

**White Settler-Colonialism, International Development Education, and the Question of
Futurity:
A Content Analysis of the University of Ottawa Master's Program Mandatory Syllabi
in Globalization and International Development**

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Abstract

In this thesis I explore the relationships between post-secondary education in the field of international development, and the maintenance and practices of white settler-colonialism at home and abroad. My method is to search for recurring present and absent themes found in French and English course syllabi of the Canadian Master's Program in Globalization and International Development of the University of Ottawa. Through search strings in 81 syllabi of four mandatory courses taught over an 8-year period, 2007-2015, I find that colonialism is little mentioned, and when it is, it is usually either as something of the past or something geographically distant. I conclude that, for students, academics and others to address settler-colonialism as an obstacle to decolonization, requires (1) acknowledging their current role in naturalizing settler-colonialism, (2) denaturalizing the logics of settler-colonialism, and (3) working to deliberately give up on white settler futures, while other futures (Indigenous futures) are flourishing through the process of decolonization. While this content analysis is only a small and possibly ungeneralizable example of higher education and its simultaneous potential for colonization and decolonization, it nevertheless represents an addition to the few applications of the theoretical field of settler-colonial studies and of its material implications.

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1. Introduction

1.1. How the Thesis Idea Began

When I began my Master of Arts (MA) Program at the University of Ottawa in Globalization and International Development, I had come from an undergraduate program at Concordia University in Women's Studies that prepared me to engage with the fact that global situations are transnational, and that the undoing of oppression starts from home, from within.

I assumed that the starting point of my new MA program would be the same. I saw many students choose our MA program with the hope of landing a job that would allow them to both travel internationally and to commendably feel fulfilled about doing something about the world's challenges at the same time. I personally chose this program for the globalization part, hoping to come across new ways to critically and intimately engage with it. I assumed that a program that sees the world as grounds for interventions would not replicate *terra nullius* where its very infrastructures stand by not acknowledging the unceded Algonquin land it has always been on. I am now, however, writing a whole thesis about the MA program as I encountered something different from what I expected.

Through my experience living on unceded Algonquin Nations Territory, known as Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, I have seen strong local Indigenous communities and individuals who know the solutions to the priorities they establish, such as 9/10 Algonquins Nations resisting controversial condo development on unceded and sacred Asinabka Island (known as Chaudiere

and Albert Islands) at the time of writing¹. However, I realized that for various reasons, not all spaces are conducive, welcoming and legitimizing of Indigenous-led decolonizing initiatives or discourses. Those spaces are considered to be everyday normal and comfortable spaces for (white) settler people like myself, such as some graduate seminars in international development. These spaces are comfortable as long as certain unwritten rules are not disturbed, a fact with which I have experienced. I ask myself: why is it that talk of Indigenous self-determination is the norm in certain spaces but dismissed as anarchist or overtly spiritual in others, or is sometimes accompanied with comments such as “we are all Indigenous anyway”² – a common response which refuses responsibility by erasing the fact that being Indigenous means facing colonization, which continues today (Kuokkanen, 2007, p. 10)?

I thus became interested in processes of non-metaphorical decolonization (Tuck & Yang, 2012), as defined (and in my rewording) as the boundless reclaiming of spaces and lands, bodies, and meanings that cater to “Indigenous futurity” (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013, p. 80). What is Indigenous futurity? To paraphrase Tuck (2011) and Nixon (2016), it is living, restoring and producing life unapologetically, threading traditions and technologies, as if the present and future worlds are Indigenous. It “forecloses settler-colonialism” in its entirety (but not necessarily of settlers themselves) (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013, p. 80). On the other hand, (white) settler futurity is living life on the assumption that white settler-colonialism will (or should) continue. It requires and practices a nonchalant yet violent erasure of Indigenous peoples. (White) settler futurity is the “permanent virtuality of the settler on stolen land” (Baldwin, 2012, as cited in Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013, p. 80).

¹ See <http://ottawahistorytours.com/uncategorized/stop-windmills-zibi-project-on-the-chaudiere-islands-a-sacred-algonquin-site/>, Elder Albert Dumont on the issue <http://albertdumont.com/asinabka-a-compromise/> and William Felepchuck and Brian McDougall’ Podcast <http://rabble.ca/podcasts/shows/talking-radical-radio/2016/08/settler-solidarity-against-colonial-urban-development#.V6IZ07Ua4Kc.twitter>

² This was told to me by a professor after I presented on Globalization and Indigenous Resistance in one of my seminars.

I recognize that the binary categories of Indigenous and white settler (futures) are not always an accurate reflection of lived experiences, as the realities of people may also overlap in myriad ways, entangling them in the settler-colonial project differently (Battel Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 17; Day, 2015, p. 103; Morgensen, 2011b, p. 19, 21; Thobani, 2007, p. 16-17; Lawrence & Dua, 2005, p. 121). That being said, I believe Tuck's concepts of white settler futurity and Indigenous futurity have incorporated the joint working of anti-blackness (Tuck & Gorlewski, 2016) and cisheteropatriarchy (Arvin, Tuck, Morrill, 2013) for instance.

Through decolonization, settlers must find ways to exist in a world that does not cater to their future (Flowers, 2015, p. 34, 38). This thesis is therefore informed by a politics of solidarity and mostly (ac)complicity³, and inspired by Patricia Angus-Monture (1995, pp. 253-4), who stated that non-Aboriginal people could be of "great assistance if they assisted us in turning the conversation around" in Canada to demand accountability. Additionally, Indigenous feminist scholarship has identified the deconstruction of settler logics in curricula as a good place for settlers to start to question Indigenous dispossession (Arvin, Tuck, Morrill, 2013, p. 25). I thus hope to contribute to the shift into making the present settler colonial reality a "Canadian" problem rather than an *Aboriginal* one (Morcom, 2015), without leaving aside self-identified Indigenous priorities.

I focus on higher education, in part because an emerging literature identifies this as having distinct characteristics in terms of colonization and decolonization: higher education can normalize the rule of settler-colonialism (Simpson & Smith, 2014, p. 6), and academic fields that rely on evidence-base education inadvertently engage in a colonial discourse, which in turn

³ "Accomplicity" is a recent term used to define "solidarity work" in grassroots organizing and direct action oriented towards decolonization in response to the "Ally Industrial Complex". See *Accomplices Not Allies: Abolishing the Ally Industrial Complex* at <http://www.indigenousaction.org/wp-content/uploads/accomplices-not-allies-print-friendly.pdf>

perpetuates current imperial interests and unequal material relations of power (Shahjahan, 2011, pp. 181, 184). Curricula in higher education can support colonization first through eurocentrism (Kerr, 2014, p. 92; Battiste, 2013, p. 103, 105). Specifically, some of the foundational concepts in higher education, like modernity and liberalism (and their correlates of “seamless progress, industrialization, democracy, secularization, humanism, linear time, scientific reasoning, and modern nation states”) (Mignolo, 2002, cited in De Oliveira Andreotti, 2015, p. 23), continue to shun Indigenous epistemologies (Kuokkannen, 2007, pp. 1, 5, 14). Even when curricula rarely mentions Indigenous peoples, they do so in a “and partial” way (Little Bear, 2009, p. 17) and can be problematically taught by non-Indigenous educators (Violet-Lee, 2015a). In sum, while higher education may not have the same history as, for example, residential schools, higher education nevertheless played and continues to play a powerful role in shaping ideologies that enable and naturalize past and present settler-colonialism.

1.2. Research Question

In my research question I ask: what kind of future – Indigenous or white settler – is assumed in the core foundation of the uOttawa MA program in Globalization and International Development? I will explain later (in the Methods section below) why I chose the “core foundation” but suffice to say here that by this I mean the compulsory courses, and primarily the compulsory readings in those courses. I was less interested (again, I will explain why further below) in the possibilities (like optional courses, joint programs, internships, coop placements, and other activities that students could explore) and more in the *mandated* lessons to be learned. In other words, what kind of future is assumed – Indigenous or white settler – within the content that a student *must* know in order to graduate from this program?

1.3. Methodology

In this section, I explain the questions I asked myself as a student in this program, and how I came to find a theoretical framework and methodology that might help me better understand how to answer those questions.

As a student in the MA program, I sometimes questioned my professors and fellow students on how we could better understand and respond to the colonial present in which we lived – a university and the surrounding area, all built on Indigenous land that was never ceded in an agreement or treaty. I encountered a variety of responses when attempting to make connections between Indigenous communities and extractive based development projects; I was told that colonialism (and even the most superficial aspects of decolonization, such as free and prior informed consent (FPIC) in development and research projects) was impossible to address as it would mean anarchy or again, that Indigeneity did not matter in the contemporary world as “we’re all Indigenous from somewhere in the end”. I was left with the strong impression that our program operated from the assumption that the future was a settler future, the present was a settler present, and that neither of these assumptions could even be named, let alone challenged. Furthermore, I was left feeling that as someone who wished to study the colonial present and the possibility of an Indigenous future, I was in the wrong program. I was literally asked, “So why are you in this program then?” given my interest in settler-colonialism in Canada and transnationally.

As a researcher, however, I had to try to identify a method to verify whether my impressions were representative of anything more than my own lived experience with the program. After reading a substantial number of Indigenous critiques of colonialism in education,

I eventually chose the framework of settler-colonial studies because it invites non-Indigenous people to “look at the problem that was hidden in plain sight all along, that is the settler” (Veracini, 2015, back cover as cited in Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015). Calderon (2014) applies the framework of settler-colonial studies to the study of social sciences curricula through the analysis of a series of presences and absences (p. 313). I adopt her approach and analyze the meanings of absent or present keywords in accordance to what the framework of settler-colonial studies highlights.

With the experience I have in the program, I hypothesized that if I were to search for terms referencing colonialism, and especially colonialism in Canada, I would find absences rather than presences. I also hypothesized that if I were to search for mention of Indigeneity in syllabi, and especially key readings, Indigenous peoples would be treated as if they were among a series of “minorities” within the white settler state, rather than being nations. If this were the case, my exploratory findings would correspond to the theory in settler-colonial studies that colonialism is “naturalized”, i.e. that those who benefit from colonialism might “not understand themselves as predicated on colonial occupation or on a (violent) history of settler-Indigenous relation (even though they are)” (Rifkin, M., 2014, p. 9).

I considered my research to be exploratory, not confirmatory, because in my search for literature on methods and methodology, I was unable to come across someone who had done this before. I chose my search terms inductively: searching for a term, then for its related terms (e.g. colonialism, colonised, etc.), and then reading through each and every context in which it appeared. Like other researchers in settler-colonial studies, I treated absences and presences of contextualized keywords as non-coincidental, meaning that these absences and presences represented assumptions. In my content analysis, this therefore addressed my research question

and helped in questioning and understanding the kind of future – Indigenous or settler – assumed in the key readings in our program.

1.4. Methods

My choice to study the Master of Arts program in Globalization and International Development at the University of Ottawa partly has to do with access – my program kindly agreed to my study and to share all syllabi with me – but partly because this particular program in international development education is remarkable for its breadth and depth. Specifically, while it represents a popular area (with at least 15 such Master's degrees across Canada)⁴, this chosen program takes place within the largest Canadian academic unit dedicated to international development.⁵

The documents I use to identify present and absent themes of the program include: (1) the official description of the program on the webpage of the School of International Development and Global Studies from the University of Ottawa; and mostly (2) the syllabi of compulsory courses since the start of the program in 2007. The School kindly shared these publicly accessible syllabi for the purpose of my Master's thesis research. I use the syllabi of compulsory courses in the core MA program, rather than optional courses or courses in collaborative MA programs, because I want to work with the self-established core of international development education. For instance, Indigenous sovereignty might be discussed in an optional course or in a collaborative program, but by virtue of being within a course that is either offered outside the School or not compulsory, this topic of Indigenous sovereignty is seen as a matter of

⁴ The number only includes Masters in International Development and excludes masters in International Relations, International Management, International Business, International Communication, International Politics, International Trade, Comparative International Development Education, International Security. Repertoire available at: <http://www.canadian-universities.net/>

⁵ See homepage of the program: <http://socialsciences.uottawa.ca/international-development-global-studies/>

“specialization” or of personal interest of the student, and not a prerequisite for international development students to obtain a Master of international development and globalization.

