationalist, mass-oriented, scientific education in Lumad schools and has even set up a pilot program termed the 'nationalist school' in the Lumad community. By providing material and strategic support to

a network of over 200 institutions that are Lumad-led (personal interview, 29 March 2016), IBON actively supports building alternatives to state-mandated institutions. This is how IBON invests in the creation of alternative education that is independent of the state.

This type of education intervention has broad consequences in Philippine society. IBON's support in this issue highlights the problem of Indigenous education as directly tied to land rights. IBON subsequently recognizes the problem in society in this context, is militarization in response to resistance against foreign mining companies (Saturay, 2015). IBON understands that this intervention into education is necessary for Lumads to continue organizing their community towards gaining rights to their ancestral domain. IBON's insights on how to engage in the Lumad issue stems from its practice of 'people's research', which, in many ways, is the basis for its long lasting relationships with Lumad communities. The *IBON* Manual on Facilitating Participatory Research outlines its research methodology and includes a report based on research project regarding the low productivity of Subanen communities in Mindanao. Conducted in 1999 by IBON in collaboration with Lumad POs, the study shows IBON's long-standing relationship and commitment to Indigenous peoples organizations across the country. This relationship is ongoing and guides much of IBON's work and priorities. IBON defines its method of people's research as "scientifically conducted participatory research where the people in the localities where the research is being conducted are the principal actors in designing the research, implementing it and evaluating the results. Social activists and consultants working with the members of the community take a secondary role in the whole process of defining the research objectives, design and plan, conduct the research and evaluating the results" (IBON Foundation, 2004, p. vi). The objective of 'peoples research' is "addressing the key issue of empowerment for the poorest and marginalized. This is the reason why we chose Indigenous communities for the project and why we insisted that we work along their peoples associations and not their traditional

structures of leadership" (IBON Foundation, 2004, p. *vii*). Their approach to research illustrates how IBON is cognizant the historical power dynamics internal to Indigenous communities, avoiding cooperation with Lumad leaders who work in collaboration with the government and do not share the interests of the communities they claim to serve. IBON recognizes that colonialism continues to divide Lumad communities to further disempower.

IBON's engagement in political work complements IBON use of critical historical lens understanding and responding to issues. There is an understanding that the struggle for sustainable education, for the 'Stop K to 12' campaign, and for Lumad schools are all rooted in the inherently the neocolonial nature of Philippine education. This was not an education system built for the national development of the Philippines. The idea behind the K to 12 is the same purpose for which the Philippine education system was created. That is to say, the education system functions to create a particular kind of Filipino worker who will fill the disposable labour needs of capitalist countries (personal interview, 30 March 2016). Taking up the call against the implementation of K to 12 fulfills its mandate in advocating for 'nationalist, scientific, and mass-oriented' education because K to 12 serves the purpose of the ongoing exploitation of the Filipino people. IBON's interventions comes full circle from creating alternative education material by supporting alternative schools, while actively building resistance to the further neoliberalization of the current education system.

In many ways, IBON's materials serve only as a starting point for IBON's work. As an organization actively engaged in challenging the political status quo, all of IBON's institutional interventions are inextricably tied to its political campaigns that address the political and economic contexts from where issues of education emerge. As a result, IBON's Transformative Education work developed from their anti-colonial, anti-imperialist, and propeople, pro-democracy, and nationalist politics. These historical lenses underlie IBON's understanding of its intervention as part of a longstanding and ongoing social movement. It

sees its role in political struggle as the vital force that propels history forward. Committing to support and engage in people's struggles demonstrates a realization of the need to build people's power. Such collective organization cannot be attained if people are miseducated and instead become invested in reproduction of the status quo. This is why education, both through formal schooling and informal political campaigns, of the Filipino people across class lines, regional divisions, and sectors, is at the root of IBON's work. Next I will discuss how ETFO's teacher engagement, classroom material and political work reveal its analysis of education.

ETFO - Teacher Engagement

ETFO's analysis is reflected in their forms of intervention, namely their engagement with teachers, classroom material and their broader political work. Operating primarily as a labour union representing all elementary school teachers in Ontario, ETFO's primary objectives are to advocate for the needs of its membership. In this section, I focus specifically on ETFO's' engagement with teachers as it pertains to intervening in elementary education for social transformation. In particular, ETFO works to engage teachers on equity education through its latest toolkit *Social Justice Begins With Me*, consisting of guides for junior, intermediate, and senior level grades. Aimed at frontline workers, the guides are written with the intention of meeting the needs of teachers to build capacity on teaching equity in classrooms. The authors of the guide do not prefer that schools simply purchase the guide for the teachers without appropriate training. They stressed the need for teachers to attend a workshop before using the guide. In this way, ETFO builds the capacity of teachers through a discussion of the intention behind the guide, its aims, how it can be taught, and how to overcome barriers to make classrooms and schools more equity-minded places. Some factors in successful implementation of the guide to teachers and their classrooms include support of

the Professional Learning Community (PLC), the support of school boards, the initiative of teachers to use the guide and its materials in different school settings, and the exposure to ideas of equity in teaching in teachers colleges. An ETFO bulletin describes the PLC as "an organizational model that links the success of the school to the presence of the following factors: the importance of workplace factors (resources, climate, shared vision, good leadership), institutional support for teacher learning, opportunities for teachers to work collaboratively, and shared decision-making" (Professional Relations Services, 2007). The PLC thus functions as an immediate collective of teachers within a school. The priorities of the PLC are very much a determining factor of teacher engagement with ETFO resources, workshops, and materials. When PLCs prioritize raising EQAO scores, teachers are forced to struggle in their workplace to mobilize support for a pedagogy that connects student performance with an engaging curriculum. It is at the discretion of the PLC to understand the utility of bringing in ETFO staff to train teachers to use the kit, provide strategies to incorporate the lessons into the classroom, and to give a tutorial on the activities that facilitate specific dialogue around the book such as pointing out bias, identifying themes, or using activity pages to facilitate critical thinking.

School boards in Ontario have power and resources to influence and frame the agenda of education amongst its constituents and also influence equity programming in schools. Some boards are not receptive to teaching that advocates for progressive interventions. Meanwhile, others purchase the kits in bulk and allow teachers to take a paid leave, allowing them to attend professional development workshop on using the guide in order to return and train other faculty. The authors admit that some boards purchase the guide as resource not for its equity content, but simply as a 'ready-made' lesson plan. There has been a recent resurgence in sales of the guide which the authors suspect is the result of the school board's mandate to implement the 2008 Liberal government's Equity Inclusive Strategy. Reception to

the guide depend largely on the politics of the board members, the size of the board and its constituency, and the resources that the board has available, or is willing to either hire a staff person or just put a principal in charge of equity initiatives. For the schools who are able to access the guide and receive training on its use in the classroom, there are many possibilities to its application in schools. ETFO authors recounted the ways the guide has been applied, such as: incorporation into the school boards literacy strategy with the support of teacher librarians; organizing professional development around the guide within the school; readalouds and group activities in school assemblies to highlight books and themes from the guide; and to model for other teachers how to use the guide. In some cases the kit is used so extensively in schools that parents begin to recognize the books.

ETFO recognizes the influential role of Faculties of Education in training prospective teachers and attempts to fill the gap by facilitating workshops. ETFO conducts one-time workshops in teachers colleges when the faculty requests them. The workshops attempt to prepare prospective teachers to teach a 'diverse' demographic of students. ETFO feels the Faculties' approach not adequately address topics 'diversity' or 'equity' and that teacher education fails to fully prepare teachers for the reality of the 'diverse' communities they may teach. Therefore for ETFO, the gap in equity-focused elementary education begins with recognizing that teaching training falls short of preparing teachers to foster critical consciousness with their students. The ETFO authors understand this as a result of the dominance of white middle class perspectives in teachers colleges, which fails to prepare prospective teachers for the reality of diverse classrooms. The workshops in Faculties of Education consist of scenario-based activities. The authors note that certain equity topics were easier to address than others. For example, equity issues pertaining to class and LGBTQ identity were more difficult for prospective teachers to engage with as compared to discussions of poverty. ETFO's long-term vision for its workshops is for Faculties of

Education to incorporate equity training that prepares prospective teachers for diverse classroom environments. The hope is that integration of equity pedagogy will come with the reinstatement of the two-year Bachelor of Education program. However, ETFO sees its influence over this possibility as limited due to centralized control by the Ontario College of Teachers. ETFO maintains that teacher candidates who do not have lived experiences as being a member of a marginalized community are more likely to be prepared to address dynamics that arise from diverse classrooms.

While ETFO's efforts assist teachers to fill the gaps in equity education, what is lacking is an engagement amongst the membership about why the gaps exist to begin with. Engaging in equity work in a way that advances a relatively progressive and critical engagement of the curriculum is hard to come by. Yet ETFO takes it upon itself to tackle the broad range of equity issues through particular means of engaging with its members through distribution of guides and workshops. However ETFO's organizational analysis narrows the avenues through which the Anti-Racism and Equity Committee can advance equity education work within the union. The emergence of the committee was from a struggle of its racialized members within an otherwise liberal union space. Although it is an accomplishment of ETFO members in making gains within their union, the extent of equity work is a site of ongoing struggle within the traditional union context. The historical context of the union itself poses as a limitation to advancing the equity work within. Based on ETFO's engagement with teachers it is evident that its development as a union is limited to the currents in trade unionism in Canada. The tendency of trade unionism is to limit themselves to their own workplace and sectoral labour issues. Instead of situating the union struggle within the major underlying struggle of Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination, ETFO understands member engagement in equity education as one distinct aspect of its work. ETFO fails to situate the gaps in equity education within the history of how the public education system served in the consolidation of settler colonialism. I wonder what the possibilities could be if ETFO pursues a perspective that it must expand their site of struggle for equity education also outside the four walls of the classroom. This is in contrast to IBON's partnership with ACT, which identifies as a non-traditional union. IBON and ACT share a common analysis and vision of what is necessary for the transformation of Philippine education and society. I argue then, that filling the gap identified by ETFO in equity education may start with rooting their work within a larger history of settler colonialism. In its engagement with teachers on how to fill the gaps in education, they fail to engage teachers in a broader scope of systemic issues within education. Instead, a focus on teaching the guides presents the issues in a way that is removed from a larger context of struggle required to change education due to the inherent ideological limitations of the guide, which will be discussed at greater length in the next section.

