CanadaWatch

(RE)STUDYING, (RE)IMAGINING, (RE)PRESENTING CANADA THROUGH FATIGUE AND HOPE

Guest editors' introduction

In April 2022, the Robarts Centre for Canadian Studies hosted its annual graduate student conference online. Panellists were then offered the opportunity to submit condensed versions of their work for publication in this special issue of *Canada Watch*. These 13 articles present a new narrative about Canada as a nation under constant construction and revision. The authors provide insightful commentaries and convincing argumentation on their chosen themes—a testament both to the excellence of their submissions and to their keen eye and intuition for subjects that speak to all members of our community. They challenge preexisting notions of what it means to live in Canada and be Canadian.

The academic approaches taken by the articles in this issue are interdisciplinary. They engage with issues of studying Canada's past in relation to understanding its present. Many of the problems and challenges addressed in these articles remain ongoing in Canada. While reading the articles, consider how mainstream representations and myths about Canada's relationship with Indigenous peoples, with its environment, and with people of different ethnicities and identities are reproduced and reimagined.

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BY ZACHARY CONSITT AND AQEEL IHSAN

Zachary Consitt is a PhD candidate in history at York University with research interests in Canadian cultural and sport history in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. His dissertation focuses on how sport and fitness were used as tools by the Canadian federal government to unify the country. Aqeel Ihsan is a PhD candidate in history at York University, specializing in migration and food history. His research interests focus on the South Asian diaspora currently residing in Canada.

The articles in this issue are organized by the following themes: Indigenous–settler contact zones, Canada's environmental relations, and identity formations.

The articles in the opening section address themes surrounding the struggles faced by Indigenous peoples in every region of Canada, from the past to the present. Authors identify how settler Canadians commodified a misinformed and appropriated Indigenous culture, and they show how, in response, Indigenous people have fought to protect their forms of cultural expression, from crafts to film and literature, as a means of projecting their self-determination. Authors also document how Indigenous peoples have fought for their political autonomy, through grassroots protest movements and through legal action to renegotiate or reaffirm treaties with the federal

government. Finally, authors share how settler-colonial structures need to be considered when academic research is conducted with and regarding Indigenous peoples. The articles examine the continuing struggles by Indigenous peoples for self-determination and self-expression in Canada.

Canada's relationship with its environment is another major site of contention explored in this issue, as traced through four historical case studies. In writing about the environment, authors refer to issues pertaining to settler colonialism and the Canadian state's troubled relationship with its Indigenous populations. Whether it is water mills in Upper Canada that facilitated the project of colonialism and Indigenous dispossession, colonial power relations that came to the fore with the extraction of iron ore, a hydro-electric company that forcibly relocated Indigenous communities, or the struggle of Indigenous peoples as they defended their lands against encroachment from pipelines that threatened their livelihood, these issues cannot be read in isolation. Instead, an intersectional approach is needed to understand the complexities of the issues that are sources of frustration and fatigue in Canada.

The articles in the last section of this issue address identity formations. In 1971, multiculturalism was officially adopted as Canada's federal government policy. In 2023, Canada advertises itself as a country that welcomes people

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FEATURES

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of all backgrounds, races, religions, and sexualities. However, while Canada is touted as a country that celebrates multiculturalism, citizens in Canada are far from equal and do not enjoy full and equitable access to opportunities. This has been the case throughout Canada's history. These debates are explored in this section through a discussion of Chinese restaurant menus as a tool for communication, and Canada's immigration policies as they pertain to the LGBTQ+ community. The issue concludes by asking the important question, "Is Canada worth saving?"

The articles in this issue of *Canada Watch* (re)study and (re)imagine the various asymmetries and points of rupture throughout Canadian history, while also highlighting key pathways to transformation and futures of hope. It is important to remember that Canada is a national project, one that is ongoing, and it is important to maintain hope for the future about what Canada can become.   🍁

The Robarts Centre for Canadian Studies will be celebrating its 40th anniversary in 2024!

To this end, two special issues of *Canada Watch* will be published: one on the evolution of the study of Canada over 40 years and the role of the Robarts Centre in supporting research at York University and another one on testimonies of the Centre's impact on people's professional lives.

ROBARTS
CENTRE FOR CANADIAN STUDIES

Theorizing colonial culture in Canada: Consumption, Indigenization, and settler moves to innocence on a national scale

It has been over two decades since Philip Deloria exposed the cultural anxieties underlying the long history of American settlers "playing Indian" (1998). The dominant patterns of settler culture are different in the Canadian context, however. Here, the symbols, tropes, and narratives associated with Indigeneity have been integrated so deeply into the national imaginary that they are now seen as essentially and quintessentially "Canadian," and not—to cite Deloria— as Indian-play at all. "Indianness"— not as some essence of what it means to be Indigenous but as the dominant culture's invented version of Indigeneity—has long been central to settler self-definition. The pattern in Canada, I argue, is less about *performance* and more about *consumption*.

THE "CANADIANESS" OF CANOEING

Most of the symbols that are mobilized to define, market, and facilitate identification with Canada are either historically or imaginatively associated with Indigeneity (think inukshuks, totem poles, maple syrup . . .). Most infamous among them, as Daniel Francis, Bruce Erickson, and Misao Dean have all examined at length, is the canoe. The canoe's mythic association with Indigenous people is what offers it such authenticity and legitimacy. Paddling through northern landscapes (imagined and constructed as "wilderness") soothes the anxious settler desire to enact both possession of and belonging to the land on which they live (Dean, 2013), which is itself an "irreconcilable legacy of invasion and settlement" (Whitlock, 2006, p. 42). The canoe acts as a convenient resolution for the uneasy relationship between the settler nation-state

BY JOHANNA LEWIS

Johanna Lewis (they/them) is a doctoral candidate in history at York University. Their work focuses on cultural histories of settler colonialism and British imperialism, with a focus on family and intimacy, identity and power, and questions of inheritance, commemoration, and historical production. Johanna is also a researcher with Brittany Luby's First Nations Guide to the University project, a community organizer with Showing Up for Racial Justice Toronto, and the parent of two magical kids.

and the violence on which it relies, "the national equivalent of saying 'I'm not racist; look, I have Native friends'" (Erickson, 2013, p. 8). But settler Canadians who go canoeing are not *playing Indian*; the canoe has been adopted so deeply into the (especially white, middle-class) cultural imagination that canoeing is seen as a means to connect with one's *Canadianness*. Indigenous *people* are deemed unnecessary since Indianness—its affiliate technologies and its fetishized proximity to nature—have already been seamlessly internalized by the recreational paddler and the nationalist imaginary alike.

The telling of Canadian history has also long been shaped, in ever evolving ways, by practices of internalization. In the decades before and after Confederation, the solidifying historiography displaced experiences of colonial violence to the United States, maintaining that "the Native people of Canada never suffered the . . . horrors of conquest" (Mackey, 1998, p. 155). From the 1880s until the mid-20th century, a "Mountie myth"—wherein the RCMP symbolized a particularly Canadian version of lawful, civilized, and orderly westward expan-

sion—further disseminated and popularized a narrative in which Indigenous peoples were peacefully absorbed into Canada (Francis, 1997). By looking at state-sanctioned pluralist histories proliferating, since the 1990s, through schools, museums, and more, Eva Mackey argues that some recent attempts to *celebrate* Indigenous histories have also exhibited absorptive tendencies. Indigenous people and cultures are too often turned into a tool for facilitating settlers' and migrants' connection to and harmony with the land or used to enhance and celebrate "our" cultural diversity. Settler angst about a lack of belonging is again transcended when "Aboriginal people become the ancestors of the nation who pass on an inheritance, [rather than] survivors of conquest and colonization" (Mackey, 1998, p. 161). Insidiously, different genres of historical production still function to erase colonial violence and uphold settler sovereignty, while foreclosing Indigenous futures beyond incorporation into the Canadian nation-state.

MÉTISSAGE

Another glaring example of Canada's incorporative tendencies is the recent evocation of *métissage* as a national origin story. Many have critiqued the conflation of Métis identity with mixedness and the resultant phenomenon of (heretofore) white settlers discovering a distant Indigenous ancestor and using it to refashion a Métis identity for themselves (Andersen, 2014; Leroux, 2019; Vowel, 2016). However, *métissage* has also been perniciously appropriated in constructions of the nation itself. In his 2013 article, Adam Gaudry analyzes emergent

discourses that claim *métissage* as a founding metaphor or descriptor for the Canadian nation-state. While older oppositional narratives depicted Louis Riel as the quintessential Other, for instance, a newer representational mythology has co-opted him to symbolize the values of bilingualism, multiculturalism, and cultural hybridity that Canada likes to claim as its own. The trope that Canada is a *Métis civilization*, meanwhile, suggests that our national political institutions are shaped by their Indigenous roots rather than being mere European imports. While an appealing thought, such a framing replaces histories of colonial repression and anti-colonial resistance—and, indeed, histories of inter-nation cooperation and negotiation—with a naïve myth of different people coming together to form a new, mixed nation-state. Although often deployed with the intent of imagining a more just country, Gaudry cautions, these Indigenized articulations of Canadianness instead "hid[e] a pervasive settler-colonial reality within a mythological post-colonial fantasy" (2013, p. 67). Far from promoting genuinely respectful engagement with Indigenous peoples past and present, such claims allow the settler-colonial nation-state to merely define itself by its own supposed Indigeneity.

ENTRENCHING COLONIAL POWER

In their influential 2012 article, Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang identified a set of troubling strategies enacted by sympathetic settlers for whom the straightforward denial of colonial violence is not tenable. Recognizing that we benefit from colonial structures and wrestling with the resultant discomfort, settler allies too often seek superficial reprieve in ways that serve to entrench rather than challenge colonial power. Such "settler moves to innocence," Tuck and Yang explain, are hollow attempts "to relieve the settler of feelings of guilt or responsibility without giving up land or power or privilege, without having to change much at all" (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 10). By trans-

lating Tuck and Yang's theory from an individual to a collective level, I suggest that these consumptive constructions of Canadianness function as "settler moves to innocence" on a national scale. Far from suppressing Indigenous histories or celebrating conquest, the Canadian settler imaginary has instead attempted to "ingest and subsume" Indigeneity (Erickson, 2013, p. xiv). Through appropriated symbolism, "inclusive" histories, the invocation of *métissage*, and other tactics, Canadian settler society has sought reprieve from culpability and responsibility. As has been argued with regard to state multiculturalism more broadly, this national claim to innocence is often defined in contrived opposition to the sins of "real" colonialism, racism, and imperialism, which are conveniently displaced south of the border.

These moves to innocence have dangerous consequences: eliding colonial violence in our history and undermining the actual contributions, struggles, and demands of Indigenous people. Despite their abstracted inclusion in nationalist myths that buttress the authority of Canada, many have resisted and rejected incorporation into the Canadian nation-state and are working instead toward decolonial and Indigenous futures. The dishonest national tactics of internalizing Indigeneity and establishing settler innocence must be unsettled in favour of more ethical (if more uncomfortable) approaches to settler–Indigenous relations. We must cultivate relationships based not on sameness, absorption, or consumption, but on self-determination, solidarity, and collective liberation. 🍁

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Inuit co-ops: From government intervention to self-determination

HISTORY OF INUIT CO-OPS

In the first half of the 20th century, the Inuit people were converted from traditional ways of life to a dependency on trading in the Canadian capitalist economy, which proved to be unsustainable. The everyday lives of the Inuit people were altered drastically by the introduction of Christianity as well as by government intervention. By 1950, most Inuit had shifted from their traditional ways of living off the land to relying on the fur trade economy and its interactions with white Canadian organizations and governments to support themselves (Igloliorte, 2017). However, during the Great Depression, the prices and demand for the white fox pelts that they traded plummeted, resulting in severe poverty among the Inuit and greater reliance on government subsidies.

Prior to the 1930s, the federal government and provincial governments had essentially ignored the well-being of the Inuit people. Around this time, texts concerning the "Eskimo problem" (Mitchell, 1996) expressed concern about the Inuit's increasing reliance on government stipends. At the same time, these texts omitted any responsibility on the part of the colonial agents and governments for destroying traditional ways of life, forcing the relocation of Inuit communities, and ultimately creating the very cycle of dependency that the government was now afraid of.

The first Inuit co-op was founded in 1959 as a direct government intervention intended to provide a solution to Inuit poverty. The early co-ops in Inuit communities were paternalistic in nature—intended by the government to look after and provide for the Inuit. They did not initially involve much self-determination; over time, however, the Inuit people have taken ownership of their co-ops.

