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Abolish the University: Build the Sanctuary Campus

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The pursuit of knowing was freedom to me.

—Ta-Nahesi Coates, *Between the World and Me*

We must work and insist and repeat and invent and never give up.

—Hélène Cixous, *Perpetual Peace Project*

As a longtime professor of humanities who has taught in four universities in two countries, it may seem strange to call for the abolition of the very institution that has given and continues to give so very much to me. But that is precisely what I am saying. Why? Simply put, universities are facing unprecedented levels of agonized distress: anxious and dispirited students, precariously employed faculty, and over-worked and under-resourced staff all make for a disillusioned and disillusioning mess. Manifestly unjust structures of oppression that thrum through Canadian society also mar campus life. As far as concerns about unfairness and exhaustion are concerned, students, staff, and faculty work in a city without walls. Racialized exclusion, the looming climate catastrophe, and debilitating levels of indebtedness threaten even the most resourceful and committed students, of which there are very many. At my university, the

office devoted to ensuring accessibility to students reports having to make 911 calls each week. The pandemic conditions have only made these fractures and open wounds more legible. There is so much going on that is unnecessarily hurtful and unhealthful on campus, just below or just at the surface of universities that otherwise spend so much time and energy broadcasting messages of success, innovation, achievement, resilience, and excellence. Smart, purposive students who are simply struggling to survive are compelled to endure patronizing university promises of a "brighter future."² Brighter, but for whom? While the university gazes into the far off light I am more worried about how to keep the eyes of my students from growing accustomed to the dark. It is time, and long since time, that Canadian campuses stop believing a great part of their own hype and really look at what their citizens are enduring in the workplace and in classrooms—time to radically transform the university's priorities, specifically by putting the health and well-being of its people *first*. The harm done to individuals and communities on campus violates the very idea of the public university. To adapt something Immanuel Kant once said as a professor watching the youth of Europe destroyed by endless wars, if some campus citizens are harmed, then everyone is harmed.³ So my question is this: what would the Canadian university look like if it made the labor of frankly addressing the conditions that create that suffering, as well as the affirmation of human capabilities, its very *highest* priorities—higher than our international ranking, research productivity, enrolment figures, or "excellence." What would a healthy, inclusive, and, indeed, abolitionist university look like, meaning not a university that addresses harm after the fact or as an administrative problem but instead a campus for which flourishing, justice, dignity, equality, and well-being are given absolute precedence--and therefore guiding all campus policies and practices, not to mention self-understandings and self-representations, from

the ground up?

Let us consider abolishing higher education as it is currently organized and administered and replace it with what I will call *the sanctuary campus*.⁴ The phrase is not mine. Historically speaking, sanctuary universities in the United States and Europe are institutions that offer substantive protections to all members of the campus community who are undocumented immigrants. Sanctuary is activated by a strongly practical sense of what it means to act ethically and to be hospitable. A sanctuary university both teaches and learns how to cede one's place and voice to the needs, strengths, and aspirations of others (never a gesture that isn't imbued with complex forms of power, of course, as Jacques Derrida more than anyone has argued⁵). And by committing itself to that welcoming practice, a sanctuary university risks undergoing an irrevocable abrogation and transformation.⁶ In other words, I am suggesting, a university must first and foremost be hospitable—with all the ongoing struggle, ambivalence, and ardor that that enormously over-determined term will always imply—to the others of "itself," to other concepts and practices and organizations of the very thought of the university. The university that abolishes itself should by rights welcome the stranger and become a stranger to itself. For a university to become a sanctuary campus—never an assured metamorphosis—means that the institution of higher education endures and embraces the failure of its "internal coherence." (Derrida 2004, 92). A sanctuary campus forges just communities and creates revolutionary opportunities out of the delirious space and time of that dereliction, out of "the university's inability to comprehend itself in the purity of its inside" (Derrida 2004, 93). There is then no university, *not as such*. Which means, among many other things, that it is of necessity

heterogeneous and historical, as changeable as it is impure. The university, if there is such a thing, is abolishable because it has always already abolished itself, troubled to the core by differences, inequalities, conflicts, and intersecting and opposed publics, as well as a chorus of calls to do justice, all of which it often prefers to diminish or ignore while in pursuit of accomplishing its stated "mission."