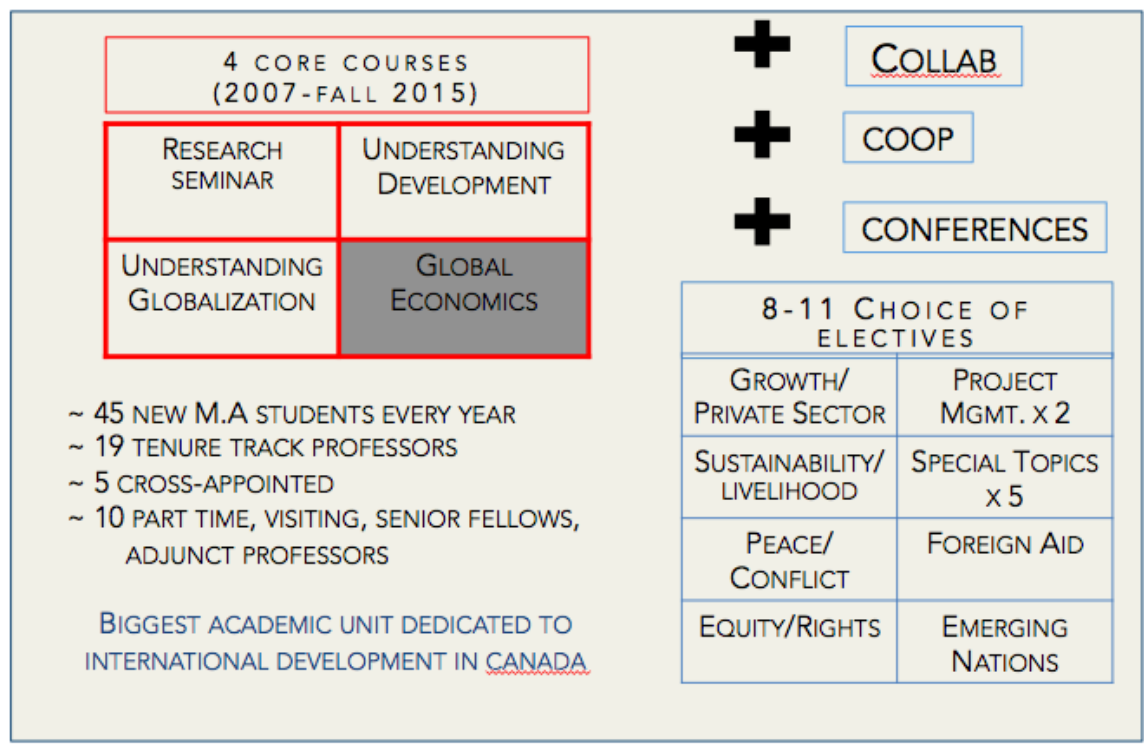


Figure 1. Overview of the MA Program in Globalization and International Development

Figure 1 shows an overview of the master’s program, with 4 core courses and a range from 8-11 elective courses that are more or less about the topics listed above. There are non-mandatory conferences, COOP program and collaborative program with other departments that are available to students. The master’s program of international development at the University of Ottawa seeks to prepare students to both pursue higher education or to “land a job in the field of international development”⁶. There are four compulsory courses for non-collaborative programs in international development, for both the option of the thesis and major research paper. They are: Understanding Development, Understanding Globalization, Research Seminar, and Global

⁶ Website Page Of The School Of International Development And Global Studies , Why Study, Accessed At: [Http://Socialsciences.Uottawa.Ca/International-Development-Global-Studies/Why-Study](http://Socialsciences.Uottawa.Ca/International-Development-Global-Studies/Why-Study)

Economic Issues. From 2007 until fall 2015, these 4 core courses remained the same and they were taught 81 times, which means that I worked with 81 syllabi. Each syllabi represents one of the 4 course and thus contains the year and semester when it was used. These 4 core courses are taught at least once each during the span of a year, so that students with the thesis option can complete their coursework during the first year of their Masters. A portion of these syllabi are in French and my results also account for the French keywords. Some of these syllabi were used once to teach one of the four core courses. Some of them, as created by the same professor, were slightly modified throughout the years to teach the same course. I include all core courses syllabi since 2007 until fall 2015 because it is when I started to compile and analyze them.

However, it is important to mention that the program underwent its first reform starting fall 2015. It is important to note that since September 2015, the program underwent a reform that does not require students to take the course “global economic issues” anymore.⁷ Following the recent reform, Students in non-collaborative programs now have to take two mandatory courses (DVM5100: Understanding International Development and Globalization and DVM5101: Research Methods) and at least two courses from this list:

1. DVM6101: Economic Growth, Private Sector and Social Inclusion
2. DVM6102: Livelihoods, Resources and Sustainability
3. DVM6103: Conflicts, Transitions and Peace
4. DVM6104: Social Movements, Equity and Human Rights
5. DVM6105: International Development Programming: Result Based Approaches

Before the reform, Understanding Globalization and Understanding Development were two different mandatory courses. Now, they consist of one. The mandatory Research Methods

⁷ All mandatory classes have corresponding ones in french under different but equivalent course codes.

class is still there, although it can be substituted by Feminist Methodologies for students who are in the collaborative program in Feminist Studies.

In order to find themes, I performed research strings with keywords in the folder where the syllabi were saved. To identify the meaning and context of a keyword when it appears, I scanned outlines individually “by hand”, meaning that I opened every single syllabi that corresponded with the keyword that I was researching to see how many times it appears and in which context. This also allowed me to consider in which section of the syllabi the keyword of interest was found, such as in the course description, the course theme, a mandatory reading or a suggested reading. Moreover, it allowed me to discard results in which the keyword of interest was an homonym from the desired meaning. For example, the keyword “race” could refer to racism (a result within the scope of my study) or to arms race (outside of my scope of study). As such, the verification by hand of syllabi enabled me to reject certain results featuring a keyword of interest with the same meaning but as appearing in a irrelevant context or section. An example was with the keyword “religion”, which could be found either as featured in a mandatory course reading (relevant) or in the policies of the university regarding religious holidays (irrelevant).

Themes were researched after extensive literature review on critiques of international development, critiques of university education, various Indigenous perspectives on development, globalization and education and settler-colonial analysis of Canada. With this background in mind, I nevertheless worked inductively, conducting search after search to see what themes would or would not be found. My aim is not to single out professors, who may themselves be constrained by precarity and not hold full freedom in the construction of their syllabi, but to identify long-term trends and patterns that are not specific to individuals but rather represent the discipline or the “canon” of international development.

I supplement the results of this method with critical Indigenous studies literature, activists' inputs and auto-ethnographic anecdotes, which allows me to widen the scope of my thesis in order to support the wider project of decolonization, through the disturbance of the naturalization of white settler-colonialism and the thriving of unapologetically Indigenous futurities and refusals. The results are presented in all chapters when they are most relevant to the gradual discussion.

For this research method, I first encountered one problem. 11/81 syllabi were scanned and the text therefore appeared as images rather than words⁸; this meant that words I would look for were not picked up in these 11 outlines. I came across this problem when I tested my method. The remaining outline was accounted for; it was a schedule with no course description or information about the professor⁹. To fix the problem related to scanned outlines, I used the Optical Character Recognition tool of Google Drive. I uploaded the scanned outlines and opened them with the Google Docs Application, which automatically translated the image into recognizable and searchable words. I replaced the 11 outlines in that way. After the change of formats, "uottawa" yielded 80/81 results, confirming the consistency of the results that will be presented in this thesis.

1.5. Limitations

While selecting only mandatory courses in non-collaborative programs allowed me to identify perceived requirements to be trained as a master of international development, it also was a method with limitations. I enumerate the limitations below but still consider my method as

⁸ The 11 scanned outlines are MDG5122 2007-2008, MDG5120A 2007-2008, MDG5220B 2007-2008, MDG5120C 2008-2009, MDG5123T 2010-2011, MDG5120A 2011-2012, MDG 5120B 2011-2012, MDG5523A 2011-2012, MDG5521A in 2012-2013, MDG 5523A 2012-2013, MDG 5523A 2013-2014

⁹ DVM5121A schedule working

justified by the fact that I am interested to work with the self-established mandatory content of the program and not it's non-mandatory possibilities and openings.

First, my method excluded valuable initiatives taken by the School of International Development and Global Studies in 2014, such as organizing a conference on “Decolonizing Development”, which featured the a sharing circle with Elders, and the “blanket exercise”: a group activity devised by the Canadian umbrella organisation, Kairos, to share the findings of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. The School also hosted two annual events in 2015 and 2016 entitled, *Returning to Balance: Indigenizing the Academy*, which centered Indigenous ways of knowing as priorities in decolonization projects. Inviting Guest speakers and community activists have been advanced as examples of pedagogical decolonization (Langdon, 2013, p. 394). However, for the scope of this research, my emphasis is not on what is offered, but what is institutionalized as required and foundational to the master's program. In effect, attendance to these initiatives was not mandatory for international development students.

Second, syllabi themselves only offer a glimpse of the vast educational experience that each professor and student experience. This educational experience will also not translate in a perfectly parallel practice of careers in international development. Many students and professors might have brought in ideas and discussions that could be considered to address settler-colonialism, and of course these moments and instances are not visible or predictable in syllabi. Still, syllabi offer a tangible insight into institutional values and required reading presented in them are usually meant to direct, start off or influence class activities.

1.6. Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided in four main chapters. The first one is an overview of settler-colonialism and its relevance for this thesis. The second is an exploration of settler-colonial logics and its apparent manifestations in curricula. For example, these range from the simple non-coincidental absence of anything Indigenous, to the assumed racialization of Indigenous nations (see p. 24), to the appropriation of Indigeneity by settler societies (Calderon, 2014, p. 319; Byrd, 2011). The third chapter is about settlers' "moves to innocence" (Malwhinney, 1998, as cited in Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 3) in curricula, which secure the present and future of settler-colonialism, that is white settler futurity. This chapter is concerned with anticipating the ways in which white settler futures are rescued in academia. The final section of this chapter discusses what non-metaphorical decolonization in universities means for settler institutions. The fourth chapter focuses on the local and global material implications of maintaining white settler-colonialism. It highlights how certain themes found in curricula play out in practice to maintain and replicate local and international settler-colonialisms, pointing to a way for what is taught in the program to become material realities. Given the vastness of what may be considered international development practice and the focus of the program at uOttawa itself, the final chapter focuses on the implications of economic development.

2. Settler-Colonialism in International Development Education

In this chapter, I briefly highlight the reality and study of settler-colonialism, then begin a discussion of my findings. Specifically, I explain the results of my keyword searches in the syllabi of compulsory courses in the uOttawa MA program in Globalization and International Development, through two themes: (1) (settler-)colonialism as present or past, local or distant; and (2) honouring or failing to honour Indigenous nations' sovereignty (and if the latter, treating Indigenous peoples as a racial "minority" within the colonial state). I situate my findings within two larger settler-colonial "logics", entitling the first theme or logic "time/space" and the second "racialization".

2.1. The Study of the Settler-Colonial Present

Settler-colonialism as a reality is nothing new and has been and continues to be resisted and critiqued by Indigenous peoples and Indigenous scholars (Macoun & Strakosh, 2013, p. 436), especially by women who bear the weight of sexism and colonialism (Suzack, 2015, p. 261). It is sometimes referred to as invasion (Sakej Ward) since settlers seems almost benevolent. The field of settler-colonial studies itself would not exist without the work of Indigenous and Native studies (Audra Simpson, as cited in Veracini, 2015, p. 101). The field of settler-colonialism is thus indebted to those who have resisted, negotiated (Crosby, Monaghan, 2012, p. 424) and denounced its reality for centuries, and continue to do so. It is important to remember that it is precisely Indigenous counter-narratives that primarily continue to challenge dominant settler narratives, while settler narratives seek to construct the settler as "ethical subject in a benevolent nation-state" (Kerr, 2014, p. 96).

The recent emergence of the field of settler-colonial studies as a recognized academic field must be accountable to those Indigenous resistances, scholarship and theories, which have too often been delegitimized and far from being funded at the same level. Its legitimization is also linked with the fact that it is white scholars who are recently taking up these questions (Snelgrove, Dhamoon & Corntassel, 2014, p. 9, 11). Non-Indigenous scholars can take up this “new” field of study while others live under it, a condition that has been likened to living under a (post)-apocalyptic reality (Baldy, 2015, Violet-Lee, 2016; Kamayaam, 2015; Mahpiyawaciwin, 2016; Johnson, 2015; Warrior Publications). The interest in securing constant access to the land has apocalyptical repercussions for Indigenous peoples. In fact, settler-colonialism “licenses the disappearance of Indigenous peoples” (Inwood and Bonds, 2015, p. 7). An Indigenous woman has similarly compared settlers to zombies who “want to eat everything that is Native so they can become the embodiment of native” (MahpiyaWaciWin, 2016). This is all to say that settler-colonialism is not just a theory but that it has urgent repercussions that must be stopped.

A prominent scholar associated with the field, Wolfe (1999, 2006), has made many non-Indigenous academics re-think their understanding of colonialism when he said that, “settler-colonialism is a structure, and not an event” (p. 163). It is a permanent occupation that is always in a state of becoming (Arvin & Al, 2013, cited in Bond and Inwoods, 2015, p. 7). In other words, settler-colonialism refers to the current colonial structure that is established in our societies when “settlers come to stay” (Wolfe, 2006, p. 388). This structure is different from colonialism. Settler societies do not require the presence of the Indigenous peoples to exist, and they typically operate in spaces from which Indigenous peoples are routinely removed and restricted (Veracini, 2015, p. 22). However, contrary to its own self-serving impression, the structure of settler-colonialism is not fatal. Rather, it is fragile and remains incomplete in the face

of Indigenous resistance (Macoun & Strakosch, 2013, p. 432, 435) and Indigenous refusal.

A distinction between colonialism and settler-colonialism is that settler societies do not necessarily require the labour of Indigenous peoples and/or routinely (mis)recognize it within their settler capitalist economy (Kennedy, 2015; Day, 2015, p. 115). Rather, white settler societies are concerned with sovereignty (read: legitimizing violent occupation) and cisheteropatriarchal “homemaking” (Rifkin, 2011) over the land of Indigenous peoples. They typically use the forced or indentured labour of other expendable racialized people they displace and keep landless, but they do not require Indigenous presence per se. Rather, white settlers attempt to instrumentalize Indigeneity, the quality of being Indigenous, for their own sake. Since the existence of Canada as a legitimate, modern country depends on undisturbed access to Indigenous lands, Indigenous peoples in the present are therefore seen as posing a problem and must be “disciplined” and “managed” in the spaces they arise (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 6).