When I refer to a cooperative, I should clarify that I don't just mean people

BY LEANNE UNRUH

Leanne Unruh is a PhD candidate in the Department of Social and Political Thought at York University. Her dissertation focuses on artist cooperatives in Canada, combining her background in contemporary art history with work and volunteer experience in cooperatives. Her dissertation work includes both collecting demographic information about artist co-ops to understand how artists are using this model to meet their collective needs, and positioning artist co-ops as a way of flipping the contemporary prioritization of economic over social needs.

working together collectively or cooperatively. A co-op is a type of collective organization that is legally incorporated as a cooperative business. The generally accepted definition of a cooperative is "an autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social and cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly owned and democratically-controlled enterprise" (International Cooperative Alliance, 2018). This definition is vague, allowing the word "cooperative" to encompass the many types of ways in which people work in a cooperative manner, including the various cooperative acts and laws of different countries. However, all cooperatives hold to the same set of seven cooperative principles. These principles allow all cooperatives to have a common identity despite their variations around the world.

The Inuit co-ops, established by government interventions in the 1950s and 1960s, were originally producer co-ops, where Inuk individuals (producers) could come and receive cash for their furs, game, and fish, as well as arts and crafts. Membership fees were $1 for each person. The game, fish, and fur industries proved to have insufficient market, but a market for Inuit carvings had developed

in the late 1940s through the Hudson's Bay Company and the Quebec arm of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild (Paci, 1996). In fact, the first exhibition of Inuit carvings in Montreal, in 1949, sold out in only three days!

PROBLEMATIZING INUIT CO-OPS

Marybelle Mitchell's (1996) history of Inuit craft co-ops is critical of the government's motives for setting up cooperatives, noting that co-ops were set up with a number of political agendas, and were flawed in numerous ways. Some of the problems that she highlighted include:

- differences between the needs and experiences of the Inuit in the Northwest Territories (now Nunavut) and those of the Inuit in Quebec;
- tensions between English and French control within Quebec, which resulted in many Inuit co-ops preferring federal government support over support from the province;
- tensions between the Inuit and development initiatives in northern Quebec, including mining, forestry, and hydroelectric projects;
- conflict between the federal government and the provincial government of Quebec, which led some Inuit leaders to feel that they were being used as a bargaining tool to cement power in the northern regions of Quebec;
- the lack of Inuit representatives in decisions about the marketing of Inuit art in the 1960s and 1970s by government and not-for-profit agencies; and
- the assumption among government agents and policy-makers, not that they should consider what the Inuit wanted for themselves, but that the Inuit would go along with whatever they were told was best for them.

Inuit co-ops

Despite these problems, the co-ops were successful as a result of a continued market for Inuit art in the 1960s and 1970s. However, Inuit artists were not in full control of their co-ops because the start-up funding from federal and provincial governments came with many strings attached. The leadership and the staff of the co-ops remained mostly white until approximately 1980.

CO-OPERATIVE PRINCIPLES: FROM THE BOTTOM UP

The development of co-ops by government agencies often fails because co-ops are intended to be a community solution to a recognized need, not a government directive. In the case of Inuit co-ops, the government imposed the co-op model on Inuit communities, which violates co-op principle four as outlined by the International Cooperative Alliance (ICA)—autonomy and independence. Principle four means that co-op members must have control over the activities, funding, and services offered by the co-op (usually by voting on the board of directors and other important matters).

The principle of co-op autonomy was adopted largely because of the government's top-down co-op models, which many people in the co-op movement felt were not true co-ops. This was certainly due in part to the adoption by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of co-ops as a way to organize workers, but it was also likely informed by the situation of Inuit co-ops in Canada. In 1995, in acknowledgment of the many situations in which co-ops were tied to—and sometimes started by or beholden to—nation-states and religious entities, the ICA added autonomy as an official co-op principle (ICA, 2018).

It has also been argued by many decolonial scholars, such as Paolo Friere (1989), bell hooks (1984), and Walter Mignolo (2000), that substantive change must come from the people being oppressed, from the bottom up or from the margins, rather than from the centre of social and economic power. In the case of Inuit co-ops, co-ops as a form of change were initiated by government power on behalf of people who were seen as being unable to help themselves. For this reason, while the co-ops were initially successful in developing a market for Inuit crafts and improving the quality of life for many Inuit communities, they were unsuccessful in gaining real involvement from Inuit producers for several decades because of the top-down government initiative and financing of the co-ops.

I argue that Inuit co-ops have remained successful because, over time, Inuit producers developed ownership of their co-ops. They always had ownership through the one-member, one-vote system, but the first few decades of Inuit co-ops saw heavy government involvement and external intervention in the management of co-ops from other organizations. While some of these interventions did help the co-ops become established and survive, it also meant that the average Inuk producer did not trust that the co-op was operating in the best interest of the Inuit people. It was only when Inuit co-ops united under two Inuit-led umbrella organizations that the Inuit began to take true ownership of their co-ops.

Federalizing under new, Inuit-led initiatives was not easy for Inuit co-ops. The co-op federations faced opposition from both provincial and federal governments and the agencies that marketed Inuit art. They faced a stumbling block in the form of co-op law that prevented provincial and national co-ops from amalgamating, and even opposition from within their membership, which did not necessarily trust the co-ops because of the government's involvement.

FEDERATED INUIT CO-OPS TODAY

Today, Inuit co-ops are federated under two main umbrella co-op organizations serving Nunavut and Quebec: Arctic Co-ops Federated, which has 32 member co-ops, and La Fédération des coopératives du Nouveau-Québec (FCNQ), which currently includes 14 member co-ops. These co-ops, which grew from the early government co-ops encouraging arts and crafts production, now provide many services based on the needs of each specific Inuit community.

To this day, both Arctic Co-ops and FCNQ include an arts and craft retail component, where the co-ops buy craft items from Inuit producers and sell them through their respective retail arms, Northern Images and Art Nunavik. However, the co-ops under both federations have expanded and changed with the needs in their communities to truly serve their members in a variety of areas. The federated Inuit co-ops now provide retail services for groceries and essential supplies, vehicle parts, hotels, cable TV services, gasoline/fuel distribution, and administrative support to individual member co-ops, in addition to taking full responsibility for buying, marketing, and selling authentic Inuit arts and crafts from their producer members. This wide array of services would likely have been impossible had Inuit co-ops not united under Inuit-led federations and taken control of their co-ops to truly serve their community needs. ◆

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Erasure in the name of recognition: Canadian multiculturalism and present-day colonialism

Canada expects to mend its relationship with the Indigenous population through the multicultural politics of recognition and reconciliation. However, the goal of recognition is to subsume minority groups into the multicultural polity, which reaffirms colonial ideals because Indigenous sovereignty still exists. The numerous Supreme Court cases dealing with the minute technicalities of Indigenous existence present ample evidence that court forums allow for only a pre-established set of outcomes. A few examples, briefly summarized, include:

- *R v. Van Der Peet*: whether an Indigenous person's right to hunt for food and ceremonial purposes is protected under section 35 of the Canadian Constitution;
- *R v. Sparrow*: whether Indigenous peoples have the right to fish for food and ceremonial purposes outside of government regulations;
- *R v. Desautel*: whether an Indigenous person who is a member of a US tribe but has ancestral ties to a Canadian Indigenous community has the right to hunt in Canada;
- *R v. Pamejewon*: whether First Nations have an inherent right to self-government; and
- *R v. Calder*: whether Indigenous peoples have the right to claim ownership of traditional lands that were never ceded or sold to the government.

It is a deliberate move of colonization that the responsibility to prove land title falls on Indigenous nations, not the Crown. While the government proudly pronounces the healing of its relationship with Indigenous peoples as a multicultural precedent, its methods of achieving this goal reinforce the exact structural violence it needs to dismantle.

BY KATHLEEN THOMAS-McNEILL

Kathleen Thomas-McNeill is a master's student in the interdisciplinary studies program at York University. Her research centres on how official multiculturalism policies — as promoted by the government — handle Indigeneity. That is to say, her research asks how official multiculturalism as a diversity management strategy can really benefit the minority communities of Canada, when the policy documents are encoded with a settler-colonial framework of Indigenous dispossession. The research critiques Canada's self-image and bridges the ideological gap between what Canada says and what Canada does.

IMPORTED LEGALITIES AND THE DOCTRINE OF DISCOVERY

The sources of settler authority have fluctuated since European arrival, from 15th-century papal bulls, to claims to Turtle Island "based on [Britain's] unique configuration of 'discovery' grounded in English concepts of possession" (Pasternak, 2017, p. 6). In fact, until 2014 (with the *Tsilhqot'in Nation v. British Columbia*[1] case), the Crown rested comfortably on the doctrine of discovery to justify its claim to sovereignty and jurisdiction. Essentially, when the first settler's boot hit the shores of the "New World," the land was transformed because that boot–shore impact marked the establishment of Crown title. Britain's inherently hierarchical legalities have no connection to this land base. As Shiri Pasternak (2017) argues, forcing Indigenous peoples to "surrender jurisdiction to their lands through treaty is framed as a positive exchange of rights, but the doctrine of discovery simply plays a less public role than in the courts, never needing to be articulated before a judge or chanc-

ing repudiation by the Supreme Court, but all the while drawing the material boundaries around the terms of negotiation" (p. 263).

Again, the top-down legalities of the Canadian state are not connected to this land base. The unquestioned hegemony of Canadian authority over the land indicates the ways Canadian knowledge cleanly reproduces the imperatives of settler colonialism's "right" to seize territory from Indigenous communities.

CANADIAN MULTICULTURALISM: BURYING THE HATCHET

Canadian multiculturalism, specifically as a governing strategy, is based on cultural reductionism. Reductionism is the idea that a complex system can be understood as the sum of its parts. In this context, Canadian multiculturalism is a complex system made up of multiple, stable *culture parts*. The problem arises when this thought system is applied to people. For a culture to be a *part* of a governance strategy, it must be objectified through the freezing of its attributes. In effect, a community's customs must be codified to provide the state with the certainty of its stable distinctiveness. When the state is confident of a cultural group's immutable characteristics, it *recognizes* the group, thereby subsuming it into the multicultural body politic. While this may work (perhaps on a surface level) with racial, linguistic, and ethnocultural minority communities, Canada's inclusion of Indigenous nations in the same category—through the politics of recognition—flashes dispossession and erasure in neon lights. According to Mishuana Goemin (2013), "inclusiveness of a Native past becomes celebrated under multiculturalism, yet, . . . the national space does not become imagined as Native space. If

Erasure in the name of recognition

anything, multicultural narratives serve to undermine the Native subject, and her land becomes abstracted and incorporated in the national polity" (pp. 35–36).

Indigenous nations have political distinctions in their sets of legal traditions, languages, and laws. However, instead of recognizing Indigenous nationhood as politically distinct, Canada aims to assimilate Indigenous populations into an inevitably impoverished ethnocultural minority according to multiculturalism's design.

Canada has sought the municipalization of Indigenous society from its conception. Two years after Britain recognized Canada as a sovereign nation, Canada passed the *Gradual Enfranchisement Act* of 1869, which provided the legislative means to abolish Indigenous nations' customary governments, blocking them from jurisdiction and governing power. In most communities, the Department of Indian Affairs (the federal agency devoted exclusively to the Native population and their exhaustive management and relocation per the *Indian Act*) introduced an electoral system that was, as Pasternak (2017) reports, "designed to undermine traditional and hereditary chiefs. It gave the superintendent general of Indian Affairs the power to direct elections and depose any chief deemed afflicted by 'dishonesty, intemperance, or immorality' " (p. 162). Given that the fetishization of Native difference had already been established in settlers' collective memory and legalities—for example, *noble* or *ignoble* savage stereotypes—Indian Affairs was at liberty to depose whomever it chose. If a reminder is needed that colonialism is not a his-torical event, Canada forced the Algonquins of Barriere Lake (one of the last treaty bands still governing themselves under a *customary* system) to assimilate to the elective band council system in 2010. Canada is in the business of trying to govern as much of Indigeneity as possible because settler colonialism requires the complete historical erasure of its Native past.

NEGOTIATION, NOT LEGISLATION

It is a natural precondition for the settler state to do everything in its power to erase both the violence of its colonial history and Indigeneity itself, with all its claims to land jurisdiction. Assertions of Indigenous nationhood and sovereignty were "not the 'culture' that multiculturalism sought to protect and preserve. This, rather, was . . . something that was and still is, to say the least, an uneasy fit within a state that wishes to be singular, even when it imagines itself 'federalist' " (Simpson, 2014, p. 159). Thus, we can see how, per the colonial equation, court decisions still grow out of the naturalization of Indigenous dispossession and erasure and take Crown sovereignty for granted. As Pasternak (2017) points out, " 'Every time someone has sought to challenge in a Canadian court the Crown's or domestic legislation's authority, or the court's jurisdiction, over an Aboriginal person or group, the court has dismissed the challenge as non-justiciable.' . . . [T]he game is 'fixed.' The common law works in conjunction with legislative and executive powers to claim and define state territory. It holds the power of enforcement" (p. 16). The fact is that the court is an inappropriate forum for these discussions. The stakes of true reconciliation are so massive that negotiations are the only way out. Considering that Canada continues to address these matters in a forum that fundamentally antagonizes negotiation, this country is still drastically missing the mark when it comes to the *belonging* touted by multicultural discourse. 🍁

NOTES

1. In *Tsilhqot'in Nation v. British Columbia*, 2014 SCC 44, the Supreme Court of Canada granted a declaration of Aboriginal title for the first time in Canadian history, confirming that the *terra nullius* doctrine—that "no one owned the land prior to Europeans asserting sovereignty"—never applied to Canada (Mandell Pinder LLP, 2014, p. 1).

