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# Contesting Settler Colonial Accounts: Temporality, Migration and Place-Making in Scarborough, Ontario

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ABSTRACT *The paper considers how the logic of settler colonialism, the active and ongoing dispossession of Indigenous peoples, shapes scholarship on migration, race and citizenship in Canada. It draws on the insights of settler colonial theory and critiques of methodological nationalism to do so. The concept of differential inclusion and assemblages methodology are proposed as a way to understand the relationship between Indigeneity and migration in a settler colonial context. The paper develops this conceptual proposal through an analysis of a single place over time: Scarborough, Ontario. Authors present portraits of Scarborough, Ontario, Canada to understand how migration and Indigenous sovereignty are narrated and regulated in convergent and divergent ways. Together, the portraits examine historical stories, media discourses, photography and map archives, fieldwork and interviews connected to Scarborough. They reveal how the differential inclusion of migrant, racialized and Indigenous peoples operates through processes of invisibilization and*

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*hypervisibilization, fixity and erasure, and memorialization. They also illustrate moments of disruption that work to unsettle settler colonial dispossession.*

KEYWORDS differential inclusion; assemblage methodology; migration; Indigenous sovereignty; methodological nationalism; knowledge production

## Introduction

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015) and Canada's sesquicentennial commemorations of 2017 re-ignited debates about the relationship between Indigenous sovereignty, migration and settlerhood. For scholars of migration, racialization and citizenship, the discussions centred two concerns: how does settler colonialism mediate the way our research understands Indigenous sovereignty; and, what dialogue and knowledge might help disrupt the influence of settler colonialism on our research field. In 2017, Villegas and Landolt organized the interdisciplinary workshop *Crossing Scarborough* to facilitate a discussion about the presence of settler colonialism in migration scholarship and to contribute to answering these questions. Villegas and Landolt then led a collaborative writing process to examine the connections across co-authors' research, and identified the concept of differential inclusion and assemblages methodology as starting points for challenging this mediation.

*Crossing Scarborough* brought together scholars from Sociology, History, Geography, Law, Art, and Education to examine Indigenous and settler presence, mobilities, and migration relationally, over time and at a single site. Our focus was on what is now known as Scarborough, Ontario; a site that has been actively inhabited by different nations and peoples for the last 15,000 years. We continued and extended our conversations to write this paper and considered reviewer feedback to engage with the contributions of Indigenous scholars. In particular, assemblages methodology allows us to juxtapose and interweave threads of social life that occur at different points in time to understand the matrices of power of settler colonialism. The concept of differential inclusion helps theorize how the hierarchies of social relations operate in a settler colonial context (Casa Cortes et al., 2015). We demonstrate how Indigenous, settler and "arrivant" individuals and collectivities are hierarchically classified, sorted and included in Canada's nation-building project in ways that produce variable degrees of inclusion and exclusion, precarity, and subordination.

The paper is organized into four sections. The first section reviews relevant literature and presents our theoretical and methodological proposal. The second section describes Scarborough, emphasizing its characteristics as a temporally complex and multi-scalar research site (cf. Cowen, 2020). It discusses diverse moments, migrations and settlements that have shaped present day Scarborough in order to emphasize the layers of social relations

that constitute the place. This is followed by a presentation of the four portraits that emerged from the workshop. The portraits demonstrate how differential inclusion operates in a settler colonial state. The discussion links the four portraits and the conclusion expands on the conceptual and methodological contributions.

## Settler Colonialism and Migration Scholarship

A central challenge for scholars of migration, citizenship, and racialization is to understand and undo the longstanding symbiosis that exists between the temporal and socio-spatial logic of settler colonialism and our fields of study. Settler colonial theory specifically its analysis of temporality and socio-spatialities, and critiques of methodological nationalism serve as a starting point for this assessment. The concept of differential inclusion and assemblages methodology are proposed as a way to unsettle the temporal and socio-spatial logics of dispossession and erasure that currently informs a lot of research on migration and citizenship.

As an invasive structure of power, settler colonialism operates through a distinct temporal and socio-spatial logic to continually and permanently eliminate and replace Indigenous societies physically, culturally, and spiritually (Coulthard, 2014; Wolfe, 2006). Scholars argue that settler colonial temporality constructs a foundational timeline that annuls the prior and ongoing presence of Indigenous peoples and locates the settler-state in a past that is prior to all (Asch, 2002; Povinelli, 2011). They point to the colonial-era doctrine of *terra nullius* or vacant land as the defining socio-spatial logic of settler colonialism. The doctrine holds that lands were uninhabited or that Indigenous societies were sufficiently inferior to presume vacancy (Asch, 2002). This rationale legitimizes continual dispossession, through forced relocations, land seizures, treaties, and other colonial practices to ensure settler access and control over land and resources (Wolfe, 2006). As a result, the settler-state narrates nation-state formation as an always forward-looking process or settler futurity (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013). In this case, it narrates Canada as a nation of immigrants, a place in which new peoples are constantly arriving to settle a land vacant of Indigenous peoples.

Indigenous and anti-racist scholars present important critiques that demonstrate the operation of settler colonialism in different social science disciplines and research fields (Byrd, 2011; Lawrence & Dua, 2005; Sharma & Wright, 2008; Simpson, 2014; Tuck & Yang, 2012). Of particular relevance to our discussions is scholarship that centres the politics of decolonization (Lawrence & Dua, 2005; Tuck & Yang, 2012). Lawrence and Dua (2005) argue that anti-racist scholars are implicated in the maintenance of settler colonialism through a lack of recognition of the complex relationships between Indigenous peoples, European settlers, migrants, and racialized peoples. They argue that all migrants have historically been and

continue to be settler colonizers: intentional or unwitting participants in the dispossession of Indigenous peoples. Other scholars nuance this argument, pushing for recognition of the global structures of power that organize migration flows. Byrd (2011) proposes the term arrivant rather than migrant. These alternative terminologies emphasize that the transatlantic slave trade and other colonial and imperial practices of dispossession and exploitation produce different forms of forced migrations that are not easily collapsed into the singular notion of settler (Dhamoon, 2015; Sharma & Wright, 2008).

Another research strand rejects settler colonialism as a *fait accompli* and foregrounds Indigenous presence and refusal. Scholars examine the politics of Indigenous refusal and contestation to illustrate settler colonialism's failure to eliminate Indigenous lives and sovereignties. They centre Indigenous survivance (Vizenor, 1998), the active process of surviving and working against settler colonialism, and ongoing projects for decolonization (Tuck & Yang, 2012). They also examine Indigenous futurity (Macoun & Strakosch, 2013; Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013). Indigenous scholars challenge liberal nationalism's ideal of social inclusion as a viable *and* desirable alternative and call for a refusal of liberal recognition from and inclusion into the settler state (Alfred, 2005; Coulthard, 2014; Simpson, 2014; Volpp, 2015).

Scholars also document the population management strategies of the Canadian state (Bhatia, 2013; Bohaker & Iacovetta, 2009; Cowen, 2020). Bohaker and Iacovetta (2009) examine postwar programs of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration that targeted immigrants and Indigenous peoples for assimilation into liberal citizenship. They argue that a "we are all immigrants" narrative was used to deny Aboriginal rights and manage the presence of Indigenous peoples in Canada and their pathway to citizenship. Similarly, Backhouse (1999) traces the legal history of racial categories, such as "Eskimo" and "Indian," and their attachment to different populations. Bhatia (2013) examines the ways Canadian immigration laws breach treaty relations and prevent the exercise of Indigenous sovereignties.