2.2. Acknowledgement vs. Naturalization of Present Settler-Colonialism

In my experience, it has been uncanny to talk of the colonial present to non-Indigenous folks, as it is generally implicit that the passage of time has rendered occupation irrelevant. Settler-colonialism, as a structure, occurs in the present and caters to its (white settler) future, covering its own track while doing so (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013, p. 74). Settler-colonial studies as a theoretical framework mainly serves to address the present nature of colonialism from a critical point of view. Amongst others, it automatically points to the fact that colonialism, when thought in terms of a detached past from the present (an event) (Wolfe, 2006), constitutes a tactical epistemological feature of settler-colonialism. I concur with McCrossan (2015) when

he explains that “the unceasing nature of settler colonialism and its embedded territorial logics” show how present “institutional structures and discursive practices not only correspond with past eliminatory rationalities, but also [...] serve to actively produce and constitute colonial formations in the present” (p. 22). Specifically, normative and public relegation of colonial “wrongs” in the past serve to affirm innocence in the present and to keep open the possibility that there was a “prior sense of good” will (Simpson, 2016, p. 2). It is a way of saying that “we did not know that it was wrong; now that we know it, we recognize it, sorry”. It fails to engage with the shape shifting naturalization of continuous colonial occupation.

Under naturalized settler-colonialism (Morgensen, 2011b, p. 16), the presence of colonialism is indeed associated with past and finished events, which may or may not have repercussions in the present. Specifically, normative and public relegation of colonial “wrongs” to the past serves to affirm innocence in the present and to keep open the possibility that there was a “prior sense of good” will (Simpson, 2016, p. 2). It is a way of saying that “we did not know that it was wrong; now that we know it, we recognize it, sorry”. It fails to engage with the shape shifting naturalization of continuous colonial occupation and harm.

In my research, I wanted to study the degree to which settler-colonialism was naturalized in the content of the core syllabi. I thus started with searching if (settler)-colonialism was taught or mentioned, and if it was, if it was presented as (1) as a past event alone or as present condition, and (2) as taking place in our immediate geographies or as a distant phenomenon.

As presented in Figure 1, “Colon*”¹⁰ was found in 27/81 (33.3%) of syllabi. From these 27 syllabi, 5/27¹¹ included the search string “colon*” in the bibliography section or in suggested

¹⁰Research string words under colon* include: Colonialism, Colonialisme, Colonial(ity), Colonization, Colonisation, Colonized, Colony, Colonies. “Colonel” was disregarded.

¹¹ 5121A, 5121B, MDG5520A, MDG5121B, 5521C.

(non-mandatory) readings. 4/27¹² had a section called “colonialism, violence and development”. I counted these outlines as possibly addressing (settler)-colonialism in the present since it was not referring to colonialism as historical. Three of 27¹³ syllabi features readings on coloniality, which can be a credible opening to the possibility to addressing (settler)-colonialism in the present. 3/27¹⁴ outlines had intertwining themes of colonialism, post-development and neoliberalism, although they at times used “post-colonialism”. I still counted these outlines as possibly addressing (settler)-colonialism in the present. 3/27¹⁵ referred to the “race to colonies” as being a step in the development of contemporary globalization, classifying it as part of the past. I did not count these outlines as possibly addressing (settler)-colonialism in the present. 1/27¹⁶ syllabi referred to a reading on the consequences after colonialism by Appadurai, an important anti-imperial critique that yet still assumes that it is over and not defining of the present. 9/27¹⁷ syllabi refer to decolonization has a process that is already achieved, classified along with other important events that affected the contemporary world since the Second World War. If any reference to the present is made, it is a post-colonial present contrasted to a past colonial era. In total, 10/81 (12,34%) outlines offered an opening about addressing (settler)-colonialism in the present. Otherwise, when colonialism is part of the curricula, 17/27 (63%) of the time, the reference to colonialism was clearly referred to as a step in history, which may or may not have legacies in the present, or the reference was stored in the suggested readings sections as was thus not central to the subject matter.

¹² 5121A, MDG5121A, 5121B, 5121A.

¹³ MDG5120A, 5121B, 5121A.

¹⁴ MDG5521A, MDG5521, MDG5521A.

¹⁵ 5520A, 5500_E, MDG5520, MDG5521A.

¹⁶ MDG5520A. The reading is: Appadurai, 2005 (1996), « Chapitre premier : Disjonction et différence dans l'économie culturelle globale », *Après le colonialisme : Les conséquences culturelles de la globalisation*, Paris, Petite bibliothèque Payot : 63-90.

¹⁷ MDG5521A, DVM5521A, DVM5521A, MDG5121A, MDG5121A, MDG5121A, MDG5521A, MDG5120B, 5121E (not duplicate),

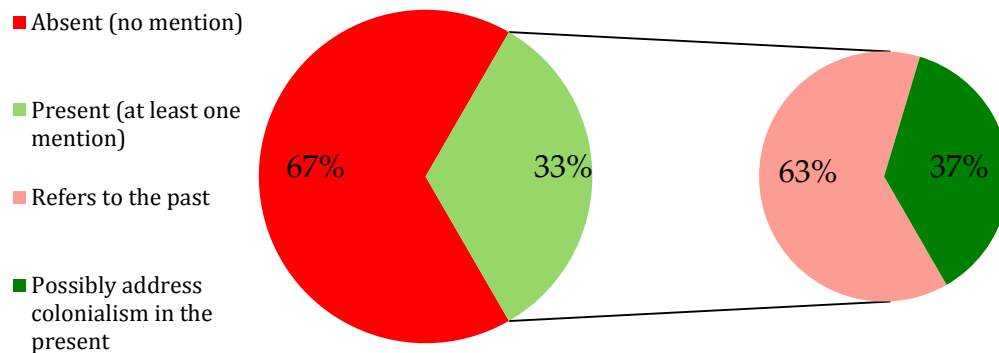


Figure 2. Presence and Absence of Colonialism in the Curricula*

From these results, only 3/27 syllabi used North American Indigenous authors.¹⁸ Themes of coloniality and/or post-colonial critiques that are engaged with in the syllabi were generally from South American authors such as Grosfoguel, Quijano, de Sousa Santos or Walsh. Again, this could be read as a delocalizing impulse under the lens of settler-colonialism. The scholarship of decoloniality is not always applicable to settler-colonial contexts, as they emerge from South America. In contrast, Canadian coloniality scholars such as George Sefa Dei were not found.

2.3. Honouring or Failing to Honour Indigenous Nations' Sovereignty

When one first wants to act in regards to the glaring inequalities that Indigenous peoples in Canada face, their situation (read: perceived lack of development) is often compared to populations from the “third-world” (Levasseur & Marcoux, 2015), or as simply being a result from federal lack of funding, which may be understood to be caused by (institutional) racism or not. These arguments may be useful in securing resources for communities kept in state of dependence and that are in urgent need of (and owed) basic necessities, but harmfully, they fail

¹⁸ Matthew Coon Come, Chief Harvey Longboat, and Rauna Kuokkanen.

to see anything beyond damaged communities and economic poverty (Betasamosake-Simpson, 2012). Through these ideas, questions of land return and of race can be evaded. Byrd (2011) explains how “categories and metaphors of race, identity and otherness come to inhabit a single words which can then provide a shorthand for the colonizers to codify and master knowledge of difference” (p. 70). This complicates the earlier conception that Indigenous peoples must disappear or be eliminated under settler-colonialism; in fact, they seem to be othered in a very specific way that serves to simultaneously diminish their claim to sovereignty and to mark and read other non-Indigenous, non-white differences.

Scholar Wolfe says that the primary motive of settler-colonialism is “access to territory”, implying that the racial domination of Indigenous folks is a derivative of settler-colonialism (Wolfe, 2006, as cited in Henderson, 2015, p. 11). In multicultural settler-colonial contexts, it is not enough to speak of a monolithic type of racism to explain and homogenize the experiences of all non-white lives. Colonization and Racialization are two processes of domination that have been conflated in white settler-colonial contexts. Racialization¹⁹ serves a specific role in maintaining not only white supremacy, but in invisibilizing settler-colonial occupation. The “racialization of the ‘Indian’” is “the erasure of the sovereign”. (Barker, 2005, as cited in Byrd, 2011, p. xxvi). Settler-colonialism is hidden by a logic that collapses Indigenous peoples as a racial group, so that space and land is erased, which furthers naturalize settler-colonial geographies. Again, the primary motive for the constant attempt to elimination, erasure and assimilation of Indigenous peoples in settler-colonies is the land, not their race (Wolfe, 2006, p. 338). However, racialization proves useful to these attempts. The racialization (making into a

¹⁹ Racialization is “the social processes by which a population group is categorized as a race” (Scott, 2015) precisely, “whereby the idea of ‘race’ is introduced to identify and give meaning to some particular group, its characteristic” (Gooch & Williams, 2015).

racial minority of the multicultural settler state) is a settler-colonial logic as it ignores binding nation to nation agreement and leaves further assimilation into the white settler state as the only option for the future. This logic of erasure occurs in academia, namely in the over-inclusivity of ethnic studies (Stevenson, 1998). The collapsing blurs competing and various understandings of citizenship, identities and their intersections to sovereignty, race and land (Byrd, 2011, p. 126). Indigenous scholar Jodi A. Byrd, who thinks about these relations as having implications beyond settler borders, theorizes settler states as “transits of empires”. The transit of empire is the basis upon which the new white settler societies, the “motherland” and the displaced settlers of colour battle and “struggle for justice and equality” (Byrd, 2011, p. xxv), and serves to enable and facilitate contemporary imperial and colonial relations. In accordance with erasure, the Indigenous is erased from this equation, but Indigeneity remains. Byrd (2011) thus asserts that, on the settler battleground, “every attempt to found political liberties in the rights of the citizens is, therefore, in vain” (p. 192).

When Indigenous peoples are racialized – made and treated as races rather than nations – justice has to be sought through race-based justice, which “is heavily indebted to the settler-state and its legal apparatuses” (Cacho, 2012, as cited in Tuck & Gorlewski, 2016, p. 197). Race-based justice is a problem for Indigenous peoples, as seeking justice and resisting through this avenue further legitimizes the structures of settler-colonialism as “finished”. The most visible struggles for justice occurring on the settler battleground will often not only take place within the parameters established by the settler-state, but also within taken for “granted conceptions of place, politics and personhood” (Rifkin, 2014, p. XVIII). Through racialization, the struggles of Indigenous peoples are forced to exist and to be intelligible only within the categories established by the settler battleground, through race and racism. These categories ensure that they will seek

justice through federal recognition through minority/cultural claims, in which the settler-colonial relationship is not threatened (Coulthard, 2014, p. 41).

2.4. Parodied Indigeneity

The purpose of settler-colonial racializations does not end there. Racialization of the Indigenous also serves to make Indigeneity, the quality of being Indigenous, as if it is detached from certain bodies, histories and kinships and available for settler “recuperation”, or appropriation. Settlers attempt to Indigenize themselves for the purpose of legitimating access to territory, to make themselves native (Deloria, 1998). The racialization of Indigenous nations upon which the settler state resides on is the materialization of settler-colonial logics and leads to settler naturalization. Indigenous peoples are made the other on their own land, which is consistent with and required for the simultaneous (parodied) indigenization of the white settler. The white settler becomes the normal, de facto and deserving citizen. They establish new international borders and control movements. The national membership of settlers and the making official of their institutions directly “depends on the extension of a geopolitical claim to Indigenous lands” in which ongoing processes of settlement creates the (settler) “we” (Rifkin, 2013, p. 1-2).

The argument that ethnicity assimilates the Indigenous, in which Indigenous peoples are categorized as “racial minorities rather than as sovereign peoples seeking decolonization”, is not a new one (Stevenson, 1998, as cited in Simpson & Smith, p. 12). Indigenous peoples, for the sake of settler need for readability and management, are essentially “rendered an identity category [...] rather than members of separate nations”, despite legally binding but ignored treaties (Goldstein, 2015, p. 1079). In fact, anything that is *not* Indigenous resurgence can be analyzed in relation to its relative dependence on the settler-colonial condition, and as therefore

invested in its transiting and its future.

Here I return to the concept introduced at the beginning of this thesis: futurities. If Indigenous sovereignty is honoured, then Indigenous peoples are not just seen as a racial minority, their land-based rights are evident and inherent rather than constantly under attack. In decolonization, the future is an unapologetically Indigenous one, and Indigenous nations deal with settler peoples. If Indigenous sovereignty is constantly attacked under an assumed white settler future, then Indigenous peoples are seen as special case racial groups to be integrated and land-based rights are watered down to nice words by politicians who continue to prove that land dispossession will continue when needed. The future that is currently assumed is a white settler-colonial one, in which the settler-colonial project (Canada) deals with “its” Indigenous peoples.

2.5. Racialization in the Syllabi

In my research, I wanted to confirm what kind of futurity is assumed within curricula. Is Indigenous sovereignty honoured? Are Indigenous nations reduced to ethnic groups, are they “racialized”? I looked at how and when the topic of race (and then, based on those limited results, for its liberal multicultural referent) and colonialism are covered in the outlines, how they are collapsed into each other, and how that collapsing in curricula constitute of a settler-colonial logic that is crucial for its own naturalization. First, I searched for themes surrounding Indigenous, which were found in 12/81 outlines, broken down as Autocht(ones), Indigen(ous) and Aborigin(al) (see Figure 2 below).

