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Unmuting Conversations in Global Development

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Global Development Studies

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The Department of International Environment and Development Studies (previously Noragric) at Faculty of Landscape and Society, LANDSAM, is the international gateway for the Norwegian University of Life Sciences (NMBU).

The LANDSAM Master's thesis is the final thesis submitted by students in order to fulfil the requirements under the LANDSAM Master's programmes 'International Environmental Studies', 'Global Development Studies' and 'International Relations'.

Declaration

I, Veronika Brokke Olsen, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature…………………………………..

Date………………………………………..

Acknowledgements

This work is dedicated to all who we lost too soon, who were ripped away from us, who were hidden from us in plain sight, who we never got to meet. And to those yet to come, who meets a time and place that still holds so little love for the Other.

I am forever humble and grateful to those who have walked the road before me, who have fought for our existence, built and re-built our theories, struggled for our rights, and found themselves so that I could find myself too.

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Abstract

We live in the aftermath of the colonial onslaught on earth and humanity, with implications possibly beyond even the imaginable. In an effort to address such implications, this research explores and contrasts queer and Indigenous theories and activism and at their intersection and seek insight and capacities for learning. The study proposes counter-hegemonic alliances to bridge the divide and rule – *divide et impera* – that creates gaps between queer and Indigenous academia and activism. Three gaps in this relationship are identified: within academia, within activism, and between academia and activism. What characterises these gaps, and how they may be bridged, constitute the research problem of this thesis. Of particular interest is how the respective contributions of queer and Indigenous theories and activism, and conversations between them, may be unmuted in dominant discourse on global development theory and practice.

The research design is centred on producing double-weaved and grounded theory by combining queer and Indigenous approaches. The study first identifies major contributions of literature on queer and Indigenous theories and epistemologies. Next, ideas and reflections are sought from activists by conducting research workshops at three civil society organisations in Norway: Queer Youth of Norway (QYN), SAIH (the solidarity organisation of Norwegian students and academics) and Queer World (QW). A key finding was the vibrant interest of activists in exploring and learning from the intersections of queer and Indigenous aspirations, critiques and theories. Some key findings from the organisations were an expressed willingness to radicalise own organising towards anticolonialism (QYN); different types of anxieties from activism and solidarity (SAIH); and perspectives on who, how, where and when to speak up in solidarity and intersectional activism (QW).

A conclusion of the analysis is that the room for unmuting conversations on global development is severely constrained in dominant discourse because these conversations challenge and threatens state sovereignty. Another key observation is that cisheteropatriarchy is exposed as a colonial structure at the intersection of queer and Indigenous critiques. At the same time, some valuable differences, for example within academia, should possibly be expanded rather than brought together. It is proposed that actors in development, including global development, must seek to unmute queer and Indigenous voices and conversations that are missing in dominant discourse. The research offers lessons for global development studies and provide a resource for activists and movements inside and outside of academia.

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1 Muted conversations in global development

Everybody has a voice but not all are heard, because some voices are louder than others. Drowned out voices are problematic for the global development field because silence erases and make for exclusionary global development. Silenced voices are often located either outside of global development or at the recipient end, such as Black, Indigenous[1], and People of Colour (BIPOC), and lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer, and intersex (LGBTQI+)[2] voices. Muting these voices is central to a dominant discourse in which those most affected by global development are the ones least heard, therefore are scholars within global development obligated to lean in, listen and amplify muted voices and their conversations. This thesis explores how global development studies can unmute conversations on development, by reading oppositional literature and listening to radical civil society organisations, and by questioning the narratives and world views voiced in dominant discourse.

Today, dominant discourse in global development is centred on the United Nations (UNs) seventeen Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), selected by the General Assembly of 193 member states. The UN member states have voiced desired outcomes of global development and selected SDGs as a universal framework, where the level of achievement also indicates status of development. It is more a framework than a plan because states have autonomy on *how* to reach the SDGs, as not to threaten state sovereignty. States are the main actors in global development because they represent the majority peoples. But not all people. Since nation states are inherently exclusionary, those of us excluded from nation states are also excluded from dominant discourse on global development.

Nation states exclude those who potentially disrupt state order, an order constructed by hegemonies within the state. Hegemonies can be cultural, social, economic, political, and/or military domination of another, at the level of states, nations, cities, or demographic groups, depending on type of hegemony. In his *Prison Notebooks*, Marxist and communist Antonio Gramsci (1971) wrote about cultural hegemony and counter-hegemony, and he "normally uses the word hegemony to mean the ways in which a governing power wins consent to its rule from

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[1] I use *Indigenous* as over-arching for Indigenous, Native, and Aboriginal. Sometimes I use Native to a North-American context, or Aboriginal to specify upper North-American, Australian or New Zealand contexts.
[2] I use *queer* as shorthand for all LGBTQI+ and any identity or behavior marked as not heteronormative.

those it subjugates" (Eagleton 1991:112). The idea about cultural hegemony is that the ruling class manipulate the value system and norms of a society, so that their view becomes the world view (Eagleton 1991). Embedded in contemporary nation states is their worldview of whiteness[3] and cisheteropatriarchy[4], and those who do not fit into these ideals are seen as disrupting state order. Cultural hegemony "is hegemonic only if those affected by it also consent to and struggle over its common sense" (Laurie 2015:19), and those of us who do not consent, or do not fit into state order, form what Gramsci called counter-hegemonies.

Counter-hegemonies are recognisable as social justice movements who organise outside of and in opposition to dominant discourse and ruling hegemonies. There are numerous movements who address specific oppressions, for example feminist, vegan, anti-racist, anti-capitalist, environmentalist, queer, and Indigenous movements. The sheer number of movements indicate just how narrow ruling hegemonies are, but also how divided the counter-hegemonies are. The sectarian counter-hegemonies have fallen into the 'divide and rule' strategy of the ruling classes, and risk fighting against each other rather than together. Sectarian counter-hegemonies is detrimental, as Gramsci also pointed out; alliance is crucial for challenging ruling hegemonies. But conversations on alliance between counter-hegemonic movements in global development are few, and there are overlapping reasons for this silence.

