Ideologies of Oppression, Resource Colonialism, and Resistance in the Canadian Settler State

by

Camille Jasinski

Diploma. (Communication), Simon Fraser University, 2017

B.A. (Communication), Simon Fraser University, 2015

Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in the

School of Communication

Faculty of Communication, Art and Technology

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

Fall 2022

Declaration of Committee

Name:	**Camille Jasinski**
Degree:	**Master of Arts**
Title:	**Ideologies of Oppression, Resource Colonialism, and Resistance in the Canadian Settler State**
Committee:	**Chair: Victoria Thomas** Assistant Professor, Communication
	Richard Gruneau Supervisor Professor, Communication
	Andrew Feenberg Committee Member Professor, Communication
	Adel Iskander Examiner Associate Professor, Communication

Abstract

This thesis explores the ideological dimensions of discourses of oppression with a specific focus on the intersection between capitalism, racism, and resource colonialism in debates and struggles around decolonization in the Canadian context. It builds from considerations of Western critical theories of authenticity, identity formation, normalization, decolonialization, and Marxism largely in work by Jean-Paul Sartre and Frantz Fanon and explores how these theories influenced contemporary decolonization theorists such as Dene scholar Glen Coulthard. I argue that issues and debates raised by these thinkers can help elucidate ideologies of oppression in Canada as a colonial settler state. The thesis examines issues of resource colonialism and environmental racism as key aspects influenced by a capitalist logic of extraction that puts economic resource development over the interests of Indigenous populations, legitimating the ongoing hegemony of the white settler state despite recent initiatives to promote reconciliation.

Keywords: Resource colonialism; Ideologies of oppression; Extractive capitalism

Acknowledgements

Thank you mum, for your unconditional patience and support; Rick, for your unwavering mentorship even during the most difficult of times; my dear friend Jenn and her dog Waffles, for motivating me on coffee shop study dates and beyond; Andrew, for always challenging me philosophically; my sweet kitty Fyodor; and my amazing group of close friends. Most importantly this thesis is for my dad, who I know would be proud of me for finishing it no matter where he might be on the dark side of the moon.

Table of Contents

Positionality Statement

It's important for me to state my positionality as a settler scholar and a white, cis-gendered female. I have done my best to approach the sensitive, complicated, and crucial subject matter of this thesis with respect and in earnest. I must acknowledge the privileges that Canada has afforded me, and my immigrant family, who came here from Poland. On my father's side of the family, we are Polish Jews with a deep and painful history in the Holocaust. My parents came to Canada to escape the oppression of Soviet occupation, and I was raised to be grateful for the privileges and opportunities that a country like Canada was to be able to afford us. Learning English and growing up in the public school system in British Columbia, I remember being taught mostly colonial history throughout the 1990s. It was not until later in high school and throughout my post-secondary career that I began to learn about Canada's history *as* a colonial imperialist nation. Knowing what my parents and ancestors went through at the hands of ideologies of oppression, I believed it was so important to understand how racism and colonial beliefs have shaped the system I grew up in, and how settlers have reproduced and continue to reinforce these systems. I also understand and recognize the First Nations, Metis, and Inuit people of Turtle Island have hundreds of diverse groups with unique languages, traditions, customs, geographies, and oral traditions, and cannot be homogenized into a single category --Indigenous Peoples. As a student of Simon Fraser University I acknowledge that I am an uninvited guest on the territories of the xʷməθkʷəy̓əm (Musqueam), Sḵwx̱wú7mesh (Squamish), and səlilwətaɬ (Tsleil-Waututh) Nations.

Introduction

Stuart Hall famously proposed to reframe race as a discursive construct that is socially, culturally, politically, and historically constituted. In his 1997 speech at Goldsmith College in London, Hall presented the concept of race as a floating signifier, or an order of classification that functions to stabilize a given culture but that has no inherent meaning or referent. He warned against the underlying threat “when systems of classification become objects of the disposition of power” (Hall, 1997). This opens up a discussion of issues that occur when a society is structured around discursive constructs that function to oppress, marginalize, and unequally classify certain groups of people over others. These discursive constructs in turn can articulate with socio-cultural and political mechanisms of systemic oppression and institutionalized racism.

Hall’s assertion that race is discursively constructed was not new, but built upon the work of earlier critical theories of race, oppression, ideology and colonization. He draws on a wide variety of biographical, historical, and theoretical sources, including his own experience as a Jamaican emigrant to the UK, his interest in Marxist theory, his activism, and most notably, his familiarity with theories of colonial and racial oppression outlined by postcolonial writers such as Frantz Fanon and CLR James. Of these, Fanon’s writing in particular played a significant role in European intellectual life during, and after, Algerian struggles against racism and French colonization. Such postcolonial critiques of racist colonial oppression stimulated widespread critical discussion and debate in French intellectual life, from the existentialist philosophy of Jean-Paul Sartre to Marxism. These debates continued to inspire and influence a wide range of critical theoretical work well into the 21st century. In Canada they’ve found particular expression in the work of prominent Yellowknives Dene decolonization theorist and political scientist, Glen Coulthard.

Coulthard’s work on race and Indigeneity in Canada as a white settler society runs parallel with a broader literature where race is discussed as a complex and multi-layered set of discourses and institutional practices. Other contemporary theorists (e.g., Leanne Simpson, Sunera Thobani, Taiaiake Alfred, and Jeff Corntassel) have argued that legacies of colonialism remain at the forefront of how dominant power structures function here, particularly in the form of what is sometimes referred to as environmental

injustice or environmental racism. According to Westra: “environmental racism… refers to environmental injustice whereby, for instance, toxic and hazardous waste facilities and business operations are sited with disproportionate frequency in or near poor, nonwhite communities” (Westra, 1999, pg.112). More importantly, Westra argues:

> “This institutionalized pattern of discrimination is an anomaly in a world that is committed to ‘political correctness’… yet the practice of placing hazardous business operations… in the ‘backyards’ of minority groups is practiced regularly, with no apology, and described as a purely economic decision (pg. 112-113).”

Settler colonization and imperialist expansion in the colonial settler state that came to be known as Canada has relied on the dispossession of Indigenous Peoples from their lands - for the purpose of natural resource extraction - since first contact. Guided by principles of the Doctrine of Discovery, which I discuss in greater detail in later chapters, and the myth of taming the great white North, Canada built its economy upon the territory’s rich and diverse natural resources. In the process of settler colonization, traditional Indigenous territory has been stolen, exploited, and devastated for natural resource extraction mega-projects, such as the bitumen-producing tar sands in Alberta. Because these same lands have been sustained and cared for by Indigenous communities for thousands of years, discussion around Indigenous rights are increasingly present in Canadian social, political, and legal thought. On this point, Glen Coulthard states: “in liberal settler states such as Canada, the ‘commons’ not only belong to somebody – the First Peoples of this land – they also deeply inform and sustain Indigenous modes of thought and behavior that harbor profound insights into the maintenance of relationships within and between human beings and the natural world built on principles of reciprocity, nonexploitation and respectful coexistence” (pg. 12).

This thesis explores the ideological dimensions of discourses of oppression with a specific focus on the intersection between capitalism, racism, and colonization in debates and struggles around decolonization in the Canadian context. I provide a brief overview of some pertinent postcolonial critiques of the Canadian state, using the concept of environmental racism as an example of how Canada is still largely governed by colonial principles at the expense of Indigenous populations. I first got interested in exploring interconnections between racial discourses, ideologies of oppression, and postcolonial struggles by reading debates around decolonization which arose in France during and after the Second World War and the Algerian War of Independence,

particularly in the work of Frantz Fanon and Jean-Paul Sartre. These theorists set me on a path to better understand the existential nature of postcolonial settler states and, more specifically, the critical importance of Indigenous resistance in Canada. This thesis is a chronicle of my intellectual journey along that path.

Sartre and Fanon found themselves in the midst of a Hegelian renaissance in postwar France, a country which was confronting the disasters of the Second World War and at the same time, starting to face intense resistance from its colonies. In the period after World War II, decolonization movements sprang up as former French colonies called for independence from the French Empire. Now considered one of the world's most influential anticolonial thinkers, Fanon was born in the former French colony in Martinique. He moved to France at the age of 18 and later worked as a doctor in Algeria during the War of Independence. These experiences had a profound impact on his work, which includes the study of psychiatry, colonization, Marxism, and existentialism. Fanon was partially influenced by Jean-Paul Sartre, a famous French existentialist philosopher who was active in various Marxist and anticolonial movements in France after the Second World War. Sartre's philosophy deals with the nature of existence, and the burden of freedom and responsibility of individuals. Both Sartre and Fanon were interested in authenticity and identity. I consider some critical theoretical work from both these thinkers to better understand ideologies of oppression in contemporary Canada. This work has also had an influence on the academic work of Dene scholar Glen Coulthard, who has applied theories from Hegel, Marx, Fanon, and Sartre to Canada's contemporary political situation.

I recognize that the term 'ideology' is complex, with a history of contested meanings (e.g., Eagleton, 1994; Hawkes, 2004). Here, I mean the term in the way that John Thompson uses it (1990); as the ways that symbolic forms are used to sustain relations of domination. The relationship of ideology to dominant power structures is solidified when it becomes inscribed in social and political practices. In this thesis, I am particularly interested in how capitalist and colonial ideologies congeal in support for widespread extractivism. Because colonialism and capitalism are inextricably linked, I include a Marxist analysis of these issues.

Canada has constructed and works to maintain a particular 'national' identity through dominant discourses and processes of normalization. This identity, once

predicated on earlier imported French and English settler colonial discourses has evolved into a “master narrative of the nation, which takes as its point of departure the essentially law-abiding character of its enterprising nationals, who are presented (for the most part) as responsible citizens, compassionate, caring, and committed to the values of diversity and multiculturalism” (Thobani, 2007, pg.4). Additionally, Canada has recently committed itself to a political project of reconciliation – a discursive ambition in which Canada is meant to appear as a nation that is building new relationships with Indigenous Peoples to reconcile hundreds of years of violent colonialism and genocidal logic. Politics of recognition play a critical role in this project, which Coulthard (2014) ultimately considers as “delegated exchanges of recognition [which] usually end up being determined by and in the interest of the hegemonic partner in the relationship” (pg. 17). The subjective foundation, he goes on, is the “ideological attachments… essential in maintaining the economic and political structure of colonial relationships over time” (pg. 18).

For hundreds of years, Indigenous mobilization has led resistance against colonization, governed by worldviews which are antithetical to the capitalist rationality driving settler societies. This resistance is shaped by a conception of authenticity, as “Indigenous articulations of nationhood are best understood as informed by a complex set of cultural practices and traditions that have survived the onslaught of colonialism and continue to structure the form and content of Indigenous activism in the present” (pg. 64). Settlers living in contemporary Canada are responsible for the decisions they make as functionaries of a system predicated on colonial capitalism.

I recognize that it is not the responsibility of Indigenous Peoples to teach, guide, or inform settlers of best practices and current conditions. Still, Western academic theories and philosophies can help settlers better understand their place in a colonial system, and consider the mechanisms needed to make a lasting impact. I am looking to 20th century anticolonial thinkers and Indigenous scholars, authors, and activists to frame these issues as best I can in a context that could elicit a clearer understanding of the role that settlers play in perpetrating systems and ideologies of oppression. Like Alfred and Corntassel (2005), I believe that “purported decolonization and the watered-down cultural restoration processes that accept the premises and realities of… colonized existences as their starting point are inherently flawed and doomed to fail” (pg. 612) and that an authentic, Indigenous-led alternative is crucial.

The first chapter of the thesis outlines key principles of existentialism and authenticity from Sartre along with the more socio-structural anticolonial writings of Fanon. My focus is on ideologies of oppression, concepts around identity, and the paradoxes of colonialism. In the second chapter I explore racialization and ongoing colonization in Canada by examining the resource extraction sector and the long history of Indigenous resistance against environmental racism through imperialist and capitalist expansion. Finally, in Chapter 3, I explore examples of Indigenous resistance and mobilization in the 21st century and look at how the colonial status quo continues to be upheld by discursive constructions that normalize the hegemony of white settler capitalism.

Chapter 1. Ideologies of Oppression and Discourses of Authenticity

From the 1950s through the 1970s, there was an upsurge in decolonizing movements and struggles against European and U.S. imperialism in Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Caribbean (Grimal, 1978; Holland, 1985). These movements, which ranged from political to revolutionary, prompted intense debate among intellectuals in colonizing nations regarding intersections between racism, capitalist exploitation and colonization, and the legitimacy of decolonizing movements led by Indigenous Peoples. In France, for example, the bloody Algerian War of Independence between 1954 and 1962 was responsible for the revolutionary and anticolonial writings of Frantz Fanon and prompted commentaries from prominent critical philosophers from a post-war France in the midst of a Hegelian renaissance such as Jean Paul Sartre. Likewise in the U.S. the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory was provoking a discussion around the philosophical critique of capitalist domination and imperial oppression, theorized particularly notably by Herbert Marcuse, considered among many at the time as the father of the New Left.

Discussions around imperialism, colonialism, and the undercurrent of racism that ties them together have maintained their relevance into the 21st century and have been heavily influenced by these theorists. Ongoing racial oppression and systemic violence towards African Americans has constituted a second Civil Rights Movement in the United States associated with protests against police brutality, unequal incarceration and resurgent voting restrictions. More broadly, many former colonized nations, now disenfranchised from their wealthy imperial conquerors, are left to grapple with economic, political and environmental fallouts after decades of colonial rule. Indigenous communities all over the world continue to suffer from centuries of genocide and are now experiencing some of the most extreme impacts of climate change. At the same time, they are challenged by the environmental racism often caused by colonial and capitalist exploitation of natural resources. This chapter surveys some key arguments developed by Sartre and Fanon to show their relevance for discussions of ongoing colonization and environmental racism in the Canadian context, and how this has influenced the Indigenous decolonization theorist and political scientist, Glen Coulthard.

By the time European settlers arrived and colonized what is now called Canada, Indigenous communities had been living on, thriving off, and sustaining the land for millennia. Taking into account the history of violent colonization and genocide, it can be largely assumed that in Canada, white supremacy has been and remains a “central organizing logic of Western modernity, legitimating both European colonization and settler projects” (Bonds & Inwood, 2016, pg.6). As a rapidly expanding colonial nation, Canada committed structural violence against Indigenous Peoples for centuries. And although Canada may not be as outwardly brutal as a society as it once was, critics argue that its dominant power structures remain racialized and continue to try and regulate Indigenous identity (Maddison, 2013), perpetuate environmental racism, and normalize colonial oppression through dominant discourses and power structures.

The onslaught of settler expansion and natural resource extraction over the last few hundred years coupled with “a wave of evolutionary social Darwinian thinking in the nineteenth century… tightened the link between the idea of modernity and that of Western progress… through the progressive features of individualism and free markets” (Gruneau, 2017). This has had profound impacts on Indigenous communities and the ecosystems of their traditional territories. In addition to the deliberate placement of chemical plants, waste facilities, and harmful industrial projects near First Nations, low-income, and minority communities, environmental racism also encompasses the disproportionately adverse effects of climate change on these communities. This includes the effects of harmful air pollution, contamination of land and waterways, severe natural disasters such as hurricanes, rising temperatures and sea-levels, and eroding coastlines. In Canada specifically, “[Indigenous] peoples are faced with considerable environmental injustice in terms of abrogation of treaties, land rights, resource management and living conditions [and] these cases must be placed in the context of the history and social consequences of Canadian colonialism, and alongside past government policies to eradicate or assimilate [Indigenous] peoples” (Haluza-Delay, 2007).

