

# **Turning the Tables: International Development and the Games of Empire**

A first exploratory workshop on emerging world politics and  
(dis)order

University of Ottawa, November 5 2019

## **WORKSHOP REPORT**

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**February 2020**

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Studies) and by Rika Mpogazi (AEDSA - Development Student Association)*



# TURNING THE TABLES:

INTERNATIONAL  
DEVELOPMENT  
AND THE GAMES  
OF EMPIRE

WORKSHOP  
5.11.2019 FROM 1 - 7 PM  
EDIM.SIDGS@UOTTAWA.CA

Co-sponsored by : School of International Development and Globalisation Studies, uOttawa;  
Joint Chair in Women's Studies at Carleton University and the University of Ottawa;  
uOttawa Development Student Association;  
and uOttawa International Development Graduate Student Association (GDVM)



# RENVERSER LES RÔLES :

DÉVELOPPEMENT  
INTERNATIONAL  
ET LES JEUX  
IMPÉRIAUX

ATELIER

5.11.2019 DE 13 H À 19 H

[EDIM.SIDGS@UOTTAWA.CA](mailto:EDIM.SIDGS@UOTTAWA.CA)

Veillez noter que cet événement sera offert en anglais

Coparrainé par : École de développement international et mondialisation, uOttawa;  
Chaire conjointe en études des femmes à Carleton University et l'université d'Ottawa;

Association des étudiants en développement de l'Université d'Ottawa;  
et l'Association des étudiants diplômés en développement international de l'Université d'Ottawa

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*For any enquiries about this report or about the Workshop, please feel free to contact the organisers, Fayyaz Baqir at [fbaqir@uottawa.ca](mailto:fbaqir@uottawa.ca) and Jai Sen at [jai.sen@cacim.net](mailto:jai.sen@cacim.net)*

## **Background**

We are at a critical juncture at this moment in time, facing a growing disillusionment among different sections of the public in countries around the world, both in the South and the North, with the current neoliberal economic and political order that has dominated the world for quite some time. Growing concerns about climate change, rising income inequality, polarization, populist nationalism, and unending military conflicts are a direct consequence of this economic and political order that was historically erected by colonial empires and maintained through the 'great games' that the empires played to promote their economic interests and to attempt to maintain their global hegemonies. The 'development project' of more recent times is also seen by many as part of these games that empires have historically played to convert subsistent economies into market economies through Official Development Assistance, technical guidance, and institutional development. In this context, 'development' as it is known and experienced is now being questioned and contested.

Parallel to this disenchantment with neoliberal capitalism has been the rise of new economic powers such as China and Russia (the latter, post the collapse of the Soviet Union) that are challenging the hegemony of the North while the North itself is turning inwards confounded by its own internal divisions. The information and communication revolutions and the rise of social media have added to the growing chaos while also contributing positively by enabling other actors to challenge the status quo, initiating powerful democratizing movements across the world, empowering the rise of feminism, and increasing the outreach of civil society in stoking the consciousness of the general populace on various issues including climate change.

In this context of this rising turbulence and chaos, we are at the crossroads of history, facing a stark choice between the survival of unregulated capitalism through the empire and the survival of life on Earth. It is time to question the idea of development and to revisit the content, focus, and scope of international development. The time is also ripe to search for a new decolonised and a more pluralist development paradigm. The purpose of this Workshop was to create space for scholars, development practitioners, thinkers, and students to share their thoughts through an open, critical, and cross-sectoral engagement and to facilitate the creation of networks for collaboration on research-related initiatives.

### **Sponsors :**

- ◇ School of International Development and Globalisation Studies, University of Ottawa
- ◇ Joint Chair in Women's Studies at Carleton University and the University of Ottawa
- ◇ uOttawa Development Student Association (AEDSA)
- ◇ uOttawa International Development Graduate Student Association (GDVM)

### **Organizers :**

- ◇ Fayyaz Baqir, SIDGS, uOttawa
- ◇ Jai Sen, SIDGS, uOttawa

## Acknowledgements :

The workshop organisers warmly acknowledge and thank the following :

- The Anishnaabe people, on whose unceded and unsundered land the University of Ottawa is located, for – even as they struggle to gain respect from settler society – sharing their land and thus providing this space to us all;
- The School of International Development and Globalisation Studies, University of Ottawa, the Joint Chair in Women's Studies at Carleton University and the University of Ottawa, the uOttawa Development Student Association (AEDSA), and the uOttawa International Development Graduate Student Association (GDVM) - for co-sponsoring the Workshop and for generously sharing and covering the costs;
- Josée Carbonneau and Alexis Cawadias-McGeadie of the Secretariat of the School of International Development and Globalisation Studies at uOttawa for the immense amount of secretarial and logistical support they extended to us;
- Professor Sadia Malik of York University for preparing this report;
- Alexis Cawadias-McGeadie of the Secretariat of the School of International Development and Globalisation Studies at uOttawa and Rika Mpogazi of the uOttawa Development Student Association (AEDSA) for preparing the artwork in this report, originally as posters for the event : Respectively, the chess game in progress by Alexis Cawadias-McGeadie, and the disruption of the well-laid table by Rika Mpogazi;
- The International Development Graduate Student Association (GDVM) for organising the French translation of the Workshop Announcement and Invitation and of its Programme.
- Valerie Bibeau of the Congrès et réservations / Conventions and Reservations department of the University of Ottawa, for her generous time and efforts in helping us organise the room in which the workshop took place;
- Radamis Zaky (PhD candidate at the Institute of Feminist and Gender Studies at the University of Ottawa and a part-time professor at both the Department of Communications and the Institute of Feminist and Gender Studies) for audio recording most of the workshop proceedings – on a voluntary basis ! -; and for offering to produce podcasts from the recordings, which is a project we are now working on;
- All the speakers, of course ! but especially our guests to the university, Molly Kane and Carolyn Laude;
- Professors Nadia Abu-Zahra, Chris Huggins, and Sanni Yaya, all members of faculty in the School of International Development and Globalisation Studies, Pierre Beaudet of Alternatives International, and Brian Murphy, for their help in identifying, reaching out to, and introductions for us in relation to several of the speakers; and –
- All the speakers and participants of the Workshop, for making it what it became !

Note : The organisers respect the bilingual nature of the University of Ottawa. However, due to language, budget, and time constraints, we were not able to make the Workshop literally bilingual. This report however includes the material that was generated in French as well.

## Workshop Programme

**Date :** November 5 2019, 1-6 pm, 6-7 reception

**Venue :** University of Ottawa, FSS 4007

**1:00-1:55 pm : Opening Plenary :**

- Welcome - by **Susan Spronk**, Interim Director, School of International Development and Globalisation Studies; **Rika Mpogazi**, Vice President - Development Student Association; and **Nadia Abu-Zahra**, Joint Chair in Women's Studies at Carleton University and the University of Ottawa;
- Opening Remarks - by **Jai Sen**, co-organiser;
- Invocation to pluriversal worldviews - by **Carolyn Laude**, Senior Policy Analyst, Indigenous Services Canada; and -
- Keynote talk - by **Molly Kane**, Executive Director, Council of Canadians, on 'A Changing World : Emerging World Politics and (Dis)Order'. Questions and answers

**2:00-2:40 pm : Group Work :** Participants break out into groups to discuss perspectives on emerging world politics and (dis)order, led by the invited speakers as resource people and with brief introductory provocations by them :

- Indigenous worldviews (Resource person : Carolyn Laude)
- Perspectives in and from Asia (Fayyaz Baqir)
- Perspectives in and from Africa (Aoua Bocar Ly-Tall)
- Perspectives in and on Europe (Costanza Musu)
- Perspectives in and on Latin America (Calla Barnett, substituting for Susan Spronk)
- Perspectives in and from the Middle East (Nadia Abu-Zahra)
- Perspectives in and on North America (Syed Sajjadur Rahman)

**2:40-3:00 Break**

**3:00-5:20 pm : Second Plenary : Presentations by invited speakers**, also taking on board ideas thrown up in breakout groups, followed by discussion after each (7 presentations, 10 mins each followed by 10 mins discussion each) :

- **Carolyn Laude** (Senior Policy Analyst, Indigenous Services Canada) : Indigenous worldviews
- **Nadia Abu-Zahra** (Associate Professor, SIDGS, uOttawa) : Perspectives in and from the Middle East
- **Fayyaz Baqir** (Visiting Professor, SIDGS, uOttawa) : Perspectives in and from Asia
- **Aoua Bocar Ly-Tall** (Research Associate, Institute of Feminist and Gender Studies, uOttawa) : Perspectives in and from Africa

- **Costanza Musu** (Associate Professor, Public and International Affairs, uOttawa) : *Perspectives in and on Europe*
- **Syed Sajjadur Rahman** (Senior Fellow, SIDGS, uOttawa) : *Perspectives in and on 'the North'*
- **Susan Spronk** (Associate Professor, SIDGS, uOttawa) : *Perspectives in and on Latin America*

**5:20-6:00 pm : Wrap-up Plenary** : Discussion among speakers, closing questions, and closing remarks by **Susan Spronk**, Interim Director, School of International Development and Globalisation Studies, and by **Rika Mpogazi**, Vice President Development Student Association

