

PECO 5501: Labour, In and Against the Settler Colony

Instructor: Phil Henderson, PhD, philiphenderson@cunet.carleton.ca

Seminar: Mondays and Wednesdays 6:00 - 9:00pm (ET), Summer 2024

Location: Synchronously [via Zoom](#)*

Office Hours: [Via Zoom](#), Mondays 4-5pm and Wednesdays 9-10am, also available by appointment

Course Description: How can settler colonialism be undone when a settler population depends on the ongoing dispossession and displacement of Indigenous nations as the basis for their wages and other living conditions? In this course students will explore the challenges and possibilities involved in undoing settler colonialism in a capitalist context. Key case studies will be drawn from Canadian, South African, and other similar alliances between labour unions and struggles for self-determination and land rights by Indigenous peoples. Students will learn and analyze contrasting theories of settler colonialism as a social formation and of the political power of organized labour. They will investigate historical examples of Indigenous/social movement cooperation, collaboration, solidarity and conflict, and analyze their potential lessons for contemporary politics. This course is relevant to graduate students with interests in settler colonialism, liberatory social movements, Indigenous resurgence, labour movements, and social theory.

Our approach to this course is divided into three broad sections, each of which will account for four seminars or roughly 1/3 of the course. Section 1: Key Concepts lays the basis for the more empirical work that follows, in these seminars we'll explore theoretical models for explaining/understanding settler colonialism, as well as theories of labour power and organizing models for the labour movement. Section 2: Key Contexts situates the study of labouring activities (ie. the realities of work) within settler colonial contexts, in order to better understand how settler colonialism is made—so that we can then consider how it might be unmade. Finally, Section 3: Key Contingencies, explores concrete interrelations between Indigenous and labour struggles, primarily—though not exclusively—within the territories presently known as Canada.

Intended Learning Outcomes: Attentive to the fact that our present moment is one in which 'decolonization' is increasingly discussed, this course aims i) to give students historical and contemporary context of the continuities and breakages of colonization; ii) to situate the work of decolonization within multiscale contexts (from the state to the workplace, and from the local to the global); iii) to develop critical reflections on how empowerment and responsibility is always already differentially distributed along various intersections of race, gender, class, sexuality, (dis)ability, etc.; and iv) to link theories and practices of decolonization with concrete modes of political and social struggle.

Course Organization: Participants in this course will meet twice per week, synchronously via Zoom, from 6:00pm until 9:00pm (ET) on Mondays and Wednesdays. As a seminar course, the emphasis is on participant discussion and dialogue. Several expectations follow from this: i) all participants are expected to attend all sessions, with exceptions made in light of health requirements, bereavement, religious and/or cultural observances, etc. (please contact the instructor via email should you know in advance about an absence or as soon as you're able); ii) all participants are expected to have completed the re-

* While this course is being taught in an online format, Carleton University—our host institution—is situated on the untreated and therefore occupied territories of the Algonquin nation. Moreover, as digital space is created through material relations, the sourcing of cobalt, copper, tin, and the other metals that make our online existence possible, implicate us in the exploitation, despoliation, and dispossession carried out by extractive industries the world over—often led by Canadian mining corporations. Central to the objectives of this course is that we go beyond merely acknowledging these facts, to understanding and combatting them.

quired readings for that seminar session, and be prepared to discuss them with their peers; iii) the best seminars require building trust amongst the participants and this necessitates that we act respectfully and supportively towards one another, the instructor observes an absolute zero-tolerance policy for hateful or bigoted speech.

Overall Grade Breakdown:

Attendance and Participation	30%	Ongoing
Seminar Discussion Questions	15%	Minimum three (3) submissions
Paper Proposal and Working Bibliography	15%	July 19, 11:59pm
Final Paper	40%	August 14, 11:59pm

Assignment Guidelines:

Attendance and Participation: Attendance is a critical part of this course; seminars work primarily through a collective commitment to ongoing dialogue with one another. All participants are therefore responsible for attending seminars unless extenuating circumstance make this impossible. Failure to attend 80% of seminars without documented reasoning may result in an incomplete grade in this section of the course. While contributions to discussions are clearly very important, they are assessed on the basis of quality rather than quantity. Thoughtful engagement is more desirable than merely controlling the conversation. Thoughtful engagement does not necessarily mean offering something that is profoundly innovative or novel, but may include offering thoughtful questions that open up new avenues for consideration/discussion, it may also include careful and generative responses to others.

Due: Ongoing throughout term.