In my view, Glen Coulthard (2014) argues persuasively that “in the Canadian context, colonial domination continues to be structurally oriented around the state’s commitment to maintain – through force, fraud, and, more recently, so-called negotiations – ongoing access to the land that contradictorily provides the material and spiritual sustenance of Indigenous societies and the foundation of colonial state

formation, settlement, and capitalist development" (pg. 57-58). In later chapters I provide some examples of harmful discursive constructs concerning Indigenous Peoples and their culture and history that have been normalized through various dominant discourses, the media, and generations of Eurocentric education programs in Canadian public schools. And as Bonilla-Silva (2015) points out: "the fact that racial domination is reproduced in everyday life in (mostly) consistent fashion reflects the fact that (most) actors follow the 'path of least resistance'… and behave as expected" (pg. 1361). This suggests that settler societies are increasingly complicit and continue to benefit from the ongoing exploitative processes of resource colonialism.

Recent critics suggest that mechanisms of resource extraction projects and the legal system as a whole render Canada still very much a colonial state. In addition, colonialism is embedded in Canadian institutions and the Canadian conscience through the narrative Canada has constructed about its own identity. This 'Canadian identity' has been imposed on Indigenous communities for centuries, at one time forcefully, in the form of Residential Schools, and today under the framework of the politics of recognition. For example, Sunera Thobani (2007) reflects on the fact that "the need to maintain a clear conscience might have given pause to the more troubled among the settlers, but it does not seem to have affected their appetite for settlement" (pg. 57). Resource extraction projects in Canada, from mining to oil and gas, exist as an ongoing assault on Indigenous land, identity, and way of life. Identity affirmation is a necessary feature in the ongoing fight for decolonization because "Indigenous expressions of autonomy, independence, or collective identity disrupt Canada's politico-economic dependence on the exploitation of Indigenous lands and resources" (Crosby & Monaghan, 2016, pg.41). Since the early days of settler colonization in Canada, Indigenous Peoples have been fighting for the right to their land, community, customs, tradition, culture, and social structures. This fight continues today, as environmental racism and the economic powers of exploitative capitalism continue to define a system strengthened by colonial and racialized processes. This is all while Canada attempts to reconcile its history as a racist settler colonizer, at least outwardly.

Western ideologies of oppression and critical theories about authenticity, identity formation, normalization, and decolonialization are usefully explained by theorists who first developed these conceptual means. The work of Francophone philosophers and decolonization theorists in the post-war French period, such as Jean-Paul Sartre and

Frantz Fanon, can help explain the paradoxes that exist in contemporary colonial situations, such as in Canada. One of many examples of such a paradox is the ongoing political discourse around truth and reconciliation while dozens of Indigenous communities go without access to clean drinking water. Many concepts introduced by Fanon and Sartre have influenced Glen Coulthard, who adapted them in a contemporary Canadian context in his 2014 book *Red Skin White Masks* – a title that owes a huge debt to Fanon's famous 1952 book *Black Skin White Masks*. Coulthard critiques Canada's perpetuation of colonial state formations and the normalization of systemic colonialism by examining the current Canadian state, blending ideas from Fanon with Marxism. From this foundation he outlines an alternative politics centering around Indigenous self-determination.

Sartre, Fanon, and Coulthard all share a philosophical and theoretical concern for colonial legacies, systemic oppression, and racism. Exploring these theories can help elucidate Canada's problem of preserving colonialism through ideologies of oppression. Here the Canadian white settler state [is] imagined, ideologically entrenched, and structurally made possible through the interconnected interests of imperial and private capital's exploitations of the natural environment and its reliance on the expertise and knowledge of Indigenous peoples" (Preston, 2017, pg.363). In the following section I expand on some of the principle theories grounded in Sartre, Fanon, and Coulthard's work to better understand the relationship between colonialism, capitalism, environmental racism, and Marxism in Canada as a contemporary colonial state.

1.1. Racism, Identity, and the Paradoxes of Colonialism

Jean-Paul Sartre was an existentialist philosopher who examined the nature of being and consciousness and the existential dilemma of freedom and responsibility. Following in the footsteps of Hegel, Sartre capitalized form the Hegelian renaissance in post-war France and developed many of his most famous theories in works such as *Being and Nothingness* (1943) and *Anti-Semite and Jew* (1946). One of Sartre's central principles in existentialism is that humans are free to choose their destiny, because "the values that shape a person's behavior results from the choices they have made, a person's essence is formed out of their chosen values" (Webber, 2018, pg.5). In *Being and Nothingness*, Sartre has a section on 'concrete relations with others' in which he establishes many of his theories around identity, authenticity, and bad faith, which

helped him become a proponent of anti-colonialism and find a place in the *Négritude* movement alongside Fanon (I discuss the *Négritude* movement in greater detail below).

As a psychiatrist, Frantz Fanon was primarily concerned with the existence of suffering. His work is largely influenced by his identity as a Martinican growing up under French colonial rule, studying at a French university, and later being involved as a doctor during the Algerian War of Independence, and elucidates how social structures directly contribute to human suffering. Fanon developed a radical theory of decolonization that considered the social structures of racism and colonization. In seminal works such as *Black Skin White Masks* (1952) and *Wretched of the Earth* (1961) Fanon explores how colonization affects identity formation in the psychology of colonized subjects.

Many of Fanon's theories evolve from Hegel's Master/Slave dialectic, as well as from some of Jean-Paul Sartre's philosophy, particularly from the *Critique of Dialectical Reason* (1960). Although Fanon was influenced by Sartre's existentialist philosophy, he argues that Sartre's theories of existentialism, individual freedom and responsibility, and bad faith alone cannot account for the experience of colonized people. Instead, Fanon explores authenticity and identity by looking at the inextricable link between colonial social structures and the psychology of colonized subjects.

Fanon explains how identity is shaped under colonial rule. Borrowing from Fanon, I believe there are two categories of identity formation in Canada that are relevant here. The first applies to Indigenous identity, which the colonial state attempts to control through strategies that try "to transform Indigenous peoples into members of the dominant society through re-education, incentives and socialization so that they lose their attachment to their identity" (Tully, 2008, pg.263). The second applies to the mythicized Canadian identity designed to keep Indigenous identities repressed while touting post-colonialism and multiculturalism. According to Thobani (2007) this second category of identity relies on "modernist accounts of the subject as a stable, conscious, unified, and enduring figure, whose actions are shaped primarily by reason [and thus] deeply ingrained within Canadian national mythology" (pg. 7). Fanon's work suggests the project of identity construction in colonized subjects is more existential, pertaining to the self in relation to an oppressive system of 'othering,' and that the project of recognition is largely political and structural.

One of Coulthard's (2014) central arguments in *Red Skin White Masks* is: "in Canada, we have witnessed this relatively recent 'reconciliation politics' converge with a slightly older 'politics of recognition,' advocating the institutional recognition and accommodation of Indigenous cultural differences as an important means of reconciling the colonial relationship between Indigenous peoples and the state" (pg. 106). In the processes of reconciliation, recognition has somehow become associated with self-determination and autonomy, which Coulthard argues – persuasively in my view – is both misleading and sinister. He contends instead that the politics of recognition are just another apparatus of the state, designed to keep conceptions of the political relationship between Indigenous cultures and societies and the Canadian state masked as progressive.

1.2. Sartre and the Ideology of Oppression

Following a turbulent war in which France succumbed to a puppet Vichy government and turned a blind eye to the mass persecution of French Jews, Sartre made it his objective to demonstrate the burden of freedom and responsibility on the individual in his work. During this time, "the inadequacy of French idealism in grasping world issues [and] its separation from history… led Sartre to search for new ways of thinking, a search that led eventually to Hegel and Marx" (Poster, 1975). Because of this, his work resonated with many intellectuals at a time when French intellectual circles were revisiting the work of Hegel, and the *Phenomenology of Spirit* in particular.

Sartre's existential philosophy unpacks the role of freedom and responsibility in the individual, and from this starting point attempts to create a comprehensive study of human consciousness that can help elucidate how institutionalized forms of oppression can thrive in a society. Sartre became interested in how individuals become removed from their own morals in a society, and how human consciousness was influenced by Europe's widespread complicity in the persecution and murder of millions of Jews during the Second World War. How does a society grapple with being held accountable in the aftermath of such horrors? Sartre noticed that the French were reluctant to take personal responsibility for the atrocities that took place during the war and wanted to clarify through his work that human beings don't really have the option of *not* taking responsibility for their choices. As Poster (1975) points out, "Sartre's lesson seemed to be that the evolution of man, individually and collectively, was in the hands of man

himself, and was not the determination of a fortuitous blind law of nature" (pg. 82). Sartre placed the onus on the individual and tried to show, in light of the Second World War, that anti-Semites are anti-Semites because they *consciously choose* their anti-Semitism.

A central theme in Sartre's existentialism and one developed in great detail in *Being and Nothingness* (1943) is the idea that *existence precedes essence*. What this means is that as humans, or as Sartre liked to say, beings-in-the-world, we do not come into the world with a consciousness that is preordained with values and meaning. Instead, we must create this meaning – this essence – ourselves, through the choices we make and the values that we adopt (Webber, 2018; Sartre, 1943). Existentialism suggests that there is no such thing as human nature; instead, it is through a collection of experiences and choices, and ultimately through our actions, that we create our essence (nature). Sartre very much believes that we are responsible for our humanity in every respect. In *Existentialism is a Humanism*, he expresses that "man is nothing else but that which he makes of himself. That is the first principle of existentialism" (Sartre, 1946).

Throughout his work, Sartre develops the idea that at some point, we become aware that we are completely responsible for our existence as beings-in-the-world. Confronted with this reality, we feel an immense pressure to create our own destiny, after which we begin to experience a feeling that Sartre refers to as *anguish*. In order to escape this feeling, we engage in a type of self-deception about our freedom so that we can avoid the responsibility of having to make these difficult choices. And so, "denying the fact that choices exist is one way for humans to avoid anxiety: by creating a simple world in which there are no alternatives, people shield themselves from the responsibility of decision making" (Magnani, 2009, pg.129). Sartre refers to this as *bad faith*, a significant concept and outcome of the human condition to resist the freedom of responsibility and choice. He describes the human subject as being always positionally or non-positionally conscious of *something*, and concludes that nobody can truly deceive themselves to the point of not knowing. In other words, "in bad faith the deceiver and the deceived are one, and the agent of bad faith both 'knows' and conceals the truth in a single consciousness" (Zheng, 1999, pg.266).

In his 1946 essay *Anti-Semite and Jew*, Sartre attempts to unpack racism by examining the process of self-deception of the anti-Semite in relation to the Jew. By

adopting lies as truth, Sartre argues that anti-Semites construct their identity around a false conception of the world. In this case, the lies in question are the justifications for anti-Semitism (which can be applied to racism more broadly). In doing so, the anti-Semite can deny their responsibility, avoid their rationality, and never have to justify their anti-Semitism because it is permanently fixed into their identity. To Sartre, then, avoiding this responsibility is a key aspect in complicity towards racism, which is fixed in the anti-Semite and is also a form of bad faith. This kind of self-deception and rationalization works to uphold the dominant ideologies and racialized power structures that shape oppressive societies.

Works such as *Being and Nothingness* (1943) and *Anti-Semite and Jew* (1946) had come right before a period between the end of World War II and into the 1950s, where it was obvious, according to Mark Poster (1975), that: “capitalism was not disintegrating. Soviet socialism was not generating the New Man, revolutionary impetus could not be found in the West but in the Colonial world [and] the working class in industrial society was becoming integrated into the capitalist order” (pg. 162). It was partially because of this timing that Sartre’s reputation grew enormously as he sought to find a place in dominant French social and political spheres where “the Left’s frustration at the immediate post-war weakening of the European working class movement [caused him] to imagine the revolutionary consciousness, in the manner of the Hegelian Spirit, reincarnating itself in the dawning anti-colonial consciousness of Africa and the Caribbean” (Penney, 2004, pg.57). By experiencing firsthand these philosophical uncertainties in dominant French social and political thought, Sartre was able to refine his existentialist philosophy and place the burden of freedom and responsibility on the shoulders of the individual. During this time, Sartre was also trying to reconcile his existentialism with Marxism, which left him vulnerable to criticisms within the French Communist Party and throughout intellectual circles and political movements at the time.

Sartre’s relationships and public falling-out with the French Communist Party as well as other Hegelians and existentialist theorists such as Alexandre Kojève, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Albert Camus, and critical theorists from the Frankfurt School such as Herbert Marcuse helped shape his writing and pave the way for his existential Marxism. Throughout the 1940s and 50s Sartre’s “notion of anxiety hypostasized the truth that freedom of self-determination was a troubled freedom in a world which knew every day the sickening fact of torture [and] where the colonial wars of capitalism and the

barbarism of Nazism were vulnerable only to the weak sting of Sartre's words" (Poster, 1975, pg.84). Sartre wanted his philosophy to have a lasting impact on society, but the Marxist idea of *praxis* did not have very much room for a metaphysical philosophy that focused so much on the individual.

Despite the obstacles he faced, particularly from other Marxists at the time, Sartre did manage to get involved in decolonization and anti-racist movements. I believe his philosophy of bad faith can be applied to the current settler state in Canada, in which praxis and identity affirmation are considered forms of resistance against ideologies of colonialism. It is therefore useful to conceptualize the role of Canadian identity through Sartre's existentialism and later, through Fanon's structural interpretations of racism. As Sunera Thobani (2007) points out, in Canada "the category citizen, born from the genocidal violence of colonization, exists in a dialectical relationship with its other, the Indian, for whom the emergence of this citizenship was deadly, not emancipatory' (pg. 74).

1.3. Authenticity

A central principle of existentialism is that "to say that it does not matter what you choose is not correct. In one sense choice is possible, but what is not possible is not to choose. I can always choose, but I must know that if I do not choose, that is still a choice" (Sartre, 1946). Sartre suggests that to live authentically, our true identity must consist of what we confront out of freedom. It is important, then, to understand how self-consciousness can become alienated and oppressed under social, political, and ideological power structures. Engels (2014) applies this Sartrean concept of authenticity to the contemporary colonial situation in Canada.

> "For those living in first-world countries, it is all but impossible *not* to participate in a society that is damaging our habitat [and marginalized groups]. However, bad faith arises when we deny responsibility for our role and position in society and our actions that contribute to those overall societal systems. To this extent, authenticity mandates accepting some degree of accountability. To deny that our actions have contributed to a denial of freedom of Indigenous groups as well as contributing to the damage of the planet is to act in bad faith."

In Canada, in particular, where "Indigenous expression of autonomy, independence, or collective identity disrupt Canada's politico-economic dependence on

the exploitation of Indigenous lands and resources" (Crosby & Monaghan, 2016), identity comes to serve as an act of resistance. With this in mind, the Sartrean notion of authenticity can be examined in two contexts. The first is in the context of settlers who are complicit in and benefit from overarching colonial processes as subjects of a seemingly 'post-colonial' state (inauthentic subjects). The second is within the context of an alienation imposed on subjects by these same colonial processes, and for who authenticity has become the guiding principle of resistance (authentic subjects).

Much like Sartre's anti-Semite in *Anti-Semite and Jew*, settlers in Canada who are complicit in and benefit from its colonial power structures live in bad faith. Their project, or destiny, remains inauthentic so long as it is driven by the desire to escape certain truths about how the choices they make, or consciously choose not to make, govern their privilege as settlers and perpetrate a system benefiting from the exploitation of Indigenous land. For the anti-Semite in Sartre's work, it is less painful to rationalize anti-Semitism than it is to face the reality that anti-Semitism doesn't have to exist at all, let alone for the purpose of benefitting one being over another.

1.4. Negritude

The relevance and integrity of Sartre's existentialism was tested during the *Négritude* movement. In 1930s Paris, a revolutionary Pan-African literary movement, partially influenced by surrealism and partially by the activity of the French Communist Party of the time (Haddour, 2005), began to emerge. Initiated by French-speaking African and Caribbean writers and poets Léopold Sédar Senghor, Aimé Césaire, and Léon Damas, the *Négritude* movement examined the role of Western values in colonized societies and opposed these values by reaffirming African culture in art, literature, and poetry and continued until the 1960s. Sartre became active in the movement, and *Black Orpheus* (1948) – the preface to Senghor's *Anthologie de la Nouvelle Poésie Négre el Malgache de Langue Française* – became his most famous written contribution during this period. In the opening paragraph of *Orphée Noir* Sartre (1964) attempts to elucidate the experience of Black subjects by invoking the gaze of the existential Other to face the anguish of its history of slavery, colonization, and oppression:

> "When you removed the gag that was keeping these Black mouths shut, what were you hoping for? That they would sing your praises? Did you think that when they raised themselves up again, you would read adoration in

> the eyes of these heads that our fathers had forced to bend down to the very ground? Here are black men standing, looking at us, and I hope that you – like me will feel the shock of being seen" (pg. 13).