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The scarcity of Indigenous representation in Canadian publishing

Publishing houses have had an uptick in submission calls that specifically request pieces representing BIPOC (Black, Indigenous, and people of colour) community members. For instance, the global publisher HarperCollins put out a call for BIPOC middle-grade books (Deziel, 2020), and the Canadian children's press Owlkids Books (2021) actively accepted picture-book submissions from BIPOC writers. This can be interpreted as a positive development in the publishing industry. However, there is still a lack of promotion for publishing houses founded by BIPOC community members in Canada. Even though there may be an increase in the promotion of trade books (works aimed at a general readership) by BIPOC authors, ownership of the mainstream publishing houses is still not representative of the diversity present in Canadian society. A survey conducted by the Association of Canadian Publishers (2019) revealed that heads of firms who identified as white made up 78 percent of the survey's 372 respondents. This article highlights the fact that the work of Indigenous-owned publishing houses is often not recognized in discussions of the history of the Canadian book trade. Indigenous presses are important members of the publishing industry, providing a way for underrepresented voices to preserve stories that otherwise would be lost to readers.

REPRESENTATION OF INDIGENOUS CULTURE IN CANADIAN PUBLISHING

In the mid-1800s, books published in Canada appropriated the images of Indigenous peoples as characters to fit the settler narrative. Often these characters were depicted as friendly sidekicks or as people who needed to be saved. In books such as *Lady Mary and Her Nurse* by Catharine Parr Traill and *The Settlers in Canada*, a children's novel by Frederick Marryat, the stories written and illustrated by white settlers often did not do justice to the rich cultural history of the Indigenous community (Edwards & Sultman, 2010).

In the 1930s, Indigenous cultures were still being appropriated to fit a narrative that was convenient for the authors. Indigenous stories were altered to be marketable and reach a wider mainstream audience. This trend continued into the 1960s. Cultural appropriation was still not a widely recognized term at the time. For instance, William Toye, who undertook research on Indigenous stories, ended up writing his own versions of the stories (*How Summer Came to Canada* and *The Loon's Necklace*) because he thought the originals would not be popular with his readers (Edwards & Sultman, 2010). The cultures of the Indigenous communities were being retold by settlers who did not understand the full importance of the creation stories. This is problematic since the authentic stories were repackaged and appropriated merely for commercial gain without accentuating the significance of their true origin and meaning.

INTRODUCTION OF INDIGENOUS PRESSES

While the Indigenous publishing industry in Canada is one of the oldest in North America, the journey began not that long ago, in the 1980s, with the establishment of Theytus Books and Pemmican Publications (MacSkimming, 2007). Theytus Books was founded in 1980 by Randy Fred. However, by 1982 the press was experiencing financial difficulties as the Canadian government started to cut funding for presses. An important addition to the Canadian publishing sector was about to vanish. No sources indicate whether the government recognized the significance of Indigenous publishing houses at the time or whether the government was developing ways to specifically support Indigenous presses. Instead, Theytus was saved through its acquisition by the Okanagan Indian Curriculum Project and the Nicola Valley Indian Administration, with Fred retaining control over the operations of the press (Edwards & Sultman, 2010). The Indigenous community saved the press, without help from the Canadian government. Theytus Books remains in operation and has been printing books for over 40 years.

Another successful Indigenous press that became a sensation in mainstream publishing came on the scene in the 2000s. Inhabit Media, founded in 2006, grew from 3 employees to 35 in the span of about a decade (Douglas, 2018). The press is an important addition to the Indigenous publishing sphere in Canada because it is the first Inuit-owned independent publishing company in the Canadian Arctic. It delivers stories to Indigenous children that are relatable and provide accurate representations of Inuit culture and traditions (Inhabit Media, 2022). Inhabit Media actively works with elders and storytellers to preserve and record the Inuit oral history in an accurate way. Even though Canadian mainstream presses increasingly accept and highlight Indigenous work, there would not have been such a wide variety of books if not for Inhabit Media. Owlkids Books, for instance, has a section on its website called "Indigenous voices," but there were only eight titles available by the end of 2021, and only two of those were picture books for young readers.

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Indigenous representation in publishing

Inhabit Media actively produces quality picture books every year.

Despite Inhabit Media's success, several small Indigenous presses are still struggling to stay afloat, unable to publish large amounts of content. Kegedonce Press, founded in 1993, publishes two or three books a year, with only a couple of employees doing all the labour (Amberstone, 2008). After so many years in operation, even Theytus Books still relies on external funding from the Canada Council for the Arts and the Ontario Arts Council, as do many other small and medium-sized presses in Canada. While the work of the publishers is often completed behind the scenes and unrecognized, these small presses continue to make a difference in the lives of authors and readers.

WHAT DOES THE FUTURE HOLD?

There are still few concrete ways to incorporate Indigenous presses into the sphere of Canadian publishing. These presses are often omitted from the general history of the Canadian publishing trade. Theytus Books and Pemmican Publications are the only ones mentioned in several studies on the history of the book trade in Canada, and only a couple of lines in a paragraph are devoted to their stories (Staines, 2021; Edwards & Sultman, 2010; MacSkimming, 2007). Some researchers do not mention any Indigenous presses at all in their accounts of the history of Canadian publishing (Lorimer, 2012). This is concerning since these overlooked presses have performed a great deal of work incorporating and preserving Indigenous voices in the Canadian publishing scene.

Concrete representation strategies need to be developed to take a step toward solving the issue. BookNet Canada, a non-profit company founded to evaluate the state of the Canadian publishing sector, released a document in 2021 outlining ways toward reconciliation in the book industry. It advocated for further support of Indigenous authors and the additional inclusion of

> **[T]he work of Indigenous-owned publishing houses is often not recognized in discussions of the history of the Canadian book trade. Indigenous presses are important members of the publishing industry, providing a way for underrepresented voices to preserve stories that otherwise would be lost to readers.**

Indigenous books in the class curriculum (BookNet Canada, 2021). Even though the report does mention Indigenous authors, it does not mention Indigenous-owned publishing houses specifically. Arguably, establishing a concrete link between Indigenous presses and schools and libraries would make it easier to preserve and feature the accurate representations of Aboriginal culture created by the Indigenous community and help with the distribution of their books.

Furthermore, while BookNet does provide a list of three Canadian funds that support Indigenous projects, these funds are not specific to publishing. For instance, there is no mention of the Canada Book Fund, the largest funding program for publishers in Canada, or how it could be adjusted to assist Indigenous presses. The Canada Book Fund does not provide stable funding to publishers since the amount varies and is not guaranteed every year. For example, Theytus Books did not receive funding from 2013 to 2019 (Canada, Open Government, 2022a). Similarly, the last time Pemmican Publications received grants from the Canada Book Fund was in 2018 (Canada, Open Government, 2022b).

Even though the Canada Book Fund (2022) does have different criteria for Indigenous presses—for example, presses run by non-minority groups need to publish 15 trade books by the end of the funded year, while Indigenous presses need to publish 10 titles—it is still not possible for all Indigenous presses to qualify for funding. Hence, small presses often get overlooked by funding agencies because they are deemed not financially viable. Kegedonce Press, for instance, can afford to produce only a couple of books a year and so is not eligible for the Canada Book Fund, but it takes chances on new authors and innovative content (Amberstone, 2008).

The history of Canadian publishing is missing a significant portion of work, which is being performed by Indigenous communities that nonetheless persevere. For instance, Cherie Dimaline, whose book *The Marrow Thieves* won the Governor General's Award for English-language children's literature in 2017, was previously published by Theytus Books (*The Girl Who Grew a Galaxy*, 2013) and by Kegedonce Press (*A Gentle Habit*, 2016) before being signed to a global mainstream press. These Indigenous presses provided an outlet for Dimaline to share the stories that helped build her career as an author. It is important not only to recognize the importance of Indigenous presses and authors, but also to actively promote them and their content to keep this vital part of the industry alive. ❧

Indigenous representation in publishing

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(Re)negotiating treaties: Navigating within and between settler–Anishinaabe legal landscapes

TREATIES AS CONTACT ZONES

Viewing pre-Confederation treaties and current treaty-related lawsuits as contact zones presents an opportunity for researchers to document and explore cross-cultural treaty understandings. By contact zone, I am referring to the "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination—like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today" (Pratt, 2008, p. 4). In cases concerning Crown treaty rights and responsibilities such as *Restoule v. Canada (Attorney General)* (2018), this contact zone may hold the potential to advance social relations and relational decision making.

In such contact zones, legal actors can be observed navigating their way through power imbalances, historical inaccuracies and misunderstandings, and current socio-political climates. However, in the courtroom, lawyers and judges are in a privileged position where they can also reaffirm the state's power through curated treaty narratives and procedures (Christie, 2000; Craft, 2017; Stark, 2017). By framing treaty promises as obligations rather than responsibilities, and by favouring a specific understanding or narrative, Canada has been able to control what treaties are and what they mean for First Nations and non-Indigenous relations (Stark, 2017). However, in the age of reconciliation, lawsuits like *Restoule* may challenge these narratives and prompt change on many legal levels. Yet, we must also ask how *Restoule* makes space for Anishinaabe resurgence.

TREATIES INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE COURTROOM

Restoule (2018) is a pivotal case. It began in 2014 when representatives from the 21

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Anishinaabe signee nations of the Robinson–Huron Treaty (1850) sued the Crown, represented by the Ontario and federal governments. They claimed that the Crown failed to uphold its treaty obligations to increase annuity payments to the communities from the $4 agreed on in 1875. Simultaneously, the plaintiffs enacted Anishinaabe legal processes through the revitalization of the General Council to renew alliances and responsibilities between these Anishinaabe nations annually at treaty gatherings around the territory (Bohaker, 2020).

Every year around early September, usually coinciding with the anniversary of the original treaty signing, this alliance reconvenes in a chosen community for a few days to discuss progress on *Restoule* with the communities, share treaty knowledge, tell stories, and feast. In September 2022, Nipissing First Nation and Dokis First Nation co-hosted the event in Garden Village, Nipissing First Nation. Having the privilege to attend this semi-public event as a settler alongside my spouse and his family from Nipissing First Nation presented me with new

insights into Anishinaabe treaty understandings, rights, and responsibilities. For settlers interested in treaty relationships, this event is important for creating deep understanding and fostering long-term relationships. For non-Indigenous attendees, adhering to protocols, not attending closed meetings, giving up space in conversations, and observing cultural practices means that settlers give up any notion of power—a key aspect of how settlers can best support First Nations resurgence. Moreover, at this gathering, local Anishinaabe creators were able to set up booths and sell their handmade items, creating an economic boom in the area that extended to the online sphere after the event.

Returning to *Restoule*, there may indeed be space for Anishinaabe resurgence resulting from the gatherings and economies they inspired. Given that the annuity payments come from the Crown's profits from the resources extracted on treaty lands, this court case could set the precedent for other treaty annuity payments and resource extraction negotiations on First Nations' lands. In *Restoule*, payments to the 21 Anishinaabe nations could potentially run into billions of dollars and highlight for the public the history of broken treaties in Canada. The part 1 decision in 2018 ruled in favour of the plaintiffs, and the part 2 decision in 2020 found that the province of Ontario does not have Crown immunity, a ruling that was appealed in 2021. In 2022, the provincial appeal judges affirmed the original decision with some adjustments, although the province of Ontario has appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada. This round of appeals is set to begin in the fall of 2023. In the meantime, the process for how the Crown will calculate and meet the treaty annuity obliga-

tions will be decided in part 3 of the case, which began in January 2023.

According to a recent Yellowhead Institute special report (Gray & King, 2022), *Restoule* is important for many reasons: the inclusion of ceremony and Anishinaabemowin in the courtroom, the inclusion of elder knowledge, and treaty interpretation according to Anishinaabe law by the presiding judge in the 2018 part 1 decision. Yet, while there are parts of the case that set the tone for equitable and relational treaty relations, further research would have to determine to what extent the resulting narratives and discourses accurately convey Anishinaabe perspectives on treaty relationships.

Indeed, to properly understand treaty relationships as they were originally intended by the Anishinaabe peoples, Anishinaabe law must be understood as a holistic system consisting of the rules and decisions that govern daily lives, whether politically, socially, or individually (Borrows, 2010). Moreover, the precedents used in decision making are gathered from observation of the human and non-human world (Borrows, 2010). The people are connected to Anishinaabe law and experience it directly through individual decisions, collective responsibilities, foundational stories, and storywork (Borrows, 2010; Stark, 2017). This is vastly different from the Canadian legal system, which is based on texts, precedents, specialized knowledges, and policing.