Similarly, critical migration scholars examine their research field's long-standing attachment to methodological nationalism; a research paradigm that naturalizes the nation-state, equates society with the nation-state and national territory, and conflates the national interest with the purpose of the social sciences (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2003, p. 576; see also De Genova, 2013; Hayden, 2018; Meeus, 2012). Methodological nationalism dovetails with the temporal and socio-spatial logic of settler colonialism through an investment in a specific version of the nation-state that aligns with settler colonial narratives of place-making and bordering. As a result, it renders movement across Westphalian borders as exceptions to the rule of immobility (De Genova, 2013). At the same time, pre-colonial migrations and movements across borders of relevance to Indigenous peoples and nations, forms of movement that do *not* cross these international borders, are deemed irrelevant to understanding social dislocation and adaptation (Brown, 2018).

Methodological nationalism also imposes a socio-spatial logic of fixed attachments in which particular people are associated with or fixed to specific places and apart from other places and people. Echoing the mechanisms of Indigenous dispossession tied to settler futurity, migration scholars invested in methodological nationalism conceptualize social life as a linear arrangement in which people move from a place of no-history, through migration to a condition of foreignness and non-citizenship, to citizenship and national membership or lack thereof (Landolt et al., forthcoming; Meeus, 2012).

### *Differential Inclusion & Assemblages Methodology*

The concept of differential inclusion and assemblages methodology help weaken the links tying scholarship on race, citizenship and migration to the epistemic order of settler colonialism. They specify how matrices of power operate in the liberal settler colonial moment in ways that toggle between inclusion-recognition and exclusion-rejection.

First, the concept of differential inclusion reveals how settler colonialism creates interpellated hierarchies of settler-migrations and Indigenous dispossession. Differential inclusion rejects binary understandings of inclusion/exclusion and emphasizes the underlying violence of both. It understands inclusion as a hierarchical, partial and conditional process that is contingent on the socio-spatial and temporal context. The concept reveals the classificatory systems imposed by nation-building projects that sort individuals and collectivities into different types of populations on the basis of legal status, race, class and other interlocking facets of oppression (Casas-Cortes et al., 2015). Differential inclusion produces variable degrees of precarity, subordination, disenfranchisement and exploitation, as well as variable degrees of inclusion and recognition. Inclusion and erasure occur together through the twin dynamics of invisibilization *and* hypervisibility in which individuals and communities experience limited representation or heightened negative representation. Differential inclusion also constitutes some places as precarious and others as privileged, certain and stable (Banki, 2013). It creates conditional spatialities (Tazzioli, 2014) and mobility rich and mobility poor individuals and collectivities (Wilson & Weber, 2008).

Second, we employ assemblage as a methodological tool (Baker & McGuirk, 2017) to analyze how settler colonialism produces a matrix of power characterized by Indigenous dispossession, racialization and multicultural recognition. Assemblages thinking apprehends social life as constituted dynamically by heterogeneous material and discursive components (Ong & Collier, 2005, p. 4) that come together to produce complex configurations of power. Components have different temporal and spatial scales (De Landa, 2006) and operate under constant negotiation (Villegas, 2014). As components are *assembled,* they produce variable and

indeterminate multi-scalar effects and interactions (DeLanda, 2006; Deleuze & Guattari, 2005; Ong & Collier, 2005). Power is conceptualized as a matrix of structured contingencies and indeterminacies, pointing to the need to analyze the intricacies of variable components and their assembling, re-routings and unexpected consequences over time (Saldanha, 2012).

Employing assemblage methodology encourages consideration of diverse material and discursive fragments of social life as constitutive elements in the production of differential inclusion within settler colonialism, and of the constant possibilities by which matrices of power can be substantiated, congealed or unsettled. Concretely, it encourages interdisciplinary and collaborative knowledge production, which emerges as a valuable strategy to break the analytical silos of methodological nationalism and its investments in settler colonialism. It also encourages identification of diverse components that may come together to produce settler colonial differential inclusion. In turn, the fragmentary and relational notion of power developed through the concept of differential inclusion connects with the idea of "settlerhood as an object that subjects possess" and to the framing of settlerhood as a matrix of power (Dhamoon, 2015, p. 25; see also Madokoro, 2019). Assemblages methodology erodes the temporality and sociospatialities of settler colonialism that locate populations only in the present or the past, and occurring in orderly sequence and somehow separate and distinct from each other. It permits us to reframe settler colonialism as a web of social relations that connects differently included individuals and collectivities, including Indigenous/migrant/settler/arrivant, in complex and dynamic ways.

As we illustrate below, the *Crossing Scarborough* workshop explored the discursive and material production, policing, and rendering of Scarborough and its peoples over time. Drawing on the concept of differential inclusion and the analytical possibilities of assemblages methodology, we reveal the workings of settler colonialism and affirm the utility of developing differential inclusion and assemblages methodology as tools for unsettling migration scholarship.

## Crossing Scarborough

Scarborough, now an inner suburb of Toronto, Ontario, has always been a place of crossing, migration and settlement (Gidigaa Migizi & Simpson, 2018). Over thousands of years, different Indigenous nations and language groups have lived apart and together, intermarrying and travelling between what is now known as Georgian Bay and Lake Ontario. These experiences are part of the oral traditions that inform Indigenous presence and relations with the place (Methot, 2016). Gidigaa Migizi & Simpson (2018) explain that "the north shore of Lake Ontario and nearly every river that flowed into Lake Ontario is the traditional territory of the Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg... and that the Aayadowaad (Huron) lived among us with our permission" (p. 29). They

recount, "we were the shoreline people and they were the agricultural, field, gardening people" (p. 30). Indigenous scholars recognize varying interpretations of traditional territorial demarcations and their relevance for contemporary relations among Indigenous peoples and between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian state (Marche, 2017; Methot, 2016; Younging, 2018).

Settler colonial place-making first named the place Glasgow (1793) and later Scarborough (1796). There are two particularly important elements to note from the 19th century European settler colonial histories of the region. On the one hand, the area was consistently described as an empty land and a pastoral paradise to be ordered and inhabited (Freeman, 2010; Hermer, 2002). On the other hand, the area is part of the Williams Treaties of 1923, widely viewed as one of the worst treaties in Canada because of the rapidity and mendacity with which it was imposed (see portrait by Hermer below). Monuments visibilizing, celebrating, and commemorating the settler colonial account of the land and its taming are present throughout the region. The settler account is woven into the landscape, enshrining the successes of Canadian elites as the common national heritage (Cowen, 2020). There is also a profound absence of consideration for what the politics of the Williams Treaties of 1923 signify for peoples and relations on the land.

In the post-World War II period, industrial development transformed Scarborough into a modern suburban utopia for middle-class and ascendant working-class white families. Yet the suburban landscape and its distance from the downtown core led urbanites to reject its sanitized ethos and rename it *Scarberia*. In subsequent decades, city planners identified Scarborough as a site for social housing projects for a growing population of racialized immigrants and refugees. Scarborough also faced government disinvestment and limited social services as compared to downtown Toronto, leading to depictions of the area as an inner suburb, a coupling of inner city and suburban characterizations (Cowen & Parlette, 2011). Scarborough is often represented in janus-faced terms: as a vibrant multicultural immigrant gateway and a dangerous and impoverished place – a *Scarlem* – that houses the city's racialized working poor (Basu & Fiedler, 2017; Gillmor, 2007; Videkanic, 2017; Villegas, 2018). This creates a simultaneous hypervisibility of negative representations linking place and race and migration processes (Villegas, 2018), and an invisibility and erasure of the social and economic exclusions faced by area residents.