The first keyword search was “autocht*” and 2/81 (2,47%) outlines²⁰ had a section called “Le Déclin Hégémonique : Violence, Nationalisme, Régionalisme, Autochtonie”, featuring a

²⁰ The two outlines were the same from one professor but were used in two different school terms, MDG5520A.

mandatory reading on “Aboriginal peoples” as a category within development. However, the topic of “Autochtonie” was conflated with nationalist movements in non-settler states/and or post-colonial states such as India. Of course it is impossible for me to determine whether that difference was made during the lecture. In these same syllabi, recommended readings in the bibliography featured Tuhiwai-Smith’ (2012) first edition of her book on *Decolonizing Methodologies*. Perhaps these ideas influenced class discussions. I counted these 2 outlines as possibly addressing settlers’ space despite the conflation with post-colonial states.

The second keyword was “Indig*”, which gave me an initial result of 10/81 (12,34%) syllabi. Out of these 10 outlines, the keyword “Indig*” was repeated either 1 time (4/10), 2 times (3/10) or 3 times²¹ (3/10) in each respective outlines. In these 10 syllabi, the required reading chapter “Barras, B. (2004) In the Way of Development: Indigenous Peoples, Life Projects and Globalization (pp. 47-51)” or its older version, was found the most often, in 5/10 syllabi. I counted these syllabi as possibly addressing settler-colonialism. 1/10 syllabi featured a required reading by “Becoming Indigenous Peoples: Difference, Inequality and the Globalization of East African Identity Politics” by Igoe (2006). I did not count this outline as addressing (setter)-colonialism. 1/10 outlines featured a news source article titled “Indigenous rights are the Best Defence Against Canada's Resource Rush²²”. I counted this outline as possibly addressing settler-colonialism. One other outline (1/10) featured a week subtopic on “Indigenous peoples, Settler states, Refugees”, one of the reading being “Unsettling the Settler State: Creativity and Resistance in Indigenous Settler-State Governance” by Maddison & Brigg (2011). I counted this outline as addressing settler-colonialism. The last outline featuring “Indig*” (1/10) only had the term in their bibliographies. For this search string, 7/10 outlines with Indigenous* possibly

²¹ The repetition of the keyword in titles was not counted.

²² Lukacs, Martin. 2013, April 26. Indigenous Rights are the Best Defence Against Canada's Resource Rush. *The Guardian*.

questioned settler-colonialism.

The third keyword was “Aborig*”, which came up 1 time in 3/81 outlines under the same week topic of “Aboriginal Peoples and Gender”, which are already counted as addressing settler-colonialism. So far, 9/81 (11,11%) syllabi might have possibly address settler-colonialism.

To confirm whether reference to Indigenous sovereignty or settler states or space were not invoked elsewhere than these 9 outlines, I also performed searches with the string “settler ” (1/81)²³, “space” (14/81)²⁴, “nation-state/état nation/état souverain” (1/81)²⁵, without additional relevant results. I also searched for “canada”²⁶ and verified the context and associations of this entry, with no success in finding additional relevant results. Some readings on how globalization and reconfigurations of meanings of space could have had the potential for discussion concerning the specificity and locality of settler notion of space depending on the inputs of students, professors and/or guestspeakers, but they were not specific enough for me to count them as possibly addressing settler-colonialism. To foolproof my results further, I searched for specific Indigenous Nations geographically located in Eastern Canada in the syllabi. Cree* resulted to 1/81²⁷ outlines, Mohawk*/Haudenosaunee* resulted in 0/81, Algonquin/Anishinaabe/Ojibwe* 0/81 outlines, Chippewas 0/81, Metis 0/81, Atikamekw*/Attikamek* 0/81, Huron*/Hurons-Wendat/Wyandot*/Wendat* 0/81, Inuit/Inuk

²³ MDG5121A, already counted as possibly addressing settler-colonialism.

²⁴ “Space” was only counted when referring to geography, virtual spaces, development space, spaces of global capitalism, political space, ungovernable space, les nouveaux espaces de la culture, and not to writing instructions pertaining to “double-spaced” or to economic spaces.

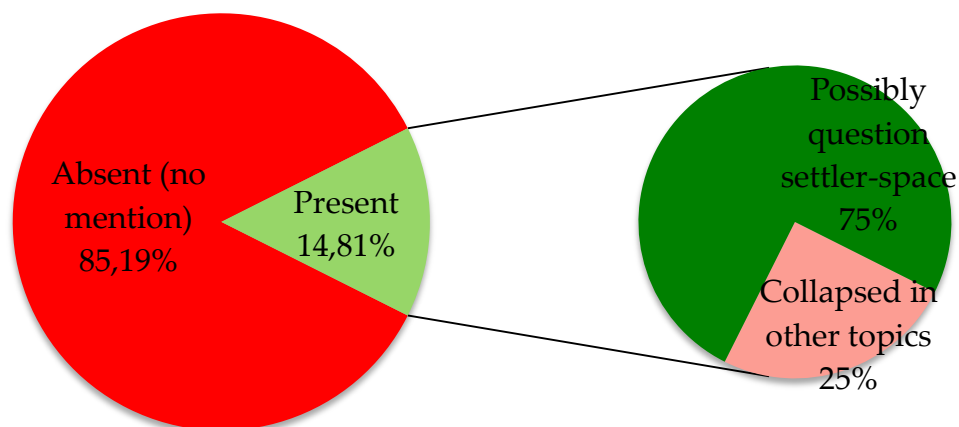
²⁵ One result from 2007 (MDG5120A) pertaining to the keyword “nation-state” brought me to one reading seemingly challenging hegemonic notions of the nation-state, although not necessarily the Canadian one. “Basch, Glickschiller, and Szanton Blanc (1994) *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*. Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach, 1-48”. Otherwise, references to the nation-state were made in regards to political economy or in looking at the problematizations it causes under/against globalization, revealing that there was attention given to the topic of the future of the existence and role of nation states.

²⁶ All syllabi featuring Canada either referred to the address of the department and/or university, to international partnership, to sources from the government and agencies of Canada and to Canadian NGOs. The two results that did not fit into these categories was “Barry-Shaw, Nik. And Dru Oja Jay (2012) *Paved With Good Intentions: Canada’s Development NGOs From Idealism To Imperialism*. Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, X-31, 245–62”, which critiques Canadian implication in imperialism through its NGOs, and “Lukacs (2013) Indigenous Rights Are The Best Defence Against Canada’s Resource Rush. *The Guardian*”.

²⁷ “Cree” and “discreet” were not counted. The 1 result is a case study under the previously mentioned book “Blaser, Feir, & Mcrae (Eds.). *In The Way Of Development: Indigenous Peoples, Life Projects And Globalization*. 47-51”.

0/81, Innu*/Montagnai*/Montagnais-Naskapi 0/81, with no relevant results. I stopped there.

In total, 72/81 (88,89%) mandatory outlines can be said to not offer the possibility of explicitly addressing settler-colonialism. The great majority of mandatory courses in international development department were highly unlikely to question seriously Canada's cohesion and legitimacy as a settler nation-state in the international arena, based on the themes found in their outlines. This means that students are unlikely to come across ideas that represent and honor Indigenous nations as nations and/or as international actors. The lack of explicit engagement results in a support of seemingly evident settler geographies, without ever having to say so. Indigenous peoples of Turtle Island "are rendered an identity category" within the settler-state, "rather than members of separate nations that negotiated distinct legally binding political and economic agreements in the form of treaties that remain in force" (Goldstein, 2015, p. 1079). These casual absences are also crucial in leaving unquestioned other forms of transnational colonial relations from which the discipline of international development is not independent from – on the contrary.



*Figure 3. Presence and Absence of *Indigenous* and Context*

This collapsing of Indigenous into the settlers' manageable race-based spectrum is congruent with and validating of settlers' geographies, given that settler-states are institutions that explicitly "engaged in the reproduction of a particular social spatialization" (Soja, As cited in Henderson, 2015, p. 4). Makers of spaces, like the geographers involved in map-making, are complicit in creating and imagining spaces that assume settler-colonialism as finished from now on (Henderson, 2015, p. 5). These maps and imagined settler spaces are used in textbooks and class activities and they are one way that Indigenous presence and sovereignties are elided in education. For the settler-state to not have to recognize Indigenous nations within its borders, it must elaborate systems that collapses them within its parameters.

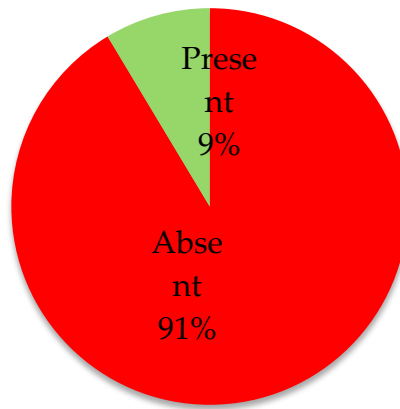
The non-recognition of Indigenous nations continues despite the existence of legally binding treaties that assert Nation-to-Nation relationships. To continue the earlier discussion, Byrd (2011) explains how colonialism, both domestically and abroad, "often coerces struggles for social justice for queers, racial minorities, and immigrants into complicity with settler colonialism" (p. xvii). When settler-colonialism is revealed to enact white supremacy, then one can see how white supremacy "is wrapped up in everyday geographies" and that it is the settler-colonial condition that sustain the material privileges of whiteness (Bonds & Inwoods, p. 14). To frame issues of racism as distinct or detached from the structures of settler-colonialism replicates these structures. Now that we have demonstrated that Indigenous nations are completely invisibilized to the expense of naturalized geographies of the Canadian settler-state, we will look at how racism is discussed in relation to Indigenous peoples, if it is at all. From there, we can see if, when present, Indigenous peoples are racialized as settler-colonial logics would have it.

To move forward with identifying collapses of Indigenous as a possible settler logic in syllabi, I performed several search strings that might be related to the topic of race and racism.

Research in the syllabi revealed that when conglomerated, the keywords “racism/racisme(s)/racist/raciste(s)/racialized/racialisé(es)/racialization/racialisation” appears in 7/81 syllabi (8,64%), broken down as such: 4/81 for “race”²⁸, 0/81 for “racism/racisme”, 3/81 for “racialized”, 4/81 for “racist/raciste”, for a total of 11 mentions within 7 syllabi out of 81 (see figure 3 below). 3/11 mentions was the title of a reading pertaining to the AIDS crisis in Africa. 3/11 results appeared under the title of a reading “Globalization as Racialized Sexualized Violence: The case of Indigenous Women” by Kuokkanen (2008), under the topic of the week “Gender and Aboriginal peoples”, mentioned earlier. 1/11 result appeared as a journal title on a reading about the Occupy movement.²⁹ These results show that race is still not even central to discussions occurring in international development in the first place. It is also interesting to note that keywords relating to race, the few times they were mentioned, was put under sections like “ethics” or “issues in fieldwork” in 3/11 (27,2%) of mentions. This could point to the idea that race matters only when theories are “applied” and this also assumes that whiteness is not racialized and is the center from which fieldwork takes place, applied onto other cultures.

²⁸ When referring to the social construct, not “arms race”

²⁹ The reading and journal is: La Botz, D., Brenner, R. and Jordan, J. 2012. The significance of Occupy (pp. 1-13). Solidarity: A Socialist, Feminist, Anti-Racist Organization. Retrieved August 27, 2012 from <http://www.solidarity-us.org/site/node/3663>



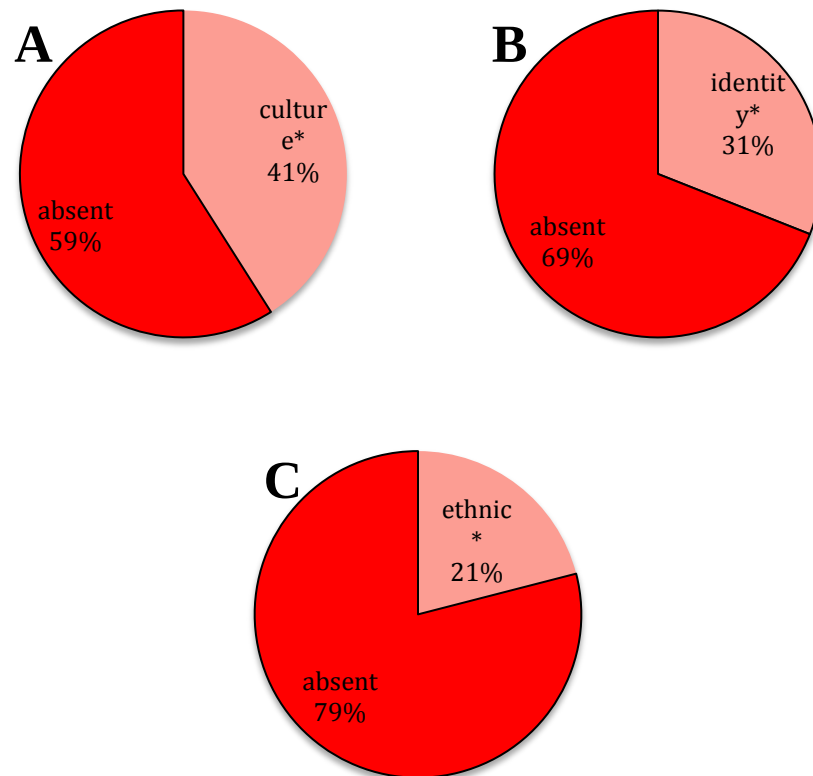
*Figure 4. Absence and Presence *Race*

2.6. Multicultural Inclusion

Given the limited result in initially attempting to see if the presence of Indigenous is treated as a racial issues within syllabi, I performed another search string. This time, I searched for keywords that can commonly be used within multicultural liberal vocabulary to indirectly refer to or avoid “race”. These keywords are “ethnicity*, identity*, religion*, culture*, multiculturalism*”. I selected those partly because the official website description of the program also uses the descriptors “cultural, religious, environmental” when referring to the complex problems the program seeks to tackle. I manually looked to see whether any mentions of “Indigenous*” might be annexed or connected to these keywords. Results are as followed: “multiculturalism/multiculturalisme” is found in 5/81 syllabi (6,2%), “culture/cultural/culturel(le(s)” is found in 34/81 syllabi (42%) , “identity/identité” is found in 25/81 (30,9%), “ethnic/ethnique/ethnicity/ethnicité” is found in 14/81 syllabi (17,2%), “religion/religious/religieu(x/s/se(s)”³⁰ in 1/81 syllabi (1,23%). (see Figure 4 below). The numbers are evidently higher than when I searched race* and/or/with Indigenous*. As congruent with my earlier search about settlers’

³⁰ When not referring to “religious holiday” in the politics for class absences

space, which included the keyword Indigenous and its synonyms, no association or reference about Indigenous “issues” was made to these keywords. They also show that the logic of racializing the Indigenous is not used, as Indigenous itself is barely present at this moment.