The use of storywork to convey and understand law is a crucial part of Anishinaabe law that the Canadian legal system is not designed to navigate. For instance, storywork is a system of meaning making in which a story's meaning is not overtly stated but is left open to understanding, and the meaning comes from the relationship between the listener and the story (Wilson & Hughes, 2019, p. 9). When it comes to treaty stories, these various stories include not only the textually based evidence of the treaty relationship as it was written down by colonial agents in the 1800s, but also the local community stories that highlight individuals and agency in decision making around treaty signings and interpretations. Such local stories often present useful information about Anishinaabe law, responsibilities, agency, and self-determination that are directly related to place and community.

RESTOULE AND RECONCILIATION

Reconciliation can be understood as an attempt by non-Indigenous people to mend their relationship with Indigenous peoples primarily by addressing past injustices and current systemic issues. Through this understanding, then, *Restoule* may be a step in that direction, given the inclusion of Anishinaabe perspectives and ways of knowing. However, reconciliation is a contentious term that can be co-opted to recreate settler colonial powers, especially when it fails to consider Indigenous resurgence, reparations, and change (Jung, 2018; Wyile, 2019). Indeed, revealing and addressing historically unbalanced power relations and systems that favour settlers is only part of the work. Non-Indigenous peoples and settlers must also take a step back, foster deep long-term relationships, and create spaces for Indigenous peoples to declare what is best for them and their communities in a non-patriarchal and non-hierarchical way. In the case of *Restoule*, how to proceed with renewing treaty relationships should begin with bottom-up approaches that promote the resurgence of Anishinaabe communities. 🍁

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What a failed project taught me about settler research with and for Indigenous peoples

This is a story of failed research and of good work. As a settler researcher working within Canadian academia, previously I would have assumed that these two labels could never be applied to the same project. How can work both be good and fail? This essay will explore the failure of my recent fieldwork, what it taught me about settler research, and how I feel that both failure and refusal are essential within settler-colonial research on Indigenous topics.

THE INITIAL PROJECT

As a white settler living and working on Indigenous land and territory, I feel a responsibility to use my privilege to further conversations about settler colonialism and colonial violence. During my PhD research, I attempted to undertake a collaborative research project with a First Nation whose land I have lived, worked, and researched on. The initial project was designed as a collaborative project, where data would be collected through interviews and centre on contemporary engagements with the site of a residential school. The project grappled with the ongoing meaning making of the site and was intended to explore the residential school in the present day, even decades after its closure. However, I could not have anticipated what would take place in 2020 and 2021. In 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic resulted in massive disruptions in my research and, importantly, meant that my would-be collaborators were less focused on the work we were hoping to undertake, and much more focused on pressing public health needs.

In 2021, the important and difficult work of Indigenous groups to use ground-penetrating radar to locate unmarked burials on the sites of residential schools resulted in a significant shift in how

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research about residential schools and about settler colonialism was done (Blackstock & Palmater, 2021). My PhD research, as I had always imagined it, necessarily had to end. I was left with an incomplete project and my immediate reaction was one of panic—what do you do as a researcher when your project fails?

Although I had wanted to undertake work that was wanted and important for the Indigenous nation I was collaborating with, when they no longer were interested in collaborating, my first reaction was concern for my academic future. I realized that, even with good intentions, all of my settler expectations around success, completing a project, and academic publications were creeping into my collaborative relationship. I took the opportunity of the failed project to look more closely at my own position within structures through which settler colonialism shapes academic research.

REFUSAL AS A STRATEGY

Within anthropology and now more broadly within a number of human- and society-focused disciplines, refusal as a strategy is important (Simpson, 2007; Tuck & Yang, 2014). This refusal can take many forms, including refusing to speak or share ideas, perspectives, knowledge, or evidence on the part of participants, or refusing to capture, write about, analyze, or highlight certain parts of the research and its findings on the part of the researcher. Actions such as withdrawing consent or deciding to end conversations are also components of refusal, where individuals, anywhere within a collaborative research model, remove themselves or something they have control over from the research story as it unfolds. Refusal can be a powerful tool within research on settler colonialism, where the act of stopping or refusing can be anti-colonial. Refusal is ultimately about commitment: not a commitment to complete a project or work, but a commitment to continue only when the work being done is relevant, culturally safe, and wanted.

Refusal is something that is done by both the researcher and any research participant. In collaborative research, refusal is also a testing of trust between all collaborators. It is the rejection of continuing to engage in work in ways that are not serving the interests of the participants. Refusal is a strategy to oppose the dominance of damage narratives, and it is also a large component of ensuring that work is culturally safer, less colonial, and more collaborative in nature (Tuck & Yang, 2014; Simpson, 2007).

Refusal as a strategy and as a component of protecting research against becoming extractive or damage-centred is also

something that may be misunderstood as a stumble, an obstacle, or, to some, a failure. Failure, in a traditional sense, is often associated with shortcoming or inability. Halberstam (2015) discusses the fourth-place finisher in the Olympics, or someone who has made poor financial decisions. Failure is positioned in stark opposition to success. But what makes a project or research a failure?

WHAT IS FAILURE?

Academic research is always focused on completion: complete the research, complete the book, complete the publications. Within academia, failure is often a failure to produce or to finish what is expected. Academic failure is so often tied to not producing "results" and ultimately not having the tidy and publishable material that academia focuses on. However, failure is not just collapse; it is also productive as a critique (Halberstam, 2015).

Failure, even if unintended, opens a deeper reflection and critique of what structures underpin what is valued and prioritized. In the case of research, failure can also be an active refusal to continue to operate in certain ways or to continue with work that is doing harm. I picked up the language and productivity of failure as a means for unpacking the ending of the initial project that was no longer needed or wanted. The failure of that initial research project to progress to what settler academia understands as a successful, completed project was, ironically, productive; it allowed for deeper reflection on my own work and my relationship to settler colonialism, without the pressure and limitations of pushing to complete work that was no longer tenable.

Failure as a practice instead of an assessment is an important distinction to be made here. Failure can become a component of research praxis, another available research tool to be incorporated within the broader processes of rejecting and seeking to dismantle the taken-for-granted-ness of colonial goals and assumptions within research and

academia. Failure also allows for more flexibility and responsibility within research. Instead of focusing on the end result and the outcome of research, failure proposes a recognition of research as tangly and unfolding. It opens up the opportunity to pause and actively choose to go no further, instead of continuing to push toward a goal of finishing or completing that does not allow for responsibly engaging with research participants and collaborators.

Research failure as a settler recognizes possibility in taking alternative routes and pursuing other approaches in the face of the initial route or approach no longer being productive or helpful in responding to the social needs of research participants. Halberstam (2015) explores this potentiality within failure by arguing that "failure recognizes that alternatives are embedded already in the dominant and that power is never total or consistent; indeed, failure can exploit the unpredictability of ideology and its indeterminate qualities" (p. 88). Failure results in a loosening and opening up to alternatives, which is particularly needed in dismantling structures such as colonialism that thrive on constraint and control. Failure demands flexibility and creativity in the face of obstacles, barriers, and rigidity.

The failure of my PhD fieldwork made me consider how research is assessed and prioritized within the settler-colonial academic structures I am shaped by and embedded in. The failure transformed my project away from the initial design but allowed me to see the productivity of the work not done, to see the valuable learning completed through the collaboration I participated in, even if a finished product, according to settler-colonial measures, would never come from it.

The incomplete project taught me a great deal about the limitations of settler research in doing good work with and for Indigenous peoples. The failure allowed me to contribute to ongoing conversations about settler colonialism within research and within project design that I

never would have done with a completed project. The ongoing collaborative efforts to shape a project that was and is rooted in respect and trust meant that a lot of the work was reflexive in nature, allowing me to engage with my own whiteness and settler-colonial status.

This essay will necessarily be read as incomplete. There is no tidy conclusion or finding to be gleaned from this work beyond the illumination of how refusal and failure must be built into settler research instead of treated as obstacles. I cannot (and will not) offer up tidy and publishable findings from semi-structured interviews, nor will I defend the dissertation that I have been working toward. I have failed, and in failing I have acted on my commitments to do good work and to combat settler colonialism as it infiltrates academia. The act of refusing or perhaps leaning into failure within projects that no longer meet the needs of Indigenous research collaborators is an essential component of combatting the ways in which settler colonialism continues to shape research in Canadian academia. ❦

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Missinihe and the metabolism of empire: Long 19th-century water mills on the Credit River

In the 19th century, water mills spread along rivers throughout Ontario and later became inscribed in the names of housing subdivisions and subway stops and on the art hung in Canadian galleries. Ontario's first Heritage Conservation District was a mill town named Meadowvale, where the Group of Seven painter A. J. Casson spent childhood summers at his grandmother's cottage before going on to paint bucolic mill sites throughout Canada (McIlwraith, 2016). Behind this idyll of memorialization lies a history of technological infrastructure that made possible the colonial project of Canada. The Meadowvale mills were among the 60 or more constructed on the Missinihe (Credit River) by the mid-19th century (Blake, 1956). These water mills were not simply processing grain and lumber for the needs of local settlers and consequently encouraging settlement. They were also highly integrated into the export-oriented processing of staples and subject to the unstable vicissitudes of global commodity markets (Fisher, 1985).

"GENOCIDE BY SAWMILL"

While processing commodities, water mills were also radically transforming river and forest ecosystems that were actively shaped by the labour of both Indigenous peoples and the many organisms they lived alongside over millennia. In less than a century, these worlds were radically transformed in a process of clear-cutting that the Anishinaabeg ethnobotanist Jonathan Ferrier (2019) called a "genocide by sawmills."

The larger research questions that concern this article are twofold. First, how were sawmills integrated into the larger project of deforestation and how

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were water mills more generally changing river ecologies and fish populations? Second, I am interested in the ways that water mills in "Upper Canada" facilitated the project of colonialism, Indigenous dispossession, and British Empire more broadly. The rationale for this article, therefore, is to challenge narratives of nostalgia prevalent in heritage designation schemes that uncritically celebrate colonial infrastructures by connecting the environmental legacies of water mills to both colonialism and the larger project of the British Empire abroad.

This article is informed by De Laet and Mol's (2000) work showing how an artifact like the Zimbabwe bush pump had *fluid* boundaries that extended deep into the ground, into the surrounding community of users and technicians, and into the broader national identity of Zimbabwe. Water mills likewise not only straddled both land and water but extended into the broader river and lake ecosystems they came to affect, into mill towns they assembled around them, into the forests they converted into lumber and naval power, and to processed commodities like grain that circulated throughout the British Empire.

Because the legacy of water mills in Ontario involves forms of environmental violence and dispossession, this article is also challenged by Eve Tuck's (2009) call to move away from research that centres *damage* toward that which centres *desire*. In the case of the Mississaugas of the Credit, the archival record and treaties both register a deep desire they had to maintain direct relations with their rivers and fisheries. How water mills interacted with both of these is important for any work that takes Tuck's suggestion seriously.

WATER MILLS AND SETTLER COLONIAL POLICY

The scope of my work here is focused on "the long 19th century," a periodization borrowed from Eric Hobsbawm extending from the French Revolution to the First World War. This loosely maps onto a period extending from the 1787 Toronto Purchase to the year 1910, when the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario began delivering electricity from Niagara Falls to neighbouring cities and towns (Beattie, 1967). During the long 19th century, water mills spread rapidly along rivers in Ontario, processing commodities such as lumber, grain, minerals, textiles, and paper. Sawmills and timber extraction in Canada accelerated after the Napoleonic Wars, when the British lost access to Baltic timber (Albion, 1965). Of particular interest to the Royal Navy was white pine timber for naval masts, its extraction concentrating around the St. Lawrence and Ottawa River valleys and extending into the Credit River watershed. Early 19th-century land surveys of the Credit water-

Long 19th-century water mills

shed describe nearly complete tree cover interrupted only by infrequent beaver ponds and windfall spots. Woodland cover fell to 67 percent by mid-century, and to 9.5 percent by 1911 (Blake, 1956). The clear-cutting that sawmills facilitated was closely coupled with a rapidly increasing settler presence.

Water mills became an important focus of settler colonial policy after Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe proposed in 1791 government provisioning of materials for mill construction, which he considered "universally necessary" and "a great inducement to the settlement of lands" (Doughty, 1936). Just five years later, land surveyors were noting the impacts of water mills on fish. In July of 1796, Augustus Jones, a Welsh colonial land surveyor and the father of Anishinaabeg leader Peter Jones, had noted how there had been "a great quantity of salmon as well as other fish destroyed by the wheels of [a] sawmill" on the Humber River (Jones, 1796). Despite the state's awareness of this, mills would become ubiquitous throughout the 19th century, which would prove devastating for local salmon species, which the Anishinaabe not only depended upon for their livelihood, but also regarded as integral to the desired futures they envisioned for themselves on their land. The environmental violence of deforestation and salmon population collapses was also highly entangled with the military violence of British imperialism.