McMaster, the Canadian public institution where I am honored to work, can learn a lot from the example of the sanctuary university. McMaster could abolish itself and *become* instead a sanctuary campus. I happen to think all universities should offer such protections and embrace such wholesale mutations. Sanctuary should be our default demeanor, how we who work here face and engage the world in which we are so deeply and complexly embedded. A sanctuary campus offers the chance to flourish not only to undocumented immigrants but also to everyone who seeks a place in its midst: as members of the university community, it is our job, or it *should* be our job, continuously to adapt to the needs of others and pro-actively to create the conditions that welcome all others, that publicly and unashamedly declares that the university mitigates harm, sheltering and nurturing the widest possible range of human capabilities and solidarities. Not as a matter of policy, to be punted to isolated initiatives and under-resourced services, but as a matter of *principle*, by which I mean governing everything the university does and says that it is. So I'm proposing that we adapt this evocative and storied phrase, "sanctuary university," and use it to describe and to anchor a much more purposively inclusive and heterogeneous community that makes the health and well-being of its citizens, and thus the abolition of the conditions that stand in the way of meeting these desiderata, its most cherished objective.

Because it is structured by a fundamental obligation to do good and to do justice, and because it is structured by a principle rather than a policy, a sanctuary campus strives to be cruelty-free.

Every person on campus, whether staff, students, or faculty, *deserves* to be treated with dignity and respect, and *deserves* to work in conditions committed to fairness and safety, and *deserves* to teach and learn in ways that embrace the extraordinarily different ways in which people experience and understand this strange thing called "education." We who call ourselves professors know these things to be undeniably true; we differently feel this ethical imperative in our bodies and souls, whether we are ourselves subjected to aggression, violence, danger, exclusion, disrespect, indifference, or whether we observe these injuries inflicted on others, both on and off campus. So why don't we work in a university that more readily recognizes these facts and, rather than repeating well-meaning platitudes about inclusiveness, offers real and lasting sanctuary? Why don't we work in a university that radically re-organizes itself in both large and small ways to ensure that everyone can do so much more than merely survive, whether as workers or teachers or learners?

Various important initiatives and services at Canadian universities are available whose objective is to address suffering and affirm human flourishing. Thank goodness for each and every one of these efforts and thank goodness too for those thousand everyday acts of caring compassion that so often go unrecognized by everyone but the ones to whom succor and encouragement is offered. Thank goodness, I say, meaning that being answerable to something like the affirmation of the good already activates many of our best practices on campus. But as anybody working

compassionately with others at universities knows, whatever good we are doing, and a great deal of good is being done, it is often too little, too reactive, and with too few resources, whether we are talking about heroic staff striving to ensure equity, diversity, and inclusion on campus, to labor leaders trying as best they can to address the needs of members whose work is cutting them to the quick, to exhausted professors (too often, disproportionately professors who identify as female) struggling to absorb the concerns of their distraught students. What feels on the ground to be the most important question that we could be addressing is not the most important question from the perspective of the university's "visioning statements" whose very nature is to look to the future rather than to tarry with the human cost of what got us to the place where we are today. I'm suggesting that all this needs to change and change quickly. In a way, we are at best forced to work in a *triaged* university, treating inequity and suffering on campus as a local emergency rather than a chronically debilitating condition and a sorrowful part of the everydayness of campus life. That's inhumane. That's deeply unfair. And it would be in any context, but we are talking about a triage mentality operating at the heart of an institution that otherwise lays claim to being a city on the hill, a beacon of enlightenment and progress rallied around evidence-based learning. I happen to work at a university that rightly prides itself on the power and prestige and creativity of its health sciences, but I also work at a university in which the health and well-being of its *own* citizens is not treated like a governing principle or an ethical obligation that must be met and met unapologetically and without fail. A sanctuary campus, on the other hand, is a university that welcomes others, creating flourishing conditions not only for its human denizens but also for the myriad non-human creatures that accompany us in our travels each and every day. For what would it mean to greet these other creatures with open arms and to fall under their