ETFO - Classroom material

For over two decades, ETFO has been producing supplementary guides for elementary teachers to promote equity in education. Five versions and thousands of copies later, ETFO is still rewriting new versions of the guide. The analysis informing the content of the guides will be explored in this section. The initial version of the guide, *Untying the Knots of Prejudice*, originated as part of efforts for antiracist education after the Rae government brought in the 'common curriculum' that focuses on equitable education. Efforts to move beyond the multicultural framework towards inclusive curriculum motivated the teachers union to create a supporting tool for teachers to implement the 'common curriculum' given their lack of training from teachers college in antiracist education. Then when the Harris government came into power, the anti-racism secretary was fired, and any traces of equity in education from the curriculum were systematically removed. *Erasing Prejudice for Good*

was made in response to these attacks to equity under Harris. The guide was ETFO's way of refusing to back down on equity education despite the conservative government's crackdown. The third and current versions, *Respecting Cultures and Honouring Differences* and *Social Justice Begins With Me*, respectively, were developed from changes in availability of picture books from the guide (see Appendix C for sample page). Adaptations of the initial guide reflected the authors' own understanding of the issues and practice of antiracism that evolved over time. Changes in the guides also encouraged teachers to broaden the scope of teaching to include topics related to community and character building. The authors reflected on this progression of thought as the development of their critical lens. Such a development over time compelled them to continue making connections and building on their foundational understanding of the work. This process of the author's political growth translates to how the guide's approach to developing consciousness.

Compelling children to confront difference in the classroom is the general purpose of the guide. The guides become an avenue through which students can establish foundational knowledge and develop their critical lens. Teachers use the guides to encourage constructive conversations with students from a young age about issues of race, class, and other social structures. A space is created where students can ask questions which an adult, the teacher, who they have time to build trust with, who make time for them to discuss and name the issues. The authors note that they are aware that of the information students get from their peers, the media, or in other environments that prohibit critical conversations that are safe and positive. Building an intentional space of equity learning is what the authors strive for the guides to encourage teachers to do. Regardless of the demographic within the classroom, the aim is create the conditions for students to be conscious of not perpetuating their privilege. By highlighting diversity and challenging the status quo, the lessons attempt to interrupt the conversation around the existence of diversity even when it's not immediately apparent.

Using children's literature in the kit guides teachers, whether they were new to teaching progressive ideas or not, to break down large ideas such as equity and social justice using picture book. In doing so, the authors narrate how the conversation is initiated by meeting teachers and students where they are at, pointing out the connections, and teaching them how to make broader connection through by them to other materials like other picture books, ministry guidelines, and teacher supports.

The circumstances behind ETFO's initial production of the guides and equity work are still the forces that define the purpose of their work today - ETFO's equity work primary task is supporting its members in providing equity education. The guides were written with the support of teachers implementing equity education and ETFO's engagement with teachers. The content of the guide has evolved primarily through the author's own engagement with diversity discourse in the union. While the guide is meant to be a starting point for conversation around issues of equity and social justice, the analysis is limited by a politics of identity, diversity, and representation. And while ETFO's work adopts the language of addressing root causes and structures, it does not account for more critical perspectives in anti-racism and anti-colonialism. In Bolaria and Li's historic study of racial oppression in Canada, they note, "racial contacts are not cultural encounters, but confrontations between the dominant group and the subordinate group in an unequal power relationship. Accordingly, racism is not an outcome of cultural misunderstanding" (Bolaria & Li, 1988, p. 7). Therefore, addressing issues of racism must also seriously take into account historical power dynamics. The lack of historical analysis in the equity perspective in the guides is reminiscent of the ideological underpinnings of Canada's multicultural policy. Thobani (2007) discusses how multiculturalism is a way for settler colonies to reinvent itself. This celebration of 'difference' and diversity is used to enhance the nation's superiority. She defines the multiculturalism discourse as that which avoids institutional forms of power,

racism and knowledge and a failure to address the nature of racism and its role in Canadian nation building. While the ETFO states use anti-racist theory, the guides fall short of a discussion of institutional power and the underlying structures of inequity. For example, the lack of discussion about British and French occupation and settlement of Indigenous land or Canada's ongoing role as an imperialist power leaves out the larger economic and political context that racism emerges from.

Curriculum is inherently political. Education scholars have noted "the hidden curriculum and its role in perpetuating various forms of social injustice" (Chambers, 2003, p. 223). The curriculum is political, as its original function can be traced all the way back as in service of the colonial project, as I have discussed in as detailed previously. Public school textbooks have been shown to historically perpetuate the settler colonial project in Western Canada (Carleton, 2011). Colonial history and imperialist education perpetuate false accounts of Canadian settler history to sever colonized peoples from their past and the history of resistance (Kempf, 2006). More recently, it has been noted that curriculum reiterates neoliberal discourse by promoting individualist ideals of social justice and liberal discourses of multiculturalism (Pashby, Ingram & Joshee, 2014). Despite numerous equity policy documents issued by the Ontario Ministry of education, The Ontario curriculum and the public education system, fail to truly address issues of equity in Canada and around the world's. Rather, by focusing on character-building as a way to promote inclusion and equity discourse (Pashby, Ingram & Joshee, 2014), public education operates to conceal how the state, as an imperialist centre, is invested in maintaining systemic inequities faced by many of its 'diverse' citizens. Both the limitations and power of curriculum are telling of the work that must be done, and that can be undone. When speaking of equity in education, curriculum must be understood as influencing a culture of education, which is not limited to the classroom. That is to say, equity in the classroom cannot come without equitable institutions

and structures within education. This is why issues in education must be understood and addressed through an historical lens. Thus, the absence of a critique of Canadian nationalism and the lack of discussion of Indigenous nationhood in ETFO's materials must be paid attention to, especially in the context of Canada where its education system that was initially established for building a nation of white settlers at the expense of Indigenous people. Further, Canada's national project is ongoing and continues to be used for imperialist aggression worldwide. Just as education cannot be understood in isolation from other societal issues, any intervention that seeks to challenge the institution must also position itself also as an intervention into the socio-economic structures that uphold the institution. As a result, ETFO's analysis is limited in addressing the root causes of oppression and the underlying colonial intention behind education in Canada. This is evident in the literature-based material and political engagements in which there is the grounding of equity is not rooted in the structural and systemic issues of Indigenous communities, such as displacement from traditional lands, loss of livelihood, generations of abuse in public and residential schools, centuries of genocide and deliberate extermination of entire populations. In many ways, non-Indigenous students today experience privilege precisely because they directly benefit from such a legacy of living in a settler colony.

ETFO - Broader political education

As one of ETFO's first equity publications for teachers, the success of the literature-based guides raised ETFO's profile as a role model for intervening in education in Ontario and across the country. The success has allowed ETFO to expand its equity work in other areas. ETFO's education work extends beyond the classroom through active union engagement. Covering a range of issues, ETFO works to release its own research briefs, supports charitable causes, lobbies government officials and political parties to voice

concerns of its members on issues in education and more generally. In this section, I focus on ETFO's initiative on 'Re-thinking White Privilege' to give context to ETFO's broader political work outside of the literature-based guides. ETFO developed, field tested, and ran workshops for members through its 'White Privilege Project' which sought to address "many youths' apparent disconnect from school and their own personal achievement within the education system" (Equity and Women's Services, 2015, p. 6). The project emerged from a discussion with the Black Member and Allies Caucus on community violence in the aftermath of the shooting and death of 14-year old TDSB student Shayanne Charles in 2012 (Ibid). Shayanne's elementary teachers were present to put forth and pass a motion at ETFO's AGM to implement a multi-year project to addressing privilege and 'culturally relevant pedagogy'. The workshop is the first phase of ETFO's pledge to address the impact of educators perpetuating privilege in the classroom and its impact on students (Ibid). Specifically, the workshop for educators aims to "builds awareness and understanding of what educators can do to re-think their own privilege... Educators will examine what can be done to address privilege in themselves and their classrooms" (Equity and Women's Services, n.d., p. 2). The project set a precedent in equity work by starting a conversation about racial privilege that was not so common. Challenging people's understanding of their position in society invoked guilt and consequently public backlash against the union by rightwing media, members of the public and even from other union members themselves.

Ultimately the concept behind the workshop challenged those who to continue to benefit from the historical systems established for the white, Christian, able-bodied heterosexual man. It sought to challenge the thinking of future generations by incorporating a diversity of narratives into the curriculum. The objective of the workshop is "on the systems and institutions that create and maintain privilege, rather than on individual racism. The hope is that participants leave with a heightened consciousness of their own privilege and

motivated to make positive changes to their teaching practices" (Equity and Women's Services, 2015, p. 7). In addition to the teacher workshop, in-class lessons and resource guides on white privilege and systemic discrimination are being created and disseminated by ETFO. Some resources from *Social Justice Begins With Me* are also being used towards the White Privilege Project such as the 'check a book for bias bookmark' tool, which allows students to flag different kinds of biases in a picture book.