IMPERIALISM AND DEFORESTATION

There is a long history of naval warfare's intimate relationship with deforestation. Thucydides (2009), the great historian of antiquity, connected timber access with the construction of military ships and noted on multiple occasions the abundance of timber being used as a justification for conquest. The British imperial state in Upper Canada likewise recognized the military importance of forests. In May of 1806, with a layer of snow still on the ground, the colonial land sur-

> **Water mills were key colonial infrastructures, funded by the colonial state to establish an increased settler presence, while simultaneously metabolizing forests and swift river currents into vessels of naval military power with global reach.**

veyor Samuel Wilmot (1806) arrived at the Missinihe (Credit) to mark off the boundaries of the Mississauga's reserve extending one mile from the course of the river. While surveying with a crew of hired Indigenous workers, he received instruction to "note Timber . . . Pine & Oak for the Royal Navy south of [Dundas] Street." As he scouted out timber for the British Navy, we might wonder if he realized his role in what would become the effective extermination of local salmon populations following the construction of sawmills up and down the Missinihe.

Along the Credit, salmon populations were dwindling by 1846 and reached the point of extinction in the next decade (Smith, 2000). Confronting rapidly growing colonial settlement, deforestation, and decimated salmon populations, the Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation left the Missinihe in 1848. Soon after, in the 1850s, Wilmot would observe a significant decline in salmon numbers in the creek running through his own farm in what is now Clarington, Ontario. He would go on to become a pisciculturist, specializing in fish culture and nurseries, receiving government funding for research projects to help restore fish populations in rivers he had played a vital role in depleting (McCullough, 2003). Wilmot's pilot projects would be the precursors to projects in Lake Ontario that introduced Pacific salmon species from the other side of the continent into Credit River waters for recreational purposes

throughout the 20th century (Scott & Crossman, 1973).

SALMON AS SENTINEL

One might think of salmon here as a sort of sentinel species, signalling larger processes of empire at work. The environmental violence that fish experienced cannot be fully understood apart from the imperial violence operating both in Ontario and abroad. Zoe Todd's (2018) work on Treaty Six territory has highlighted the ways in which fish as more-than-human actors have borne witness to the destruction of waterways in what is now called Canada, and have refracted the grief and dispossession that colonialism has engendered. But Todd also argues that fish and their human kin can and do conspire together to resist colonial narratives, and we might ask if this can be the case along the Missinihe as well.

In this article I have tried to situate the environmental history of water mills in a broader global context. My main argument has been that the history of water mills in long 19th-century Ontario cannot be divorced from either the local project of colonialism or the global project of the British Empire. Water mills were key colonial infrastructures, funded by the colonial state to establish an increased settler presence, while simultaneously metabolizing forests and swift river currents into vessels of naval military power with global reach. More work needs to be

done on further tracing where and how these naval ships were deployed in the service of the British Empire and how other milled commodities circulated through imperial networks. The case of the Missinihe serves as an important site to work through these questions and interrogate the nostalgia present in public history that celebrates colonial infrastructures without situating them in their fuller context of environmental change and British imperialism. ✦

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Industrial films as a glimmer of hope? Extractive industries and Indigenous resilience and resurgence in northern Quebec

THE ROAD OF IRON

After discovering iron ore in northern Quebec in the 1940s, the Iron Ore Company of Canada (IOC) decided to extract it. Because no road led there, the parallel construction of the mine, a mining town called Schefferville, and a 356-mile railroad was necessary. The four-year-long construction was filmed, and after the project's completion in 1954, several films based on this footage were released. Schefferville and the railroad have attracted filmmakers since their creation, resulting in a corpus retracing their stories. This article will shed light on important films from this corpus to trace a shift of focus from colonial to Indigenous perspectives.

The most relevant example from the early productions is *Road of Iron* (Hewitson, 1955). The film tells of the railroad's construction within a colonial narrative: white men free the iron ore held captive by the vicious, dangerous nature of the North. Their battle against nature is justified by technological superiority, monetary investment, and economic thinking. The North is represented as a vast and empty space of nothingness, through which the frontier between civilization and wilderness is pushed. The Indigenous populations whose hunting territory the railroad is built through are mentioned only once in the film as "the occasional Montagnais Indian" (Hewitson, 1955, 6:10–6:12). Surprisingly, the film was not produced by the IOC but by a national institution, the National Film Board of Canada (NFB). Following the westward expansion and the myth of the frontier in the United States as a role model, the NFB instrumentalized the mining project to build a Canadian iden-

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tity on the myth of the North and the colonial story it mediates.

COLONIAL POWER RELATIONS FOR CHILDREN

A few years later, the NFB went even further with the fictional children's film *Ti-Jean in the Land of Iron* (Garceau, 1958). In this film, the folklore character Ti-Jean, a very strong young boy, sets out to explore the Iron Ore Country. The little adventurer, wearing a fringed leather jacket and a feathered hat, makes his way up to the mine of Schefferville, saves it from disaster, takes control of production, makes numbers explode, and—when he gets bored—leaves on the iron ore train. On his journey, Ti-Jean meets

a "young Indian girl [who] knows her country well" (7:22–7:25), so he asks her for directions. However, he ignores her answer and makes his own way. Although the boy's jacket calls to mind Indigenous influences in Canadian culture, he obviously is a white Canadian character. Besides clearly differentiating between the white hero and the "Indian dreamer," the film visually emphasizes the power relations between the two children—the small barefoot Indigenous girl on the beach looks up admiringly to the tall adventurous white boy on his white horse. Thereby, the film reproduces settler-colonial stereotypes and views—stereotypes that were produced from the white perspective within this power relation—in an educational children's short.

TWO POPULATIONS IN ONE TOWN

Le dernier glacier (Frappier & Leduc, 1984), also produced by the NFB, was made when the shocking decision to close the mine of Schefferville was taken in 1982. The film, which is framed by the train ride from and to Schefferville, mixes documentary and fiction; it intertwines archival footage, contemporary news footage, interviews, on-location shots, and the story of miner Raoul losing his job, his ex-wife Carmen, and their son Benoît. It tells the story not only of its main characters but also of the daily lives of the population, both white and Indigenous, including men, women, and children. During a hockey match, Jacques Gautier is presented to the audience as the best player on the ice, whose team from the reservation is vanquished by the grocery store's team that night.

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Gautier is then shown ice fishing in a series of uncommented-upon shots before the commentary explains that he turned down an offer to play in the National Hockey League, unwilling to leave the paradise of Schefferville. Although the film does feature the Indigenous population, there is still a distinction made between white and Indigenous, and it becomes clear that the white population is linked to civilization while the Indigenous population is linked to the wilderness of the North.

A DECAYING GHOST TOWN

Les enfants de Schefferville (Alleyn & Hayeur, 1996) shows the town's situation more than a decade after the mine's closure. It features interviews with locals and visitors who address problems, including colonial power relations. Although there are only about 50 white inhabitants left in the dying town, facing more than 1,200 Indigenous people, they remain in power: "Despite their overwhelming majority, the Montagnais have no control over the infrastructures. The sway of the whites is still strong: only two individuals share all the businesses" (6:42–6:55, translated by the author). An Indigenous interviewee hints at experiences he had as a child with the white colonizers, as he explains: "When I was young, I was always told: 'Forget! Forget your language, forget your traditions, forget, forget everything. . . . Even so, once I returned home, my parents didn't understand me. Then, I was lost" (10:43–11:13, translated by the author). He further explains that he only managed to regain self-value and identity in the North, where he grew up, by following family traditions, hunting, canoeing, fishing—in this very place.

TSHIUETIN

The idea of finding or rediscovering their own, Indigenous identities is also addressed in *Tshiuetin* (Monnet, 2016). "Since december [*sic*] 1, 2005 and for the first time in Canadian history, a railway is owned by a group of First Nations" (0:37−0:43). Against this background,

> While early films neglected the Indigenous peoples on whose territory the [Iron Ore Company of Canada] realized its project, later films have explored the colonial impact of the project through different perspectives, such as the perspectives of the white and Indigenous inhabitants of Schefferville, Indigenous residents and visitors, and the different Indigenous peoples of the North.

passengers and employees are interviewed during the aesthetic black-and-white train ride on the Road of Iron. The train conductor explains: "Those who get off the train in the woods, they come to find a certain identity that they surely lost" (4:46–4:55). Hence, the train, which is now run by Indigenous peoples, helps those who got lost in the South rediscover their identity in the North. By setting the film on the train and not in Schefferville, the Indigenous perspective is broadened through the passengers not living on their land (anymore), and their newly gained importance from the railroad is underlined.

A SYMBOL OF INDIGENOUS RESISTANCE AND IDENTITY

Train du Grand Nord (Chaumel, 2016), which was made and produced by Indigenous players, also addresses the ties that a journey to the North can establish. One passenger says: "It takes me back to my past, where I went hunting in those places with . . . my family" (4:35−4:43, translated by the author). Looking back to earlier films, such activities had ceased being practised as result of the intrusion of the railroad. However, these activities were revived and have again become tradition as the train offers the possibility to access the

North. Finally, the railroad is productively used by its passengers—the Indigenous peoples—to the benefit of their culture.

In summary, a railroad that symbolized colonial power and profit-motivated extractivism, and ignored Indigenous people in the 1950s, has been turned into a symbol of Indigenous resistance, resilience, self-determination, and identity. This is an identity that filmmakers have shown persistent interest in over recent decades, with an increasingly important presence in films on the Road of Iron. While early films neglected the Indigenous peoples on whose territory the IOC realized its project, later films have explored the colonial impact of the project through different perspectives, such as the perspectives of the white and Indigenous inhabitants of Schefferville, Indigenous residents and visitors, and the different Indigenous peoples of the North.

A GLIMMER OF HOPE?

The most recent feature on Schefferville, where mining activities resumed a decade ago, is *Nouveau-Québec* (Fortin, 2021). In this austere, almost chilling film about encounters and relations between white and Indigenous people

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in the North, the train takes over the role of a conspiring enemy in the way of the white protagonists. It seems as if the train went through a transition and is no longer an intruder subjugating the nature of the North but has become a part of it, in accord with the Indigenous peoples.

Although the resurgence of mining activities in the last decade has created jobs for the Indigenous population, the focus is on the danger of shifting back—from the Indigenous people to economic and extractivist interests. Old patterns of colonial logic and a vocabulary of numbers as promoted in *Road of Iron* can be observed in recent TV productions such as *Un train nommé Tshiuetin* (Bruyère & Blais, 2019). It will be up to future directors not to fall back into a colonial perspective, and up to the mining companies to keep their promise not to repeat the errors made in the past. They will have to stick to their set priorities, despite possible future economic changes, to prove that the justifiable doubts and fears of the Indigenous population—that history will repeat itself—are wrong, and to turn this glimmer of hope into a flame. ✤

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GLRC

Global Labour Research Centre

In recent decades, profound transformations in the global economy, as well as the recent and ongoing economic crisis, have fundamentally altered patterns of work, labour, employment and unemployment, the structure of labour markets, relations between employers and employees, and the traditional institutions of workplace organizing and representation. These dynamics challenge scholars to forge a new research agenda. Motivated by these changes, the Global Labour Research Centre (GLRC) promotes the study of work, employment and labour at York University.

https://www.yorku.ca/research/glrc/

The utility as a relationship of forces

In this article, I examine Manitoba Hydro (MH)—a provincially owned electricity utility in Manitoba—in relation to the Canadian colonial project. Using Nicos Poulantzas's theory of the relational state, I argue that MH's role in the broader state is characterized by both change and continuity. In the 20th century, MH was at the vanguard of the colonial assault on First Nations in the province's north. However, in recent years the corporation has adopted a new "partnership" approach to First Nations in Manitoba. While this has led to real change in the utility's operations, I argue that despite this new orientation, MH is structurally unable to overcome the colonial relation in Manitoba.

For Poulantzas (2000), the state is neither a "thing" for the exclusive use of the dominant classes, nor a "subject" that follows its own internal logic. Instead, he argues that the state is the product of relations between the dominant (that is, capitalist) and dominated classes. However, because particular parts of the capitalist class (such as financial, extractive, and manufacturing industries) may have conflicting interests, the state functions as a mediator of these conflicts and creates the conditions required for capitalist accumulation in general. In Poulantzas's view, this class conflict—both within the dominant class and between dominant and dominated classes—exists within and beyond the state and shapes the state's action and institutional structure (2000, p. 132). Using this view of the state, I examine MH's changing role in relation to the broader inscription of political struggle in the provincial state.