One reason is what feminist scholars describe as security in silence (Hansen 2000), another reason is silent consent as described by Gramsci, and these two sometimes overlap. Silent consent stems from the difficulty of critiquing oppression under cultural hegemonies because the values of the ruling class(es) is made into universal values. To critique oppression is to critique a universally accepted value system and worldview, such as capitalism, where one might agree that money is necessary but also abusive. Cultural hegemony makes it difficult to isolate oppressive agents and hold them exclusively responsible. To speak up against injustice and oppressive systems is to dissent from universal values and worldviews under cultural hegemony, and dissidents risk marginalisation, such as losing jobs and housing for being openly gay (OECD 2019). When already marginalised, the act of

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[3] Whiteness refers to skin colour, but also whiteness as behaviours, appearances, and statuses.

[4] Cishetero refers to two social norms; one being the assumption that all bodies are cis bodies, meaning they appear as one out of two sexes, male or female; and heteronormativity is the assumption that all people are sexually and romantically attracted to the opposite sex. Patriarchal refers to the social hierarchy where the male sex is superior to the female sex.

speaking up can lead to violence and lethal backlash, such as racists physically attacking Indigenous people wearing traditional garments in public (Andreassen 2019). The security in silence ensures continued oppression because speaking up marks the speaker as Other, which endangers the speaker, hence their silent consent.

Silent consent includes silence on injustice done to others. Perhaps people have enough with their own struggles, or due to the security in silence are unaware of Others struggles, both of which hinder conversations on counter-hegemonic alliances. Instead of silence, or struggling over or against each other, counter-hegemonies must find their common values and worldviews through conversations in academia and activism. Ruling hegemonies interlock and support each other, and counter-hegemonies must find a similar dynamic where they can resist and support interchangeably. Such alliances will reduce the strain on dissidents and the insecurity of speaking up alone, by offering solidarity and security in a fortified resistance. Joining forces academically and politically, working from more than one position at a time, can be what turns resistance into revolution.

Conversations on alliance between counter-hegemonies and conversations with those excluded from nation states are two out of three conversations that must be unmuted in global development. The third is about *how* to reach the SDGs, because conversations about *how* can offer entirely different world views and values. For example, current conversations on how to reach SDG 1 No Poverty, mostly describe how to alleviate suffering under capitalist hegemony, not how to end poverty or abolish capitalism. And SDG 5, Gender Equality, speaks only of women's liberation, describing it as females becoming equal to their male counterparts. This excludes other genders and ensures their continued oppression, while placing maleness as the epitome of gendered global development. Thus, most SDGs have different implications depending on who is speaking. Personally, I speak from a queer perspective but also seek alliance, and after reading Two-Spirit[5] critiques I think engaging in conversations between queer and Indigenous movements and theories holds potential. My thesis will therefore focus on unmuting queer and Indigenous conversations in academia, activism, and global development.

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[5] Two-Spirit is a pan-Indigenous term that Native Americans started using around the early 1990's. "Two-Spirits was proposed in Indigenous organizing in Canada and the United States to be inclusive of Indigenous people who identify as GLBTQ or through nationally specific terms from Indigenous languages." (Driskill 2011:3)

Queer and Indigenous voices are silenced in contemporary conversations on global development but are also silenced historically. When talking about development, often imagined as creating a better future, we must also consider the past. Queer persons are incarcerated, mistreated in 'therapy', and/or killed, excused by their pathologizing and/or criminalisation ever since the Enlightenment Era and Victorian Age (Foucault 1978). The most explicit silencing of queer voices was when the Nazis in 1933, led by Goebbels, attacked the *Institut für Sexualwissenschaft* and burned 20 000 so-called 'anti-German' books (Diavolo 2017). The books contained vast amounts of queer research and queer theory, as the Institute developed and offered counselling for homosexuals, performed the first known sexual reassignment surgery, openly campaigned for the right to same-sex relationships, sex education, contraceptives, treatment of STIs, women's emancipation, and the general acceptance of queers. The amount of work and knowledge that was burned that night was devastating, and almost a hundred years later queer movements are still organising for the same struggles as the Institute did until 1933 (Kohn 2016).

The silencing of Indigenous people are violent histories of Indigenous voices, lives, cultures, languages, nations, in which epistemologies are systematically annihilated by colonialism. The deliberate elimination of Indigenous knowledge-systems is called epistemicide and is performed via genocide, segregation, and assimilation. The cultural hegemony of settler states might present colonialism as the past, but the oppression and silencing of Indigenous peoples is in fact ongoing, as Two-Spirit poet and scholar Qwo-Li Driskill (2010:78) of Cherokee Nation, explains: "Native histories are ignored, Native people are thought of as historical rather than contemporary, and our homelands aren't seen as occupied by colonial powers. This brings us to question whether Native people, histories, and decolonial struggles are actually part of scholarly and political consciousness and imagination. While I don't think that scholars need to change the focus of their work, I *do* expect scholars to integrate Indigenous and decolonial theories into their critiques". Unmuting Indigenous histories and epistemologies is a step towards regaining Indigenous intellectual sovereignty and devaluing abusive world views in dominant discourse.

Conversations between queer and Indigenous is not unproblematic. Queer and Indigenous theories challenge and support each other because the critiques come from both similar and contrasting perspectives. They problematise similar oppressive structures, and thus their problems are intertwined, calling for the theories to critically engage the other (Finley 2011), but queer and Indigenous organising usually work towards different solutions. Engaging across theories and perspectives can form useful alliances, both within academia and activism, but we must be wary of alliances driven by the aim of just increasing numbers behind the claims of a single group. The risk of alliance is one-sidedness, as evident in previous non-native queer narratives of Indigenous sexualities reflecting non-native queer desires and interests over Native ones (Morgensen 2011c). One issue is that queer theory uses a colonial language when queerness relates to colonial sexualities, and queer scholars must remember this in conversations with anticolonial theories.