The backlash to the Re-thinking White Privilege project means ETFO's work made waves. This is a union that took the responsibility of responding to violent attack on one of their students. The discourse on race in the media is fraught with issues, instigating hate mail and death threats to the ETFO President and members associated with the project. Although the language of racial 'privilege' is common within anti-racist activist circles, when a labour union of 78,000 members expresses the will to implement such ideas for all teachers across Ontario, the conversation is inevitably to the mainstream. The fact that some of the backlash even came from its own members shows that ETFO's work is fulfilling the tasks that the Ministry should be taking responsibility for. Even Education Minister Liz Sandals took a neutral stance on the addressing white privilege in schools or on ETFO's work in general (The Canadian Press, 2014). ETFO's structure is useful in allowing for caucuses like the Black Member and Allies Caucus to respond quickly, develop an analysis and propose an action plan to contribute to the success of black youth in schools, in ways that government structures wouldn't allow for. When members of the Caucus put forth a motion at ETFO's 2013 AGM, the project became a union-wide initiative, making it a multi-tiered project with dedicating staff and resources. Despite ETFO's large union structure, it is compelled to take responsibility of the well-being of one of their students and make connections between its work as educators and the broader communities in which they teach.

In the scale of work around equity in education in Ontario, ETFO appears to be at the forefront in terms of analysis and engagement. The work of ETFO members in pushing for this type of engagement in raising the level of consciousness and ensuring ongoing support from its members makes ETFO stand out amongst other labour unions in Canada. Thus, the White Privilege project demonstrates ETFO's constitutional objective "to foster a climate of social justice in Ontario." Prioritizing equity and social justice work is one of its guiding tenants (Constitution, n.d.). Outside of the classroom, ETFO engages in lobbying of political parties, writing of statements of support for teacher causes globally, and supporting other charitable causes. The Re-thinking White Privilege project demonstrates a more advanced analysis stemming from the membership, which focuses on educating teachers about their influence in the classroom. Equity workshops such as these nicely complement the equity literature-based guides. Without a comprehensive grasp of equity issues, teachers would not be able to relay the correct analysis to their students when facilitating the literature-based lesson plans.

ETFO's profile as a progressive union, it also speaks to how far we have yet to go before we can truly change the education system. Strengthening equity work in education would mean ETFO would not have to do this work in isolation and within the confines of the union. A multi-sectoral approach can possibly allow for continued strengthening of the education movement in the face of any backlash. While the union has a mechanism to provide ideological education to its membership on matters of equity, there is still a lack of formalized process where issues of equity are integrated within the education system. Its legal separation from government institutions and their professional college, the Ontario College of Teachers, prevents the best practices that emerge from ETFO's equity work to be integrated in the public school system. As such, ETFO influence on policies around equity

education remains confined within the union and its membership. ETFO's engagement with teachers, the production of its classroom material, and its broader political engagement in antiracist work make apparent the ETFO's analysis of its role in education. As a labour union ETFO understands its role through engagement with its membership. Because it emerged as a union focused on labour issues ETFO's equity mandate is not directed towards long-term vision. The lack of a strong movement towards the transformation of the education system rather puts ETFO in a position where it engages with issues reactively.

From an assessment of the role of teachers, classroom material and political work of both IBON and ETFO, it becomes apparent that the organizations' analyses of its origins, and what is it intervening to, is the underlying factor determining the work. An analysis of education systems is reflected in each organization's understanding of how it must intervene in education. ETFO sees its role as limited to engaging with its union membership (ie. elementary teachers). Whereas IBON, as a research institute, is indirectly immune from capitalism's attempts to coopt labour unions. IBON consequently is able to expand its methods of work. Despite waging a struggle within the union to push the analysis beyond that of labour issues of the membership, ultimately, the underlying issues of education will not be addressed from within the limitation of trade unions in Canada. Instead, the Anti-Racism and Equity committee within the union can work to support and provide resources to other initiatives around education that emerge from community based, non-unionized working class sectors of society. The barriers in the Canadian context point to the need for a more collaborative approach on behalf of ETFO. Sustainable education cannot come without larger sociopolitical change since each is dialectically related and dependent on the other. In other words, the impact of ETFO and IBON's work on education must be understood through a conscious study of the histories from which the education system and the organizations themselves emerged.

How it's Made: Analysis as Method

The previous chapter outlined how analysis underpins the way an organization intervenes in education. The methods of an intervention itself can reveal its understanding on education within the larger historical and political contexts, as well as educators' role in intervening in it. Intervening in education then, can be seen as process of intervening in history through a social movement. The way in which the work is carried out is itself reflective of the dialectical relationship between interventions into education and people's movements in society. This section is divided in several parts. First, I outline the process by which IBON produces its textbooks and journals, bridges its progressive content with the curriculum competencies, and the intent behind the method. It will be followed by a discussion of how IBON uses its sales team to disseminate content and mobilize 'partner schools' into its education work. I discuss how IBON's method of internal work engages its staff to align towards its mandate. A discussion of ETFO's methods of production, publication and distribution follows. The chapter will conclude with a reflection on how the method of work reveals a particular analysis of education, which has implications for engaging in a long-term social intervention.

IBON - Writing

Because the school year in the Philippines is still June to March, the process for planning the quarterly journals begins in February. There are two writers with IPED who plan out all the content and facilitate the Analytical Implementation. One author takes the elementary level grades 1&2 *Mayakomiks* and grades 3&4 *Sibikomiks*, while the other takes the senior level grades 7&8 *Asian-World Currents* and grades 9&10 *Facts & Figures Student Edition*. Both coauthor the grade 5&6 *Philippine Currents* to balance out the workload. They also work with the IPED Director, an illustrator who creates the comic strips and activities, and a layout artist who compiles the final product before sending it to the print press.

The process of creating each issue begins by gathering material from previous journal issues, the curriculum competencies, and from primary and secondary sources. It consists of brainstorming to determine the issues of importance to be discussed for the coming school year. Topics can be based on feedback from teachers or parents, but are primarily determined by the issues that are most pressing politically. Since IBON is rooted in the larger national democratic movement, the political priorities in its campaigns and education work are largely shaped by the movement itself. For example, specific timely issues such as extrajudicial killings of Lumads, imperialist intervention in the Middle East, or national elections, are incorporated into the quarterly journals. Current events being highlighted at different sectoral work in the movement are also included in the materials. The author of elementary level Mayakomiks and Sibikomiks explains, "for example the Lumad issue is really the talk of the town so we have to write something for the Lumad because it's a pressing issue," (personal interview, 30 March 2016). However, the overall project for elementary level journals goes further: "for elementary journals they want to achieve continuous values formation like nationalism, citizenship that goes beyond the flag as a national symbol but it goes deeper, like service to the people" (personal interview, 30 March 2016).

Regardless of which topics are chosen, the articles in each issue must be framed around selected curriculum competencies from the respective Department of Education curricula for that grade. Facts & Figures Student Edition journals reflect the curriculum subject areas of economics and contemporary issues while building on the foundational analysis provided in elementary journals. The concept of the senior years journals is to make them as more accessible student versions of the more technical Facts & Figures publication. For each issue, content is pulled from Facts & Figures, which consists of articles based on IBON's own research. Through the process of analytical implementation, IBON's economic analysis is then framed to meet selected curriculum competencies. The articles are

supplemented with pictures from news clippings, language activities, and sections where students can learn more about economics and how to analyze government data. As one of the authors explains, "the essence of IBON is popularizing economic data for ordinary Filipinos ... and for students in particular" (personal interview, 30 March 2016). The main articles and news stories are also used to highlight people's movements, which should ideally supplement their lessons from the social studies textbook.

After many years of writing material, the authors have developed strategies for writing as well. One explains the utility of visual information for *Mayakomiks* and *Sibikomiks* such as illustrations, large font, clear instructions, as well as "activities that test the skills of the reader across various areas so reading, writing skills, listening skills and even literacy even livelihood skills" (personal interview, 30 March 2016). While they rely heavily on illustrated content for the elementary level, the IPED staff have started getting feedback that high school students are more engaged with elementary level content rather than with the more dense higher level journals. Because they market the journals to private schools, there is a need to strategize to bridge the gap between IBON's progressive analysis and middle-upper class-consciousness. "We try to always look out for areas wherein the students can locate themselves in the issues," for example by explaining solidarity through church values (personal interview, 30 March 2016).

Once the elementary lineup (or outline) for each journal based on the curriculum competency, it is submitted to the head of the IPED department and the co-author who provides feedback on whether the focus of that journal aligns with political priorities at the time. Upon approval the line-up and content priorities, they will be discussed with the illustrator and the layout artist. Writing for the illustration-heavy texts is prioritized, most likely comic strips, to give enough time for the illustrator to develop appropriate material. The writing process takes around 3 to 5 days for elementary level and 5 to 7 days for high

school level. Drafts of the content, illustrations and layout are then coordinated between IPED team members and finally to the editorial assistant who assists in proofreading. After final approval by the department head, the 'camera ready' proof is sent to IBON's own print press. This process is repeated quarterly following the school calendar June to March. Each publication has a print run of about 4,000 copies. The scale, consistency and frequency of creating new content every 3 months of the school year speaks to IBON's commitment to capturing the attention of students and keeping them engaged with current issues in an accessible and age-appropriate manner.

In terms of textbooks, issues are revised and reprinted every 3 years at the least, depending on the demand from partner schools. However, in years where there is frequent curriculum change, additional reprints have been necessary. Because textbooks are not regularly re-written and only edited for minor changes, the interview did not go into a detailed discussion of its production. The topics do follow a similar sequence as the journals since they are both based on the curriculum competencies. Whereas the journals are used to highlight current affairs, the textbooks are used to rectify colonial versions of Philippine and world histories, and rewrite historical narratives that the movement's work is based on. There is a textbook for each grade level beginning with Grade 1 *Identity*, 2 *Observation*, 3 *Integration*, 4 *Nationalism*, 5 *Citizenship*, 6 *Development*, 7 *History of the Asian People*, 8 *People's History of the World*, to Grade 9 *Economics for Filipinos*. With every grade level of textbooks and journals, IBON also provides a manual for teachers seeking guidance to facilitate lessons on the progressive content while ensuring curriculum expectations are met.