*[This was the planned Programme. In reality, we combined the Second Plenary and the Wrap-up Plenary, with Susan Spronk flowing straight from her presentation on Latin America into her Closing Remarks, and then giving the floor to Rika Mpogazi to give her Closing Remarks.]*

**6-7 Refreshments ! and informal exchange**

## Plan de l'atelier <sup>1</sup>

**Date** : 5 novembre 2019, de 13h à 18h, et réception de 18h à 19h

**Où?** : Université d'Ottawa, FSS 4007

**Participants** : Membres du corps professoral; professeur.es agrégé.es; étudiant.es au baccalauréat, à la maîtrise et au doctorat à l'Université d'Ottawa et à d'autres universités; expertes en développement professionnel; membres d'ONG et de mouvements sociaux. Les membres du public manifestant un intérêt pour l'atelier seront les bienvenus

### 13h à 13h55: Plénière d'ouverture

- Mot de bienvenue - par **Susan Spronk**, directrice par intérim de l'École de développement international et mondialisation, **Rika Mpogazi**, Vice-présidente - Association étudiante de développement, et **Nadia Abu-Zahra**, coprésidente de l'Institut d'études féministes et de genre à Carleton et à l'Université d'Ottawa;
- Discours d'ouverture - par **Jai Sen**, coorganisateur;
- Invocation à des perspectives du monde pluriverselles - par **Carolyn Laude**, Analyste des politiques principale, Services aux Autochtones Canada
- Mot d'ordre - par **Molly Kane**, directrice générale, Le Conseil des Canadiens. Questions et réponses à propos de « Un monde changeant : la politique internationale émergente et le (dés)ordre ».

**14h00-14h40** : Travail en groupe : Les participants se répartissent en groupes pour discuter des perspectives sur la politique mondiale émergente et le (dés)ordre, sous la direction de conférenciers, invités en tant que personnes-ressources, qui effectueront de courtes présentations introductives :

- Visions du monde autochtones (Personne ressource: Carolyn Laude)
- Perspectives de l'Asie (Fayyaz Baqir)
- Perspectives de l'Afrique (Aoua Bocar Ly-Tall)
- Perspectives de l'Amérique latine (Calla Barnett, remplaçant Susan Spronk)
- Perspectives de «le Nord» (Syed Sajjadur Rahman)
- Perspectives de l'Europe (Costanza Musu)
- Perspectives du Moyen-Orient (Nadia Abu-Zahra)

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<sup>1</sup> Traduit par Étienne Côté-Vaillant [2019-10-28]; texte ajouté, document modifié par Jai Sen 2020-02-16]

**14h-40-15h00 : Pause**

**15h00-17h20 : Deuxième séance plénière :** Présentations par des conférenciers invités, en tenant compte également des idées émises par les groupes de discussion, suivies d'une discussion après chaque séance (7 présentations, 10 minutes chacune suivies d'une discussion de 10 minutes chacune) :

- **Carolyn Laude** (Analyste de politiques sénior, Services aux Autochtones Canada) : Visions du monde autochtone ;
- **Nadia Abu-Zahra** (Professeure agrégé, uOttawa): Perspectives du Moyen-Orient ;
- **Fayyaz Baqir** (Professeur invité, uOttawa) : Perspectives de l'Asie ;
- **Aoua Bocar Ly-Tall** (Associée à la recherche, Institut d'études féministes et de genre, uOttawa) : Perspectives de l'Afrique ;
- **Costanza Musu** (Professeure agrégé, d'affaires publiques et internationales, uOttawa): Perspectives de l'Europe
- **Syed Sajjadur Rahman** (Professionnel en résidence, EDIM, uOttawa) : Perspective de «le Nord» ;
- **Susan Spronk** (Professeure agrégé, uOttawa) : Perspectives de l'Amérique latine ;

**17h20-18h00 :** Séance plénière de synthèse : Discussion entre les orateurs, questions de clôture et remarques de clôture par **Susan Spronk**, directrice par intérim de l'École de Développement international et mondialisation, et par **Rika Mpogazi**, vice-présidente de l'Association des étudiants en Développement

*[C'était le programme prévu. En réalité, nous avons combiné la deuxième séance plénière et la séance plénière de clôture, Susan Spronk découlant directement de sa présentation sur l'Amérique latine dans ses remarques de clôture, puis en donnant la parole à Rika Mpogazi pour prononcer ses remarques de clôture.]*

**18h00-19h00:** Rafranchissements et échanges informels !

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05. 11. 19  
FSS 4007  
1PM-7PM

*International Development and the Games of Empires*

# TURNING THE TABLES

*a workshop*

*un atelier*

# RENVERSER LES RÔLES

*Le développement international et les jeux impériaux*



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*Le développement international et les jeux impériaux*  
**RENVERSER LES RÔLES**

*a workshop*

*an atelier*

**TURNING THE TABLES**

*International Development and the Games of Empires*

05. 11. 19  
FSS 4007  
1PM-7PM



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## Opening Plenary

### 1. Welcome and Introductory Remarks:

The Workshop began with the acknowledgement of the Indigenous territory on which it was taking place and welcome remarks by the organizers and sponsors of the workshop. Jai Sen, the co-organizer of the workshop, thanked everyone involved in organizing this workshop, particularly the Development Student Association, while emphasizing that this workshop was particularly directed to students who hold the reins to future discourses and actions. While providing a context to the event, Jai informed the audience that the major objective of this workshop was to open space for the exchange of ideas and perspectives on the changing sphere of the world and the chaos that so widely seems to characterise this turbulent period.

Jai informed the audience that the word 'Games' refers to a term coined in the twentieth century for the games that the Great Britain and Russia played over the control of Asia. Although both the British and Russian empires subsequently collapsed, a new empire led by the US emerged and has played its games. This empire is in turn now being dismantled and replaced by other emerging empires including those of China, India, Brazil etc. These empires and the great games they play in their competition with each, contribute – among many other things - to the phenomenon that we now refer to as climate change. What makes this era important and interesting is that the Mother Nature is now an actor and a force to reckon with.

Jai emphasized that we live in a time of enormous flux, and change will come through our engagement at all levels: personal and institutional. He also highlighted the fact that there is no one single path to freedom and that we need to consider all perspectives from different groups, including those of marginalized and subaltern groups.

Susan Spronk, the Interim Director of the School of International Development and Globalisation, in her welcome remarks informed the audience that the School of International Development and Globalization is the largest development school in Canada and its greatest strength is its diversity in faculty, students, and staff. Ms. Spronk agreed that we live in tumultuous times. There are challenges but also opportunities that must be seized to define a new era.

Rika Mpogazi, the Vice President of Development Student Association, in her welcome remarks acknowledged the immense opportunity that this workshop offers to students like her to explore the world outside the classroom.

### 2. Opening Presentations:

#### I. Carolyn Laude, Senior Policy Analyst, Indigenous Services, Canada Presentation: *Invocation to Pluriversal Worldviews*

Carolyn Laude, in her opening presentation, invoked the pluriversal worldviews of Indigenous communities and shared her understanding of how the distinct views held by Indigenous peoples can be interwoven with western ways of thinking to facilitate the process of reconciliation.

There are two key features of Indigenous way of thinking that Carolyn emphasized in particular: 1) the relational worldview of the Indigenous people that emphasizes spirituality and respect for the ancestors, place, and ecology, and 2) a belief in 'power with' as opposed to 'power over' nature so that humans are not considered superior and all forms of life are valued equally. This relational worldview stands in stark contrast to the western worldview that is inspired by what Indigenous scholar Sande Grande calls the 'colonialist consciousness' and is based on hierarchical ideals of power whereby men reside at the top and nature is a thing to possess.

Carolyn also brought into focus the concepts of 'Nth Eyed Seeing' and 'Pluriversality' as conceptualizations that emphasize human relationships, human connectivity, and respect for diversity in views and perspectives. These approaches built on spiritual traditions, relationality, and love offer opportunities for partnership and reconciliation, but this can only be achieved through the creation of what Indigenous scholar Willie Ermine refers to as an ethical space in which liberal epistemology is no longer the dominant approach.

Carolyn highlighted the historical complicity of liberal democracy in failing to provide the ethical space that treats indigenous worldviews and epistemological/ontological frameworks on the same level playing field as those of western origins. Inclusion of indigenous voices and worldviews at local, national, and global levels is critical in going forward towards reconciliation, Carolyn concluded.

## II. **Molly Kane**, Executive Director, Council of Canadians

### Keynote Talk: *A Changing World: Emerging World Politics and (Dis)order*

Molly Kane, in her keynote talk, shared her valuable insights on the question of future of development studies and the need to search for a more decolonised and pluralistic paradigm. While providing a snapshot of her journey into the field of development studies, Molly shared how her experiences led her to question international development institutions, especially the aid industry, in defining the common understanding of social solidarity. She related her experience working with the African Social Forum in Bamako and listening to Indigenous social activist groups from all walks of life and regions in Africa. Noone in these deliberations mentioned that Africa needed more aid. This observation was directly in conflict with Canada's international development strategy at that time which was primarily centered on increasing aid to reduce poverty. This led Molly to delve deeper into the political economy of aid and the assumptions underlying the notion of aid as a panacea for development.