In his article *The Governance of the Third World*, humanitarian analyst Marc DuBois (1991:7) points to one of "development's most serious flaws"; that the discourse of the (western) development expert takes precedence over the discourse of the local (non-western). DuBois claims that this precedence is due to *power-knowledge*, a term from the French philosopher, historian and social theorist Michel Foucault, describing the intersection where power and knowledge together produce 'truth'. This truth creates an *episteme*: a specific, often subconscious, configuration of knowledge of an area, sort of a common sense (Foucault 1980:92). The western epistemes override epistemes of the Fourth World and; colonial epistemes subvert Indigenous epistemes. Colonialism generates epistemicide of Indigenous knowledge because power-knowledges ensure colonial power and dominance. Colonialism has strongly affected the epistemologies of contemporary social sciences and development theories, creating a cultural hegemony of colonial power-knowledges, also in the global development field.

Scholars must tackle the residue of imperial and colonial thought in the global development field by examining the origins of these thoughts, debasing myths, and restoring factual knowledge. In *Thinking about civilizations,* Canadian scholar of Political Science Robert W. Cox (2000:217) describes civilization as "the almost unconscious, taken for granted, *common sense* that expresses a people's shared idea of reality. This idea of reality also includes the sense of what is right and proper in ordinary behaviour". Cox alludes to the

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culture(s) of a civilization that, if multiple ideas and behaviours are allowed, is a multicultural civilization. If only one set of ideas and behaviours are ideal, it is a monoculture, not so unlike Gramsci's cultural hegemony. From this perspective, I wish to ask if the SDGs represents a cultural hegemony describing a monocultural development, since the Goals and their framework are supposed to be globally universal.

Monocultural civilizations are recognisable in modern nation states, where one nation (one culture) is synonymous with the State, and other cultures or nations are excluded or segregated into minorities (Cox 2000). The monocultural nation state is based on ethnocentrism; the judging of other cultures with basis in your own cultures' values and beliefs, often considering other cultures as 'lesser'. In the postcolonial world today we still have ethnocentrism, more specifically European-American ethnocentrism dating back to the onset of European imperialism. Cox (2000:218) ties the connection between international development and racist imperialism together by explaining that "During the nineteenth century, as European dominance embraced the world, 'civilization' became, in European thinking, joined to 'imperialism'. The civilizing process had emerged through a European history conceived as Progress. […] *La mission civilisatrice* was the more sophisticated and universalistic way of expressing this movement; 'the white man's burden', was the more openly racist". The development field as of now is inherently imperial, and more must be done to step away from European-American ethnocentrism and colonial ideas on global development. The idea of a universal, monocultural civilization is still present in the linear understanding of development with the west leading as 'the first world'. The White Man's Burden is still heavy on our shoulders.

2 Approach and methodology

In this study I explore the intersection of queer theories and Indigenous theories and their shared critique of oppressive structures. The goal is to help construct an academic framework that fortifies queer and Indigenous resistance. I approach this by combining queer and Indigenous methodologies, based on both being anti-oppressive, critical, and pluralistic approaches. Pluralistic means to have multiple thoughts and perspectives in your mind at the same time, and that there are more ways of knowing than with the mind (Smith 2013). The plurality and fluidness of the theories require that words, ideas, and concepts are explained in more detail, to define them always in relation to the specific context. Although it makes for more tedious work, I consider this a strength because it opens an eye for details and makes clear how ideas are woven together.

2.1 Research problem: understanding *divide et impera*

There are three research problems, all stem from the same issue, namely the *divide et impera*, or the 'divide and rule' 1) between academic theories, 2) between different social justice movements, and 3) between social justice movements and academia. For this chapter, I will first uproot this three-leafed research problem, how to characterise, understand and reduce these gaps, and then present a research strategy for handling it. Lastly, I will present the research design which is also three-fold.

2.1.1 Oppressive norms within global development studies

The mainstream development field is failing to address its colonial origins, and therefore will development theories continue to foster an oppressive status quo. Professor of Gender Studies and Cultural Studies, Scott Lauria Morgensen (2011a:53) argues that if "settler colonialism is not theorized in accounts of these formations [European colonialism, global capitalism, liberal modernity and international governance], then its power remains naturalised in the world that we engage in and in the theoretical apparatuses with which we attempt to explain it". We therefore have to critically identify and revise the oppressive norms originating from colonial ideas, by "centring settler colonialism in analysis" (Morgensen 2011a:53). This means taking counter-hegemonic approaches to mainstream development theories and examine what kind of development critical theories are seeking, for whom, and

why. The new norm must be an anti-oppressive one since development is not authentic unless it is also emancipatory.

One reason it is so hard to generate authentic emancipatory development theory is because anti-oppressive theories are mostly concerned with only one oppressed subject at the time. Oppressed groups are not only constructed as opposite to dominant society, but also as opposites to each other. This sectarianism is artificial, both in the political and academic fields. Philosopher and leading scholar of critical race theory, Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) addressed this sectarianism by developing intersectionality to re-conceptualize the oppression Black working-class women experience across race, class and gender. Being aware of a person's multiple identities is a good step, but how to address the fact that people move across identities, to not miss the person behind all the identities? It could be fruitful to conceptualize oppression and emancipatory development in a way that is not over-focused on identities, neither sectional nor intersectional.

2.1.2 Sectarian social justice movements

My thesis is not a call for a grand universal theory of emancipation, but an attempt at solidarity between activisms and across academia. Solidarity within academic fields means that researchers are aware of the political and historical in their work: from the assumptions and questions made, to the methodologies and analyses performed. Searching for hidden assumptions will shed light on taken-for-granted power-relations and oppressive rhetoric. Weeding those out can make theory more authentic, emancipatory and inclusive. More solidarity in academia makes research more relevant for more people, especially for those currently excluded by dominant theory.