The IPED team is currently in the process of writing new textbooks based on the changes to the K to12 curriculum. One of the IPED team members shared what she anticipates will be a controversial chapter on gender relations that she was currently developing at that time. The chapter, which discusses different gender identities and sexual

orientations, will become part of the new Grade 10 Contemporary Issues textbook. She dopes the section will help change the conversation about gender and LGBT rights in the Philippines. The section will cover issues such as the role of women in the family, population control policies as way of controlling women, the murder of trans women by US military personnel because of the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA), and the barriers faced by queer and trans people to integrate into society. While flipping through the draft with me, one of the authors notes "it's going to be a controversial book [laughter] and in a society where the social construct is that women are supposed to be good housewives, it's going to be a very very controversial book. I am very scared now writing this book that's why I can't finish it! [laughter]" (personal interview, 29 March 2016). The introduction of new topics is reflective of not only IBON's analysis but also how they even contribute towards the analysis-building amongst educators, students and their families. As an organization rooted in people's struggle, they cannot remove themselves from engaging students with these issues, aiming to successfully intervene with the mainstream rhetoric through their textbook and journal content.

The content of IBON's publications, just like the issues and campaigns it engages in, are determined and led by its engagement with communities. IBON's principles of 'peoples research', as previously mentioned, provides the direction and analysis of their content. IBON's research findings that reflect the priorities and perspectives of these communities are used in its journals and textbooks. The methods and outcome of research, writing, and publishing is what ensures that IBON remains accountable to the communities it works with. The process of *analytical implementation* is how the IPED team must bridge curriculum with the information collected from IBON's findings.

Analytical Implementation begins with a process of curriculum mapping for IBON's journals and textbooks. This follows the process of creating a curriculum map for each

subject area, whereby particular learning competencies are chosen for intervention. The map consists of six columns and begins the first two columns by listing the curriculum competencies for each grade level. The third and fourth columns outline IBON's desired learning outcomes for a given competency and its take on that (meaning its *analytical implementation* of the curriculum). The fifth column outlines the appropriate teaching methodology for the topic and last comes teaching references. The whole process of *analytical implementation* is, in essence, a method of bridging the Department of Education curriculum with a progressive perspective of the issues. IBON's application of this method is based on its analysis of the education system. *Analytical Implementation* is IBON's method of providing a pro-people perspective on the Philippine Department of Education's curriculum. As stated in the foreword of each of their grade school textbooks:

"IBON's approach in aligning its textbooks to the K to 12 Curriculum is analytical because it is based on IBON's assertion that the Philippine education system is rife with challenges in its role of responding to the need for genuine people's development" (Andaquig, Guillermo & Paleracio, 2015, p. *iii*).

Although *analytical implementation* is the overall approach to all the content written by IBON, I will elaborate on its strategic use specifically to discuss nationalism and sustainable education. The idea here is to show how the technique of *analytical implementation* allows IBON to reach a broad network of schools, without compromising its progressive analysis. The textbooks contain the analysis necessary to work towards IBON's larger political goals. Successful use of *analytical implementation* is contingent on IBON's research department to gather hard data to support the analysis it advances in the educational materials. IBON also depends on maintaining relationships with prominent academics and educators who work with IBON as authors, editorial consultants, and peer-reviewers for the textbooks. Relying on primary research and first hand organizing work is necessary for the credibility of IBON's perspective and the successful intervention into the curriculum.

In every elementary level textbook there is a chapter, or sections in multiple chapters, dedicated to discussing sustainable education. Beginning with Grade 1 social studies textbook titled *Identity*, education is mentioned the 'Unit 1 discussion' on the needs of children, like housing, shelter, and food. A distinction is then drawn between 'needs' and 'wants' where material goods are explained as simply desires that children have whereas it is discussed that "because of poverty, many children are lacking in their primary needs. Many parents do not have enough income or source of livelihood to be able to fulfill the needs of their children" (IBON grade one social studies identity textbook, p 25). The discussion is continued in Unit 3 My School where the importance of school is emphasized as being the place where "students are molded to prepare for their future. Here it is taught that one should also serve his fellow men and country, not only himself" (Dela Cruz and Laggui, 2014a, p 101). Lesson 3 of Unit 3 on 'Parts of the School and its Physical Environment' delves into the traits of schools across the country, prompting students to challenge the idea that all children have the same school environment. After outlining the different parts of a school that are necessary for students learning and well-being, the chapter continues to say "In spite of this, there are schools lacking in many facilities. In public schools, the budget given by the government is not enough. This is why many schools are lacking in classrooms. Many schools do not have libraries, clinics or playgrounds" (Dela Cruz & Laggui, 2014a, p. 121). The topic is continued in a later section on 'poverty and education' (see Appendix D for picture of textbook). The sections from these textbooks highlight IBON's deliberate mandate to highlight the problems in the education system and to raise critical thinking in students about the causes and possibilities of changing this reality. The IPED team explained to me the intent behind raising these issues:

"Nowhere in other publications you will find the writer or the publishing company discussing the problems of the educational system ... to little kids that they're going to schools in 3 shifts or 2 shifts in some public schools some kids go to school are early as 545 am just so they'll have yeah they'll start the

IBON's discussion of education highlights issues of underfunding, overcrowding, high student-teacher ratio, lack of classroom resources, poor infrastructure, and an overall inadequate and dysfunctional education system. IBON incorporates the reality of public school education into classroom materials because even students in private schools should know that "in public schools that's the double shift in some places we have three shifts so some kids will have ... 3 to 4 hours a day to study in crowded classrooms ... they have to know this is the kind of education the government is giving them" (personal interview, 29 March 2016). In this way, the social studies curriculum expectations from the Department of Education are bridged with discussions on 'sustainable education' at each grade level. IBON is able to inject progressive ideas and use activities and questions to engage teachers and students in a conversation with one another as a strategy for students to bring students to be critical of the world around them.

Analytical implementation is used to challenge the regionalism promoted by the Department of Education curriculum. Instead, the IBON materials work towards developing a unifying nationalism. Meanwhile, the Department of Education curriculum emphasizes the differences in Filipinos from different provinces or regions. Specific to the political context of the Philippines is a lack of national identity, which operates in ways that differ from the Canadian context. Highlighting the government's active labour export policy, IBON identifies that the persistence of regionalism functions as a dividing force, which fails to foster national unity towards national development and sovereignty. Rather, the new K to 12 system and Department of Education curriculum serves imperialist interests rather than promoting an understanding of nation building as genuine development for all Filipinos. IBON's perspectives on the need for nationalist education stems from recognition of the dire conditions of Filipinos as the global market's exportable source of cheap and exploitable

labour. IBON's perspective on education is one that incorporates the economic situation of Filipinos in the country, and what drives them to out migrate into particular niche jobs in other countries. IBON understands that the type of streaming in the education system is what perpetuates the labour export policy of the Philippines and further contributes to a dilution of nationalist sentiment.

Through analytical implementation, IBON challenges commercialization of education by intervening in how students understand the use of their skills and interests. For example, "some Filipinos will study agriculture. For what? Agribusiness. That's not what we want. We want students or citizens who will help build genuine agrarian reform so that farmers will have their land and then they will develop, make the land more productive so that we can have more jobs in this country. That's not being taught" (personal interview, 29 March 2016). Since the streaming of students happens at the tertiary level, which many students do not even reach due to the inaccessibility of education and high dropout rates, IBON seeks to shape student's understanding of the purpose of education and nationalism from Grade 1. IBON hopes to re-instill a sense of nationalism and also to challenge people's consciousness on what a pro-people national development looks like.

IBON - Sales

The sales team is responsible for conducting fieldwork with potential partner schools for the coming sales year. For most of the week, the sales team is out visiting schools, meeting with principal decision maker, providing evaluation copies, and conducting follow-ups. It is through this process that the sales team is responsible for the creation of the IBON partner school network. This network consists of three categories for schools: the regular accounts are at present using IBON materials, the old non-renewing accounts are those who used previously but are not longer using for reasons such as a change of publishing contract,

and then the new accounts are the new schools that IBON has expanded into. With every sales year, it is then up to them to ensure continued engagement with partner schools regardless of order size/content. IBON's average number of partner schools ranges from 100 to 350 in a given selling year with about 100 partner schools in 2015.

In my time with IBON, I spent one day in the 'field' with an IBON sales representative who took me to three different schools in Antipollo, in Rizal province about 90 minutes outside of Manila by public transit. We paid the schools visits to follow up with them about their evaluation period, the time where they review textbooks from various publishers. The target for the 2016 sales year is to have 200 partner schools between 6 sales people. The trip I took was only one of many visits made by the marketing team to each school. The team's four out of five of their workdays are spent outside on fieldwork, visiting schools and talking to as many people as possible including the principal, the librarian (to purchase materials for loan), social studies department heads, among others. They also have to make sure to visit the school before the schools do their "evaluation" of books and finalize their publishing contract. All the schools visited on our field work were private co-ed, a mix of K to 11 and high school, and a mix of old non-renewing and renewing accounts that had ordered different combinations of textbooks, journals, and library copies which I saw for myself on a magazine shelf (see Appendix E for photo).

One of the limitations of IBON's work is that it partners primarily with private schools. The Department of Education requires public school teachers to use pre-written modules, which they must photocopy on their own dime for their students. Public school teachers have been prohibited from engaging in private sales outside of these modules and are burdened by the bureaucracy of the Department of Education in running their classrooms. While many private schools in the Philippines are still relatively financially accessible than

the private school system in Canada, majority of families still cannot afford private school education.

