

CANADIAN FOREIGN AID DISCOURSE AND THE HELPING IMPERATIVE

A Delinked Cosmopolitan Perspective

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Thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Master's degree in Globalization and International Development

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Abstract

This thesis examines the role of the helping imperative in Canadian foreign aid discourse. After weaving together post-development and decolonial theory and applying these theories to cosmopolitanism, I propose a reconstructed cosmopolitan theory - delinked cosmopolitanism - as a theoretical orientation for this analysis. In applying the discourse legitimation framework as an analytical tool, I conclude that the current discursive orientations of the Government of Canada are focused on helping while believing that Western ways of being, knowing and doing are the only way to live in the world. I then suggest possible applications of delinked cosmopolitanism and discourse analysis for future research, both in Canada and abroad, in order to support a possible shift in thinking and an improved ability to work across difference.

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1. Introduction: Legitimizing the Helping Imperative through Discourse

The helping imperative – or the desire to ‘do good’ – is a core justification to orient international development activity undertaken by the Government of Canada and Canadian International Non-Governmental Organizations. As cosmopolitan theory states, the helping imperative relates to the execution of the positive duties that each human being holds toward every other human being. However, this imperative is often complicated by matters of race, class, gender and status, which makes it difficult to determine if the actions being taken are actually helpful (Heron 2007, p. 127) or have a positive impact. Furthermore, cosmopolitanism calls for more than the execution of positive duties (as we will see further on): negative duty, or a duty to justice, is also imperative in a cosmopolitan approach.

Cosmopolitanism could be a problematic reference. Post-development and decolonization theorists critique this approach for its pretension of universality and the lack of consideration of power relationships – that is, the requirement that recipients of development adopt a modern or Northern way of life in order to be considered ‘developed.’ However, there is an enormous variance in the assumption made by different approaches to cosmopolitanism. In particular, ‘thick’ cosmopolitanism calls for the understanding of situational contexts and the inclusion of Southern actors in international development activity, though the execution of this inclusion remains problematic (Jordaan 2009, p. 737). In addition, ‘thick’ cosmopolitanism opens the discussion to issues of causal responsibility toward the people of the South due to harm caused indirectly (Dobson, 2006), for example, through misguided efforts to ‘help’ those less fortunate.

Post-development theorists, such as Arturo Escobar (1995), call for a change in discourse and activity that is based on the stated and self-determined needs of Southern actors to address the lack of understanding espoused by Northern practitioners. In an even more radical approach, decolonial theorists, such as Walter Mignolo (2011), believe that a heterarchical world structure

is the end to which we should move and that by recuperating and reasserting subjugated knowledges the colonial impact of modern development can be resisted (Cuéllar 2013, p. 124).

Together, these critical lenses offer deeper insights into the dominant ideologies in Canada's approach to international development activity. Through understanding the power of discourse and who is speaking (post-development); understanding how to harness that power to promote social justice and acknowledge/remedy harm caused (thick cosmopolitanism); and implementing development work with the understanding that modernity is not necessarily the objective of the recipients of development activity (decolonial theory), international development practices could be rethought in order to support the different societies – at their request – as they enhance their well-being based on their own ways of understanding the world, that is, their ways of being, knowing and doing. Similar approaches have been developed by other Southern thinkers, including Orlando Fals-Borda with his focus on participatory action research (1987) and Paulo Freire's pedagogical theories regarding the 'banking method' of teaching and oppression (Freire & Ramos 2009), both of which have application to this analysis as they highlight persistent power relationships and how they are reinforced in current practices.

In this thesis, I argue that the main orientations of Global Affairs Canada and the Government of Canada international development discourse are based predominantly in the duty to help and, therefore, maintain the power structures of colonialism and imperialism that are one of the main causes of the poverty that foreign aid purports to fight against. My proposal is based on the ideas about the role of language and discourse in post-development theory, the power of subjugated knowledge and the logic of coloniality in decolonization theory, and the requirement for the inclusion of Southern actors found in thick cosmopolitanism. This argument is borne of the persistence of the dominance of a critical approach to the helping imperative and the lack of

reflection on alternative understandings: the need for inclusion of a variety of Southern voices and programming of international aid in heterarchical contexts are not yet considered possibilities in spite of what recent literature and practice strongly suggest.

I will support this argument by developing a complex theoretical framework called delinked cosmopolitanism. In Chapter 2, I will begin this reconstruction of cosmopolitanism by weaving together post-development and decolonial theory. In Chapter 3, I will seek to reconstitute cosmopolitanism by delinking it from the logic of coloniality, based on the woven combination of post-development and decolonial theories, as well as the multiple critiques of cosmopolitanism. This delinked cosmopolitanism will provide the basis for an analysis of the documents that shape foreign aid discourse in Canada in Chapter 4. Finally, in Chapter 5, I will explore what this perspective on Canadian foreign aid discourse means for Canadian international development and foreign aid initiatives, as well as possible applications of this theory in Canada and abroad.

Ontologically and epistemically, post-development theory and de-colonial theory can be easily woven together to demonstrate how development discourse contributes to the subjugation of knowledges as well as to demonstrate how the modern/colonial world was made possible by discursive practice. These two theories, developed primarily by Latin American thinkers, provide a strong basis for how the people of the South believe ‘development’ and relationships between societies should take place: changes in perception are required; universality is no longer possible; and understanding and complementarity are advocated.

Cosmopolitanism, the predominant theory and value system that underlies Western discourse and practice, does not share these ontological and epistemic foundations. Based on the (Western) principles of universality and individualism, it is impossible to include

cosmopolitanism in a comprehensive convergence with post-development theory and decolonial theory. However, the problematization of the helping imperative requires that the failings of cosmopolitanism be addressed prior to the analysis of the discourse of the Government of Canada.

The Helping Imperative

The most widespread critiques of cosmopolitanism are based in particular, delineated theoretical perspectives, which I will explore in Chapter 3. Alternatively, the critique of the helping imperative is based on a combination of “race theory, including space and whiteness studies, post-colonialism and colonial studies, post-structuralism, feminism, and development theory” (Heron 2007, p. 6). As such, the critique of the helping imperative is very much in line with the post-development/decolonial perspective. However, it is not a critique of cosmopolitanism itself, but a critique of one of the effects of cosmopolitanism.

Barbara Heron’s work *The Desire for Development: Whiteness, Gender and the Helping Imperative* (2007) explores how white, (mostly) middle-class women from Canada perceive their experiences as development practitioners in (mostly) sub-Saharan Africa. She unpacks the role that race and gender play in the decisions of these women (including herself) to participate in volunteer abroad programs:

When we [white women/bourgeois subjects] feel compelled to ‘help’ by rushing to the rescue of a situation or persons, especially – but not only – Others elsewhere, we need to ask ourselves to what extent colonial legacies of racialized relations of comparison, planetary consciousness, obligation, and entitlement are at play, compounded by our internalized socialization as good women (Heron 2007, pp. 154-5).

In the context of cosmopolitanism, we see the helping imperative at work as it compels (to use Heron’s vocabulary) us to save the Other, ‘the ones far away who cannot save themselves’.

The desire the help is based on the idea that privileged individuals in the North know better how to help racialized bodies than do those bodies themselves; a moral theme that “runs through...the historical origins of bourgeois subjectivity from the era of empire” (Heron 2007, p. 124).

Heron’s (2007) theorization is based on the convergence of racial and gender ideas in the North: “the imperative of moral ‘goodness’ suffuses white middle-class identity [and there is a] particularly gendered nature of bourgeois subjectivity [in which ‘white women development workers’ are repositioned] as innocent, and secure the [narrative of self as moral subject]” (pp. 111; 125). In essence, the occupation of multiple simultaneous identities of power and subjugation leads to the innocence, morality and goodness of the ‘white woman development worker’.

However, if Heron’s (2007) argument is viewed through the lens of a post-development/decolonial convergence, it can be argued that the ‘helping imperative’ is created by the discourse of development, the rhetoric of modernity and the logic of coloniality that underlies the implementation of cosmopolitan values (Chapter 3). By delinking cosmopolitanism and analyzing Canadian foreign aid discourse through that lens, I will demonstrate that the helping imperative is present in the discourse of Global Affairs Canada and the Government of Canada. This discourse is based mainly on compassion, and disregards the particular needs and the active role of recipients of development around the world.

Discourse Analysis

I will draw on the critical discourse analysis methodological framework described by Fairclough (2001; 2013) to do so. This methodology “gives rise to ways of analysing language or semiosis within broader analyses of social process” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 121). Furthermore,

“it sees and analyzes a language as shaped by the social functions it has come to serve” (Fairclough 2001, p. 126). Within the framework of post-development theory, discourse analysis is used to highlight the hegemonic nature of development practice (Berg, 2007; Matthews, 2004; Parfitt 2010; Ziai, 2007). In fact, critical discourse analysis, like post-development theory, is heavily influenced by Gramsci’s observations regarding hegemony and its link to maintaining power (Fairclough et al., 2013, p. 83).

Decolonial theory is in line with this methodology as well. Indeed, Mignolo (2011) states that “The task of decolonial thinking is that of unveiling the rhetoric and promises of modernity, showing its darker side, advocating and building global futures that aspire to the fullness of life rather than encouraging individual success at the expense of the many and of the planet” (p. 122). As such, the act of analyzing Canadian foreign aid discourse from the perspective of delinked cosmopolitanism is, in fact, decolonial thinking and will allow me to deconstruct the altruism that veils the unequal power structure inherent to the discourse.

Before exploring the details of the particular framework that I will apply, there are two important considerations for which an account must be made. The first is the positionality of the author. I am a Canadian-born, disabled, white woman who has lived abroad in the ‘Northern’ and ‘Southern’ world. The intersection of my privilege, lack of privilege and personal experiences affects my perception of discourse and I approach this analysis from my own unique perspective. The second consideration ties into the first: that discourse analysis is an interpretive method that I am using to illustrate how the helping imperative can be perceived in Canadian foreign aid discourse, rather than to produce a definitive answer. My perspective, therefore, informs my analysis and my conclusions. This approach fits within decolonial theory in that there is an acceptance by decolonial theorists that knowledge is relational (see Quijano 2007). As such, I

have chosen this interpretive framework to illustrate my interpretation of Canadian foreign aid discourse. Another researcher, with a different background, using a different approach may come to different conclusions about the same material.

Indeed, there are multiple approaches to critical discourse analysis; however, due to the centrality of hegemony and, therefore, the link between discourse and power, I will adopt the argumentation and rhetoric approach. Appropriately, the approach is “an important strand of theoretical and applied critical discourse research [and is] devoted to the language of persuasion and justification” (Fairclough et al., 2013, p. 87). As such, it is the ideal strand to use as a framework given the theoretical orientation outlined above.

Within the argumentation and rhetoric approach, there are multiple methods of execution (Fairclough et al., 2013, pp. 87-8). To conduct this discourse analysis of Canadian foreign aid through the lens of the converged and delinked theories described above, I will apply a legitimization framework to demonstrate how the helping imperative is promoted through political process, whether that process results in policy, legislation, parliamentary debate or even website communication. The process of legitimization stems from a belief that language is the most important tool when a government or authority figure is attempting to establish its legitimacy with a particular citizenry or group (Van Leeuwen 2013, p. 327). The framework, outlined by Theo Van Leeuwen (2013), is comprised of four types of legitimization:

1. Authorization – legitimization by reference to the authority of tradition, custom and law, and of persons in whom institutional authority of some kind is vested.
2. Moral evaluation – legitimization by (often very oblique) reference to value systems.

3. Rationalization – legitimation by reference to the goals and uses of institutionalized social action, and to the knowledge society has constructed to endow them with cognitive validity.
4. Mythopoesis – legitimation conveyed through narratives whose outcomes reward legitimate actions and punish non-legitimate ones. (pp. 327-8).

It is likely that these different types will occur simultaneously on multiple occasions and may be used to both legitimize the practice advocated, while de-legitimizing other practices. As such, it is an excellent tool for determining how discourse promotes the helping imperative, while disregarding social justice.

By drawing on different examples of aid-related legislation, aid-related policy, parliamentary debate and website communication (see Chapter 4), I will provide an analysis of recent discourse used by the Government of Canada to shape our perception of international development activity as a ‘duty to help’.

As discussed above, in the pages that follow I will weave together post-development theory and decolonial theory. The guiding points of this theoretical convergence begin with understanding that power lies with the discursive agent, in this case, the Northern government (Canada). As a result, other knowledges are subjugated and the project of modernity – or development – continues the process of colonial subjugation. As such, if Canadians are to be truly cosmopolitan, a shift in perceptions and foci may be warranted. To accomplish this shift, I propose that cosmopolitanism be delinked from the logic of coloniality, based on the theoretical convergence of post-development theory and decolonial theory. As a result, Canadian foreign aid discourse may shift away from a focus on helping and compassion, to a focus on living in

harmony. In doing so, Canadians may recognize their causal responsibility and, therefore, a shift away from discourse that is couched in the helping imperative could be possible.

2. The Convergence of Post-Development Theory and the Decolonial Option

Post-development approaches, as discussed by Escobar (1995) and Matthews (2004), focus on Western discourse as the core issue at the heart of the post-World War II development project. At the same time, decolonial critiques focus on rhetoric (or discourse) within the structures of modernity/coloniality created by the West (Mignolo 2011; Veronelli 2015; Quijano 2007). To ensure a discourse analysis of Canadian foreign aid that demonstrates the helping imperative while at the same time explains why this is problematic, I will weave these theories together to complement their different foci and timelines while building upon their similar critiques of development. I will begin by outlining post-development theory, primarily based on Arturo Escobar's *Encountering Development* (1995), along with more updated arguments put forward more recently. After exploring the critiques of post-development theory to demonstrate why it cannot stand alone in my analysis, I will turn to decolonial theory and an explanation of what it is and how it can converge with post-development to provide a baseline for delinking and (perhaps) reconstituting cosmopolitanism as discussed in Chapter 4.

Post-Development

Key texts in the early 1990s written by different authors – such as Sachs (1992); Ferguson (1994); Crush (1995); Escobar (1995) and Rahmema and Bawtree (1997) – worked together to create and explain post-development theory. For the purposes of this paper, I will focus on the theory explained by Escobar (1995) in *Encountering Development* as the main generative work of post-development thinking because he “show[s] that [development] discourse results in concrete practices of thinking and acting through which the Third World is produced” (p. 11). Throughout his work he

speak[s] of development as a historically singular experience, the creation of a domain of thought and action by analyzing the characteristics and interrelations of the three axes that define it: the forms of knowledge that refer to it and through which it comes into being and is elaborated into objects, concepts, theories and the like; the system of power that regulates its practice; and the forms of subjectivity fostered by this discourse, those through which people come to recognize themselves as developed or underdeveloped. The ensemble of forms found along these axes constitutes development as a discursive formation, giving rise to an efficient apparatus that systematically relates forms of knowledge and techniques of power (Escobar 1995, p. 10).

Indeed, based on this definition of development and development discourse, one can surmise that the way in which development has been spoken, written and practiced assumes and maintains unequal power structures between nations and between groups within nations.

Recent authors echo this assessment of the assumptions made through the discursive practice of development and the unequal power structures they create. McGregor succinctly describes the argument for post-development theory

In its skeletal form the common post-development argument claims that development has artificially naturalised an ideal state, modelled upon the 'developed' West, and promoted this state as universally desirable and achievable for all peoples and cultures. This vision has legitimised the rise of a development industry comprised of institutions, processes, practices, languages and knowledges which have systematically attempted to evolve 'deficient' underdeveloped nations into more desirable developed forms. The argument suggests that this process has destroyed and delegitimised the diverse range of social, cultural, political and economic systems that pre-dated development and has replaced them with homogenous models derived from shifting trends in development thinking (McGregor 2007, p. 156).

As Matthews summarizes “the problem ... is not that the project of development was poorly implemented and that it is necessary to find a better way to bring it about, but that the assumptions and ideas that are core to development are problematic, and so improved implementation is not the answer” (p. 375). Indeed it is the assumptions made and their pervasiveness through discourse that is at the heart of post-development theory.

The concepts of “underdevelopment and Third world” were part of the post-World War II reinvention and redefinition of the West and how it related to the rest of the world (Escobar

1995, p. 31). In particular, when confronted with societies where poverty was dealt with not through economic gain but through community based support there was a propensity to determine that this was an inappropriate and ‘backward’ way of being. Through the discursive creation of development in the 1940s, the first mission of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) to Colombia, for example, was able to promote “a type of development ... which conformed to the ideas and expectations of the affluent West, to what the Western countries judged to be a normal course of evolution and progress” (Escobar 1995, p. 26). The ways of being in Colombia were thus disregarded.

Matthews (2004) and Berg (2007) illustrate similar issues in their applications of post-development theory to development constructs in Africa. In particular, Berg’s (2007) discussion of Wolof society in Senegal highlights that “The introduction of capitalist influences and the values of wealth accumulation and consolidation have broken down traditional values in Wolof society regarding material goods and exchange” (p. 550). Matthews (2004) – citing N’Dione *et al* (1997: 371) – demonstrates those ways of being that were broken down:

Conventional development theorists presume that Person A will give what she has in excess to Person B with the expectation that Person B will in turn give what he has in excess in proportion to the value of what he received from Person A. However, some Senegalese communities assume something quite different: they assume that to give confers respectability on a person, and that Person A, who has in excess, will give without any expectation of a measurable and equivalent return, because the act of giving (rather than having) confers prestige (p. 381).

Indeed, the similarities between the situations in Senegal and Columbia demonstrate development practitioners’ complete disregard for the ways of being in different societies around the world.

Escobar (1995) focuses on the post-World War II period as the period of the invention of development and development discourse. This concept was further shaped by other factors,

including “the cold war, the need to find new markets, the fear of communism and over population, and faith in science and technology” (p. 32). However, he acknowledges that the structure of the discourse has not changed since its formation between 1945 and 1955 (1995, p. 42). This structure was successful in defining

a perceptual field structured by grids of observation, modes of inquiry and registration of problems, and forms of intervention: in short, it brought into existence a space defined not so much by the ensemble of objects with which it dealt but by a set of relations and a discursive practice that systematically produced interrelated objects, concepts, theories, strategies, and the like (Escobar 1995, p. 42).

Escobar’s assessment of development explains how discourse has been used and manipulated to maintain power structures that existed prior to the World Wars. While I have provided a basic idea as to the nature of this theory, I will highlight some of the major lines of thinking before moving on to critiques. In particular, I will explain how liberal economics – especially in the postwar period – contributed to the creation and implementation of development discourse, the contribution of Marxism to this theory¹ and the role of institutions in perpetuating harmful discursive practice.

The above examples of Senegal and Colombia demonstrated to some extent the role of development discourse in the shifting of culturally relevant economic practice; however, liberal economics is pervasive in development practice and needs to be discussed on a larger scale.

Escobar in *Encountering Development* describes the pervasiveness of liberal economics as follows:

political economy succeeded in imposing production and labor as a code of signification on social life as a whole. Simply put, modern people came to see life in general through the lens of production. Many aspects of life became increasingly economized, including human biology, the nonhuman natural world, relations among people, and relations

¹ There is a Marxist element in post-development in terms of the view of capitalism and economics; however, it is not a Marxist theory as Marxism is borne of the West and is to be universally applied (Escobar 1995, p. 95).

between people and nature. The languages of everyday life became entirely pervaded by the discourse of production and the market (Escobar, p. 60).

While there are significant references to ideas found in Marxism and dependency theory, they are applied to a different end, that is, to demonstrate how language and discourse were shaped by political economy and how social life was then shaped by this discourse. The power of discourse is apparent here. Furthermore, universally applied liberal economics, from a post-development perspective, were applied based on cosmopolitan ideals – ‘for the good of the people’ (Escobar 1995, p. 72). So, we can conclude based on the articulation of economics within the context of post-development theory that a discourse to “develop” the Third World was created and imposed upon different societies around the world whose models of doing economics were seen as “a rationalization, a mystification or ideology...[a representation of] the underlying reality to which the observer [external expert] has privileged access” (Gudeman 1986, p. 28 qtd. In Escobar 1995, p. 62), and, therefore, those observers were justified by cosmopolitanism and the universal “good of the people” in imposing the liberal (capitalist) economic model. This argument hints at the linkages between decolonial and post-development theory (discussed below) and the problematization of cosmopolitanism and the helping imperative (chapter 4). In addition, it provides insight into how economics was able to influence social structures and ways of knowing (see Escobar 1995, p. 89). These social structures and ways of knowing were manipulated in societies in both the Third World and in the West through the use of cosmopolitanism as an underlying value.