*Figure 5. Use of Liberal Multicultural Terms Instead of Race**

Together, these results point not only to reluctance or dismissal of race based issues or discussions, but that any limited engagement with the topic mostly takes place in the terms of the multicultural liberal terms, as intelligible to the white settler-colonial language. Not only are defining features that served to construct the world as it is, such as race, racism or racialization

were not covered from a critical perspective, but the limited presences and engagements themselves were not neutral. The avoidance of race altogether is typical of fields related to humanitarianism, which has a strong empathetic colorblind appeal (Jefferess, 2015). Thus, it is not a matter of the amount of time that race is present in the syllabi for this case. Rather, the presences of these concepts indicated that they seem to occur within very specific liberal parameters, a defining feature of white supremacy and of course a necessity for a settler-colonialism that is left unquestioned. The presence of race, as not only disconnected from Indigenous peoples but as presented in limited multicultural liberal terms is a tactic in which white settler-colonialism is watered down and far from being engaged with, as we will see in chapter 3.

Even if critical race language was found in syllabi, with a referent to Indigenous peoples or not, the point is that the function of anti-racist approaches alone is different in settler-colonial context (Nichols, 2014, p. 102). The collapsing of Indigenous peoples (and by consequent of their inherent self-determination and legitimate claim to the land) serves to absorb them and make them only intelligible within the established settler battleground, as governance is exercised against a series of differently racialized and othered populations. Thus, the collapsing of Indigenous peoples within the settler-colonial spectrum of race is one of the primary condition for all forms of life management to flourish, as exercised against a series of different racialized and othered populations, who are themselves provided with access to hierarchized “indigeneities” that they can use to seek inclusivity within the settler-colonial project.

Different types of racializations should not be equated in the white settler multicultural context. All racializations are of course illogical and violent, but I want to attend to the distinction of the racialization of a people whose sovereignty claim is threatening to one’s own.

This racialization enables re-construction of the original peoples as intruders and terrorists if necessary, especially when they are involved in land protection³¹ (Palmater, 2015, p. 20). As explored in settlers' geographies, in which land is transformed to be readable and possessed by settler states, Indigenous bodies and life also has to be made readable by the settler state (Goeman, 2013, p. 236, 257). This readability, of lands, life and bodies, is achieved through racialization of Indigenous Nations, but also by homogenizing cisheteronormativity and by tolerating (white) neoliberal homonationalism (Duggan, 2003; Puar, 2007; Morgensen, 2011b, p. 2, 26-27). Cisheteronormativity, in the modern settler nation-state, relies on clear categories of race and gender to exist (Goeman, 2013, p. 257), enabling transgressions as long as they continue to settle and not threaten access to certain homemakings.

Canadians development workers can work everywhere in the world, whether in the field or on paper, while knowing that they can of course be or comeback to Canada to start or join their safe and comfortable families here in the future.

Settlers' relationship to space is particularly crucial to this thesis in order to unsettle the investments of a very particular educational field that relies and work with those very legitimized notions of space, such as "Canada" and the "developing world". Not addressing the role of space relationships in the context of settler-colonial society serves to establish and invisibilize settler-colonialism, including in the university program I studied that uses certain space and geographical constructs. Settler geographies are thus naturalized by "repetitive practices of everyday life that give settler space meaning and structure" (Goeman, 2013, p. 236-237). This notion reveals how all forms of institutions indirectly produces, recreate and performs settler governance in everyday ordinary occurrence through the subtle role of non-state, non-

³¹ Referring to Bill-c51.

institutional and non-Indigenous actors (Rifkin, M., 2014, p. 10). Settler-colonialism looks at “entrenched and normalized settler experiences of inhabitation, individual identity and collective belonging appearances even when they are not directly connected to depictions of Indians” (Rifkin, M., 2014, p. XVII). The simple and unquestioned use of Canada and other settler-nations as given performs these quotidian re-settlings, as the earlier search strings have revealed.

3. “Rescuing” Settler Futurity in Curricula

Given my empirical results and the discussion explaining the drive behind such results, I will now situate where the program stands in terms of which future is assumed. Settler moves to innocence are the adaptations that occur when settler sovereignty or settler capacities to possess land and Indigeneity are perceived to be challenged. With varying outward appearance and manifestations, they all serve to restore settlers’ feelings of security, but do nothing to contribute to decolonization (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 107). Engaging with settler-colonialism means to recognize that the settler institutions and structures are not only always visceral – but that the actions emerging after the recognition of this fact are also deeply ingrained -visceral (Hayes-Conroy & Hayes-Conroy, 2008, p. 1274). For instance, current white settler confessions of their privileges and complicity have been shown to be performative when they only cater to settler discomfort, enabling them to avoid taking any real responsibilities (Barker & Battell Lowman, 2015, p. 102-103).

White settler curricula are skilled and equipped to “re-occupy the spaces” that anti-colonial, anti-racist, queer and feminist critiques struggle to create (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013, p. 73). The point of this section is to highlight how good intentions behind the impulses to overcome and relegate to the past the oppressive systems in which we bathe often serve to “most potently re-entrench” these same systems (Ahmed, as cited in De Leeuw & al, 2013, p. 391) for the sake of a certain futurity. White settler curricula, whether well-intentioned or not, can absorb, tame and distort progressive language and ideas so that it leaves its own core unaffected. In settler-colonial universities, what is often ignored in decolonizing efforts is the existing marginalized individuals who, in the first place, produced the progressive language and ideas from a place of survival, sacred duties and resurgence. But, white settler futurity is fragile

and easily threatened. When this occurs, feelings of anger, resentment and anxiety concentrate on re-attaining settler certainty, especially in regards to property (Mackey, 2014). Settler certainty, which has to do with being able to assume white settler futurity, is protected and higher education, including in its reforms. It is protected to such an extent that it is rarely perceived to be threatened in the first place. Given my empirical results, this is what seems to be happening in the master's of international development. Settler attachments are turned into material quotidian representations, such as in school curricula, in which presences and absences of Indigeneity/Indigenous might first appear like a simple result of ignorance or dismissal when in reality they are not.

Meanwhile, issues of colonization and Indigenous perspectives are seen as a “difficult knowledge” (Marker, as cited in Kerr, 2014, p. 94) to engage with given the implications of trauma, violence, responsibility and reparations that educators might not be ready or equipped to unravel. At times, it is even seen as a threat to academic freedom (Horne, 1999, as cited in Kuokkanen, 2007, p. 18). Educators might also simply think that teaching is and/or should be neutral and apolitical (Tuck & Gorlewski, 2016, p. 203). It remains easier to focus *on* Indigenous communities, sometimes labeling them as “difficult”. Likewise, continued and present land assault and dispossession can even be ignored in “decolonizing talks”, rather than being at the center of them. Much of what is called progressive education today still leaves settler occupation unchallenged (De Leeuw, Greenwood, & Lindsey 2013; Tuck & Gorlewski, 2016, p. 213).

As we have seen, Indigeneity is detached from the body of the Indigenous person to be appropriated by settlers themselves to try to make themselves Indigenous. Indigeneity is also circulating elsewhere; in most theories, it, stands as a sign, an exception, which serves to “reboot the colonialist discourse” (Byrd, 2011, p. 221). This means that when Indigeneity is present

and/or appears, it does not necessarily decolonize but rather it often helps a settler institution to adapt and tame the decolonizing challenges it brings up. When Indigeneity poses challenges, settler futurity is ensured by “the absorption of any and all critiques”, but also through the “replacement of anyone who dares to speak against ongoing colonization” (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013, p. 73). This is so because settler-colonialism is constantly “producing the conditions of its own supersession”, even when it becomes self-aware or “announces its passing” (Veracini, 2011, as cited in De Leeuw & Al, 2013, p. 385).

The presences and circulation of Indigeneity can be called “epistemic collisions” when they take place in educational places against the “secular cosmology and neutral positioning of Western scientific materialism” (Kerr, 2014, p. 84). Epistemic collisions lead to a vast range of settler reactions and reassertions towards innocence. Indeed, decolonization is not simple, rather, it is most often “messy, dynamic and contradictory” (Sium, Desai & Ritskes, 2012, as cited in De Oliveira Andreotti & Al, 2015, p. 22). Moves to innocence are among the vast range of techniques and reflexes of settler people and settler institutions to reinscribe their non-complicity in the present structure settler-colonialism from which they benefit (Tuck & Yang, 2012). They can happen voluntarily but also under the pressure to “to collapse decolonization into coherent, normative formulas with seemingly unambiguous agendas” (De Oliveira Andreotti & Al, 2015, p. 22). In light of the recent Truth and Reconciliation commission for instance, there is a current incentive to institutionally integrate its recommendations, including in the academy. This understandable rush to do things right creates epistemic collisions that have different results. Unfortunately, these results may lead to the securing of settler futurity (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013). The entrenchment of colonial relations in higher education means that even good intentions to decolonize, once cornered with all the contradictions of Canada, result in

further embedding of these relations (Deborah Bird Rose, 1996, as cited in De Leeuw & al, 2013, p. 385).

I discuss moves to innocence in light of my analysis and observe how efforts and/or practices towards decolonization may not be serving Indigenous communities who are still at the receiving end of shifting but ongoing colonization (Tuck & Yang, 2012). This section is important because it unsettles reform changes that might be taken today, not yesterday. It helps us to remain uncomfortable and invites learning from the tensions arising from decolonization while keeping in mind which future we are producing. The following table summarizes how various curricula interventions have understood and tried to “decolonize”, but have resulted in the reinscribing of settler-colonialism in the first three cases (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013, p.73).

Space	Meaning of Decolonization	Practices and Pedagogy
Everything is Awesome	no recognition of decolonization as a desirable project	no practice related to decolonization, <i>oblivious or conscious maintenance of white settler-colonialism</i>
Soft-Reform and Multicultural Inclusion	no recognition of decolonization as a desirable project, but conditional inclusion of "diversity" in liberal terms	providing additional resources to Indigenous, racialized, low-income and first generations students so as to equip them with the knowledge, skills and cultural capital to excel according to institutional standards
Radical-Reform, Browning and Critical Race Theory	call for: recognition, representation, redistribution, voice, reconciliation	center and empower marginalized groups, and redistribute and re-appropriate material resources
Beyond Reform, Rematriation and Living Decolonization	dismantling of modernity's systematic violence and <i>understanding of their converging intersections on the settler battleground</i> (capitalism, ableism, racism, cis heteropatriarchy, transmisogyny, freedom of mobilities, citizenship)	subversive educational use of spaces and resources, hacking, hospicing, <i>teaching of refusal politics, refusal, engage complicities and roles in structures of domination, land based pedagogy, land return (rematriation), directly supports and refers to grassroots voices and struggles, question futurities</i>

Table 1. *Settler Moves to Innocence in Curricula and Beyond.*

Inspired by De Oliveira Andreotti et al., 2015, *Mapping of the Interpretation and Attempts To Decolonization In Context Of Higher Education*, , p. 31. Italics are my modifications and additions. Land Based Pedagogy refers to a specific article (Betasamosake-Simpson, L. 2014), whose (non)-relevance for settlers is still in articulation.

For the purpose of the argument of this section, I will not extensively cover the “everything is awesome” because this space is self-evidently supporting settler-colonialism as it does not even entertain decolonization at all. However, based on my results, a majority of the mandatory syllabi overall fall within this category. Since some syllabi possibly address settler-colonialism, I do not classify our program as being in the first space only. Based on my content analysis, the mandatory syllabi of our program fall in between “Everything is Awesome” and “Soft Reform and Multicultural Reform”, which clearly assume white settler futurity. Still, I cover how moves to innocence can find their place in soft-reform, radical reform and beyond-reform in an effort to

center the question of futurity in curricula changes.