In the seventies, global migrations transformed Scarborough once again. Racialized and migrant families with ties and relations in the Caribbean, South Asia, East Asia, and Africa began to make Scarborough home. A growing number of Indigenous peoples also started to take up residence in the area (Abebe et al., 2019). Their collective presence and transnational connections shaped the landscape of contemporary Scarborough. Local residents created political, civic and faith-based organizations (Basu, 2017), restaurants and ethnic malls, and organized public events and festivals (e.g.,

Taste of Lawrence, Tamil Fest) and community-engaged, resident-led projects (Basu, 2017; East Scarborough Storefront, n.d.). A network of social services designed for Indigenous and racialized or migrant residents including community health centres, clinics, service hubs, immigrant settlement services was also established (Canadian Centre for Refugee & Immigrant HealthCare, n.d.; East Scarborough Storefront, n.d.; Native Child & Family Services of Toronto, n.d.; Toronto Central Health Line, n.d.; Toronto East Quadrant Local Immigration Partnership, n.d.). Recent fiction situated in Scarborough illustrates these rich and diverse experiences (Chariandy, 2017; Hernandez, 2017).

In what follows, we present four portraits that illustrate the development of Scarborough through an investment in settler colonial place-making and differential inclusion. This investment involves interlocking practices of erasure, dispossession, historicization, memorialization, and architecture. The four portraits illustrate how Indigenous sovereignty and presence, settler colonial presence, and migration flows are interpellated in discursive and material forms. The portraits also offer examples of practices that unsettle and disrupt an investment in settler colonialism and methodological nationalism.

## The Mother of Scarboro by Victoria Freeman

> In March, 1796, David Thomson and his wife found their way hither, apparently having followed the Indian trail which was subsequently opened as a highway and known as the Danforth Road. (Boyle, 1896, p. 26)

David and Mary Thomson are memorialized as the founders of Scarborough. The presence of David and Mary Thomson and their descendants is ubiquitous (see Figure 1). They are honoured in the naming of David and Mary Thomson Collegiate and Thomson Memorial Park, commemorated on their joint tombstone in the cemetery of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, and in the collections of the Scarborough Historical museum, all situated on lands that were formerly part of their family property. The story of Mary Thomson, the "Mother of Scarboro," was related in the memorial volume *The Township of Scarboro 1796-1896,* published in 1896 to mark the 100th anniversary of the founding of the city. It was edited by David Boyle, the first official archaeologist of Ontario and the founder and curator of the Provincial Museum, a precursor to the Royal Ontario Museum.

*Figure 1.* Photograph of the Thomson Family 100th Anniversary Reunion on the Thomson Property, 1896. (Reproduced with permission.)

In Boyle's edited collection, Mary Thomson's story was written by Mary Agnes FitzGibbon, founder and secretary of the Women's Canadian Historical Society. Incorporated in 1896, the Women's Canadian Historical Society encouraged the collection and preservation of Canadian historical records and relics, and "the building up of Canadian loyalty and patriotism" (Women's Canadian Historical Society, 1896, p. 2). These aims were similar to those of other historical societies then proliferating across Ontario as middle-class women sought to participate in the project of nation-building from their legal position as second-class citizens (Gunn, 2016, p. 3). In honouring pioneer women such as Mary Thomson, women historians established the moral and historical claims of Euro-Canadians to the land and simultaneously used the stories of "brave and independent female pioneers" to fight for women's rights (Gunn, 2016; Morgan, 2001, p. 13).

FitzGibbon highlights Mary Thomson's bravery as a pioneer woman, alone in her "forest log-house" while her husband worked during the week in the then distant town of York, only returning each Saturday night to bring provisions. As FitzGibbon recounts:

> During these first seven months of their life in the township, Mrs. Thomson had not seen another of her own sex, until one day an Indian woman came into the cottage… The face was strange, the language spoken unintelligible, but Mrs. Thomson welcomed her gladly. Albeit, of an alien race and color, they were women, and they understood one another by the freemasonry of sympathy

> divinely implanted in the breast of woman. (Boyle, 1896, p. 34)

In this description, the settler woman is named and it is she who welcomes the Indigenous woman. The Indigenous woman is not named; she is *strange* and *unintelligible* – alien on this land. Where she lives, what becomes of her, or what she thought about the encounter with Mary Thomson remains unknown. Yet, according to the story, for a moment the two women meet and "understand" each other in a tacit sisterhood – *a sympathy divinely implanted*.

Fitzgibbon's narrative of sisterhood temporarily bridges the divide between Indigenous person and settler, further legitimizing the settler's place on the new land and indigenizing the settler woman. As Mary Thomson "welcomes the stranger gladly" the settler woman takes the Indigenous woman's place; replacement occurs without the need for violence (Johnston & Lawson, 2000, p. 364). Through the hardships of pioneer life, Mary Thomson is narrated to produce a sense of Indigenous authenticity (Johnston & Lawson, 2000, p. 369). The encounter of the sisterhood also echoes the longstanding settler colonial narrative of Indigenous people welcoming settlers. Like the Toronto Coat of Arms that until 1997 portrayed a Mississauga warrior on one side of the crest and the female figure of Britannia on the other, the assertion of Mary Thomson and the Indigenous woman's sisterhood portrays them as willing partners in the settling of Scarborough.

The reality of Indigenous-settler relations in the Toronto and Scarborough areas in the mid-1790s was far more complex than this romanticized view. While there are other documented friendly encounters between settler women and Indigenous individuals from the 1790s, smallpox and alcohol were already wreaking havoc in the region. The September 1796 murder of Mississauga chief Wabakinine on the Toronto waterfront after the attempted sexual assault of his sister by an off-duty British soldier sparked widespread Mississauga outrage and demands for justice in the very same month as the women's encounter. Fearing that the Mississaugas, with the help of a broad alliance of Western Indigenous nations, could wipe out the British at what was then a remote outpost, colonial administrators called for a considerable shipment of arms, the construction of a blockhouse, military settlement along strategic routes into York, and secret instructions to the first Indian agent at York to "foment jealousy" and mistrust between the Mississaugas and the Haudenosaunee to break up their alliance. The Mississaugas were also realizing that their 1787 and 1788 agreements to share land, in which they were promised that the settlers would help them and that they could hunt and fish as before, were viewed by settlers as extinguishing all Indigenous rights to the lands in question (Johnson, 1990, pp. 234-238). If Mary Thomson and the Indigenous (likely Mississauga) woman did indeed share a moment of connection, it was in the context of various forms of colonial violence in which they were both enmeshed.