The Marxist influence in the above critique of capitalist economy is obvious. It becomes even clearer when Escobar showcases the problem with modern, liberal economics:

...vernacular societies had developed ways of defining and treating poverty that accommodated visions of community, frugality, and sufficiency. Whatever these traditional ways might have been, and without idealizing them, it is true that massive

poverty in the modern sense appeared only when the spread of the market economy broke down community ties and deprived millions of people from access to land, water, and other resources. With the consolidation of capitalism, systemic pauperization became inevitable (p. 23).

Indeed, the breakdown of community ties and deprivation of access are seen in multiple arguments from Marxism to dependency theory (Sachs 2009, pp. 167-168). However, unlike those theories, post-development uses its critique of the capitalist economy to demonstrate the need for alternatives to development that are culturally relative rather than a different approach – including Marxism – that is universal.

With the implementation of capitalist economies, “‘poor’ people’s [and, generally speaking subaltern people’s,] ability to define and take care of their own lives was eroded in a deeper manner than perhaps ever before. The poor became the target of more sophisticated practices, of a variety of programs that seemed inescapable” (p. 39). These practices were put in place by institutions, which, as we will see, have perpetuated the discourse as rational and universal throughout the developing world.

Development works through a combination of discourse, political economy and institutional ethnography (Escobar 1995, p. 105). As such, “institutional practices are crucial...because they contribute to producing and formalizing social relations, divisions of labor [*sic*], and cultural forms” (Escobar 1995, p. 105). Post-development theorists consider institutional practice as the production of power relations by hiding their practice under cover of rationality (Escobar 1995, p. 105). Later, we will see how this relates to Mignolo’s decolonial option(s). It is important, however, to understand that the framework of rationality based in cosmopolitan values shrouds all manner of institutions, such as international non-governmental organizations, the state structures of the ‘developing’ country as well as donor states and international organizations.

For example, when discussing the role of labelling in institutional practice, Escobar (1995) notes that “labels are by no means neutral; they embody concrete relationships of power and influence the categories with which we think and act” (p. 109). These labels are then used as a “true description of reality” and perceptions and understandings of the world that differ from that of those in power are not taken into account (Escobar 1995, p. 121). As such, it is impossible for the planners, the powerful, to adapt to the reality on the ground and instead proceed to restructure existing social relations through the use of discourse that was created by powerful people living with a different understanding of the world.

Sachs (2010) solidifies this notion when he explains that institutional “planning relies upon, and proceeds through, various practices regarded as rational or objective, but which are in fact highly ideological and political. First of all, as with other development domains, knowledge produced in the First World about the Third World gives a certain visibility to specific realities in the latter, thus making them the targets of power” (p. 154). Indeed, institutional planning and labels, based in the discourse of development and the rhetoric of rationality, has created a situation in which a regional way of being (the West) has been universalized without question or consideration of difference and agency.

In his discussion of the political economy of food and nutrition, Escobar (1995) states that “... the attempt at articulating a political economy of food and health must start with the construction of objects such as nature, peasants, food, and the body as an epistemological, cultural, and political process” (p. 130). Based on this view, perceptions are constructed by discourse and framed based on the subjective realities of Northerners. This idea is similar to the way in which subjective understandings have been presented as universalized objectivity by

Western thinkers, as discussed by Mignolo (2011). We will explore this similarity in depth later in the chapter.

In summary, the major thrust of post-development theory is that alternatives to development must be constructed. There is a resistance to the post-World War II development project that is growing in the South. In fact, the metaphors “beyond, in spite of, against development [are used by] a number of Third World authors and grassroots movements to imagine alternatives to development and to ‘marginalize the economy’ – another metaphor that speaks of strategies to contain the Western economy as a system of production, power and signification” (Escobar 1995, pp. 215-6). This resistance was one way for groups to reconstruct their identities (Escobar 1995, p. 216). However, as with all theories, there are problems and critiques, which I will outline below. After which, I will show how decolonial theory can complement post-development theory by responding to some of those critiques through the similarities and differences between the two theories.

Critiques of post-development theory

Critiques of international development activity and their hegemonic nature lead post-development theorists to adopt an approach that would find alternatives to development (Escobar 1995; Bennett 2012; Matthews 2009; Ziai 2007). However, this suggested approach garnered criticism itself: there are very few alternatives to development proposed (Bennett 2012, p. 981). The voracity of the post-development critiques of international development practice was met with a rather harsh criticism in which it was suggested that no real solutions were proposed and that the theories were only applicable in Latin America in particular instances (McGregor 2009; Bennett 2012). As such, post-development ideas were quieted for a time and thinkers who ascribe to these ideas re-evaluated their approaches, which has resulted in more nuanced

theoretical underpinnings (McGregor 2009; Matthews 2008; Bennett 2012; Mignolo 2011). The adaptation of post-development to its criticisms allows for a more considered approach to finding those elusive alternatives to development or, even, determining if they are necessary.

That being said, upon careful reading of Escobar (1995), it can be argued that he did, in fact, suggest multiple solutions to this issue. For example, he states:

one way of advancing [the] politics of cultural affirmation might be to free up spaces within, and in spite of, existing programs... But this widening of spaces must be pursued from the vantage point of the cultural imposition and instrument-effects of the development apparatus, not only in terms of political economy, as it has been until now. Only then will dissenting strategies have a clearer chance for life (Escobar 1995, pp. 152-3).

In this suggestion, he is advocating that space be made within programming, not for participation, but for the manipulation of the program itself to include different strategies. This seems pretty concrete. There are multiple suggestions about how to move forward in *Encountering Development* such as this one. As such, the critics' charge that concrete solutions were not available is false: they either believed the solution to be untenable or they rejected the solution outright. Perhaps this was due to the lack of focus on the Western expert, perhaps it is because they truly believe that their reality is the only reality. Regardless, this happening points to a need to include the West in the process of changing perspectives. We cannot move forward if we do not do it together.

In addition to his suggestions in *Encountering Development*, Escobar's (2008) more recent publication, *Territories of Difference*, highlights some alternatives to development, or to modernity in the Pacific region of Colombia that respond to the critiques based on a lack of suggestion. One particular example occurs when he is describing the evolution and current situation of "The Social Movement of Black Communities of the Southern Pacific" (Escobar

2008, p. 216). From the birth of small Organización de Comunidades Negras (OCNs) (Organizations of Black Communities) prior to 1994 that focused on “difference, territorial autonomy, and identity” (Escobar 2008, pp. 216-7), to the creation of a larger network of OCNs called the Proceso de Comunidades Negras (PCN) (Black Communities Coalition) that integrates the previous foci with new ones, including “economic and social rights, and racism and reparations” (Escobar 2008, p. 217), it is possible to see alternatives taking shape. Escobar (2008) approaches this study from the perspective that the

PCN may be seen in terms of the crafting of individual and collective identities in local contentious struggles. These struggles exist within larger contexts linking communities, the region, and the nation to longer networks and broader socioeconomic, cultural, and political histories [and] what links the various levels of identity are discourses of articulation (p. 217).

Therefore, instead of trying to understand the discourses from the perspective of the state, he approaches them through the perspective of the “collective agency of the activists” within the PCN (Escobar 2008, p. 217). In his analysis he highlights many different aspects of the growth of the organization and changes that took place due to a shifting membership and an ever-changing situation in Colombia. What is of particular interest to this argument, however, is that the PCN considers itself a proposal “among the complicated play of forces in the Pacific and black cultural politics in Colombia and elsewhere” (Escobar 2008, p. 253) rather than a universal response or as a part of the development machine. Indeed, the PCN exists outside of the “political and developmentalist formulations of the Left, [the] black urban organizations, and traditional political sectors” (Escobar 2008, p. 224). In fact, Escobar (2008) identifies four areas in which the PCN differed from the previously mentioned sectors: a) the perceptions of history and identity; b) the views and demands concerning natural resources, territory, and development; c) the types of political representation and participation of the communities; and d) the

conception of organizational strategy and modes of construction of the movement (p. 224). As such, it is one of many possible ways in which alternatives to development and to modernity can be conceived.

There are multiple additional critiques of post-development, the first of which is that it would “not offer a constructive political agenda” (Ziai 2007, p. 10). However, Nustad (2007) argues that the critiques offered by post-development theory, without pointing a way forward, have value “because they point to a possible explanation for why development interventions so often fail” (p. 40). Furthermore, he explains that the “call for practical solutions rests on the assumption that the apparatus now in place has the capacity for delivering a solution, and there are important reasons for doubting that premise” (Nustad 2007, p. 44). Indeed, as stated above, the development institutions, apparatus, and discourse are not the spaces from which alternatives to development can be produced and it is perhaps a question of shifting perspective in the North as well as the South. The delinking of cosmopolitanism is linked to that shift, which I will demonstrate further on.

A second critique of post-development theory is that post-development has an ambiguous relationship to agency (Ziai 2007, p. 10). As Lie (2007) explains, “in their emphasis on development discourse’s power over agency, post-development scholars reduce what was cherished by the post-modern tradition of which post-development is a part that is, individualism and multitude on both an empirical and theoretical level” (p. 47). Furthermore, he explains that the pure discursive forms of post-development neglects that development discourse is reproduced on the formal level knowingly and that an actor-oriented approach could complement post-development and refocus the theory on the social aspects of development practice and

counter system-based thinking (Lie 2007, p. 60). Therefore, post-development would become more nuanced and accessible.

Overall, this critique and its response have merit; however, in the context of decolonial theory (below), it will become apparent that remaining within the realm of post-modern thinking is less desirable than posited by Lie (2007). In fact, it is my contention that weaving together decolonial and post-development approaches will demonstrate that the desire to remain within the post-modern family and focus on individuals and multitude is not the main goal. Woven together these theories will promote an acceptance of difference in ways of being and knowing, an awareness of how power spreads through discursive formation and a new way to approach what is currently known as development activity in the North.

Before moving into a description of decolonial theory and how it weaves together with post-development theory, there is a final critique to address, which is that “attempts to link post-development to a practice of emancipatory politics have been insufficiently theorized” (Ziai 2007, p. 10). Nakano (2007) responds to this critique by suggesting that naming the informal is actually an act of transformation that makes it a subject of emancipation (Ziai 2007, p. 10). Indeed, Nakano (2007) states that “Ultimately, an exploration of post-development lies in the investigation of the different ontological conditions that resist the totalization of the social field: it is crucial to further develop the normativity of post-development. The rethinking of ontology proceeds with deepening an understanding of the link between plurality and the universal” (p. 76).

The link between plurality and the universal is directly addressed in decolonial theory (below) and a convergence of the two will respond to this critique. Furthermore, I believe that this approach of linking plurality and the universal can be achieved through delinking

cosmopolitanism based on the convergence of post-development and decolonial theory (see Chapter 4).

Development is part of a wider issue that has to do with globalization, capitalism and power. Therefore, discourse and self-determination cannot be the only focus if we are to shift the development system. As such, it is necessary to explore other theories of a similar ontological and epistemic field in order to broaden the scope of post-development.

I will therefore converge this theory with a more radical approach: decolonial theory. Mignolo's theorization of Quijano's ideas on a wider scale provides more depth and consideration to the alternatives to development posited by post-development theorists, in what is more clearly elaborated as the decolonial option(s). In the next section I explore decolonial theory, while demonstrating the complementary relationship it has with post-development theory by drawing on their similarities and differences, in essence converging these approaches and strengthening the base from which I will delink cosmopolitanism from the logic of coloniality to perform a discourse analysis of Canadian foreign aid that uncovers the helping imperative hidden within as well as the need for a shift in the Canadian approach to aid and development.

Post-Development and Decolonial Theory

Alternatives to development in post-development and the decolonial options are only the beginning of the ontological and epistemic similarities between post-development theory and decolonial theory. In particular, decolonial theory and the modernity/coloniality-decoloniality collective (MCD) project "... purports to develop a geopolitical perspective on the question of reason from a specific time and space; that is, from a locus of enunciation that is not that of a particular author but of the Other who have been historically marginalized or ignored" (Veronelli

2015, p. 109). This epistemic shift is similar to the calls for self-determination of post-development theorists (Matthews 2004; Berg 2007).

The link between post-development and decolonial theory is most clearly demonstrated when Mignolo (2011) explains that “Modernity cannot be separated from development... [There has been a mutation] from civilization to development: salvation from conversion to Christianity or assenting to Western civilization as it mutated into economic development, which was a conversion to Western economic principles...” (p. 13). However, decolonial theory and the MCD collective do not focus only on development; the scope is wider. While post-development theory analyzes the creation of development discourse since World War II, decolonial theory draws on over 500 years of history to demonstrate how modernity/coloniality came to be and why decoloniality is an option (Quijano 2007, p. 170; Mignolo 2011, p. 216; 257). Furthermore, decolonial theory focuses on the interaction between different societies with different ways of knowing, being and doing. As such, there are a number of concepts that are specific to decolonial theory, which I will use (and explain) as I weave these theories together.

Walter Mignolo has published a number of books regarding the historicity of the modern/colonial world and how it continues to affect us today, particularly through development. I will draw the major lines and definitions that I use in decolonial theory from his work, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity* (2011). In this work, he explains coloniality as “the underlying logic of foundation and unfolding of Western civilization ... of which historical colonialisms have been constituted” (2011, p. 2). Quijano (2007) defined coloniality as “the most general form of domination in the world today, once colonialism as an explicit political order was destroyed. It doesn’t exhaust, obviously, the conditions nor the modes of exploitation and domination between peoples. But it hasn’t ceased to be, for 500 years, their main

framework” (p. 170). Similar to the decolonial explanations, Escobar (1995) explains that “There is another level of reflection on the social and cultural productivity of development based on the dynamics of discourse and power within the history and culture of modernity” (p. 142). In essence, both theories accept that history, modernity and globalization (and, therefore, coloniality) are currently at play and affect the daily lives of people in the South.

The "colonial matrix of power" discussed by Mignolo is the foundational control of different societal aspects that make up modernity. In essence “it operates in a series of interconnected heterogenous historico-structural nodes crossed by colonial and imperial differences and by the underlying logic that secures those connections: the logic of coloniality...” (Mignolo 2011, p. 17). The matrix is made up of “four interrelated domains: control of the economy, of authority, of gender and sexuality, and of knowledge and subjectivity” (Mignolo 2011, p. 8). The domains of control are supported by “the racial and patriarchal foundation of knowledge (the enunciation in which the world order is legitimized)” (Mignolo 2011, p. 8). The foundation of knowledge and, therefore, epistemology created a zero point that is “always in the present of time and the center of space, it hides its own local knowledge universally projected” (Mignolo 2011, p. 80). This projection of universality is how modernity/coloniality took root around the world.

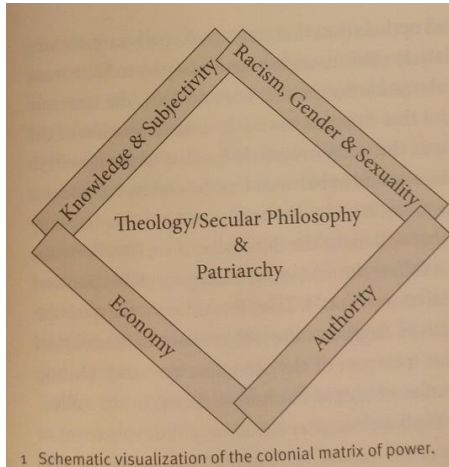


Figure 1: The Colonial Matrix of Power
(Mignolo 2011, p. 8)

Mignolo (2011) demonstrates the consequences of coloniality at and even deeper level: At the same time that capitalism became the new type of economy in Europe and that the scientific revolution took place, “a hidden dimension to [these] events was [also taking place], both in the sphere of economy and in the sphere of knowledge: *the dispensability* (or expendability) *of human life* and of life in general from the Industrial Revolution into the twenty-first

century” (p. 6). The dispensability of human life will be important in my argument to delink cosmopolitanism and it is integral to the post-development understanding of development practice as well. In particular, we see it at play in Escobar (1995) when he is discussing integrated rural development schemes and states that “What happened to rural people ... did not matter. From an economic perspective, these people simply did not count” (p. 79). Here we have yet another example that post-development and decolonial theory share significant ontological and epistemic similarities.

In addition, in terms of post-development theory, we have already discussed how institutions render invisible the subjectivities in their practice by using rationality. This rationality (may have) covered up the shift in perception from human beings working to live to human being living to work that we discuss in decolonial theory (see Mignolo 2011). Furthermore, the link between the power of discourse demonstrated in post-development (above) and decolonial theory is made clear when Mignolo (2011) articulates that “...hidden behind the rhetoric of modernity, economic practices dispensed with human lives and knowledge justified

racism and the inferiority of human lives that were naturally considered dispensable” (p. 6). Here we see the hidden subjectivities within the rhetoric of modernity and the logic of coloniality.

However, according to Mignolo (2011), not all human lives were dispensable, only those of the people of the South. He describes two classes of human beings: the *humanitas*, “those who inhabit the zero point and were the architects of global linear thinking” (Mignolo 2011, p. 83); and the *anthropos*, those who “inhabit the *exteriority* (the outside invented in the process of defining the inside) created from the perspective of the zero point observation” (Mignolo 2011, p. 83). Essentially, the *humanitas* are the people who live in the society that projects their truths as universal truths through rhetoric and other means of control and the *anthropos* are those who are considered outsiders in that society. As such, the *humanitas* are those who are considered complete human beings while the *anthropos* are considered inferior in some way, due to the geo- and bio-political inventions of the colonial matrix of power.

This conceptualization of *humanitas* and *anthropos* is not directly related to post-development theory (a Twentieth century reading), but the creation of the different classes of human beings demonstrates the power of discourse and rhetoric in shaping perceptions of reality and helps to solidify the relationship between these two theories. Furthermore, the acceptance of these two classes of human beings will play a significant role in my proposal about how to delink cosmopolitanism in chapter three. For now, it is important to know that modernity/coloniality is predicated upon these different classes of human beings and that it is problematic. However, according to Mignolo (2011) the zero point epistemology is no longer pervasive.

When Mignolo presents the decolonial option, it is as one of five main trajectories toward global futures that are taking place in the world: *rewesternization*, *dewesternization*, *reorientation of the Left*, *decolonial* and *spiritual*. Throughout his book he explains the

differences between the five trajectories, highlighting the importance of dewesternization and decolonial options. I will explain the basic premise of these trajectories before moving forward with an in-depth comparison of post-development and decolonial theory.

Mignolo believes that a new world order is emerging and that it

will be decided in the struggles, negotiations, competitions, and collaborations between five different and coexisting trajectories – without a winner. If there is a winner it would be the agreement that global futures shall be polycentric and noncapitalist. Which means that a struggle for world domination that was based on wealth accumulation, military power, and the pursuit of a form of supremacy that could impose its own notion of universality would yield to pluriversality as a universal project (p.33).

Within that world order each of the five trajectories would learn to work together without trying to convince the others that their way is the only way. Each of the trajectories touches on at least two of the domains of the colonial matrix of power: knowledge, subjectivity, economy and authority (Mignolo 2011 p. 35). The differences between each of the trajectories lies in how they perceive their relationship and attitude toward those domains (Mignolo 2011, p. 35): whether through ‘objectivity and truth without parentheses’ (which, based on the work of Humberto Maturana, is the idea that all objects are observer-independent, that calls on the authority of universally valid knowledge and an understanding that what exists is completely independent of the observer’s personality and actions) or through ‘objectivity and truth with parentheses’ (which is based on constituted ontologies, essentially that all understandings and knowings are based on the experiences of the observer and that there are numerous possible realities) (Mignolo pp. 35; 70-71). To simplify, objectivity and truth *without* parenthesis does not acknowledge that the experiences of the observer influence their opinions, decisions, understandings, etc. while objectivity and truth *with* parenthesis acknowledges and celebrates the experiences of the observer in his or her understanding of the world.

I have included a reproduction of a graphic representation of the trajectories in Mignolo's book. This representation provides a succinct guide to each trajectory and their attitudes toward each domain of the colonial matrix of power. I will outline each one briefly before continuing to demonstrate the interaction between the decolonial option and post-development theory.