In *Black Orpheus*, Sartre attempts to re-assert the significance of Black identity affirmation against the dominant structures and spheres of European culture in existentialist terms and considers himself an ally of the African and West Indian poets and intellectuals driving various decolonization movements in France. As a harsh critic of dominant European power structures, Sartre positions his writing in such a way that it admonishes complacent European subjects who continuously overlook the impact which colonialism and the French empire have had on colonized subjects. Here, Sartre's allegiance to the *Négritude* movement and his call on other French intellectuals at the time to join him in this struggle inevitably further politicized the movement, which was already associated with radical Leftist ideologies in France. His critique of the French empire and later, in the preface to Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth*, his outright support for Algerian independence, put Sartre in a position to address the necessity of political praxis that he struggled with due to the Marxist limitations of his existentialism.

Eventually, Sartre's relationship to the *Négritude* movement became contentious, particularly in the eyes of Fanon, who criticized Sartre's presumptuousness in *Black Orpheus* in positioning *Négritude* as a fleeting movement and not as an end in itself. Initially Fanon, who was introduced to *Négritude* as a young student of Aimé Césaire, criticized this position as one that represses the potential of Black artistic liberation and the voices that represent it. This is a criticism Fanon was particularly vocal about when he wrote *Black Skin White Masks* in 1952 and after which he developed his own criticisms towards the movement in *Wretched of the Earth*.

Despite Sartre's Western philosophical perspective, his attempt to synthesize racism with colonized systems in *Black Orpheus* can be useful here because "for Sartre, as for the other followers of *Négritude*, Black poetry and the arts constitute a revolutionary force that challenges European society to address an affirmation of identity and assertion of freedom" (Jules-Rosette, 2007, pg. 272). Similar to Indigenous movements in Canada, *Négritude* considered identity affirmation as a form of resistance against colonial oppression in the form of poetry, literature, and a return to African roots.

As a prominent anti-colonial movement, *Négritude* ultimately shaped Sartre and Fanon's intellectual relationship. Fanon's eventual rejection of *Négritude* (he largely agrees with Sartre's point in the end, but still does not think it appropriate for Sartre to be the one to make this point as an ally) can serve as a theoretical tool for understanding Coulthard's rejection of Canada's politics of recognition that I discuss in later chapters. Sartre's involvement in *Négritude* expanded his existentialist philosophy to include anti-racism and the potential for revolutionary praxis in decolonization. He was successful in positioning himself as anti-colonial and developing his theories to include a more structural understanding of racial and colonial oppression in culture and society.

1.5. Identity and Recognition in Fanon

When Sartre eventually wrote *Critique of Dialectical Reason* in 1960, it became one of his most significant contributions to the existential study of racism, and how the individual can transcend the self through collective action in an oppressive system. Fanon was greatly influenced by Sartre's *Critique* and expands on some of his ideas by including the effects of colonial oppression on the psyche, emphasizing the impacts of the social and political structures of colonization. Although he was a psychiatrist by training, Fanon's radical decolonization theory did rely on existential philosophy. Unlike Sartre (and Hegel), Fanon created a more concrete societal analysis of oppression, racism, and colonization; he ultimately "goes beyond Sartre to demonstrate that the issue at the heart of political injustice is primarily the *problem of inaction*, not [just] the problem of identity (Chari, 2004, pg. 114-115).

In his 1952 book *Black Skin White Masks*, Fanon writes that he "came into this world imbued with the will to find a meaning in things, [his] spirit filled with the desire to attain to the source of the world" adding that he "was an object in the midst of other objects" (pg. 82). Fanon acknowledges Sartre's notion that existence precedes essence, but also emphasizes that essence can be affected by forces outside the individual consciousness, such as social structures, ideologies, and institutions. He argues these structures can ultimately have a psychological effect on human beings.

Fanon's work touches on how identity can be manipulated and affected by colonial power structures. In a colonized society, subjects are forced to try and construct their identity while it is simultaneously forced into alienation and obscured by systemic

oppression and the process of Othering. It is in the nature of colonial systems to destroy authentic identity, and Maddison (2013) argues that “one aspect of [the] structural violence [of settler colonialism] concerns the regulation of Indigenous identity” (pg. 289). Building off Sartre’s notions of bad faith and authenticity, Fanon “develops a form of existentialism that explains the constraints that historical situations place on the individual’s freedom to change their own outlook and that recognizes the necessity of an ongoing engagement with the legacy of the past” (Webber, 2018, pg. 22). In *Black Skin White Masks* (1952) he explains that “inferiority comes into being through the other” (pg. 83) and demonstrates that in the colonial context, the inherent need to be a free and equal human being is constantly up against the inhumane, governing characteristics of colonial ideologies.

Fanon includes the study of racism in his analysis of the desire for recognition. He is ultimately critical of this desire, and “of the idea that freedom of colonial subjects will be realized when they are recognized by the colonizer” (Chari, 2004, pg.110). Alienated by colonization, Fanon illustrates in *Black Skin White Masks* how Black subjects fall prey to believing they must seek and ultimately attain the goals of an alien European culture. He emphasizes that no matter how much a Black subject may try to accept or assimilate into a white European society, they will always end up being dehumanized by it. Nursey-Bray (1972) summarizes by noting: Fanon “was chiefly concerned with an analysis of how individuals of the colored races become alienated under the domination of the white colonial culture, which robs them of their identity” (pg.153).

1.6. Fanon and Racialized Social Structures

Fanon emphasizes that when colonial subjects try to recognize themselves within the assimilative forces of European imperialism they become more deeply alienated from their endemic identity. Readers of Fanon “will find that Fanon is the first since Engels to bring the process of history into the clear light of day” (Sartre, 1963). As a young man leaving Martinique to study in France, he realized the objectifying and alienating character of recognition in a colonial society, which ultimately manifests itself as an inferiority complex. His existential understanding of the individual in *Black Skin White Masks* “emphasizes the ultimately objectifying and alienating character of

intersubjective recognition, especially when these relations are played out in contexts structured by racial or cultural inequality" (Coulthard, 2014, pg.139).

The accumulation of our experiences has a profound effect on our consciousness. Fanon's study of oppression encompasses material exploitation as well as class and economic structures, and he highlights the role of history in shaping these structures. Webber (2018) argues that "the underlying argument of [*Black Skin White Masks*] is that people become racialized through the collective sedimentation of a colonial value system" (pg. 1). In a colonial society, there are layers of reality that become infiltrated by colonizing politics, history, ideology, and socio-economic structures. If colonized subjects are responsible for their own destiny and authentic identity as existential subjects, the racialized society in which they live constantly attempts to alienate them from that identity.

Fanon's experience as a Martinican studying in France, and later as a psychiatrist working in Algeria, helped him develop the idea that white hegemony and racism are so ingrained in the social, cultural, and economic fabric of society that Black (and colonized) subjects feel like they have to fight for humanity in a system in which "the white family is the workshop in which one is shaped and trained for life in society" (Fanon, 1952). Fanon challenges white European hegemony by exposing the totalizing effects of colonization and systemic racism. He shows that dominant power structures and cultural hegemonic forces can manipulate how identities are constructed in society and tries to stress that Black subjects experience the world differently precisely because they are, and for hundreds of years have been, racialized. Therefore, being marginalized and colonized by a culture and society that is not one's own means those subjects do not have the same existential freedom and experiences as non-racialized subjects.

Addressing the dilemma of authenticity in a colonized society, Fanon argues that authenticity should manifest as resistance. He introduces this idea in the first chapter of *Wretched of the Earth* (1963), stating "to tell the truth, the proof of success lies in a whole social structure being changed from the bottom up. The extraordinary importance of this change is that it is willed, called for, demanded" (pg. 35). An important point in Fanon's work is that individual consciousness cannot transcend its condition simply by recognizing that it is free. This is because under colonization, anguish does not result from the awareness that we are free to make our own choices, but from the reality that

the colonial subject “living in a world of chaotic values, where [they are] always the object of the forces that surround [them], and in the face of which [they] must assert [their] freedom, is also the author of these forces in so far as [they] turn away from an authentic commitment to liberty and instead seek to hide behind a ‘white mask’’ (Nursey,Bray, 1972, pg.153).

1.7. (Existential) Marxism in Sartre and Fanon

The growth of Canadian capitalism resulted in the mass displacement of Indigenous peoples from their land to make way for exploiting this land and its natural resources: something Richard Gruneau (2017) refers to as “capital accumulation through dispossession” (pg. 102). Marxist critical theory is relevant to this research because capitalism and colonialism are inextricably linked. Capital brought in by extractive mega-industries such as oil and gas, mining, and forestry “marked Canada’s development during the twentieth century [and continue to be] a determining force in Canada’s political economy” (Pineault, 2018, pg.130). Today, late-stage capitalism is still used as the guiding ideological principle under which resource extraction continues to advance in Canada and shape its current political landscape and relationship with environmental racism. Like the capitalist system Marx wrote about in the 19th century, “the colonial system will not miss an opportunity to mobilize those who it has systemically marginalized and pauperized against popular uprisings” (Gibson, 2020, pg.330).

Sartre and Fanon were interested in how Marxist theory could shape revolutionary potential. Fanon’s primary concern was that racism is a condition of society, embodied by racialized class and economic structures. Fanon demonstrates throughout his work that he is well acquainted with Marxism, and “was enough of a Marxist to understand the role played by capitalism in exasperating hierarchical relations of recognition. However, he was also much more perceptive than many Marxists of his day in his insistence that the subjective realm of colonialism be the target of strategic transformation along with the socioeconomic structure” (Coulthard, 2014, pg.33).

In one way or another, Sartre, Fanon, Coulthard, and Marx all engage with ““the profound questions of freedom and of one’s identity [which] are not the exclusive

problems of the professor of philosophy but characteristic of man at each moment of his life" (Poster, 1975, pg.80). Likewise, Coulthard (2014) reminds us "Marx's historical excavation of the birth of the capitalist mode of production identifies a host of colonial-like practices that served to violently strip – through 'conquest, enslavement, robbery, murder' – noncapitalist producers, communities, and societies from their means of production and subsistence" (pg. 7). The capitalist pressure to extract (Pineault, 2018) is a guiding principle in colonized societies, and can be better understood through a Marxist analysis of primitive accumulation. However, understanding these historically materialist processes alone does not give an accurate picture of the totalizing effects of colonialism as a racist ideology. Sartre and Fanon help round out this understanding colonialism as a structural, philosophical, and psychological project.

1.8. Introducing the Politics of Recognition

One of the most well known Western philosophical theories that deals with oppression, the Hegelian Master-Slave Dialectic, has strongly influenced the works of Sartre, Fanon, and Coulthard. Hegel wanted to demonstrate the unique dichotomy between an oppressor and the oppressed, and that ultimately, it is the oppressor (master) who is dependent on the oppressed (slave), and not the other way around. A simple understanding of Hegel's original theory is useful to this research because "Western ontologies have long been based in binary constructions with the self being constituted in relation to its excluded Other [and] echoing the Hegelian dialectic of the self and Other, master narratives of Canadian nationhood define the national's character relationally" (Thobani, 2007, pg.5).

In *Black Skin White Masks,* Fanon demonstrates that the conflict between the oppressor and the oppressed changes when race becomes involved*,* particularly in a colonial system. Coulthard (2014) notes that "Fanon was primarily concerned, following Alexander Kojève and Jean-Paul Sartre, with recognition as it appeared in the master/slave dialectic of the *Phenomenology of Spirit*" (pg. 27), but bases it on the framework of colonialism. Hegel's *Phenomenology* had an influence on Marxist critical theory, and Forsythe (1973) refers to Frantz Fanon as the Marx of the third world primarily because Fanon was interested in the revolutionary potential of the lumpen-proletariat; in other words, he "favoured the… dispossessed rural peasants [and stressed] the revolutionary nature of the peasantry" (pg. 166).

Indigenous communities in Canada are challenging a colonial system that tries to impose false values of recognition into the politics of reconciliation. Coulthard (2014), who is interested in the politics of recognition, suggests “Fanon’s work be read as an important, yet largely ignored, contribution to the so-called Hegel ‘renaissance’ that occurred in France’s intellectual scene after World War II”. Coulthard’s criticism of these politics underlies his book *Red Skin White Masks* (2014), in which he builds on Fanon’s criticism of striving for recognition from oppressors in a racialized society. Coulthard criticizes Canadian politics of recognition, pointing out the fundamental role of state institutions(Coulthard, 2007), and applies Hegel’s dialectic to his critique that Canada’s politics of recognition is a statist politics.

Chapter 2. Racism, Extraction, and the Canadian Settler State

Canada is currently considered one of the leading countries in energy and natural resource production, trailing only behind countries like Russia, Saudi Arabia, the United States, India, and China[1]. For decades, the energy sector has dominated debates around Canada's identity, economy, and future – both politically and ideologically. Today, due to the success of ongoing Indigenous resistance and climate activism, there is a growing trend in divestment from the tar sands and pipeline project development in the country[2]. This, along with rising costs and risks associated with pipelines such as the Trans Mountain Pipeline Expansion Project, which was purchased for $4.5 billion CDN in 2018 and whose cost has since jumped to a staggering $21.4 billion in 2022[3], is significantly weakening the oil industry's potential political and economic stronghold.

As part of contemporary Canadian identity, proponents sometimes refer to projects in the resource extraction sector as "ethical" because these natural resources are extracted here rather than nations deemed to be less democratic and more autocratic – such as Saudi Arabia and Iraq. But above all else, the success of extractivist industries in Canada has relied heavily on the reality that Indigenous peoples were dispossessed from their ancestral lands in order to make way for industrial mega-projects in logging, mining, and crude oil extraction. To achieve and maintain its economic growth and global status as a democratically stable and developed nation, Canada has downplayed or ignored sacrifices made by Indigenous groups for hundreds of years. Some of the most devastating projects for the environment and human health have been built in or near First Nations communities. Some examples include, but are in no way limited to:, Athabasca Chipewyan and Fort McMurray First Nations, amongst others in the Northern Alberta Tar Sands region; the Musqueam, Squamish and Tseil-Waututh nations amongst others on the Trans-Mountain Pipeline Expansion Project route; the Aamjiwnaang First Nations reservation inside Chemical Valley near Sarnia,

[1] https://www.nrcan.gc.ca/science-data/data-analysis/energy-data-analysis/energy-facts/energy-and-economy/20062
[2] https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/14/world/canada/alberta-oil-sands-divestment.html
[3]https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/trans-mountain-pipeline-tmx-1.6389874

Ontario; the Grassy Narrows First Nation poisoned by mercury from pulp mills in Western Ontario, and the Wet'sewut'en peoples along the Coastal GasLink pipeline route in Northern British Columbia.

For Indigenous communities around the country the harsh realities of environmental racism contradict the recent discourses about reconciliation. In the historical process of capitalist transformation, colonial legacies and traditions continue to underly systems and institutions of oppression. For Coulthard, among others, (Thobani, Simpson) these systems and institutions are deeply ingrained in the legal, political, and economic structures of Canada and closely supportive of the extractivist sector. These powerful industries not only cause physical and societal harm through their flagrant disregard for toxins and pollution, they also perpetrate unequal development and settler colonial class relations. However, Indigenous communities have long been at the forefront of resistance against to extractivist and other polluting industries as well as the appropriation and privatization of traditional lands and territories. For decades, Indigenous resistance in the form off blockades, peaceful protests, and social movements have aimed to affirm Indigenous identity and Indigenous rights, all the while challenging and confronting settler bad faith and the processes and ideologies which continue to reinforce ideologies of oppression in Canada. Some famous examples include the Oka Crisis of 1990 and the Ipperwash Crisis of 1995, and more recently, protests against Coastal GasLink and TMX.