Molly emphasized that development project itself is historically contested in that it is Eurocentric, based on white supremacy, and aimed at increasing corporate profits in the North. This development project inspired by neoliberalism and capitalism led to the structural adjustment programs in the South and austerity in the North. The logic of aid in this development thinking was that we can generate a surplus out of the system that is impoverishing people and damaging the environment and with that surplus, we can fix the damage. This thinking measures international solidarity and care by the amount of aid, and it deals with the crisis of capital and not with the crisis of human beings that is created in the process of increasing commodification of societal relationships and the development process. This is the logic that we have a difficult time challenging, Molly emphasized. This logic talks about 'poverty' and not impoverishment, and it translates solidarity into a 'white savior complex' that reinforces white supremacy and racism into the development project. It is based on capitalism where growth is considered synonymous with corporate profit, and any challenge to this logic is dismissed as unrealistic.

In these circumstances, it is incumbent upon us to challenge the logic of development and argue that what we need on this planet, that sustains all forms of life, is not development but repair and reparation. But to challenge the logic of development, we must aim for change and not merely resistance. Quoting the African American civil rights activist Michelle Alexander on the mindset of resistance and linking it to the emancipation movements across the world, Molly favored change over resistance because resistance *persists* while change *overcomes*.

Finally, Molly offered some insightful suggestions on the future of development studies. She suggested that we need to interrogate how we know what we know. To break the circle of capitalism, we need to let go off the logic of capitalism and the need to be correct in our conclusions. Peace will not be profitable but it will be peace, justice will not be profitable but it will be justice. We need to risk the uncertain territory of imperfect but real social invention. Let us be bold to let go off the logic that insists that we need to build pipelines to finance clean energy and that we need to tax war to build peace.

Today, in the face of rising tide of racism, ecological collapse, and nationalism, our future is possible only if we can live as humanity and we are only humans if we are all humans, Molly remarked. Capitalism and the system that we live in limits our imagination and that recognition is important to liberate our imagination. We need to embrace realism and recognize that no single leader or ideology will deliver us. Perhaps what we need more of today is 'Feral Politics' which is the politics of defending the best possible future for humanity. *Universalist humanity* is the path that we must struggle to build the best possible future for humanity, Molly concluded.

### **Breakout Group Work:**

At about 2:00 pm, participants broke out into groups for discussion, led by resource persons for each group. Seven groups were formed, one for the following regions of the world - Asia, Africa, Latin America, North America (which came however to be interpreted as 'the North'), Europe, and Middle East - and one on Indigenous Worldviews. Participants themselves chose which group they would join, and the groups that formed then spent around 40-60 minutes on group discussion. Resource persons for each group shared the key points of the group discussion in the second plenary that started at 3:00 pm.

[For bullet point versions of the key points, see : Annex III: Bullet Points from Flip Charts prepared by Breakout Groups]

### **Second Plenary:**

In this plenary, the invited speakers were invited to present their perspectives on the respective regions and to also try and weave in key points thrown up during their respective group discussions. A summary of each presentation is provided below:

#### **I. Carolyn Laude: *Indigenous worldviews***

In recent years, there has been some hope among the Indigenous community in Canada at the possibility of achieving genuine reconciliation. In *Tsilhqot'in Nation*, the Supreme Court reconciled access and benefits to land. with the condition that in the event of general economic

development in the national interest, the state could justifiably limit Indigenous title land rights. This suggests a hollow conception of reconciliation in which the state's sovereignty superseded Aboriginal title. The politics of recognition advances reconciliation through a 'sovereign subject' perspective based on the use of human-to-human agreements (e.g., economic development, treaties, and other constructive arrangements), whereas Indigenous Peoples look at reconciliation from a relational perspective where inherent rights flow from the creator and not government laws. To describe this tension between the two approaches, Carolyn divided her presentation into four parts:

1. *What is indigeneity?*

A number of scholars have delved into the question of Indian identity.<sup>2</sup> According to Maximilian Forte, there are three possible answers: first, the term 'Indian' can mean a state of being in the world. Second, it can be understood as a noble and stable being; and finally, according to Forte's perspective, Indian identity can be understood through a number which is used to track them in a way that no one else is tracked. Indigenous community still grapples with the idea of blood quantum. Carolyn related the experience of her own daughter who has mixed ancestry. In some Mohawk communities, this is problematic because once an Indigenous member marries out of the community, he/she must stay out of the community. Indigenous identity in Canada has strong political undercurrents. The internalization of colonialism by some Indigenous Peoples has resulted in confusion at the community level around the notion of Indigeneity.

2. *What it is like in Canada today?*

Carolyn mentioned that as a public servant, she has experienced several accounts of reconciliation. Moreover, there is disparity among First Nation communities on whether reconciliation is possible through rights recognition model or an Indigenous framework or some hybrid model of the two. The diversity in Indigenous views has challenged the federal government's efforts over the last few years. Issues of trust concerning the question as to whether the government is continuing its old ways has led the government to rethink its approach to what land title means and its relationship with Indigenous Peoples.

3. *The Reconciliation Typology*

Reconciliation typology, based on Carolyn's research work, is synthesized into four distinct types: genuine, stand-alone, transitional, and assimilative. Her findings indicate that 'reconciliation' is a contested term. Genuine reconciliation involves intercultural, legal, political,

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<sup>2</sup> Since the organisers of the workshop where this paper was presented happen to both be from South Asia – one from Pakistan, the other from India -, we wish to add a clarification here in case any readers of this document are confused, or challenged, by the use of the term 'Indian' here. As most readers know, as a result of European colonisers who landed in what they then named 'the Americas' thinking that they had landed in India (which they were hoping to reach), they called the native peoples they found there 'Indians' (in each of the colonial European languages). Even if 'wrong', this nomenclature stuck, and came to be widely used within the colonised countries and by colonial administrations (such as the 'Indian Act' in Canada), and including as a self-descriptor by Indigenous Peoples themselves (for instance, by AIM, the American Indian Movement – see [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American\\_Indian\\_Movement](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_Indian_Movement)). And where this usage is today a commonplace alternative usage and meaning of the term 'Indian', at least in some parts of the world (for instance, see <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian>). Given this, and even though we personally have reservations about the use of the term for such peoples, we have decided to respect this other usage, and to go along with its use here. - *Fayyaz Baqir and Jai Sen*

and epistemological change. It deconstructs structural cultural dichotomy. It engages in relational responsibility and dialogue, and it values other worldviews. If the federal government wants to move away from the rights recognition model of reconciliation, it needs to think and act differently in its approach to indigeneity in Canada. It needs to embrace the idea of coexistence and pluri-versality. Based on her research, Carolyn has found that we are still in a dominant mode of being and knowing in a country that continues to suppress Indigenous life modes.

#### 4. *What is the way forward?*

Carolyn proposes that federalism is a western construct that is rooted in notions of racial privilege, as argued in the Doctrine of Discovery. Evidence demonstrates that the rights of the Indigenous community are eroded through the ongoing negotiation and implementation of international treaty agreements. To conclude, these findings indicate that Canada is imperialist in nature and the victims are the Indigenous People. The reconciliation project inspired by liberalism aims to protect capital and labor. Nonetheless, the evidence demonstrates that the Liberal world view should not embed Indigenous worldviews because of differentiated philosophical origins, and any attempt to do so would not bring any deep structural reform in government-Indigenous relations, Carolyn emphasized.

#### *Questions and Answers*

Rika Mpogazi, who is a student in International Development, asked Carolyn what she thought about the reconciliation process when the Indigenous People had to resort to state institutions that are founded on western notions and do not conform to the world views of the Indigenous Peoples. Carolyn replied that the term 'reconciliation' is government terminology. Most indigenous languages do not contain the word of reconciliation as such but do contain a variety of words that describe the notion of reconciliation. Carolyn pointed out that embedding one life-world into another will not yield good results. What is important is to respect all life-worlds equally.

Rika asked further as how one can combat an institution that has been in place for more than a century while also claiming the land that one owns. Who has the ultimate say in this process? Carolyn answered that Indigenous Peoples have their own legal and political systems and that political and legal pluralism has existed in Canada for a long time. It is only when there is an economic development project that the conflict and tension between the western and Indigenous lifeworlds becomes more obvious. Due to the lack of ethical space, unfortunately the relationship never reaches one of a true partnership.

## II. **Nadia Abu Zahra:** *Perspectives in and from the Middle East*

Nadia shared her disenchantment with international aid in the context of Palestine while referring to an article that she co-authored on "Why Canadian aid won't really help Palestinian entrepreneur" published in *The Conversation*. Nadia related her own personal experiences growing up in Palestine as a student of international development and said that she was only 17 when her disillusionment with international aid industry and development began. This cynicism that Nadia had with international development studies as a discipline continued when she became a student of international development in Canada, and remains so for her even to this date when she is a professor, Nadia admitted openly in a self-reflective mode while also

acknowledging the love and support that she received from her colleagues and community in Canada.

Nadia asserted that it is time to rethink about this discipline and to transform development studies as a discipline. She expressed her aversion to the terms 'developing', 'developed', or 'industrialized' as it reminds her of theft and colonialism and that is one reason why she prefers to use the term 'solidarity' instead of 'development'; and this has been well-met by her students. We need to rethink the gamut of International Development and harness the potential of researchers in this area, Nadia said. The pedagogy and style of teaching also needs improvement: more than half of the courses at international development are taught by faculty members who have no employment security. Quite regrettably, the federal government has been contributing to this worsening trend. At present, we do not have the pedagogical resources to devise strategies that move beyond scantrons to evaluate students. Nadia concluded with a hopeful note that despite these challenges, there are ways through which we can reform the system through conscious thinking.