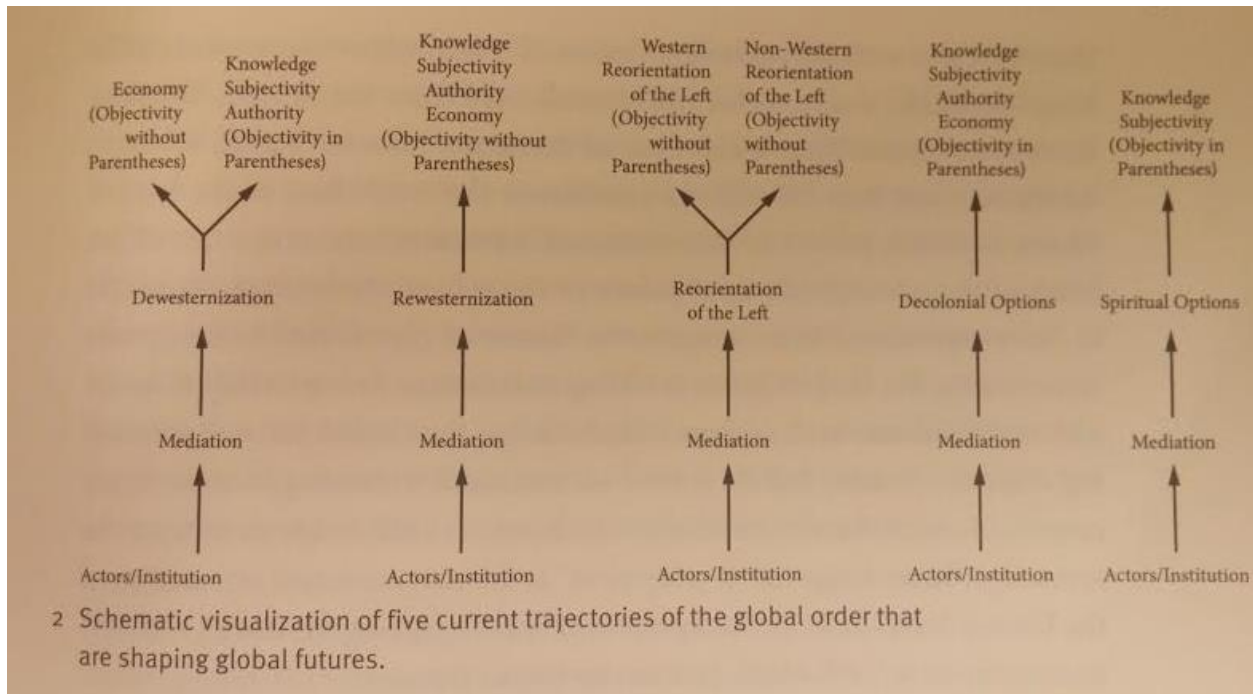


Figure 2: The Five Global Trajectories (Mignolo 2011, p. 33)

Rewesternization is essentially the attempt of those in power in the West to promote modernity around the world and “rebuild the confidence the world had in the United States” (Mignolo 2011, p. 36). This approach consistently adopts the attitude of objectivity *without* parentheses in all domains of the colonial matrix of power. The economic goal is to save capitalism and “knowledge for development” is the unquestioned orientation of the United States in its current project of rewesternizing the world (Mignolo 2011, pp. 35-37). It is an attempt by the United States to maintain its authority and leadership in international relations and to promote consumerism as the reality of its subjects who “live and work and work to consume

instead of working and consuming to live” (Mignolo 2011, p. 36). The attempts at rewesternization have not been successful on a global scale, primarily due to the dewesternization trajectory (Mignolo 2011, p. 37).

Dewesternization originated in East and Southeast Asia and is “clearly a response to Western modernity” (Mignolo 2011, p. 44). It adopts the economic standpoint of rewesternization with objectivity *without* parentheses, but approaches the domains of knowledge, subjectivity and authority based on an attitude of objectivity *in* parentheses (Mignolo 2011, p. 35). Because “the constitution and configuration of modern epistemology...were a business conducted by white men and continue to be managed accordingly, dewesternization is calling into question not just the content of Western epistemology but its very foundation: the structure of enunciation” (Mignolo 2011, p. 45). It is therefore a “project of conflictive coexistence between forces that share common economic principles [- capitalism – while confronting Westernization] at other levels of the colonial matrix of power: the sphere of authority, of knowledge, of subjectivity” (Mignolo 2011, p. 47). The dewesternization trajectory has gained ground in recent years with the breakdown of the Doha round trade talks, which demonstrates that the era of unquestioning acceptance of Western epistemology is coming to an end (Mignolo 2011, p. 49).

The Reorientation of the Left is a trajectory that contains multiple trajectories of its own. In particular, there are four leftist internal trajectories: the European Left, the Theological Left (Christianity and Islam in particular), the World Social Forum/Global Left, and the modern/colonial (Marxist) Left (Mignolo 2011, pp. 37-44). Each of these leftist reorientations is unique and shifts somewhat based on location. However, it is unnecessary for the purposes of this study to elaborate in much more detail. It is enough to say that the reorientation of the Left,

regardless of internal trajectory, and whether in the Western or Non-Western world, operates from an attitude of objectivity *without* parentheses in all spheres of the colonial matrix of power. As such, the beliefs of the left are considered by those following the trajectory to be universal and within the same ontological framework as rewesternization, it is simply of matter of proposing different solutions that should be implemented universally: a different hegemony, but a hegemony nonetheless (Mignolo 2011, pp. 37-44).

The spiritual option is a trajectory that

advocates decolonizing religion to liberate spirituality. It operates mainly at the level of knowledge and subjectivity ... but it is fundamental to the decolonization of economy and politics, since both – political theory and political economy – have become imperial tools in the formation of the subjectivity of consumers and voters that nourish and support imperial actors and institutions in the states and corporations (Mignolo 2011, p. 62).

The spiritual option often comes together with the decolonial option in terms of different political approaches and in considerations about the environment or Gaia (Mignolo 2011, p. 34).

The final trajectory, already discussed at length, is the decolonial option. It is necessary to highlight certain aspects of the decolonial option in the context of a trajectory rather than a theoretical approach. For example, it is important to understand the difference between decoloniality and decolonization. Decolonization “describes a period and refers to a complex scenario of struggles that today have become an object of study” (Mignolo 2011, p. 53). Decoloniality, firstly, was borne of the ‘decolonization of knowledge’ that took place at the end of the Cold War by the non-Aligned states and represented a shift in the way Eurocentrism was considered: as an epistemic issue rather than a geographical one (Mignolo 2011, pp. 53-54). Secondly, decoloniality “makes clear that any act and project of decolonization refers to the colonial matrix of power, rather than to any indeterminate domain of ‘reality’ ... Decolonial

doing and thinking (doing while thinking, thinking while doing) means to address the four spheres and the many layers in which the colonial matrix operates” (Mignolo 2011, p. 54). The decolonial option adopts an attitude of objectivity *in* parentheses in relation to all four spheres.

Each trajectory goes through a process of mediation before approaching each sphere of the colonial matrix of power. This mediation is a process by which the “complex of knowledge-made [is understood], but also the basic principles by which knowledge is made” (Mignolo 2011, p. 65). In the case of the decolonial option (and dewesternization) this involves both the desire and knowledge-making that is necessary to delink from modernity/coloniality, and that “they have to build on what Westernization disavowed by in-corporating Western contributions to human civilization into [their] projects” (Mignolo 2011, p. 65). Doing so is called border thinking, that is, “diatopical thinking...and its hermeneutics articulate the particular version of experience that operates on the awareness and power differential” (Mignolo 2011, p. 61). Border thinking can give rise to epistemic disobedience, in which I plan to engage when delinking cosmopolitanism in chapter 4.

Border thinking, the acceptance of the contributions of the colonial matrix of power, helps to respond to the critique of post-development in which a more normative version is called for. In convergence with decolonial theory, the normative conditions necessary for a politically emancipatory post-development theorization may be possible. For example, in acknowledging the contributions of Westernization to human civilization, the positive aspects of heavily critiqued discourse may be possible due to such a shift in thinking and knowledge-making. The delinking of cosmopolitanism in order to perform a discourse analysis of aid and development discourse in Canada should demonstrate this possibility (see Chapter 4).

While engaging in border thinking and accepting the contributions of the West, decolonial thinkers nonetheless “accept the interconnection between geo-history and epistemology, between bio-graphy and epistemology that has been kept hidden by linear global thinking and the hubris of the zero point...” (Mignolo 2011, p. 91) as a first step to shifting the way in which knowledge is made. Indeed, decolonial thinking accomplishes two things: “it anchors new epistemic and ontological sites; and contextualizes Descartes [(‘I think, therefore I am) into] I am where I do and think,” which for Mignolo (2011) means “that thinking derives from doing in the same proportion that doing derives from thinking” (pp. 91-92). Essentially, it is a recognition of the subjectivity of knowledge, which engenders “a shift in the geo- and body-politics of knowledge that focuses on changing the rules of the game rather than its content” (p. 92).

In the context of post-development, Escobar (1995) states that

Development has relied exclusively on one knowledge system, namely, the modern, Western one. The dominance of this knowledge system has dictated the marginalization and disqualification of non-Western knowledge systems. In these latter knowledge systems, the authors conclude, research and activists might find alternative rationalities to guide social action away from economic and reductionistic ways of thinking (p. 13).

This perception of what development has done, if placed within the rewesternization trajectory, demonstrates what Mignolo (2011) is explaining about knowledge-making and border thinking. It showcases that the “Geo- and bio-graphic politics of knowledge materializes the change of terrain, undoing and moving away from the imperial political theology and its translation into secular ecology” (Mignolo 2011, pp. 105-6).

In both theories, we see what thinkers who are where they think are doing with their knowledge. “Being where one thinks implies, first and foremost, recognizing and confronting both imperial categorizations of being and universal principles of knowing; it means engaging in

epistemic disobedience, in independent thoughts, in decolonial thinking” (Mignolo 2011, p. 97). As such, the post-development and decolonial thinkers alike are forcing the Western world to recognize that the ‘great’ ‘universal’ thinkers were mired in locality and geo-politics. Their work was influenced by a particular epistemology that came from a particular conception of history and a particular way of being in the world. Externalized thinkers (to borrow the term from Mignolo) force those who accept thinkers such as Kant or Locke or Smith as having produced universal truths (without parentheses) to reconsider their own perceptions and acknowledge the subjectivities within those particular epistemologies.

I have outlined the foundational thinking of decolonial theory and linked it to post-development through its similarities and differences to outline how the theories complement each other. Before moving on to critiques of decolonial theory, it is necessary to highlight some particular concepts that continue to build upon the links between post-development and decolonial theory as well as generate the foundation from which it is possible to delink cosmopolitanism from the colonial matrix of power.

The first such concept is body politics, which is the “biographic configuration of gender, religion, class, ethnicity and language” (Mignolo 2011, p. 9). This concept is elaborated as being “the decolonial response to state-managed bio-politics: body-politics describes decolonial technologies [structures] ratified by bodies who realized, first, that they were considered less human, and second, that the very act of describing them as less human was a radical un-human consideration” (Mignolo 2011, p. 140). Body-politics, then, is a decolonial alternative to bio-politics. One that lives within and is created by ‘othered’ bodies – as described in post-development theory – and one that recognizes the lack of humanity in the bio-politics of the

(Western) state. In essence, body-politics turns the tables to say that those who have considered some less than human are those who lack humanity.

Based on this notion of body-politics, the individualism and far-reaching duties of cosmopolitanism are, in fact, falsehoods. If bodies are considered less than human by the state then cosmopolitanism would not apply to those individuals. This is one of many reasons why cosmopolitanism must be delinked. ‘Othered’ bodies must be considered human and considered equally human to bodies in the West and therefore body-politics must be integrated into such a delinked cosmopolitanism (see Chapter 4).

Another concept of particular import is the geopolitics of knowledge. Referred to as the enunciated, it

goes hand in hand with geopolitics of knowing (the enunciation). [This is a decolonial concept] because it was introduced to deal with the epistemic dependency of Third World countries as well as of their scholars and intellectuals. Epistemic dependency was and is parallel to economic dependency. Geopolitics of knowledge was not ... a concern of Euro-American scholarship and thoughts... Asking [who, when, why and where knowledge is generated, rather than produced] means to shift the attention from the enunciated [-what is being said-] to the enunciation [-how it is being said, from what perspective] (Mignolo 2011, p. 119).

This concept deepens the relationship between post-development and decolonial theory. Escobar (1995) describes peasant struggles to recapture land as not only a “struggle for land and living conditions; it is above all a struggle over symbols and meanings, a cultural struggle” (p. 167). While a cultural struggle may not be the way in which decolonial theorists would characterize what Escobar is referring to, the focus on meaning and symbols (which are discursive elements) – on the enunciation – within those revolts is important. As such, it is possible to conclude that discourse has a direct effect on the geopolitics of knowing.

Continuing to deepen the relationship between post-development and decolonial theory, I will highlight the role and power of language in each theory. Veronelli (2015) explains that “to deprive colonized-colonialized people of their languages and to force the colonial languages on their tongues sought to deny them as a people” (p. 128). Furthermore, Mignolo (2011) conceptualizes language as powerful: “A [person] who has language consequently possesses the world expressed and implied in that language. What we are getting at becomes plain: mastery of language affords remarkable power” (p. 110). In fact, if we accept both of these statements as true, then it is clear that forcing of the colonial language not only denied the personhood of the colonialized, but also attempted to remove their own power. However, as Veronelli (2015) states, the continuance of languaging (the relationship between language as a verb and ways of living) within the communities of the colonized-colonialized ensures that they “continue as much as possible powerfully remembering, re-enacting, and performing their way of living-together despite the reduction brought by missionaries, the dispersion brought by slavery, and universality of modernity and its institutions” (p. 128). Indeed, the power of language is clear on both sides of the equation.

Escobar (1995) does not address language directly; it is more a discussion of representations. He explains that “The crisis in the regimes of representation of the Third World ... calls for new theories and research strategies; the crisis is a real conjunctural moment in the reconstruction of the connection between truth and reality, between words and things, on that demands new practices of seeing, knowing, and being” (p. 223). Here I would like to highlight that in post-development words are but one means of representation and while language is made up of words, it is not the only way to represent a ways of knowing and being. That being said, there is a clear link between the conceptualization of the power of language in decolonial

thinking and the power representations in post-development theory. Both can subjugate knowledge and both can, in fact, re-constitute or delink knowledge.

Finally, it is important to understand the nuances of delinking and decolonial thinking and their relationship. As Mignolo states: "...the task of decolonial thinking and the enactment of the decolonial option in the twenty-first century starts from epistemic delinking: from acts of epistemic disobedience" (p. 139). We have previously discussed epistemic disobedience as growing out of border thinking. Delinking epistemically, therefore, is an act of border thinking: of being where you think. In addition, "being where you think means, first and foremost, to delink from the epistemic mirage that you can only be if you think as someone else...told you..., directly or indirectly, that you should think and therefore what you should be" (Mignolo 2011, p. 94-5). Here we see that border thinking, decolonial thinking, epistemic disobedience and epistemic delinking are concepts that overlap and complement each other: some are ways of being, others are ways of doing, but they are all ways of knowing.

Critiques of the Decolonial Option

There are critiques from different theoretical orientations that have been levelled against the decolonial option. The first that I will address is raised by Partha Chatterjee (2013) in her review of his book: "Mignolo does not face the question that has always been raised against proposals of this kind: how is one to come to grips with the sheer magnitude of economic, technological, and military force that is available in the service of the capitalist or colonial order dominated by the cosmopolitan humanitas?" (p. 572). My action in suggesting a delinked cosmopolitanism is part of the possible shift in perspective of those in the West as well. To be sure, this is one small piece of work; however, this thinking must begin somewhere, and as Mignolo (2011) identifies, global hierarchies are all interconnected (p. 17). Breaking down one

hierarchy, even in theory, may then contribute to breaking down another. Indeed, the small of actions of those in the West who understand the logic of coloniality and the injustice it causes may help to reduce the full might of the force referred to by Chatterjee (2013). Furthermore, from a delinked cosmopolitan perspective, we have a duty to do so.

In addition, European philosophers, such as Slavoj Žižek have taken issue with decolonial theory, going as far as to say that they are not responsible for the actions of their ancestors and refuse to live in the past (Dabashi 2015, p. 8). However, as Dabashi responds: “Žižek and his fellow philosophers ... cannot read any other script, any other map, than the colonial script and the colonial map with which Europeans have read and navigated the world; conversely, they cannot read any other script or map because they are blinded to alternative geographies that resistance to that colonialism had written can navigated” (p. 10). Unfortunately, Žižek’s reaction seems to indicate that he and those who follow his line of thinking will disregard the work of decolonial theorists *because* they do not follow the Western model, which is exactly the problem being pointed out by decolonial theorist. The circular nature of this debate is disconcerting. However, it is not difficult to refute Žižek’s critique because he does not engage directly with the material.

Convergence

At the end of his chapter about the creation of poverty, Escobar (1995) states:

the coherence of effects that the development discourse achieved is the key to its success as a hegemonic form of representation: the construction of the poor and underdeveloped as universal, preconstituted subjects, based on the privilege of the representers; the exercise of power over the Third World made possible by this discursive homogenization...; and the colonization and domination of the nature and human ecologies and economies of the Third World” (p. 53).

This critique of what development discourse has “accomplished” is a demonstration of why there must be a shift in the universalism of cosmopolitanism that is promoted by the West (see Chapter 4). However, while alternatives to development are promoted in post-development theory, there is little to lend itself to changing the perception and the ways of understanding the world promoted by this discourse. The decolonial option(s) described by Mignolo (2011) provides us with a possibility for doing so.

This complementarity and convergence of these theories is not only important for a discourse analysis of Canadian foreign aid, but also for evaluating theories borne of the West. It becomes apparent while discussing these theories that the epistemic frame from which foreign aid is practiced – cosmopolitanism – is part of the development discourse and the rhetoric of coloniality. In his conclusion, Escobar (1995) states “changing the order of discourse is a political question that entails the collective practice of social actors and the restructuring of existing political economies of truth” (p. 216). Such a restructuring, as demonstrated by decolonial theory, cannot be based on the current underlying thinking of truth without parentheses. It is therefore necessary to identify the current underlying principles guiding the development apparatus and decolonize or delink them. In the case of development in Canada, the underlying principle is cosmopolitanism. As such, I will explore cosmopolitanism, its critiques, and the helping imperative before attempting to delink cosmopolitanism from the epistemology of the West.

3. (Thick) Cosmopolitanism and Delinking

Cosmopolitan theory underpins the Canadian foreign aid practice. There are a number of critiques of the implementation of cosmopolitanism from within the epistemic framework of the West as well as those that straddle Northern and Southern thinking, not the least of which is the critique of the helping imperative by Barbara Heron (2007). While her critique of the helping imperative demonstrates the fact that there is a problem with the discourse and the perceptions of Western development practitioners it – along with multiple others – does not question the underlying logic of Western civilization. As such, I will propose another way of approaching cosmopolitan ideals that delinks from the logic of coloniality in order to address the problematic of the helping imperative as well as the issues related to justice and causal responsibility that arise throughout the analysis.

I am delinking cosmopolitanism precisely *because* it is the way of the thinking that determines the actions of states and people who exist within the logic of coloniality at the zero point. If we accept the decolonial view that the world is made up of historic-structural nodes (different societies) then it is necessary to accept that “no one [node] is independent of any other, as any node is likely to be related in two or more differing ways” (Mignolo 2011, p. 17). This interdependence must, therefore, include the westernized nodes as much as the dewesternized and decolonial nodes. By delinking cosmopolitanism, and applying it as the foundational theory in a discourse analysis of Canadian foreign aid discourse, I hope to (start to) bring us, Canadians, out of the “mirage of modernity and the trap of coloniality” (p. 17) that Mignolo (2011) refers to and into a state of being that values different ways of knowing and doing in the world: one that values individuals, persons, communities and societies.

It is therefore important to conduct the discourse analysis (Chapter 4) from the perspective of delinked cosmopolitanism. Ferguson (1990) explains that

[The] economy of discourses dictates that interventions such as integrated rural development show a significant degree of uniformity worldwide; these strategies rely on a relatively undifferentiated and context-independent body of knowledge and expertise, a sort of ‘devspeak’ and ‘devthink’; at a general level they produce similar results, particularly in terms of governmentalizing social life (258-60 ctd. in Escobar 1995, 145-6).