Most anti-oppressive theory is (and should be) produced by those affected by the oppression in question, but we must also critically engage with each other's perspectives and concepts. Being members of different out-groups can enable us to recognize the struggles of others and engaging with them in a respectful manner can offer great support. Professor of sociology Norman K. Denzin et al. (2008:ix), encourage "researchers to think through the implications of connecting Indigenous epistemologies as well as theories of decolonization and the postcolonial, with emancipatory discourses, with critical theory, and with critical pedagogy", and my response is to critically engage queer theory with Indigenous

theory. Oppression is not inter-swappable, but different types of oppression are often rooted in the same power-structures, although the experience of oppressive structures manifest itself differently across identities, as highlighted in the works of Crenshaw. Recognition and legitimacy gained from outsiders who respectfully engage with one's work is a source of strength, both as academics and activists, but also as humans.

There is a fine line between solidarity and speaking over someone. However, silence from not being affected directly, or to wait for someone 'more representative' to do the work, is not solidarity. Being oppressed is always having to fend for your humanity as you are constantly dehumanized (Freire 1970; Freire 2018). The problem is that the ones doing the dehumanizing will not listen to the oppressed, and the oppressed waste energy on futile debates. A racist is not likely to listen to a person of colour, a transphobe will not listen to a trans person, a misogynist will not listen to women, and so on. It is crucial that non-racist white people debate against white supremacists, that non-sexist men call out misogynist men, and that cishetero people speak up against homophobes and transphobes. These are situations where we are so dehumanized that we will not be listened to, and so depend on others to speak up on our behalf. We need allies who listens to us, and we need them to repeat what we are saying to those who do not listen to us but might listen to our allies.

2.1.3 The gap between activisms and academics

Multiple scholars (Browne & Nash 2010; Driskill 2010; Lang 2016) stress the importance of anti-oppressive theory engaging with real life. Theorizing about oppressive hegemonies without grounding theory in lived oppression and resistance will distance the knowledge from the experience. Professor of Indigenous education, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2013:58) of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Porou iwi, points out that in research, distance implies a "neutrality and objectiveness on behalf of the researcher". In my understanding of research, distancing the researcher causes more subjectivity because the ideas and assumptions of the researcher are less likely to be challenged. All humans, including researchers, are subjective, and considering the interpretations of others can negate some of the researcher's personal subjectivity.

Reducing the distance between theory on oppression and lived oppression is not just for the benefit of academia but also supports activisms. After all, that is what anti-oppressive theories are for: to help initiate and steer change and development to the better.

Smith (2013:199) eloquently narrows the gap between activism and academics when arguing that, "struggle is a tool of both social activism and theory. It is a tool that has the potential to enable oppressed groups to embrace and mobilize agency and turn the consciousness of injustice into strategies for change". Thus, to theorize "the politics, psychology and pedagogy of struggle is the role of activist scholars and the organic intellectuals who work in that intersection between the community and the academy" (Smith 2013:200). Inspired by Smith, my research strategy and research design will formulate how to reduce the gap between activism and academia within my own research.

2.1.4 Research aims and thesis statement

There three research problems I will address concern how to characterise and understand: 1) oppressive hegemonies within global development, 2) sectarianism between social justice movements, and 3) the gap between activisms and academics. These three research problems are monumental, and I am not aiming to 'fix' global development in its entirety but rather my research aim is to help construct a stronger, more emancipatory framework for global development. I do so, first by searching for a common ground of queer and Indigenous critiques, then by sharing the double-weaved theory with activists and their respective movements, and finally by attempting to forge tools that can be used by academics and activists in the quest for emancipative development.

Thesis statement:

Queer and Indigenous organising, both activism and academics, have intersecting critiques of global development. The common grounds can be used to build an academic and political alliance, and to mirror the experiences of queer and Indigenous people.

2.2 Research strategies

The research strategy has a three-fold approach: 1) to double-weave queer and Indigenous theory; 2) contribute to research bridging the gap between activism and academia; and 3) to generate and share tools from the double-weaved theories. The core research strategy is to have conversations, between academics, between activists, and between academia and activism. These conversations will also help answer the research questions. I am heavily inspired by Smith's (2013) book *Decolonizing Methodologies*, because she writes in a clear

voice and makes Indigenous methodology accessible for the reader, including non-Indigenous readers. I am using Smith's book as a guide when navigating the conversation between queer and Indigenous theory.

Because conversations are dependent on relations, the most important part of the research strategy is how the fieldwork is conducted, and I did not realize how important until after the fieldwork had started. Since the fieldwork is organized as workshops consisting of formal and informal conversations between academics and activisms, the workshops make academics more accessible. And at the same time have potential to respect the intellectual integrity of the participants, because they are invited to actively critique and shape the theories presented.

2.2.1 Connect queer and Indigenous theories and methodologies

Connecting queer and Indigenous theories may contravene some of the sectarianism between the queer and Indigenous academics and social justice movements. As a non-Indigenous queer activist-academic, my footing is within queer theory. My approach to Indigenous theory is as a person who has inherited a position as colonizer, a legacy that I can only honour by dismantling it. This realization came from reading the works of queer Indigenous scholars who have already started examining the intersection of queer and Indigenous theories. Two important works are already forming this alliance: the Gay and Lesbian Quarterly (GLQ 2010) *Sexuality, Nationality, and Indigeneity*, and Qwo-Li Driskill et al. (2011) *Queer Indigenous Studies*. Both publications are the work of multiple authors, some of them contributing to both.

Critically engaging with the works of queer Indigenous scholars has forced me to reconsider some of the teachings from non-Indigenous queer theories, and this will be examined in *Chapter 3 Conversations on academics and double-weaved theories*. The double-weaving of theory is inspired by Qwo-Li Driskill's (2010:70) description of double-weaving Two-Spirit critique: "decolonial activism and scholarship ask us to radically reimagine our futures. For Native Two-Spirit/GLBTQ people and our allies, part of imagining our futures is through creating theories and activism that weave together Native and LGBTQIA+ critiques that speak to our present colonial realities". The double-weaving described by Driskill is both a strategy and a motivation for my thesis and research.