Despite these barriers, IBON has made attempts to intervene. For example, for public schools that stopped allowing sales of journals to prevent teachers from pocketing profits, IBON began a strategy to tap into public schools. Asking the teachers to distribute order forms to students so that the parents themselves can decide whether to order the journals or not. IBON also issued statements to the media about the state of the public education system, and supported the work of public school teachers in ACT. Nevertheless, the closest IBON got to direct engagement with public schools was when it joined a public meeting in 2001. The government-led initiative was co-hosted and funded by the World Bank and ADP with the purpose of government acquisition of textbooks for social sciences in public education. Reflecting on the experience, IBON staff reminisced about the experience as "a painful painful painful lesson learned. Never do that again" after it was found out that the Department of Education had already entered into a contract with a large publishing company prior to the meeting (personal interview, 29 March 2016). Since public schools pose a unique challenge, IBON's current structure is best suited to engage with private partner schools and maintains that "the only way we can do this, to engage publicly with this, is what we're going to do in the future, which is to have a campaign. I think that's the best that we can do, have a campaign and organize more teachers" (personal interview, 29 March 2016). Since private schools have more flexibility in implementing the curriculum, the IPED team chooses them as their target. The sales team does a thorough study of the market and strategically maps its intervention into private schools. By targeting larger schools with a population greater than 900 students, IBON can gain more credibility if they win a contract from a prestigious institution, sell more total copies, and have the certainty of receiving full payment from a financially stable institution.

Other strategies include marketing to private school associations, which do the work of evaluating, ranking, and dictating to their member schools which textbooks they should purchase based on their need. Some associations, such as CEAP, the Catholic Educators Association of the Philippines, will strive to gain from negotiations for material by favoring publications that they receive the largest cut from (personal interview, 29 March 2016). However if the major decision maker lies in the individual school then is it that relationship that the salespeople must nurture for IBON's partnership. Providing incentives for sales is the culture of the publishing industry that IBON is faced with. At present, five to six large commercial publishers control the market by taking advantage of poorly funded public schools and for-profit private schools by bribing officials and providing incentives for big contracts such as vehicles, travel funds, computers, audiovisual materials, construction costs for renovations, etc. IBON uses its 'teacher development fund' to circumvent the culture of bribery in schools. Rather than monetary incentive, IBON provides options for teacher development, seminars, or student engagement. This refusal is based on the premise that IBON wants schools to place orders based on the content of its materials. Its research-based analysis serves as a selling point for IBON's content over other publishers. However the strategy of many large publications often bars IBON from ever making gains in particular schools that have teacher-writers. These are schools where the primary decision maker for materials is also hired by a publishing company to author parts of the textbook. Thus IBON relies on its edge of research-driven content and continues its uphill battle of promoting the content. It continues to intervene in commercialized education "not just because marketing wise it will help us but also because we want to contribute in the long term transformation of schools, especially private schools ... we would like to continue transforming them to become agents of education that can really trains kids to be progressive. Not just the usual study because I want to be rich I want to have a house and a car you know the kind of values

that we're trying to ram against and trying to raise the value of kids wanting to be better Filipinos to help the country, in the basic sense" (personal interview, 30 March 2016).

IBON - Employee engagement

Integral to IBON's education work is its internal politic. IBON consciously adapts many organizational practises to engage in a more equitable workplace politic and ensure the staff's long term engagement in the work of the movement, whether they stay with IBON or not. IBON employs such practices in many aspects including in its hiring of workers, daily encounters between staff, political educational development as well as personal development of individual employees.

My visit to IBON's print press revealed to me how much work is put into the production of materials by a team of only about 5 people to print, fold, and package the books to be sent out for binding. Affectionately nicknamed the 'tuc-tuc girls' for the noise made while tapping pages on their work desk, these women are responsible for folding and collating the signature copies that come out of the printer into eight-page folds. At the time of my visit, the workers were on a tight deadline of 2000 copies of textbooks in 7 days but were still nice enough to chat with us. Through observations and conversations from the print shop, it became apparent just how ambitious of a project IBON has taken on as a not-for-profit organization with a large-scale production with a few committed, staff (see Appendix F for print press and hand-packaged copies). At all levels of its work, IBON makes a deliberate choice to hire people who face barriers to finding meaningful employment for example, by reaching out to their close contacts and hiring people from the movement's urban poor organization *Kadamav*.

Many IBON staff have in some capacity have experience with, or been exposed to, the movement in the Philippines. And if not then the organization takes it upon itself to build

them up. For IBON, it is imperative that everyone have a shared societal analysis and understand the role of their work in the movement whether they are writing, printing, researching, folding, marketing or doing administrative tasks, without any of which IBON would not function. This internal education is done by ensuring that all levels of staff are engaged in IBON's political work in and outside the office. For example, IBON has monthly internal political discussions. These are mandatory for all workers and everyone is able to take time out from their daily tasks to attend. Internal political discussions involve presentations and group discussions aimed at bringing all staff to the same level of political education. In my time with IBON I was invited to participate in one such internal political discussion and asked to present on the national situation of Canada, to which I happily obliged. In attendance were the workers from the print press, bookshop staff, and administrative staff alongside the research department and marketing, publication, illustration and editors for IPED. All members of the organization also participate in political mobilizations as an organizational contingent. Towards end of my fieldwork I was able to march with IBON's contingent in the annual May Day celebrations led by Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU), which translates to May First Movement, an umbrella organization of peasants and worker POs throughout the Philippines. The participation of all staff in the May Day celebrations reinforces their organizational role in supporting the larger struggles of workers and peasants.

IBON also takes time out of the workweek to engage its staff in community immersions. In my time there IBON staff were preparing for an immersion with PO's who organize within urban poor communities. In this way, it is ensured that staff do not become alienated from the work and maintain connections with the very communities whose struggles and perspectives they advance in their educational materials. Further, when all IBON staff makes a trip to meet with POs, their direct encounter allows communities to hold

them accountable in their work. Also central to their internal workings is IBON's system of peer review and collective process of criticism self-criticism every evaluation period. They explain how the limited resources of the organization compels IBON to offer more to its employees: "it's important that we also give them political discussions so that they would continue to work here and have commitment to do work that is more than what is written down in their contracts because IBON serves not for anybody. IBON works not just for one person but it's serving a larger purpose" (personal interview, 29 March 2016). Part of ensuring long-term commitment of all IBON members to political work is through its evaluation period every semester, which consists of a peer review of one's work and selfcriticisms. This gives all members an opportunity to improve in their work and achieve personal growth to build them regardless of what their level of engagement is in the movement - in government, multilateral agencies, NGOs, or simply as activists. Lastly, staff are delegated different roles throughout their tenure in IBON to build individual skills and contribute to the organization differently. Having a consistent rotation of the Executive Director role further allows for different dynamism in the organization. Many in IBON throughout the time of their employment have served at various levels and in different departments. Although taking up different roles in facilitates individual growth in a variety of skill sets, this rotation also instills a commitment to the broader political goals of the organization in any role.

Regardless of their personal engagement in the movement outside of their day job with IBON, all staff understands the importance of partaking in IBON's political campaigns. This engagement can range from cultural events celebrating the history of people's movements to attending the annual May Day IBON contingent. Public mobilizations expose employees to the scope of IBON's work in the movement. It is precisely IBON's analysis of education that guides the way it carries out its work. IBON's systematic method of writing

content, building networks with schools, and internal engagement with staff demonstrates its analysis that true educational change cannot come without larger sociopolitical change because each is dialectically related and dependent on the other. IBON's organizational perspective of work emerges from its historical emergence out of social struggle. It is this history that then shapes the analysis, which, in turn, guides the methods of work. By situating itself as part of a larger movement for social change IBON shapes everything it does around its broader vision. Next I will discuss how ETFO's methods of work reveal how the union sees its role in education.

ETFO

ETFO's method of intervention is also telling of its analysis on education. As my engagement with ETFO was only to the few union staff engaged in the production of the *Social Justice Begins With Me* guides, my understanding of ETFO's overall organizational workings is not as deep as that for IBON. Here I will discuss how the production of the guides seems to be isolated within the larger work of the union. Since ETFO committed to adapting and updating the guide for the past fifteen years, the adaptations of its work have been largely revising past versions. Since some members of the committee were actively teaching, arrangements are made by the union to cover a supply teacher for a half-day, transportation costs and other related expenses, for committee members to leave their classrooms, and come to Toronto on a school day to work on the guide. Meetings consist of using chart paper to brainstorm issues in education. The process of deciding which topics or 'isms' would be made into monthly themes was based on a brainstorming session where teachers listed whatever issues they thought were important and then finalized the categories based on what books were available on the subject. Book titles from past versions of the guide are then organized into the respective issue that they address. Committee members also bring their own picture books to

meetings and arrange days to visit local independent bookstore to look for books. When all available books from past issues are accounted for, the committee identifies which subject areas have existing gaps and attempt to fill them with new finds so that each issue is covered by a range of books appropriate for each grade level. This ensures that in each grade, all issues identified by ETFO are touched upon at least once over the course of the school year. ETFO used a design and print company to finalize the layout and print process. In the first round 1,000 suitcases of SJBWM were sold and the demand forced a reprint. Teachers often pay the cost of these resources out of pocket unless their school board supports the purchase of such equity resources. Electronic copies were also sold and the CDs for those were burned in house, while the cover design and printing was outsourced.