Seminar Discussion Questions: For three (3) seminars over the course of the semester, participants are expected to submit questions about the readings via email to the instructor. These questions must be submitted no later than 11:59pm the night before the seminar in question (eg. questions for a Monday seminar need to be submitted Sunday night). In addition to encouraging and evidencing ongoing engagement with the readings, submitted questions will help to shape and guide the seminar’s discussion, and as such should follow these guidelines: i) a minimum of three (3) questions drawn from engagement with the readings, of these one (1) can be a straightforwardly clarifying question; ii) the other questions ought to be generative questions that interrogate conceptual elements within the readings, highlight tensions across the readings (in a single seminar, or the course as a whole), and/or enable us to ask ‘what if’ or ‘what next’ of material; iv) each participant is responsible for submitting at least one set of question per section of this course (ie. one set in Section 1, one in Section 2, etc.). While a minimum of three (3) submissions are required, there is no maximum number of submissions and the three (3) best submissions will be taken to calculate your final grade in this assignment. Please submit questions via email to the instructor.

Due: Ongoing throughout term.

Paper Proposal and Working Bibliography: The proposal should provide some background on the topic you’ve chosen, including why you find it to be of interest and how it relates to the course material. Outline what the scope, focus, and likely thesis of your paper will be. This should be viewed as a *very preliminary* outline; you will be able to change these things based on your own research and feedback you receive. All proposals should be roughly two (2) pages long. In addition to the proposal, please also include a working bibliography that includes proper Chicago style citations for at least ten (10) sources you have found to support your research. Each bibliographic entry should include a short (~100

word) description of the source material, explaining its relevance to your project. Please upload paper proposals and working bibliographies to the Brightspace portal (under July 19).

Due: July 19, 11:59 pm

Final Paper: This is a chance for you to put to use many of the analytical and argumentative skills that you will have been learning throughout the year. Papers ought to be 18-20 pages in length; this page-count *excludes* your title page, works cited, and any endnotes. Papers are assessed on their individual merit, with attention paid to the quality of research, clarity (including: spelling, grammar, and clarity of argument), depth of analysis, and innovation of the argument. The paper topic is open, but students are invited to use this as an opportunity to explore course-relevant materials, histories, concepts, and politics, that they may not otherwise have the opportunity to consider. At the same time, if there is a way for this assignment to be useful in working through material relevant to other portions of your program (eg. theses, dissertations, and/or candidacy exams), please feel free to do so and to indicate how the instructor can support you most in this process. Please upload final papers to the Brightspace portal (under August 14).

Due: August 14, 11:59 pm

Instructions:

Late Policy: A penalty of 3% per day (excluding holidays and weekends) may be applied, up to a maximum of 15% after which an incomplete will be awarded to the assignment. There will be no late penalties applied on **Seminar Discussion Questions**, if not submitted on time these will not be graded. Unless extensions are sought from the instructor, or valid medical notice is provided, all due dates will be held firmly for the sake of fairness. So long as a request is made with sufficient lead-time, I am typically happy to offer extensions that facilitate students managing workload across courses and with employment/family commitments.

Formatting Guidelines: All submitted work must be formatting as follows: Times New Roman, 12 point font, double spaced, and justified margins. Additionally, standard (2.0cm) margins apply. All citations should be formatted as endnotes, and conform to the Chicago Style Guide.

Reading Guidelines: For each week of the course, there are *required* readings totalling about 150 pages; these are listed in the table below in the column immediately adjacent to each week's thematic title. It is expected that all course participants will come to class having read and prepared to discuss all the *required* readings for that week. All readings—with the exception of those with a url listed below—are all available as PDFs on Brightspace under the corresponding week's folder.