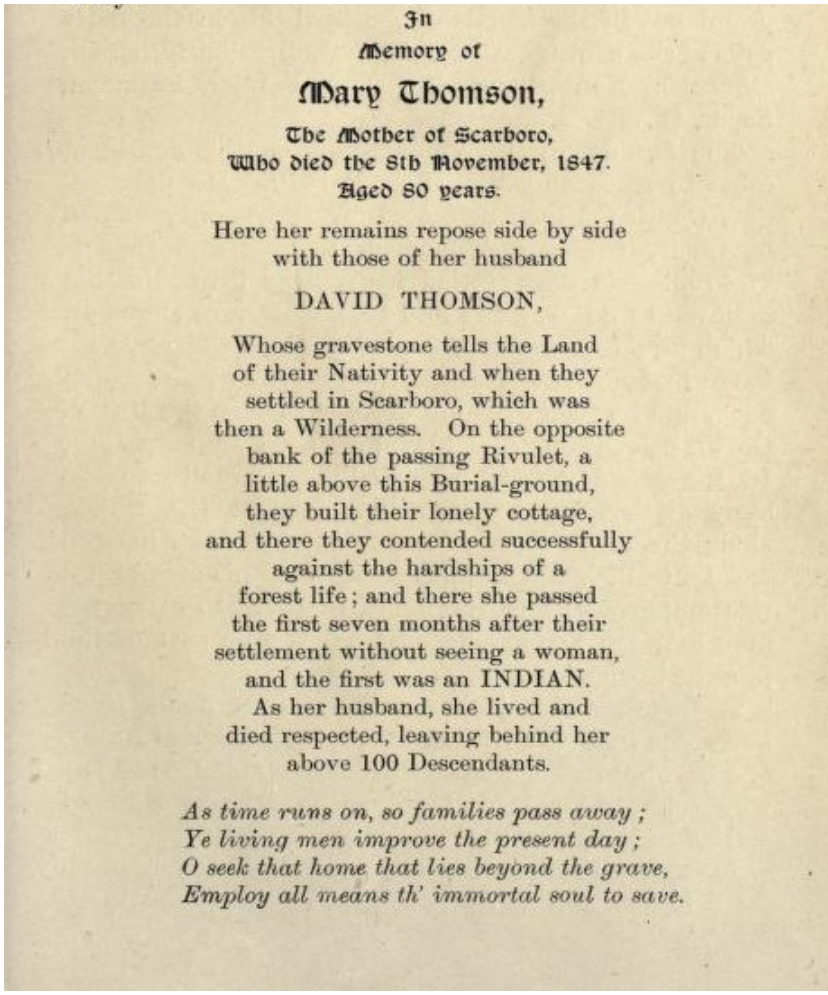
In
Memory of
Mary Thomson,
The Mother of Scarboro,
Who died the 8th November, 1847.
Aged 80 years.
Here her remains repose side by side
with those of her husband
DAVID THOMSON,
Whose gravestone tells the Land
of their Nativity and when they
settled in Scarboro, which was
then a Wilderness. On the opposite
bank of the passing Rivulet, a
little above this Burial-ground,
they built their lonely cottage,
and there they contended successfully
against the hardships of a
forest life; and there she passed
the first seven months after their
settlement without seeing a woman,
and the first was an INDIAN.
As her husband, she lived and
died respected, leaving behind her
above 100 Descendants.
*As time runs on, so families pass away;*
*Ye living men improve the present day;*
*O seek that home that lies beyond the grave,*
*Employ all means th' immortal soul to save.*

*Figure 2.* Township of Scarborough Inscription. (Photograph of dedication in Boyle, 1896).

The encounter was further memorialized in the epitaph on the Thomson family tombstone (see Figure 2). Located in St. Andrews Bendale, Presbyterian church and cemetery in Scarborough, the tombstone reads:

> In memory of Mary Thomson, the Mother of Scarboro, who died the 8th November, 1847. Aged 80 years. Here her remains repose side by side with those of her husband DAVID THOMSON, Whose gravestone tells the Land of their Nativity and when they settled in Scarboro, which was then a Wilderness. On the opposite bank of the passing Rivulet, a little above this Burial-ground, they built their lonely cottage, and there they contended successfully against the hardships

> of a forest life; and there she passed the first seven months after their settlement without seeing a woman and the first was an INDIAN. As her husband, she lived and died respected, leaving behind her 100 descendants. (Boyle, 1896, p. 39)

In this portrayal, the settler woman is almost biblical in her begetting, populating the new settler nation. The Indigenous woman's descendants are unknown, her presence remains in the past and does not populate the present. Mary's one hundred descendants, in contrast, are woven into the tapestry of the national family. In the rhetoric of maternal imperialism, Mary Thomson is to be remembered as an iconic "mother of the race." We do not know where the Indigenous woman is buried or if anyone remembers her. This remembrance articulates who is to be included – and who excluded – as legitimate and rightful citizens of Canada (Gunn, 2016, p. 29).

## On Stolen Land: The Miller Lash Estate and the Williams Treaties of 1923 by Joe Hermer

The Miller Lash Estate, erected in 1913, is an example of colonizing developments that occurred on stolen land (see Figure 3). Its construction, evolving utility, and the settler accounts of these processes inscribe the land in ways that belie its violent history and present. There are two different and yet intertwined histories that weave together the place-making that occurs on and through this site.

*Figure 3.* Photograph of the Miller Lash Estate, 1913. (Reproduced with permission.)

In 1911 Toronto Bay Street lawyer and businessman Miller Lash bought 375 acres along Highland Creek and by 1913 built a 17 room mansion. The

Miller Lash Estate ran as a working farm that included a mill on the creek, a coach house and arboretum. In 1944, after Lash's death, insurance businessman E. L. McLeod bought the estate, installed an Olympic-size swimming pool and held the property until 1963 when the University of Toronto bought it for their new Scarborough campus (University of Toronto Scarborough, n.d.a). The University of Toronto Scarborough (UTSC) opened three years later. The mansion was used for some time as the residence of UTSC principals, and the grounds for athletic events. In the early 1990s Scarborough College renovated the house and it is now used for college functions, and is rented out for weddings and a remarkable number of film productions.

A perennial memorialization of the settler colonizer's account of the land occurs through the Miller Lash Estate. Presently, there are several historical plaques on the grounds of the estate that celebrate settler activity on the land. Most notably, there is a 1977 plaque (see Figure 4) erected by the University that tells the story of an inquisitive Miller Lash out on a placid drive through the countryside. In the account, which may be told as a legend, Miller Lash is described as a stranger to the landscape. He is struck by its picturesque qualities during his leisurely Sunday drive down what is now Old Kingston road. The result is an origin story, tinged with nostalgia, of a natural place discovered as a contrast to urban life and commerce. And yet despite the fact that the text has the authority and the format of historical memorialization, the story may not even be true. Here we see the arrogance and entitlement of settler history, in this case as expressed by the University. While Indigenous Peoples in the area have, for example, been told that their oral histories of the land will not be accepted in court actions, settler institutions can produce authoritative text through the memorialization of a Miller Lash legend that may be entirely fictional.

The 2019 University of Toronto Scarborough website echoes the 1977 settler account of the land. In a description meant to introduce virtual visitors (including prospective students) to the campus, it describes "our story" as follows:

> University of Toronto Scarborough has modest roots as a turn-of-the-century summer escape from the city heat of Muddy York – as Toronto was then nicknamed – for local businessman Miller Lash. From scenic, pastoral paradise to world-renowned centre of innovation and inspired learning, this is the story of this campus. (University of Toronto Scarborough, n.d.b)

Again we see the appearance of the legend of the discovery of a pastoral paradise. The legend can erase thousands of years of Indigenous physical, spiritual and cultural presence, which is subsumed into a natural wildness and disorder that can be tamed and transformed. The arts and crafts style of Miller's Mansion and outbuildings remains today as a profound visual reminder of how the crafted natural landscape (highland creek stones and

local hewn timbers) is now exclusively understood as a celebration of settler pioneer commerce and leisure.