2.1. The Exploitative Logic of Resource Colonialism

Early trade in furs, timber, or mining – sometimes called 'staples' by settler historians – marked the centrality of extraction to Canadian colonization virtually from the outset. It is not too much to say the processes by which this has taken place have rarely been ethical. The coal, oil, and gas sectors, in particular, have helped drive an energy-driven capitalist economy since the early 19th century. These industries reinforced a strong political divide between settlers and Indigenous communities. For example, in the late 1800s, the Athabasca region around northern Alberta (First Nations land traditionally belonging to the Mikisew Cree First Nation, Athabasca Chipewyan First Nation, Fort McMurray First Nation, Fort McKay Cree Nation, Beaver Lake Cree First Nation Chipewyan Prairie First Nation, and the Metis) was discovered to have a huge petroleum reserve, laden with black, viscous bitumen. During the 20th century, and most notably in

the 1990s and early 2000s, these reserves saw rapid investment and expansion as demand for oil skyrocketed around the globe (Nikiforuk, 2010; Pearson & Ray, 2018).

This region is now commonly referred to as the Alberta tar sands and is an industrial goliath where thousands of acres of Boreal Forest and myriad natural ecosystems have been devastated to make room for one of the most exhaustive natural resource extraction projects on the planet. Here, bitumen, a non-renewable, high-sulfur heavy crude oil is either extracted through open-pit mining or is steamed/melted out of the ground through in situ production; both methods obliterate the natural surroundings and the earth below. Typically, anywhere between roughly 1-3 barrels of freshwater from the Athabasca River are needed to produce 1 barrel of bitumen, and the toxic sludge produced from this process is then stored in massive tailings ponds. More specifically, these are reserves that hold the roughly 250 million liters of highly toxic waste produced daily by the tar sands, seeping into the ground beneath them and polluting into the air above them. [4] Today, critics argue the tar sands are one of the most destructive industries on earth, extracting what Andrew Nikiforuk (2010) refers to as "what a desperate civilization mines after it's depleted its cheap oil. It's a bottom-of-the-barrel resource, a signal that business as usual in the oil patch has ended" (pg. 17).

The Alberta tar sands illustrate what Pearson & Ray (2018) refer to as *resource colonialism*, or "the theft and appropriation of land belonging to Indigenous people[s] in order to access natural resources" (pg. 69). Each of Canada's natural resource extraction projects represents a moment in history when Indigenous communities were displaced from their land and traditional means of sustenance, and mega-projects like the Alberta tar sands have disrupted Indigenous ways of life that have allowed communities to be self-sustaining for thousands of years. Traditional methods of hunting, trapping, and fishing have been devastated as wildlife populations have been killed off or poisoned through the process of land clearing or contamination from toxic tailings ponds, and waterways in these regions have undergone extensive damage from various spills and leaks.

Additionally, the effects of the Alberta tar sands are felt far beyond the Athabasca region. Exports from the oil sands extend their reach through myriad traditional

[4] https://e360.yale.edu/features/with_tar_sands_development_growing_concern_on_water_use

Indigenous territories both in Canada and the United States through a huge map of pipelines – one of which is the Trans-Mountain expansion project in British Columbia. Put another way, “to get in the way of settler colonization, all the native [had] to do is stay home. Whatever settlers may say… the primary motive for elimination is not race… but access to territory. Territoriality is settler colonialism’s specific, irreducible element” (Wolfe, 2006, pg,388). In 2018, Natural Resources Canada reported over 250 active and ongoing projects in oil sands, natural gas, pipelines, mining, and forests (e.g., lumber, pulp and paper, biofuel production).

There is an imperialist logic at the core of resource colonialism—an *extractive imperialism*, which itself has “taken different forms through the age of conquest, commercial capitalism, the rise of industrial capitalism and the emergence of monopoly capitalism to the present age of global megacorporation’s allied with financial capital” (Veltmeyer, 2013, pg.80). Together with resource colonialism, this ideological logic shapes Canada’s resource extractivist sector, and represent the neoliberal mechanisms by which colonial oppression is sustained in a self-proclaimed ‘post-colonial’ society.

The domination of nature and its resources are inextricably linked to this rapid expansion of capital. As Marcuse argues (2007) “the pollution of air and water, the noise, the encroachment of industry and commerce on open natural space have the physical weight of enslavement, imprisonment. The struggle against them is a political struggle; it is obvious to what extent the violation of nature is inseparable from the economy of capitalism” (pg. 61). Canada’s capitalist economy came into existence due to the appropriation of land from First Nations and an accompanying exploitation of land and raw materials that perpetuate capitalist economic growth.

This capitalist rationality is the direct result of what Gruneau (2017) describes as a time in which “[views] of civilization and progress [were constructed] from the privileged vantage point of the European and American dominant classes [in which] visions of ‘universal association’ were closely connected to a colonial ‘ideology of progress’ through capital accumulation and technological innovation” (pg. 104). This particular form of capitalist rationality set the conditions for Indigenous communities to disproportionately suffer the effects of environmental racism, as powerful corporations in the extractive sector have become an extension of colonial rule. Industrial mega-projects such as the oil sands support Thobani’s (2007, pg. 37-38) argument that “colonialism

created an order based on absolute violence [which] Fanon argues [is] an order that relied on the transformation of the 'native' into a 'thing,' an object of exploitation… [Fanon] also argues that the colonial encounter was structured as a racial one."

Canada's problematic issues with environmental racism have not gone un-noticed: a 2019 report by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Human Rights and Toxins[5] found that "the invisible violence inflicted by toxins is an insidious burden disproportionately borne by Indigenous peoples in Canada." This report confirmed that to this day, mercury is still contaminating the river sediment, soil, and groundwater of the Grassy Narrows First Nation, and that over 58% of the population suffer from a neurological disease caused by mercury exposure. The problem goes further than this. Many Indigenous communities in Canada continue to struggle with unsafe drinking water. The report also found that the Fort McMurray, Fort MacKay and Fort Chipewyan First Nations show alarming health trends and are suffering serious health impacts from the nearby tar sands in Alberta, and that waste disposal sites and landfills from these oil sands are closest to Indigenous reserves. Additionally, the Aamjiwnaang First Nation in Sarnia, Ontario have suffered irreversible damage due to the 60+ industrial facilities that have been operating near First Nations communities since the 1940s. Additionally, the report also found that "Indigenous peoples face considerable challenges in accessing quality healthcare in comparison to non-Indigenous peoples in Canada." So, for the most part, the benefits of extractive industries have mostly come to non-Indigenous peoples at the expense of First Nations. According to Cantzler and Huynh (2016, pg.210) "it follows that decolonization requires not only the deconstruction of structural manifestations of inequality but also their ideological foundations."

2.2. Resistance

Canada's Western-most provinces, British Columbia and Alberta, are laden with mining and oil (bitumen) extraction projects. In the last few years there have been many local Indigenous resistance movements in British Columbia, such as organized resistance and protests against the incoming Trans Mountain Pipeline expansion project. This project is set to transport an extra 890,000 barrels of diluted bitumen daily from the Alberta Tar Sands to the Port of Vancouver in the Burrard Inlet. It will increase oil tanker

[5] http://www.srtoxics.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/Canada-HRC-45_AUV.pdf

traffic in the inlet by about 1200%, along with significantly increasing the risks of more oil spills along the pipeline route and into the Pacific Ocean[6]. In July 2020, the Supreme Court of British Columbia rejected a First Nations appeal to challenge the federal government's re-approval of the expansion[7]. This stands as a contemporary example of how resource colonialism is reinforced through Canada's overarching legal systems.

But longstanding resistance to such projects continues. Another example is resistance at the Unist'ot'en Camp in Northern B.C against the Coastal GasLink pipeline, which will transport fracked gas to a facility in Kitimat to undergo an energy-intensive refining process that will emit more dangerous greenhouse gasses (GHGs) into the atmosphere and, just like the TMX Pipeline, ship the product to foreign export markets in Asia. Despite years of resistance and recent widespread protests against Coastal GasLink, the project has been approved by the Province and will soon begin construction of the gas pipeline near the Unist'ot'en Healing Center.

Until the Idle No More movement in 2012, recognition of Indigenous resistance to resource colonialism has ebbed and flowed in mainstream Canadian settler media and mainstream Canadian consciousness. However, Indigenous resistance movements, particularly against resource extraction projects, have become more visible and accessible by social media. For example, in 2020, the B.C. Supreme Court injunction to remove Wet'suwet'en peoples from their traditional territory to make room for the Coastal GasLink pipeline provoked solidarity and rapid information sharing on social media platforms in support of the Unis'to'ten Camp being enclosed by the RCMP. Resistance against this injunction raised awareness of RCMP police officers arresting high-profile Matriarchs during a ceremony to honor Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG) at the Unist'ot'en Healing Center, where red dresses were hung to symbolize the inextricable link between violence on ancestral land and violence towards Indigenous women. The discursive counter ideological dimensions of these acts of resistance are significant here. As Alfred & Corntassel (2005, pg.57) point out this is especially since, under the framework of reconciliation: "indigeneity, or 'Indigenousness', has become an identity 'constructed, shaped and lived in the politicised context of contemporary colonialism' marked by both 'oppressional, place-based existence' and an

[6] https://twnsacredtrust.ca

[7] CBC article find again

associated consciousness and lived experience of ‘struggle against the dispossessing and demeaning fact of colonization by foreign peoples.”

The way Canadian media, politics and legal institutions react to Indigenous resistance is telling of the degree to which resource colonialism has been normalized in Canadian society. Many Indigenous resistance movements in Canada have been focused on land because settler colonization has used land as a vehicle for generating wealth and profits. ‘Land back’ activism threatens settler’s systemic privileges. Mainstream Canadian media have traditionally portrayed Indigenous defense of land and territory as disruptive. On this point, Dafnos (2013, pg. 65) argues Indigenous resistance in the form of blockades and insurrections is framed in a way that diverts public discourse away from the cause of resistance: “reclamations and blockades of ‘development’ projects have been characterized as threats to (national) security because of their potential disruption of the critical infrastructure of the state, defined in both physical and economic terms.”

Roberts (2004) points out that revolutionary “violence ensues in order to overcome mankind’s alienation resulting from the phenomenological lived reality of scarcity in modern capitalist society” (pg. 143). While most have been nonviolent, Indigenous resistance movements against resource extraction have continued to grow in the last few decades. As industrial mega-projects continue to extract energy resources from the earth, dozens of Indigenous communities continue to live under boil water advisories – a lived reality of a scarcity that shouldn’t exist. Fanon’s work suggests the potential for violence grows due to a sharpening of contradictions within the system: “revolution as the natural outcome of the dialectical process occurring within the capitalist system, which thus contains the seeds of its own destruction’ (Forsythe, 1973, pg.161).

2.3. From Sacred Trust to Extractive Commodity

A determining feature of Indigenous resistance in Canada is tied to First Nations relationship to the land. For centuries, Western, Eurocentric worldviews have treated the land as a resource, to be exploited in order to advance capitalist economies and settler interests. These Eurocentric values have antagonized and undermined traditional Indigenous worldviews, which treat the land as sacred and pedagogical; that is, the land

is meant to teach us about our environment and ourselves. Understanding the meaning and value of land in Indigenous cultures is critical to understanding Indigenous defense of land rights as symbolic, and not just as acts of resistance against material exploitation and physical dispossession. Coulthard (2014) insists that land encompasses a material struggle with holistic implications, and emphasizes that "Indigenous anticolonialism [and] anticapitalism [is oriented] around *the question of land* – a struggle not only *for* land in the material sense, but also deeply *informed* by what the land *as system of reciprocal relations and obligations* can teach us about living our lives in relation to one another and the natural world in non-dominating and non-exploitative terms" (pg. 13, emphasis in original).

Traditional cultural and spiritual practices of harvesting, hunting wildlife, gathering food and herbal medicine, holding ceremonies, gaining wisdom, and learning about ancestral history all depend on the health of the land and the water. Colonization operates by attacking Indigenous communities' place-based existence, by displacing these communities from land and water-based practices that are vital to the health of deeply valued Indigenous traditions and cultures. As Memmi argues (1974, pg.53) the process of colonialism entails a situation in which "a foreigner, having come to a land by the accident of history… has succeeded not merely in creating a place for himself but also in taking away that of the inhabitant, granting himself astounding privileges to the detriment of those rightfully entitled to them." Considering this profound spiritual and symbolic relationship to land, the implications of colonialism and its impact on identity can be better understood.

Colonial assault on Indigenous land has three major features that continue to affect Indigenous communities and reinforce systemic oppression in Canada. The first is the physical dispossession of Indigenous peoples from their land, and the subsequent theft of that land for the purpose of settler expansion. The second is exploiting this stolen ancestral land through the process of natural resource extraction to fuel the capitalist economy. Lastly, are the implications of this resource extractivism for health, climate change and global warming. All of these features tie into the overarching framework of environmental racism. Indigenous communities' relationship to the land is the starting point for grasping the consequences and scope of colonial projects on Indigenous identity, because as Corntassel (2008, p. 118) points out, "without the ability of community members to continuously renew their relationships with the natural world (i.e.

gathering medicines, hunting and fishing, basket-making etc.), Indigenous languages, traditional teachings, family structures, and livelihoods of that community are all jeopardized." In colonialism this process is, of course, intentional.

The Doctrine of Discovery, a white supremacist myth (Preston, 2017) that European settlers who discover Indigenous land have a legal right to take control of this land and claim it as their own, was one a ruling colonial ideology. This colonial ideology has been the rationale "for more than five centuries [during which] conceptions of the land as an empty space to be appropriated, commodified, and exploited have been called upon to legally legitimize and morally justify settlement and economic development" (Cariou & St-Amad, 2017, pg.10). In many parts of Canada, deceitful and misleading treaties were created (and often broken) to uphold the rights of settlers to control and exploit land with little to no legal barriers, while Indigenous communities were left with marginal rights to their land and unfulfilled promises from the government. In places like British Columbia, most of the land is unceded. In this way "colonization, from the settler colonial perspective, is a kind of permanent occupation that is always in a state of becoming. This unfolding project involves the interplay between the removal of First peoples from the land *and* the creation of labour systems and infrastructures that make the land productive" (Bonds & Inwood, 2016, pg.721). The laws of the Doctrine of Discovery were used to justify arbitrary land rights for colonizers, thereby displacing Indigenous communities and subjecting their land to Western economic ideologies of greed, rapid expansion, and industrial development.

When colonizers began to uncover the economic potential of Canada's natural resources, such as beaver pelts rich forests for logging, minerals and vast petroleum reserves, the permanent dispossession of Indigenous communities and subsequent marginalization from the economic benefits of the resource extraction industry became embedded in Canada's economic power structures. Preston (2017, p 363) draws attention to the fact that "the Canadian white settler state was imagined, ideologically entrenched and structurally made possible through the interconnected interests of imperial and private capital's exploitations of the natural environment and its reliance on the expertise and knowledge of Indigenous Peoples."

Huseman and Short (2012) point out that "following the industrial revolution, the Euro-North American genocidal logic became increasingly focused on the elimination of

[Indigenous] peoples in order to gain access to their territory for the purpose of *resource extraction* (pg. 222). Through the process of primitive accumulation, privatization, and exploitation, colonial models of extractivism and resource colonialism were progressively imposed on Indigenous lands, communities, and ways of life. The dispossession of Indigenous communities from their traditional lands and the escalating demand for energy-intensive natural resources continue to fuel colonial interests and the dominating logic of late-stage capitalism presently. In many cases, this governing logic of imperialist expansion has been a matter of life or death for First Nations communities across Canada.