While ETFO similarly frames the guides around the Ontario curriculum learning objectives, it is unclear what the process is to bridge curriculum objectives with content from children's books and write. Distribution of the guides came with support materials for teachers and facilitation of workshops and trainings on using the guide. Support from school boards meant teachers could receive the full set of guides along with a paid half-day release to attend workshop training on what the equity-seeking teacher does and how to make schools more equity conscious. Aside from the methods to create the guide content, it's worth noting the selection process of authors to write the guide as the equity topics are subjectively named based on their experience addressing issues of equity as teachers. While some people were already members of the ETFO standing committee for the guide, others were sought out for the representation and perspective of LGBTQ and Indigenous groups. Applications from ETFO members are reviewed, prioritizing representation of marginalized groups on the committee, which is significant as all the authors ended up working for the union after. The policy of hiring minority groups is consistent with addressing the material conditions of

marginalized groups. What is imperative is political growth of all the authors to advance the analysis of the guides and ETFO overall.

The prioritization of representations of marginalized groups is a good step, especially in the context where equity-work, particularly Indigenous and race-related affairs, have been assigned to white settlers. However, the practice of representation can also run the risk of tokenization, or narrow the selection criteria based on identity and not connection or accountability to communities. ETFO's methods of work also reveal how its analysis limits it to address equity in the individual level. For example, equitable hiring practices, the lack of comprehensive analysis of equity issues in the guide, and the limited engagement with teachers using the guide indicates does not build towards a larger intervention into the systemic issues underlying education. ETFO's analysis of how it engages in equity work is reflective of its understanding of education. That is to say, its understanding of its own role is limited because its analysis does not account for the need for larger sociopolitical change as necessary for educational change. ETFO's vision of equity work does not involve working towards a larger goal thus making the intervention reactive. This points to a need in Canada to collaborate on antiracist and equity work in order for our social interventions to continuously build momentum.

Building Power

This chapter draws on findings from the previous two chapters to discuss what can be discerned about building an intervention. I propose the concept of building dual power or parallel structures is necessary to replace the organs of state power and thus build a sustainable alternative to education. First, I will explore two ways IBON works towards this end - through publication of its own classroom material and support for grassroots Lumad schools. Assessing ETFO's work as a tool for building dual power requires a discussion of the limitations of a literature-based equity guide in the context of the publishing industry in Canada. The structures confining ETFO from working towards this end will then be explored. I will conclude the chapter with a brief mention of other interventions that could offer points of collaboration to work towards building parallel power in Canada's education system.

It can be gleaned from the previous two findings the importance of building power at all levels. The purpose being to reduce dependence on the very structures being intervened with. There are two ways IBON intervenes to reduce reliance on existing state structures. First, IBON produces its own materials and creates its own content for textbooks, journals and seminars, through which it engages students and teachers. Second, IBON actively supports efforts that undermine state control and build alternative political power such as the Lumad-run grassroots schools.

In the previous chapter it was highlighted the importance of the correct analysis in shaping the outcome of any intervention. This is apparent in all of IBON's materials that intentionally advance a pro-people writing of history and social studies. The relevance of the textbooks and journals lies not only in the circulation of a particular analysis but also in its very existence as a progressive text that competes with large publication companies. Rather than try to change the publishing industry or let the education system compromise it's work, IBON builds a parallel structure. In other words IBON does not let its reliance on existing

structures (like the private schools that are its patrons) alter its analysis. Instead, all the educational material it distributes is written by its own staff with a particular analysis, published by its very own small-scale print press, and distributed to partner schools with which it maintains personal relationships. In this way, IBON is able to subvert the limitations of the publishing industry, which is dominated by American firms that flood the education system with US-centric materials. IBON's journals circumvent the issue of the liberal-at-best children's publishing industry entirely. The journals can take the place of children's books as teaching tools. They are infused with progressive content but produced entirely by IBON. The journals also serve as accessible alternatives for schools bound in contracts with major publishers, or who are not invested in using a progressive textbook for its students.

Further, IBON makes a point to sell its materials on the basis of its content. If a school is not receptive to the perspective put forth in the textbooks or journals, and are unwilling to sign a contract, IBON is prepared to offer an alternative. The schools are instead offered seminars which IBON hopes will help 'bridge the gap'. By providing 'professional development' seminars or workshops, IBON is able to sustain a relationship with the partner school and, over time, still expose teachers and administrators to its principles. Sustaining relationships ultimately helps expand the number of partner schools and thus serves the function of building connections for future collaboration between the organization and teachers they seek to organize towards its goal of sustainable education.

IBON recognizes that despite two decades of publishing textbooks, this on its own will not change society. Classroom material is but one component of IBON's larger vision for sustainable education. This is why it is crucial that IBON still strives to its larger political goals to undermine the structures upholding the backwards education system at all levels. IBON's societal framework informs its work to support people's organizations fight for self-governance through grassroots schools in Mindanao (personal interview, march 29). The

concept behind grassroots schools exemplifies how the issue of education is tied to Lumad struggles of feudal landlordism, imperialism, militarization, and loss of tradition. Part of the Lumad struggle is direct resistance to the bureaucrat-capitalist government's efforts to subvert consultation with communities through signing off of the land via the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP). NCIP has been criticized for being a government-initiated body designed as a tool in the state attempts to coop resistance. Although it is supposed to include representation from different tribes, the members of the commission are not accountable the community but rather collude with mining companies. The explicit Lumad-focus of the schools engages students in their traditional knowledge and teaches them to read and write. Community-run schools serve the purpose of educating future generations to ensure private companies would not fool them and to strengthen collective resistance. In this way, Lumads are empowered to fight for their right to self-determination and keep land out of hands of private extractive corporations. The very idea of the Lumad schools poses a threat to the government because it is first and foremost sends a message to the government that its public schools are inadequate for the needs of the community. Second, support for the schools sends a message of self-sufficiency and strength in resistance despite state attempts to subvert community voices. Third and most importantly, the strength of Lumad schools is in its long-term implications as a functioning example of sustainable education. In this way, Lumad schools, as grassroots community-run initiatives, works to expand and consolidate strength among the large Lumad community in the Philippines. IBON, in its unconditional support for Lumad schools aligns itself as a progressive NGO that bases its work in sustaining partnerships with community-based POs in order to build strength in its movement. In this way, IBON defiantly refuses to align itself with the state or its ideology.

As previously discussed, the work and analysis of ETFO's Anti-Racism and Equity Committee is in many ways limited by its position within the larger union structure. Unlike IBON, ETFO does not actively seeking to build a network of institutions that share the same commitment to enacting educational change through broader societal change. Instead, it operates within the ideological limitations of its union structure. As such, ETFO does not have a dialectical understanding of education. This is why it continues to rely on the confines of state/capitalist structures. A prime example of this limitation in ETFOs work is in its reliance on mainstream children's literature for its literature-based equity guides.

Understanding the limitations of the publishing industry is crucial because ETFO's equity guides are written by finding books that fit into selected equity themes. The content of the book is then bridged with curriculum expectations and functions as a lesson plan for teachers to use in their classrooms. Revisions of the guide are based on the available literature for a given equity theme. If certain books go out of print or are simply not a 'marketable' topic, then that perspective cannot be represented in ETFO's guide. Guides have to be revised based on limited reprints of the literature and the changing availability of books. Although it can be said that children's literature on 'social justice' themes such as LGBTQ or race, has evolved in the past couple decades, in many ways the selection of publishing companies is limited due to the consolidation of many small presses and independent bookstores. The 'multicultural literature' of Canada's publishing industry that became popular since the 1970s and 1980s also presents many limitations and problematic narratives. For example, even though there is a theme on "peace" in the ETFO guide, if there is no children's book that challenges Canada's image as a 'peaceful' nation by depicting its military role in many wars of imperialist aggression around the world, then it cannot be used as a topic of discussion. Inevitably, certain topics that large for-profit publishing industries are not likely to print will then also be left out of the curriculum. ETFO authors have also

noted the trend of white authors capitalising off the demand for 'multicultural literature' yet write only with a limited analysis of the issues (personal interview, 1 June 2016). The 'check a book for bias bookmark' was created by ETFO authors for this reason. In my conversation with ETFO I was told that the 'check a book for bias' bookmark is used to engage students with the limitations of such books and engage them in critical thought around pointing out the 'bias' that may come from a book authored/illustrated by someone not representative of that group. However noticing bias does not reveal the power or politics behind children's literature.

Thus the authors navigate their intervention around the limitations of the publishing industry (such as issues of reprints, access to the list of literature at each school, or limitations in the analysis of the book) to achieve a particular learning outcome, are worked around, rather than being disrupted intentionally by ETFO. As with any large industry, however, publishing has largely been consolidated through neoliberal policies. In Canada, large presses have eaten up or pushed out smaller ones with the exception of few such as Indigenous-run Pemmican, Theytus and Kegedonce Press. The initial political project of Canada's national identity has taken hold again. The influential nature of literature on shaping children's understandings of themselves and their social relations has been widely noted (Dolan, 2012; Grieve, 2013; Lampert, 2010; Petzold, 2005; Wilson, 2007; Xu, 2011). It has also been well documented that the historical development and current state of Canada's publishing industry are tied to Canada's national identity formation (Ord & Carpenter 1977; Pouliot, Saltman & Edwards, 2005; Richter, 2011; Scott & Tucker-Abramson, 2007; Wolf & DePasquale, 2008). Children's books are inherently political (Lampert, 2009; Botelho & Rudman, 2009). Children's books have always been tied to the colonial occupation and suppression of Indigenous resistance. A central part of the British imperialist project in North America where "the rapid influx of settlers led to dramatically deteriorating conditions for Aboriginal

peoples, ... children's books, including picture books, helped normalize this consequence of imperialism" (Wolf & DePasquale, 2008, p. 89).