My point of departure for the Indigenous approach is Sami ethnographer and Skolt Sámi Jelena Porsanger's (2004) *An Essay About Indigenous Methodology*, and her list of mostly Indigenous works on Indigenous perspectives on research. When engaging in anticolonial research, it is important to follow Indigenous research ethics and to be sensitive to cultural contexts. Porsanger explains that a Maori research methodology called *Kaupapa Maori* (Bishop 1999; Irwin 1994; Smith 2013) has been developed from Maori cultural and ethical protocols and metaphors. The Maori research community have made Kaupapa Maori accessible by developing tools and guidelines that can be used by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers. I rely heavily on these tools and guidelines when designing my research.

The Indigenous method, *whanaungatanga,* developed by Maori scholars, emphasizes the 'relational' (Bishop 1996). The relational in Indigenous research points to two aspects: Firstly, "It articulates a reciprocal relationship between the researcher and the researched who must become 'a family': be interconnected in a reciprocal way in the frames of the particular research project with which they are involved." (Porsanger 2004:111). Secondly, "it is not just a matter of kin connectedness and task engagement, but it is also a matter of there being a focus on the group rather than on the self" (Bishop 1996:215). The first element is discussed in section *2.5.1 Ethical considerations*. The second aspect was initially not incorporated into the thesis because I was unsure how to solve it when my sampling was focused on individual data, and I foresaw a potential conflict. However, the nature of the fieldwork changed from focusing on individuals to groups, solving the potential conflict before it arose.

The queer approach is inspired by professor of international relations Cynthia Weber (2016) and her book *Queer International Relations: Sovereignty, sexuality and the will to knowledge*. Analysing the western nation state and its relations to Indigenous Nations, is partially an International Relations (IR) research field, and therefore must bring in concepts from IR theory. Weber analyses the modern nation state's order, created by the "presumptively Christian (and ideally Protestant;), procreative, white, cisgender, able-bodied bourgeois, heterosexual nuclear family" (Weber 2016:62). The ideal western nuclear family queers any entity that does not fit within it, and Weber elaborates on this queering at the intersection of race, class and gender. In Weber's intersectional analysis, Indigenous people are queered by being racialized and having bonds of kinship outside the nuclear family narrative. Weber's

critique of the western nuclear family is one of the ways queerness and indigeneity are linked together.

2.2.2 Close the gap between activisms and academics

I am supported by my network of co-activists and friends, most of them queer. Discussing and theorizing with my network hones my own academic work, but also enables me to develop the ideas and concepts that I am working to spread across communities and organizations. This organic development of theory, where we informally link together our own experiences with literature, politics, and activism, generate an invaluable depth to my analysis and academic work. This is not only a part of being an activist-academic, but a part of being in a community where we support and challenge each other to grow, thrive and do good. We are also a community who constantly adapt to socio-political situations where we need to collectively strategize on how best to survive and resist. The immediate need to always analyse our safety and situation is what enables us to become what Gramsci termed 'organic intellectuals', since we continuously build analysis on our experiences.

Sharing experiences and theorizing between different groups is valuable as it fosters more generalized theories, and this sharing happens when we nurture relations and facilitate conversations. The research workshops attempt a sharing across academics and activism by accessing academic theory as something the participants adapt and apply. Further, I will continue doing workshops and lectures after the thesis, both to present the research and to facilitate sharing. This was supposed to start at Oslo Pride House in June where this year's main topic is 'International solidarity' and continue at summer camps organized by different youth organizations and political youth parties. Alas, these plans are on hiatus until the circumstances around covid-19 are clearer. My impression is that communities and movements are keen on forming ties with academics, and these relations should be nurtured.

2.2.3 Create a toolbox for a queered and decolonial development field

The toolbox is assembled from terms and concepts found within queer and Indigenous theories, with extra focus on tools that are applicable across the theories. I will also try to develop some tools myself. The most important thing is that the tools are usable and accessible for academics and activists alike. The fieldwork enables me to present tools of theory to activists and use the workshops to fine-tune these tools. Participants and their respective organizations are free to use any of the resources presented.

For the academic part, I have given a lecture to a bachelor's spring course at NMBU, *EDS170 Gender and Development*, where I presented parts of this academic toolbox of combined queer and Indigenous theories. I have also been invited to lecture for master's students at the University of South-Eastern Norway (USN) in Kristiansand.

2.3 Research design: Anti-normative and grounded theory

This research opposes dominant development theory and is therefore concerned with exploring the reasons for opposition, and possibilities beyond critique. Grounded theory described how theory can be presented, discussed and developed in the field. Discussions from fieldwork are used as data to both analyse theory and to inform new theory, which is in turn used to analyse the discussions from the field and the initial theory presented. This creates an iterative process where data is produced, analysed, produced, analysed and produced. And perhaps most importantly: the analysis is grounded in the experiences of and relations with the communities that the theories attempt to address and represent.

2.3.1 Literature review and double-weaving theory

The literature search started from the *Nationality, Sexuality, and Indigeneity* (GLQ 2010) and Qwo-Li Driskill et al. (2011) *Queer Indigenous Studies*, first by following up other publications by the contributing actors, then by following their references. By mapping topics and concepts used by these authors, I searched further for other publications on the same keywords, such as: existentialism, essentialism, ethnocentrism, universalism, (anti-)colonialism, nuclear family, assimilation, segregation, normativity, biopolitics, and necropolitics. After finding relevant literature, I sorted texts into three categories: core, periphery, and complementary.

The core literature consists of works specifically on the alliance between queer theories and Indigenous theories, or a queer Indigenous theory (also known as Two-Spirit theory or queer Native studies). The periphery literature further addresses findings from the core literature, either by debating the same issue, but from a different (e.g. feminist) perspective. The complementary literature links issues to mainstream concepts within development studies (e.g. sovereignty).