2.4. Marxism/Colonialism

In a colonial society, resource capitalism is the point of departure for environmental racism. Canada's industrialization, which began in the mid-19th century, has first and foremost sacrificed Indigenous bodies and lands. Coulthard draws on a case study of a proposal to build a pipeline from the petroleum reserves in Alaska through the Mackenzie River Valley (the traditional territories of the Dene, Métis, and Inuit Peoples) in the early 1970s as an example of how extractivist industries largely function in Canada. This proposal came at a time when "no channels existed for the articulation of [Indigenous] concerns. They had no way of knowing what was going on, or what decisions had already been taken. Yet pipeline and resource decisions would change and probably destroy their traditions and way-of-life" (Dosman, quoted in Coulthard, 2014, pg.57). Pressure and manipulation from extractivist industries like this have continued throughout the 20th and into the 21st centuries.

In the preface to Albert Memmi's *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, Sartre (1974) writes "colonialism denies human rights to human beings whom it has subdued by violence, and keeps them by force in a state of misery and ignorance that Marx would rightly call a subhuman condition. Racism is ingrained in actions, institutions, and in the nature of the colonialist methods of production and exchange" (pg. 20). Marxism can help unpack colonial structures in Canada because its processes are inextricably linked with capitalist exploitation. Certain theories grounded in Marxism, particularly the notion of primitive accumulation, explain why land is so crucial to colonialism in the Canadian context. Coulthard (2014) notes that "when related [to Marx's] primitive accumulation thesis that it appears that the history and experience of *dispossession*, not

proletarianization, has been the dominant background structure shaping the character of the historical relationship between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian state" (pg. 13).

Marx's notion of primitive accumulation explains the capitalist process driving environmental racism in Canada, because it focuses on the moment that feudal, or pre-capitalist society is transformed into a capitalist one. This transformation happens primarily through the privatization (or theft) of land and property, and in colonial societies, predominantly through the process of violently divorcing people from their traditional means of self-sufficiency. Gruneau (2017) emphasizes "Marx understood the immense cost of 'progress' in modern societies and cultures, not only at the expense of the white European and North American proletariat, but also of slaves and dominated colonials" (pg. 99). Since first contact with European settlers, Indigenous communities have sacrificed the land and natural resources needed for the growth of Canada's resource economy, supported and upheld Canada as an industrial state, and secured its place as a leading developed nation (Mascarenhas, 2012). At the same time, many of these communities have been pushed to the margins of their traditional territory and subject to the harmful impacts of Western scientific logic ruled by capitalist ambitions.

Gruneau (2017) points out that as the Western world moved away from the ecclesiastic and faith-based ideals of the Middle Ages towards the 17th and 18th centuries which were dominated by reason, science, technology, and ultimately, the "human capacity to master nature… a Promethean vision of human progress developed slowly and unevenly… as an emerging ideological template for modernity" (pg. 97-98). These are the ideological, intellectual, and philosophical bases upon which European settler values continue to undergird Canadian capitalism and are drastically opposed to values held by Indigenous communities who have sustained this land for millennia, values upon which "the most significant differences… [revolve] around the central importance of land to Indigenous modes of being, though, and ethics" (Coulthard, 2014, pg.60).

The mechanisms by which Canada acquired its status as a developed, ostensibly democratic, nation is similar to the overarching, historical process of capitalism itself. Coulthard (2014) points out that "according to Marx's thesis, the birth of capitalism emerged out of a host of colonial-like state practices which sought to forcefully strip – through conquest, enslavement, robbery, and murder – noncapitalist producers,

communities, and societies from their means of production and subsistence" (pg. 13). As mentioned earlier, the process of primitive accumulation is integral to the violence of conquest on account of land dispossession being integral to the accumulation of land for settlement and resource extraction. Similarly, the economic relations driving this accumulation are "themselves conditioned by the existence of racism" (Nursey-Brey, 1980).

2.5. Identity Formation in Colonial Systems

One of the central principles of Sartre's existentialism is "the values that shape a person's behavior result from the choices they have made, a person's essence is formed of their chosen values" (cited in Webber, 2018, pg. 24). Identity can be said to represent the values and choices an individual has made. If essence is intrinsic, it can be assumed that identity is a manifestation of this essence as it is acted out in the world. The project of forming an identity is therefore a personal one, which can be clouded once it is influenced by external factors like ideologies and political values. In a colonial system, "because identity formation is fundamentally an intersubjective process, human beings are [also] vulnerable to and even constituted by others' perception of them" (Chari, 2004). This is one reason Fanon is interested in identity formation within the structures of colonialism, where the colonized subject "is suffering a form of oppression that may be expressed in existential terms: [they are] dominated by the *Other*, by a world of values which places [them] in a permanent position of inferiority" (Nursey-Bray, 1972, pg. 160).

Fanon was interested in Sartre's objectifying gaze of the *Other*, but also looked at the implications of identity formation under processes of colonization. In this situation, it can be argued identity is no longer an individual project but is steeped in historical and structural processes. In the political essay *Racism and Culture,* Fanon (1964) emphasizes that "the setting up of the colonial system does not of itself bring about the death of a native culture… the aim sought is rather a continued agony than a total disappearance of the pre-existing culture. This culture, once living and open to the future, becomes closed, fixed in the colonial status, caught in the yoke of oppression" (pg. 34). This suggests that under colonialism, the authentic identity is always under attack.

Colonial power structures, through oppression and the coercion of dominant ideologies, try to exercise power over Indigenous identities and reconstruct them to fit the colonial agenda. Chari (2004) notes that “while theorists of recognition emphasize the recognition of *identity*, they fail to theorize the ways in which this struggle to achieve a socially intelligible identity may actually constrain, rather than enable, the agency of oppressed individuals” (pg. 13). Additionally, Thobani (2007) reminds us “in Canada, sovereign power institutionalized… the category Indian, solidifying and fixing their identities as different kinds of subjects… of power. Indians were brought into being as a new category of human life by the ‘armed fiction’ of the law: the Salish, the Cree, the Mohawk, and the many other Indigenous nations pre-existed European contact with the ‘Americas,’ while the Indians did not (pg. 38).

The myth of Canadian identity is largely grounded in the framework that “historical violence is of course obscured through national narratives of white pioneering bravery overcoming wild untamed nature to create Canada, with later narratives including the benevolent white citizen and state as multicultural” (Preston, 2017). This identity is generally associated with images, symbols, and narratives which may seem harmless but have deep colonial implications, ultimately seeking to distract from Canada’s more sinister role in perpetrating the colonial state. For centuries, settler colonizers have relied on mythologizing Canada as a strong and rigid Northern land, to be ‘conquered’ by ‘civilized’ Europeans as opposed to ‘primitive’ Indigenous communities who have been on this land since time immemorial. Keeping this narrative alive also depended on the attempted erasure of its biggest threat – authentic Indigenous identities, languages, cultures, traditions, and ways of life. In this way, identity becomes resistance.

Thobani (2007) warns “national formations rely heavily on the common-sense conception of a common identity and interest as being ‘immanent in the people’ and of the state as formed ‘by the people, who see their best interests reflected in its workings’’ (pg. 19). Through cultural hegemonic forces, the mythologized Canadian identity is mired into settler values, helping them feel assured through discourses of reconciliation, recognition, post-colonialism, and the assumption that Canada no longer functions as an explicitly colonial state apparatus. This suggests that collective formations relying on individual perceptions of the ‘common good’ are actually being driven by self-interest, or bad faith.

2.6. The Politics of Recognition

The phrase ‘politics of recognition’ forms a key part of Charles Taylor’s 1992 book *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition*. In this work, Taylor tries to demonstrate that recognition ‘forges identity’ in the sense that “recognition by others does not passively reflect back our self-interpretation’, but actively shapes the way we think of ourselves’” (Schaap, 2004, pg. 525). He suggests identities are ‘inwardly generated’ as opposed to being ‘socially derived.’ Coulthard (2014) criticizes Taylor’s attempt at defining recognition as something which is “conceived as something that is ultimately ‘granted’ or ‘accorded’ a subaltern group or entity by a dominant group or entity [and] prefigures its failure to significantly modify, let alone transcend, the breadth of power at play in colonial relationships” (pg. 30-31). This criticism forms the basis for Coulthard’s critique of the politics of recognition in Canada against the backdrop of reconciliation.

For Coulthard, the politicization of identity in the politics of recognition has been a tool to uphold colonial hegemony. In *Red Skin White Masks*, Coulthard (2014) argues that “one need not expend much effort to elicit the countless ways in which the liberal discourse of recognition has been limited and constrained by the state, the course, corporate interests, and policy makers in ways that have helped preserve the colonial status quo” (pg. 40). Coulthard critiques the politics of recognition as a political endeavor masking itself as a progressive project of reconciliation when it is in fact just another tool upholding Canada’s neoliberal interests and colonial state of affairs. He argues Indigenous nations and communities fight for the right to *authentic* recognition, which includes the right to self-determination and self-governance on ancestral lands. Indigeneity is a threat to the mythicized Canadian identity because Indigenous values challenge the fundamental logics of capitalism and colonialism themselves. Coulthard (2014) states that “historically, Indigenous demands for *cultural recognition* have often been expressed in ways that have explicitly called into question the dominating nature of capitalist society relations and the state form” (pg. 39).

In *Black Skin White Masks*, Fanon (1952) describes the experience of being spotted by a young European girl on the street; he states that in that moment, “I was responsible at the same time for my body, for my race, for my ancestors. I subjected myself to an objective examination, I discovered my blackness, my ethical

characteristics" (pg. 84). In this example, it is by the objectifying gaze of the colonizer that Fanon becomes aware of his pre-determined identity as a Black and colonized subject: "I was battered down by tom-toms, cannibalism, intellectual deficiency, fetishism, racial defects, slave ships" (pg. 84-85). Fanon's passage exemplifies the role of racialized and colonial historicity in shaping recognition and identity. Similarly, Diagle (2016) argues that Canada's politics of recognition is one which is "aimed at molding a class of law-abiding [Indigenous] citizens with identities that are formed vis-à-vis the colonial state and capitalist industry as opposed to their place-based Indigenous ontologies and laws" (pg. 7), something Fanon cautioned.

Fanon emphasizes that in colonial societies, colonized subjects are recognized as inferior by the system and the colonizers, and through that become alienated and ultimately struggle for recognition from the very systems that oppress them. Coulthard (2014) states that "Fanon convincingly argued that the long-term stability of a colonial system of governance relies as much on the 'internalization' of the forms of racist recognition imposed or bestowed on the Indigenous population by the colonial state and society as it does on brute force" (pg. 31). The effects of racist and colonial ideologies are therefore both structural and psychological. Schaap (2004) adds that "since colonial identities are constituted through relations of power, Fanon is pessimistic both about the possibility of black authenticity in a white world and of a fusion of horizons between African and European subjects" (pg. 532).

Similarly, Coulthard criticizes Canadian politics of recognition because they simply mirror assimilationist practices by trying to make people believe that recognition by social, cultural, and legal institutions that remain colonial to their core is authentic. He emphasizes that it is a mistake to assume that that "the settler state constitutes a legitimate framework within which Indigenous peoples might be more justly included" (Coulthard, 2014). Indigenous scholars Alfred Taiaiake and Jeff Corntassel (2005) also expand on Fanon's warning by cautioning against the state's role in recognizing and defining Indigenous Peoples, which, structurally, is itself a "political-legal compartmentalization of community values [that] often leads Indigenous nations to mimic the practices of dominant non-Indigenous legal-political institutions and adhere to state-sanctioned definitions of Indigenous identity" (pg. 600). Thus, the colonial state apparatus, which works tirelessly to strip Indigenous Peoples of their history, culture,

tradition, customs, values and worldviews, has no place in setting the conditions for recognition.

Mass industrialization and resource extraction is predicated on Indigenous land theft, where communities must battle a colonial legal system or turn to resistance. This is particularly true given that “the Canadian legal system *is* a regime of racial power [which] upheld the rights of nationals over those of [Indigenous] peoples time and time again, and in this process, it extended its own legitimacy as the sole ‘authorizing authority’ within the settler colony” (Thobani, 2007). Coulthard (2014) believes that eradicating the subjective influence of colonial rule requires “purging” what he calls the “psycho-existential complex” of colonization (pg. 39). The existential function of renouncing the subjective domination of hundreds of years of the colonial experience is harrowing at best, as Memmi (1974) points out, “it is not easy to escape mentally from a concrete situation, to refuse its ideology while continuing to live with its actual relationships” (pg. 64). Fanon and Coulthard’s call for a complete reconfiguration of power is necessary in the struggle for decolonization, and issues surrounding environmental racism and Indigenous land rights in Canada are a clear example of how the politics of recognition is another smokescreen for an ongoing effort to maintain the status quo of state-sanctioned and systemic colonization. The idea that the Canadian government ‘recognizes’ Indigenous rights to self-determination unveils another surface-level political stunt legitimizing the normalization of ‘post-colonialism.’

A recent example of this can be seen in the decision by the Supreme Court of Canada, the top court in the nation, to altogether dismiss the motion to hear appeals from the Squamish (Sḵwx̱wú7mesh) Nation, Tsleil-Waututh (səlilw̓ətaʔɬ) Nations, the Ts'elxweyeqw Tribes and Coldwater Indian Band regarding the construction of the Trans Mountain Pipeline Expansion Project (TMX) in British Columbia. Concerns from First Nations regarding TMX include the risk of oil spills on traditional territory, increased tanker traffic in the Salish Sea (encompassing a massive threat to already endangered Orca and Pacific salmon populations, which are key species in the Coast Salish ecosystem), and the construction of work camps which increase threats to the health and safety of Indigenous women and girls. Squamish Nation spokesperson and Councillor Syeta’xtn described this as “the Federal Court of Appeal’s decision to let the

federal government be the judge and jury of its own consultation efforts." [8] First Nations claims were simply acknowledged (recognized), and ultimately ignored. Crosby & Monaghan (2016) sum up that "legislative actions continue to erase Indigenous autonomy as a form of 'gentle genocide' rationalized by discursive appeals to progress and assimilation" (pg. 53).

2.7. The Normalization of Bad Faith in Post-Colonial Canada

Indigenous communities have always opposed the colonial system on the basis of their authentic identities, values, and ways of life, which have withstood hundreds of years of genocidal logic from European settlers. Thobani (2007) reminds us: "Western ontologies have long been based in binary construction with the self being constituted in relation to its excluded Other. Echoing the Hegelian dialectic of the self and Other, master narratives of Canadian nationhood define the national's character relationally" (pg. 5). To avoid the Sartrean concept of nausea, settlers largely identify with these master narratives of Canadian identity. Part of what makes this ignorance possible is the normalization of colonization and Canadian nationhood through the mechanisms of 'post-colonial discourse.' Post-colonialism is similar to Bonilla-Silva's (1999) concept of colorblind racism, in which he "contend[s] that after the US civil rights era, overtly racist acts generally gave way to color-blind (covert) racism in the maintenance of white privilege" (Robertson, 2015, pg.113).

Coulthard draws on examples of Indigenous resistance that grew after the 1970s oil crisis, prompting Canada to pursue aggressive resource extraction projects in the North. He argues that this ushered in an "expression of Indigenous anticolonial nationalism [which] forced colonial power to modify itself from a structure that was once primarily reinforced by policies, technologies, and ideologies explicitly oriented around [genocidal exclusion] to one that is now reproduced through a seemingly more conciliatory set of discourses and institutional practices" (Coulthard, 2014, pg.6). This period in Canadian history would evoke what is now referred to as 'post-colonial'

[8] https://thetyee.ca/News/2020/07/02/First-Nations-Fail-Court-Bid-Trans-Mountain-Pipeline/

discourse, largely shaped by the politics of recognition and the project of reconciliation. Under post-colonialism, the systemic racism and colonization that is the undercurrent of the function of dominant institutions continues to be normalized. In a post-colonial Canada, “it is the rationalities of colonialism that makes the everyday practice of Canadian governance as ‘normal.’ Moreover, settler governmentality treats expressions of traditional Indigeneity as abnormal, aiming to neutralize and eliminate these traces from the space of liberal European reason” (Crosby & Monaghan, 2016, pg.41).