mortal and disarming gaze rather than imperiously to incarcerate them in our laboratories or eat their flesh in our cafeterias? Let us not forget that injustice is irreducible to inhumanity. The sanctuary campus makes promises about ensuring the health and well-being of all of its diverse citizens and then acts on those promises everywhere and at every level.

None of what I am saying here is in fact new. Generations of anti-oppression activists, many speaking from places of exclusion and pain, have pressed for the transformation of the university into a more just, equitable, and healthful place. Advocacy groups, student organizations, labor leaders, care-givers, committed teachers, and thoughtful administrators have repeatedly called for the university not simply to manage its inequalities but to abolish them in the name of fairness and dignity. My suggestion is that those summons to action need now, more than ever, to be treated as adding up to something wrenchingly transformational, beginning with a full and frank acknowledgement of the structures of oppression and wounding harm that thrum through the society that is the public university.

McMaster University has recently embraced a new "visioning statement:" *Advancing human and societal health and well-being.*⁷ I have a lot of problems with this motto, not least of which is how it unashamedly disappears forms of inquiry—in particular, those closely associated with the Faculty of Humanities—that would turn the university's attention to all that has been sacrificed and lost in the name of "advancement," including the improvement of the putatively "right" kind of being "human." Arts and humanities students, activated by the spirit of critique and answerable to the burdens of historical knowledge, are perhaps best equipped to caution against

thoughtlessly adhering to the abstract and unencumbered universality of all plenipotent proclamations, and impertinently to ask from where, exactly, do they draw their resplendent authority. If we are a public university that is considering branding itself in this supposedly novel way, why on earth would we not *begin* by acting on the promise that we are a sanctuary campus, that is, an institution that on principle shelters and affirms the idea that we support the health and well-being of our own citizens, while also promoting the health and well-being of unnamed others—in other words, that we are willing and able to practice what we preach? If we are university educators, then how can we not believe in the educability *and* the mutability of the university, beginning with our university? It seems absurd to me, and grossly hypocritical, to discuss our university's global mission as one devoted to human flourishing without exemplifying that commitment everywhere on campus, especially for our existing and prospective students, especially for those who think and learn and exist in the world in unconventional or marginalized ways. Let us begin this work by not looking longingly towards the future and instead tarrying with what we have done and what we have failed to do.

To describe itself as a sanctuary campus, universities would need to attend actively and proactively to the thriving of all those who make it work; a sanctuary campus makes a deep sense of welcome and belonging not one concern among many but instead a *primary* concern, a catalyst for sustained and sustaining change, and a common standard against which to measure each and every policy decision, university directive, program design, mission statement, condition of employment, teaching and learning practice, and student, staff, and faculty experience. A sanctuary campus is a university that understands the health and well-being of its staff, students,

and faculty to be much more than an administrative question, calling for managerial solutions. Such solutions, such operationalizations, are of course necessary. But the point here is to imagine and then to create a university that isn't reducible to managerialism when the very lives of its citizens are on the line. Affirming dignity is after all not a strategic plan but a way of being-together. A sanctuary campus treats the practice of welcoming its citizens as an *existential* question, an ineluctably political spur to rethinking what higher education is and can be. It is a place that shelters the labor of connecting health and well-being, always in intersectional ways, to other pressing social and cultural concerns, from white supremacy to economic inequality to the climate change to the injurious effects of settler-colonialism, racism, homophobia, sexism, speciesism, among other gaping wounds in the social body and therefore in the body of the university. I hasten to add that focusing on health and well-being is not an "opportunity" for the university to exploit, i.e., in the name of increasing productivity, but instead a means by which to radically reconsider what on earth, amid the ongoing ravages of the 21st century, a university is good for.