Therefore, from a combined post-development/decolonial perspective it can be concluded that conducting a discourse analysis without shifting the underlying principles of cosmopolitanism would give rise to similar conclusions that have already been reached *and* that could be learned.

Before beginning the delinking process, we will explore the current iterations of cosmopolitanism and the critiques while ensuring that the core motivations of cosmopolitanism are understood. It is important to understand that cosmopolitan theory is an umbrella concept that includes various iterations of cosmopolitanism. There are a number of different ways in which the term or the theory has been interpreted; however, there are three main tenets to cosmopolitanism. I will introduce and explain these tenets – along with a fourth proposed by Dobson (2006) – before moving on to highlight the critiques of the theory. Finally, I will offer a delinked version of cosmopolitanism that seeks to address the issues raised by Heron (2007) (see Introduction), as well as the contradictions between cosmopolitanism and post-development/decolonial theories. I will then, in Chapter 4, conduct a discourse analysis of Canadian foreign aid based on this delinked version of cosmopolitan theory.

The Core Tenets of Cosmopolitanism Plus One

Cosmopolitanism as it is today began in the deontological assumptions of Immanuel Kant (Mignolo 2011 pp. 187 – 202; Shapcott 2010, p. 25). From the Kantian perspective, “the most

important philosophical and political problem facing humankind was the eradication of war and the realization of a universal community governed by a rational cosmopolitan law” (Shapcott 2010, p. 25). Kantian cosmopolitanism is therefore based on abstract ideas of what is right – prioritizing the moral judgement of motivations rather than results – based on the assumption that reason is the primary quality of all human beings (see Shapcott 2010). A decolonial critique of this assumption leads Mignolo to the conclusion that “Although Kant insisted that knowledge starts from senses and experiences, he assumed that there was a universal formula and therefore that all human senses and experiences would lead to the same reasoning and conception of the world” (p. 187). Along with the previous discussion from a post-development perspective regarding rationality (Chapter 3), this demonstrates that there are significant problems with the Kantian assumptions.

That being said, the majority of modern/colonial cosmopolitan theories are based on the concept of universalism (Shapcott 2010, p. 25). For example, in utilitarian cosmopolitanism, though consequentialist – in that the moral imperative for action is based on the results of that action rather than on the motivations of the actor (Shapcott 2010, pp. 35-6) – rather than deontological, the modern/colonial conception of it is that because pleasure and pain are felt by all human beings that it is universally applicable (Shapcott 2010, p. 38). In addition, contractarian cosmopolitanism – based in Rawls’ conception of the social contract between citizens and the state – “posits the idea of a global social contract” rather than one on a national scale (Shapcott 2010, p. 39). Indeed, “Rawlsian cosmopolitans are universalists of both scope and justification because they claim that justice is universal, but also that it must in principle be accepted by all reasonable people” (Shapcott 2010, p. 40). As such, we see the problematic (from a post-development/decolonial perspective) of universalism in multiple iterations of

cosmopolitanism. Mignolo (2011) addresses the pervasiveness of universalism in his conception of cosmopolitan localism (to be detailed in the next section); however, there are (at least) two additional aspects of cosmopolitanism that are equally pervasive: individualism and impartiality (Shapcott 2010, pp. 20-4). Mignolo (2011) does not address these other issues directly, which is what I propose to do within the exercise of delinking. Therefore, to delink cosmopolitanism, it is necessary to outline these three issues – individualism, universalism and impartiality – from within the tradition in order to address each one specifically.

To summarize, the three core values of the cosmopolitanism, regardless of approach are: the idea that all human beings have equal responsibility toward other human beings *because* they are human beings; that the underlying principles of these responsibilities must be agreeable to all persons; and that moral obligations toward human beings are both positive and negative (Cameron 2014, pp. 27-28; Shapcott 2010, pp. 20-4). I will delink these three core principles based on the woven theories of post-development and decolonial. In addition, I will demonstrate that cosmopolitan itself requires this delinking in order to adhere to cosmopolitan values while including a fourth iteration of cosmopolitanism proposed by Andrew Dobson (2006): the conception of ‘thick’ cosmopolitanism – a recognition of the “causal responsibility that [links the people] in the Global North to strangers in other parts of the world” (Cameron 2014, p. 30) in that demonstration. Indeed, a ‘thick’ approach to cosmopolitanism, viewed through a post-development/decolonial lens, lends itself to the argument that cosmopolitanism should be delinked in order to *truly respond to cosmopolitan duties*.

The first principle outlined by Cameron (2014) is described as “the duties of individual humans towards one another regardless of their citizenship in particular nation-states or membership in particular [ethnic or religious groups], or other communities of shared identity”

(p. 27). Indeed, this first principle is echoed by various authors, including Shapcott (2010), who acknowledges that “despite the division of humanity into separate historically constituted communities, it remains possible to identify oneself with, and have moral concern for, humanity”. In addition, Pogge (1992), whose thinking has heavily influenced Dobson’s notion of ‘thick’ cosmopolitanism (see Dobson 2006), asserts that “every human being has a global stature as an ultimate unit of moral concern” (Cameroon 2014, p. 49). Indeed, this principle is fundamental to cosmopolitanism.

However, within this principle, we see links to an individualistic way of seeing the world. This bias is problematic for a number of reasons in the post-development/decolonial context. In particular, Mignolo’s (2011) understanding of the division between the *humanitas* and *anthropos* (discussed in Chapter 3) leads to the conclusion that the individual humans referred to by cosmopolitan thinkers *must* be those who accept the Eurocentric way of being in the world. In addition, this principle excludes the relationship to nature that is found in many societies that evolved without Western influence (for example, the Aymara of Bolivia discussed in the introduction or the Zapatistas (see Mignolo p. 217-251)). Because these societies view themselves as being *one with* nature rather than *outside* of nature, it is necessary to rethink this underlying principle in order to execute the duties that we have toward those human beings as well. I will address these issues through the delinking process (below); however, it is necessary to understand that even the first principle of cosmopolitanism is problematic for many societies around the world.

Before moving to the second principle, I will address the question of how a nation-state can be a responsible cosmopolitan actor when the primary unit of concern is the individual. In this case it is interesting because there are few cosmopolitan thinkers who address this directly,

though it is becoming increasingly more common for them to do so (Brown 2011). There are a number of ways in which this may be done: providing responsible leadership; promoting a globally aware sense of patriotism; or using state processes to expand ethical boundaries to name a few (Brown 2011, p. 64). However, for the purposes of this study, “when thinking about what constitutes a good democratic state ‘citizen’, scholars should take into account the consistency of internal state principles with external state action” (Brown 2011, p. 63). That is, the State should promote the same values within its borders as without. Since that is the case, it is necessary to look at the values promoted through the underlying principles of cosmopolitanism through the post-development/decolonial lens in order to delink them from the logic of coloniality.

The second principle of cosmopolitanism, “the search to identify a universal set of duties based on impartial reasoning” (Cameron 2014, p. 27) is particularly telling of the fundamental ontological and epistemic difference between cosmopolitanism and the post-development/decolonial lens. In this context, impartial reasoning means fundamental duties upon which people can agree while ensuring that the first principle is adhered to – that is, that no community or citizenry is privileged above another in the determination of those duties (Shapcott 2010, p. 21; Cameron 2014, p. 27). This set of obligations is oftentimes characterized as the underlying nature of the “Universal Declaration of Human Rights” (Shapcott 2010, p. 17) and, as such, “the violations of universal human rights characteristic of humanitarian emergencies are understandably drawn on in most accounts as a justification for intervention” (Baker 2010, p. 87). As such, Canada is considered particularly adept at humanitarian aid, though there are significant critiques of the processes for implementing humanitarian aid as well (O’Brien 2006; Beckett, Chu & Tien 2012). However, this mentality, when applied to other types of foreign aid

spending does not necessarily ensure that development is done appropriately, particularly when taking into account the power of discourse and the subjugation of alternative knowledges.

The third principle in cosmopolitan thought as described by Cameron (2014) is that the universal duties to be identified should be positive and negative, that is, “positive obligations of beneficence to ‘do good’ [or to help] as well as negative obligations to not do harm – which also imply obligations to prevent harm to others and to not benefit from the suffering of others (whether consciously or unconsciously)” (p. 28). Shapcott (2010) also considers this same principle: “cosmopolitans begin by claiming that all international ethical questions need to be analysed in terms of the positive and negative duties that everyone owes to everyone else” (p. 16). Furthermore, in his conclusion, Gilibert (2004) insists that “emerging global moral culture calls us to eradicate global poverty, and to see this duty as being both negative and positive” (p. 549). The necessity of responding to both positive and negative duties – that is the duty to help and the duty to justice – in a cosmopolitan ethic is therefore clear. Furthermore, the impartiality and basis in reason (discussed above) is demonstrated by this tenet, that is, the negative and positive duties, applied universally, are determined through the impartial reasoning as a universal moral standard inherent in the contractarian, Kantian and, even utilitarian perspectives (see Shapcott 2010, pp. 20-43).

The ‘helping imperative’ itself is borne of the positive duties of cosmopolitanism (see Introduction). However, as we will see, it has overshadowed and dominated the negative duties inherent to the theory and value system. As such, social justice is not a primary focus of Canadian foreign aid. The requirement of social justice, however, is part of *why* it is necessary to delink cosmopolitanism in the first place.

In order to respond to this necessity, the fourth principle upon which I have based this analysis is that of transnational causal responsibility. While not clearly defined within Dobson's (2006) article, it can be understood through his concluding statement:

Cosmopolitanism needs to bring distant strangers near to us in a way that references to common humanity appear not to do. I have suggested that the way to do this is through identifying relationships of causal responsibility. Such relationships trigger stronger senses of obligations than higher-level ethical appeals can do. This brings those related by causal responsibility nearer to one another in a way that might be described as 'thickly cosmopolitan' (p. 182).

More concretely, Cameron refers to Pogge when he states that "contemporary institutions of global trade systematically discriminate in favour of the Global North and against the Global South – and thus also deeply implicate the citizens of countries in the Global North in the material poverty and suffering of people in other parts of the world" (Cameron 2014, p. 30).

Based on this conception, Cameron (2014) concludes:

Faced with extreme poverty in the Global South, individuals in the Global North possess negative moral obligations to work towards the reform of institutions that contribute to that suffering and to create other new institutions that might help to prevent future suffering. From this perspective, the primary moral obligations of privileged individuals in the Global North are to work for the reform of unjust global institutions and the creation of just ones (p. 32).

As such, the moral obligations of 'thick' cosmopolitanism point to the responsibility of Canadians and the Government of Canada not only to prevent harm through their own actions, but also to reflect upon and take action to change the very structures that cause harm. Indeed, as Pogge (1992) himself asserts, "I have a duty toward every other person not to cooperate in imposing an unjust institutional scheme upon her" (p. 51). Based on 'thick' cosmopolitanism, it is necessary to delink cosmopolitanism from the logic of coloniality (which is the cause of inequality) in order to promote social justice (over the helping imperative) in relative terms and reform institutions (including the Government of Canada) to do so. This delinking *must* happen

because cosmopolitanism in its current form and with its focus on the duty to help is, in fact, at the heart of the institutions that are causing harm.

Critiques of cosmopolitanism

Before delinking cosmopolitanism, it is necessary to explore the critiques levelled against it – from within a Northern framework, as well as from the post-development/decolonial lens. From within the Western framework, the critiques stem from various understandings of pluralism and/or realism, under the umbrella of communitarianism. I will highlight these critiques and explain how delinking from the post-development/decolonial lens can address them before moving on to the exercise itself.

Communitarians take issue with the idea of a universal, impartial rationality that is possessed by all human beings. In contrast to this assumption of the various cosmopolitan perspectives, communitarians believe that “individuals are formed by their culture and can only come to have moral knowledge as a consequence of inhabiting a culture” (Shapcott 2010, p. 52). Indeed, context and society are what is morally relevant to communitarians, as opposed to rationality, universalism and impartiality: “there is no universal context for global justice, only local or particular ones” (Shapcott 2010, p. 52).

In addition, the notion of individualism is critiqued from the communitarian perspective. Essentially, “the emphasis on rationality as the uniting feature of humanity is simply not empirically justified. Reason and rationality take many forms, depending on the culture of the individual” (Shapcott 2010, p. 56). Indeed, the focus on rationality – the assumption that each human being acts self-interestedly – demonstrates the problematization of individualism by communitarians. Furthermore, their concept of both reason – that in communication with other

rational beings, humans will choose a course of action that will benefit themselves as well as others (because a benefit of others can lead to a benefit for the self) – and rationality are culturally specific.

The cosmopolitan response to the critique of universalism made by anti-cosmopolitan pluralists “rests on universal foundations of its own and appeals to the moral universalism and natural duties” (Shapcott 2010, p. 86). This critique leads cosmopolitans to discount the critique rather than search for a different way of understanding. However, from the post-development/decolonial lens, it may be possible to begin that search. The critiques offered by communitarianism are apt in the post-development/decolonial context because both approaches take issue with rationality and individualism. However, we can see the debate taking place within the confines of the discourse/rhetoric of modernity/coloniality with terms such as ‘reason’, ‘rationality’ and ‘culture’ being used to frame the debate, which leads to the charges of another type of universalism toward pluralist communitarians. Therefore, through post-development/decolonial theory, a delinking of cosmopolitanism from the logic of coloniality will, in fact, engage with the problematization of individualism, universalism, and impartiality by communitarians toward cosmopolitan understandings to account for the differences between different societies and ways of being and knowing.

The previously highlighted critiques stem from a pluralistic view of the world, which is similar to the pluriversal ways of being and knowing advocated by Mignolo (2011). However, there are additional critiques stemming from the realist camp of communitarians, particularly that “any obligations...that any one person may have toward anyone are limited by the boundaries of the political community of the nation-state... Therefore, we should not seek to develop...a substantive human community because that would be an injustice to the diversity of

human ways of being in the world” (Shapcott 2010, p. 59). This critique is based in particularism, as are the pluralistic critiques; however, realism is devoted to “maintaining the status quo rather than transforming the international environment” (Shapcott 2010, p. 67). As such, it is impossible to address this charge from a cosmopolitan perspective simply because the ontological foundations are completely at odds.

However, from the perspective of the post-development/decolonial lens, maintaining the status quo is untenable because the status quo is discriminatory and fosters unequal power relations (Escobar 1995; Mignolo 2011). Furthermore, the assumption that the nation-state is the only way that communities organize themselves is based on the modern/colonial model: the new constitutions in Bolivia and Ecuador which establish the countries as plurinational states is one way that this logic of coloniality is refuted (Mignolo 2011, p. 237). Furthermore, the society-based perspective advocated by Escobar (1995) negates the claim of realists.

The majority of these critiques are from within the epistemic frame of Western civilization, while the decolonial/post-development perspective demonstrates that they do not respond to the need to be truly global: the epistemic frame remains Eurocentric and steeped in Western geographies and biopolitics. As Mignolo (2011) notes, “...critical theory tends to be ethnocentric, and it focuses on liberation within Western capitalist societies” (p. 322). However, it is possible to shift this perspective. Escobar (1995) notes in his account of the experience of people in southern Africa that “... [Southern Africans] read their own significance into the colonizers’ practices and sought to neutralize their disciplines. Although [southern] Africans were certainly transformed by the [colonial] encounter, the lesson derived by this more subaltern[ized] actor-oriented view of resistance is that hegemony is more unstable, vulnerable, and contested than previously thought” (p. 95). Indeed, the success and continued presence of

the previously discussed PCN in Colombia exemplifies this instability. The willingness of the network to move outside of the standard approaches of the Left and other traditional development actors demonstrates their commitment to different ways of being and knowing (Escobar 2008, p. 224). However, they did so while maintaining the needs stated in development discourse, for example, food security. In doing so, they challenged the hegemony of the discourse. Indeed, hegemony has less power than originally thought; therefore, changing the discourse or the discursive space occupied by development may be possible. From the Western perspective that addresses the actions, discourse and motivations of countries in the North, my proposal is to reconstitute cosmopolitanism from a post-development/decolonial perspective.

In order to move to a new cosmopolitanism, one that accepts and works between different ways of knowing and being, it is necessary to delink cosmopolitanism from the logic of coloniality. Mignolo (2011) approaches this in Chapter 7 of his book with his idea of cosmopolitan localisms; however, he does not address *all* of the colonial underpinnings of the theory. Therefore, I hope to build upon his ideas of cosmopolitanism in order to provide a delinked cosmopolitan theory from which Canada may begin to foster improved and connected relationships with different societies around the world.

Delinking Cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitan localism as conceived by Mignolo (2007) points a way toward global futures that would address the problematic issues with cosmopolitan theory and values outlined above:

... [It] breaks away, delinks, from the imperial bend of Kantian cosmopolitan legacies. Cosmopolitan localism names the connector for global and pluriversal projects, where all existing nation-states and future organizations that will replace, displace, or redo current forms of nation-states, as well as the emerging political society will participate...to a

truly cosmopolitan world. The global project, without a single leader... would be pluriversal rather than universal (Mignolo 2011, p. 23).

However, cosmopolitan localisms do not address or allow for the plethora of ontological and epistemic differences between the different ways of being that I have described in the previous chapters. Furthermore, it is a very vague description that is applicable within the decolonial option; however, it may not be so bendable within other trajectories. Nor does it specifically address the requirements for a shift in the thinking of those who hold cosmopolitan values as they are, which is necessary because “The Northern-regulated development machine, with its subtly constitutive effects for bourgeois subjectivity, grinds on whether or not we participate in it” (Heron 2007, p. 152).

I will therefore build upon the ideas contained in cosmopolitan localism to propose a solution to the previously described critiques of cosmopolitanism; however, I will also draw on additional post-development and decolonial concepts so that a delinked cosmopolitanism may be applied in both the North and the South, regardless of the different trajectories being followed. Based on this delinked cosmopolitan theory, it will be possible to analyze current Canadian foreign aid discourse through a lens that accepts and understands that there are multiple ways of being, knowing, and doing, *and* that cosmopolitan duties remain regardless of – and even because of – those differences and their complementarity.

Referring back to the beginning of the chapter, the first core value of cosmopolitanism is that “all human beings have equal responsibility toward other human beings because they are human beings” (Cameron 2015, p. 27). This assertion is problematic from the post-development/decolonial perspective. According to Mignolo (2011):

...decolonial thinkers start by assuming, first that since the European Renaissance
...humankind was divided between *humanitas*, those who controlled knowledge, and

anthropos. We are born equal... but we do not remain equal. Restoration of what the rhetoric of modernity disavowed is the first and basic step to engage in decolonial options toward global equitable futures (p. 190)

Therefore, because this is the first step in the post-development/decolonial context, applying this assumption to the principles of cosmopolitanism is absolutely necessary for delinking. In fact, Mignolo (2011) continues “Changing the questions being asked with regard to the problems to be solved means changing the terms of the conversation” (p. 190) Indeed, because cosmopolitanism is in fact based on the individualism of human beings and exists within the logic of coloniality, it is not the problem of individualism that must first be addressed, it is the problem of the definition of human being: the term (quite literally) upon which the conversation is based.

As such, the concepts of *humanitas* and *anthropos* are paramount. The *humanitas* are seen as the evolved, modern *human* human beings while the *anthropos* are seen as less human with less humanity. We are then able to draw the conclusion that cosmopolitanism in its current form necessarily refers to the equality of individual *humanitas*, while the *anthropos* (or ‘othered’) are not considered. It is therefore necessary to produce an alternative thinking for this core tenet of cosmopolitanism so that it can be applicable in different societies with different ways of knowing and being.

I draw on the concept of body-politics (described in Chapter 2) as a proposal to delink this tenet from development discourse and modern rhetoric. Body-politics – the method of epistemic disobedience that is used by decolonial theorists to delink from the state’s bio-politics – can be applied as a delinking concept to the colonial conception of human being in this tenet. Essentially, in the vein of bio-politics, some bodies are considered less than human by the state;

however, ‘Othered’ bodies must be considered human and considered *equally* human to bodies in the West and therefore body-politics must be integrated into delinked cosmopolitanism.

Indeed, according to Mignolo (2011),

If the goal were to build not only a peaceful world but also a world in which every body, because of its humanity, is equal to every other body and thus has the basic right to food, shelter, health, and education and not to be bothered by solicitors (evangelicals, mini-credit saviors, anxious financial agents, military interventions, irresponsible corporations, promoters of socialism, etc.), the pluriversality would be the universal project to which decolonial thinking and doing aspire, and which they promote (p. 176)

As such, I propose that the concept of bodies that have humanity be the link that binds us together rather than the individual human being described in the Western (rational) sense.