### III. **Fayyaz Baqir:** *Perspectives in and from Asia*

While tracing the history of global political and economic order from the first industrial revolution onwards up until present, Fayyaz talked about three distinct periods: 1) between first the industrial revolution and World War I; 2) between World War I and World War II; and 3) between World War II and the end of the Cold War.

The first industrial revolution led to the emergence of utilitarianism and capitalism, bringing in its wake the commodification of mind, body, and spirit and an unrelenting pursuit of materialism through colonialism. The period from industrial revolution up until World War I was marked by the destruction and replacement of the precapitalistic order by the capitalist order and the commencement of what came to be known as the "Great Game" by the European empires as a strategy to promote their economic interests globally.

The period between World War I and World War II was characterized by the colonization of various parts of the world by European Empires. Despite powerful resistance movements and insurrections by indigenous groups, the colonies succumbed to capitalism.

After World War II, a cold war ensued along with the expansion of capitalism to Asia and later, the collapse of Soviet Union. As capitalism strengthened in Asia, it pitted the western empire led by the U.S. against the rising capitalist order in Asia. In this economic strife for hegemony and economic power, Mother Earth has had to pay dearly in terms of climate change and environment.

All along this period, capitalism triumphed over other economic orders, Fayyaz maintained. However, after dominating the world for more than two centuries, this system is now on the path of self-annihilation. We are in a new era. Which system will replace it is a question of great significance, and after some reflection on this question in the group work on Asia, the group did not reach any agreement – which, according to Fayyaz, is a good sign because this is a question of paramount importance and requires intensive thinking, discussion, and follow-up work.

Fayyaz concluded with an insightful remark that the chaos and disorder that we see outside are a reflection of our inner chaos and fear. Unless we overcome our inner fears and rely

on our capacity to bring about the positive change needed, we cannot see change outside and this, according to Fayyaz, should guide the teaching of development studies as a discipline.

#### IV. **Aoua Bocar Ly-Tall:** *Perspectives in and from Africa*

Aoua talked about she calls the double chaos that the world is facing today: one between humans and other forms of life on earth, and the other between humans themselves. Regarding the human-nature chaos, Aoua lamented the indifference of international corporate forces to a number of warnings issued by Brundtland Report in 1985, the IPCC, and the Paris Agreement of 2015 on climate change. The lack of attention to these warnings has resulted in us facing climate change in the form of ecological disasters causing destruction and suffering across the world, particularly the drought-ridden Sahelian Africa.

Regarding the chaos and lack of harmony between humans, the destruction is as deep as at the environmental level, Aoua lamented. The aboriginal peoples of Australia and America, and Acadians, Jews, Middle East, and French Canadians - they all have been the victims of divisions constituted by the western empires. As for Africans, they also suffered the barbarism of slavery and terrorism of colonization.

Aoua concluded by underscoring the need to reverse this trend by searching for answers and outlining future courses of action for sustainable international development. Aoua viewed this workshop as a step in that direction.

#### V. **Costanza Musu:** *Perspectives in and on Europe*

Costanza talked about how Europe shaped its political identity after World War II, particularly focusing on the developments in the last ten years. She started off by emphasizing that the theory of international development taught today is predominantly the intellectual product of European political thinkers and theorists; and so the way we look at the world is primarily through the western centric notions of statehood and liberalism. The ideal political system according to this notion is based on sovereignty of states with political borders and an economic system - essentially capitalistic in nature - that generates positive economic growth. But this liberal political and economic order has only worked for Europe, and more broadly to the Commonwealth region, in isolation from the rest of the world.

After World War II and the destruction caused by it, Europe moved towards more secure community through the establishment and expansion of the European Union and facilitating the free movement of people by eliminating internal borders. But this came at the expense of also building a fortress Europe, Constanza argued.

Currently Europe is at a point where it does not know where to place its economic and political power apart from its natural alliance with the US which is now increasingly being challenged. What Europe has to offer to the rest of the world apart from pure economic deals is an open question. The discussion group for Europe did not arrive at a definite answer, Constanza concluded.

*Question and Answers:*

Jai Sen asked Constanza what she thought about Europe's traditional ideals of liberalism and the issue of refugees and migrants approaching Europe and facing a fortress. Constanza replied that European countries are not unique to this phenomenon that has been growing everywhere else around the globe. The flow of migrants affected by economic deprivation, inequality, violence, and oppression highlights the failure of the global international order and the Fortress is not able to prevent in-migration even if it is built around the ocean, Constanza remarked. The paradox that Europe is facing at the moment is that political forces that are open towards refugees are being attacked by opposing political forces.

Another participant from the audience asked Constanza to share her insights on why European welfare states and its social democracy – that has kept capitalism in check - has not been affected among the present chaotic situation. Constanza replied that the source of much of the tension that we see today in Europe is the outcome of a significant portion of economic growth generated outside Europe through international corporations that do not have the institutions of social protection. This economic growth benefits a few elite groups thereby creating economic inequality and vulnerability for the common people.

**VI. Syed Sajjadur Rahman: *Perspectives in and on the North***

Sajjadur Rahman delineated his perspective on the North and explained that if the decades of 80s and 90s were marked by the retreat of the state in the South in response to market liberalization and globalization, the current decade is the era marked by the retreat of the North from globalization. Rahman emphasized two key points: First, the current global hegemonic system - that is in a state of crisis at the moment - is the victim of processes it has created. Like the liberalization and globalization of international trade. The emergence of competing powers like China, India, and Brazil are the outcomes of this system that were created by the North to maintain its global hegemony. The Bretton Woods institutions, created after World War II, extended the pre-war colonialism on the notion of western superiority in managing global order. The U.S led the process of hegemonic order. Now the North is retreating from this hegemony and is becoming more closed due to fears of large sections of its population whose jobs are being threatened by globalization and immigration.

Second, with the emergence of new global powers like China that is exercising and expanding its influence all over the world, the question is whether the South will need the North in the future? Over the past ten years, new donors have emerged. At present, there are three groups of international donors: The OECD donors, BRICS, and the Arab World. The development processes and the targets are now being set and owned by the developing countries themselves. This is in contrast to the hierarchical relationship that used to prevail in the development partnership earlier. Aid has now turned more into a leveraging financial instrument rather than a development instrument. The financial support of the North for NGOs and civil society organizations has diminished but since these organizations in the South have matured, they no longer need the North.

Sajjadur Rehman mentioned that one question that was discussed in the group on the North was the need for a global code of conduct for globalization. The present code of conduct followed by MNCs is market based and the question is whether this is a good solution from a

social welfare perspective. The group also discussed if there is any way to de-commodify the financial flows to the South.

*Questions and Answers:*

A participant from the audience asked if there were new hegemonic constructs being created in the South - given its rise and the diminishing role of the North - and if yes, how do we ensure that they do not lead to unequal structures of power to which Sajjadur agreed and provided example of China that is buying land in Africa and Asia for agricultural and construction projects. Sajjadur also compared the North and the South's style of funding. The South's style is more transactional in nature where, for instance, an infrastructure project is promised on the basis of access to land for growing crops. This is different from the type of conditionalities that North demanded compliance with - in terms of governance, gender equality, and human rights - in exchange for foreign aid.

## **VII. Susan Spronk: Perspectives in and on Latin America**

In her talk, Susan Spronk presented perspectives on Latin America, talked about the future of Development Studies, and also gave her closing remarks. All along she emphasized the need to consider the present crisis as an opportunity to think about the future and to define a new era.

From Latin America, Susan explained that Cuba provides a classic example of what happens when human life and economic sustainability is prioritized instead of mass consumerism that has primarily been the development goal since most of the twentieth century. Latin America as a region has some peculiarities, Susan emphasized. For instance, it is the region that has had the greatest number of revolutions in the world in the twentieth century and this could be related to the fact that the region achieved independence from European powers earlier than the rest of the regions. It is the region with some of the most advanced historical civilizations. It was the first to be colonized by the Europeans. It is the region with great racial diversity resulting in tumultuous politics in terms of legacies of racism and colonialism. It is a region with one of the highest income inequalities in the world. And finally, it is a region characterized by the return of leftist political experiments and as such, has been able to reduce social inequality.

While presenting her perspective on Development Studies as a discipline, Susan mentioned that development studies is one of the most radical disciplines that goes beyond projects and foreign aid. It is multidisciplinary and does not have one specific form. While expressing her optimism about the future of this discipline, Susan pointed out that the number one journal in development studies is a left-leaning journal related to Peasant Studies and has a higher impact factor than World Development which is a mainstream policy journal that publishes articles mostly written by economists. This is an indication that development studies is a discipline that is on the right track.

Finally, Susan mentioned that the School of International Development and Globalisation Studies at the University of Ottawa is the largest school of international development in Canada and is one of the most diverse and plural schools.