3.1. Soft-Reform & Multicultural Inclusion

Soft reform and multicultural inclusion are the beginning of a critique of the violence of modernity in the context of higher education. This approach sees the inclusion of “minorities” as the solution to inequality, which reflects its liberal understanding of inequality in which structural change is not considered and racism is minimized (De Oliveira Andreotti, 2015, p. 32; Tuck & Gorlewski, 2016, p. 208). The use of the word decolonization or decolonizing languages and ideas are unlikely to be used or understood. Decolonization is simply not addressed or seen as desirable goal.

Inclusion and diversity as a solution includes a range of initiatives that seek to encourage individuals of “minorities and disadvantaged” group to participate and to join in so that they can perform “according to existing institutional standards” (De Oliveira Andreotti, 2015, p. 32). When conflicts or disagreement occurs, there is no acknowledgement that it is from the start a biased conflict occurring within power relations. Rather, pre-defined manners to attain a pre-defined solution are imposed by the one who practices the service of inclusion (De Oliveira Andreotti, 2015, p. 36). For example, when higher education inclusion initiatives explicitly target Indigenous populations, it is not larger power imbalances themselves that are affected. Even though the initiative may instinctively feel right and needed, the cycle that is repeated is one in which settler institutions are “just doing what is the right thing to do” once again (De Leeuw & Al, 2013, p. 386). Inclusion is also an expression of hierarchical power (Arvin, Tuck, Morril, 2013, p. 17), which explains why inclusivity ends up absorbing, containing and consuming “the other” (Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013, p. 81). By exercising such taming, curricula completely

fail even to come close to interrupt settler-colonialism, which means that they, by default, cater to settler-futurity (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013, p. 80, De Leeuw & al, 2013, p. 381).

3.2. Radical Reform, Browning & Critical Race Theory

It is not news that the western academy does not engage with spirituality, even though the legacies of white Christian beliefs/greek humanist permeates everywhere within its walls (Clark & al, 2002, as cited in Shahjahan, Wagner, Wane, 2009, p. 64; Rosello, 2001, as cited in Kuokkanen, 2007, p. 14). Similarly, Battiste (2014) explains how “whiteness is hidden” (p. 106; Tuck & Gorlewski, 2016, p. 200) in educational systems, pointing to the fact that critical race theory has the potential to identify systems of privilege in academia and the patterns in which privileged people “discursively support research, policies and practice” that may not be overtly racist or oppressive.

Radical reform starts from the recognition that there is an existing hegemonic epistemological dominance, unlike the belief held in the space Everything Is Awesome (De Oliveira Andreotti, 2015, p. 37). Modernity is not seen as possibly being able to offer solutions to problems, as it is inherently violent. It can tend to prioritize an understanding of modernity as one of interconnected systems of violence, such as capitalism, racism or patriarchy. Radical-reform recognizes that the earlier soft-reforms use certain minorities in tokenistic and exploitative ways. As a response, radical-reforms mainly seeks to (re)center and (re)empower rather than include those who are marginalized. This approach can also include the re-distribution of material resources to those same marginalized folks (De Oliveira Andreotti, 2015, p. 33). In this type of reform, the participation of marginalized voices is the way to emancipation and decolonization. However, this increased participation and centering still takes place within

modern educational institutions that are assumed as worthy of redemption and as salvageable.

However, this type of reform or understanding of decolonization is not without problems. Learning about all the theories from authors of color in the world will not automatically lead students privileged by white cisheteropatriarchal settler-colonialism to “challenge their own investment in colonial dominance and self-identification” (Cannon, 2012, p. 24). For instance, when white privilege is studied alone rather than through white supremacy within the settler-colonial project, it can lead students to simply recognizing privileges associated with skin color while avoiding engaged reflections on the processes and relationships that makes them possible (Pulido, 2015, as cited in Bonds & Inwoods, 2015). An “additive approach” to curricula does not engage professors and students to interrogate their own assumptions or locations (Battiste, 2013, p. 106).

Moreover, the call for a non-racist world in which “difference-blind form of universal enfranchisement” is not only failing at addressing colonial relationships; it constitutes a productive feature of settler-colonialism (Nichols, 2014, p. 108) as it can erase settler-colonialism and Indigenous peoples. Even the scholarship of coloniality, which is emerging from the global south, and is explicitly covered in 3/81 syllabi, can reproduce the logic of radical reforms if disconnected from contextualized material implications. The field of coloniality “allows us to understand the continuity of colonial forms of domination after the end of colonial administrations” globally (Grosfoguel, as cited in Kerr, 2014, p. 87). It repeats that decolonization cannot happen through the lens of the west, stressing the importance of centering the silenced thought, work and scholarships of the subalterns (Kerr, 2014, p. 87). This necessity for centering those affected in decolonization is not necessarily false, but the call still consist of a spatio-temporal body of knowledge that organizes “bodies into complex hierarchical social

organizations”, in which the colonial matrix of power is primarily and continuously organized around the notion of race primarily, (Quijano, as cited in Kerr, 2014, p. 89), possibly supplanting land.

Coloniality specifically identifies race and racism as the organizing principle for conceptualizing the decolonial world, insisting on decolonizing the inner (the mind) and the outer (the racist institutions). If the decolonial world is reached, would settler-colonial occupation end, would Indigenous sovereignties be sidelined? Therefore, (de)coloniality scholarship and advocacy does not center land and water, which is central to many Indigenous cosmologies and to decolonization on Turtle Island. Radical reform, by fragmenting and then prioritizing one analysis of oppression, often attempts to fix one problem, so that the modern world work for a particular prioritized marginalized group. This does not lead to the creation of an alternative to modernity (De Oliveira Andreotti, 2015, p. 27).

One way that settler-colonialism is missed out upon is through assumptions of the continuity of ideas of internal colonialism in Europe. In narratives of internal colonialism enabling external colonialism, economic oppression is believed to have required a type of racialization or ethnic marking of the poor (white, internal) European population (Byrd, 2011, p. 134). Through racism, this type of racialization is understood to create economic inequalities. After internal colonialism, this racialization is believed to have been extended to the rest of the world, but this time by using different ethnic marker, skin color. External colonialism then created more economic inequalities, on a larger scale. In such an analysis, it is believed that racialization was used to create, justify and naturalized economic disparities (Byrd, 2011, p. 134). External colonization is simplified to being the extension of an internal racialization that was then applied outside of Europe. Under this eurocentric understanding of colonization, the

foundation of colonialism of the new world becomes black African bodies and racial slavery (Day, 2015, p. 112), rather than Turtle Island. This understanding also runs the risk of equating the internal racialization of poor whites to anti-blackness or other racisms against non-whites. Most importantly, since it only seeks to linearly explain imperial expansion, it does not account for the persistence of settler occupation and the differences between different racializations as they are involved in the current white settler-colonial project. Throughout race-based understandings of colonialisms, Indigenous peoples become “located outside of temporality and presence”, despite the obvious continuing occupation and colonization of their “lands, resources and lives” (Byrd, 2011, p. 6).

As seen earlier in this thesis, settler-colonial racialization of Indigenous peoples serves a very specific purpose that cannot be reduced to an economic question. Instead, Indigenous peoples, who are rendered a minority by the settler-colonial logic of racialization, can be given full economic participation at the cost of their Indigenous status (Vimalassery, 2013, p. 299), a fact that was codified in the law in Canada (Indian Act, 1876). In this way, the settler-colonial racialization of Indigenous not only serves to protect and fuel the settler economy so that it encounters no competing sovereignties (Moreton-Robinson, 2007), but also serves to satisfy the violent settler-colonial requirement of elimination through assimilation. Again, even if colonialism and racism may be present in curricula, these absences and presences are likely orchestrated by naturalized settler-colonial logics.

As seen below, the first three spaces presented here end up rescuing white settler futurity. Reforms, from one space to another can lead to a more elaborated , well-intended rescue.

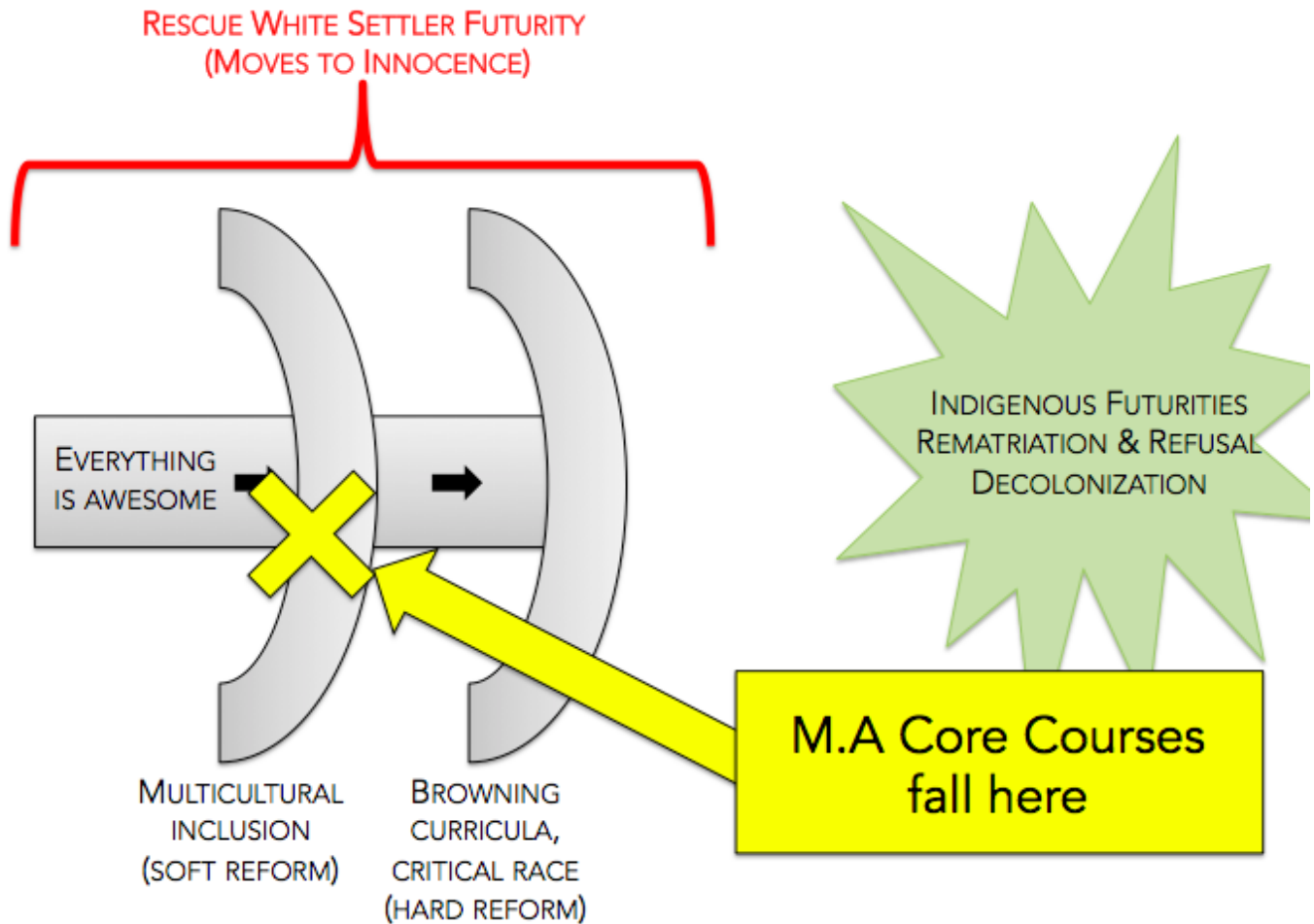


Figure 6. Different Reforms and Understanding of Decolonization Rescue White Settler Futurity

3.3. Beyond Reform, Rematriation, Living Decolonization, Indigenous Futurity

Beyond reform, unlike radical reform, works with the understanding that there is an existing and present ontological (nature of being) dominance (De Oliveira Andreotti, 2015, p. 27). To add up multiple ways of seeing the world from authors of color does not necessarily examine the ontology of this very world (Coulthard, 2014, De Oliveira Andreotti, 2015, p. 27). As we have seen, pedagogical tools of anti-racism, for example, will not necessarily lead to an automatic decolonization (Lawrence & Dua, 2005; Dhamoon, 2015). The simplification and reduction of the word decolonization to critical race theorizing could be a form of settler appropriation (Tuck

& Yang, 2012, p. 3), in which decolonization is emptied of specificity and equated to other interlinked oppressions.

In the last understanding of decolonization in higher educational contexts, universities are seen as irredeemable in the way that they are. Institutions are “beyond repair” (De Oliveira Andreotti, 2015, p. 34) because they were born from and strive on the same oppressive systems that sustain white cisheteropatriarchal settler societies. In this understanding of decolonization, many professors and students go on and organize and build relationships outside of the academia while some others believe that there are tactics to use in order to guide or lead the university as its current state will inevitably collapse and/or change. The two main tactics used in beyond reform are hacking and hospicing (De Andreotti Oliveira, 2015). The tactic of hacking an institution in support of decolonization mostly consists of bending of existing rules. It is fed up with modernity, and divests and diverts the advantages gained in the academy.