It should be noted here that, according to Mascarenhas (2012, pg. 10), “while white Canadians may not individually engage in acts of racism, by virtue of the historical application of particular governmental mechanisms and legislative devices… they have been able to accrue unearned social, economic, and environmental privileges at the expense of the health and welfare of First Nations in Canada.” The responsibility of resistance against overt and covert colonialism, environmental racism, land theft, dispossession, and violence towards Indigenous women and girls has always been placed on the shoulder of Indigenous Peoples. As existential beings, we cannot escape the nature of our own reality. In an interview from 1969, Sartre explained that for him, “in the end one is always responsible for what is made of one. Even if one can do nothing else besides assume this responsibility” (Sherman, 2006). Settlers therefore remain largely guilty by omission.

For centuries, Canada attempted to enforce assimilative practices on Indigenous communities, and the perpetuation of post-colonialism in Canadian politics, dominant discourses and ideology is an extension of these assimilationist ideals. Fanon suspected that “far from desiring recognition, the settler looks on the native with indifference” (Schaap, 2004, pg.533). This indifference, more than anything, is still a conscious choice, and continues to be reinforced and normalized by dominant Canadian power structures and institutions. Coulthard (2014) emphasizes that regardless of the shift from genocidal to more seemingly progressive discourses and institutions, “the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the state has remained *colonial* to its foundation” (pg. 6).

Chapter 3. Colonial Discourses, Authenticity, and Resistance in a Digital Age

Marxists have long argued that the enemy is not individual capitalists, colonialists or imperialists, but the *systems* of capitalism, colonialism and imperialism. The fact that human beings develop their identities in these systems makes changing them an existential problem. In Canada, capitalism, colonialism, and imperialism have worked collectively to exploit and monopolize Indigenous lands. Because the functionaries of these systems are de facto settlers, even if born here, means Indigenous resistance and mobilization must confront both the structural and existential nature of these systems. With that said, Indigenous Peoples and communities owe the settler public nothing – they are simply acting to defend and reclaim *their* land, fight for *their* people, culture, history, and worldviews. This challenges settlers as functionaries of a system that has benefited many of them for centuries to break from bad faith and mobilize to evoke praxis.

Indigenous authors argue increasingly that accommodations and recognitions by a capitalist colonial state, within a capitalist colonial system, are meaningless, as “the capitalist state is structurally incapable of finding a way to operationalize or ‘recognize’ any form of difference that contradicts the core logic of capitalist totalization” (Kulchyski, 2016, pg.42). While this is nothing new to Indigenous communities, Coulthard, and writers such as Leanne Simpson argue for “grounded normativity” as the bedrock of radical Indigenous resurgence. Grounded normativity is an ethical framework which “reproduces the practices and procedures, based on deep reciprocity, that are inherently informed by an intimate relationship to place.” It teaches Indigenous communities “how to live [their] lives in relation to other people and nonhuman life forms in a profoundly nonauthoritarian, nondominating, nonexploitative manner” (Coulthard & Simpson, 2016). Still, Simpson (2017) argues that colonial power structures over the past half century have “tried to eliminate or confine the practice of grounded normativity to the realm of neoliberalism so that it isn’t so much a way of being in the world but a quaint cultural difference that makes one interesting (pg. 25).” Critical Indigenous scholars have argued that makes the task of organizing against such attempts at elimination more important than ever.

At the start of the second decade of the 21st century, online social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter became powerful tools in the shift towards online organizing and the development of global and rapidly coordinated resistance movements, exemplified by movements such as the Arab Spring and Occupy Wall Street. This ushered in a new era of digital activism, where information (and misinformation) was able to spread like wildfire across global networks, but was just as readily monitored, surveilled, and regulated by state powers and corporations. In late 2012, Steven Harper's Conservative government in Canada proposed, and later passed, the omnibus budget bill C-45 with little to no consultation or dialogue with Indigenous communities. This bill threatened Indigenous treaty rights, land rights, and rights to clean drinking water, absolved proponents of major resource extraction projects from environmental regulations and meaningful consultation with First Nations and stripped away protections for the vast majority of Canada's rivers and watersheds, amongst other things. Bill C-45 was a proverbial last straw, and in winter 2012 what "began as a small grassroots series of teach-ins held in Saskatchewan [grew into a movement which] spread throughout North America and was characterized by hundreds of disruptive protest actions and solidarity demonstrations – from flash-mob round dances and marches to Parliament Hill in Ottawa to economic blockades of railroads, highways, and international border crossings, to international solidarity actions abroad" (Crosby & Monaghan, 2016, pg.43).

This was the Idle No More movement, which escalated across Canada and internationally primarily through the #IdleNoMore hashtag on Twitter in the winter of 2012/2013 and gained widespread attention from mainstream media outlets. Concurrently, Chief Theresa Spence of the Attawapiskat First Nation was staging a hunger strike in Victoria to protest the failures of the Canadian government to honor treaty rights and obligations. While Bill C-45 was a major catalyst for the Idle No More movement, in many ways it was simply a manifestation of a long history of Indigenous resistance. As Barker, (2015, pg. 57) argues "rather than a self-contained political movement, Idle No More must be seen as a rallying cry within a long trajectory of Indigenous resistance and organizing against colonization and for the restoration of Indigenous nationhood and self-determination." Just as the name suggests, organizers of Idle No More were asserting that "they – and anyone who wanted to join them – would not sit silently while the Government of Canada transformed the foundations of

environmental and Indigenous law" (Coates, 2015, pg.24) by way of Bill C-45. Expressions of Indigenous autonomy anchored in relationships to land and history, such as spontaneous round dances, proved to be a disruption to Canadian state consciousness. Coulthard (2014) indicates that "Canada had not seen such a sustained, united, and coordinated nationwide mobilization of Indigenous nations against a legislative assault on [their] rights since the proposed White Paper of 1969" (pg. 161).

The Idle No More movement is one in a long line of peaceful resistance movements propelled by Canadian government policy changes which gained prominence in the second half the of the 20th century. These peaceful resistance movements began to expose the deeply embedded colonial practices in Canada's policies and politics at the same time that communication technologies were becoming more widespread and accessible. Coulthard (2014) notes that in the late 1960s and 1970s, around the time the White Paper was proposed, "the colonial architecture that frames Indigenous and state relations began to shift… to a structure that is now reproduced through a seemingly more conciliatory set of languages and practices that emphasize *recognition* and *accommodation*" (pg. 1).

Proposed assimilationist policies such as the White Paper of 1969 demonstrated, in Nickel's words (2019, pg. 225), that "policy makers [ignore] the impacts of centuries of colonialism and racism (implying that these could simply be shrugged off by policy change and claims of equality) and [fail] to follow through with plans to genuinely consult with Indigenous peoples about changes to… policy, thus reinforcing, rather than eliminating, established paternalistic practices." Even more recently, Canada's position towards attempting to regulate Indigenous rights has stayed fundamentally the same – the omnibus Bill C-45 was passed in government while the budding new 21st century politics of reconciliation and recognition were starting to take place. Thus, as John (2015, pg. 41-42) points out, the framework under which Bill C-45, the White Paper, and myriad other policies in Canada's modern history were convened and executed is not dissimilar to founding colonial policies such as the Indian Act of 1876, which sought to "[regulate]… how Indigenous societies are to be politically structured and governed, and how the Canadian government will administer land and resources."

Arguably, not since the Oka Crisis in 1990 has an Indigenous resistance movement against extractive and exploitative land practices received so much attention

from mainstream settler media. However, during the time of Idle No More, Indigenous communities and activists were able to exert greater control their narrative through social media and the online public sphere. The digitized nature of the Idle No More movement allowed organizers and members from different Nations across Canada to tell their own stories and start a conversation about *authentic*, not mediated, Indigenous experience and self-determination in the face of an extractivist colonial system increasingly regulated by neoliberal interests. The shift to Indigenous voices controlling the mainstream narrative of Indigenous radical resurgence is one of the most crucial aspects of the Idle No More movement. This helped set the stage for mobilizing 21st century resistance movements to a point where they cannot be ignored, nor unseen, by the passive settler state.

Still, despite the many doors it has opened to activists and social movements in the 21st century, it is important to note that the Internet, and in particular social media, is monopolized by advertisers and telecommunication companies, and driven by market interests vying for user data. Unfortunately, the Internet has evolved according to the free market principles of neoliberalism and has become another mechanism of the capitalist state. According to Shoshanna Zuboff (2019) this evolution has propelled us into an age of "surveillance capitalism." Much in the way that "industrial capitalism depended upon the exploitation and control of nature, with catastrophic consequences that we only now recognize. Surveillance capitalism… depends instead upon the exploitation and control of human nature" (pg. 470). This has allowed dominant groups to use the internet against activists and organizers of social movements.

This is largely why Simpson (2017) argues "the Internet and digital technologies have become a powerful site for reinforcing and amplifying settler colonialism" (pg. 222) and have the potential of digital dispossession. In her retrospective discussion of Idle No More, Simpson addresses the conflict created by direct action during this movement – on the one hand, direct action is critical to radical resurgence, but on the other, there is a presumption that anything that makes Canadian settlers uncomfortable will abate public support. Simpson (2017) strongly criticizes the mainstream narratives that developed around Idle No More because they "[center] the transformation of Canadians and of whiteness as the measure of the movement's success" and reminds us that fixating on the response of settlers also "centers the politics of recognition and forces [Indigenous

Peoples] to hand over [their] power to the white Canadian liberals [they're] trying to get onside" (pg. 234).

Idle No More was the impetus for launching Indigenous resistance movements into the online public sphere and starting an important conversation amongst Canadian settlers who were, some of them for the first time, seeing the strength of Indigenous resistance unfold through narratives and worldviews of Indigenous communities themselves, and not just through the lens of colonial propaganda in the mainstream media. Overall, the Idle No More movement did leave a crucial mark in the evolution of social movements organized in a digital space and helped place Indigenous rights at the forefront of Canadian mainstream media and discourse. It helped drive conversations around resource extraction and land dispossession into the settler public sphere, giving Indigenous activists a platform to cultivate a narrative unregulated (for even a short time) by colonial state interests. It provided the basic and necessary ability to spread information fast, and far. This occurred even though the Internet ultimately has become a neoliberal apparatus in which "rights to privacy, knowledge, and application have been usurped by a bold market venture powered by unilateral claims to others' experience and the knowledge that flows from it" (Zuboff, 2019, pg.7).

The motion to pass what is now known as the *Jobs and Growth Act, 2012* was emblematic of the Conservative government's contempt for Indigenous rights during a moment in Canadian capitalism where the protection of Canada's resource extraction industries was seen to be vitally important for Canada's economic security in the 21st century. The Act exposed the flagrant disregard for meaningful consultation with Indigenous communities around rights to territory and natural resources – a message amplified by the Idle No More movement. The presence of Idle No More in the online public sphere emphasized the spectacle inherent in the political project of reconciliation and exposed how comfortably politicians can regulate policy pertaining to Indigenous land by bypassing the process of consultation and, most importantly, consent.

3.1. ‘Authentic’ Acts of Authenticity

Idle No More, like the myriad Indigenous resistance movements that preceded it, demonstrated how authenticity and identity affirmation can intimidate and ultimately threaten the settler colonial status quo. Crosby & Monaghan (2016) remind us that “Idle No More has emerged as a grassroots movement to assert Indigenous self-determination… given [its] prominence and the radical politics of decolonial resistance that the movement articulates, settler colonial authorities in Canada have interpreted the movement as both a criminal and a national security threat” (pg. 37). Indigenous resistance and grounded normativity cannot be pigeonholed or understood through the framework of Western philosophy, particularly considering the long history of apathy and contempt of Western academic institutions towards Indigenous knowledge and methodologies. Leanne Simpson emphasizes that “[Indigenous] bodies, minds, emotions, and spirits produce theory and knowledge on a daily basis without conforming to the conventions of the academy, and… this has not only sustained [Indigenous] peoples, but it has always propelled Indigenous intellectual rigor and propelled… resurgent practices” (pg. 31).

Yet, if we use Coulthard’s work as an example, I think a case can be made for a rapprochement between Indigenous knowledge systems and certain critical traditions in Western philosophy that help to better understand ideological discourses and economic imperative within the settler state. Settler worldviews have been heavily conditioned by colonial ideologies and structures long galvanized by capitalist expansion. Authentic praxis would have to force settlers to challenge their normalized existence, and Sartre tries to stress that authenticity cannot have meaning in individuals unless it is active; “what is essential to Sartre is *praxis*, human activity. This is in two parts: firstly, the subjective project which a [person] forms when [they] think of [their] situation and, secondly, the objective existing situation in which [humans] find [themselves]” (Nursey-Brey, 1972 pg. 165). Sartre’s philosophy of authenticity can help settlers better elucidate the nature of their vested interests and ideological discourses. This allows for greater reflexivity about the politics of recognition in modern Canada. As Indigenous worldviews remain fundamentally antithetical to the ideologies upholding settler societies, they are the ultimate affliction against the existing condition of these societies.

Seeing how settler states react to Indigenous resistance and radical resurgence is “a recognition that… true power as Indigenous people ultimately lies in [their] relationships with [their] land, relatives, language, and ceremonial life” (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005, pg.605). Still, the form of resistance being referred to here is only the kind that is visible to settler Canada and does not encompass the long history of mobilization and daily acts of resistance and radical resurgence by Indigenous Peoples and communities. This power comes from Indigenous authenticity – a way of being and knowing that has chosen freedom and reflection for millennia without the guise of Western philosophical tradition.

When settlers experience a feeling of discomfort and “express nervous fear about the scale and spontaneity of [Indigenous] uprising” (Coates, 2015) they are experiencing the same anguish described by Sartre in *Being and Nothingness*. Coulthard (2014) reinforces this by pointing out that “the apparent fact that non-Indigenous people are ‘upset’ or feel ‘alienated’ by the aims of decolonization movements like Idle No More simply means that [they] are collectively doing something right” (pg. 168). Ideological instruments of capitalist systems, such as the media, have the effect of pacifying this discomfort when they confront Indigenous movements. As Coulthard (2018) points out, “what we see in the media are just percolating crisis points that bleed over into spectacular displays that a media structure doesn’t really give a shit about either Indigenous peoples of Black peoples is then forced to confront” (pg. 88).

Police retaliation against peaceful Indigenous resistance is often ideological insofar as it is a material part of the apparatuses of the state that seek to reproduce the dominant social order. This often involves sinister forms of policing, such as unannounced surveillance of Indigenous groups. At the same time, the police state won’t shy away from violent and physical retaliation to peaceful protests either, as was exemplified by the actions of the RCMP on Wet’suwet’en territory. But whether explicit or subtle, these colonial state reactions exist to subdue what is “the goal of any traditional rooted self-determination struggle” which is to “protect that which constitutes… a set of values that challenge the homogenizing force of Western liberalism and free market capitalism” (Coulthard, 2017).

I’m struck by Simpson’s argument (2017, pg. 237) that radical Indigenous resistance and resurgence movements are not “begging the colonizer attention, for

money, for sympathy, for rights, for recognition, or for moral benevolence. There isn't necessarily a list of demands, because lists of demands are either ignored as being structurally impossible while maintaining the system of settler colonialism or are absorbed into the neoliberal state to ensure real change doesn't occur." Although the colonial and capitalist systems of the Canadian state are overwhelmingly responsible for upholding ideologies of oppression, we cannot ignore the added nastiness of everyday racist discourses, prejudice, and a reluctance to give up certain privileges and comforts which also constitute it. These existential aspects add an extra barrier to materializing meaningful change on behalf of the settler state.