Many scholars contend that the largest political project in children's literature is the formation of the nation's narrative. The timeline of events shift in children's literature publication and the publishing industry overall from pre- and post-Trudeau-era multicultural policies in relation to nation building suggests a direct political motive of embedding Canadian values in immigrants to create the manicured Canadian citizens in the early 20th century, the time when immigrants came largely from European countries (Richter, 2011). The expansion of the library system, establishment of small and non-profit publishing houses, and the introduction of federal grants and funding bodies, the Canada Council and Ontario Council began, and continue to, shape the content of literature through administration of arts grants to book publishers. With state appointed board members calling the shots, the publishing industry received sporadic bursts of funding from the state but was also kept on a tight leash. However, by the 1970s, despite the opening up of immigration policy to non-European source countries and the enactment of the White Paper and the Multiculturalism Act, funding to publish on different 'ethnic groups' was limited, with only one Canadian publisher having done so in 1977 (Richter, 2011, p. 93). Further, library efforts towards 'multiculturalism' consisted of simply eliminating any overtly racist literature, which concealed rather than highlighted ongoing societal oppression. As Canada's political project has changed in form over time, so too did the contours of its national identity. These changes manifested through cultural and economic policies, and recent work suggests that the publishing industry has surpassed the era where Canada's policy of multiculturalism prevailed and is now being driven by neoliberal policies (Litt, 2005; Scott & Tucker-Abramson, 2007). It is at this time that Canada's publishing industry began to be dictated by its economic embrace of free market principles. What is referred to as 'multicultural capitalism' became evident in the fact that even as small presses were being shut down, multicultural literature began to proliferate "in an increasingly problematic and digestible form" (Scott & Tucker-Abramson, 2007, p. 7). It is in this political context of the publishing industry that we must understand the politics of a body of children's literature that fails to address hegemonic perspectives on multiculturalism, national identity, race and settler colonialism in Canada. An understanding of the structural limitations behind the children's publishing industry reveals how structuring equity lessons around mainstream children's literature also narrows the potential depth of the work. Since ETFO frames its equity-focused curriculum guides around children's literature, the guides are limited by the analysis in the books put forth by the publishing industry. It becomes apparent how ETFO is limiting itself by depending on the publishing industry to produce content that advances their political line. Rather than directly embedding the analysis into the ETFO guides, the responsibility falls on individual teachers and students to critically assess the children's book in each lesson. What we know about ETFO's organizational work and its method of intervention is indicative of a reflexive response to social issues that builds resistance within its membership. This issue is best understood in the framework of its function as a labour union.

Founded as a labour union ETFO, as previously mentioned, is primarily concerned with bargaining for the rights of its members. The political context, priorities, and perspectives of both ETFO and IBON shape the trajectory that their originating struggles took. Whereas the national democratic movement in the Philippines, despite facing many challenges, continues to strengthen to this day, labour unions in Canada built a labour aristocracy where big unions function to expand and sustain itself as a bureaucratic institution and consequently lost their pro-people political. As outlined in previous sections, labour unionism has significantly weakened as a political force in Canada. Union organizing has become narrowed to continuous amalgamation to increase in size rather than building the

sector of workers. The sheer size and lack of adequate participatory democratic structures within locals results in the dilution of workers interests. Further, the take up of smaller unions into bigger ones inevitably raises issues of conflicting class interests within and between locals. With a lack of true democratic structures such contradictions within unions cannot be resolved. Lastly, because of this disparity, the union continues to serve the interests of a particular 'labour aristocracy' which perpetuates the neglect of the interests of the 'new' labour force in Canada comprised of predominantly racialized working class immigrants. The culmination of the factors influencing the union bureaucracy makes them less willing to take political stances on, or engage in, issues of structural inequity such as that caused by imperialism for example. Instead, because of the limitations brought about by the corporatization and bureaucratization of unions, the only way to build power along class lines is though organizing outside of trade the union structure in its current form. This is not to say that ETFO cannot engage in any meaningful work. By fighting to push the boundaries of the union to a more progressive politic, the racialized members thus far have already fanned the flames to allow a fire to burn inside the union structure for the past two decades. Rather, it is a comment on how the equity work that emerged out of a struggle of racialized members within ETFO, will continue to be limited by the union structure within which it operates unless the labour aristocracy and trade union bureaucracy is dismantled. While operating within a traditional union structure, ETFO's responsibility then is to use its resources to facilitate organizing the non-unionized working class sectors of society. In this way ETFO can build a network that collectively tackles the education system using a critical historical lens.

An assessment of these two interventions ability to construct dual power has highlighted the need for education work to be proactive rather than reflexive. There is also a need for a simultaneous and collaborative movement in Canada to build power independent

of state institutions. The work of supporting Lumad schools would not be possible if IBON had not historically been building connections with like-minded organizations and POs (such as ACT, Lumad communities, partner schools, etc.) to sustain its work. Any change in our tactics will not be possible without a conscious study of the histories from which the education system and the organizations themselves, emerged. Without a consideration of historical relations of power in today's society, educational change, and larger sociopolitical change, will not come because each is dialectically related and dependent on the other.

From the historical account of the establishment of the education system in both the Philippines and Canada, it is evident that public education in Canada was as much about the imposition colonial ways of life, and erasure of Indigenous knowledge and identity, on students as was that in the Philippines. Parallels can be drawn between the roots of nationalist resistance to colonial rule, the attempted quelling of resistance by appearement by authorities, the role of the church alongside the government in employing systems of education as tools of indoctrination to suppress nationalist resistance. Since both education systems are rooted in, and continue to advance, colonial capitalist interest, lessons from intervention in the Philippines can be drawn towards our site of struggle, Canada to continue advancing resistance to colonial education. From the historical overview of IBON's emergence presented at the beginning of this paper, the importance of building people's power is apparent. Building people power has been historically proven to bring about societal change. The mass-based student, peasant and workers movements in the 1970s arose from a longer tradition of militancy of the Filipino people against their colonizers. The 1970s mobilizations in turn, spurred the creation of IBON and the further growth of its mass base. In this way, parallel power is established and continues to grow.

In the context of Canada there are existing initiatives to learn from, build on, and create alliances with in working towards sustainable education. One needn't look far.

Thorncliffe's Reach Out Teach-In (TRT) is a community-based organization that offers tutoring programs to students and mothers in a predominantly immigrant working class neighbourhood. The description on their website states "members of TRT dedicate a lot of time to investigating the struggles facing Thorncliffe's working class residents. This research informs the programs and initiatives TRT organizes to raise political consciousness and organize the community against local and global injustices" (About Us, n.d.). Through tutoring programs with the kids they bridge the gap between their public school education with the practical experience of radical politics. Not only does TRT address the community's needs around basic education, translation, and English language tutoring, but it also recognizes a need to tackle broader systemic issues and barriers faced by students and their families such as poor housing, domestic abuse, and barriers to achieving higher education. In doing so TRT seeks not only to raise the political consciousness of the community but also to build political power in their own community. TRT's understanding of its work in education as directly rooted in building a larger movement is summed up in its info graphic which states "fix the class system to fix the school system!" (Ali & Khan, 2014). TRT's analysis of structural issues underlying education inform its methods of mobilizing towards building community capacity around not only issues of education but also other systemic barriers impacting their experiences with the education system.

Further, proposals for Africentric schools are slowly gaining traction with both elementary and high schools offering the alternative curriculum and programming in Toronto. Drawing on Ontario Ministry of Education curriculum requirements, the schools seek to offer an alternative perspective and are open to anyone across the city. Interestingly, the high schools integrated classroom attempts to 'de-stream' education - a trap which narrows the opportunities of many, often racialized and low-income, students from a young age. The Africentric school model proactively addresses issues of achievement gaps,

Eurocentric curriculum, streaming, and racism by school authorities that put black students at a disadvantage. As a concept the schools address many pressing issues. Building connections between these schools and community organizations with a similar mandate of tackling structural issues is imperative to draw lessons from these pilot schools. The implications of Africentric schools for the rest of the education system remain to be seen.

Conclusion: Rethinking education

The close examination of the two case studies here was not intended as an assessment of the efficacy of the intervention. Also detailing the social movement context of both was not meant to imply that the work cannot begin in the absence of an active social movement context. Rather, this research seeks to intervene in the long-running equity discourse on education and propose a course of action. The many anti-racist critiques of education in Canada shy away from investigating alternatives that operate from a historical materialist perspective. By walking the reader through the intent, methods, and analysis of two case studies, I shift the conversation towards advancing existing work in education and hope the outlines of these case studies will inform future models of intervention. Taking up a course of action that is self-sustaining while working to address the material needs of those most marginalized by the education system requires forming partnerships and developing collective analysis around key issues that will inform proposals for intervention.

Asserting an analysis of education and interventions in its historical and social context, comes from a particular analysis of social issues called dialectics. Dialectics proposes an outlook on society whereby 'contradictions' (i.e. opposing forces in society) propel history forward. In other words, a 'dialectical materialist' perspective on any given social issue (such as education) is one which entails the study of the conditions between the oppressed and the oppressor with the intention of breaking the exploitative relations. Presented here was a dialectical materialist perspective of two education contexts over time how they came to be and the purpose that they serve today in their respective contexts. The initiatives of IBON and ETFO then, as agents that propel continuously changing social relations, ought to be analysed from this dialectical framework.

From this perspective it has been discerned that IBON is able to have a comprehensive understanding of education and its role in intervention precisely because they

employ a dialectic framework (Choudhry, 2015). This is evident from its organizational analysis which guides its broader political work, its comprehensive engagement of teachers in all levels of work, the analysis that guides the content of its classroom material, and the deliberate politic inherent in its methods of work. In comparison, ETFO's understanding of inequity in the education system is reduced to issues of individual bias and does not stem from a dialectical materialist understanding of education's historical role in society. With teacher engagement limited to workshopping classroom resources, individualistic understandings of equity perpetuated in classroom material, and no comprehensive campaigns of political engagement, ETFO fails to engage with in campaigns addressing systemic barriers to a more equitable education system for all. In essence, the need for a dialectic understanding of education is to move beyond the rut of anti-racist critiques of education to begin to do something about the failure of the system.