While providing her closing remarks, Susan emphasized that we are witnessing the contradictions of the model that has been dominant for 25-30 years. The global capitalistic structure with its unrelenting quest for economic growth that has resulted in the human and

ecological crisis that we see unfolding before us, is in a state of crisis, and we need to look for alternatives and think about ways of dismantling the Master's house. To Susan, what offers hope and promise is the involvement of youth that now represents more than 40 percent of the global population. She concluded with the remark that the jewels on the crown of the School of International Development are the students and that the final closing words should come from them. She thanked the organizers and the entire staff that was involved in organizing this workshop. The mike was then passed on to Rika Mpogazi, the vice president of the Development Student Association.

### **VIII. Rika Mpogazi: Closing Remarks**

On behalf of the Development Student Association, Rika expressed her gratitude for being part of this extremely stimulating open discussion and hoped that that initiatives like this would continue as they greatly benefit the students by providing them with both old and new narratives. A few takeaways from this workshop that personally stimulated Rika included the difference between the colonial and indigenous perspectives on land and the idea that land and how we associate ourselves with land and territory was a social construct. Also, the lived experiences and how they contrast with the institutional standards of knowledge inspired her. The diversity and heterogeneity of regions and the people living in those regions is also crucial to know for an in-depth understanding of international development.

Rika was also inspired by Molly's idea that the idea of development and progress built around the neoliberal notion of working day in and day out and ignoring the social expectation is again a social construct and all cultures may not appreciate that. In terms of international aid, Rika learned many new ideas especially the fact that aid continues to exert its role in international development with different actors and hierarchical relationships.

She also agreed with the criticism raised in the discussion around the term 'development' which according to Rika may be a derogatory term for some people if it involves meeting expectations that they themselves do not ascribe to and are set for them by someone else. Regarding the educational reforms and pedagogy in international development, Rika agreed that students learn better if they can visualize what they are learning and apply their knowledge to careers that are sustainable. She felt that the evaluation of the knowledge through multiple choice exams that are graded by a scantron machine definitely has limited scope to achieve the kind of learning outcomes that Rika thinks would land students in sustainable careers in international development.

Finally, Rika thanked the organizers with the hope that this would not be the last discussion on this important subject.

## **Annex I: One-Page Summary of Presentations provided by Speakers**

### **1. Experiencing Indigeneity and Pluri-versality**

By Carolyn Laude

#### **Introduction**

Indigenous worldviews play a large role in finding a new path-forward. To do this, I want to help deepen your understanding of what Indigenous worldviews can mean locally, nationally and globally. Often, I think about how to weave Indigenous and Western ways of knowing, being and doing into my academic project on reconciliation and my day-to-day work in government.

#### **My Positionality**

As a Mohawk woman of mixed ancestry, I am deeply implicated in the work that I do because of my relationship to both land and place and what it means to me. My story is one of displacement that has deep-seated roots in the colonial violence of the state, which forcibly removed my father from Mohawk lands to attend the *St. Peter Claver School for Boys* in Spanish, Ontario. His removal from the community reminds me daily of my own dislocation and precarious relationship with Indigeneity and the lands upon which I reside. On Mohawk land, I am considered an outsider; while, in the traditional territories of other First Nations, I am a stranger or visitor. This makes my relationship to land and Indigeneity extremely complicated. This lived experience is what drives me to work on reconciliation, Indigenous land-related and resource extraction issues in the Canadian settler-colonial context.

#### **Indigenous and Western Worldviews**

First Nations, Inuit and Métis are distinct groups of Indigenous peoples in Canada with unique histories, languages, cultural practices, traditional territories and spiritual beliefs. Most Indigenous peoples share a relational worldview that emphasizes spirit & spirituality, meaning all things are living, and, in turn, a sense of community and respect for the ancestors, place and the ecology (Little Bear, 2000, p.77; Kovach, 2005; Louis, 2007). Relationships are the basis of who we are as a people and how we relate to the world.

Indigenous worldviews are generally associated with the circle, inter-dependent and connection to place based on respect, reciprocity, responsibility and relationship. Some Indigenous Nations in Canada also follow the 7 Grandfather Teachings (e.g., humility,

bravery, honesty, wisdom, truth, respect and love) as part of their values, beliefs and practices. Moreover, there is a belief in the power of creating a shared mind with all of creation. This is best characterized as “power with”, as opposed to “power over” (Alberta Education 2005, p.18). In other words, humans are not considered superior to nature and all life is valued equally, holding a significant place in the world (Graham 2011). Lastly, knowledge is gained through the experience of living and interacting with nature in places and experiencing its local conditions. Our identity is drawn from relationships and the land.

The philosophical underpinning of Western worldviews is hierarchical rather than circular in nature. The “colonialist consciousness” (Grande 2015, p. 99) embodies hierarchical ideals of power residing at the top and considers man separate from and above land/nature (Graham 2011, p. 28 & 29). In other words, nature is a thing to possess. These differing understandings of relationality highlight the ongoing tension between settlers and Indigenous peoples.

According to Grande (2015), the “colonialist consciousness” also relies on technological advancements as the way of solving all problems, which is linked to the idea of “progress as change and change as progress” (p. 99). There is also a belief that each person has a right to make their own personal choice (either/or thinking) as opposed to the notion of collectivism (p. 99). Finally, scientists – including social scientists - see themselves as separate from nature; thus, nature becomes the object of study. Scientific thinking consists of analytical, materialist, objective and quantitative approaches grounded in academic writing and scientific experiments (p.99). This ideology separates spirituality from reasoning (p.99). For most people, this dominant perspective is what we know, live with and tend not to question.

### **Nth Eyed-Seeing**

Nth eyed-seeing is a way of respecting and bringing different worldviews into conversation together. For example, the establishment of “Nth-eyed” seeing as a common practice is meant to improve ways of doing things, generate new ideas and understandings, and strengthen the state of Indigenous-Crown and Indigenous-settler relations.

This concept is rooted in Elder Albert Marshall’s concept of *Etuaptomuk* or *Two-Eyed Seeing*, an Indigenous concept that brings the strength of both Indigenous and Western knowledges and ways of knowing into conversation with each other. Thus, two-eyed seeing uses the strength of both eyes together for the benefit of all (Bartlett, Marshall and Marshall, 2007, para. 1).

Nth-eyed seeing encourages opportunities for engaging with a multiplicity of ways of knowing, being and doing or worldviews to improve human and social

situations/conditions and achieve genuine reconciliation. In the context of distinctions-based approaches at the national-level, the strength of applying this type of thinking and approach results in Indigenous peoples being:

- joint architects in the relationship;
- co-developers of priorities, law and policy;
- catalysts for unlocking the potential of Indigenous epistemological and ontological frameworks; and,
- equal partners in measuring/monitoring progress and achieving results.

## **2. Ordre mondial émergent : qu'en est-il de l'Afrique, des Africain-e-s et des Afro-Descendant-e-s ?**

D<sup>re</sup> Aoua BOCAR LY-Tall, Sociologue et chercheure associée à l'I.É.F.G, Université d'Ottawa

Nous saluons l'heureuse initiative de messieurs Fayyaz Baqir et Jai SEN de réunir à l'Université d'Ottawa des acteurs et penseur-e-s du développement (enseignant-e-s, chercheur-e-s, étudiant-e-s, militant-e-s de différentes causes, etc.) pour une concertation autour du double chaos qui guette l'Humanité, notamment, une crise économique-sociale et climatique qui affecte tous les domaines de la Vie humaine, animale et végétale. Il est donc nécessaire qu'ensemble, nous puissions réfléchir sur ces défis majeurs afin de baliser des voies de solutions à ces urgences planétaires. À notre sens, cette crise est le reflet de la rupture de l'harmonie entre l'humain et la nature d'une part, et entre les humains eux-mêmes d'autre part.

Pour ce qui de la rupture Humain/Nature, bien que dès 1971, la Conférence de Stockholm ait tiré le signal d'alarme au sujet de l'environnement, mettant en garde les États contre l'imminence d'une catastrophe écologique (réchauffement climatique, perte de la biodiversité, etc.), les habitudes et les comportements ont peu changé. Engagés dans une course effrénée au « développement », mus par le désir d'être Leader parmi les Nations et aveuglés par l'avoir, tous les pays, surtout ceux dits développés restèrent sourds à cette alerte relative au danger planétaire. Aussi, ni le Rapport Brundtland, "La Planète, Notre avenir à tous" en 1985, ni les divers rapports du GIEC, ni l'Accord de Paris de 2015, n'ont engendré des changements durables. Aujourd'hui, ouragans, feux de forêts, inondations, canicules, etc., frappent de partout les humains et créent souffrances et des morts, surtout dans des zones vulnérables telles que l'Afrique Sahélienne en proie à la sécheresse et à la désertification. Cette situation crée des réfugié-e-s climatiques qui tapent aux portes de l'Occident qui se barricadent de plus en plus.