A sanctuary campus is not, strictly speaking, a *refuge*, not an escape from the world but is instead much more candidly and courageously a university that speaks *to* the world and *of* the world, modeling for others what Martha Nussbaum calls "a capabilities approach"—an ethical demeanor and political practice that jettisons the deracinating notion of individuals as isolated atoms and instead embraces the irreducible interdependence of life on and off campus.⁸ A sanctuary campus says loudly and clearly, for all to hear, that university is not *The Hunger Games*, not a place in which the strong are winnowed from the weak, not a place where you are expected to survive

rather than thrive, not a place where every person is assumed to sink or swim mostly on their own initiative, and not a place where the objective is to wring every last drop of life and labor from staff, students, and faculty. A sanctuary campus never assumes that harm means the same thing to everyone, not when the communities that define these injuries are often those least susceptible to them. Compassion, not compliance, should be the instructive principle. A sanctuary campus makes room, course by course, program by program, class by class, for students to falter, waver, circle back, catch their breath, miss the mark, and fail. . . but to experience these set-backs, which, after all, are endemic to education and to the educational relation, not in solitude, much less embarrassment or shame but surrounded by helping hands and understanding ears. A sanctuary campus does everything it can to abolish the conditions that lead to feelings of isolating disgrace or experiences of neglectful invisibility, and thus the terrific toll that such wounds take on mental and physical health. A sanctuary campus embraces new languages, new idioms with which to practice and experience teaching, including joy, care, pleasure, compassion, humility, and love. Yes, there is room, indeed, lots and lots of room, for *love* in teaching and learning. Let us not flinch from this word, so important, after all, to what it means to thrive and to grow; let us not dismiss it too quickly as "sentimental" or "inappropriate" or "naive," i.e., a word and an idea that cannot possibly be meaningful to administrators and managers and educators, not useful or operative in an institution founded on rational inquiry. No, a sanctuary university puts love—and therefore mutuality and humility—at the center of the classroom experience and at the heart of program administration. At a sanctuary campus, being cherished by others and learning to cherish oneself are deeply connected to falling in love with knowledge. Learning in love and with love will always take precedence, finally, over a student's

competence in a particular subject. Question: Can the university stand for that arduous possibility? Can it withstand all the solidarities, disruptions, and intellectual energies that would be released in the classroom that was activated by compassion, pleasure, and love? Teaching with love affirms the degree to which learning is about usufruct not possession or self-possession—that is to say, the enjoyment of uncertain, distributed, and tumultuous pleasures rather than settling for the illusory sureties of isolation, self-sufficiency, and ownership. Teaching and learning with love means education is not mine to have but ours to share. As Rebecca Gagan, a Teaching Professor at the University of Victoria wisely says in her recent podcast, "Waving, Not Drowning," "teaching and learning with love" is vitally important in a nation in which so many, including so many Indigenous children, were taught in schools cruelly emptied of love—schools, I would only add, that were predicated on the white supremacist dictum of "advancing human and societal health and well-being."⁹ In the ongoing shadow of those atrocities, and as one small way to recognize and grieve those losses, let us imagine our classrooms and our workplaces completely anew.¹⁰

If the pandemic has taught me anything as a professor it is the importance of teaching and learning in love and with love. Notwithstanding the deracinating conditions in which many of my students are currently living, I must not forget what it means to love teaching, to love learning, to model for others what it means to love knowledge, and to try as best as I can, even if only sometimes through the tiny aperture of a web-cam, to ensure that students feel free to experience their education as a labor of love—brimming with difficulty and worry and heartbreak, yes, but also joy and pleasure and hope. It wouldn't be love, true love, without experiencing all