However, it is not enough to merely shift from human being to bodies as this addresses the discourse but not the concept. Therefore, I draw on “Andean philosophy, which doesn’t make a distinction between the nature of the (human) body and the body of nature, ‘to live in harmony’ means living in harmony not only among *runas* [- bodies that contain humanity-], but also with all living organisms, of which the human body is one kind” (Mignolo 2011, p. 308) to complete this delinking.

Indeed, it is incumbent upon a delinked cosmopolitanism to shift the perception of equality between human beings to one between bodies that have humanity to live in harmony. This shift in perception removes the logic of coloniality from the first main principle of cosmopolitanism. I, therefore, propose that the first core idea of cosmopolitanism be retold as follows:

All bodies that contain humanity to live in harmony have equal responsibility toward all other bodies that contain humanity to live in harmony.

In doing so, the basic idea changes to one that reprioritizes the bodies of the *anthropos* – those who were disavowed by the bio-politics of the West – and puts them on equal footing with the *humanitas*. Furthermore, it allows for multiple concepts of humanity to exist simultaneously. I refer particularly to concepts of humanity that are described as part of the earth rather than in control of it. Furthermore it engages with different conceptions of bodies that have humanity than the Western or Andean one. For example:

In the Melanesian society... people are not concerned with self-replacement at all; it is persons in relations with others rather than individuals in and of themselves who are the basis of social life. Within this type of analogic gender, even relations such as mother-child are not autonomous but are produced out of others. Similarly, contrary to most appearances, it is not men's activity that creates society or culture or man's values that become the values of society at large. Even more, one cannot talk of men or women in the abstract (Mignolo 2011, p. 190).

In this case, a way of being and knowing based in individualism would be at odds with the entire functioning of the society and how its members perceive and live in/with the world. Cosmopolitan backed 'development' work would undo the ties and relations that are part of this way of being and knowing. However, based on the concept of bodies that contain humanity to live in harmony, this way of being and knowing is valued at the same level as individualism and human beings in the North. It furthermore demonstrates that the concept of individualism is *not* universal and, therefore, the universal basis of cosmopolitanism needs to be delinked if that is how the North wants to behave in the world.

Indeed, the delinking of the first tenet of cosmopolitanism opens up the way to delink the second and third tenets as well. Mignolo (2011) explains that

[to live in harmony or plenitude] is not capitalist and the project is not 'development', but 'enhancement' of communal horizons of life. 'Communal' points toward a non-capitalist horizon of society and in that sense it differs from both the liberal notion of 'common good' and the Marxist notion of 'the common'. The communal is the overall horizon of decolonial options (p. 311).

Based on this idea, the communal is a pluriversal conception that can overturn the idea of the universal “common good” or “the common” and living in harmony is a way to improve the communal – the well-being of those bodies that have humanity. As such, it is necessary to move toward the second tenet of cosmopolitanism: “the search to identify a universal set of duties based on impartial reasoning” (Cameron 2015, p. 27). As previously discussed, universalism is completely contrary to the episteme of post-development/decolonial theory.

According to Escobar (1995),

... universal models – whether neoclassical, substantivist or Marxist – ‘continuously reproduce and discover their own assumptions in the exotic materials’ (Gudeman 1986, 34). In the process, they deny the capacity of people to model their own behavior [*sic*] and reproduce forms of discourse that contribute to the social and cultural domination effected through forms of representation (p. 95).

As such, universal discourse is discourse that reproduces social and cultural domination.

When considered in the context of convergence with decolonialism, the universality of cosmopolitanism perpetuates the domination of the colonial matrix of power.

Mignolo’s (2011) previously discussed cosmopolitan localism is a direct response to this domination through universal discourse and rhetoric. He explains:

The global order I am advocating is pluriversal, not universal. And that means to take pluriversality as a universal project to which all contending options would have to accept. And accepting it only requires us to put ourselves, as persons, states, [and] institutions, in the place...no human being has the right to dominate and be imposed over other human being (Mignolo p. 23).

Indeed, the decolonial option – showcased through an approach of social (and political) solidarity between Mignolo’s five trajectories – demonstrates how followers of each trajectory may come together across time and space to create heterogenous socio-historical nodes (Hardt & Negri 2004., pp. xiii-xiv). Such heterogenous nodes, can be seen as universally applicable – or

pluriversal –, which means that the universality of our cosmopolitan duties is that heterogeneity and, therefore, particularism, are paramount.

Furthermore, the universal connectors of cosmopolitan localism allow this pluriversality and heterogeneity to flourish. Escobar (1995) refers to the influence of new technologies, which demonstrates the importance of these connectors:

To the extent that new social practices are being constructed around the new technologies [of cyberculture], it is crucial for the Third World to participate in global conversations that generate such practices; local groups must position themselves in relation to the processes of material and symbolic globalization in ways that allow them to overcome their position of subordination as actors in the global scene (p. 209-210).

Indeed, universal connectors in a globalizing world are not only theoretical, but also present in the form of the internet and other new technologies (including free trade of goods and services, and the financial system). However, instead of placing the onus on Third World actors to “overcome their position of subordination,” I am proposing that the West, and Canada in particular, accept the differences between societies and learn that there are no subordinate bodies that contain humanity to live in harmony to which universal rules from the hubris of zero point apply. Mignolo (2011) expands on the concept of pluriversality when he indicates that it “means that ‘common good’ and ‘democracy’ are not empty signifiers to be filled with meaning, but *connectors* that make possible pluriversality as a universal/global project. The ‘communal’ contribution to the ‘common good,’ simply asks for the right to be part of *building* global futures and *avoiding* totalitarian projects of ‘liberation’” (p. 320).

As such, I propose that the second tenet of cosmopolitanism be reconsidered in the context of pluriversality as a universal concept and universal connectors:

*That there is a **heterogenous** set of duties toward and between all bodies that contain humanity to live in harmony based on **universal connectors of pluriversality and heterogeneity**.*

This pluriversal concept of how bodies that contain humanity to live in harmony interact between each other and different societies, as well as the earth and the universe, encompasses the idea of the Communal, explained by Mignolo as a “contradistinction to modernity, in which the fields of knowledge, the political field, the economic field, and the subjective field are distinguished from each other and understood as separate, in the communal system all forms of knowing and doing interact” (p. 324).

As such, this delinked second tenet of cosmopolitanism removes the universality of one way of being and knowing to include and value *all* ways of being and knowing. Furthermore, it accounts for differences between those ways of being and knowing by removing the appeal to the Eurocentric concept of rationality (though this concept may remain paramount in areas of the world that have adopted it as their way of being and knowing). Furthermore, the concept of ‘causal responsibility’ is part of this conception in that it accepts the connections between all bodies that contain humanity to live in harmony.

The goal of this exercise in delinking of cosmopolitanism prior to the discourse analysis is to “change the rules of the game, to delink from...presuppositions, and to change the terms of the conversation” (Mignolo 2011, p. 190). However, in order to do so, it is necessary to unpack and delink the third tenet of cosmopolitanism: “that all international ethical questions need to be analysed in terms of the positive and negative duties that everyone owes to everyone else” (Shapcott 2010, p. 16).

Because positive, negative, good, harm and justice are all normative ideas, perceptions and understandings of these concepts in different societies are paramount to upholding delinked cosmopolitan values should Northern practitioners be asked to support the ‘development’ or, to borrow from Mignolo (2011), ‘enhancement’ of societies seeking external support. This is how

the above-mentioned heterogeneity may manifest in the third tenet of delinked cosmopolitanism. In fact, respecting different understandings while providing support is, indeed, the *obligation* of the Northern practitioner based on the universal connectors of pluriversality and heterogeneity.

The current third tenet of cosmopolitanism showcases what Quijano (2007) refers to as the European paradigm of knowledge:

During the same period as European colonial domination was consolidating itself, the cultural complex known as European modernity/rationality was being constituted. The intersubjective universe produced by the entire Eurocentered capitalist colonial power was elaborated and formalized by the Europeans and established in the world as an exclusively European product and as a universal paradigm of knowledge and of the relation between humanity and the rest of the world. Such confluence between coloniality and the elaboration of rationality/modernity was not in any way accidental, as is shown by the very manner in which the European paradigm of rational knowledge was elaborated (pp. 171-2).

This concept is in line with what we have already uncovered by delinking cosmopolitanism from individualism in the first tenet. According to Quijano (2007), this paradigm presupposes “knowledge as a product of subject-object relation[s]” (p. 172). In this case the subject is an “isolated individual ...[that] constitutes itself in itself and for itself”(p. 172). The object is an entity different from and external to the subject by nature (p. 172) and is constituted by ‘properties’ that “demarcate it and at the same time position it in relation to other objects” (p. 172).

A final component of the European paradigm of knowledge is that “the ‘other’ is totally absent; or is present, can be present, only in an ‘objectivised’ mode” (Quijano 2007, p. 173). As such, it appears that a requirement of this way of thinking is to objectify and study the “Other”. In the context of the third tenet of cosmopolitanism, this knowledge paradigm showcases that there is a strong belief in rationality through which an external observer or actor can “know” the

‘Other’. It is through this ‘knowing’ that the positive and negative duties of cosmopolitan actors are determined. However, Quijano critiques the notions of the ‘subject’ and the ‘object’ quite thoroughly.

Within this paradigm, the concept of subject “[denies] intersubjectivity and social totality as production sites of all knowledge” (p. 172). Therefore, it is necessary to build the universal connectors between different societies so that we can “[learn] to live with people one does not agree with, or may not even like” (Mignolo 2011, p. 176) and use the complementarity to build a conviviality between different societies with different ways of being and knowing.

He further explains that the idea of an ‘object’ that is external to and different from the ‘subject’ 1) has been scientifically proven to be false because object properties are temporal and modal within a given field of relations. Therefore, the ‘object’ cannot be ‘known’ without a field of relations (therefore, it cannot be external to and/or different to the subject); and 2) requires that their differences be “[arbitrarily exaggerated], since current research rather leads to the discovery that there exists a deeper communication structure in the universe” (p. 172).

Indeed, based on this analysis, perhaps the differences between societies and ways of being and knowing are not as far apart as we may initially think. Furthermore, it demonstrates that the ability to ‘know’ another society as an external observer is impossible. It is therefore impossible to execute positive and negative duties from a distance; from a place that is not led by the society seeking support for their efforts of enhancement and plenitude.

However, Quijano (2007) goes on to propose a different paradigm in which

The differentiated individual subjectivity is real, but it is not an entity, so it does not exist *vis-à-vis* itself or by itself. It exists *as a differentiated part, but not separated, of an intersubjectivity or intersubjective dimension of social relationship*. Every individual discourse, or reflection, remits to a structure of intersubjectivity. The former is constituted in and *vis-à-vis* the latter. Knowledge in this perspective is an intersubjective

relation for the purpose of something, not a relation between an isolated subjectivity, and that something (p. 173) (emphasis added).

In essence, Quijano is asserting that knowledge is relational and that ways of knowing and being are always in relation to someone or something: there can be no outside, objective observer. Therefore, the positive and negative duties of cosmopolitanism must be considered in relation to the societies seeking support and they cannot refer to the universal ‘rationality’ of the modern/colonial world.

As such, I propose to delink the third tenet of cosmopolitanism by reconceptualising moral obligations and removing them from the concept of ‘rationality’:

*That all **relations between** bodies that contain humanity to live in harmony **from different societies** must be guided by **the moral obligation to support the enhancement of the seeking society by providing the help requested or addressing the harms being/that have been caused**, should the request **not interfere with the morality of the society to whom the request has been made**.*

This delinked version of the third tenet removes the imperialist nature of ‘development’ activity by insisting that the society seeking enhancement request support for its needs, rather than a situation where the West *intervenes* as it is wont to do. Furthermore, the understanding of positive and negative duties are described heterogeneously so that a choice is provided to the societies and bodies in question to engage or not. This type of conviviality will not be an easy thing to do, but neither is executing positive and negative duties as they are conceived of in Canada at this time.

This delinked cosmopolitanism addresses the issues of rationality, universalism and individuality that were levied against Western cosmopolitanism through post-

development/colonial theory. As such, they provide a revitalized theory that combines post-development, decolonial theory and cosmopolitanism in an attempt to respect the different ways of being and knowing that exist in different societies around the world, though they have different ontological and epistemic origins. I use this theory as the basis for the discourse analysis of Canadian foreign aid discourse in the following chapter.

4. Canadian Foreign Aid Discourse: The Helping Imperative Legitimated

There are a great many sources of Canadian Foreign Aid discourse. For the purposes of this study, I will look at Canadian federal legislation related to foreign aid, international development related policy, the development priorities section of the Global Affairs Canada (GAC) Website, and eighteen months of Hansard publications from the Parliament of Canada. These publications are recent and/or currently being put into practice.

There is little legislation that targets foreign aid and international development directly.

As such, the four documents I have chosen are:

1. *The Bretton Woods and Related Agreements Act (BWRAA)*, R.S.C., 1985, c. B-7 (JLW 1985a);
2. *The International Development and Research Centre Act (IDRCA)*, R.S.C., 1985, c. I-19 (JLW 1985b);
3. *The Official Development Assistance Accountability Act (ODAAA)*, S.C. 2008, c. 17 (JLW 2008); and
4. *The Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Act (DFATDA)*, S.C. 2013, c. 33, s. 74 (GAC 2013).

These documents provide the legislative framework for international development and foreign aid in Canada. The first two underpin how international development and foreign aid work is to be done; the second two provide the legal framework for the institutions that carry out this work.

Unlike the legislation, there is a great deal of policy that affects international development and foreign aid. As such, I have narrowed the selection of policies to those related to aid effectiveness, as this is a priority for the Government of Canada (PMC 2015), and crosscutting

thematic issues because they touch on multiple aspects of international development and foreign aid simultaneously. As such, the policies and mandates that I have chosen are:

1. *The Minister of International Development and La Francophonie Mandate Letter* (PMC, 2015);
2. *The International Development and Humanitarian Assistance Civil Society Partnership Policy* (GAC, 2016a);
3. *The Policy for Environmental Sustainability* (GAC, 1992); and
4. *The Policy on Gender Equality* (GAC, 2014).

These policies will contribute to a broad based analysis of Canadian foreign aid discourse, as they touch on different aspects of international development and foreign aid. The mandate letter and the three policies will demonstrate how Canadians discuss the crosscutting themes in international development and foreign aid.

It is important to understand how the discourse found in legislation and policy is communicated to the public. As such, I included the *Development Priorities* (GAC 2015d) section of the Global Affairs Canada website because it is a significant source of communication to the public regarding international development activity and foreign aid. Furthermore, it outlines the *Aid Effectiveness Agenda* set out by GAC. There are multiple pages included in this section of the website, including *Increasing Food Security* (GAC 2015c); *Securing the Future of Children and Youth* (GAC 2016f); *Stimulating Sustainable Economic Growth* (GAC 2016g); *Environmental Sustainability* (GAC 2016c); *Gender Equality* (GAC 2016e); and *Governance* (GAC 2016d). I have also included the main page, the projects and results page and the effects page of the Maternal, Newborn and Child Health (GAC 2015a; GAC 2015b; GAC 2016b)

website section due to the importance of this initiative to our foreign aid program. These web pages will demonstrate how the legislation and policy are conveyed to a wider audience.

Finally, I have drawn on all mentions of international development and aid from the Hansard between December 02, 2014 and June 03, 2016. In doing so, I will demonstrate how the legislation and policies manifest in the spoken word among and between our leaders. Because this time frame spans two governments with two different ideologies, it demonstrates that central references in Canadian foreign aid discourse do not shift based on ideology and that they are couched in modernity/coloniality.

The goal of this analysis is to provide a picture of what is happening in Canadian foreign aid discourse at present in order to look at how a change in perceptions may affect global futures (as per decolonial theory). As such, this diverse range of discursive products will provide a broad picture of how discourse is used in relation to foreign aid and international development in Canada. Furthermore, it will demonstrate how the helping imperative is put into practice through discursive means.

Using Van Leeuwen's (2013) legitimation framework described in the introduction (authorization – legitimation through appeals to authority; moral evaluation – legitimation through appeals to often vague value systems; rationalization – legitimation through appeals to institutionalized, constructed knowledge; and mythopoesis – legitimation through narrative), I will determine the use of the helping imperative in Canadian foreign aid discourse before addressing that use (and its consequences) from the perspective of delinked cosmopolitanism, and post-development/decolonial theory. The helping imperative is mostly visible within the rationalization legitimation technique; however, it is necessary to analyze the discourse through all four methods of legitimation to demonstrate how they are interconnected. After analyzing

and commenting on this discourse, I will provide suggestions for the way forward in the conclusion.

Authorization

Discursive legitimation through authorization is practiced by referring to traditional, legal, cultural or institutional authorities in which there is a vested interest (Van Leeuwen 2013, p. 327). This type of discursive legitimation occurs frequently throughout Canadian legislation, and in concert with moral evaluation and rationalization legitimation techniques.

For example, within the *Official Development Assistance Accountability Act* (GAC 2008) (ODAAA), authorization is used in conjunction with moral evaluation to describe the purpose of the Act:

... to ensure that all Canadian official development assistance abroad is provided with a central focus on poverty reduction and in a manner that is consistent with Canadian values, Canadian foreign policy, the principles of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness of March 2, 2005, sustainable development and democracy promotion and that promotes international human rights standards (s 2(1)).

By appealing to the authority of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and Canadian foreign policy the purpose of the Act is legitimated. Furthermore, the vague reference to Canadian values demonstrates a moral legitimation that works in concert with the authoritative legitimation. Finally, we see the appeal to rationalization when references to sustainable development, democracy promotion and human rights are invoked. As a result of the previous discussion of post-development/decolonial theory, we know that these concepts are constructed knowledge based in the logic of coloniality.

I will return to this example to discuss the legitimation of the helping imperative through moral evaluation and rationalization further on. The appeals to authority, however, legitimate the

purpose of the Act and, therefore, the Act itself allows it to become an authoritative document as well. As such, the discourse contained within the Act is authoritative in and of itself.

This self-authorizing procedure is referred to by Escobar (1995) when he explains “that *representations are not a reflection of “reality” but constitutive of it.* There is no materiality that is not mediated by discourse, as there is no discourse that is unrelated to materialities” (p. 130, emphasis added). Indeed, the authority invoked by the purpose of the ODAAA is constitutive of the reality that the ODAAA holds authority: it is self-legitimizing.

We see this type of self-referential, self-legitimizing authority throughout the *Bretton Woods and Related Agreements Act* (GAC 1985). In fact, as members of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Development Association (IDA)² (World Bank), Canada adheres to the discourse produced in the governing documents of those organizations. This adherence is problematic for a number of reasons. One example is that when the IBRD refers to its purpose as, among other things, “the encouragement of the development of productive facilities and resources in less developed countries” (JLW 1985a, SII, A1, s 2)), there is no definition of a less developed country. In fact, the only thing that seems to make sense of the term “less developed country” is that the IBRD indicates earlier on in the sentence that those countries are in need of the development of productive resources according to the IBRD. Based on this (lack of) definition, the appeal to its own authority is the only mechanism that legitimates that category of country in the first place. In addition, the lack of any additional or national legislative or governing documents seems to imply that Canada accepts and uses this definition to legitimate its own international development activity.

² The International Finance Corporation and the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency have similar purposes; however, they are so similar to that of the IDA that inclusion in this analysis would be redundant. They are all agencies of the World Bank and contain definitions to which Canada ascribes.

This definition is amplified by the purpose set out for the IDA, which is "...to promote economic development, increase productivity and thus raise standards of living the less-developed areas of the world..." (JLW 1985a, SIII, A1, s 2). Indeed, the self-referential appeal to authority as a source of legitimization is present in this discourse as well. In addition, the appeal to the (liberal) modern/colonial concept of the 'common good' as described by Mignolo (2011) is seen here in the phrase "raise standards of living", while the way to do so is assumed to be through economic development and production. From a post-development/decolonial perspective, this approach in fact devalues human life due to the focus on economic development, for which human life is expendable (Mignolo 2011, p. 6).