3.2. Discursive Construction of the Normalization of Post-Colonial

Since first contact, the settler Canadian state has framed Indigenous issues from the perspective of colonial expansion, and "swept broadly, representations of Indigenous peoples in Canadian media have long been marked by emphases on the negative, perceived threats to settlers, oversimplification of issues, and absences from media altogether" (Audette-Longo, 2018, pg. 134) For hundreds of years, Indigenous Peoples have been fighting back against the rhetorical and discursive tools used against them in the quest to normalize European settler expansion and worldviews. It is these rhetorical tools and "rationalities of colonialism that make the everyday practices of Canadian governance seem 'normal.' Moreover, settler governmentality treats expressions of traditional indigeneity as abnormal, aiming to neutralize and eliminate these traces from the space of liberal European reason" (Crosby & Monaghan, 2016, pg.41).

This brings me back to Stuart Hall's discussion of race introduced at the outset of this thesis. Hall argues that race is as a series of articulations that become popularized and normalized through institutionalized patterns of *discursive construction*. In a somewhat similar vein, Krzyzanowski, (2020, pg. 432) describes discursive construction as a process by which

> "Discursive strategies are initiated and recontextualized as part and parcel of wider – and in most cases pre-determined – forms of social, political and economic action designed to not only change the norms of

> social conduct but also to gain legitimacy from such a change and from the introduction of a related, 'new' normative order."

I've noted in this thesis that the colonial normative order constructed by early settler Canadians has shifted in recent years to a seemingly post-colonial discourse that continues to perpetrate the ignorance of settler Canadians to the realities of Indigenous experiences. Normalized practices of colonial governance in Canada are sustained by the discursive construction of notions such as the 'post-colonial,' which is something Michel Foucault would describe as an accepted norm that has been posited in a society by dominant power structures and, in this case, ideologies. In other words, "there is an originally prescriptive character of the norm and the determination and identification of the normal and abnormal becomes possible in relation to this posited norm" (Foucault, 1979). In contemporary and information-driven societies, this normalization is furthered by online communication and social media, which help continue to ingrain these norms into the common-sense consciousness of the modern public.

Foucault found patterns of social normalization in the historical trajectory of punishment by state powers, claiming that "with the transition to modernity, technologies of governance changed from the prohibition of particular acts to life-controlling and subject-shaping management of action" (Thobani, 2007, pg.8). Foucault's analysis of normalization can be applied to the effects of discursive construction in colonial societies, particularly around the policing of Indigenous resistance movements. Crosby & Monaghan (2016) remind us: "as a function of the settler post-colonial imagination, the reactivation of colonial lawfare is less an anachronism than a reminder of the continuity of settler governmentality. It is precisely the normalization of the colonial present that allows policing agencies to translate political assertion of self-determination into a 'crime'" (pg. 52).

I am persuaded by Thobani (2007) who argues that acts and displays of Indigenous resistance, identity affirmation, and self-determination have long been twisted in the carefully constructed narrative of Canada, being painted as either disruptive (implying they are menacing or violent) or reactionary (implying they are unstable). For example, as Wakeham suggests (2012' pg. 14): "the Oka Crisis prompted a media frenzy that publicized the rhetoric of terrorism to delegitimize Indigenous protest in unprecedented ways". Through the process of discursive construction, "[Canadian] nationals actively participated in their own self-exaltation, and… engaged collectively in

the phantasmagoric project of inventing the Indian" (Thobani, 2007, pg. 58). Just as Canada relies on the extraction of natural resources for their economy, it relies ideologically on outward displays of prosperity and discourses of inclusion. State, police, and public reactions to acts of Indigenous radical resurgence during movements such as Idle No More or the protests at the Unist'ot'en Camp reveal just how deeply these myths are ingrained into the Canadian conscience. The heavy policing and surveillance of Indigenous mobilization movements in the 21st century shows how the Canadian state is still willing to deploy significant resources to pacify Indigenous resistance and to misinform the public, reinforcing the idea that Indigeneity is a threat to the structural bedrock of Canadian society.

Canada is as heavily dependent ideologically on outward displays of prosperity and inclusion, as an allegedly post-colonial state, as it is on the extraction of natural resources from Indigenous lands. As Thobani (2007) points out, "whether denigrated or pitied as the embodiment of lawlessness and devoid of civilization, whether designated as status or non-status, the figure of the Indian has remained an enduring mark against which national identity is delineated" (pg. 14).

Dominant powers in Canada have sought to manipulate settler-Indigenous relationships for hundreds of years, and "as a result of colonial encroachment onto their homelands, being Indigenous today means engaging in a struggle to reclaim and regenerate one's relational, place-based existence by challenging the ongoing, destructive forces of colonization" (Corntassel & Bryce, 2012, pg. 152). Many years ago, in Algeria and France, Fanon recognized how important it is to protect identity when confronting colonial systems. Balaton-Chrimes & Stead (2017, pg. 12) point out he "was the first to theorize the impossibility of being 'self' and also acceptable to the Other's recognizing gaze in context of coloniality." For Fanon, "freedom thus comes from turning away from the compulsion to improve enough for the Other, and towards self-recognition" (Balaton-Chrimes & Stead, 2017, pg. 12).

I believe there are lessons here about how to understand reactions by the Canadian colonial state to Indigeneity, grounded normativity, and radical Indigenous resurgence. The politics of recognition today are nominally progressive and more inclusive, but they continue to be more about placating authentic Indigenous identity for settler consumption and keeping Indigenous bodies and worldviews in the realm of

alterity. At the same time, Indigenous organizing and mobilization has been met with hyper-policing and surveillance that do not appear comparable to that of non-Indigenous and non-racialized communities, particularly in the 21st century.

In recent years, social media platforms have helped to reveal the excessive policing of Indigenous resistance. As Crosby and Monaghan (2016, pg. 50) argue, social media provided a means to demonstrate to the mainstream public that: "national security is invoked to justify procedural and political license for policing agencies to engage in widespread surveillance, particularly against movements that threaten the normalcy of settler colonialism and the imagination of Canada as a post-colonial entity". After Idle No More, it was revealed that Ottawa and the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) was heavily involved in surveilling the resistance movement in 2013[9].

The flagrant nature of policing and surveillance was ever more glaring during protests against the Trans Mountain Pipeline expansion project, when Indigenous leaders and activists on Burnaby Mountain were publicly handcuffed and arrested, and later, during the viral and mediatized protests at the Unist'ot'en Camp in Northern BC which displayed the abhorrent behaviors of the Canadian government and RCMP towards peaceful protestors. These examples and many like it strengthen the argument that: "the function of policing and surveilling agencies is to monitor for traits that would suggest that Indigenous peoples are not acquiescing to the objectives of prosperity inherent in the settler colonial project, and therefore present a challenge to land theft, resource development, and imposed government structures" (Crosby & Monaghan, 2016, pg. 41).

By taking advantage of rhetorical and discursive strategies in traditional and contemporary media, as well as long-standing educational programmes in Canadian public schools, Canada has been able to rewrite its own history and the narrative of its enduring colonial legacy. That legacy is increasingly recognized as racist and exclusionary as a result of capitalist creative destruction. But that rewriting in the online public sphere has also been framed and limited by structurally unequal aspects of capitalist political economy. On this point, Simpson (2018) points out during the Idle No More movement, that "every tweet, Facebook post, blog post, Instagram photo,

[9] https://www.macleans.ca/news/canada/the-spooks-werent-idle-either/

YouTube video and email… made the largest corporations in the world – corporations controlled by white men with a vested interest in settler colonialism – more money." All of these grassroot cyber engagements were also "read, monitored, collected, surveilled and archived by the state" (pg. 79).

Still, for all the political economic limits that capitalist commodity relations created on the Internet, the explosive nature of Idle No More managed to center important Indigenous narratives in mainstream discourse. As Coulthard argues (2014, pg. 120) just as Idle No More came to define a new era of resistance in the 21st century, protests in the 1980s that ultimately led to the Oka Crisis also "created the political and cultural context that the RCAP's [Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples] call for recognition and reconciliation sought to mitigate – namely, the simmering anger and resentment of the colonized transformed into a resurgent affirmation of Indigenous difference that threatened to disrupt settler-colonialism's sovereign claim over Indigenous peoples and [their] lands."

This helped set the stage for movements in the latter half of the 2010's that saw protests erupt along planned resource extraction and pipeline project routes and created platforms for the wider public to become more informed of the realities of Canada's ongoing colonial legacies. Despite its contradictions, the viral nature of the online public sphere has helped to amplify the voices of Indigenous communities who continue to be denied access to clean drinking water and has helped to publicize the unearthing of mass graves at Canadian Residential Schools throughout the country and across media outlets around the globe. As Indigenous voices and movements amplify, the violence of the colonizer becomes harder to ignore. There are distant echoes here of Fanon's argument in the *Wretched of the Earth* how radical violence ultimately

> "Actualizes the realization of political independence and decolonization since it reveals the reality of capitalist/colonial violence [and] clears the foundation on which a new order may be built" (cited in Roberts, 2004, pg. 149).

3.3. The Ongoing Normalization of Resource Colonialism

Crosby and Monaghan (2016, pg. 38) point out: “it is precisely the myth of being a ‘post-colonial’ society that characterizes settler colonial states.” This certainly appears to be the case in Canada. The proximity of resource extraction mega-projects as well as toxic waste sites from mills and landfills to Indigenous communities and ongoing extractive practices on traditional territories across Canada are clear examples of the paradox of reconciliation. The idealized perception of Canada’s achievements as a move to post-colonial democracy is strongly criticized by Coulthard in *Red Skin White Masks*, where he frames the politics of recognition as: “the now expansive range of recognition-based models of liberal pluralism that seek to ‘reconcile’ Indigenous assertions of nationhood with settler-state sovereignty via the accommodation of Indigenous identity claims in some form of renewed legal and political relationship with the Canadian state” (pg. 3).

The narrative that Canada has a meaningful relationship with Indigenous communities through treaties, policies, and commissions exists as a show window, allowing the state to continue acting as the ultimate authority over issues regarding Indigenous rights and its relationship with Indigenous Peoples. Recognition coming from Canada’s colonial state arguably serves the interest of settler guilt (when there is any) more than it actually serves the interest of Indigenous communities. That is not to say there haven’t been changing attitudes to colonialism and Indigenous rights in the Canadian population in recent years, only that dominant structures of oppression and exclusion remain largely intact. As Coulthard points out (2014): “the colonial state and state society does not require recognition from the previously self-determining communities upon which its territorial, economic, and social infrastructure is constituted. What it needs is land, labour, and resources” (pg. 40). Similarly, critics argue government commissions and inquiries that contribute to an ongoing spectacle of reconciliation typically amount to little more than tactics to preserve this narrative. That is why activists like Leanne Simpson (2017) worry: “while these movements have been excellent at forcing the state to enact its own mechanisms for accountability, these mechanisms have never brought about accountability for Indigenous peoples because they are *processes* that are partly designed to uphold the structure of settler colonialism” (pg. 239).

Coulthard (2014) frames the idea of progress made in expanding the sphere of Indigenous rights in Canada in a similar manner: the “legal approach to self-determination has over time helped produce a class of Aboriginal ‘citizens’ whose rights and identities have become defined more in relation to the colonial state and its legal apparatus than the history and traditions of Indigenous nations themselves” (pg. 42). The 2020 protests at the Unist’ot’en Camp exemplify this, as blockades were set up to prevent the expansion of the Coastal Gaslink Pipeline on Wet’suwet’en territory and during which a military display of RCMP officers was deployed. Hereditary Chiefs who were not consulted and did not agree to allowing this project to proceed under the Canadian legal apparatus opposed colonial state-sanctioned means of authority over the land. This highlighted the political recognition of officials elected by the Canadian government within a colonial system, disregarding traditional Indigenous structures of governance over land and territory, which allowed the state to manipulate the discourse of meaningful consent.

And yet, various Indigenous resistance movements in the 21st century have continually become more visible by social media. Even for a moment, as Canada’s settler population was gripped with accounts of the protests at the Unist’ot’en camp, pressure from mobile phone calls and texts, tweets and online video footage arguably made some settler Canadians reconsider government-Indigenous relations even if they didn’t lead to structural or legal changes.

The protests in 2020 on Wet’suwet’en territory were a consolidation of myriad issues, which came to a head when the nature of resource extraction projects in Canada was fully exposed. The Unist’ot’en camps and blockades are as much about protecting the land as they are about protecting Indigenous cultures, values, and worldviews, and likewise protecting Indigenous women and girls who face increasing threats to their lives and safety around work camps. However, the protests were also a display of the politics of recognition, as Hereditary Chiefs opposed colonial-state sanctioned means of authority over the land.

Chapter 4. Conclusion

This thesis has explored ideologies of oppression beginning with some early post-war philosophical responses to racism and colonization. I've attempted to show how these early works anticipate and connect to more contemporary critical decolonization theories, especially in the work of Glen Coulthard. Using the extractivism industries in Canada and the concept of environmental racism as examples, I have reviewed literature pointing to how the modern Canadian state reinforces ideologies of oppression and legacies of colonialism through both systemic and discursive means. A main theme in this literature pertains to strategies and discourses that normalize resource colonialism. In addition, I have tried to show how capitalist economic logic in Canada has unfolded continuously through expanding investments in natural resource extraction mega-projects. These extractivist projects represent Canada's ongoing colonial legacy, as they symbolize an ongoing assault on traditional Indigenous land, culture, and worldview. This is the condition that promotes a persisting normalization of structural racisms at the very moment more progressive gestures toward reconciliation have grown in Canada in recent years. As Coulthard suggests, the point is to recognize how: "like capital, colonialism, as a structure of domination predicated on dispossession, is not 'a thing' but rather the sum effect of the diversity of interlocking oppressive social relations that constitute it" (Coulthard, 2014, pg. 14-15).

I began my graduate studies with and interest in existentialist and anticolonial Western philosophical and academic traditions in France following the Second World War. Over time I decided to use these as a point of departure to better understand both the structural and existential natures of the Canadian settler state. This isn't to say that decolonization movements and discussions around Indigenous rights in Canada should look to European social thought as sources of inspiration. These movements have and should be Indigenous-led. It falls on settler functionaries of colonial systems to be informed about their privileges and conditions, and the ways in which they could elicit meaningful and impactful change. And here continental critical theories can deliver insights and ideas that aid a process of settler reflexivity and support Indigenous resistance. As Memmi (1974, pg. 63) emphasizes: "the facts of colonial life are not simply ideas, but the general effect of actual conditions. To refuse means either withdrawing physically from those conditions or remaining to fight and change them."

By exploring the settler state through the lens of existentialist philosophy, I hope to have shown how the role of individual freedom and responsibility plays a huge part in how settlers occupy colonized spaces. Sartre has fostered critical discussions around how existential subjects exist in bad faith by denying taking responsibility for their destiny and the choices they make. In his work on concrete relations with others in *Being and Nothingness* and his analysis of racism in *Anti-Semite and Jew*, Sartre brought the Hegelian notion of recognition as well as his own theories on authenticity and identity into discussions around oppression and colonization, which allowed his existentialism to contribute to anti-imperial movements at the time. In my view, these existential understandings of individual responsibility in colonial societies remain relevant.

However, as much as Sartre's theories around authenticity, identity, and individual freedom and responsibility pertain to the settler in settler colonial nations they do not – and cannot – address the structural and psychological impacts of ideologies of oppression on colonized subjects. Frantz Fanon consolidates a psychological analysis of colonized subjects with a structural interpretation of colonial systems, and by addressing these his "position challenges colonized peoples to transcend the fantasy that the settler-state apparatus – as a structure of domination *predicated* on… ongoing dispossession – is somehow capable of producing liberatory effects" (Coulthard, 2014, pg.23). Fanon forces readers to consider the repercussions of seeking recognition from a colonial state apparatus, as well as the totalizing effects of colonization as a system.