of those rowdy and unpredictable things. A sanctuary campus welcomes love as the unruly stranger to education who ends up totally renovating the host. It would be an understatement to say that the pandemic has in many ways mutated higher education; but to me that only proves the point that the university isn't a *fait accompli*, unalterable or at best slowly alterable, but instead capable of reconstructing itself quickly and in consequential ways. To be sure, the pandemic makes legible, as never before, the inequities that splinter the social body; but it has also demonstrated that institutions of higher learning, like all institutions, are entirely contingent constructions, mere fabrications that are open—or should be open—to perpetual interrogation, modification, and abolition. Can we dare to imagine, then, a revolution not, or not only, in how universities are administered or how classes are delivered but instead a campus that suffers a transformation for nothing less than the good, and for goodness's sake? I don't feel uncomfortable speaking of the good, or of the difficult labor of determining what goodness means or can mean in the context of university classrooms, committees, and workplaces. How did sterile talk about outcomes, productivity, success, and excellence come to suffocate thinking together about probity, nourishment, compassion, struggle, and responsibility? A sanctuary campus, a university of humility, reciprocity, and hospitality re-examines and then reshapes itself, from top to bottom, from management styles to curricula, from work-place conditions to the makeup of committees, from the labor negotiations to how faculty conduct classes and conduct themselves in classes. A sanctuary campus is characterized by patience, sheltering a place for experimentation in the adoption of new and more purposefully humane solidarities, administrative styles, course designs, program structures, testing strategies, performance indicia, among many other things. If the sanctuary campus is to have a motto it should come in the form

of an open-ended provocation about the present rather than a confident announcement about the future. Try: "In the midst of our individual fears, what are our shared responsibilities?"

Let me conclude by emphasizing again that by sanctuary campus I do not mean a university that offers "refuge"—that is, a bubble into which to withdraw or hide. Now, offering "refuge" is a marvelous practice in a time when there is far too little of it. Speaking personally, school for me was always a place of shelter, hugely anxiety producing, yes, but also a source of solace and stability in an otherwise unfeeling and alienating world. But a sanctuary campus is not a cloister; no, by sanctuary I mean a Shiloh, meaning a "place of peace," remembering that peaceableness is not a sabbatical from demanding queries and piercingly critical thinking but the condition of their concerted, hazardous, and unending intensification. By sanctuary I mean a joyously public-facing campus that is fully *engaged* with the world, with many worlds, and with the very idea that there is only *a* "world"—a world, after all, that is nothing more than a murderously destructive mirage, born out of settler colonial violence, the predations of extractive capital, and chattel slavery. A sanctuary campus is a setting and a *milieu* that gives capacious and spacious room to "difficult knowledge,"¹¹ unbearable questions,¹² counter-intuitive ideas, and the thoughts that unsettle and disrupt our deepest held assumptions about the nature of things. A sanctuary campus abolishes the policed cellularization of disciplines, and instead sinks substantial resources into ensuring communities both off and on campus remain porous, teaching each other and learning from each other's successes and failures. A sanctuary campus is quickened through and through by a demonstrable commitment to fostering diverse strengths, histories, hopes, and solidarities, identities and doing so not as some abstract "mission," to be replaced by another

"mission" with the coming of another senior administration, but as a matter of *principle*, meaning, a specifically ethical commitment to the affirmation of difference, the formation of confederations of just communities—never assured or achieved, but always a laborious project to be undertaken yet once more—and the alleviation of the conditions of suffering that cannot waver because these desiderata are stitched into the very fabric of an education that is worthy of the name. A sanctuary campus abolishes the university. A sanctuary campus stands for peace.

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Notes

¹ The premise of this position paper, which is meant as a provocation, a lure to thought, originates in work that I have recently completed as a member of the McMaster University Teaching and Learning Advisory Board and of the McMaster University Okanagan Mental Health & Well-being Task Force Workplace and Educational Environment Sub-Committee, the latter chaired by Dr. Catharine Munn and Ms. Lynn Armstrong. I am grateful to Dr. Munn and Ms. Armstrong for inviting me to write the paper.