Au niveau de la rupture de l'harmonie entre les êtres Humains, la destruction est aussi profonde qu'au plan environnemental. Dans cette même logique du profit, certains

peuples soumièrent d'autres à la domination pour s'accaparer de leurs terres, de leurs ressources et/ou de leurs forces de travail pour s'enrichir. C'est le cas pour les Autochtones d'Australie et d'Amérique dont une bonne partie fut exterminée, des Acadiens, qui subirent une déportation massive, des Juifs qui furent victimes des horreurs de l'Holocauste, des gens du Moyen Orient pour s'accaparer de leur pétrole. Force est de noter aussi que les Palestiniens sont en train de payer depuis plus de 7 décennies (1947-2019) le prix d'une faute qu'ils n'ont pas commise, à savoir la Shoah ou l'holocauste juif. Rappelons aussi, le cas des Canadiens français qui vécurent toutes sortes d'oppression et d'humiliations, malheureusement avec la complicité de l'Église catholique que bon nombre d'entre eux rejettent en 1960 à travers la «Révolution tranquille». Ainsi, se furent constitués les grands empires occidentaux qui se partagèrent le monde.

Quant aux Africains, ils subirent coup sur coup, la barbarie de l'esclavage et le terrorisme de la colonisation. Les Négriers emportèrent leurs meilleures ressources humaines pour la mise en valeur du nouveau monde (Amérique). Les moteurs de ces actes ne sont autres que le profit, le goût de l'avoir et la recherche aveugle de biens matériels. Et, à la Conférence de Berlin en 1886, ils procédèrent purement et simplement au partage de l'Afrique à partir d'une carte. Pour justifier leur ignominie, ces oppresseurs secrètent aussi une idéologie raciste sur les Peuples dominés. Elles constituent des armes à destruction massive de l'Humanité. Car, elles sapent la fraternité humaine, développent le mépris et la haine de l'Autre et engendrent des violences extrêmes. Les Afro-Descendants en sont largement victimes. On a le sentiment que c'est là l'agenda de certains. Ils cherchent à imposer un nouvel ordre mondial "Du diviser pour régner" en vue de reconquérir des peuples qui s'étaient décolonisées telles que ceux d'Afrique.

Que faire pour inverser cette tendance et vivre ensemble en harmonie avec la Terre-Mère et en Paix entre Humains? Telle est la question à laquelle notre Atelier doit tenter d'apporter des réponses et baliser des pistes d'action pour un développement international durable.

### **3. Turning the Tables: Perspective in and From Asia**

By Fayyaz Baqir

First Industrial Revolution, and the rise of the European Capitalist Empires brought in its wake the celebration of body, suspicion of the soul and commodification of mind; relegating consciousness to pursuit of utilitarian ends through the narrowly carved path of 'positive' social sciences. Capitalist mind saw the planet and the universe as its mirror image, a body without a soul. Celebration of bodies triggered off a never-ending quest for colonization, possession, control, and consumption of land and natural habitat of pre capitalist communities, kingdoms and Empires in Asia. In the course of its rise and

expansion during the next four centuries global capitalist empire has encountered moments of strife, conflict, chaos, disillusionment and finally it is coming closer to the moment of self-annihilation. The Capitalist Order expanded by demolishing the organic relationships between the human communities, and the holistic relationship between the humans and nature; body and soul. It converted every manifestation of nature and every dimension of human activity into a commodity, into an object for drawing utilitarian pleasures. The underlying contradictions of this reductionist and utilitarian approach have brought us and our natural habitat to the brink of destruction.

Asia responded to the capitalist order in diverse ways. Japan was the first to embrace capitalist science, technology and political norms in the nineteenth century and the first Asian power to defeat a European Empire in early twentieth century. The land of rising sun was the first Asian nation to become part of the glorious West. But it was not considered Western enough and at the end of second world war was subjected to a nuclear attack even after surrendering to the victors. The period between the First Industrial Revolution and the First World War was not only characterized by destruction of the pre capitalist order by the capitalist order but started what in the Asian context came to be called 'The Great Game' between the European Empires – by then already including Russia - to lay claim to the biggest share of the global market. This led to armed rebellions in the colonies and the First World War.

During the first and second world war period scrambling for colonial possessions escalated the conflict between European Empires and certain political forces in China and countries of South and South and East Asia resorted to armed insurrection against the British, French, Portuguese, Dutch and other European Empires. British successfully exterminated insurrections in Malaya and India by isolating and exterminating rebellious communities and infiltrating the ranks of insurgents but other European Empires that depended solely on brutal force and failed in defeating the insurgents or national wars of liberation. Two 'great democratic states' of India and Israel that tried to use the isolationist British strategy during the post World War II period against Kashmiris and Palestinians also failed. In British India insurrections and armed rebellions failed but nonviolence and constitutional struggle succeeded in ending the colonial rule. But without the sacrifices of Indian soldiers and millions of Bengali famine victims this political victory would not have been possible. Afghanistan was on the other end of the Spectrum. It is the only pre capitalist society which achieved the singular honor of defeating three European Empires setting feet on its soil- the British, the Russians and Americans. Colonies embraced capitalism during the struggle against the capitalist exploitation.

End of the World War II led to the Cold War between the market and nonmarket economies for supremacy and control. This period saw unfolding of the second, third and fourth industrial revolutions, the establishment of an open Global Market, collapse of the nonmarket Empire and shift in the centre of global capital to China/India/Asia and threat

to the very survival of the planet due to Climate Change. Asian economies are not only attracting global capital on mass scale but making headways in the global knowledge economy shaped by the Fourth Industrial Revolution. The new game has not only set the old capitalist order led by the American Empire against the rising Asian capitalist order led by the emerging Chinese Empire but against the survival of the planet itself.

During the past three centuries the capitalist empires demolished pre capitalist empires, reshaped the sphere of control of the colonial empires and defeated their nonmarket competitors. Capitalist Order overpowered all other orders. This time the capitalist order is under a life-threatening disorder. The choice is not between the capitalist and non-capitalist orders but between the capitalist order and life on the planet. The world of nature insists on being befriended not consumed and converted into source of unlimited corporate profits. The world needs a post capitalist, post-colonial order. Conventional wisdom does not help. Existing social science builds knowledge on the evidence found in the past. It is scientific in hindsight. It has relegated the task of delving into future to poets, dreamers, artists, magicians and sorcerers. The world in general and the world of Development Studies in particular needs a sorcerer; who is present but not visible to most of us. We need to start the search for the sorcerer.

#### **4. Perspectives in and on the North**

By Syed Sajjadur Rahman

Whereas the 1980s and 1990s were marked by a chaotic retreat of the state in the South in the face of accelerated growth of globalization, the current epoch is noticeable for the chaotic retreat of the North and the dismantling of neoliberal alliances formed in the immediate aftermath of the second world war.

For example, the post -World War II Bretton Woods institutions extended the pre-war colonial order. They exerted northern dominance based on a notion of “superiority” in managing a world order based on a (northern) value-based “rules” oriented international economic order. This dominance was enforced by the overwhelming military and financial power of the North at the time and particularly by US power and its growing legitimacy among other like-minded northern countries as the “leader of the free world”.

But that was then, and this is now. The US and many other northern countries are retreating from their global hegemonic roles and shrinking back into ultra-nationalist and isolationist shells. These anti-globalization movements in the North have been sparked by calculation (differential perceived costs and benefits of integration – the rust-belt syndrome), community fears (the “losers” subscribing to a more exclusive national identity and anxiety over the perceived negative effects of immigration), and cues (images

of opinion leaders with partisan attachments and ideological predispositions) (Hooghe and Marks, 2005).

These movements are in response to radical changes taking place in the global hegemonic construct. There has been an accelerating attenuation of the North's hold on global economic and strategic circumstances. Ironically, this attenuation owes its origin and progress to the very mechanisms that were meant to preserve the northern hegemony like liberalization of global trade and investment and the spread of pluralistic governance after the demise of communism. These mechanisms sparked the economic rise of the South and the emergence of competing regional powers like China, India and Brazil. The developing world is now more "middle-income" (107 countries in 2019) than "low-income" (31) and their development aspirations are more nationally driven than dictated from the outside. For example, the SDGs, are used more as indicators rather than as primary goals (as was the case for MDGs) in many planning frameworks. There has also been a fundamental switch in the ownership of international development processes from the north to the south.

The results of this shakeout will have significant influence on the relevance of the North in the South not only in political and economic terms, but also in the formation of viable development partnerships. A radical question is, does the South really need the North given the emergence of new development actors in the South including donors who are competing for space. To form appropriate development partnerships or repair existing efforts, northern institutions will have to figure out who to work with and on what (global public goods, region/country specific issues). Finding the right mechanisms (like grants, loans, blended finance) and instruments (like aid agencies, development finance institutions, private sector) will be key. At stake is the North's continued relevance to assisting in the progress in the South.

From civil society perspective, the emphasis on development cooperation in the North has all but disappeared. There has been a "financialization" of aid, in part to respond to the overwhelmingly middle-income nature of the developing regions. Aid is being turned into a de-risking and leveraging instrument. The impact has been a diminution of the roles of NGOs and CSOs. At the same time, income inequality globally and in the South is growing reflecting the influence of the adoption of a capitalist mode and the emphasis on outward oriented economic growth fuelled by rapid globalization. There does not appear to be any policy appetite internationally or nationally to deal with this issue.

It is unclear what global construct will emerge out of the current chaos. One important conundrum is how to balance hyper-globalization with the need for international codes of conduct. The answer is not immediately evident, and the vacuum is currently filled by the dictum of the global market mechanisms. One hope may be the emergence of some sort of country and/or region-based rules and regulations which will put some limitations on the (currently unfettered) operations of the MNCs.