Racism, colonialism, and oppression are structural features of international capitalist production. The way in which dominant power structures and power dynamics function behind the scenes allows for imperial practices of resource extraction to flourish in nations continuously driven by capitalist principles. Just as settler colonialism "continues to structure the Canadian nation-state and its relation to the land and to 'natural resources,' it also structures neoliberal partnerships and their security forces, revealing, in the process, the development of new technologies and methods of maintaining control" (Preston, 2013, pg.45). While I haven't conducted a systematic content analysis, I have surveyed literature pointing to the tendency of mainstream media and emerging communication technologies in Canada to promote 'national' identity – including the discourse of Indigenous reconciliation – while simultaneously controlling the narrative about Canada's colonial legacy and relationship with Indigenous peoples. In contrast, authentic acts of Indigenous resistance against politics of

recognition and the political project of reconciliation are so threatening to colonial state powers and the status quo. On this point, Leanne Simpson (2017) suggests the "need to make a shift from *Indigenizing the processes* that maintain the structures of settler colonialism, and expand, deepen, and reactualize the processes and knowledges of grounded normativity to structuralize Indigenous nationhood and resurgence and mobilizations as a mechanism to dismantle the structure of colonialism in all forms" (pg. 47).

By understanding resource extraction processes as deeply colonial and Indigenous resistance to natural resource extraction and environmental racism as authentic, it becomes clear that "Indigenous articulations of nationhood are best understood as informed by a complex of cultural practices and traditions that have survived the onslaught of colonialism and continue to structure the form and content of Indigenous activism in the present" (Coulthard, 2014, pg. 64). Moreover, Simpson (2017) reminds us that "Indigenous peoples… have more expertise in anticapitalism and how that system works than any other group of people on the planet" (pg. 73). By taking a critical look at the ongoing expansion of natural resource extraction as a structural element of capitalism reliant on dispossessing Indigenous Peoples from their lands, we can better understand how the politics of recognition and reconciliation coexist with and support apparatus of the colonial state: "today it appears, much as it did in Fanon's day, that colonial powers will only recognize the collective rights and identities of Indigenous peoples insofar as this recognition does not throw into question the background legal, political, and economic framework of the colonial relationship itself" (Coulthard, 2014).

It is also important to note when referring to Indigenous rights in a Western academic space, that "rights discourse [also] has certain limitations in relation to Indigenous struggles for self-determination. Rights are state constructions that do not necessarily reflect inherent Indigenous responsibilities to their homelands, Rather, rights are conditional in that the state can withdraw them at any time or selectively enforce them" (Corntassel & Bryce, 2012, pg. 152). I have been mindful in this work of "the politics of solidarity in settler colonial contexts" (Coulthard & Simpson, 2016, pg. 250), and have done my best to show the value in synthesizing Western philosophical understandings of existentialism, identity, and authenticity with structural conversations around colonization as a system, as well as learning from Indigenous activists and academics about the crucial need for an Indigenous-led, truly decolonial resurgence

movement. I have tried to show that ongoing natural resource extraction projects, such as the Alberta tar sands, are a continuous assault on Indigenous land and an ongoing, serious threat to an already increasingly rapidly changing climate. I hope by synthesizing the work of Sartre, Fanon, and Coulthard I have been able to do some justice in establishing authentic allyship from academia.

Writing and researching this thesis has taught me the importance of listening to and learning from Indigenous voices. In future work I hope to deepen my understanding of ideologies of oppression and their intimate connection with the growth dependent, nature and culture destroying, aspects of Western capitalism. However, as a conclusion to the work at hand I remain strongly persuaded by Glen Coulthard's argument that "for Indigenous nations to live, capitalism must die. And for capitalism to die, we must actively participate in the construction of Indigenous alternatives to it" (Coulthard, 2014, pg. 123).

References

Adams, Alice. (2002). Article Titles : A Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis. *Journal of Journal Studies, 23,* 189-672. doi:10.1015/0032-002X.56.7.893

Brown, Bob. (2010). *Books: Sustainable and Biodegradable Reading Technology.* New York, NY: Hydraulic Press. doi:10.1026/0022-005X.52.6.803

Carroll, Carol. (1999, July). Curating Curious Collections: An Interdisciplinary Perspective. *Predatory Publishing Quarterly, 16* (5)*,* 3-134.

Alfred, T., & Corntassel, J. (2005). Being Indigenous: Resurgences against Contemporary Colonialism. Government and Opposition (London), 40(4), 597–614. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1477-7053.2005.00166.x

Audette-Longo, P. H. (2018). “Fighting the same old battle”: Obscured oil sands entanglements in press coverage of indigenous resistance in the winter of 1983. Canadian Journal of Communication, 43(1), 127–145. https://doi.org/10.22230/CJC.2018V43N1A3311

Balaton-Chrimes, S., & Stead, V. (2017). Recognition, power and coloniality. Postcolonial Studies, 20(1), 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/13688790.2017.1355875

Barker, A. J. (2015). 'A Direct Act of Resurgence, a Direct Act of Sovereignty': Reflections on Idle No More, Indigenous Activism, and Canadian Settler Colonialism. Globalizations, 12(1), 43–65. https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2014.971531

Bonds, A., & Inwood, J. (2016). Beyond white privilege. Progress in Human Geography, 40(6), 715–733. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132515613166

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2015). The Structure of Racism in Color-Blind, “Post-Racial” America. The American Behavioral Scientist (Beverly Hills), 59(11), 1358–1376. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764215586826

Cantzler, J. M., & Huynh, M. (2016). Native American Environmental Justice as Decolonization. The American Behavioral Scientist (Beverly Hills), 60(2), 203–223. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764215607578

Cariou, W., & St-Amand, I. (2017). Introduction Environmental Ethics through Changing Landscapes: Indigenous Activism and Literary Arts. Canadian Review of Comparative Literature, 44(1), 7–24. https://doi.org/10.1353/crc.2017.0000

Chari, A. (2004). Exceeding Recognition. Sartre Studies International, 10(2), 110–122. https://doi.org/10.3167/135715504780955302

Coates, K. (2015) *#Idle No More and the Remaking of Canada*. University of Regina Press: Regina, Saskatchewan

Coulthard, G. S. (2007). Subjects of Empire: Indigenous Peoples and the 'Politics of Recognition' in Canada. Contemporary Political Theory, 6(4), 437–460. https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.cpt.9300307

Coulthard, G.S. (2014) *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Corntassel, J. (2008). Toward Sustainable Self-Determination: Rethinking the Contemporary Indigenous-Rights Discourse. Alternatives: Global, Local, Political, 33(1), 105–132. https://doi.org/10.1177/030437540803300106

Corntassel, J., & Bryce, C. (2012). Practicing Sustainable Self-Determination: Indigenous Approaches to Cultural Restoration and Revitalization. The Brown Journal of World Affairs, 18(2), 151–162

Crosby, A., & Monaghan, J. (2016). Settler Colonialism and the Policing of Idle No More. Social Justice (San Francisco, Calif.), 43(2 (144)), 37–57.

Dafnos, T. (2013). Pacification and Indigenous Struggles in Canada. Socialist Studies (St. Albert), 9(2), 57–77. https://doi.org/10.18740/S49G6R

Daigle, M. (2016). Awawanenitakik: The spatial politics of recognition and relational geographies of Indigenous self-determination. The Canadian Geographer, 60(2), 259–269. https://doi.org/10.1111/cag.12260

Eagleton, T. (1994) *Ideology*. Taylor & Francis Group

Engels, K. S. (2014). Bad faith, authenticity, and responsibilities to future generations: A sartrean approach. Environmental Ethics, 36(4), 455–470. https://doi.org/10.5840/enviroethics201436448

Fanon, F. (1952) *Black Skin White Masks*. [Markmann, C.L., Trans.] Pluto Press

Fanon, F. (1963) *The Wretched of the Earth.* [Farrington, C., Trans.] New York: Grove Press

Fanon, F. (1964) *Toward the African Revolution* [Chevalier, H., Trans.] *Racism and Culture* (pp. 29-45)

Fanon, F. (2002). Racism and culture. *Présence africaine*, *165-166*, 77–84

Forsythe, D. (1973). Frantz Fanon -- The Marx of the Third World. Phylon, 34(2), 160–170. https://doi.org/10.2307/273824

Foucault, M. (1979). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Vintage Books.

Gibson, N. C. (2020). Fanon and Marx Revisited. JBSP. Journal of the British Society for Phenomenology, 51(4), 320–336. https://doi.org/10.1080/00071773.2020.1732570

Grimal, H. (1978) *Decolonization: The British, French, Dutch, and Belgian Empires, 1919 – 1963*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul

Gruneau, R. (2017) *Sport & Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press

Haddour, A. (2005). Sartre and Fanon: On Negritude and Political Participation. Sartre Studies International, 11(1/2), 286–301. https://doi.org/10.3167/135715505780282515

Hall, S. (1997) *Race, the Floating Signifier* [Speech transcript] Media Education Foundation https://www.mediaed.org/transcripts/Stuart-Hall-Race-the-Floating-Signifier-Transcript.pdf

Haluza-Delay, R. (2007) Environmental Justice in Canada. *Local Environment*, 12(6), 557-564 https://doi.org/10.1080/13549830701657323

Hawkes, D. (2004) *Ideology*. London: Taylor and Francis

Holland, R.F. (1985) *European Decolonization 1918 – 1981, an Introductory Survey*. Basingstoke: Macmillan

Huseman, J., & Short, D. (2012). 'A slow industrial genocide': tar sands and the indigenous peoples of northern Alberta. The International Journal of Human Rights, 16(1), 216–237. https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2011.649593

John, S. (2015). Idle No More – Indigenous Activism and Feminism. Theory in Action, 8(4), 38–54. https://doi.org/10.3798/tia.1937-0237.15022

Bennetta Jules-Rosette. (2007). Jean-Paul Sartre and the philosophy of négritude: Race, self, and society. Theory and Society, 36(3), 265–285. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11186-007-9029-x

Kulchyski, P. (2016). Hunting Theories: Totalisation and Indigenous Resistances in Canada. Historical Materialism : Research in Critical Marxist Theory, 24(3), 30–44. https://doi.org/10.1163/1569206X-12341483

Krzyzanowski, M. (2020). Normalization and the discursive construction of "new" norms and "new" normality: discourse in the paradoxes of populism and neoliberalism. Social Semiotics, 30(4), 431–448. https://doi.org/10.1080/10350330.2020.1766193

Maddison, S. (2013). Indigenous identity, 'authenticity' and the structural violence of settler colonialism. Identities (Yverdon, Switzerland), 20(3), 288–303. https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2013.806267

Magnani, L. (2007). Freedom and Responsibility: Bad Faith. In Morality in a Technological World (pp. 128–161). https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511498657.006

Marcuse, Feenberg, Leiss, Feenberg, Andrew, Leiss, William, & SFU Faculty publication. (2007). *The essential Marcuse : selected writings of philosopher and social critic Herbert Marcuse / edited by Andrew Feenberg and William Leiss.* Beacon Press.

Mascarenhas, M. (2012) *Where the Waters Divide: Neoliberalism, White Privilege, and Environmental Racism in Canada*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books

Memmi, A. (1974) *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. [Greenfeld, H., Trans.] Earthscan Publications Ltd. [Original published in 1957]

Nickel, S. (2019). Reconsidering 1969: The White Paper and the Making of the Modern Indigenous Rights Movement. The Canadian Historical Review, 100(2), 223–238. https://doi.org/10.3138/chr.2018-0082-2

Nikiforuk, A., Canadian Electronic Library, & David Suzuki Foundation. (2010). *Tar sands : dirty oil and the future of a continent / Andrew Nikiforuk.* (Rev. and updated.). Greystone Books.

Nursey-Bray, P. (1972). MARXISM AND EXISTENTIALISM IN THE THOUGHT OF FRANTZ FANON. Political Studies, 20(2), 152–168. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.1972.tb01067.x

Nursey-Bray, P. (1980). Race and Nation: Ideology in the Thought of Frantz Fanon. The Journal of Modern African Studies, 18(1), 135–142. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X00009484

Parson, S., & Ray, E. (2018). Sustainable Colonization: Tar Sands as Resource Colonialism. Capitalism, Nature, Socialism, 29(3), 68–86. https://doi.org/10.1080/10455752.2016.1268187

Penney, J. (2004). Passing into the Universal: Fanon, Sartre, and the Colonial Dialectic. Paragraph (Modern Critical Theory Group), 27(3), 49–67. https://doi.org/10.3366/para.2004.27.3.49

Pineault, Éric. (2018). The capitalist pressure to extract: the ecological and political economy of extreme oil in Canada. Studies in Political Economy, 99(2), 130–150. https://doi.org/10.1080/07078552.2018.1492063

Poster, M. (1975) *Existential Marxism in Postwar France: from Sartre to Althusser*. Princeton University Press: Princeton, New Jersey

Preston, J. (2013). Neoliberal settler colonialism, Canada and the tar sands. Race & Class, 55(2), 42–59. https://doi.org/10.1177/0306396813497877

Preston, J. (2017). Racial extractivism and white settler colonialism: An examination of the Canadian Tar Sands mega-projects. Cultural Studies (London, England), 31(2-3), 353–375. https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2017.1303432

Roberts, N. (2004). Fanon, Sartre, Violence, and Freedom. Sartre Studies International, 10(2), 139–160. https://doi.org/10.3167/135715504780955366

Robertson, D. L. (2015). Invisibility in the Color-Blind Era: Examining Legitimized Racism against Indigenous Peoples. American Indian Quarterly, 39(2), 113–153. https://doi.org/10.5250/amerindiquar.39.2.0113

Sartre, J.P. (1993) *Being and Nothingness*. [Barnes, H.E., Trans.] Washington Square Press (Original work published in 1943)

Sartre, J.P. (1946) *Anti-Semite and Jew.* (Becker, G.J., Trans.) New York: Schocken Books

Sartre, J.P. (1946) *Existentialism is a Humanism*. [Lecture transcript; Mairet, P., Trans.] Western Michigan University https://homepages.wmich.edu/~baldner/existentialism.pdf

Sartre, J.P. (1964) Black Orpheus [MacCombie, J., Trans.] *The Massachusetts Review*, 6(1), 13-52

Schaap, A. (2004). Political Reconciliation Through a Struggle for Recognition? Social & Legal Studies, 13(4), 523–540. https://doi.org/10.1177/0964663904047332

Sherman, D. (2006) Sartre, Critical Theory, and the Paradox of Freedom. *Philosophy Today*, 50(2), 198-212

Simpson, L.B. (2017) *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance*. University of Minnesota Press: Minnesota

Simpson, L. B., Walcott, R., & Coulthard, G. (2018). Idle No More and Black Lives Matter: An Exchange (Panel Discussion). Studies in Social Justice, 12(1), 75–89. https://doi.org/10.26522/ssj.v12i1.1830

Thobani, S. (2007) *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press

Thompson, J.B. (1990) *Ideology and Modern Culture: Critical Social Theory in the Era of Mass Communication*. Cambridge: Polity Press

Tully, J. (2008) The struggles of Indigenous peoples for and of freedom In *Public Philosophy in a New Key* (Ideas in Context, pp. 257-288). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Veltmeyer, H. (2013). The political economy of natural resource extraction: a new model or extractive imperialism? Revue Canadienne D'études Du Développement, 34(1), 79–95. https://doi.org/10.1080/02255189.2013.764850

Wakeham, P. (2012). Reconciling “Terror”: Managing Indigenous Resistance in the Age of Apology. American Indian Quarterly, 36(1), 1–33. https://doi.org/10.5250/amerindiquar.36.1.0001

Webber, J. (2018) *Rethinking Existentialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Westra, L. (1999). Environmental Racism and the First Nations of Canada: Terrorism at Oka. *Journal of Social Philosophy*, *30*(1), 103–124. https://doi.org/10.1111/0047-2786.t01-1-00007

Wolfe, P. (2006). Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native. Journal of Genocide Research, 8(4), 387–409. https://doi.org/10.1080/14623520601056240

Zheng, Y. (1997). Ontology and Ethics in Sartre's Being and Nothingness: On the Conditions of the Possibility of Bad Faith. The Southern Journal of Philosophy, 35(2), 265–287. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2041-6962.1997.tb00837.x

Zuboff, S. (2019) *The Age of Surveillance Capitalism: The Fight for a Human Future at the New Frontier of Power*. New York: Public Affairs