Finally, there is little to suggest that other ways of being and knowing are acknowledged by these articles. As such, they are not recognized in Canada either. Coloniality is evidently at work in this document and it is not in line with the principles of a delinked cosmopolitanism. Because the discourse within the legislation creates a situation where it can call on itself to invoke authority, the discourse in related representations can invoke that legislation as well. For example, in the *International Development and Humanitarian Assistance Civil Society Partnership Policy* (GAC 2016a) the focus on poverty reduction as the basis for collaboration between the Government of Canada and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) is legitimated through the ODAAA, of which Article 4.1 is reiterated. There is no further explanation regarding why poverty reduction is the focus.

The policies that are created by Global Affairs Canada (GAC) predominantly use the moral evaluation and rationalization methods to legitimate the discourse contained therein; however, there are particular examples of the authorization method, especially those that invoke the will of Canadian citizens. For example, in the *Policy for Environmental Sustainability* (GAC

1992) GAC explains its efforts to address environmental issues abroad by stating that they “correspond with a sincere concern of Canadians for the environment” (p. 2), among other things.

In this brief statement, we see the helping imperative at work. It could be deduced that should Canadians not be concerned about the environment then GAC would not be addressing environmental issues. However, Canada participated in causing the environmental degradation in the world (Koehl 2012); therefore, the obligation to justice would require that GAC take responsibility for those actions regardless of the opinion of Canadians and their desire to help. By drawing on the authority of the Canadian population without acknowledging a need for justice, the helping imperative comes through: it is compassion that drives this policy, not justice. In addition, from a delinked cosmopolitan perspective, there is no mention of the different perceptions of the earth held by different bodies in the societies that GAC is targeting. As such, the discourse contained within the policy remains colonial in that it only acknowledges one way of viewing the world.

The discourse contained within Canadian policy will be explored deeply through the moral evaluation and rationalization legitimization processes below. The GAC website, however, contains a significant amount of discourse that is legitimated through authorization. The *Development Priorities* (2015d) web page draws on the fact that Canada’s aid priorities are “in line with international agreements and recognized best practices” (p. 1). In doing so, all of the discourse related to aid effectiveness, maternal, newborn and child health (MNCH), partnerships and focus of efforts, results, transparency and accountability is legitimated. As a result, the concepts and knowledges constructed within this (and other) discourses are able to be reused through a process of legitimation through rationalization, which I will discuss further on.

Within the priority areas, statistics are called upon to legitimate not only the action that is being taken by GAC, but also the discourse being used. For example, on the *Increasing Food Security* (GAC 2015c) page of the website, the explanation begins with “About 870 million men, women and children around the world face chronic hunger. Lack of access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food is one of the major obstacles to reducing poverty in developing countries” (p. 1). This statistic is appealed to as the basis for increasing food security. It legitimates a discourse around hunger and access to nutrition as barriers to economic prosperity and the need to help. The following sentence in this promotional tool (the website) is “Canada has a strong record of helping increase global food security...” (GAC 2015c, p. 1). However, this hunger-based discourse, which has been repeated in multiple Western societies (see Escobar 1995, pp. 103-155), has been proven detrimental to a variety of communities around the world. In his discussion of the political economy of food and nutrition, Escobar (1995) states that “... the attempt at articulating a political economy of food and health must start with the construction of objects such as nature, peasants, food, and the body as an epistemological, cultural, and political process” (p. 130). Based on this view, perceptions are constructed by discourse and framed based on the subjective realities of Northerners. These perceptions are then legitimated by the statistics referenced above. Indeed, the logic of coloniality is apparent in this discourse and the helping imperative is at work.

This appeal to statistics as an authority to authorize the actions and discourse of GAC continues in the other aid priorities sections of the website – *Securing the Future of Children and Youth* (GAC 2016f), and *Stimulating Sustainable Economic Growth* (GAC 2016g). As such, the legitimation process described above is repeated in these areas, which ensures that the knowledge constructed around these issues is modern/colonial and that other ways of knowing

and being are excluded from the conversation. Therefore, this discourse, from a delinked cosmopolitan perspective, does not reflect upon different societies and their needs.

Furthermore, on the website, legitimation through authorization becomes self-referential for the Government of Canada. In particular, in the *Strengthening Governance* (GAC 2016d) section of the website, the discourse is legitimated through the ODAAA:

The *Official Development Assistance Accountability Act* also specifies that for investments to be considered as Official Development Assistance, the Minister must be of the opinion that they contribute to poverty reduction, **take into account the perspectives of the poor** and are **consistent with international human rights standards**. The two latter criteria form part of integrating governance as a crosscutting theme (p. 1)

After seeing how the ODAAA itself is self-authorizing, we see here that it is used as an authorizing tool for the discourse that argues for the different foci of development programming. Indeed, this is how knowledge is constructed and can be used in the rationalization method.

The authorization legitimation method is used differently in the spoken communications in the Parliament of Canada. In particular, calls to honour the 0.7% of GDP target for official development assistance are brought before the house – in both the 41st and 42nd Parliament – as well as calls to honour climate change agreements in the 41st Parliament. Often, these calls are accompanied by an appeal to past authorities who signed agreements (Lester B. Pearson), current authorities (the Pope; the will of the Canadian people, legislative documents), as well as an appeal to participate more fully in the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). (Rankin 2016; Aubin 2016; Carrie 2015; Morin 2015; Laverdière 2015b; May 2015a; May 2015c). Indeed, the authorization method is invoked here to push the Government of Canada to commit more funds on behalf of Canadians to help and provide assistance. This is a clear case of the helping imperative being legitimized through an appeal to authority. From a delinked

cosmopolitan perspective, these calls for support are more likely to be made with the goal of supporting the enhancement of societies in any way they see fit, rather than helping to promote the sustainable development goals within Canada.

In addition, Members of Parliament call on the authority of the Canadian people who believe in the helping imperative in order to legitimate their own claims. For example, H  l  ne Laverdi  re (2015b) states “Ninety-four percent of Canadians believe it is important to improve the lives of the world’s poor, but Canada’s record is embarrassing.” In this sentence, she appeals to the authority of a statistic about the Canadian population to demonstrate that the reluctance of the government to improve the lives of the poor around the world is embarrassing to the country. In adopting this discourse, she is inherently stating that the helping imperative is morally right – that we, as Canadians, have a duty to help – and that if we do not help then we are morally bankrupt. In doing so, she perpetuates the perception that those in societies that are different from our own cannot do for themselves. From a delinked cosmopolitan perspective, this appeal may be more harmful than helpful. It appears to perpetuate a way of being that is colonial in nature and to neglect the requirements and requests of different societies.

That neglect becomes even more apparent in the defensive statements made by certain parliamentarians, in which the ‘international community’ as well as international non-governmental organizations are invoked as authoritative. When asked about why the Conservative government refused to fund safe abortions as part of the MNCH initiative, Lois Brown, the Parliamentary Secretary for International Development (2015) responded “... we will not export controversy; we will export our world-leading expertise. Our efforts are backed by the *international community*, and we continue to rally international consensus for our program in partnership with the *Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation...*” (emphasis added). In doing so, she

legitimated the idea of Canadian expertise in the area of maternal, newborn and child health as being necessary for the survival of women and children in the South. However, at no time does she reference the people of the societies to which this expertise is being exported. As such, there is no indication that the targeted bodies desire or require Canadian expertise. A delinked cosmopolitan approach would shift the discourse to include the needs and desires of the targeted bodies.

Other, more racist language is legitimized through invoking authority as well. Upon presenting the findings of a report from the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Development, which discusses the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Wayne Marston, M.P. and Member of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Development, (2015) legitimates the idea that acts of rape and war are acceptable in countries that are not in the Western world when he says “It is crucial to understand that war as it was known for many generations has changed. An aspect of war that might have been at one time viewed, particularly by us in the west, as being horrendous is now almost an acceptable practice... Rape is being used as a weapon. It is being used to humiliate and to embarrass.” He goes on to intimate that in *tribal* conflicts rape is often used to shame opposing *families*.

I do not presume to negate or to detract from the horror of rape in times of crisis and conflict. I am not judging the content of his words, but the way in which they are presented, the assumptions behind them. The report is used as an authoritative reference for discourse that intimates that people of the South find rape to be an acceptable method of warfare *because they are not from the West*. This assumption is especially evident when he states that Westerners in particular view rape as a weapon as being horrendous, which suggests that Southerners do not share this view. The assumption of difference between *humanitas* and *anthropos* and the

different levels of civilization engendered by the logic of coloniality are clear in this discourse and it is legitimated in Parliament and in Canada because it is based on the findings of a report. The bodies that contain humanity to live in harmony in the DRC have different ways of being and knowing than Canadians as a whole; however, a delinked cosmopolitan assumption may be that while rape is more commonly used in methods of warfare in the DRC, it is not at all acceptable.

The legitimation of the helping imperative in the above example is clear: Marston draws on the report to make an authoritative claim about the people of the DRC viewing rape as acceptable warfare due to their tribal conflicts, based on the assumption of lack of civilization. This claim is then used to support Canadian intervention in the area in order to bring civilization to the tribal culture. He makes a subtle reference to the ‘tribal’ nature of societies in the DRC further on in the debate: “One of the levels where Canada could help is certainly at the cultural end” (Marston 2015), which intimates that Canadian experts could help change their traditional ‘tribal’ culture (wherein rape as a weapon of war is acceptable) into a modern culture (wherein rape as a weapon of war is horrendous). Indeed, the logic of coloniality, and the helping imperative, appears to be alive and well in the Parliament of Canada.

Moral evaluation

Moral evaluation legitimates discourse by making reference to values and value systems that are often very vague or oblique (Van Leeuwen 2013, p. 327). Moral evaluation is called upon to legitimate positive duties within the Canadian foreign aid system less often than authorization and rationalization; nonetheless, occurrences of such discourse should be discussed. Appeals to Canadian values are made in various contexts, often without defining what

those values are. Furthermore, when the values are defined, it leaves more questions than answers.

The paragraph describing the purpose of the ODAAA (GAC 2008) that we discussed in the context of authorization, also makes an appeal to moral evaluation by stating that international development activity be “consistent with Canadian values” (p.1). Canadian values, as described by the legislation, are “amongst others, values of global citizenship, equity and environmental sustainability” (p. 2). These concepts that define Canadian values are vague themselves and have no definition within the ODAAA (GAC 2008). However, defined outside of the ODAAA, global citizenship as a value system is particularly interesting to this discussion and brings out the helping imperative quite clearly. Cameron’s (2015) chapter discusses the direct link between cosmopolitanism and global citizenship and while he advocates a thick cosmopolitanism and thick global citizenship that recognizes causal responsibility and social justice, these concepts are not part of the Act. As such, it can be deduced that the helping imperative is at work and its discourse legitimated through moral evaluation in the ODAAA. From a delinked cosmopolitan perspective, the moral legitimation of such discourse is in direct opposition to the moral obligations contained in the third principle of the theory for two reasons: 1) other ways of being and knowing are neglected in the discourse; and 2) it assumes the universalism of values within Canada and the universalism of need outside of Canada (Chapter 4).

This vague reference to Canadian values is seen in additional legislation to legitimate the discourse of the helping imperative and international development. For example, in the DFATDA (GAC 2013) when referring to the duties of the Minister for International Development, it is indicated that the Minister will

foster sustainable international development and poverty reduction in developing countries and provide humanitarian assistance during crises by ... d) ensuring Canada's contributions to international development and humanitarian assistance are in line with Canadian values and priorities (p. 2, s 14).

If we unpack that statement there are a few issues with the moral evaluation that legitimates such discourse. First of all, we see the vagueness of the reference to Canadian values, which demonstrates the presence of legitimation of discourse through moral evaluation. Secondly, and more specifically, it intimates that (vague) Canadian values and priorities are necessary for sustainable international development, poverty reduction and managing humanitarian crises. As such, it could be deduced that different value systems, and different ways of being and knowing *are not* useful for meeting those ends. Indeed, the moral judgement being made in this sentence is that the values of the bodies that contain humanity in Canada are superior to those of bodies in different societies. The helping imperative is therefore promoted *because* we as Canadians must help others through our value system, which is superior to any other value system.

This vague reference to Canadian values is seen in GAC policy as much as the legislation. The *International Development and Humanitarian Assistance Civil Society Partnership Policy* (GAC 2016a) states that "Canada is committed to working with accountable and effective partners whose efforts support Canadian values and policy priorities, and enhance the visibility of Canada's investments in development and humanitarian assistance" (p. 1). Thus, the discourse surrounding effectiveness, accountability, development and humanitarian assistance are legitimated. From a delinked cosmopolitan perspective, this is particularly problematic due to the consideration of the world 'development'.

Similar appeals to moral evaluation to legitimate the helping imperative and cosmopolitanism are found on the GAC website. In the *Development Priorities* (GAC 2015d) section of the website it states:

Canada is striving to make its international assistance even more effective, while ensuring that it is also consistent with Canadian values and priorities. Canada will further promote multistakeholder dialogue and develop stronger partnerships that form the foundation for effective development cooperation. As a result, Canada's assistance will go further in helping those most in need, building stronger and more resilient communities, and stimulating sustainable economies in which the poor will also prosper (p. 1).

In this paragraph, Canadian values are called upon (but not defined) to legitimate Canada's help for those in need, while tying the concepts of effectiveness, cooperation, development, resilience, sustainability in the economy and the poor to the helping imperative. The only instance of morality being invoked in the spoken word is by Megan Leslie (2015) in the 41st Parliament with regard to climate change when she exclaims "Climate change is a threat, and the world's poorest people will suffer the most. This is not just an environmental issue; it is a moral issue. Canada must cut emissions and ensure that less-developed countries have the financing they need to tackle climate change." While it is heartening to see Canada's responsibility for climate change referred to in an official capacity, it remains that this discourse legitimates the helping imperative through moral evaluation. By referring to moral obligations with regard to less-developed countries and people who live in poverty, Leslie is attempting to invoke a sense of responsibility and, therefore, guilt for the problems they face. While this sense of morality may be related to climate justice, the motives are unclear and, due to her reference to poor people and suffering – which, in the context of post-development theory, is a status created by the discourse of development – it is possible to interpret this sentence as a call to the duty to help: she uses this reference to a moral obligation to call for funding to help the countries most

affected by climate change face it. As such, the positive duties of cosmopolitanism – the helping imperative – are promoted at the expense of negative duties or social justice. That being said, this particular example may be interpreted differently, based on knowledge of the speaker and the positionality of the reader, as mentioned in the Introduction. The moral obligations to which she refers may be negative obligations, which include the duty to justice. However, her initial appeal to poverty and suffering while framing that argument leads to the conclusion, within this framework of analysis, that an appeal to the privileged to help the poor is taking place, rather than an appeal to the causers of harm to take responsibility for their actions. From a delinked cosmopolitan perspective the discussion may focus on how we can support the efforts already underway in countries most affected by climate change due to our recognition of responsibility for the state of the earth and the shifting climate.

Legitimation through moral evaluation is not often used in the context of the Government of Canada and GAC discourses. However, when it is invoked, it is used to support the helping imperative and further the modern/colonial Canadian state. The next legitimation method, rationalization is used more widely than any of the others and more clearly demonstrates how the foreign aid discourse of the Government of Canada and GAC promotes the helping imperative.

Rationalization

Discourse can also be legitimated through a process of rationalization, that is, an appeal to constructed societal knowledge that produces a ‘cognitive validity’ while also referencing institutional social action, its goals and uses (Van Leeuwen 2013, p. 328). This type of legitimation also plays a role in promoting the positive duties of cosmopolitanism – and the

helping imperative – by drawing on previously constructed ideas within society. This critique is particularly in line with post-development/decolonial theory.

For example, Quijano's (2007) previously discussed idea of the European paradigm of knowledge is based in the idea of knowledge constructions that are applied as universal truths. For him, "This paradigm expressed, in a demonstrable sense, the coloniality of that power structure" (p. 174). Indeed, these constructed knowledges are part of the logic of coloniality and appealing to them as universal truth can, in fact, legitimate discourse. In addition, Escobar (1995) addresses the problematic of institutional discourse. For him, "Institutional practices are crucial not so much because they account for most of what is earmarked as development, but mostly because they contribute to producing and formalizing social relations, divisions of labor [*sic*], and cultural forms" (p. 105). Indeed, legitimation through rationalization is particularly relevant in this theoretical context.

It is my contention, then, that legitimation through authorization not only legitimates what is being discussed at that time, but also contributes to legitimation through rationalization in other contexts by appealing to the societal knowledge constructions that are accepted primarily because they have been legitimated through the authorization of the very institution that is using them.

For example, in the ODAAA (GAC 2008) – a document in which the discourse is legitimated through authorization, as previously discussed – there are references to 'sustainable development,' 'democracy promotion,' 'international human rights standards,' and 'poverty reduction' throughout. These ideas are constructed by the legitimation of discourse through authorization. The concepts are then used and reused in other legislative documents, in policies, in communications with the public (website) and in spoken word in the Parliament of Canada

(Hansard). Indeed, the concepts created and legitimated through authorization in legislation affect the discourse of foreign aid in all areas and legitimate the helping imperative.

Through this discourse the helping imperative – to reduce poverty – is legitimated; however, from a delinked cosmopolitan perspective, the appeal to sustainability may be rethought or reformulated. In the first tenet, the link between bodies that contain humanity to live in harmony appears to negate any necessity for sustainable development by virtue of the fact that those bodies are connected to the earth and the universe. Therefore, the duties that are held by all other bodies toward those bodies that contain humanity to live in harmony would already include what in the West would be considered sustainability or environmental friendliness. As such, a shift in discourse that reflects an attempt to support the enhancement of a harmonious relationship with the earth alongside multiple societies could be more inclusive of different ways of being and knowing while maintaining our own.

More broadly, the word development and its implied meaning is a result of the combined legitimation methods of authorization and rationalization. As previously discussed, the Bretton Woods Agreements self-referential creation of the concept of development and less-developed countries was legitimated through authorization. However, due to the pervasiveness of these agreements and the legislation that put them into play, the concept of development has become part of the institutionalized, constructed knowledge of the West. As such, the term ‘development’ is part of the discourse that has been legitimated through rationalization and is widely accepted in Canadian foreign aid discourse, and beyond.

In the context of post-development/decolonial theory, development has been deconstructed. Mignolo (2011) explains that “... development promises improvements, while the ... ideas of harmony and plenitude look archaic from the perspective of the rhetoric of

development that promises, precisely, to move away from living in plenitude and harmony in order to live better” (p. 309). Escobar’s (1995) explanation of sustainable development illustrates this point as well:

Sustainable development is the last attempt to articulate modernity and capitalism before the advent of cyberculture. The resignification of nature as environment; the reinscription of the Earth into capital via the gaze of science; the reinterpretation of poverty as effect of destroyed environments; and the new lease on management and planning as arbiters between people and nature, all of these are effects of the discursive construction of sustainable development (p. 202)

Indeed, here we see that sustainable development is a concept couched in modernity and, therefore, coloniality. As such, it may be seen as a Western construct meant to legitimate Western (or Northern) behaviour toward the South that delineates conditions for production rather than a relationship with the environment (Escobar 1995, p. 202). As such, this discourse suggests that the rationalized concept of development works against a delinked cosmopolitanism in that plenitude and harmony are indeed the goals of multiple societies with different ways of being and knowing. This demonstrates how the helping imperative is promoted and, at the same time, problematic.

In many cases, international development and humanitarian assistance are presented as similar activities, either within the same sentence or as a group of responsibilities (see DFATDA GAC 2013, International Development and Humanitarian Assistance Civil Society Partnership Policy GAC 2016a, May 2015b). By presenting International Development and Humanitarian Assistance at the same time, the implication is that development and assistance are similar: that both activities imply helping. This discourse references the social action of the humanitarian institution and subtly applies it to the practice of development.

Thus, the helping imperative is at work here. By implying similarity between development and assistance, references to social justice are lost and the duty to help is promoted. In doing so, the discourse related to development is further rationalized as part of the helping imperative in these documents. Upon repetition in additional documents, these concepts that were linked to international development and humanitarian assistance retain the overtones of helping. In the end, it appears that the helping imperative penetrates all discussion of international development with little to no concern for social justice or consideration of the possibility that other ways of being and knowing are possible.

Through the large-scale authorization of societally constructed concepts – development, sustainability, poverty reduction, etc. – and the conflation of international development and humanitarian assistance, the helping imperative is legitimated through multiple rationalized concepts, including meaningful participation, the poor, advancement of democracy, human rights, equality between women and men, empowerment, culture/cultural biases, growth, food security, accountability, ownership, effectiveness, education status, health status, access to resources, equitability, etc. There are a variety of examples of these occurrences within GAC policy and on the GAC website.