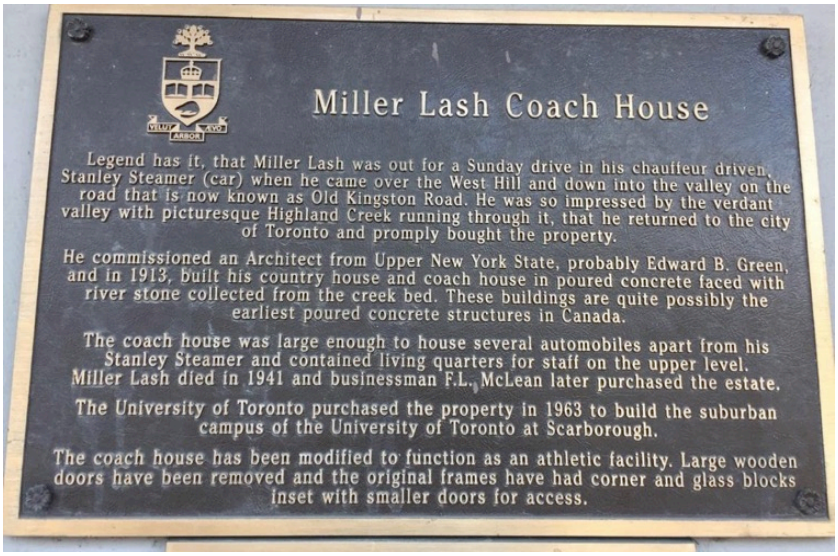


*Figure 4.* 1977 Coach House Plaque on the Miller Lash Estate (photo: Joe Hermer).

The settler account obscures colonial dispossession and specifically the 90 year long Indigenous political battle over the lands that include the Miller Lash Estate. In 1916 R.V. Sinclair was appointed by the Federal Minister of Justice to investigate claims and complaints from the Mississaugas and Chippewas that widespread settlement, resource extraction and harvesting was occurring on traditional lands that had not been legally transferred by Indigenous Peoples to the government. In his report, Sinclair (1916) confirmed that "the Indian title to these lands has *never been extinguished* and I am of the opinion that some arrangements should be made for quieting the title." In effect, Miller Lash – who "purchased" the lands in 1913 – had bought land the province had stolen from Indigenous people for development.

The Sinclair file lay dormant for three years, until 1921 when the provincial and federal governments appointed Ottawa lawyer A.S. Williams to follow up. On October 10th, 1923, Williams filed his report confirming Sinclair's account and documenting a tract of approximately 13 million acres of unceded land in southern and central Ontario.[1] The two levels of government moved with remarkable speed, and within 22 days Williams had

[1] Unceded land refers to traditional Indigenous territories that were not signed into treaty. Indigenous peoples entered into treaty agreements to share the land and not to relinquish their rights and traditional relationship to the Land (Younging, 2018).

personally secured all necessary signatures. The Williams Treaties were signed in October and November 1923 by the government of Canada and Ontario, and by seven First Nations: the Chippewas of Beausoleil, Georgina Island and Rama, and the Mississaugas of Alderville, Curve Lake, Hiawatha (https://williamstreatiesfirstnations.ca/; see also Surtees, 1986).

There are three features of the Williams Treaties of 1923 that are particularly important to note. First, the treaty was intentionally rushed with little real care or consideration for overlaps between it and pre-existing rights and treaties, including the Treaty 20 area settled in 1818. Further, the Williams Treaties are the only treaties in Canada that extinguished all traditional harvesting, fishing and hunting rights. Third is its naked financial exploitation. The Williams Treaties made a one-time payment of $500,000 with no annual payments, and no additional reserve land. Of the $500,000 each of the 1,350 members of the seven signatories were to be paid $25, just under $34,000 in total. Payment was not made directly to the members. Instead, funds were given to Indian agents to disperse. The remaining $466,000 was to be split between the seven reserves. The actual funds were sent to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs to be held in trust for each of the seven signatory Nations. No one actually knows what happened to these $466,000. Williams and his commissioners on the other hand were paid a stipend of $100 dollars a day when working on treaty business (Blair, 2008).

At the conclusion of the Williams Treaties in 1923, Ontario Premier Howard Ferguson stated with relief and certainty, "every tribe that could possibly have a claim on the white man's government has now been taken care of" (Surtees, 1986). Yet almost as soon as it was signed, The Williams Treaties became the subject of fierce legal action. The seven signatories have argued for decades that it was an underhanded treaty obtained by mendacity and trickery. The signatories were not allowed lawyers in signing the treaties and there was substantive evidence that Williams and Indian agents assured Indigenous leaders that their harvesting rights in particular would be protected. This was buttressed by the belief that Treaty 20, which overlapped with the Williams Treaties lands, would continue to protect traditional harvesting rights. It took nine years before the seven signatory nations got a copy of the actual treaty agreement. In 1992 the seven signatories sued the federal government in what is known as the Alderville Action. The case sat in the courts for 24 years until May 2017 when the federal and provincial government along with the seven signatories announced that they would move to a negotiated settlement, ending the lawsuit (Government of Canada, 2018; Williams Treaties First Nations, 2019).

The memorialization of the Miller Lash Estate is a standard practice of erasure of Indigenous presence in park settings or emparked landscapes. It echoes the experiences of Ipperwash Park, Banff National Park and Stanley Park. The exclusion and erasure of Indigenous histories is both ideological and instrumental. It is ideological in making a pastoral paradise that evokes

Euro-Canadian community, unchanging values and national sentiment. It relies on a temporally narrow settler colonial view of nature, predicated on limitless exploitation, serendipity and convenient leisure. It is instrumental in acting as a site from which finely detailed forms of social control and banishment can occur where unwanted bodies, cultures and knowledge are erased. Settler colonial erasure and dispossession, however, are continually unsettled through the enduring political demands of the Williams Treaties Nations who continued to press titles and rights up to 2017.

**Scarborough as Sub/urban/altern Cosmopolitanism by Ranu Basu**

As a long-time community member, migrant-settler and urban-scholar living nearly three decades in Scarborough, I have observed, studied, and here reflect ethnographically on the changing dynamics of this part of the city. I start from the idea that a city-building movement needs a contested mode of analysis (Basu, 2019) that demonstrates and challenges hierarchies of space and their close entanglement with the hierarchies of racialized, exiled, and class divides. I do so in conversation with the insights of Saidiya Hartman (2019) who writes about the intimate lives of young Black women in turn of the century Philadelphia and New York City. In *Wayward Lives*, Hartman (2019) considers the rich landscape of Black social life as everyday struggles focused on radical imaginations intoxicated with freedom. Hartman considers the ways these multidimensional lives are flattened and dismissed into a social void by neglect and oppression (2019, p. 8). Hartman's observations resonate with the experiences of Scarborough as a place that has been planned and neglected, constructed into a social void, and with the complexity of the lives erased and stigmatized through invisibilization *and* hypervisibilization. At the same time, Scarborough has been home to a heterogeneity of racialized migrant/asylum (non-citizen) working class and Indigenous communities whose radical imagination constitutes a rich *sub/urban/altern cosmopolitan* space (i.e., suburban, subaltern, cosmopolitan) (Basu et al., 2013; Basu & Fiedler, 2017).