Moving forward from these research findings, I propose three stages of analysis that must be considered before carrying out an education intervention. First the purpose of education must be reconsidered. Beginning with a thorough assessment of the purpose of education as it is today and the historical conditions that allowed it to be. This will then inform a reimagining of what education's purpose should become. If the idea is to build future citizens then we must re-envision first our future society first. After all, the education system is meant to mould a particular kind of citizen who will then use skills from his/her education towards building society. Thus, looking towards an equitable education requires an understanding of what is required of future citizens who will fight to advance a more equitable society overall. IBON actively challenges the pro-capitalist orientation of education, which works to dismantle form of nationalist ideology for fear of inspiring anticolonial sentiment against America's imperialist hand in the Philippines. Instead, the purpose of education ought to be "borne out of study, of a thorough study of the economic situation of

the Philippines ... of what the Philippines needs, what the country needs, land for the farmers, or basic industries to develop" (personal interview, 29 March 2016). As a research institute, IBON inserts itself into education issues by filling the need for a thorough study of the economic situation. In doing so, it re-imagines a society with an education system, which lies at the centre of moulding future citizens.

Second, is the need to reframe what education looks like. Today our youth receive an education in the classroom. Is it possible to break the dichotomy of formal and informal learning? Is it possible to engage in educational work through political engagement? Is it possible to build towards a movement to tackle issues in education? In order to do anything of these things, we must rethink how we understand intentional learning and what kinds of skills we value and see as necessary for nation building. Both IBON and ETFO engage in different levels of work but understand their respective engagements differently. For example, when IBON takes up an issue it intervenes with that issue through research (by doing first hand studies), engaging its staff (through educational discussions), engaging classrooms (incorporating it into textbook and journal material), engaging teachers (through seminars, through collaboration with ACT), mobilizing the public (participating in public protest), engaging communities and establishing long lasting relationships with POs (building grassroots schools, providing material support). For IBON, engaging in curriculum through Analytical Implementation is just one strategy, it is not the primary means of educating. IBON's methods of education stem from its understanding of education work as a part of its larger political mandate. In this way IBON takes a more comprehensive approach on how it engages in education, and does not limit its work to its production of textbooks and journals. Rather IBON engages in education through internal and external programs. As mentioned in other chapters, internal programs include educating their own members through educational discussions, community immersions, participating in political mobilizations and training for

all members in different levels of work. External work would include all organizational mobilization and partnerships, IPED's engagement with partner schools, and the production of classroom and research materials, to name a few. ETFO's sites of intervention are the elementary classroom, its teachers, teachers colleges, educators workshops, union spaces, and committees or informal partnerships formed amongst members. Although ETFO, unlike many other traditional trade unions, takes a political stance on global struggles pertaining to education its intervention remains limited to assisting its membership in their work in the classroom. The result being that teacher's engagement in issues of equity are confined to a narrow engagement with their students through teaching the curriculum, which ETFO itself identifies as problematic.

These two logics of changing purpose and process lead us to the third and final conclusion that true educational change cannot come without larger socio-political change. Correct analysis and methods can build alternative power that will challenge the status quo. Thus, the task of educators is to make an intervention inherently revolutionary in nature. In mobilizing and supporting different sectors of workers, including education workers, is part of the process of building the movement as well. Engaging in mass-based pro-people education, is a process that builds citizens who then take it upon themselves to engage in people's struggle and even continue working with IBON. The work fuels itself. But a society that is not rid of oppressive systems of power will not allow it to thrive, as is apparent with the case with the previously mentioned targeting of Indigenous grassroots schools today.

A re-imagining the purpose and process of education must take place alongside a movement of organizations and among communities. An education that is meaningful is that which serves the purpose of preparing and directing people to work towards addressing the major problems of society. In other words, education is dialectically related to social movements. First, it is the task of organizations seeking to intervene in education in Canada

to understand the full scope of what education looks like today across the nation. Second, in any intervention, the root causes of such issues must be identified, and taken up in the organizing work. In other words, a thorough assessment of the issues such as uneven access to resources, the gaps in which certain students fall through along class and race lines, is necessary to build an analysis of what must be done and what an alternative out to look like. Identifying the root causes involves accounting for the history and current positioning of Canada and its institutions as upholding its settler colonial, imperialist and capitalist character. Third, is to develop an alternative purpose and process to build towards sustainable education, in a similar fashion to IBON's model of nationalist, mass-oriented, scientific education. Finally, all of this must be rooted in a mass base of people directly impacted by these issues. Building alliances with organizations of common analysis also sustains the work. Thus, the steps to transforming education can be reconsidered within this broader understanding of social transformation. The idea of building power to transform education seems not so far fetched once faced with a model to glean insight from.

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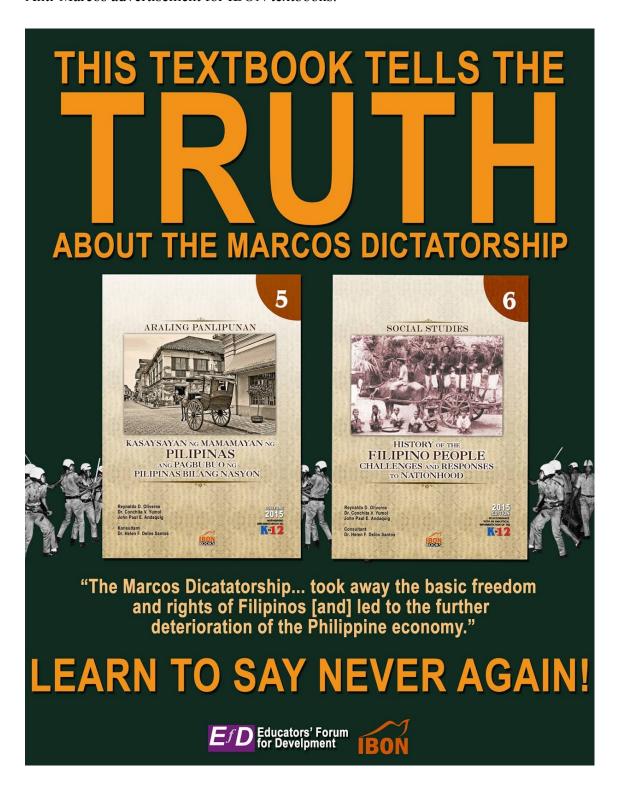
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Appendix A

Anti-Marcos advertisement for IBON textbooks.



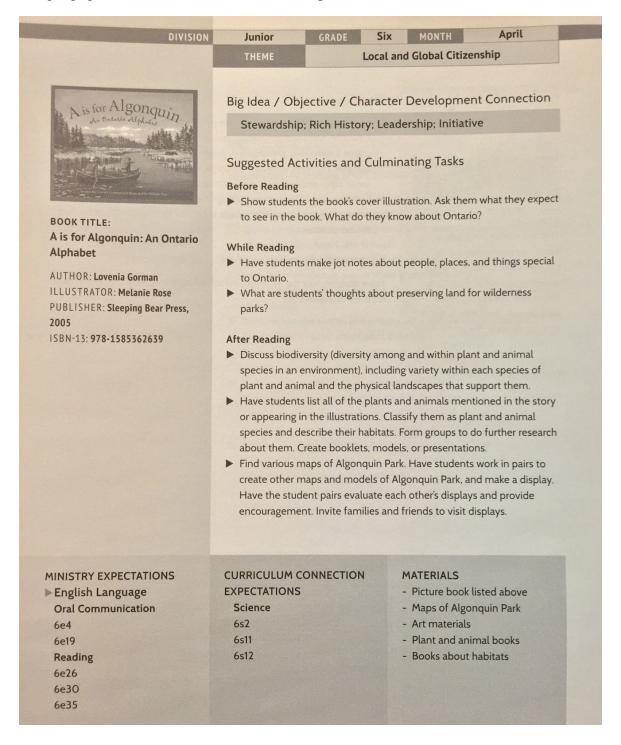
Appendix B

Sample comic on community organizing from June-August 2006 *Sibikomiks* Magazine for Grades 3 and 4



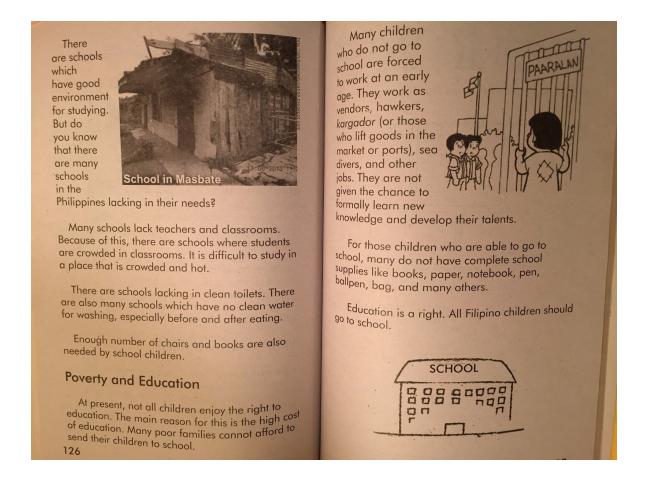
Appendix C

Sample page from the ETFO Social Justice Begins With Me educator's kit.



Appendix D

IBON Grade 1 textbook, Unit 3 discussion of inequity within the education system and the conditions faced by public school students.



Appendix E

Photo of IBON journals (on middle shelf) purchased for library display in an IBON partner school, Philippines



Appendix F

Print press (above) and stacks of folded textbook signatures hand-packaged for binding (below) in the IBON Print Shoppe