	Readings
July 3 - Introductions, Expectations, and Outlines	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Glen Coulthard, “For Our Nations to Live, Capitalism Must Die,” <i>Rabble</i> (November 6, 2013), https://rabble.ca/indigenous/our-nations-to-live-capitalism-must-die/ (accessed May 6, 2024). (Roughly 4pg.) - Aalya Ahmad, “Randcuffed?” <i>Our Times</i> (December 12, 2018), https://ourtimes.ca/article/randcuffed (accessed May 6, 2024). (Roughly 7pg.) - Mike Gouldhawke, “Indigenous Labour Struggles,” <i>Briarpatch Magazine</i> (November 1, 2022), https://briarpatchmagazine.com/articles/view/indigenous-labour-struggles (accessed May 6, 2024). (Roughly 4pg.) - Keeanga-Yamahitta Taylor, Olúfẹ̀mí O Táíwò, and Derecka Purnell, “After the Uprising, What is to be Done?” <i>Hammer & Hope</i> (1) (Winter 2023), https://hammerandhope.org/article/issue-1-article-5 (accessed May 6, 2024). (Roughly 6pg.)
Section 1: Key Concepts	
July 8 - Settler Colonialism, Elimination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Patrick Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” <i>Journal of Genocide Research</i> 8(4) (2006): 387-409. - J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, “‘A Structure, Not an Event’: Settler Colonialism and Enduring Indigeneity,” <i>Lateral</i> 5(1) (Spring 2016): 1-8. - Robin DG Kelley, “The Rest of Us: Rethinking Settler and Native,” <i>American Quarterly</i> 69(2) (June 2017): 267-276. - Allan Greer, “Settler Colonialism and Beyond,” <i>The Journal of the Canadian Historical Association</i> 30(1) (2019): 61-86
July 10 - Settler Colonialism, Accumulation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Max Ajl, “Logics of Elimination and Settler Colonialism: Decolonization or National Liberation?” <i>Middle East Critique</i> 32(2) (2023): 259-283. - Arrighi Emmanuel, “White-Settler Colonialism and the Myth of Investment Imperialism,” <i>New Left Review</i> (May 1, 1972): 35-57. - Silvia Federici, “Colonization and Christianization: Caliban and the Witches in the New World,” in <i>Caliban and the Witch: Women, The Body, and Primitive Accumulation</i>, (Autonomea, 2014 [2004]): 219-243.
July 15 - Labour, Land, and Value within Capitalist Social Relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - David Harvey, “From Capital to Labour Power” and “The Working Day,” in <i>A Companion to Marx’s Capital</i>, (Verso, 2010): 85-108 and 135-162. - Lillian Cicerchia, “Why Does Class Matter?” <i>Social Theory and Practice</i> 47(4) (October 2021): 603-627. - FTC Manning, “A Defence of the Concept of the Landowning Class as the Third Class,” <i>Historical Materialism</i> 30(3) (2022): 79-115.
July 17 - Models of Labour Struggle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Stephanie Ross, “Varieties of Social Unionism: Towards a Framework for Comparison,” <i>Just Labour</i> 11 (2007): 16-34 - Joe Burns, “Class Struggle Unionists Fight for the Entire Working Class,” in <i>Class Struggle Unionism</i>, (Haymarket Books, 2022): 61-80. - Ralph Darlington, “Philosophy and Practice,” in <i>Radical Unionism</i>, (Haymarket Books, 2008): 17-49. - Amber Gross and Molly Swain, “Visions of a Radical Labour Movement,” <i>Briarpatch Magazine</i> (November 1, 2015), https://briarpatchmagazine.com/articles/view/visions-of-a-radical-labour-movement (accessed May 7, 2024). (Roughly 4pg.)
Section 2: Key Contexts	
July 22 - Studying Labour in Settler Colonial Contexts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - David Camfield, “Settler Colonialism and Labour Studies in Canada: A Preliminary Exploration,” <i>Labour/Le Travail</i> 83 (2019): 147-172. - Fred Burrill, “The Settler Order Framework: Rethinking Canadian Working-Class History,” <i>Labour/Le Travail</i> 83 (2019): 173-197. - Sai Englert, “Settlers, Workers, and the Logic of Accumulation by Dispossession,” <i>Antipode</i> 52(6) (November 2020): 1647-1666. - Francine de Clercq, “Apartheid and the Organised Labour Movement,” <i>Review of African Political Economy</i> 6(14) (1979): 69-77.