The double-weaving of theory relates to how double-woven baskets have different patterns inside and outside. Although the patterns are distinctly different, they overlap and work together, and this strengthens the basket. The double-weaving is done firstly by finding common threads that are used across theories. An example of a common thread is essentialism; where queer theory can focus on gender essentialism and homonormativity, and Indigenous theory can focus on the essentialism of indigeneity and ethnographic entrapments. Essentialism can manifest itself in stereotypes, for example that all lesbians are butch[6] and hate men, or that all Sámi are reindeer herders and yoiks[7]. The common threads will be jointly spun in *Chapter 3 Conversations on academics and double-weaved theories*.

Justification of sources

The literature is screened by keywords and contents, but also for authors background. Authors are assessed for queerness and indigeneity. It is important that less heard voices are brought forward, especially non-white, non-western and non-male voices. I am more attentive to works by scholars who are members of the queer, BIPOC, or Other marginalised groups, or have other personal relations to these topics.

One of the core authors is accused of ethnic fraud for falsely claiming Cherokee ancestry, and the Cherokee Nation have disputed her claims to that ethnicity. I was not aware of the controversy until after reading feminist academic Andrea Smith's works, and I am not able to un-read or ignore her contributions because I have already integrated it in my own work. However, I will keep in mind that this may not be the work of someone who represents indigeneity and will not engage further with text where she claims to speak from a Native perspective.

2.3.2 Fieldwork: Conversations on activism and solidarity

The fieldwork is best summarized as participant observation, both through workshops and participation in political, social and cultural events. The workshops are used to collect data, and other activities are used as reference points. For the research to be both anti-normative *and* anti-oppressive it is crucial that methods enable participation, autonomy, empowerment and a sense of ownership for the participants. I believe, like Brazilian educator and philosopher Paulo Freire (1970) in his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, that it is the

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[6] Refers to women who present with masculine appearance and/or behaviour.
[7] Traditional form of song in Sámi music.

marginalised groups in question that have the knowledge, the will to action and the imagination that is necessary for change.

Professor of social research Alan Bryman (2015:27) writes that, "... it is the job of the social scientist to gain access to people's 'common-sense thinking' and hence to interpret their actions and their social world from their point of view". The fieldwork is not about interpreting through 'the participants eyes', rather the participants shape how I analyse theory. Seeing through the participants' eyes require me to always both empathize with and understand their perspective, which I cannot claim to always do. However, I can intellectually trust what they share and know that it is valuable perspectives that I can converse with, regardless of me being able to place myself in their position as my own.

Workshops with civil society organisations

Workshops consist of a power-point presentation prepared by me (Appendix 1), exercises, open-ended questions and discussions. I participated by asking questions, following up and moderating discussions when necessary. While doing participatory observation, the researcher's identity can be a gatekeeper for data, and this is reflected upon in section *2.5.3 Limitations*. However, it is my impression that participants, regardless of the size of the groups or me moderating, were comfortable with speaking and sharing their points of view. See Appendices 1 *Workshop power-point presentation* and 2 *Thought-maps from research workshops* for more specific details.

Name of organization	Date	Number of participants
Queer Youth of Norway	01.11.2019	14
SAIH	02.12.2019	5
Queer World	30.01.2020	8

Table 1: Civil society organisations participating in workshops.

Cultural and political participation

To complement the fieldwork I participated in social, cultural, and political events, which was useful to gain a bigger and better picture of the topics surrounding the subjects of the thesis. I will not analyse these as independent data, but rather draw from these events what I could not have learned by just reading Indigenous theory.

Event	Date	Organizers
Sámi Language Week	23.10.2019	Sex og Politikk (International Planned Parenthood Federation)
Trans Day of Remembrance (TDOR)	20.11.2019	Queer Youth of Norway, Salam, Queer World, et al.
Open meeting at Litteraturhuset	22.11.2019	Truth- and reconciliation commission
Sàkkhu-cups	29.11.2019 20.01.2020	Sámi House (Oslo)
Art Expo *Head Hands Eyes*	09.12.2019	Intercultural History Centre (Oslo)

Table 2: Events used as reference points for data collection.

2.3.3 Scope of study

This study is concerned with actors and events at the meso-level, consisting of civil society organisations, unions, social movements and campaigns working at regional and cross state levels. The micro-level is individuals within these structures. Initially I intended the fieldwork to be at micro-level, where participants would analyse their everyday life in a broader context of global development. But trouble with recruiting participants to such an extensive fieldwork made me shift from workshops with individual participants to recruiting civil society organisations for shorter workshops.

At first, I thought this was only a practical matter; instead of a few individual participants spending up to 20+ hours on the project, now significantly more participants could join a 3-4-hour workshop. The reduced workload on participants enabled more voices to be heard. Methodologically it also makes more sense, since the relational and collective analyses can get more room. This contrasts with dominant theories and methodologies in development studies, which harbour the individualism of European-American civilization: "Methodological individualism recognizes only discrete entities and ignores collective wholes" (Cox 2000:221). Indigenous theory is relational, it is intrinsic that the collective, the communal knowledge and perspective is conceptualized. Had the fieldwork run its planned course, I would at best have gained an aggregated perspective of a few individuals, but now I have perspectives and data from within social movements and communities.

The reason collective workshops feel more relevant for my research is because the collective perspective is more central to the theories applied. Development studies is the study of civilizational change, and according to Cox (2000:220) "Change comes about both from internal contradictions and from encounters with other civilizations". This research examines both by studying the collective social struggles that stem from monocultural nation states' domination of other nations and cultures.