## **References**

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Syed Sajjadur Rahman and Stephen Baranyi, Beyond binaries: constructing new development partnerships with middle-income countries, *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, Volume 39, 2018 – Issue 2, <https://www.tandfonline.com/eprint/iv3B3tMBGEDGVYflxqGi/full>

## Annex II: List of Participants

First Name	Last Name
Adrian	Murray
Andrea	Khan
Aoua	Bocar
Brian	Murphy
Calla	Barnett
Carolyn	Laude
Cassidy	Herman
Catherine	Blake
Chen	Zhang
Claire	Delisle
Constanza	Musu
Deborah	Parkes
Étienne	Hainzelin
Fayyaz	Baqir
Furqan	Asif
Iva	Surlan
Jai	Sen
Jasmine	Cyr
Jean	Symes
Jennifer	Bonti-Ankomah
Lauchlan	Munro
Lena	Dedyukina
Lisa	Gunn
Maha	Elkhir
Majela	Guzman
Mimi	Hashim
Molly	Kane
Mukobi	Gonda
Nadia	Abu-Zahra
Nadia	Dadollah
Nicole	Johnston
Nipa	Banerjee
Rehana	Hashmi
Rika	Mpogazi
Roheen	Bhatti
Roy	Culpeper
Ruby	Dagher
Sadia	Malik
Susan	Spronk
Syed Sajjadur	Rahman
Tracy	Coates
Viviana	Fernandez
Xinyi	Zhao
Yasin	Janjua
And : Radamis	Zaky, as audio recordist

**Note from the organisers** : We had a fairly informal registration system, and so have a strong feeling that there may well have been some participants who did not register and so we have no record of their names; and so the total number of participants may well have been higher.

## **Annex III: Bullet Points from Flip Charts prepared by Breakout Groups**

### Middle East/West Asia

- Society (not elite/state)
- Today less influence of West Asian on Central and South Asia than influence of China, Russia (e.g. Belt and road initiative)
- In Turtle Island/settler Canada, we hear certain voices and not others; either beleaguered (coping with marginalization) or silenced
- Processes in Western Asia: privatization, anti-democracy (military, monarchies), present colonialism, repression (prisons, surveillance)

### Africa

- Africa rising (prosperity vs. the environment)
- Desertification of Sahel
- Neocolonialism – English Zanzibar 2010
- Economic benefits – One size fits all approach, top down approach, inequality, water crisis
- Anarchism, radical eco-psychology, disconnect from nature, alienation

### Latin America

- Chile: Fundamentally divided since the coup – hard to understand either side for having their view
- Why can requests not be met until people trust public service and pay taxes
- Lack of trust in democracy – Left vs. right
- Polarization: credibility, collaboration
- Indigenous people unseen
- North South exchanges – solutions for strategies and tactics
- Imagine the possibilities: women's movement, strength built around different struggles
- Broad participation
- Talk to everyone, use the diaspora, insufficient credibility regarding contributions in academia
- Importance of history
- Better education: social education

### Indigenous World Views

- Table where we had the most to learn
- Colonialisms/decolonization
- Legal pluralisms – exists in Canada but state's refusal to really engage in that conversation – system not working, need to start over
- Integrity, lack of understanding of accountability – relationship to truth and honesty
- Language – un-surrendered vs. un-ceded, Indigenous peoples

- How to bridge views in movements and climate justice
- Traditions and history, settler and refugee history – unsure of world view, given tradition and family history
- Guilt and shame talk: not helpful for social transformation, help rooted in humanity rather guilt/shame
- Privilege: how it informs social positioning, yet not be aware of it
- Question of nationhood and pluri-national state discussion
- Different claims to community in part because of privileges: complicated relationships to indigeneity and land
- Individualistic society: no one is respected, mental health element, not supporting basic needs is harmful and traumatizing
- How do we get there? Transcend difference, ideal moment for change, youth at the forefront today and always, give youth the space to organize and lead
- Youth will get there because they know they're screwed
- Need to talk about racial privilege: rooted in laws, policy, operations – need to shake it up

Note : The flip charts from the three other breakout groups – Asia, Europe, and 'The North' -, if prepared, did not reach the organisers, unfortunately.

## **Annex IV: Announcement and Invitation, and Discussion Note**

[The French version follows :

### **Turning the Tables: International Development and the Games of Empire**

A first exploratory workshop at uOttawa on emerging world politics and (dis)order

Co-sponsored by : School of International Development and Globalisation Studies, University of Ottawa, Joint Chair in Women's Studies at Carleton University and the University of Ottawa, and uOttawa Development Student Association

### **Announcement and invitation**

Fayyaz Baqir and Jai Sen, \* SIDGS, uOttawa, revised version, October 26 2019

At this juncture in world history, and in a world in tumult, we invite you to an exploratory workshop to initiate dialogue on emerging world politics and (dis)order, to be held at the University of Ottawa on November 5, 2019. Many of us - as teachers, as researchers, as students, as development practitioners, and as activists (and also in our various identities as women, men, and people of other sexualities, as Indigenous Peoples and as settlers, as people of different colours, faiths, ethnicities, and nationalities, and as Dalits and of other castes) - are already deeply concerned with aspects of these questions; but where it is perhaps true that we are all, in our own ways and at our own levels, struggling to cope with the swirling and spiralling chaos that has opened up all around us; almost in every sphere of life, and down to interpersonal relations.

In this context of the spiralling rise of storms at a world scale, we are confronted with the stark choice between the survival of unregulated capitalism and empire and the survival of life on Mother Earth. The moment we are now in calls for revisiting assumptions, objectives, and laws governing the development and unfolding of the potentials of the global community, and our relationships with Mother Earth. Does this situation then also call for revisiting the content, focus, and scope of Development Studies and of International Development ? Specifically, what can Development Studies do as a discipline, and lens, to contribute to finding ways to address the emerging situation ? And how do the newly-resurgent sections that exist in all societies - such as Indigenous Peoples and Dalits - view this moment, and this subject ? Do we all perhaps need to search - individually and collectively - for a new, decolonised, and more pluralist paradigm ?

Our objective is to create a space for open, critical, and cross-sectoral engagement with the big picture in our times, and for all of us to look beyond our own horizons; and where we are hopeful that this first workshop may trigger participants to taking related initiatives, perhaps even on a networked basis. Given the stage that they are in their lives, we are very hopeful that this event might especially be of interest to students and to younger people, and where we are attempting to design it accordingly. A more detailed Discussion Note on the workshop is available [here](#).

**Note :** Because of the language limitations of the organisers, the event will largely be in English. Our apologies.

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\* Visiting Professor and Senior Fellow, respectively, at the School of International Development and Globalisation Studies, University of Ottawa. [fbagir@uottawa.ca](mailto:fbagir@uottawa.ca) and [jai.sen@cacim.net](mailto:jai.sen@cacim.net)

**Registration :** We request all those interested in taking part in the event to register yourselves from now, so that we have an idea of numbers and can accordingly plan ahead. Please do so at the following links :

- **INSCRIVEZ-VOUS ICI :** <https://sciencessociales.uottawa.ca/developpement-international-mondialisation/ecole-bref/evenements/retourner-table-developpement-international-jeux-empire>

- **REGISTER HERE :** <https://socialsciences.uottawa.ca/international-development-global-studies/about-school/events/turning-tables-international-development-games-empire>

## **Renverser les Rôles : Développement international et les jeux impériaux**

Un premier atelier exploratoire sur les politiques mondiales émergentes et ses (dés)ordres

Co-Parrainé par : L'École de Développement International et Mondialisation, Université d'Ottawa,  
Chaire conjointe en Études des Femmes de l'Université de Carleton et l'Université d'Ottawa,  
l'Association étudiants de l'École de Développement International et Mondialisation de  
l'Université d'Ottawa, et –

L'Association des étudiants diplômés en développement international de l'Université d'Ottawa

### **Annonces et invitations**

Fayyaz Baqir et Jai Sen, SIDGS, uOttawa, le 26 octobre 2019 \*

À ce stade de l'histoire mondial et dans un monde tumultueux, nous vous invitons à un atelier exploratoire visant à engager un dialogue sur les politiques et les (dés)ordres mondiaux émergents, qui se tiendra à l'Université d'Ottawa le 5 novembre 2019. Plusieurs d'entre nous - en tant qu'enseignants, chercheurs, étudiants, praticiens du développement et activistes (ainsi que par nos différentes identités de femmes, d'hommes et de personnes d'autres sexes, en tant que peuples autochtones et colons, en tant que personnes de différentes couleurs, religions, ethnies et nationalités, et en tant que Dalits et autres castes) - sommes déjà profondément préoccupés par certains aspects de ces questions; mais là, il est vrai que nous sommes tous, à notre manière et à notre niveau, en train de lutter pour faire face au chaos tourbillonnant qui s'ouvre autour de nous; dans presque toutes les sphères de la vie jusqu'à l'intérieur de nos relations interpersonnelles.