The tactic of hospicing universities also work from the premise that modernity is already on the verge to collapse and that there are ways to navigate through the mess. Hospicing directly involves the implication of the self in modernity rather than the production of radical critiques about modernity. It requires the courage “to look at the bull in the eyes” and to also “recognize ourselves in the bull” (De Andreotti Oliveira, 2015, p. 28). In the space of beyond reform, a simultaneous understanding and non-Indigenous way of being vis-a-vis the Indigenous politics of refusal (Simpson, A., 2017; Flowers, R., 2015) and of rematriation (Tuck, 2011, 2014) is respected and promoted at the direct cost of settler futurity.

“Rematriation”³² “puts Indigenous epistemologies at the forefront, while demanding

³² At time of writing, a workshop on “*From Matrilineal Kinship to Indigenous Matriculture: Establishing a Canadian Agenda*” was announced by the InterCulture Group at the University of Ottawa for January 2017, which points to the heightened interest in theorizing and concretizing Rematriation.

public forms of memory” (Donald, 2012, as paraphrased by Tuck & Gazatambide-Fernandez, 2013, p. 84). It is far from being a metaphor (Tuck & Yang, 2012), it quite literally implies return of land with the simultaneous undoing of colonially imposed cisheteropatriarchy. It implies the expectation of settlers to demolish the mythologies surrounding their privileged existence as actually built from dispossession of Indigenous peoples, and to never be comfortable doing so (Regan, 2010, as cited in Henderson, 2015, p.12). It demands actions that results from settlers realizing that their privileged existence is “predicated upon the unfreedom of the colonized” (Tully, 2000, as cited in Flowers, 2015, p. 34). Rematriation is completely invested in Indigenous futurity and takes no time to cater to settler futurity, (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013, p. 85) nor does it offer an answer to settlers while they are left disconcerted for not being the center of everything for once.

Along with rematriation comes Indigenous refusal (Tuck, 2011, 2013; Simpson, 2014), a practice invested in and generative of Indigenous futurity, can refuse the sharing of Indigenous knowledge and lives, including in the academy (Tuck, 2013, p. 85). Refusal is a political practice that is in opposition to seeking recognition from the settler state, at times serving to avoid draining conflicts about interpretations as well (Simpson, A., 2014 as cited in Wildcat, 2015, p. 395 and Flowers, 2015, p. 33). Refusal is also the selective sharing of information about Indigenous knowledges and the inherent affirmation of sovereignty (Flowers, 2015, p. 33). Refusal matters in decolonization because it is effective in stopping settler-colonial repetitions of entitlement. Specifically, refusal intends to “redirect academic analysis away from harmful pain-based narratives that obscure slow violence, and towards the structures and institutions that engender those narratives” (Zahara, 2016). Thus, to tackle the project of enacting mode(s) of living geared towards decolonization, non-Indigenous students and academics must account for

their investment in settler-colonialism (“their disease”) and respect the practice of refusal rather than to be concerned with how they fit (that is, their future) in decolonization (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013, p. 85-86) Refusal matters to the interruption of settler-colonialism in the academia as it sets standards for what can be researched and leaves settler institutions to introspect about their roles in naturalizing settler-colonialism.

The comfort of settlers just cannot be an additional burden that Indigenous peoples have to carry (Yerxa, as cited in Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 22). Decolonization is not about the future of settlers, and to imagine decolonization as addressing settlers’ anxieties means that it has already failed, including in education and curricula (Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013, p. 85-86). Settlers must be willing to be refused and direct their work to imagine relational ways of being that are not dependent on dispossession (Flowers, 2015, p. 34). Even when settlers do engage in unsettling settler-colonialism, it cannot be for their own instrumental ends (De Leeuw, 2013, p. 391). Settlers’ engagement with the process of creating spaces for decolonization cannot happen if it has a pre-determined goal to attain or an assumed reconciliation to be reached in the end.

Under rematriation, not only are white settlers not at the center of decolonization, but they are also refused what they always felt entitled to, or from accessing knowledges they do not deserve (Tuck & Yang, 2014, as cited in Zahara, 2016). There is no praise to be received from taking so-called decolonizing initiatives, as they are already about 500 years late. Their good intentions are simply not enough, expected to be harmful, and therefore will not be engaged with.

In order to not be an obstacle to decolonization³³, educators are required to go through several shifts in consciousness (Gorski, 2008, p. 522). Those shifts include prioritizing justice over conflict resolution, avoiding any type of deficit theory, overtly acknowledging colonial

³³ My future research will explore whether or not settlers are always visceral obstacles to decolonization no matter what they say, do or think.

power relations, rejecting claims to neutrality and not falling into the dominant discourse that seeks to lift people out of poverty. They must give up on white settler futurity so that other futurities may flourish. The violent hierarchies of oppressions constituting modernity must be engaged with differently, so that they are not further expanded. They are to be engaged with in a manner in which collective responsibility, investments and complicity (Cannon, 2012, p. 32-33) serves to support the collapse of the ontological dominance of modernity.

In the case of settler-colonial contexts and in university talks of decolonization, this means to exist vis-à-vis Indigenous refusal and rematriation at the specific cost of white settler futurity. It means to listen and support grassroot alliances between black lives, other racialized lives, non-status lives, and Indigenous lives. It means to take seriously and listen to local movements of resistance led by Indigenous peoples. It means to listen and support Indigenous women, queer and youth who are affected by a certain issues and are organizing at the grassroots level. It means to stop dismissing Indigenous women, Indigenous queers, and Indigenous youth as radicals or irrelevant. It means to stop stealing the activist work of the most marginalized and mainstream it into the institutions without ever directly supporting it. In curricula of international development, it would mean to teach the implications and how to practice the politics of refusal that caters to Indigenous futurity, here or abroad. It also means to stop treating globalization, and settler-colonialism as inevitable. But for these initiatives to even be considered, the department of international development would need to stop disqualifying such topics as not being (or doing) “development”.

4. Conclusion

4.1. Local and International Material Implications of White Settler Futurity

Western academy still struggles to begin to address the question of imperialism, and when it does, those who take up these important question often fail to even implicate their own colonial occupation on unceded Indigenous territories (Nichols, 2014, p. 99). Thus, despite anti-imperial, neo-colonial, decolonial, post-colonial analysis, settler-colonialism is often left naturalised within theories of global governance in general (Morgensen, 2011a, p. 71). The modern nation state and contemporary globalization are seen as recent phenomena and as somehow separate from settler-colonialism, which began 500 years ago and never ended. Today, the actions of the West are analyzed or discussed in isolation of the fact that settler-colonialism has been and is the West's "leading edge by establishing grounds for globalization and universalization of its governance" (Morgensen, 2011a, p. 71).

It is often assumed that matters of Indigeneity or colonization are non-global questions. However, settler-colonialism is not restrained to the borders it created, it was made possible through transnational links in the first place, and its actions of today also inherently remain transnational (Morgensen, 2014, p. 189). Settler-colonialism is thus a mode of domination that went global (Veracini, 2015, p. 35,54). All current settler colonies were established within the context of a globalizing world (Veracini, 2015, p. 29). In this global context, the hegemony and dominance of settler nations is directly "dependent on the resources at home" (Goeman, 2013, p. 252). Byrd's argument of settler-colonial nations as "transits of empires" is a preliminary inquiry of the roles of the simultaneous control of Indigenous nations at home and the use of settler indigenization in solidifying the boundaries of settler-colonialism so that it can "enact itself as

settler imperialism” right now (Byrd, 2011, p. xix, 149). International matters are not solely imperial ones, but settler-colonial ones. Specifically, international development practitioners from Canada who engaged in projects abroad inadvertently work from this transit of empires, in which constructed presences of Indigenous/Indigeneity “have created the conditions of possibility” for the enactment of imperialism (Byrd, 2011, p. xv).

Yet even as international development education is at a location of potentiality for the further normalization of settler-colonialism, globally, it is simultaneously well positioned for engaging in the dismantling of white settler colonialism. Like many other fields of study in Canada, self-critical accountability concerning its position and role within settler colonialism as a structure could be possible by first addressing the land and livelihoods of Indigenous peoples it stands on and exists from. More concretely, the modern treaties process attempting to illegitimately cede Algonquin Nations lands to Canada going on right must be known and resisted widely (Gehl, 2015a; Sarazin, 2016; Diabo, 2013) as well as the Windmill Corporation condo development taking place on Sacred Islands, which is not in line with the vision of late elder William Commanda (Gehl, 2015b). The settler-colonial status-quo, or naturalization, means that Canada as a nation “continues to be structurally committed to maintain ongoing state access to the land and resources” which is the “foundation of colonial state-formation and capitalist development” (Coulthard, 2014, p. 7). In settler place making, Indigenous bodies found in the space must be made absent, even in their death. This could not be illustrated better with the capital of settler-canada standing on burial uncaded burial grounds (Commanda, 2016).³⁴ Thus, the local material implications means that the settler government and corporations currently have the final say on

³⁴ Accessed at: <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ottawa/more-bones-found-during-queen-street-road-work-1.2455001>; mentioned by Claudette Commanda, Fall 2014

what is occurring on unceded Algonquin lands, with complete disregard of ancestors and poor understanding of FPIC, sacredness of certain places or of what nation to nation means.

Barker (2009) explains how settler states must “secure the territory of Canada for further imperial imposition” by assaulting Indigenous people on social, cultural and intellectual level (Barker, 2009, p. 326). In Canada, the settler societies are not necessarily interested in the labour of Indigenous people for this venture. Rather, Canada’s assertion of sovereign authority over Indigenous lands and peoples is motivated by a governing rationality that aims to eliminate competing sovereignties (Crosby, Monaghan, 2012, p. 425). Settler-colonialism, is primarily about securing continuous settler access and undisturbed entitlement to the land (Wolfe, 2006) so that the imagined white settler futurity is assumed at real, ravaging costs to other possible futures. Still, undisturbed access to land and homemaking within the border of the settler-colonial state is usually not independent from economic interests beyond its borders.

4.2. Local Settler Colonialism for Global Settler Imperialism

For the scope of this thesis, I concentrate on concepts such as poverty reduction and its necessary economic solutions, which were created in mid-twentieth century by the World Bank (Bello 2004; Broad 2006; Mallaby 2004; Wade 1996, as cited in Eastwood, 2011, p. 4). Actively abandoning white settler futurity and to question development ideas in that same light is threatening, especially in regards to the economy, because it sparks ideas of reparations, that is, it might mean land return, or repatriation, as discussed. Reparations also include but are not restricted to monetary reparations. In contrast, when (tied) aid and charity are seen as solutions under modernity, western nations are conveniently masked as helpful and benevolent and do not even question how they are in a position to help in the first place (Jefferess, 2013, p. 79). In

reality, their colonialism and settler-colonialism is exactly what has rendered them so well off today, giving them the power to decide to be benevolent or not. It is also mainly settler nations that are the ones benefiting from unfair free trade practices (Jefferess, 2015). After all, it is the colonies that were necessary to develop the west, and it would make little sense if the west thinks it can now develop those it has stolen from (Higel, 2015; Watson, 2014, p. 516).

During my degree, I was repeatedly taught that globalization is inevitable at this point and that we have to do with what we have right now. However, if we understand that the direction and functioning of globalization is dependent and constituted by settler-colonialism, then the inevitability trope makes sense since naturalized settler-colonialism continually succeeds in establishing its functioning and conditions as “beyond the realm of human intervention” (Veracini, 2015, p. 96). Settler-colonialism denies the possibility of alternative pasts, presents or futures (Steinman, 2015, p. 4). It is its very claim to normality and inevitability that constitute a major feature of settler-colonialism while it actively reproduces a certain futurity. The logics of settlers’ geographies are replicated in the field of international development as it tends to focus on the “somewhere else”, therefore dismissing the importance of its positionality, relationality and complicity in problems that are made to appear foreign (Tuck, McKenzie, & McCoy, 2014, p. 3). On a global level, the existence of settler-colonial geographies at home are dependent on defining the elsewhere, and thus the places that constitute the international to which it can move to (Veracini, 2015, p. 51) and intervene in. A great deal of the great Canadian humanitarian spirit becomes unintelligible when one realizes not only what they stand on, but that what they stand on connects them in a complicit and intimate way to the problems that first appeared overseas, foreign and identify-defining (Jefferess, 2013, p. 79). To characterize the global present as a settler-colonial one enables to explain and defeat the urge of the move to the somewhere else.

The desire to make the world a better place becomes extremely harmful when the building blocks of the construction of such a desire are not engaged with and when power relationships and current complicity in closer systems of oppressions are obliterated. These uncritical desires afforded by privileged positions can mask the intimacy of settler-colonial violence.

By default, this means that practices of Canadian international development is necessarily resting and made possible by our own settler-colonial status quo. Exactly by not addressing it, or assuming it as outside of its disciplinary realm, international interests fail to start from home. Not addressing our own settler-colonial status quo contributes to the erasure of the continued destruction of other futures, other worlds. Canada has been elevated as a rich country that holds the supposed expertise to help others exactly through the continued dispossession of the Indigenous peoples and their lands (Walia, 2012, p. 240; Vimalassery, 2013, p. 305; Jefferess, 2015). In other crude words, it is the western control and stealing of Indigenous resources (and knowledges) as well as the ongoing genocide (Henderson, 2015, p. 11) that allowed Canada to join the ranks of so-called developed countries (Watson, 2014, p. 516), so that they can start to “do it” somewhere else.

4.3. Locating Economic Growth in Global Settler-Colonialisms

The imperative of economic growth over all else, which ultimately relies on unsustainable extractivism, continued land dispossession and evidence-based education (Shahjahan, 2011), appears to be a number one doctrine taught by professors in the mandatory part of our program. Here I review the curricula and argue that economic development, as taught in international development, is likewise dependent on settler-colonial occupation at home.