2.4 Data collection and analysis

Data consists of recordings from workshops at three civil society organisations: Queer Youth of Norway (QYN), Norwegian Students' and Academics' International Assistance Fund[2] (SAIH), and Queer World Norway (QWN). The workshops had 14, 5 and 9 participants, respectively. Participants were mostly 'self-driven' in their analyses, and I chose to ask few follow-up questions that could halt discussions between participants, which I found to generate more data than my questions did. The 'self-driven' participants were probably due to sampling: most are active members or elected board members in their respective organisation, meaning they were already familiar with some topics and could tie new topics to what they already knew. This is recognisable when participants apply their prior knowledge to the 'new' topics that I presented, while highlighting what is supporting or challenging their current perspectives. Because the participants so readily offered their analyses, I will both analyse what participants said, and use their own analyses to analyse what they contributed. For example, participant 2 in workshop 2 pointed out that Michelle Holliday's map (Appendix 1:17) changes the perspective from a sense of rights and justice to a sense of duties and relations. This shift is also trackable in participants analyses during the workshop.

2.4.1 Sampling, handling and coding

Participants were given information about how data is handled, their rights and how they can follow up the research, in accordance with framework set by NSD (Norwegian Centre for Research Data). Data was collected using a Dictaphone. The recorded audio was transcribed shortly after the workshops and any personal data were omitted during the transcript for the sake of anonymity. All transcripts have been written directly into the NMBU OneDrive, an online cloud requiring a personal log in with password, and all files containing data will be deleted by the end of July 2020.

2.4.2 Analytical approach for fluid and pluralistic anti-oppressive theory

The analytical approaches will be described more in detail in chapters 3 and 4, where the analyses are applied. Knowledge is subjective, and the world and its phenomena will always be interpreted by someone in some way, regardless whether there are 'objective truths' or not. No person can claim that they have found this truth, or are truly objective, as personal experiences and knowledges inform how we interpret the world and its phenomena. Knowledge and research are already moral, political and historical. All politics are identity politics, because no one is without identity, including researchers. To understand the complexity of these phenomena, it is necessary to have a pluralistic analysis, knowing that social concepts are fluid; humans are always becoming, and the world is always an unfinished reality (Freire 2018:84). The analysis is partly a Foucauldian approach as it follows a genealogical method, meaning that the origins of the phenomena are studied alongside the technologies of power that govern the phenomena.

2.4.3 Reflexive methodology

A researcher is always a part of their research. The experiences and data collected will affect my understandings and values around the research and the topics within it. Being aware of and addressing this will increase the transparency of the research and provide greater understanding for those who read the thesis (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2017). There are mainly two types of reflexivity performed within my research design: 1) philosophical self-reflection, described by Bryman (2015:338) as "an introspection involving an inward-looking, sometimes confessional and self-critical examination of one's own beliefs and assumptions". And 2) methodological self-consciousness, described as "taking account of one's relationships with those whom one studies" (Bryman 2015:338). Both, I hope, are made transparent throughout the thesis, especially during this chapter and through the continuous elaboration of my thoughts, motivations and standpoints in relations to the research performed.

2.5 Quality assurance

Quality of research relies on the match between research problem, research questions, and methodologies, as well as on the transparency, rigor, and trustworthiness of the research process. All methodologies come with their own ethical considerations, strengths, and weaknesses, which the researcher will have to navigate. Combining two methodological

approaches is challenging but also rewarding. When facing obstacles, I have searched for answers in both queer and Indigenous methodologies to find the best solution. And I hope I have navigated so that the research leans on the strengths of the two, rather than their weaknesses.

2.5.1 Ethical considerations

All participants are anonymised, but also given the option to not be. Anonymity is important, especially considering the potentially sensitive topics of this research. Indigenous peoples are exposed to hate speech, hate crimes and different types of discrimination and marginalization, so appearing in a thesis text by name and citation could pose a potential threat. The same is true with queer identities, where not all of us have the same protection in discriminatory law, and, thus, having your name published in the context of the topics of this thesis cannot be categorized as safe. However, most of the participants are used to assessing these risks, and some are already public figures and activists. I am therefore confident in the participants requests for anonymity or publicity. The reason for not anonymizing participants in some cases is that these voices have a long history of being silenced, and anonymising participants contributes to that erasure. A thesis with anonymous participants creates a distance between the research published and the persons who the data are derived from. A part of reclaiming visibility and ownership to one's own stories is to have the option of not being anonymous and is an important part of Indigenous research ethics (Smith 2013).

This thesis and the research is based on follow the research ethics of NMBU and NSD, but it also attempts to abide Indigenous research ethics. Ideally, there would be a research ethics committee affiliated with NMBU with BIPOC research representatives who could assess the research proposal. In lack of such, I sent the research proposal to researchers and institutes that are familiar with Indigenous research ethics and asked for their feedback. I am grateful for the feedbacks given, and I have tried my best to incorporate these into the thesis work. This does not mean that the researchers or institutes approve or guarantee the ethics or quality of my research: that responsibility is entirely my own.

2.5.2 Validity, reliability and replicability

The internal validity of my research should be strong for two reasons: one being that I have a background as a queer activist, the other being that the groups in question have themselves interpreted and analysed the theories in question. This means that I am not

relying only on my own observations. The external validity should also have substantial strength because the fieldwork has been conducted in different organizations and communities. This allows a certain degree of generalization across social settings, especially if any findings appear in all three workshops.

The first and the last workshop are not the same, because of feedback received and data collected during the process. Knowledge accumulates and affects the content and presentation from one workshop to the next. This is hardly avoidable unless information and knowledge is held back, which is contrary to the nature of my research. What is important is the order of the civil society organisations. The first one, Queer Youth of Norway, did not get to discuss what other organisations later contributed. While the last one, Queer World, was able to discuss contributions from both the previous organisations. The data collected is affected by the order, which is not deliberate but arbitrary, as it was determined by when it was most convenient for each organisation to participate. Had the workshops been scheduled in a different order, it would most likely have affected some of the data collected.

For the double-weaving of theory it is possible to replicate the research by doing a literature review with the same parameters and approach as described above. The fieldwork however is not replicable, as it is a snapshot of a collective political situation within a specific time and place. It is feasible to reproduce the fieldwork in terms of replicating the workshop at the different civil society organisations, but the data collected would not be the same. Even if the exact same participants re-joined, they would have new experiences and perspectives. Replicating the research would be best if the motivation was to study the similarities and differences in civil society organisations at different times.