Dans ce contexte de montée en flèche des crises à l'échelle mondiale, nous sommes confrontés au choix difficile entre la survie d'un capitalisme et d'un empire non régulés et la survie de notre Terre-Mère. Le moment où nous nous retrouvons maintenant appelle à réexaminer les hypothèses, les objectifs et les lois régissant le développement, ainsi que de réfléchir au potentiel d'une communauté mondiale et à nos relations avec la Terre nourricière. Cette situation appelle-t-elle alors également un réexamen du contenu, du focus et de la portée des études sur le développement et du développement international ? Plus précisément, que peuvent faire les études sur le développement en tant que discipline et objectif pour contribuer à trouver des moyens de faire face à la situation émergente ? Et comment les sections nouvellement ressurgies qui existent dans toutes les sociétés - telles que les peuples autochtones et les Dalits - voient-elles ce moment et ce sujet ? Peut-être avons-nous tous besoin de rechercher - individuellement et collectivement - un nouveau paradigme décolonisé et plus pluraliste ?

Notre objectif est de créer un espace pour un engagement ouvert, critique et intersectoriel avec la vue d'ensemble de notre époque pour que nous puissions tous regarder au-delà de nos propres

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\* Professeur invité et professionnel en résidence, respectivement, à l'école de développement international et mondialisation, l'Université d'Ottawa. [fbqir@uottawa.ca](mailto:fbqir@uottawa.ca) et [jai.sen@cacim.net](mailto:jai.sen@cacim.net). Traduit par Étienne Côté-Vaillant, Gabrielle Dube, et Sabrinelle Souhi [28-10-2019]

horizons. Nous espérons que ce premier atelier incitera les participants à prendre des initiatives connexes, peut-être même en réseau. Étant donné l'état d'avancement de leur vie, nous espérons que cet événement intéressera particulièrement les étudiants et les plus jeunes, et que nous essayons de le concevoir en conséquence. Une note de discussion plus détaillée sur l'atelier est disponible [ici](#). (Mais, jusqu'ici, seulement en anglais. Désolé.)

**Note :** Puisque les organisateurs ont une connaissance limitée du français, l'événement se tiendra principalement en anglais. Nous nous excusons de l'inconvénient.

### **Inscription**

Nous demandons à tous ceux et celles intéressés.es à participer de s'inscrire le plus tôt possible afin de faciliter la planification de l'événement. Pour s'inscrire, consulter le lien ci-dessous:

INSCRIVEZ-VOUS ICI : <https://sciencessociales.uottawa.ca/developpement-international-mondialisation/ecole-bref/evenements/retourner-table-developpement-international-jeux-empire>

## **Turning the Tables: International Development and the Games of Empire**

A first exploratory workshop on emerging world politics and (dis)order

To be held at the University of Ottawa, November 5 2019

Co-sponsored by: School of International Development and Globalisation Studies, University of Ottawa, the Joint Chair in Women's Studies at Carleton University and the University of Ottawa, the uOttawa Development Student Association (AEDSA), and the uOttawa International Development Graduate Student Association (GDVM)

### **Discussion Note**

Fayyaz Baqir and Jai Sen, October 3 2019

This is a Discussion Note for an exploratory workshop to initiate dialogue on emerging world politics and (dis)order, to be held at the University of Ottawa on November 5 2019. Many of us - as teachers, as researchers, as students, as development practitioners, as activists, and as normal people in our everyday lives (and also in our various identities as women, men, and people of other sexualities, as Indigenous Peoples and as settlers, as people of different colours, faiths, ethnicities, and nationalities, and as Dalits and of other castes) - are already concerned with aspects of these questions; and where it is perhaps also true that we are all, in our own ways and at our own levels, struggling to cope with the swirling and spiralling chaos that has opened up all around us; almost in every sphere of life, and down to interpersonal relations, in our workplaces and in our homes. Our objective is to create a space for open, critical, and cross-sectoral engagement with the big picture in our times, and for all of us to look beyond our own horizons; and where we are hopeful that this first workshop may trigger participants to taking related initiatives, perhaps even on a networked basis. Given the stage that they are in their lives, we are very hopeful that this event might especially be of interest to students and to younger people, and where we are attempting to design it accordingly.

The history of the world as it has been dominantly written has been about the great games that rulers, and empires, have played over centuries, through conquering, exploiting, and attempting to re-fashion the world as they knew it and in their own images. Starting with tribes and then the nations that they fashioned, over the centuries the games became wars over whole continents, and have led to the rise, and the fall, of nations and of empires. But this has not ended; we are continuing to witness these games in our times. Witness, at the moment, Venezuela, Palestine (and West Asia in general), Kashmir, Hong Kong, and Central Asia - not to speak of the continued phenomenon of colonisation, both internal and external, and in particular the treatment of Indigenous Peoples across the world as subjugated beings, such as in Brazil today but widely also still in India and elsewhere. But the world is also changing, and the tables turning.

The rise of the subjects known as International Development and Development Studies over the past half century has been a part of this dynamic, accompanying the rise of the 'development' project in the West (and now North). Forged in competition with the rise of socialism at a world scale, the development project aimed at converting subsistence economies in former colonies into market economies through the provision of official development assistance, technical guidance, dissemination of knowledge, and institutional development. This project was in direct contention with the spread of the socialist empire, and was accompanied by both sides by the militarisation and weaponisation of the world in order to protect and defend the territories they respectively thought they had control over; and then by the so-called 'Cold War', a kind of militarised peace between the hegemons.

With the implosion of the Soviet Union and the incorporation of Russia and the former Soviet bloc countries into the capitalist market, this culminated in what has been portrayed as the creation of a global capitalist market (and 'the end of history'), and supposedly also leading to the end of the distinction between the developed and developing economies through the building of a global elite across the North and the South; and also by the building of world-scale, multilateral, inter-state institutions and alliances – economic, political, and military (and now also surveillance) - to govern the new world that appeared to be emerging.

This 'global market' has however brought out into the open divisions and tensions of a different kind. It has brought to centre stage the conflict between the materialist, utilitarian, and instrumental outlook that is the foundational characteristic of contemporary politics and economics, and a respect (and reverence) for Mother Earth and Earth Spiritualism that cultures around the world share. It has led to a massive intensification of climate change, to a deepening and widening of income inequalities not only in the South but also in the developed economies in the North, and to unending military conflicts; and where each of these has had (and is continuing to have) multiple outfalls, and many of which are intersecting. It has also contributed to the rise of fundamentalist and populist movements and politicians within societies both in the South and the North, taking advantage of the intensifying precarity and resentment that ordinary people all over the world are today experiencing as a consequence of the emergence of a single global market and framework, and that are increasingly expressing themselves as intensifying xenophobia, religious communalisms, and virulent, populist nationalisms. Witness South Africa, the US, and increasingly, now also countries in Europe. So-called 'neoliberal globalisation' has come home to roost, and this tendency is now in turn profoundly challenging the 'internationalism' and 'multilateralism' that was till very recently seen as the face – and the foundation - of the new world.

Parallel to this has been the rise of new economic powers such as China and to a lesser extent India, that – with their own ambitions - are now challenging the hegemony of the North (and feeding the insecurities there), and even as societies of the North are increasingly riven by internal divisions, abandoning multilateralism, and turning inward; and where the rise of world migration in and from the South, as a consequence of the internal conflicts triggered by capitalist exploitation and now increasingly by climate change, is also threatening to turn the countries of the North into fortresses. In this turbulent context, 'development' as it is known and experienced has now come to be quite widely perceived as colonialism – both internal and external -, including by some liberal scholars.

Equally, parallel to this has been the historically unprecedented, world-scale impacts brought about through the inventions of the internet and social media, with all their enormous positive impacts and potentials. In particular, they have also been accompanied by the weaponisation of social media, not only by the traditionally powerful such as nation-states and corporations but also by other rogue actors, both individual and institutional; and by the emergence of myriad webs of alt-facts and of mal-truths to a point where none of us now really know what is true. This is a completely new existential and world-scale phenomenon, and only adding to the sense of rising and unremitting chaos and disorder that we are today experiencing - and that is becoming the new norm.

The same period however, has also seen the rise of many powerful new democratising movements across the world, both in the South and the North : Among the historically and structurally marginalised including Indigenous Peoples, among historically unrecognised and unrepresented peoples and nations, among young people, and also within large sections of civil societies within dominant societies; the rise of feminism, decoloniality, and *sumak kawsay* (*buen vivir* in Spanish) as potent frames of analysis, including in terms of looking at state and nation; the rise of the first state in the contemporary world that is led by Indigenous Peoples, the Plurinational State of Bolivia; and today propelled also by the rise of a growing and shared consciousness of the existential crisis posed by climate change, across the world. These powerful currents are both intertwining among themselves and also clashing with the rising xenophobia and inward turns that are simultaneously taking place, and have already succeeded in challenging the status quo and in bringing about many deep changes in lives in societies across the world.

In this context of the spiralling rise of storms at a world scale, we are confronted with the stark choice between the survival of unregulated capitalism and empire and the survival of life on Mother Earth. The moment we are now in calls for revisiting assumptions, objectives, and laws governing the development and unfolding of the potentials of the global community, and our relationships with Mother Earth. Does this situation then also call for revisiting the content, focus, and scope of Development Studies and of International Development ? Specifically, what can Development Studies do as a discipline, and lens, to contribute to finding ways to address the emerging situation ? And how do the newly-resurgent sections that exist in all societies - such as Indigenous Peoples and Dalits - view this moment, and this subject ? Do we all perhaps need to search for a new, decolonised, and more pluralist paradigm ?