One such example uses multiple rationalized concepts in tandem to legitimate the helping imperative. In the *International Development and Humanitarian Assistance Civil Society Partnership Policy* (GAC 2016a), the explanation for the objective “Facilitate an Enabling Environment for Civil Society in Developing Countries” reads:

An **empowered** civil society is a crucial component for **advancing democracy, human rights, and development**, and the **sustainability** of development investments depend on the ability of the population to hold governments to **account** over the long term (p. 3, emphasis added). In order for civil society to thrive, it must operate in an enabling environment that promotes **effective** and **accountable** institutions and respects **human rights**, and where the rule of law protects and promotes the freedoms of expression,

association and peaceful assembly. Many actors, including governments, have a role to play in creating an enabling environment for civil society to operate **effectively** and independently.

DFATD is committed to supporting an enabling environment for civil society in **developing** countries, both in law and practice, leading to more **effective** policies, **equitable** and **sustainable development**, and inclusive **growth**. To that end, DFATD will work with **developing** country governments, donors, and a wide array of other actors to protect and promote an enabling environment for civil society. (p. 3, emphasis added).

In these two paragraphs at least nine concepts legitimized through rationalization (some on multiple occasions) are used to explain and defend the intervention of DFATD with multiple actors, including other governments, to help create an environment for civil society. However, as in the examples of legitimation, it is unclear whether these concepts embody the development goals of the populations being served by civil society or if they represent the goals of the Government of Canada. Furthermore, it is unclear whether the perceptions of those concepts are the same across colonial and imperial differences.

The Zapatistas, for example, refer to democracy on a regular basis in their advocacy work; however, democracy does not necessarily mean to the bodies who participate in that way of being and knowing what it does to those of us in Western culture. As Mignolo (2011) explains, the Zapatistas view democracy based in the concept of “*mandar obediendo* [to obey and rule at the same time]” (p. 235). This concept is predicated on the idea that “Diversity as universal project is ... a world composed of multiple worlds, the *right to be different* because we are all equals (instead of assuming that *since we are all equal* what we have in common is our difference)” (Mignolo 2011 p. 234-5). These different perceptions of the same word are a demonstration as to why the legitimation of the helping imperative through rationalization is problematic: it promotes an idea that is specific to the region where it is being promoted and then, because the perception of that same idea is not shared by those in different societies, argues

that intervention and support is necessary; that it is up to Canadians to impart their knowledge to the less knowing.

In addition to this, and similar rationalizations throughout GAC policy, the GAC website legitimates the helping imperative almost exclusively through rationalization (drawing on knowledge that has been constructed through authorization). For example, under the priority theme of food security it states:

Canada has a strong record of helping increase global food security through its decision to untie 100 percent of its food assistance budget in 2008 and was one of the first donor countries to increase support during the 2008 food and fuel crises in the developing world. In April 2011, Canada was the first G8 country to fully meet its L'Aquila Summit commitments and disburse \$1.18 billion for sustainable agricultural development. Canada chaired the negotiations leading to the new Food Assistance Convention which brought together leading food assistance donors, and is continuing to play a key role through the Convention in shaping the global response to hunger (GAC 2015c, p. 1).

Indeed, the helping imperative is very clear in this paragraph: it outlines multiple ways in which Canada has helped the hungry. While feeding a hungry person is not particularly problematic, problems do arise when this discourse of helping and hunger is considered in a post-development/decolonial framework.

In his discussion of the political economy of food and nutrition, Escobar (1995) states that "... the attempt at articulating a political economy of food and health must start with the construction of objects such as nature, peasants, food, and the body as an epistemological, cultural, and political process" (p. 130). Based on the view, perceptions are constructed by discourse and framed based on the subjective realities of Northerners. Furthermore, Escobar (1995) explains that

The language of hunger and the hunger of language join forces ... [to sanitize] the discussion of the hungry and the malnourished. It is thus that we come to consume hunger in the West; in the process our sensitivity to suffering and pain becomes numbed by the distancing effect that the language of academics and experts achieved (p. 104).

This distancing effect results in Canada showcasing *how* it has helped at a broad level instead of working with societies to showcase how they are working together across difference to enhance their lives. This approach is more about the people in the West than the people in the South because "...the body of the malnourished ... is the most striking example of the power of the First World over the Third" (Escobar 1995, p. 103). In fact, "the development discourse has turned its representations of hunger into an act of consumption of images and feelings by the well-nourished...This consumption is a feature of modernity ..." (Escobar 1995, p. 153). If the consumption of images and feelings is a feature of modernity, it is also a feature of coloniality. In fact, once it is unpacked from a post-development/decolonial perspective that demonstrates how the body of the malnourished is consumed by the West, the logic of coloniality in the helping imperative is legitimated through rationalized discourse: GAC highlights the *help* that it provides in order to produce the feelings that the Canadian public would like to consume.

The GAC website contains further examples of how the helping imperative legitimized through rationalization. On the *Development Priorities* (GAC 2015d) page, it is explained that a partnership with the private sector is desirable because that sector has expertise that can "help alleviate poverty and increase prosperity" as it is the "driving force behind economic growth, and sustainable economic growth is the engine for poverty reduction" (p. 1). Furthermore, on the *Stimulating Sustainable Economic Growth* (GAC 2016g) page, it states that "Canada focuses its international development assistance in this area on three paths to help developing countries grow their economies and provide new opportunities for their citizens" (p.1). In each of these examples, the helping imperative is legitimized through knowledge that is constructed by the institutions that make up the Western world: the belief that the liberal economic, capitalist

system is the only system that can lead to well-being. In the context of delinked cosmopolitanism, the application of a universal way of being does not acknowledge different societies with different ways of knowing and being. Nor does it allow for links between differences in the spirit of conviviality and the enhancement of societies as they deem necessary.

This legitimized discourse is used in the Parliament of Canada as well. In the Hansard, rationalized discourse promotes the helping imperative on multiple occasions in the both the 42nd and 41st parliaments. In fact, a pattern emerges in this discourse that follows the same order:

Question: “What is the government doing to help people in developing countries?”

Answer: “The government is doing X or Y to help people in developing countries.”

This pattern of speech occurs seven times in the sample period of the 42nd Parliament and eleven times in sample period of the 41st Parliament, for a total of 18 times in 18 months.

In some cases, the question is asked in a way that is encouraging, for example:

Question:

Mr. Speaker, polio was a disease that ravished the world and was particularly devastating to children. The first vaccine was developed in the 1950s and many more countries have since been declared polio-free. However, Pakistan had 53 cases of polio in 2015, the highest for any country and its persistence in Pakistan is the largest barrier to eradicating polio forever.’

Could the Minister of International Development and La Francophonie please tell us what Canada is doing to help eradicate polio in Pakistan? (Zahid 2016).

Answer:

Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague from Scarborough Centre for her constant support of the Pakistani people.’

The persistence of polio in Pakistan is the biggest obstacle to its eradication worldwide. However, recent evidence proved that the vaccination campaign is paying off. I recently pledged \$60 million for the eradication of polio in Pakistan. We are committed to ending it for good (Bibeau 2016).

In this case, I am not challenging the action being taken (the eradication of polio) but the discourse of the helping imperative, which is legitimized through rationalization. The question assumes that Canada has a duty to help the people of Pakistan. The answer assumes that providing funding to an unnamed organization or institution demonstrates a commitment to the worldwide eradication of polio. The discourse used around the helping imperative, that it is a global issue, and the intimation that the children of Pakistan are going to particularly suffer, demonstrates how it is legitimized and rationalized, that is, the children will suffer, so we must help.

This pattern is repeated with a more negative tone when opposition Members of Parliament ask the question; however, the same legitimation of the helping imperative occurs.

For example, this exchange between two Members:

Question:

Mr. Speaker, unsafe abortion is responsible for 13 % of all maternal deaths worldwide, but Canada will not help women in developing countries access safe abortion services, even though it is permitted in the majority of Canada's countries of focus for development assistance and in Canada itself.'

Why is the minister refusing to save the lives of women and girls in developing countries by refusing to offer the full range of reproductive health services? (Laverdière 2015a).

Answer:

Mr. Speaker, we will not export controversy; we will export our world-leading expertise. Our efforts are backed by the international community, and we continue to rally international consensus for our program in partnership with the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. We will not reopen this debate, and we will not export divisiveness. We will continue the leadership of the Muskoka Initiative because what matters most are results, and that is what we are delivering (Brown 2015).

Question:

Mr. Speaker, let us talk about results.

The results are as follows: unsafe abortion is responsible for 13% of all maternal deaths around the world. This government claims it wants to save all women's lives, so it must save those women too.

Why is this government giving peanuts when it comes to family planning, and why is it putting its ideology ahead of women's health? (Laverdière 2015a)

Answer:

Mr. Speaker, as I said, we are not going to export controversy. We are going to continue to export our world-leading expertise. The results we are getting under the Muskoka Initiative are nothing short of miraculous. We are saving the lives of hundreds of thousands of women and millions of children every year... (Brown 2015).

Indeed, while Laverdière's question is asked in an offensive rather than inquisitive way, it appeals to the helping imperative – in this case, the desire to help and save women – and legitimizes this discourse through rationalization by appealing to the constructed knowledge system in Canada wherein we have a duty to help. Brown appeals to this same knowledge system in her response when she insists that lives are being saved already.

The plethora of examples and analyses in this section demonstrate the link between authorization and rationalization of discursive legitimation techniques. It further provides a wealth of information regarding how the helping imperative is legitimized in multiple iterations of the discourse. There are significantly fewer examples of the final method of legitimation – mythopoesis. However, the legitimation of the helping imperative that takes place through this method is equally important to this analysis.

Mythopoesis

Mythopoesis is a type of legitimation that is based on a constructed narrative, the positive outcome of which is rewarded, but the negative outcome of which is punished (Van Leeuwen

2013, p. 328). This legitimization method is far more infrequent in the types of documents being analyzed for this study; however, there are some significant examples.

On the *Environmental Sustainability* (GAC 2016c) page of the website, a narrative is constructed about “the poor” that explains the problems faced by bodies without the economic means of Northerners:

The poor, who depend most directly on their natural environment for food, shelter, and income, are the first to feel the effects of environmental deterioration. Forced to live on marginal lands, the poor are at greatest risk from external factors such as climate change. Without financial resources or the knowledge to manage vulnerable resources in a sustainable way, they are often forced to degrade their lands in order to survive, thus contributing to the problem and perpetuating their poverty (p. 1).

In this paragraph, a narrative of the poor as hapless victims is constructed. These bodies have been forced to live in marginality, they are at risk, they lack resources, they lack knowledge and they are contributing to their own poverty as a result. This narrative then legitimates the actions of the Government of Canada and its discourse to “help its partner countries create, maintain, and enhance environmental sustainability” (p. 2). Again, through this narrative of the poor as victim, the helping imperative is called upon to justify Canadian intervention. At no time is it mentioned on this web page who forced the bodies of the poor onto the marginalized land, nor is it explained why they have no access to resources or knowledge. In fact, according to Mignolo (2011, p. 10), the indigenous ‘poor’ (who are referred to throughout this web page) may be the ones with the answer to the problem; however, due to the hegemonic nature of the discourse promoted and legitimized by mythopoesis here (and in academic literature), respect and acknowledgement of different ways of knowing and being are disregarded by the modern/colonial world. As such, delinked cosmopolitanism is not being implemented or observed and the helping imperative is legitimated once again.

In addition to the GAC website, the clearest example of mythopoesis is the Mandate letter to the Minister of International Development and La Francophonie produced by the Prime Minister's Office and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Appendix 1). This letter provides a narrative that explains what the success of the Minister for International Development and La Francophonie will look like over the course of the next four years.

It begins by reminding the Minister of the commitments made by the Liberal Party to Canadians during the election and explaining the intention of the Prime Minister to uphold those commitments (PMC 2015, pp. 1-2). The Prime Minister then outlines his expectations of and priorities for all the Ministers and Members in the Party as they form the Government of Canada (PMC 2015, pp. 2-3). Prime Minister Trudeau continues by pointing to the Party platform as a guide for the government being formed and the importance of the Minister's responsibilities and duties toward the execution of that platform for governance (PMC 2015, p. 3). He finishes the general introduction of duties to the Minister by explaining the values of Canadians, what they expect and his expectation of her as a Minister in particular (PMC 2015, pp. 3-4). In providing this backdrop, the Prime Minister is using the discourse to authorize the Minister's role, and, as such, the goals and priorities that will be set out for her.

It is in this context that the Prime Minister provides Minister Bibeau with her main goal:

As Minister of International Development and La Francophonie, your overarching goal will be to lead Canada's efforts to provide humanitarian assistance to help reduce poverty and inequality in the world (PMC 2015, p. 4).

In this goal, we see the repetition of numerous issues that were previously discussed. Most apparent is legitimization through rationalization by conflating humanitarian assistance with development work, as well as drawing on the concepts of poverty and inequality reduction to do so. In and of itself, this paragraph only demonstrates rationalization; however, in the context of

the letter, it is a narrative with interconnecting legitimations that creates one large responsibility to not fail.

The letter continues by outlining the top priorities for the Minister, the first of which is to “Refocus Canada’s development assistance on helping the poorest and most vulnerable, and supporting fragile states” (PMC 2015, p. 4). Indeed, the duty to help is directed by the Prime Minister as the first priority of the Minister for International Development and La Francophonie in this narrative.

This duty to help is further legitimized through rationalization in this narrative because the different ways in which the Minister is expected to accomplish this priority are listed. These rationalizations include an appeal to sustainable growth and the new Sustainable Development Goals, the desire for accountable governance, human rights, the MNCH initiative, and development innovation and effectiveness (PMC 2015, p. 4). By legitimating the duties of the Minister through the use of terminology and constructed knowledges, the helping imperative is further legitimized by the overall narrative of the letter, which focuses on her main goal: to help poor people.

The narrative continues to discuss the Minister’s priorities in working with other Ministers and how they relate to La Francophonie, before the expectations for how she will execute her work in relation to her department and the government as a whole are reiterated (PMC 2015, pp. 4-5). The Prime Minister continues by explaining some of her further responsibilities as a Minister in general and then closes with the following paragraph: “I know I can count on you to fulfill the important responsibilities entrusted in you. In turn, please know that you can count on me to support you every day in your role as Minister” (PMC 2015, p. 6). Indeed, these two sentences demonstrate that there will be a positive outcome if the goals are met

(or, there is at least an attempt to meet them) and it is possible to surmise that the consequences would be negative if the Minister fails to help reduce poverty and inequality in developing countries. Indeed, the legitimation of the helping imperative through this narrative is clear: if the Minister fails to help poor people in developing countries, there are likely to be negative consequences.

Summary of Findings

The application of the legitimation framework to a discourse analysis of Canadian foreign aid discourse demonstrates how the helping imperative is promoted by this country.

Authorization is used to support the discourse by appealing to international bodies, previous Prime Ministers, the Canadian public and, most tellingly, to the legislation being studied itself.

Through this authorization method, discourses of moral evaluation, rationalization and mythopoesis are legitimized as well. As such, in each set of documents, the discourse of the helping imperative is legitimated and considered the appropriate approach to foreign aid in Canada.

In the context of post-development/decolonial theory and from a delinked cosmopolitanism perspective, this approach seems to do harm *and* good: the consideration of people in different societies as bodies that contain humanity to live in harmony appears neglected; universal principles and ways of being and knowing are ostensibly applied to pluriversal situations; and references are not made to any specific requirement or desire on the part of those being targeted by development projects to receive the aid they are receiving. Therefore, the analysis of these documents appears to demonstrate that the colonial matrix of power is upheld by Canadian foreign aid discourses, and universalism reigns. Indeed, one could

conclude through this analysis that the helping imperative is promoted and legitimated because that is what Canadians believe should be promoted and legitimated. The duty to help as the primary motivator for foreign aid spending is neither questioned nor considered in the official and unofficial texts analyzed in this study.

That is not to say that the people in the societies being targeted were living in utopic circumstances prior to the arrival of Northerners and the maintenance of colonial power structures. However, this research acknowledges and identifies the paternalism of the helping imperative (see Heron 2007) and the patriarchal structures of modernity (see Mignolo 2011) in the discourse of Canadian foreign aid. As such, the choices and agency of those people in those societies were removed through modernity and the logic of coloniality. No one society has an inherent goodness more than any other; nonetheless, societies should be allowed to enhance their own well-being their own way without interference and intervention, unless such things are requested.

However solutions to this focus on the duty to help may be found within the delinked cosmopolitan perspective. The first tenet, that all bodies that contain humanity to live in harmony have equal responsibility toward all other bodies that contain humanity to live in harmony, removes the initial assumption that people in the North, on a (re)Westernization trajectory, are more human than people in the South. This idea, couched in colonialism and imperialism is what leads to the assumption that Northerners must help in the first place, whether that help was requested or not. Indeed, by removing the hierarchy created by the term *human being* (see Chapter 4 discussion of *humanitas* and *anthropos*), a horizontal perception of that responsibility toward one another is more likely. As such, it would no longer be “incumbent” on the North to help the people of the South because the way of life in the South is different from the Western

trajectory, but because that help has been requested to enhance the lives of the people in that society *as it is*.

This shift in perception about *why* Canadians help can be further compounded by the second tenet of delinked cosmopolitanism, that there is a heterogeneous set of duties toward and between all bodies that contain humanity to live in harmony based on universal connectors of pluriversality and heterogeneity. The heterogeneity of duties eliminates the perception inherent in the discourse that there is only one way to help societies that request support. In fact, it eliminates the idea that *help* is what is being sought: true partnership and skills sharing to improve the well-being of people in both societies may be the goal. However, at this point, the discourse does not allow for those possibilities. Furthermore, the connectors of pluriversality and heterogeneity provide a method to shift the current way of thinking from one that promotes the helping imperative to one that understands and accepts difference across and between societies so that the interactions between different societies are respectful and supportive rather than interventionist.

Finally, with regard to the third tenet of a delinked cosmopolitan theory – that all relations between bodies that contain humanity to live in harmony from different societies must be guided by the moral obligation to support the enhancement of the seeking society by providing the help requested or addressing the harms being/that have been caused, should the request not interfere with the morality of the society to whom the request has been made – provides a different perception of what kind of help is necessary. Based on this proposed shift in perception, the moral obligation is no longer specifically to help or to not cause harm, but it is to respond the request of the society looking for support *in their own efforts* to enhance the well-being of its members. As such, this support may not be the traditional help being offered, based

on the assumption that the Western way of being and knowing is the best way of being and knowing. It may take the form of support for projects and goals already underway in the seeking society that have been self-determined prior to the involvement of an outside party and, upon the involvement of that party, the projects would be led by the members of the seeking society.

These shifts in perception, based on the tenets of delinked cosmopolitanism, would necessarily lead to new discourse. Perhaps in this discourse, specific projects in specific societies would be referenced rather than dollar amounts that are sent to faceless, nameless international organizations. Perhaps the focus on the poor would be replaced with a focus on the people in the communities and their relationship to the world and how to enhance their well-being rather than lift them out of poverty. Indeed, a shift of discourse of this kind has the potential to replace participation with agency or leadership and intervention with support or equal partnership and exchange. As a result, Canada may develop another way of functioning that promotes the ideals of responsibility toward and between bodies that contain humanity to live in harmony while working convivially together as we connect through different ways of being and knowing.

5. Conclusion: Shifting Perspectives

The helping imperative is at work through the multiple levels of discourse of Canadian foreign aid described in this study. Set against a backdrop of cosmopolitan ideals, the duty to help permeates foreign aid discourse and action as legislation and policy are based primarily on this ideal. There is further evidence of its primacy in communications with the public (website) and in parliamentary debate. As a result, the helping imperative can be found in Canadian foreign aid decision-making, as well as the Canadian public at large.

In the context of post-development theory, an understanding of the power of discourse allows us to come to this conclusion. Indeed, Escobar's (1995) assertion that the "discourse [of development] results in concrete practices of thinking and acting through which the Third World is produced" (p. 11) is true of Canadian foreign aid practices. By drawing on his discussion about the power of discourse and development, we were able to see how the orientations of Government of Canada, and Global Affairs Canada, use discursive legitimation techniques in various discursive spaces to support their perceptions of the Third World, the South.