MH AND THE COLONIAL PROJECT

In the 20th century, MH was a leading force in colonial expansion across northern Manitoba. It forcibly relocated Indigenous communities and undermined land-based economies by flooding gathering and trapping areas, disrupting animal habitats, making waterways dangerous and unpredictable, and

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contaminating fish with mercury (see, e.g., Loney, 1987, 1995; Manitoba Clean Environment Commission, 2018a; Martin & Hoffman, 2008; Robson, 1993). Indigenous residents of Fox Lake were subjected to racism and discrimination in the town of Gillam (MH's northern logistics hub), and MH employees have been accused of sexual violence against Indigenous women with the complicity of the RCMP (Manitoba Clean Environment Commission, 2018a, p. 36; 2018b, p. 71). In this period, the effect of MH's incursions had been to transform highly skilled hunters, trappers, fishers, and others engaged in land-based economies into general wage labourers. The corporation's operations further undermined the ability of these communities to take part in traditional economic, political, and social practices.

These experiences demonstrate the particular character of social relations in the mid-20th century. At that time, the ability of Indigenous communities to assert their collective interests against and through the state was limited by the dominating force of MH and the larger Canadian state. Hydroelectric generation degraded non-human nature to such an extreme degree that the viability of land-based economies was threatened, and the gendered physical and sexual violence carried out by MH personnel asserted the settler project at the most intimate scale.

THE RELATIONAL STATE

In Poulantzas's understanding of the relational state, the relations of production (that is, how production and distribution are managed, who is exploited, who benefits from exploitation, etc.) are at the core of the state itself. These relations both shape the state and are a site of state intervention. While Poulantzas wrote about the capitalist state in general, in Canada one must account for the specificity of settler-colonial relations of production. These relations require the disappearance of Indigenous people and the appropriation of their lands and waters. Following from this, the state structure and its apparatuses necessarily reflect, in Patrick Wolfe's (2006) formulation, an "eliminatory" colonial logic. However, as Poulantzas's concept of the relational state demonstrates, the state is not static; it is both a site of and shaped by political struggle.

The resistance of Indigenous communities impacted by MH through legal challenges and protest—as well as the broader shifts in state–Indigenous relations that occurred throughout the later 20th century—led to the signing of the 1977 Northern Flood Agreement (NFA) (Dobrovolny, 2008, p. 174) between five hydro-affected First Nations, MH, and the provincial and federal governments. In contrast to its attempts at domination in the mid-20th century, in the contemporary period MH has now adopted a "partnership" approach with First Nations through its Wuskwatim and Keeyask projects. This change reflects the evolving balances of forces between the settler state and Indigenous people both in Manitoba and across Canada. However, as the framework of the relational state shows, it does not ultimately challenge the central colonial orientation of the Canadian state.

THE PARTNERSHIP APPROACH

MH's Wuskwatim and Keeyask generating stations (completed in 2012 and 2021, respectively) are the first dams in a new series of "partnership" developments between MH and First Nations

in northern Manitoba. Wuskwatim was jointly developed by MH (67 percent) and Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation (NCN) (33 percent) (Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, n.d.). The Keeyask project was jointly developed by MH (75 percent) and four First Nations (25 percent): Fox Lake Cree Nation, Tataskweyak Cree Nation, War Lake First Nation, and York Factory First Nation (Joint Keeyask Development Agreement, 2009). Because the governance of each project is associated with ownership stake, MH retains an absolute majority of voting members on both project boards. Governance agreements also allow the boards to continue business as usual if partner First Nations are unable to fill their board seats.

Both the Keeyask and Wuskwatim projects promised the creation of meaningful employment for members of partner First Nations. However, the type of employment created in these projects is of a short-term, high-turnover character, which "would barely indicate a gain of any sort for the employee, in terms of income or work experience" (Buckland & O'Gorman, 2017, pp. 84–85). While the Keeyask project has created employment opportunities for northern Indigenous people, a workplace audit of the project found that the "highest concentration" of Indigenous workers work in hospitality services, and "Indigenous employees were perceived as not receiving advancement or training opportunities" (D. Carriere & Associates, 2017, pp. 5, 27). As Buckland and O'Gorman note, "supervisory positions are also explicitly excluded from the [Keeyask project] agreement" for Indigenous employment (2017, p. 85). Indigenous workers account for only 12 percent and 14 percent of hires in the job category encompassing "managerial and supervisory staff (both Contractor and Manitoba Hydro)" at Wuskwatim and Keeyask, respectively (Keeyask Hydropower Limited Partnership, 2019, p. 27; Wuskwatim Power Limited Partnership, 2013, p. 37). Furthermore, an audit of the Keeyask worksite highlighted workplace discrimination,

harassment, and racism toward Indigenous workers (D. Carriere & Associates, 2017).

THE LIMITATIONS OF PARTNERSHIP

The stability of these partnership agreements clearly benefits MH, but they also present risks to partner First Nations. Community revenues from projects can be threatened by changing global economic dynamics (see, e.g., Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, n.d.). The "partnership" process can present challenges to communities. The Keeyask project agreement requires only that a simple majority (by band population) of partner First Nations approve the agreement. By the time York Factory First Nation (a relatively small community) conducted a referendum on the agreement, two other First Nations had already voted to approve the project, meaning that it would proceed with or without York Factory's support (York Factory First Nation, 2012, p. 24).

In response to Indigenous political struggle, the Canadian state has been forced to offer First Nations real concessions in order to protect the general interests of the dominant classes. While MH's partnership model limits the negative impact of hydroelectric dams and provides some financial benefits, it does not give partner communities any significant degree of control and limits the ability of partner communities to assert

> ## Northern hydroelectric projects still undermine Indigenous communities' autonomy and economies and serve to impose a capitalist wage economy on the region. Furthermore, these projects are premised on the state having the sole claim to waters and lands in northern Manitoba.

autonomy from MH through large debt loads and restrictive contracts. Northern hydroelectric projects still undermine Indigenous communities' autonomy and economies and serve to impose a capitalist wage economy on the region. Furthermore, these projects are premised on the state having the sole claim to waters and lands in northern Manitoba. As Poulantzas argues, "the capitalist State is constituted by a negative general limit . . . [of] non-intervention in the 'hard core' of capitalist relations of production" (2000, p. 191). This means that the Canadian state is unable to affect the specific settler-colonial relations of production that characterize it. Therefore, the issues and power imbalances in the Wuskwatim and Keeyask projects cannot be seen as the result of poor planning or policy, but rather are in-built features of MH as a state apparatus.

In this way, the framework of the relational state offers a way of understanding both the change and continuity that characterize MH's history. The continuity can be explained by the Canadian state's structural inability to transform the basic character of its settler-colonial relations of production. Despite changes in strategy, the Canadian state will necessarily reflect this orientation, unless these relations of production are altered.   🍁

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TMX and the crisis of consent: Cracks in Canada's settler-colonial political order

From opposition to the Dakota Access Pipeline to more recent conflicts surrounding the Trans Mountain Expansion (TMX) and Coastal GasLink (CGL) pipelines, Indigenous peoples have been at the forefront of these struggles as they defend their lands against encroachment from state and corporate actors. Fossil fuel pipelines are infrastructures that rely on contested jurisdiction and consent processes, enable the transportation of resources that benefit a specific class of people, pose disproportionate risks (spills, contamination of water and food sources) to Indigenous communities and their homelands, and contribute to a "doubling down" on an energy system with universally negative climatic impacts (intensification of fossil fuel reliance and greenhouse gas emissions). As a result, pipelines have emerged as flashpoints of conflict in Canadian politics (Shaw, 2021), eruptions that display longstanding antagonisms in Canadian history and society.

In this article, I will present fossil fuel pipelines as symptoms of settler colonialism and fossil capitalism, two concepts that I will outline in the next section. To illustrate these symptoms, I will focus on the recent history of the TMX project—a contested project, currently under construction, set to traverse the territories of more than 140 Indigenous communities—and examine the coercive aspects of state consultation processes and the use of mutual benefit agreements to establish "consent by contract" (Scott, 2020).

SETTLER COLONIALISM AND FOSSIL CAPITALISM IN CANADA

Settler colonialism is a concept that describes a system of political domination, where a population of outsiders attempts to displace and replace an Indigenous population (Veracini, 2017). In a settler-colonial society (such as Canada), access to land and extraction of

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resources are achieved, in part, through the introduction of a permanent settler (non-Indigenous) population and through the dispossession, displacement, and (partial) elimination of the Indigenous population. While overt policies of elimination and assimilation no longer have legitimacy in Canada, Indigenous peoples remain largely dispossessed while the role of the settler-colonial state remains essentially the same: to facilitate corporate access to Indigenous lands and enable resource extraction.

Fossil capitalism is a concept that comprises three main ideas about capitalism in relation to fossil fuels: (1) modern capitalism has been largely powered by fossil fuels since the 19th century; (2) the material properties of fossil fuels (their energy density, the ease with which they can be transported and stored) make them especially useful for capitalist control over labour and the accumulation of capital (Altvater, 2007); and (3) the subset of the capitalist class that owns and controls fossil fuel assets (often termed "fossil capital") wields disproportionate political-economic power and uses it to constrain transitions toward a more sustainable and democratic socio-economic system.

Canada is a settler-colonial nation (a political-legal order where rights to land and resources facilitate corporate access and extraction) that serves the interests of fossil capital by facilitating

the construction of transportation infrastructures (such as pipelines) used to circulate fossil fuels. From the railroads of the 19th century to the pipelines of the 21st century (railroads, highways, etc.), transportation infrastructures, the forms of jurisdiction on which they depend, and the ideological fantasies that sustain them have been central to settler Canadian nation building. Cowen (2017) argues that "infrastructure is often the means of dispossession, and the material force that implants colonial economies and socialities. Infrastructures thus highlight the issue of competing and overlapping jurisdiction—matters of both time and space" (A Crisis of Infrastructure section, para. 4).

This political order facilitates the extractive drive of fossil capitalism in Canada, but it is also cracking under pressure. Indigenous land defence, assertions of inherent governing authority, and head-on collisions with the RCMP reveal both the antagonistic nature of settler colonialism and the contestation between colonial and Indigenous legal orders. Proponents of extractive development attempt to smooth over these cracks by mobilizing the consent of Indigenous peoples within a cultural paradigm of "reconciliation lite," where colonialism is framed as a regrettable feature of Canada's past rather than a structure that persists in the present (Midzain-Gobin & Smith, 2020).

INDIGENOUS CONSENT AND THE CASE OF THE TMX

On June 18, 2019, the government of Canada declared a national climate emergency, and then the following day approved the TMX (currently under construction, amid strong resistance) with the goal of tripling the pipeline's capacity to transport bitumen from the Alberta tar sands to the Pacific coast of British Col-

umbia (Mabee, 2019). The project poses disproportionate harm to Indigenous peoples on their unceded and treaty territories and has given rise to resistance on many fronts, including the construction of tiny houses, land defence, divestment campaigns, and legal challenges (the latter of which have been undertaken by coalitions of First Nations, settler municipalities, and environmental organizations).

The project has emerged as a political-legal battleground for what "Indigenous consent" means within natural resource governance processes. Successful legal challenges (culminating in the Federal Court of Appeal's decision in *Tsleil-Waututh Nation v. Canada (Attorney General)* in August 2018 to halt the project) necessitated a second round of consultations with affected Indigenous communities, but subsequent challenges were unsuccessful, with the courts concluding that First Nations have no "veto power," and therefore no ability to say no to projects on their unceded territories (Markusoff, 2020).

While an unproblematized concept of "Indigenous consent" is often circulated in the public discourses that promote the TMX, the consultations and approval processes have effectively served as rubber-stamping exercises for what was always, in the eyes of the federal government, a "done deal." This has been demonstrated by the government's purchase of the project from energy company Kinder Morgan in May 2018 for $4.5 billion, and its enduring faith in the project's economic viability despite significant uncertainty. The project is touted as having a strong business case ("in the national interest"), even though costs have ballooned by 70 percent to $21.4 billion, and multiple analyses (Allan, 2022; Gunton et al., 2021; Nikiforuk, 2020) have raised doubts about whether the project will ever be built or be profitable. Most recently, economist Robyn Allan (2022) has argued that the project is not commercially viable and as a result $17 billion of debt will not be repaid to Canadians (p. 3). Given

> **Many Indigenous leaders find themselves in the difficult position of having to choose between taking a principled stance against a project they disagree with and deriving some benefit from a project that appears inevitable.**

the consistency of federal government messaging—to quote Justin Trudeau, "we are going to get the pipeline built" (Snyder, 2018)—paired with the government's purchase of the project and commitment to it despite budgetary overruns and economic risks, it is clear that consultations with Indigenous communities could never have resulted in project cancellation. One mechanism that functions to obfuscate this lack of real consent is the use of mutual benefit agreements (MBAs).