The socio-spatial heterogeneity of Scarborough is reflected in the diverse landscape and place-making practices that are interwoven into the informal political infrastructure of the city.[2] The ethnocultural landscape is richly diverse both in the *range* and *scale* of public spaces and services offered at the grassroots level – from community organizations for the elderly to congregate and socialize; provision of international language classes for children in the basements of social housing complexes; after-school homework clubs and resume-writing workshops in mosques, churches and gurudwaras; medicinal ayurvedic and naturopathic remedies in local grocery

[2] In 2016 the population of Scarborough was 632,095, 57% were foreign-born and 40% had arrived after 2001; 73% of the population was categorized as "visible minority" (City of Toronto Strategic Initiatives, 2018).

stores; palmistry-planners and income-tax consultants renting spaces at the back of local corner stores; reggae record shops with rhythmic beats and lyrics spilling into the streetscapes. The socio-cultural and economic infrastructural realities of how migrant spaces have been produced in Scarborough and the rhythmic contours of its everyday life provide a counter-hegemonic narrative to the logics of a rationally defined settler-neoliberal city. These are spaces of "intoxicated freedom." This spatial assertion of such institutional practices is often the result of neoliberal state-level exclusionary norms – whether in the domain of education, health, employment or community investment.

Yet, the urban form, function, and imaginary of contemporary Scarborough are under continuous scrutiny *and* simultaneous oblivion (Basu, 2019; Basu & Fiedler, 2017). In the early 1980s, Scarborough was narrated as a quiet, mostly uneventful suburb. In later years the increasing presence of migrants in the area coincided with the idea of Scarborough as a place of potential violence and random criminal acts. Media coverage, for instance, first described violent crimes – robbery, domestic violence, and other crime – as isolated incidents. These slowly assumed the character of *endemic conditions* brought on by the area's residents. Scarborough came to be seen as a failure of modernist planning, as unpalatable and "a distasteful, aesthetically bleak, bland and dangerous landscape" with cartographic shadings bordering on "neurotic" (Toronto Star, 2008; Ormsby, 2009). Its spatial (and racial) representation continues to be ridiculed with nicknames such as Scarberia, Scarlem, and ScarBlackistan, and described as a "zit" and an "urban blandness verging on blight" (DiManno, 2007). These practices of denigration and criminalisation combine with ideas about the everyday as unexceptional to create the dystopian city – a place that is in constant need of repair, fixing and reform. Such erasure is strategically achieved through the dismissal of any kind of creative agency, cultural autonomy or conscious appreciation of the complexity of sub/altern cosmopolitanism that links to Hartman's idea of lives lived, radical imaginations and intoxicating freedom. These are active modes of suppression (Hartman, 2019).

Erasure also takes the form of racial violence and hypervisibility as in the example that follows. On October 2nd, 2018 the third floor of Scarborough's Radisson Hotel that temporarily housed 577 refugee claimants, the majority from Nigeria, was torched by a group of white supremacists (Huffington Post, 2018). Anti-refugee sentiment had been circulating for a while including through online videos taken secretly of the residents of the hotel by white nationalists. Their media coverage offered derogatory and offensive remarks – casting doubt, maligning the refugee claimants, their safety, and their sense of security (Gunn Reid, 2018; Levy, 2018). Emboldened by the recent election of Premier Doug Ford of the Progressive Conservative Party, arsonists attacked the refugees.

Yet, juxtaposing such violent modes of erasure, Scarborough has proven to be a compelling counter-hegemonic force that has challenged the ideations of

such hate-based movements. Scarborough and its residents create complex spaces of encounter, civic engagement, and grounded experiences of a vibrant subaltern cosmopolitan public. As alluded to earlier, residents have developed wide ranging and heterogeneous forms of public spaces, from economic, socio-cultural to political spaces of engagement (see Figure 5).


*Figure 5.* Space of Encounter (photo: Ranu Basu).

Migrants talk about and understand these spaces as places of refuge and peace, of memory, desire and imagination, civic engagement and fluid resistance (Basu et al., 2013). For example, at Harmony House Community Centre, seniors come together to sing in Bengali, Cantonese and Tamil. Their multifarious musical practices are filled with joy and pride as they share in the celebration of important cultural events (e.g., New Years' Day, Independence Day, *Paila Baishak* (beginning of Spring), among others). The unique Black presence through the Caribbean migrant community (particularly from Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago) is similarly culturally embedded in the landscape and part of the broader spatial imaginary. It is here that first instances of Toronto's international celebrations of Caribana (a cultural and political carnival event) are rehearsed and practiced in the streetscapes of local communities. Bangladeshi women's organizations similarly have successfully organized precarious workers for better working conditions and living wages in collaboration with non-status workers, and have rallied in support with other racialized workers and labour unions in dialogue with the state. Such collective and diverse spaces of regular community engagement have over the years provided the venue and opportunity for empowerment and consciousness raising, not only within Scarborough but beyond.

A transnational form of solidarity and activist event relates to the Tamil protest movement. In 2009, the Tamil protest movement gained momentum and support from diverse parties originating in the heartland of Scarborough. From local grocery stores to restaurants, messages to the broader public on the violence in Sri Lanka were made evident on storefronts and other public spaces. As of 2018, a large street festival on one of the main arterial roads of Scarborough is organized by the Tamil community and attracts over 200,000 attendees from across the GTA. The heterogeneity is deeply cosmopolitan in its form and practice, engaging a wider public in these festivities.

Scarborough is a city of multifariousness, what Hartman refers to as a place of intoxicating freedom. Through these heterogeneous place-making practices, it forms a *city of integrative multiplicity* (Basu, 2017; Basu et al, 2013); a heterotopic space that is complex, diverse and sophisticated in its political realm and public spaces, and finely attuned to the practices of exclusion and dispossession that limit its possibilities.

**The Guild of all the Arts: Unsettling History by Bojana Videkanic**

Lee Maracle's (2000) poem "War" offers a way to think about unsettling the stillness of history. "To re-write history with my body" (Maracle, 2000, p. 65) is to offer one's embodiment, one's being-in-one's-own-body, as a tool for reconsidering history. In other words, Maracle's presence, her life, her witnessing-by-living as an Indigenous woman rewrites settler colonial history. A similar reclaiming and rewriting of history happened in 2017 when Cree/Saulteaux artist Lori Blondeau produced a series of performance art interventions at the Guild Park and Gardens in Scarborough.[3]

Blondeau's performance-cum-photographic series is titled *Pakwâci Wâpisk* (2017).[4] In it Blondeau creates powerful gestures of remembering and offering symbols of Indigenous sovereignty. Each photograph in the series shows the artist following a different conceptual strategy: she places herself at specific sites, donning a long red velvet dress that gives her performance a regal air. The pose is carefully staged; Blondeau stands firmly upright and defiant, as she looks into the distance. The artist performs and embodies power. The power of Blondeau is amplified in the dialogue with the site she occupies. In *Pakwâci Wâpisk* Blondeau occupied the Guild Park in Scarborough as a form of performance-for-the-camera that restaged and disrupted Scarborough's settler architecture (see Figure 6). The work is

[3] The series was produced as part of the (Un)settled Project, a curated art residency and performance/intervention art series on the grounds of the Guild Park and Gardens in May and June 2017 and curated by Bojana Videkanic. Each of the artists spent a few days creating work on the grounds of the Guild to intervene on the site and its history. For more see http://www.unsettledproject.com/.