In the program of international development, the course “Global Economic Issues/Questions d’Économies Mondiale” has been a mandatory course since 2007 until fall 2015,³⁵. It is one of the 4 core courses and constitute 12 out of the 81 mandatory syllabi of the mandatory courses offered by the Institute since the beginning of the program. When the course was full, students were sent to a similar course offered in the department of Public and International Affairs. All students who graduated so far and those who started their first year in fall 2014 have taken this class. I first look at themes related to economic imperatives found in the 81 syllabi and then I will take a look at the specific class assignment of this core course, which unlike other core courses which were slightly more flexible in their content and assignment, was uniformly assigned to all students.

In the mandatory course Global Economic Issues, the main research project was to gather economic data on a “developing country” of our choice in order to establish what the economic failure was (the most binding constraint to economic growth) (Hausmann, Rodrick, Velasco, 2005). This project was mandatory for all international development students until fall 2015. It means that you were technically forced to work on a country you probably don’t know much about, except from the datas from international development institutions. The framework provided from which we must build our policies suggestions for this country do not leave space to include the continuing effect of colonization and of transnational settler-empires ties. In fact, economic growth, or the expansion of modernity and the facilitation of global settler-colonialisms, is assumed to be the most important problem to fix in order for that country to “develop”. Within the provided framework for this project, it is possible that the solution to fix the main obstacle to economic growth (most binding constraint) is a matter of changing the

³⁵ MDG 5123A in 2007-2008, MDG 5123A in 2008-2009, MDG5523A/MDG5123A in 2009-2010, MDG5123T/MDG5523A in 2010-2011, MDG5123A/MDG5523A in 2011-2012, MDG5523A in 2012-2013, DVM5123/DVM5523A in 2013/2014, 5523A in 2014/2015.

internal policies only of the developing country in question. This possible solution with which students come up with violently and conveniently erase extremely unequal global grounds and suffocating external policies upon which so-called internal problems come from in the first place. There are several problems with the assumptions inherent to the framework we have to use for this mandatory project. First, the global market economy pushed for the idea that it creates abundance, when in reality, scarcity and degradation of life is what results from it (Vimalassery, 2013, p. 307).

Moreover, even if the method of statistical quantitative data collection and analysis is not necessarily colonizing by itself, in this case, they are derived from “externally commissioned projects of programs funded by the government or external bodies” (Shahjahan, 2011, p. 190). Specifically, data collection methods that rely on researcher’s observations work from an epistemological assumption “rooted in the dynamics of gaze, space and power” (Tuck & Yang, 2014, p. 815). In fact, gathering and producing quantitative datas is similar to techniques used to classify territorially delineated populations so they could legitimately become “targets of colonial intervention” by those who know better (Kalpagam, as cited in Shahjahan, 2011, p. 190). Most importantly, the use of evidence-based education leads to policy making that are believed to be objective and free of any political interest (Leithwood, Fullan & Wayson, 2003, as cited in Shahjahan, 2011, p. 190). It felt ridiculous to pretend that I know what is best for the future of Burundi based on datas and frameworks produced and employed by institutions which do not hesitate to trump the rights of traditional land holders when necessary.

Poverty reduction of the underdeveloped and its corresponding economic solutions are widely used concepts in international development. Interestingly, they also directly come from World Bank economists (Bello, 2004, Broad, 2006, Mallaby, 2004, Wade, 1996, as cited in

Eastwood, 2011, p. 4). The World Bank “has fashioned itself as one of the main mechanisms through which development has been defined and implemented” (Goldman, 2005, as cited in Eastwood, 2011, p. 4). What does it mean to learn to work with the policies and guidelines established by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Trade Organization (WTO) or the World Bank, especially when we know that they have pushed to control curricula in order for relevant university programs to support their policies? (Bacchus 2006; Spring 2009 as cited in Shahjahan, 2011, p. 193). For example, we do not learn that the latest document outlining the World’s Bank policy, OP 4.10 released in 2001, was rejected by the Indigenous people involved in the reviewing process, but that it was nevertheless accepted by the World Bank. Like previous documents outlining the Bank’s policies regarding Indigenous people, it does not allow for Indigenous communities to refuse or reject development projects, even though it is a right outlined by the non-legally binding the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), specifically Free and Prior Informed Consent (FPIC).

Despite many criticisms, the Bank’s 2003 report on extractive industries also avoids any language employed by FPIC. Instead, they use the term “consultation” rather than “consent”. The Bank gets to define what consists of “consultation” and “collective support” (Gordon & Shakya, 2016). Its Extractive Industries Review (which has direct implications for Indigenous Peoples) and its other policies related to Indigenous Peoples are intentionally left ambiguous. This ambiguity means that policies do not explicitly support dispossession in words, but in practice, the room left by the ambiguity has been shown to be used exactly for dispossession. Looking at the results, rather than the ambiguous words, reveal that the World Bank Group is invested in “maintaining space for the *possibility* of accumulation by dispossession”, when it is necessary for capital fluidity (Eastwood, 2011, p. 3; Harvey, 2003). When international development

practitioners learn to primarily work within the paradigm created by the World Bank, they by default practice the expansion of modernity as a solution to the problems they encounter. As we have seen, this expansion of modernity on a global level only leaves us farther away from addressing our complicity in the violence of settler-colonialism. Since we are already modernized, there is no incentive to look at ourselves. FPIC is not an imperative, whether here or somewhere else.

Even the simple creation of exchange value³⁶ in the present is itself an investment in the future of settler-colonialism itself, as the value it extirpated from the relationship over Indigenous relationality and power over the land (Vimalassery, 2013, p. 299). The current crisis of global capital offers an opening to finally address that no matter how it reshapes or renames itself, it remains dependent on Indigenous dispossession (Vimalassery, 2013, p. 297; Eastwood, 2011, p. 6), that is, it is clear that “scarcity results from colonialism” (p. 307). Poverty cannot be alleviated within modernity since the global economic system requires it to exist. The wealth of mostly settler-empires is not due to their good economic policies; they are the direct result of enslaving, degrading and destroying life. Decolonization and the undoing of settler-colonialism can expose the normalcy of apocalyptical global economic system as an actual crisis. Additionally, it can also offer an unprecedented and viable solution, a solution that does not rely on the expansion of modernity and the rescuing of settler-colonialism.

It takes a great amount of extensive distortion to be to discuss economic development professionally and practically without critically addressing what created and sustain the conditions of the global market economy today. To even start to undo the modernity premises used in development would probably imply an initial rejection of patronizing and interventionists

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praxis so that those centering relationships and mutual processes can have room (Alatas, 2003, as cited in Langdon, 2013, p. 387).

Globally, the first and most obvious ways that settler-colonialism is present in the economy is through the “sovereign effects of global financial capital” (Veracini, 2015, p. 91), which it helped to concentrate to a certain place and people, reserving to certain the capability to be at the center of impactful policy making today (Morgensen, 2014, p. 189). The policies of the World Bank have been shown to always facilitate accumulation by (settler-colonial) dispossession. As such, critiques of their neoliberal policies may lead to modifications, but despite changes, the World Bank remains flexible, creative and unprecedentedly capable of maintaining them within the dominant paradigm that ultimately enables settler-colonial dispossession (Eastwood, 2011, p. 6). In other words, they always offer solutions that exist within modernity.

Even when development is said to be sustainable, the prevalence of economic growth remains consistent throughout the years (Bannerjee, 2003). Will the rising trend of “de-growth” approaches replicate the premises of modernity as well? Most importantly, will it be in line with decolonization, knowing that several existing alternatives are not dedicated to address settler-colonialism? As previously explained, not only it is impossible to calculate and compensate for the suffering and stealing of colonialism, but the effects of the highly distorted modern relationships born from it are disavowed. Instead of being understood as being the complex effects of (settler) colonial relationships, several so-called global issues are re-branded in ways that invisibilize connections to past and present colonialisms. These seemingly new issues, such as sustainable development, land grabs, illicit financial extraction and unfair trade deals (Higel, 2015), perpetuate the idea that colonialism is either the past or that settler-colonial occupation in

the present does not exist or if it does, is a specialized and internal interest.

4.4. Final Thoughts

This thesis is concerned with the violent implications of curricula that do not explicitly challenge white settler-colonial logics. Not only are they difficult to track in curricula, but they are also “uncontainable” when replicated by curricula in field of international development. As I have shown, my content analysis assumes white settler futurity as a given. The institution’s choice of language, material that must be studied, worldview, and parameters of what is and what is not development studies do not appear to challenge white settler futurity. Consequently, I have also shown that assuming white settler futurity is not neutral or impactless. In fact, settler-colonial logics are supportive of present and future land dispossession, of land violence, and of violence against feminine and queer/Two-Spirit Indigenous people, locally and globally.

My thesis first sought to understand how settler-colonialism is naturalized through two main intertwined settler-colonial logics, time/space and racialization/parodied indigeneity. I presented affinities between these settler-colonial logics and the sequences of presences and absences of relevant themes in the mandatory curricula of the master’s program of international development. A vast majority of school curricula happen to be quite obviously complicit in the collapsing Indigenous Nations into a racial minority, which repeats their domestication within the settler state. Indigenous nations are not treated and/or honored as sovereign nations at the International level, which by default means that they are solely engaged with through settler-colonial understandings and categories. This means that Indigenous knowledges and priorities are treated “as if it is a by-product of domestic politics” (Battiste, M., 2014, p. 105). In the third chapter, I cover and predict possible ways of rescuing white settler futurity in higher education institutions and suggest that settler-colonialism is fragile and that it can be submerged by

decolonization. In the last chapter, I concentrated on the settler-colonial implications of economic development given one specific mandatory course that aims to prepare students for careers in the field of international development.

This thesis intended to bring critiques of international development to a more intimate, closer level. Precisely, in discussing its unacknowledged complicity in white settler-colonialism and inviting its consequential responsibility for decolonization. Once the at-home, taken-for-granted position from which Canada operates abroad is unsettled, new connections beyond imperial and post-colonial critiques of international development and globalization can be engaged. These connections includes the realization that local conditions under settler-colonialism in Canada are not a matter of domestic politics or specialization, but are necessary and involved in transnational dispossessions and violence. However, since international development operates with(in) modernity, local and international issues are given completely different names so as to mask ties with colonial past and presents. They are understood as completely different as per the terms of naturalized settler-colonialism.

Many have identified decolonization as a possibility for radically re-shifting how we conceive and exist vis-à-vis local and global problems. Decolonization is said to be at the heart of the resolution of the crisis of a world led by “zombified capitalism and imperialism” (Byrd, as cited in Vimalassery, 2013, p. 296). The continuing naturalization of white settler-colonialism must be and is refused. Settler-colonialism appears as an unnamed tradition, but individuals and its agent possess the agency to recognize and act upon it (Seawright, 2014, p. 558). The dismantling of settler-colonialism will only be possible if it is uncertain and undefined in the first place, a contradiction to the impulses of white settler futurity, which demand and impose a false sense of certainty. Specifically, white settlers’ unequivocal desires to reconciliation must be

unsettled to leave room for decolonizing work. Decolonization cannot be “authoritatively codified or defined in advance” (Sium, Desai and Ritskes, 2012, as cited in Mackey, 2014, p. 249). I want to end by repeating the necessity of actively letting go and active undoing from attachments that protect white settler futurity at the cost of other futures. These attachments are barriers to flourishing (Berlant, 2010), to Indigenous futurity, to other futurities, to rematriation and to decolonization.

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Appendix A

List of 81 Syllabi by Course Code and Year

2007-2008 (10 Syllabi)

MDG5522
MDG5120A
MDG5120B
MDG5121A
MDG5121B
MDG5122
MDG5122A
MDG5123A
MDG5220B
MDG5521A

2008-2009 (8 Syllabi)

MDG5120B
MDG5120C
MDG5122A
MDG5122B
MDG5123A
MDG5520A
MDG5521A
MDG5522A

2009-2010 (10 Syllabi)

MDG5120A
MDG5121A
MDG5520A
MDG5521
MDG5122A
MDG5122B
MDG5123A
MDG5522A
MDG5523
MDG5120B

2010-2011 (10 Syllabi)

MDG5122A
MDG5122B
MDG5120A
MDG5120B
MDG5121A
MDG5121B
MDG5123T
MDG5521C
MDG5522A
MDG5523A

2011-2012 (9 Syllabi)

MDG5120A
MDG5120B
MDG5122A
MDG5122B
MDG5123A
MDG5520A
MDG5521A
MDG5522A
MDG5523A
MDG5523A

2012-2013 (9 Syllabi)

MDG5120A
MDG5121B
MDG5122A
MDG5122B
MDG5520
MDG5522A
MDG5121A
MDG5121A
MDG5523A

2013-2014 (11 Syllabi)

DVM5120A
DVM5120B
DVM5121A
DVM5121B
DVM5520A
DVM5521A
DVM5523A

DVM5122A
DVM5122B
DVM5123A
DVM5522A
DVM5523A

2014-2015 (10 Syllabi)

DVM5121B
DVM5121A
DVM5121A
DVM5121B
DVM5521A
DVM5100A
DVM5122A
DVM5501S
DMV5522A
MDG5120A
MDG5120B

2015-2016 (3 Syllabi)

DVM5100A
DVM5500E
DVM5501S