CONCEALING THE CRACKS: MBAs AND EXTRACTION CONTRACTING

The TMX crosses the territories of more than 140 Indigenous communities (APTN News, 2018). Trans Mountain Corporation (a subsidiary of the federal Crown corporation Canada Development Investment Corporation) has signed 69 MBAs with 81 of these Indigenous communities worth $650 million, promising to generate $4.2 billion in "Indigenous-based contract awards" (Trans Mountain Corporation, 2022). MBAs are essentially contracts between extractive companies and Indigenous communities. They are confidential commercial agreements that may include "education and jobs training, skills enhancement, business opportunities or improved community services and infrastructure" (Trans Mountain Corporation, 2022). As Pasternak and King (2019) argue, while "there are clear financial benefits to participating in various

stakes of resource projects, especially in light of the state's divestment from Indigenous people's wellbeing . . . the types of benefits accruing from participation [in projects such as TMX] . . . are mere incremental gains against the bar of fulsome Indigenous jurisdiction and inherent rights" (p. 44).

Dayna Nadine Scott (2020) has theorized the use of MBAs as tools for gaining the consent of Indigenous communities as a regime of "extraction contracting." Scott defines this as "a mode of governance that attempts to define the social, political, ecological, and economic relations regarding the use of Indigenous lands solely through confidential bargaining and agreement-making between private extraction companies and First Nations, but in fact affords the state a key role in setting the terms" (pp. 272–273). Scott argues that it is not that contracts "fill the gap" of an inadequate public regulatory regime; rather, it is that the state is "actively holding open the space for extraction contracting to fill" (p. 273). This "insulates the settler law from demands for reform" and delays "the inevitable breakdown of the state's jurisdictional authority on those lands" (p. 273), which would entail a radical redistribution of wealth and reorganization of property rights.

"BETWEEN A ROCK AND A HARD PLACE"

Many Indigenous leaders find themselves in the difficult position of having

to choose between taking a principled stance against a project they disagree with and deriving some benefit from a project that appears inevitable. This forced choice is exacerbated by the poverty that many communities face because of land dispossession, paired with lack of government provisioning of basic infrastructure and social services. As Chief Robert Joseph of Ditidaht First Nation told APTN News after signing a letter of support for the TMX, "we are not really in favour of any pipeline, but we believe it's going to go through anyway . . . They will not listen to anybody and that's the history of consultation with First Nations people . . . They consult and go ahead and do what they were going to do anyways" (Paling, 2018).

The ambivalence that Indigenous communities might express toward projects like the TMX is a pattern in Canadian history. Clifford Atleo (2021) observes that Indigenous communities are caught "between a rock and a hard place": "most Indigenous leaders want to do what they truly believe is best for their communities. Within the constraints of settler colonialism, environmental politics, and neoliberal capitalism, options for Indigenous communities are tremendously limited" (p. 369). While Canada wants to legitimize extractive developments through appeals to Indigenous "consent," if saying "no" to a project is not an option, then consent is not really on the table. ♦

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Mediating authentic "Chineseness" and "Western palates": Chinese restaurant menus in Toronto

Across that shiny expanse, the menu will be passed back and forth, a text that not only mediates the separation between server and patron, but is also read over and over again, presented over and over again—a simple, pedestrian exchange that carries within it the possibilities for something more. (Cho, 2010, p. 51)

For many ethnic restaurants in North America, menus have an important function: they create a sense of authenticity to attract diners to try a new type of cuisine (Kim & Baker, 2017). It is often through menus that ethnic restaurants navigate the ambivalence of maintaining authenticity while catering to customers from other cultures—so-called Western palates (Skibinsky, 2020). The same can be said about Chinese restaurants in Canada. Chinese restaurants have existed in Canada since Chinese people first immigrated in the 19th century (Cho, 2010). Some Chinese restaurants in Canadian small towns had to alter their menus and dishes to maintain their "Chineseness" while accommodating customers who were unfamiliar with Chinese food (Cho, 2010). Although some studies have examined restaurant menus (Mihalache, 2016), limited research has specifically focused on Chinese restaurants and menus in metropolitan cities like Toronto.

Theoretically, this article is guided by the concept of mediation. In traditional communication studies, mediation is a concept that describes how mass media can change people's behaviour (Thompson, 1995). As such, media help mediate the difference between different people and form a functional society (McQuail,

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1987; Ross, 2012). Borrowing this concept, I want to examine how Chinese restaurant menus mediate the difference between authentic "Chineseness" and diners from other cultures (to whom I will refer as "Western diners") who might not be familiar with Chinese food. To that end, this article will examine the menus from two Chinese restaurants in Toronto—Bright Pearl Seafood Restaurant and Swatow—to investigate how the menus found in these restaurants are presented as authentically Chinese without scaring off new diners.

APPRECIATING RESTAURANT MENUS: THE NEED FOR DIASPORIC EPISTEMOLOGY

Some scholars have analyzed translations in ethnic restaurants' menus. Specifically, some researchers critiqued restaurant menus for their poor translations and failure to explain a dish's cultural origin (Li,

2019). Indeed, from a scholarly perspective, restaurant menus should be professionally translated to inform customers about the food being served. At best, restaurants should try to incorporate dishes' cultural origins to demonstrate authenticity. However, I want to problematize this perspective. To hire a professional translator, restaurateurs need to pay extra money, on top of all the logistical costs associated with printing, designing, and delivering the menus. Many owners of these small Chinese restaurants are immigrants (Cho, 2010). They are hard-working individuals who moved to Canada to lead a new life and provide a better future for their families. Taking these contexts into consideration, should researchers criticize these restaurant owners for the efforts they have spent on their menus?

To fully appreciate restaurant menus, I propose that researchers adopt diasporic epistemology. One characteristic of diasporic epistemology is that truth and knowledge emerge relationally by recognizing "the Self in relation to, and together with the Other" (Robertson & Mocanu, 2019, p. 12). This epistemology emphasizes that scholars should think in the shoes of the subjects being examined. Employing this epistemology gives a full picture as to why restaurateurs designed their menus the way they did. Informed by diasporic epistemology, I will now discuss the menus of Bright Pearl Seafood Restaurant and Swatow.

MENU 1: BRIGHT PEARL SEAFOOD RESTAURANT

Bright Pearl Seafood Restaurant could be found in the Hsin Kuang Centre—a popular shopping mall in Toronto's West

Chinatown in the 1980s. The restaurant is permanently closed because the building is undergoing redevelopment into an office building.

Bright Pearl's menu (available at the Harley Spiller Menus Collection at the University of Toronto Scarborough [UTSC]) incorporates a maple leaf symbol in its logo to tame the exoticness of Chinese food and increase Western diners' willingness to try Chinese dishes. The logo includes a maple leaf alongside the restaurant's Chinese and English names (UTSC, 198-?a). The maple leaf, often seen as the national symbol of Canada, signifies that Chinese cuisine is a part of Canada's food culture. Whether Chinese, Italian, Greek, or French, such cuisines are merely different branches of Canadian cuisine. By employing a maple leaf in its logo, the menu creates a feeling that Chinese food is familiarly exotic, making people who might typically reject Chinese cuisine more open to trying it.

The menu also includes English and Chinese characters. However, for the Chinese menu specifically, the restaurant decided to write a portion of it by hand (UTSC, 198-?a). This decision could be attributed to the need to attract new diners. Handwritten menus have been found to communicate authenticity effectively to diners who resist trying new cuisine (Yu et al., 2020). At the same time, printing technology makes the menu appear modern. At the beginning of the 20th century, Chinese people were stereotypically perceived as dirty bodies who "routinely consumed rats, dogs, and other 'offal'" (Belasco, 2006, p. 14). This stereotype made people resistant to eating Chinese food because it was perceived as primitive and unhygienic. On the other hand, printing technology is associated with being modernized (Haveman, 2015). Therefore, printing some Chinese characters on Bright Pearl's menu helps combat this stereotype and adds a feeling of modernity to the restaurant. The combination of printed and handwritten characters allows Bright Pearl's menu to communicate authentic "Chineseness"

while eradicating the presumptions that Chinese food is backward and dirty.

MENU 2: SWATOW RESTAURANT

Swatow is a Cantonese restaurant in Toronto's Chinatown. The restaurant's old menu from the 1980s is available in the Harley Spiller Menus Collection at UTSC, and the new menu is available at the restaurant.[1]

The translations on Swatow's menu reveal how language is a medium to attract Western diners. For some of the dishes, rather than translating their names from Chinese into English, the menu lists their ingredients. For example, item 33 is translated as "Yee Mein w/ Crab Meat" (UTSC, 198-?b). In Chinese, the dish is Hong Tao Yee Mein. A literal translation of this dish's name into English is "yee mein noodles of big fortunes." This dish is an example of how the menu does not translate a dish's name or its style. Rather, the menu lists its ingredients. One reason Swatow adopted this method of translation may be that diners in the 1980s were not very familiar with Chinese food. Therefore, the restaurant listed all the ingredients of a dish so that new diners would not be confused about what they would be served.

Swatow's menu also shows how *food combos* can help new diners become familiar with a new type of cuisine. One notable commonality between Swatow's old and new menus is that the "Special Combos" section is only in English, with no Chinese translation (UTSC, 198-?b; Swatow Restaurant Inc., 2021). The fact that this section contains no Chinese words suggests that it caters specifically to anglophone diners. These combos are the *safe choices* that Western diners can resort to if they have difficulty understanding the food items. Feminist scholar Sara Ahmed's concept of orientation further explains these food combos. Ahmed (2006) says that finding one's bearing in an unfamiliar space requires one to follow certain lines: "it is by following some lines more than others that we might acquire our sense of who it is that we

are" (p. 20). Swatow's special combos serve the same purpose as the "lines" that Ahmed refers to. By creating food combos and naming Chinese dishes in English, Chinese restaurants (and their menus) produce "lines" that new diners can follow as they explore a new type of cuisine.

A TOOL FOR COMMUNICATION

At first glance, the dishes served at Bright Pearl Seafood Restaurant and Swatow are dishes that can be found in many Chinese restaurants around the world. However, through restaurant menus, Chinese restaurants in Toronto appeal to Western diners to try Chinese food without compromising authenticity. Restaurant menus are not merely a piece of paper that tells diners what they can eat. Menus mediate the difference between Chinese food and Canadians from all cultural backgrounds, bringing them closer to one another in Toronto's foodscape. As a tool for communication, menus can help new diners find their bearings in an unfamiliar foodscape. Future research on restaurant menus and food culture should incorporate diasporic epistemology. Without this epistemological lens, it is easy to criticize restaurants and their menus for their shortcomings. However, if we use this lens to read the menus, we can better understand why restaurateurs design their menus the ways they do. 🍁

NOTES

1. Images of the Swatow Restaurant menu can be found on Sirved (n.d.), a menu-sharing platform.

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At the borders of inclusion

There is a disconnect between Canada's queer-friendly image and reality. If the state is serious about supporting the LGBTQ+ community, it needs to improve its structural support for LGBTQ+ refugees once they are in the country.

The Canadian state's queer-friendly image is a recent phenomenon. It is a result of a major national branding effort over the last two decades. For instance, in 2008, the Harper administration adopted pro-LGBTQ+ rhetoric and policies using intergovernmental coalitions. The "Canada and the World" section of the Government of Canada website now highlights the many international offices that promote and protect LGBTQ+ human rights with other governments and organizations under the banner *LGBTQI Rights = Human Rights* (Canada and the World, 2022). In 2015, the Trudeau administration promised to keep LGBTQ+ rights at the centre of Canada's foreign policy (Charbonneau, 2017). In 2017, Trudeau delivered a historic apology on behalf of the Canadian state to the LGBTQ+ community, especially LGBTQ+ public servants. He acknowledged that "lives were destroyed and tragically lives were lost" (Global News, 2017, 3:53) owing to past government administrations' complicity in legitimizing inequality, hatred, violence, and shame toward the LGBTQ+ community.

QUEER-FRIENDLY MIGRATION POLICIES

One of the ways the Canadian government shows its support for the LGBTQ+ community is through its immigration and refugee policies. In 1969, Canada signed the *UN Refugee Convention* of 1951 and the 1967 *Protocol Related to the Status of Refugees*. However, it was not until the *Immigration Act* of 1976 that Canada recognized *refugee* migrants as a separate legal category from *immigration* migrants. In addition, it took until the early 1990s for Canada to join other states in including gender and sexuality persecution as legitimate reasons

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for seeking refugee asylum. Before this, homosexuality and sexual deviancy were considered markers of a "bad citizen" in Canada (Murray, 2015). Since the early 2000s, a Canadian permanent resident or citizen can now sponsor their same-sex partner under the same stipulations as a heterosexual partnership. Thus, not only Canada's refugee policies but also its immigration policies are adapting to the state's *progressive* inclusion of LGBTQ+ migrants.

More recently, the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (IRB) released guideline 9 in 2017 to assist in its arbitration of distinctive sexual orientation, gender identity, and gender expression cases. Guideline 9 includes sections considering the intersectionality of other possible "marginalization factors," providing guidance on "avoiding stereotyping and inappropriate assumptions," and understanding that extenuating circumstances may be involved in dictating what the claimant can divulge about their sexual orientation or gender identity or expression (IRB, 2021).