[4] *Pakwâci Wâpisk* translates from Cree as Wild Stone.

juxtaposed to Bondeau's older photographic series *Asiniy Iskwew* (2016),[5] in which she situated her performance on sites important to Indigenous histories and connected to sacred rock formations of the Plains peoples (in Blondeau's case, specific Cree beliefs).[6] The site of the performance for *Pakwaci Wapisk* at Guild Park has deep relevance given the overt celebration of settler colonialism that it signifies.

The Guild Park and Gardens stands as a microcosm of settler colonial place-making. The Guild was a project of Spencer and Rosa Clark who purchased 40 acres of the Bickford estate grounds in 1932 (Breithaupt & Clark, 1899; Lerek, 1992). The Clark's were inspired by William Morris, a leading designer, activist and thinker of the British Arts & Crafts movement. Based on Morris's vision of a holistic approach to arts and crafts, the site was named "The Guild of All Arts," and contained studio spaces, living quarters, and sales and exhibition galleries for artists (Ligold, 2000, p. 25). The Clarks worked to tame and manicure the land and buildings of the Guild. They added dining rooms, guest quarters and recreational facilities to the Bickford Estate, and purchased surrounding farms to protect their investment. The Guild lands eventually spanned 500 acres, stretching from Lake Ontario to Kingston Road, and from Livingston Road to Galloway Road.

Over the years, the Clarks transformed the estate into a fantasy landscape. They collected and incorporated discarded architectural facades from Toronto building demolitions into the landscape. The park was intentionally littered with bases of statues, crown moldings and columns that were used to erect structures that resembled faux English and French garden follies. Historically, these eye-catching and extravagant architectural structures provided visual spectacle for the owners of European palaces. In the Clarks' version, the garden follies were meant to inspire the artists-in-residence and delight the public. The deliberate structuring of the Guild mimicked a stately palace; its Greek theatre, sculptures and footpaths signaled the site's antecedents in the British 18th and 19th century imperial model.

[5] *Asiniy Iskwew* translates from Cree as Rock Woman.

[6] The earlier series was produced on sites in Saskatchewan.

*Figure 6.* Lori Blondeau *Pakwâci Wâpisk* (photo: Bojana Videkanic, 2017; reproduced with permission of the artist).

The Guild's settler colonial architecture worked to replace Indigenous culture and life by building over it and by placing it in the past. Caricatured images and symbols of Indigenous life are frozen in different sculptures and architectural fragments. A particularly poignant remnant is part of a three-piece keystones brought from the Bank of Toronto building that used to stand at the corner of King and Bay streets in Toronto. The keystone shows the old

City of Toronto Coat of Arms and contains two figures: one is Britannia and the other is an Indigenous male warrior (see Figure 7).[7] There are also standard symbols of Canadian national identity such as the beaver and maple leaf. The depiction of the Indigenous warrior is stylized and stereotypical. He is placed safely next to the British crown, symbolising their partnership and shared stewardship of the land. Made in 1912, the sculpture shows Indigenous peoples and the land existing outside of the present, safely relegated to the depths of history. In other words, settler colonial place-making fixes Indigenous life in the past.

*Figure 7.* Architectural Fragment in Guild Park, The City of Toronto Coat of Arms (photo: Bojana Videkanic).

The point of departure for Blondeau's conceptual framing is the acknowledgement that the space where the work was installed has a particular urban, social, and political Indigenous and settler colonial history. It carries with it multiple, complex narratives that exist as deeply buried sediments underneath official language. The artist offers a complicated, messy, alternative history; she unsettles the linear story of Canada, and the clean, neatly packaged products of its memorialization. The Guild Park is the epitome of Canadian modernity, a vestige of the imposed colonial order wanting to tame "nature." The human figures we expect to find on top of the

[7] Britannia is a female personification of the British empire often found in sculptures, paintings and other visual representation (Hewitt, 2017).

architectural remnants are missing, and this opens up a space of intervention. Blondeau placed herself on empty seats of colonial power to disrupt their potential.[8] By claiming the space, Blondeau unsettles the colonial order. Her monumental, life-sized photographs take the form of alternative memorials that replace the linear settler colonial narrative of what belongs in the past and in the present. Blondeau offers a form of interjection and witnessing as she occupies the space of the suburban Scarborough neighbourhood to offer, through her bodily presence, another story of place. Blondeau's work is an excavation and churning of the sediments of the cultural and political phenomena around us: Indigenous politics and dispossession and an announcement of Indigenous presence and futures. These alternative narratives create a space to pause and reflect, to think about her – and our own – embodied existence on the land.

Lori Blondeau chose to work with tensions and hostilities that emerge over sites of history, sites in which nature and human intervention clash, and sites of memorialization and public memory. Whether in the park or the gallery space, memory and history are questioned. Ultimately, the artist asks who decides what we remember; thus, "to erect a statue is to take revenge on reality" (Taussig, 1999, p. 21). Rather than thinking of monuments as sites where truths might reappear, what is at work in the mechanism of monumental representation is the fact that all monuments are always already toppling. Blondeau's work recognizes this truth of the instability of Western monumental representation, and offers a different take on history. The artist offers an alternative history – or deep histories, if you will – of the lands that are currently called Scarborough and Canada, and in doing that reasserts ongoing Indigenous presence on this land. Just as Blondeau stands on top of the ruins of Western modernity we find in Scarborough's strange park, her monumental gesture produces a rupture: history fills the present moment prophetically showing the fault lines in the present.

## Discussion

The four portraits capture Scarborough as an assemblage of representations and experiences of differential inclusion, co-constituted across time, space, individuals and collectivities. Components within this assemblage contribute to and uphold settler colonialism as a simultaneous project of ongoing Indigenous dispossession and settler/migrant/arrivant recognition, racialization, and stigmatization that operates through linear temporalities. Importantly, components of the assemblage also contest and erode a hegemonic settler colonial narrative, temporality, and socio-spatiality.

Freeman's portrait demonstrates how narratives of the Thomson family

[8] Personal communication with the artist during her residency at the Guild and as part of the *(Un)settled* art project.

contribute to the foundational timeline of settler colonialism and to hegemonic knowledge production. As Ahmed (2000) notes, during such encounters, the other is recognized as a stranger, as being out of place. In this case, the narrative produces Thomson as the one who belongs, while the Indigenous woman is marked as the stranger. This official story legitimizes settler mobility and dispossession of Indigenous territories, while also contributing to a project of white indigenization, locating settlers as industriously taming the land. Given this framing, the encounter between Mary Thomson and the unnamed Indigenous woman presents a linear story of migration and arrival disconnected from privilege, power and Indigenous dispossession.

However, Freeman denaturalizes this linear time and place-making. Her analysis connects different moments in calendar time: 1796, 1847, and 1896. She pauses to consider a more fulsome history of who was on the land, challenging the static and flattened depiction of Indigenous peoples that is portrayed in the Thomson family storyline. We can link her analysis to accounts that complicate our understanding of the various Indigenous nations working, living, and moving through Scarborough in that period (Gidigaa Migizi & Simpson, 2018). Like Freeman, Hermer denaturalizes the linear and socio-spatial separation and fixity of settler colonialism by moving across and connecting different points in time that demonstrate the process of Indigenous dispossession: 1911, 1923, 1944, and 1963. He situates the purchase of land by Bay-street investor Miller Lash in primitive accumulation, pointing to the absence of a treaty agreement and the unceded character of the land. He also juxtaposes the bucolic depiction of investments in land as leisure activity to the political battles led by the seven signatory nations of the Williams Treaties. This 90 year Indigenous struggle over land and sovereignty is woven into the politics of higher education. Tensions remain as the University of Toronto Scarborough's website and memorialization project continue to celebrate a hegemonic history-making project, at the same time that some of its members (faculty, students, Indigenous knowledge keepers) work to produce counter-hegemonic relations and narratives of place.