July 24 - Who Makes the Colony?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Anna Stanley, “Wasted Life: Labour, Liveliness, and the Production of Value,” <i>Antipode</i> 47(3) (June 2015): 792-811. - Anna Stanley, “Aligning Against Indigenous Jurisdiction: Worker Savings, Colonial Capital, and the Canada Infrastructure Bank,” <i>Environment and Planning D</i> 37(6) (2019): 1138-1156. - Deborah Cowen, “Following the Infrastructures of Empire: Notes on Cities, Settler Colonialism and Method,” <i>Urban Geography</i> 41(4) (2020): 469-486.
July 29 - Unions and Racial Capitalism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - David Goutor, “Guarding the Gates” and “Setting the Stage,” in <i>Guarding the Gates</i>, (UBC Press, 2008): 3-31. - Nimrod Ben Zeev, “Palestine along the Colour Line: Race, Colonialism, and Construction Labour, 1918-1948,” <i>Ethnic and Racial Studies</i> 44(12) (2021): 2190-2212. - Edward Webster and Kally Forrest, “The Role of the ILO during and after Apartheid,” <i>Labor Studies Journal</i> 46(4) (2021): 325-344.
July 31 - Social Reproduction and the Gendering of Work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rebecca Jane Hall, “Reproduction and Resistance: An Anti-Colonial Contribution to Social-Reproduction Feminism,” <i>Historical Materialism</i> 24(2) (2016): 87-110. - Mary Jane Logan McCallum, “Sweeping the Nation,” in <i>Indigenous Women, Work, and History</i>, (University of Manitoba Press, 2014): 21-65. - David Temin, “Wages for Earthwork,” <i>American Political Science Review</i> (March 2024): 1-14.
Section 3: Key Contingencies	
August 5	<p style="text-align: center;">** Civic Holiday, No Class, The Following Readings are NOT Required **</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Diana S Reddy, “‘There is No Such Thing as an Illegal Strike’: Reconceptualizing the Strike in Law and Political Economy,” <i>Yale Law Journal Forum</i> (January 2021): 421-459. - Unistoten Camp, “Invasion,” YouTube (November 1, 2019): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D3R5Uy5O_Ds&t=11s (accessed May 9, 2024). - Adam King, et al, “Determining the ‘Core of Indianness’: A Feminist Political Economy of NĪL/TU,O vs BCGEU,” <i>Aboriginal Policy Studies</i> 10(1) (2022): 63-89.
August 7 - Indigenous Workers in Canadian Unions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Chantal Norrgard, “Indigenous Labor, Settler Colonialism, and the History of the Fraser River Fisherman’s Strike of 1893,” <i>NAIS</i> 7(2) (Fall 2020): 114-144. - Suzanne Mills, “The Geography of Skill: Mobility and Exclusionary Unionism in Canada’s North,” <i>Economy and Space</i> 51(3): 724-742. - Janet Mary Nicol, “‘Unions Aren’t Native’: The Muckamuck Restaurant Labour Dispute, Vancouver, BC (1978-1983),” <i>Labour/Le Travailleur</i> 40 (1997): 235-251.
August 12 - Land Defence as Carework and Labour Struggle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Red Nation, “Introduction,” in <i>The Red Deal: Indigenous Action to Save Our Earth</i>, (Common Notions, 2021). (14 pg.) - Charmaine Chua and Kai Bosworth, “Beyond the Chokepoint: Blockades as Social Struggles,” <i>Antipode</i> 55(5) (2023): 1301-1320. - John Carlson, “Indigenous Resurgence, Critical Mediations, and the Land Back Movement,” from <i>Empowering Indigenous Self-Determination In-Against-and-Beyond Capitalism</i>, (unpublished dissertation: Carleton University, 2023): 315-335.
August 14 - Labour Internationalism and the Struggles of Worldmaking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - David Featherstone, “Rethinking Internationalism,” in <i>Solidarity: Hidden Histories and Geographies of Internationalism</i>, (Zed Books, 2012): 40-68. - Katherine Nastovski, “Transnational Labour Solidarity and the Question of Agency: A Social Dialectical Approach to the Field,” <i>Labor History</i> 63(4) (2022): 441-458. - Social Justice Chair, “Beyond Pipelines and Prisons: Infrastructures of Abolition with Ruth Wilson Gilmore & Winona LaDuke,” YouTube (October 26, 2020): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xT5eTVQAc2g&t=2577s (accessed May 9, 2024).
** August 21, Final Assignments Due, Unless Extended **	

Final Grades:

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by the instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Academic Accommodations:

Carleton University is committed to providing access to the educational experience in order to promote academic accessibility for all individuals.

Academic accommodation refers to educational practices, systems and support mechanisms designed to accommodate diversity and difference. The purpose of accommodation is to enable students to perform the essential requirements of their academic programs. At no time does academic accommodation undermine or compromise the learning objectives that are established by the academic authorities of the University.

More information on accommodations for pregnancy, religious obligations, students with disabilities, survivors of sexual violence, and student activities can be found at: <https://students.carleton.ca/course-outline/>

Plagiarism and Academic Integrity

The University Academic Integrity Policy defines plagiarism as “*presenting, whether intentionally or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.*” This includes reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works of others may be drawn from include but are not limited to: books, articles, papers, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, art works, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, material on the internet and/or conversations.

Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else (including AI platforms);
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;
- submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one’s own; and
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s work and/or failing to use quotations marks.

Plagiarism is a serious offence that cannot be resolved directly by the course’s instructor. The Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They can include a final grade of “F” for the course or even suspension or expulsion from the University.

Course Copyright:

Classroom teaching and learning activities, including lectures, discussions, presentations, etc., by both instructors and students, are copyright protected and remain the intellectual property of their respective author(s). All course materials, including PowerPoint presentations, outlines, and other materials, are also protected by copyright and remain the intellectual property of their respective author(s).

Students registered in the course may take notes and make copies of course materials for their own educational use only. Students are not permitted to reproduce or distribute lecture notes and course materials publicly for commercial or non-commercial purposes without express written consent from the copyright holder(s).