THE DISCONNECT

The recent rhetoric promoted in the media by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Canadian government calls Canada a "global leader in protecting those who need it most" (Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, 2021) and credits it as a world leader in refugee resettlement (Nyembwe, 2020). In Canadian news outlets, the Canadian state's status as a supporter of the LGBTQ+ community is often treated as an uncontroversial fact (Reid, 2017; Salerno, 2017; Zivo, 2021;

Canadian Press, 2022). However, critical migrant scholars and journalists have also questioned, in the context of Canada's LGBTQ+ refugee policies, whether the image matches the reality (Deif & Reid, 2017; Rehaag & Evans Cameron, 2020; Dossios, 2022).

The Canadian state implies that by letting in LGBTQ+ refugees, it is a "protector and supporter" of this population. However, even a cursory look at the asylum process complicates this picture. Dossios (2022) discusses the mental toll that the asylum-seeking process takes on LGBTQ+ refugee claimants by, at times, forcing them to relive their trauma. She writes that this strain on asylum seekers' mental health can arise from multiple sources, including document-gathering procedures and IRB adjudicators' line of questioning during hearings. In addition, this line of questioning can sometimes be inappropriately direct, considering the secrecy and suppression that some asylum seekers relied on to survive. One refugee claimant stated that she felt "very vulnerable and very naked" (Dossios, 2022).

Alongside a disconnect in empathy during the refugee asylum-claiming process in Canada, there is a disconnect in material resources that claimants can access, whether they are government-assisted refugees or privately sponsored refugees. For instance, with delays up to years between the time claimants land in Canada and the time they are granted status, refugees can be denied housing on the assumption that they do not have the means to pay rent (McDowell, 2021). Racialized refugees reportedly face increased discrimination in the housing market, and LGBTQ+ refugees, racialized or otherwise, face added risk of bias (McDowell, 2021).

In addition to these barriers, government financial support for refugees is inadequate and short-lived. Most government-assisted refugees are financed under the Resettlement Assistance Pro-

gram (RAP) for one year or less (Government of Canada Help Centre, 2022). RAP rates are determined by provincial social assistance rates and the number of refugees in one household. The Ontario RAP rate since January 1, 2022 for a household of three (a couple and one child) is $1,266 a month, which is significantly below the national minimum cost of living in Canada (Refugee Sponsorship Training Program, 2022). For instance, the minimum monthly living expense for a household of three in Ontario is estimated to be over $4,000 (WOWA, 2022). In addition, funds to cover transportation costs to Canada and pre-selection processing costs (for immigration medical examinations, for example) are loaned rather than granted, and these loans accrue interest (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2015). Many resettled refugees, especially government-assisted refugees, end up with thousands of dollars of debt before they even set foot in Canada. In short, not only do LGBTQ+ refugees face unique obstacles, but these disadvantages are compounded by the more general barriers faced by refugees, for which the Canadian government provides only marginal support.

SARAH HEGAZY

The disconnect between the Canadian state's image as a protector and supporter of the LGBTQ+ community and the actual experience of some LGBTQ+ refugee claimants is starkly illustrated by the tragic death by suicide of Sarah Hegazy in June 2020. Sarah Hegazy was granted refugee asylum in Canada in 2018 with the help of Rainbow Railroad (an LGBTQ+ advocacy group that helps LGBTQ+ refugees gain asylum in Canada). She was granted asylum after her publicized arrest in 2017 in Cairo, when police identified her and dozens of others from a few viral photos and videos at a Mashrou' Leila concert— a well-known Lebanese band with an openly gay lead singer (Walsh, 2020). In one photo, Sarah can be seen smiling, proudly raising the rainbow flag.

> **Alongside a disconnect in empathy during the refugee asylum-claiming process in Canada, there is a disconnect in material resources that claimants can access, whether they are government-assisted refugees or privately sponsored refugees.**

According to a Human Rights Watch (HRW) investigation reported in October 2020, this event reignited Egypt's anti-LGBTQ+ crackdowns, leading to a spike in arrests and state-orchestrated entrapments. Reports of state-sanctioned torture and abuse included sexual violence "under the guise of forced anal exams or *virginity* tests" (HRW, 2020). While Egypt does not have a law banning homosexuality, the state can make arrests based on vague legal language such as "debauchery" and "obstructing family values" to legally impose social and religious morality (HRW, 2020).

In a reflection piece Sarah wrote titled "A Year After the Rainbow Flag Controversy," she detailed her torture by electrocution, sexual and physical assault, and the solitary confinement she endured in an Egyptian jail and prison (Hegazy, 2020). She also wrote about her disorientation and alienation in her new home in Canada. Between 2018 and 2020, during her time in Canada, Sarah attempted suicide twice. Her good friend Omar Ghoneim wrote an article that explicitly named the Canadian state as complicit in Sarah's death. Ghoneim (2020) wrote that Sarah had difficulty confiding in Canadian psychiatrists and was often left feeling misunderstood. He also noted that, partly owing to her mental health, she could not keep a job, which led to financial strain and dependence on government assistance that was "not enough to sustain a dignified life." Ghoneim accurately points out that asylum is only a bare minimum of protection. The material barriers facing refugees, exacerbated by a lack of support from host states, can quickly become a continuation of suffering by other means.

PROVIDING CARE

While the Canadian state provided asylum, Sarah needed to be provided with care, particularly financial and psychological aid. This story is familiar to refugee claimants in Canada and likely resonates with many LGBTQ+ refugees. At a minimum, in host countries, refugees hope to find freedom from the persecution they are fleeing. But what support is really being offered when refugees achieve this freedom only to be subjected to new types of marginalization? If Canada earnestly seeks to make its queer-friendly image a reality, it needs to go beyond asylum and ask what it truly means to protect and support. 🍁

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Is Canada worth saving? Toward the Canadian nation-without-a-state

WHO ARE WE?

Is Canada worth saving? Is it worthwhile to continue to put work into these institutions? Or is there something else we should be doing? I will give you my take on the state of the nation and the contradictions it conceals, but more than anything I leave it to you to think through. Is Canada worth saving?

For my part, I approach Canada not as a physical place, but as a product of policies organized around a national identity, and concurrent *mode of life*, rooted in an economy of exploitation and dispossession. Put in other words, Canada is an idea enforced by law. In what follows, I analyze the idea of the nation in terms of its relation to *land*, *self*, and *others* in order to critique a presumption of settler supremacy that consciously, and unconsciously, structures the implementation of legislation, our criteria for citizenship, and our inconsistent defence of human rights by concealing the constitutive violence of the state. I will close by considering an alternative way to relate: the *nation-without-a-state*.

HOW DO WE RELATE TO LAND?

Canada is an idea that demands an immense number of resources. At present, Canada contains approximately 0.5 percent of the world's population, yet our "greenhouse gas emissions currently represent about 1.6% of the global total" (Boothe & Boudreault, 2016, p. 3) —300 percent more than our share in proportion to the global population. Alongside what gets counted as domestic pollution, we facilitate a far larger network of resource extraction by hosting the headquarters of more than 50 percent of the world's mining corporations, enticed by our lack of regulation (Global Affairs Canada, 2021). This should not surprise us; we have been a resource colony from the start.

BY DANIEL PLATTS

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On a legal level, land in Canada is claimed in two general ways: as the private property of an institution or individual, or as the public property of a municipality, province, or the federal government. Under the English tradition of common law, however, all land ownership is ultimately tenancy on land owned by the Crown. The Crown's claim to the land is linked to the legal legacy of *Romanus Pontifex*, a papal bull that prescribed conditions for the enslaveability and dispossession of non-Christians, in part through the presumption of *terra nullius* (Pope Nicholas V, 1455). The state's presumption of supremacy was on full display when the Supreme Court of Canada recognized the existence of Aboriginal title in *Tsilhqot'in Nation v. British Columbia* (2014), and thus ruled that "*terra nullius* . . . never applied in Canada" (para. 69), while also arguing that Aboriginal title could be superseded by the state as long as there was "a compelling and substantial objective" to do so—effectively undermining the rights just recognized (para. 77). The court could not confront the legal fiction of *terra nullius* as the sovereignty of the Crown, and the state violence that sustains it, as the source of the court's own authority.

This presumption of supremacy is at the root of not only our destructive relation to land, but also the callous disregard shown to the lives of those who have been dispossessed.

HOW DO WE RELATE TO OURSELVES AND OTHERS?

Canadian nationalism is often mobilized, like *terra nullius*, to disavow the state's perpetuation of genocide and abuse of human rights. In an analysis of Canadian consciousness, Nandita Sharma discusses the ways in which nationalist notions of belonging structure the legal system to facilitate a categorical denial of rights to migrant workers. Studying debates in the House of Commons from 1969 to 1973, Sharma (2001) traces the discursive and legislative construction of the "tolerant Canadian citizen" in opposition to the "migrant worker" or "non-immigrant" to whom the rights of citizenship were categorically denied (pp. 427–428). Akin to the papal bull's prescription of enslaveability, this legal construction enabled the creation of a secondary labour market within the domestic market, composed of indentured workers contractually coerced into exploitative jobs that Canadian citizens do not do because they are legally allowed to refuse them. I want to stress that the terms indentured slavery and genocide are the colonial state of capital—this cannot be forgotten.

These exploitative conditions were disavowed by a discourse that positioned migrant workers as inherently different from "tolerant" citizens. This rhetoric foreclosed the possibility of critique by painting Canada as an inherently just place, and those who contradicted this view as inherently "intolerant." Sharma's work clearly maps the nation-state to the psyche, noting that "nationalist practices aimed at protecting our borders mobilize a view of the Self as insider and the Other as foreigner or outsider," which "consequently helps to naturalize the nation-state system" (Sharma, 2001, p. 418). It is hoped that by intervening into the construction of self and other, an alternative

idea of Canada can be articulated, and an ethical way of life established.

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

For Frantz Fanon, the only way to treat a colonial condition is through a real confrontation with the violent systems of economic exploitation that drive it. This requires breaking attachment with unconscious structures that forestall such an encounter. In *Wretched of the Earth* (1965), Fanon provides a powerful evocation of the struggle for national liberation as a vector for decolonization, and the emergence of a new humanism. National consciousness is here not a preordained form of identification, but rather a counterformation of the collective unconscious that inspires separation from colonial ways of being by rupturing them with a *tabula rasa* of self-determination. This is the kind of nation that the *nation-without-a-state* is intended to invoke.

For settlers, decolonization means letting go of the land. As Glen Coulthard once expressed, "land is a relationship" (Walia, 2015). Letting go means changing how we relate to land, which means changing how we relate to others. It also requires a real ceding of territory for the cultivation of alternative structures. The task of analysis, in this case, is to intervene through the gap at the heart of identity, and to trouble the categories of the state in order to excavate the presumption of supremacy from our national consciousness. I argue we can learn how to do this by taking heed of *grounded normativity*: the place-based practices of Indigenous nations, rooted in an ethos of reciprocity.

In *As We Have Always Done*, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson stresses the international character of grounded normativity, describing the nationality of the Nishnaabeg Anishinaabe as "a long *kobade*, cycling through time. It is a web of connections to each other, to the plant nations, the animal nations, the rivers and lakes, the cosmos, and our neighbouring indigenous nations" (Simpson, 2017, p. 9). Instead of denoting a kind

of blood-and-soil racial purity, nations are "neuropathways" (p. 20) that help people live with themselves and the international web of connections that structure the world.

The Canadian *nation-without-a-state* is an alternative articulation of national consciousness that relates to land, self, and others not through the presumption of supremacy, but the practice of reciprocity. It is a call for settlers to contribute to the creation of a genuinely international polity by cultivating ethical relations with the nations we share the land with, and by impeding the imposition of the police lines and borders of states that seek to divide us. This is not a call for settlers to co-opt Indigenous traditions, but to develop respectful modes of being together. The settler contribution cannot be a mobilization for the Canadian nation and its territory. In this sense there is nothing Canadian about the nation-without-a-state beyond the state it seeks to refuse. It is an anti-nationalism enacted by nationals in a movement to let go of supremacist identifications by affirming our ethical commitments to each other through solidarity with the critical work being done by queer, black, and Indigenous activists. In this way, it is hoped that Canadian identity can be reconstituted as one way of life among many, living in reciprocity with the land and those who share it.

CHANGE IS REQUIRED

A great deal more bodies will be put in motion as the climate crisis worsens, and billions are displaced. We need to have systems that enable us to live together. I think the ethos of respect for consent expressed in grounded normativity and practised by nations across the continent provides such a framework. To ensure that we have a place left to save at all, we have to change how we relate to the land and each other, and this requires a change in how we understand ourselves.

So, is Canada worth saving? It is up to you. In my view, it depends on what is meant by Canada. The Canada that pre-

sumes its own supremacy and enforces it through the settler-state practices of exploitation and dispossession is worthy of nothing but contempt and critique. But are there people here who are worth saving from the state? Absolutely. 🍁

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