Videkanic's portrait also disrupts the narration of linear time and place-making in Scarborough. Built to promote the Arts, Guild Park is another thread woven into the fabric of settler colonial knowledge and creative production. The park has become an archive and cemetery of relocated Toronto building remnants and statues. Statues that harken to Greek and colonial British aesthetics are interwoven with static caricatures of Indigenous history and presence. The built environment assembles narrative threads of European and Anglo imperial history to produce a presumptively coherent storyline of white-settler supremacy that locates Indigenous people in the past. In fact, architecture and memorialization are central themes in the analysis of Freeman, Hermer, and Videkanic. Cemeteries, archives, schools, universities, and parks facilitate erasure and memorialize domination: these places and their subduing presence are planned. They are key features of the

settler colonial city (Hugill, 2017). They also expose the investment of historians and artists and other scholars in methodological nationalism, taking for granted both the settler colonial nation as the organizer and container of society and scholars' work in the telling, archiving, and institutionalizing of that story of nation-state formation.

Basu's analysis of Scarborough picks up on the effects of settler colonial place-making on contemporary experiences of living and working in Scarborough. The land and architecture are no longer presented as a white haven tamed through settler-Indigenous encounters like the sisterhood discussed by Freeman, or the acumen and sense of industry of a Bay street investor and his hired architects discussed by Hermer. This Scarborough is constituted as both a social void *and* as a multicultural inner suburb. Through this portrayal, we can read Scarborough as a complex space of differential inclusion through which migrants, racialized, and Indigenous peoples experience the erasures of invisibilization and hypervisibilization. The place and its residents are produced as part of the dangerous and abject inner city, but are also offered spaces of multicultural recognition. Indigenous presence and histories are written out of both mainstream accounts. For this reason, Basu's contribution becomes an essential feature of our analytical strategy, because it disrupts the silos and erasures of settler colonial differential inclusion.

Reading Basu's theorization of sub/urban/altern experiences in Scarborough challenges the logic of methodological nationalism, specifically multicultural recognition of migrant and racialized peoples in Scarborough within the immigrant-nation narrative. A counter-hegemonic project of recognition entails examining shared alliances, complicities, and responsibilities independent of Canadian sovereignty (Bhatia, 2013). This project includes examining how differently situated and included subalternized groups (racialized peoples, descendants of enslaved peoples, Indigenous migrants from elsewhere) are implicated in or subjected to a settler colonial project in Canada. It also reimagines the encounters possible among the differentially included, encounters that do not centre white settlers and erasure.

Videkanic reminds us that monuments are also programmed with their destruction. We see snippets of such a destruction, and unsettling of hegemonic framings of history, through Lori Blondeau's work at Guild Park as well as the impromptu solidarity practices toward Sri Lankan Tamils in 2009 that Basu describes. Assemblages methodology focuses on these contingencies and their possible interconnections, encouraging us to think through the different registers or temporal and socio-spatial dimensions of unsettling. While Blondeau's performance involves an intentional staging, it also generates contingent possibilities of encounters with park visitors. Encounters between Scarborough residents described by Basu also demonstrate this contingency. Contingencies emerge at times of heightened awareness of injustice and inequality, and gain resonance through festivals or

the refurbishing of warehouses into places of worship. Yet for Blondeau and the Scarborough residents Basu describes, this is not a complete dismantling or unsettling. The possibility of violence and reinsertion of the settler colonial structures remains.

## Conclusion

Settler colonial studies and the critique of methodological nationalism reveal how research on migration, racialization and citizenship contribute to Indigenous dispossession. Together, the colonial-era doctrine of *terra nullius*, and the foundational timeline of the settler colonial state annul the prior and ongoing existence of Indigenous peoples on the land and Indigenous sovereignty to legitimize dispossession. This logic has echoes in knowledge production. Thus, scholars of migration and associated fields often ignore the complexity of relationships among Indigenous peoples, European settlers, and migrants and racialized peoples in Canada. They underplay migrants' vexed relationship to Indigenous dispossession (Lawrence & Dua, 2005; Sharma & Wright, 2008). In failing to account for Indigenous dispossession, scholars of migration and citizenship end up treating settler colonialism as a *fait accompli* and disregard Indigenous survivance, refusal, and contestation (Tuck & Yang, 2012; Vizenor, 1998). Migration scholars' long-standing attachment to methodological nationalism, or the naturalization of the nation-state, is a further entrenchment of settler colonialism in knowledge production. Methodological nationalism aligns with settler-futurity as it conceptualises social life as a linear arrangement in which people cross an international border, from a place of no-history to a condition of foreignness and non-citizenship, or to that of citizenship, membership and presumed desire for recognition (Landolt et al., 2019; Meeus, 2012).

In order to weaken the links tying scholarship on race, citizenship and migration to the epistemic order of settler colonialism, we have applied the concept of differential inclusion and assemblage methodology to a single site over time, mapping the links and relationships across different moments through which Indigenous presence, migration processes, and place-making occur. Differential inclusion is a hierarchical, partial and conditional process that is contingent on the socio-spatial and temporal context that produces variable degrees of precarity and stability, subordination, disenfranchisement and exploitation, membership and recognition. The concept centres complex relational dynamics through which violence and inequality are realized. Assemblages methodology apprehends social life as constituted by heterogeneous and partial material and discursive components that come together to produce complex configurations of power of variable stability.

We find that the concept of differential inclusion, methodological nationalism as a critique of the research enterprise, and assemblages methodology help us to understand the ways the settler colonial state is

re/produced. In our analysis, differential inclusion produces a matrix of belonging, rights and, in/visibility that centres white settlers. We recognize that a focus on differential inclusion involves paying attention to how the marginalization and stigmatization that racialized peoples, forced migrants, and descendants of enslaved peoples' experience do not negate the benefits some can accrue from recognition and inclusion into the settler colonial nation-state. For this reason, methodological nationalism becomes an important contribution to research on settler colonialism. It helps to bridge critical migration studies' disruption of the nation as the assumed and default container of society and forces us to question which nations are assumed or allowed to be that default (the settler nation) and examine how they are narrated. Furthermore, our analysis explores contestations to settler colonialism from those differentially included, what Basu refers to as sub/urban/altern cosmopolitanism occurring in heterotopic spaces. These open the door to imagining different futures, those that centre Indigenous, racialized, and migrant communities and the relationships among them.

As we continue to engage in research on migration, racialization, and nation-building in the settler colonial state it is not feasible or sustainable to explain migrant selection, settlement, and removal systems in isolation from Indigenous presence and leadership. It is a conceptually thin reproduction of the foundational timelines of the settler colonial state. This implies the need for scholars to disengage from promoting the settler colonial state's agenda to produce scholarship that can contribute to a richer and more sustainable conversation about unsettling and decolonization.

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