By drawing on the notions in post-development that demonstrate how discourse is used to construct reality, the need to conduct a discourse analysis was clarified. That being said, post-development critiques development discourse from a space that only looks at development and not necessarily at the wider context. As such, it was necessary to anchor it in a more radical, and widely applicable approach: decolonial theory.

While considerably more radical than post-development theory, the basis of decolonial theory, as presented by Mignolo (2011), allows for a discussion of discourse, its impact and different societies around the world that connect across difference to work together, in conviviality. Indeed, the technologies of decolonial theory permit us to critique the West and coloniality without necessarily rejecting the Western way of being and knowing. In fact,

decolonial theory gives us the tools to approach a different way of working together across difference.

By acknowledging the colonial matrix of power, and the oppression of difference by the modern/colonial power, decoloniality opens up a space for discussion of difference. The five trajectories outlined by Mignolo (2011) – rewesternization, dewesternization, the reorientation of the left, the decolonial option, and the spiritual option (p. 33) – demonstrate how distinct societies perceive the world differently and how those differences manifest. Within that space it is possible to understand that different ways of being in the world, knowing about the world (and the self), and doing in the world are equally valid.

Like post-development theory, decolonial theory criticizes discourse and rhetoric and focuses on the rhetoric of modernity, dating back to the Renaissance. However, unlike post-development theory, this rhetoric is referred to on a wide scale and it becomes difficult to see its effects. As such, I wove the theories together using their similarities as a starting point and their differences in complementarity in order to create an orientation from which to critique and rethink the underlying theory of the helping imperative: cosmopolitanism.

Cosmopolitanism, a way of being that espouses rationality, individuality and universality, was initially conceived of by Kant in the 1800s. There are three main tenets to cosmopolitanism: that every human being has equal responsibility toward every other human being because they are human beings; that those responsibilities are based on a universal set of duties; and that those duties are both positive – the duty to help – and negative – the duty to justice. There are multiple iterations of cosmopolitanism, and I drew on the concept of ‘thick’ cosmopolitanism to explore the ideas of causal responsibility and indirect duties.

From a post-development/decolonial perspective, however, this causal responsibility in fact calls on the West to adjust the main tenets of cosmopolitanism to ways of being and knowing that are different from the rationality, individuality, and universality so prominent at the core of cosmopolitanism. Therefore, drawing on multiple concepts in post-development/decolonial theory, I undertook the challenge of delinking cosmopolitanism from the logic of coloniality and the colonial matrix of power, thus engaging in border thinking and epistemic disobedience.

To delink cosmopolitanism, I began by drawing on the concepts of *humanitas* and *anthropos* – different levels of humanness – to critique the use of the term human being. I then drew on body-politics (an alternative to bio-politics) and the Andean concept of *runa* (to live in harmony) to create the first delinked cosmopolitan tenet: All bodies that contain humanity to live in harmony have equal responsibility toward all other bodies that contain humanity to live in harmony.

The second tenet had been addressed primarily by Mignolo (2011) and his idea of decolonial cosmopolitanism wherein he addresses universality. In particular, he advocates for universal connectors of pluriversality among and between societies based on which we can learn to work together across difference in conviviality. However, due to the acceptance of difference advocated by Mignolo (2011), exclusively Western ways of being, doing and knowing are no longer sufficient for understanding that relationships between or responsibilities toward various societies. A heterogeneity of societies means a heterogeneity of duties. Therefore, the second delinked cosmopolitan tenet is: That there is a heterogenous set of duties toward and between all bodies that contain humanity to live in harmony based on universal connectors of pluriversality and heterogeneity.

Finally, because those duties are heterogenous, it is no longer adequate to call them positive and negative in a universally applied discourse. Therefore, based on Quijano's (2007) discussion of the European paradigm of knowledge, I drew on the idea that all knowledge is relational (to someone or something) to delink the third tenet of cosmopolitanism. This delinking further draws on the ideas of self-determination found in post-development/decolonial theory. It reads: That all relations between bodies that contain humanity to live in harmony from different societies must be guided by the moral obligation to support the enhancement of the seeking society by providing the help requested or addressing the harms being/that have been caused, should the request not interfere with the morality of the society to whom the request has been made.

It is from the perspective of this delinked version of cosmopolitanism – a cosmopolitanism that is no longer based in universality, individuality and rationality – that it was possible to analyze Government of Canada discourse regarding international development and foreign aid to demonstrate the problematic of the helping imperative in Canadian discourse and actions. I paired this theoretical framework with Van Leeuwen's (2013) discourse legitimation framework to conduct a critical discourse analysis of Canadian foreign aid discourse.

In looking at the Canadian foreign aid discourse contained in the examples of legislation, policy, the GAC website and the Hansard from the legitimation lenses of authorization, moral evaluation, rationalization and mythopoesis, in the context of delinked cosmopolitanism, it is clear that the helping imperative may be viewed as pervasive and held in high regard in the Government of Canada's discursive orientations.

Indeed, from the authorization lens, we see that different authorities are called upon at different times and in different contexts to legitimate similar discourses of help. Those

authorities include international organizations, Canadian citizens in general, statistical studies and previous Prime Ministers. Furthermore, in the particular case of legislation, there are tendencies of self-authorization wherein a legislative text will refer to itself to legitimate certain discourses of helping. Once the legislation is passed into law, these texts become the authoritative discourse being referred to in different areas of policy, the GAC website and in parliamentary discussion.

In addition to authorization, moral evaluation plays a role in legitimizing the discourse around the helping imperative. In the cases where it exists, a vague appeal to Canadian values is made as an underlying reason for taking action to help. Sometimes these values are not described at all; however, when they are described, the concepts used are equally vague. The authoritative nature of these texts that call on moral evaluation to promote them contributes to the institutionalized construction of societal knowledge, which provides a significant amount of discourse that is legitimated through rationalization.

Rationalization is the primary method of legitimation that is seen in Canadian foreign aid discourse. A number of terms and concepts, such as poverty reduction, growth, sustainability, and good governance are constructed through the use of legitimation through authorization and then adopted by Canadian society (and likely most of Western society). As such, these concepts are used repeatedly in the discourse, which continues to legitimate the helping imperative and to perpetuate the power relationship that the North has with the South.

Of all the legitimation methods, mythopoesis occurred less frequently; however, it was compelling when it did occur. The particular example of the Mandate letter to the Minister of International Development and La Francophonie demonstrates the force of this technique. By explaining the backdrop of the Canadian election, the letter goes on to indicate that helping the

most vulnerable people around the world is the most important task of the Minister and then explains that her success is required in order to maintain good standing in the party. It is intimated (though not expressly stated) that otherwise, she will lose her position. As such, the stakes of implementing the duty to help are very high. Indeed, the helping imperative is legitimated in all areas of the Canadian foreign aid discourse studied through all means of legitimation in the framework created by Van Leeuwen (2013).

From a post-development/decolonial perspective, the legitimation of the helping imperative that is taking place in Canadian foreign aid discourse maintains a colonial construction of the Third World. It legitimizes the discourse of development and the rhetoric of modernity/coloniality by appealing to the perceived moral obligation of people in the North to ‘help’, thus creating situations where it appears that Northerners are complicit in maintaining those power relations.

Furthermore, one authority that is never appealed to is the government or regional representative of a targeted population. From a delinked cosmopolitan perspective, these societies and the bodies that contain humanity to live in harmony that represent them should be the primary authority when it comes to making statements and providing support outside of Canada (and, perhaps, to certain societies within Canada as well). As such, there is no indication that the ‘help’ being offered by Canada and Canadians is required or desired; it is merely accepted as the appropriate course of action. This perception of helping – the helping imperative – thus seems to maintain colonial relations with non-Western states and societies while disregarding the voices of those bodies.

This analysis of discourse from a place that combines three different theories from different ontological and epistemological perspectives demonstrates that the discourse that

frames the actions taken within the Canadian foreign aid system is colonial. However, the unintended consequence of this perspective is that it proves that it is possible to work across difference. If cosmopolitanism can be delinked from coloniality and rethought in a way that maintains what is valuable in the theory while opening it up to different ways of being and knowing, then border thinking works.

The discursive orientations of the Government of Canada and Global Affairs Canada toward the helping imperative have consequences for the populations that are targeted by their foreign aid. These discourses are couched in beliefs that are specific to the West and the Western ways of knowing and being. As such, other ways of knowing and being are discounted.

However, if we adapt the underlying principles of discourse to a more open and less judgemental perspective, it may be possible to participate in the enhancement of well-being among the societies that endure suffering as a result of Western colonialism/coloniality. Discourse based on respect for difference, heterogeneity and pluriversality could change the framework from which action is taken.

Delinked cosmopolitanism is a potential tool for shifting this discourse by shifting the frame from which Canada approaches different societies. One example of this is a shift in the discourse around environmental sustainability: if an attempt to use a discourse that accepted the perspective of different societies about the relationship that bodies that contain humanity have to the earth, there could be more success in projects that support people in societies affected by climate change.

Practical applications of the ideas in this study are difficult to imagine and require further, in depth understandings of *who* is embedded with authority in international arenas as

well as how the discourses found in the documents that have been analyzed directly affect the actions taken in different contexts by the Government of Canada, GAC and Canadian INGOs. Furthermore, a long-term analysis of Government of Canada discourse could produce different results or could further entrench the results of this study. It would also be useful to understand how the helping imperative evolved over time in the Canadian context. In particular, within the legitimation framework, it would be of use to see how the language evolved over time and how different constructed knowledges came to be in Canadian society and how the (continue to) affect foreign aid today.

Furthermore, it may be possible to apply delinked cosmopolitanism in an international context. In particular, the legitimation of Canadian foreign aid discourse occurs, in part, through the authorization method by appealing to the Bretton Woods documents. It would be interesting to see what a study of the discourse throughout those institutions, and over time, would yield. In addition, there are possible comparative applications of such a study between different Northern countries who consider themselves 'developed' and adhere to the Bretton Woods agreements. Furthermore, an analysis of Southern countries who have (willingly, unwillingly or necessarily) adopted such discourse may yield results that demonstrate how it is legitimated in a non-Western context and what it might look like if it were delinked from logic of coloniality.

Indeed, delinked cosmopolitanism is one way to try to work through the universal connectors that we have with different bodies that contain humanity to live in harmony in a pluriversal and heterogenous world to support enhancement and well-being. Furthermore, it has the potential to shift perspectives and open up a different understanding of the Canadian (and, perhaps, Northern and Southern) way of being, knowing and doing; however, significant research from this perspective would be required to do so.

As mentioned previously, these ideas are meant to be the beginning of an inclusive conversation. There is a need to imagine the world differently and I hoped to participate in that process of re-imagination through this contribution. By reconciling the ontological and epistemic approaches of three exclusive theories, my intent was to engage in border thinking and demonstrate that commonality and complementarity can be found across difference. My application of this theory to Canadian foreign aid discourse from a critical perspective may open up the debates around international development so that the helping imperative is no longer a priority. It may also show that a shift in this discourse could be more inclusive and successful if difference is accepted. A focus on people and the enhancement of their well-being from their own perspectives may be what is called for in place of promoting a universalized way of being and knowing. Further research is necessary; however, if the conversation continues, there is a possibility for change.

Appendix 1: Mandate Letter to the Minister of International
Development and La Francophonie



**PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA
JUSTIN TRUDEAU**

(/eng)

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(/FRA/LETR

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MINISTER OF INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND LA FRANCOPHONIE MANDATE LETTER

Office of the
Prime Minister



Cabinet du
Premier ministre

Ottawa, Canada K1A 0A2

Dear Ms. Bibeau:

I am honoured that you have agreed to serve Canadians as Minister of International Development and La Francophonie. You will be part of a strong team of ministers led by the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

We have promised Canadians a government that will bring real change – in both what we do and how we do it. Canadians sent a clear message in this election, and our platform offered a new, ambitious plan for a strong and growing middle class. Canadians expect us to fulfill our commitments, and it is my expectation that you will do your part in delivering on those promises to Canadians.

We made a commitment to invest in growing our economy, strengthening the middle class, and helping those working hard to join it. We committed to provide more direct help to those who need it by giving less to those who do not. We committed to public investment as the best way to spur economic growth, job creation, and broad-based prosperity. We committed to a responsible, transparent fiscal plan for challenging economic times.

I expect Canadians to hold us accountable for delivering these commitments, and I expect all ministers to do their part – individually and collectively – to improve economic opportunity and security for Canadians.

It is my expectation that we will deliver real results and professional government to Canadians. To ensure that we have a strong focus on results, I will expect Cabinet committees and individual ministers to: track and report on the progress of our commitments; assess the effectiveness of our work; and align our resources with priorities, in order to get the results we want and Canadians deserve.

If we are to tackle the real challenges we face as a country – from a struggling middle class to the threat of climate change – Canadians need to have faith in their government's honesty and willingness to listen. I expect that our work will be informed by performance measurement, evidence, and feedback from Canadians. We will direct our resources to those initiatives that are having the greatest, positive impact on the lives of Canadians, and that will allow us to meet our commitments to them. I expect you to report regularly on your progress toward fulfilling our commitments and to help develop effective measures that assess the impact of the organizations for which you are answerable.

I made a personal commitment to bring new leadership and a new tone to Ottawa. We made a commitment to Canadians to pursue our goals with a renewed sense of collaboration. Improved partnerships with provincial, territorial, and municipal governments are essential to deliver the real, positive change that we promised Canadians. No relationship is more important to me and to Canada than the one with Indigenous Peoples. It is time for a renewed, nation-to-nation relationship with Indigenous Peoples, based on recognition of rights, respect, co-operation, and partnership.

We have also committed to set a higher bar for openness and transparency in government. It is time to shine more light on government to ensure it remains focused on the people it serves. Government and its information should be open by default. If we want Canadians to trust their government, we need a government that trusts Canadians.

It is important that we acknowledge mistakes when we make them. Canadians do not expect us to be perfect – they expect us to be honest, open, and sincere in our efforts to serve the public interest.

Our platform guides our government. Over the course of our four-year mandate, I expect us to deliver on all of our commitments. It is our collective responsibility to ensure that we fulfill our promises, while living within our fiscal plan. Other issues will arise or will be brought to our attention by Canadians, stakeholders, and the public service. It is my expectation that you will engage constructively and thoughtfully and add priorities to your agenda when appropriate.

As Minister, you will be held accountable for our commitment to bring a different style of leadership to government. This will include: close collaboration with your colleagues; meaningful engagement with Opposition Members of Parliament, Parliamentary Committees and the public service; constructive dialogue with Canadians, civil society, and stakeholders, including business, organized labour, the broader public sector, and the not-for-profit and charitable sectors; and identifying ways to find solutions and avoid escalating conflicts unnecessarily. As well, members of the Parliamentary Press Gallery, indeed all journalists in Canada and abroad, are professionals who, by asking necessary questions, contribute in an important way to the democratic process. Your professionalism and engagement with them is essential.

Canadians expect us, in our work, to reflect the values we all embrace: inclusion, honesty, hard work, fiscal prudence, and generosity of spirit. We will be a government that governs for all Canadians, and I expect you, in your work, to bring Canadians together.

You are expected to do your part to fulfill our government's commitment to transparent, merit-based appointments, to help ensure gender parity and that Indigenous Canadians and minority groups are better reflected in positions of leadership.

As Minister of International Development and La Francophonie, your overarching goal will be to lead Canada's efforts to provide humanitarian assistance to help reduce poverty and inequality in the world.

In particular, I will expect you to work with your colleagues and through established legislative, regulatory, and Cabinet processes to deliver on your top priorities:

- Refocus Canada's development assistance on helping the poorest and most vulnerable, and supporting fragile states. This would include:

to establish a collaborative working relationship with your Deputy Minister, whose role, and the role of public servants under his or her direction, is to support you in the performance of your responsibilities.

In the coming weeks, the Privy Council Office (PCO) will be contacting you to set up a meeting with PCO officials, your Deputy Minister and the Prime Minister's Office to further discuss your plans, commitments and priorities.

We have committed to an open, honest government that is accountable to Canadians, lives up to the highest ethical standards, and applies the utmost care and prudence in the handling of public funds. I expect you to embody these values in your work and observe the highest ethical standards in everything you do. When dealing with our Cabinet colleagues, Parliament, stakeholders, or the public, it is important that your behaviour and decisions meet Canadians' well-founded expectations of our government. I want Canadians to look on their own government with pride and trust.

As Minister, you must ensure that you are aware of and fully compliant with the *Conflict of Interest Act* and Treasury Board policies and guidelines. You will be provided with a copy of *Open and Accountable Government* to assist you as you undertake your responsibilities. I ask that you carefully read it and ensure that your staff does so as well. I draw your attention in particular to the Ethical Guidelines set out in Annex A of that document, which apply to you and your staff. As noted in the Guidelines, you must uphold the highest standards of honesty and impartiality, and both the performance of your official duties and the arrangement of your private affairs should bear the closest public scrutiny. This is an obligation that is not fully discharged by simply acting within the law. Please also review the areas of *Open and Accountable Government* that we have expanded or strengthened, including the guidance on non-partisan use of departmental communications resources and the new code of conduct for exempt staff.

I know I can count on you to fulfill the important responsibilities entrusted in you. In turn, please know that you can count on me to support you every day in your role as Minister.

I am deeply grateful to have this opportunity to serve with you as we build an even greater country. Together, we will work tirelessly to honour the trust Canadians have given us.

Yours sincerely,

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau, P.C., M.P.

- consulting with Canadian stakeholders and international aid organizations to create a new policy and funding framework to guide Canada's aid decisions, empower people, and support broad-based, sustainable growth in the developing world;
 - supporting the implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, a global set of development goals adopted by the United Nations in September 2015;
 - working with the Minister of Foreign Affairs to champion the values of inclusive and accountable governance, peaceful pluralism, respect for diversity, and human rights including the rights of women and refugees;
 - ensuring that Canada's valuable development focus on Maternal, Newborn and Child Health is driven by evidence and outcomes, not ideology, including by closing existing gaps in reproductive rights and health care for women;
 - making Canada a leader in development innovation and effectiveness, including by strengthening aid transparency and supporting better data collection and analysis, and by examining current and new aid delivery mechanisms and partnerships; and
 - in collaboration with the Minister of Environment and Climate Change and the Minister of Finance, providing assistance to countries that are vulnerable to the destabilizing effects of climate change, including through climate finance.
- Work with the Minister of Finance on development financing issues.
 - Work with the Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship on international migration issues, and on our commitment to resettle 25,000 refugees from Syria.
 - Work with me, and the Minister of Employment, Workforce Development and Labour, to integrate international opportunities into the Youth Service Program.
 - Ensure Canada's strong and sustained engagement in the Organisation internationale de la Francophonie.

These priorities draw heavily from our election platform commitments. The government's agenda will be further articulated through Cabinet discussions and in the Speech from the Throne when Parliament opens.

I expect you to work closely with your Deputy Minister and his or her senior officials to ensure that the ongoing work of your department is undertaken in a professional manner and that decisions are made in the public interest. Your Deputy Minister will brief you on issues your department may be facing that may require decisions to be made quickly. It is my expectation that you will apply our values and principles to these decisions, so that issues facing your department are dealt with in a timely and responsible manner, and in a way that is consistent with the overall direction of our government.

Our ability, as a government, to successfully implement our platform depends on our ability to thoughtfully consider the professional, non-partisan advice of public servants. Each and every time a government employee comes to work, they do so in service to Canada, with a goal of improving our country and the lives of all Canadians. I expect you

Prime Minister of Canada

*This Ministerial Mandate Letter was signed by the Prime Minister in the Minister's first official language.

PHOTO GALLERY



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau meets with Romanian Prime Minister Dacian Cioloș in Ottawa (eng/photo-gallery/prime-minister-justin-trudeau-meets-romanian-prime-minister-dacian-ciolos-ottawa)

[See all photo galleries ... \(eng/photos\)](#)

IMPORTANT LINKS



CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE REVIEW CONSULTATIONS
(http://international.gc.ca/world-monde/development-developpement/iar-consultations-eai/index.aspx?lang=eng&utm_campaign=iar-eai-2016&utm_source=canada&utm_medium=slideshow-en)



PUBLIC CONSULTATION ON THE DRAFT 2016-19 FEDERAL SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY
(<https://www.canada.ca/en/services/environment/conservation/sustainability/federal-sustainable-development-strategy.html>)



WORLD REFUGEE DAY – 20 JUNE
(http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/refugees/world/index.asp?utm_source=canada-eng&utm_medium=canada-features&)

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