² “Brighter World” is the current widely distributed marketing slogan for McMaster University.

<https://discover.mcmaster.ca/our-story/>

³ In the Third Definitive Article of Kant’s *Toward Perpetual Peace*, the philosopher argues that “a violation of right on *one* place of the earth is felt in *all*” (Kant 1995, 330).

⁴ My colleague, Rodrigo Narro Pérez, has since told me that the idea of a “sanctuary university” has been introduced before at McMaster, a reminder that work devoted to building a more inclusive university has a robust history on campus and is of course already underway. Fred Moten and Stefano Harney (2020) call for universities to abolish their racial logics (palpable in everything from their hiring practices to their campus security apparatuses) and so, in a sense, abolish themselves. See also Abigail Boggs, Eli Meyerhoff, Nick Mitchell, and Zach Schwartz-Weinstein (nd.).

⁵ See, for example, Derrida’s exploration of the mixture of hostility and welcome that is constitutive of hospitality (Derrida 2000b).

⁶ Elsewhere (Clark 2018) I have explored at length the possibilities of a university that declares “hospitality” to others and otherness, as well as a capacity to be addressed by the suffering of others, to be its primary orientation. That essay falls into two movements. In the first section I discuss the importance both of the public university rendering itself answerable to suffering and of the struggle to learn to be more consequentially hospitable to others—including other ways of being a university; in the second section I discuss working directly with students to develop an anti-Islamophobic practice of hospitality.

⁷ For example, on its homepage, McMaster University announces that “Our Purpose” is “Advancing human and societal health and well-being.” <https://discover.mcmaster.ca/our-story/>.

⁸ See, for example, Martha Nussbaum *Creating Capabilities* (2011).

⁹ I owe the idea of “teaching and learning in love” to Professor Rebecca Gagan, who discusses the question in the latter part of her podcast, “Introducing: Waving, Not Drowning” (podcast), January 22, 2021, accessed 1 August 2021. <https://anchor.fm/uvic-bounce/episodes/Introducing-Waving--Not-Drowning-epa82d>. The phrase’s origins lie in Indigenous wisdom. As Professor Gagan notes, she learned the phrase from a conversation with Andrea Cranmer, Co-founder and Group Leader, Tsasala Cultural Group, <https://www.tsasalaculturalgroup.ca> www.cultureshocklife.com.

¹⁰ I am referring here, of course, to the recent, awful discoveries (or re-discoveries) of the unmarked graves of hundreds of Indigenous students on the grounds of residential schools across Canada. Residential schools were established by the Canadian government and administered by churches and religious orders. They operated from the 1880s until the late 1990s. Ostensibly educational institutions, the schools forcibly separated children both from their parents and from their Indigenous histories and languages. Students were subjected to horrendous forms of physical and psychological violence, including sexual abuse, all in the name of assimilation into white settler culture. For accounts of the lawlessness and cruelty of the residential school system see, for example, Erin Hanson (2009). For a first-hand account of a survivor of the residential schools, see the autobiographical letter by Mr. Russ Moses, addressed to a representative of the Department of Indian Affairs (1965), <https://blogs.kent.ac.uk/bts/2021/07/14/russ-moses-and-the-mohawk-institute-indian-residential-school/>. For brief remarks about the implications of the discovery of the remains of these students for educators, see Clark (2021), “The fact that teachers committed these crimes makes matters worse,”

<https://www.thespec.com/opinion/contributors/2021/06/17/the-fact-that-teachers-committed-these-crimes-makes-matters-worse.html>

¹¹ I borrow the now widely taken up term "difficult knowledge" from the influential educational theorist, Deborah P. Britzman (Britzman and Pitt [2003]).

¹² The "unbearable question" is the generative and disruptive opening to entirely new regions of knowledge that "the Stranger" brings to ancient Greek philosophy in Plato's dialogues. For a discussion of the "unbearable question," see, for example, Jacques Derrida, *Of Hospitality* (2000a).