2.5.3 Limitations

My identity as a researcher may gatekeep data by affecting how participants relate to me either by us sharing identities or having conflicting identities. My queer identities may have produced more trust from other queer participants, and encouraged them to share, confess and discuss more than if I was cisgender and heterosexual. And my being non-Indigenous may have affected what Indigenous participants chose to share. The same with me being white affecting both coloured and white participants and how they chose to participate. It is not possible to crosscheck if the fieldwork and data collected would be different if my identities

were different, but it is my impression that all participants were comfortable in what they shared.

There are Indigenous theory and methodology that lie beyond me, because I do not have an Indigenous context in which I can understand and interpret ideas and concepts. My understanding is as a non-Indigenous person and therefore somewhat lacking. This does not indicate the quality of my work or my analyses, but it makes it important to know from which perspective I am working because there is knowledge that will stay silent to me.

The fieldwork was planned to include two other workshops, at Samisk Hus[8] and Blitz[9] respectively, but both were cancelled due to regulations under the Covid-19 outbreak. The missing workshops skews data due to lack of voices from explicitly Indigenous or anarchist movements. Still, there are Indigenous and anarchist voices amongst the participants, though they are not necessarily speaking from those communities during the research workshops.

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[8] A Sámi community building in Oslo, where events related to Sámi topic are held, such as markets, art exhibitions, political meetings, social events, cafés, and so on.
[9] Blitz has since 1982 served as an autonomous youth community building and centre for left-wing extra-parliamentary activism in Oslo.

3 Academic conversations and double-weaved theories

Qwo-Li Driskill (2011:18) describe double-weaving as 'linking arms together', where the goal is to "continue weaving these critiques together into critical conversations". My weaving first examines queer and Indigenous relationships to time and existentialism as a philosophical framework, and from that framework I continue to queer and Indigenous critiques of each other, then I expand to their collective critiques of global development. Much of these critiques are centred on, or emerge from, ideas around sexuality, in the broadest sense of the word. However, sexuality is not analogous in queer and Indigenous critiques and a significant difference must be clarified prior to conversation; not all queer Indigenous people are sexual minorities, because sexuality and heteronormativity[10] are colonial concepts of order. Heteronormativity is the belief that heterosexuality is the default sexual orientation and the only natural form of human relationships. Social structures and state institutions are tailored to heterosexuality, thus is heteronormativity creating social hierarchies and state order. An order that colonialism utilises.

In several Indigenous Tribes and Nations, sexual orientation was and is not something to construct identities or social hierarchies around (Gilley 2011). For example is Two-Spirit identity "defined by qualities beyond sexuality or gender" as "their place within Native societies cannot be explained as that of a sexual minority" (Morgensen 2011c:134-5). Hence, are queer Indigenous people primarily a sexual minority in colonial contexts, but not necessarily in a tribal or Indigenous context. And queer theory must understand this when listening to Indigenous perspectives, as Morgensen (2011c) points out: historically, queer politics critiqued sexualised and gendered majority-minority identities by historizing their formations, hence, a queer perspective can avoid interpreting Indigenous non-conformity as sexual minority.

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[10] The term heteronormativity was first coined by Michael Warner (1993:21) in *Fear of a Queer Planet*, critiquing social theory for its monolithic heterosexual culture. […] However, a definition of the term was not offered until a later article, co-authored with Lauren Berlant (1998): "Its coherence is always provisional, and its privilege can take several (sometimes contradictory) forms: unmarked, as the basic idiom of the personal and social; or marked as a natural state; or projected as an ideal or moral accomplishment" (cited from Jolly 2011:20).

3.1 A philosophical framework

Conversations between queer and Indigenous theories need to acknowledge that they use different languages, words with different meanings depending on who talks, and concepts are differently defined. Two concepts that recur frequently are *temporality* and *authenticity.*

3.1.2 Temporalities as time constructs

Temporalities are relations to time, for example as a linear relation through past, present and future, whereas *periodisation* organises time, for example by dividing time into the Middle Ages, Age of Enlightenment and the Victorian Era. Different perspectives have different terminologies for time, for example is *history* commonly used. While a Foucauldian analysis uses the term *genealogy*; scholars of colonialism often use *periodisation;* while queer scholars often use *temporality*. How theorists perceive and organize time depends on the specific context, dominant understandings of time generate time-normativity and these time norms usually describe patterns of cisgender and heterosexual behaviours, referred to as *heteronormative temporality* (Dinshaw et al. 2007; Eng & Halberstam 2005). Cishetero time norms can also be considered as *straight time (3.1.2.1)*, not to be confused with linear time; a person can jump in *straight time*, and thus disrupt linearity. Queers and Indigenous peoples also time-jump, but most central: queerness and indigeneity both travels in time. A time-jump is when one disruptively goes backward or forward on the same timeline. Time travel is when one exists in multiple times simultaneously, or repeat timelines, or go to entirely different timelines.

3.1.2.1 Straight time constructs

The phases of our lives are governed by time norms mostly centred on heterosexual marriage and procreation (Wilkinson & Pearson 2013). Time norms occur in technologies of governance, like juridical age limits timing our adolescence and adulthood in relation to, for example, sexual debut, intoxication, driving, education, and work. More socially contingent time norms govern when people ought to move out, graduate, get promoted, find a partner, marry, have children, and so on., as illustrated above the x-axis in Figure 1. Deviating from time norms can cause social friction, from micro-aggressions to systemic marginalization and exclusion. Two such deviations are illustrated underneath the x-axis in Figure 1: entering parenthood too high or too low on the bar marked with x can cause social reactions, further

away from the x cause stronger reactions. The bar with a triangle illustrates a second marriage (or late marriage even), which, depending on local culture, is not considered legitimate marriages. Social friction from life-time deviations typically manifests as questions such as 'are you married yet?' or 'when will there be a baby?'. Time norms are not limited to cisheterosexual marriage and procreation, but I will stick to those as examples, for simplicity sake.
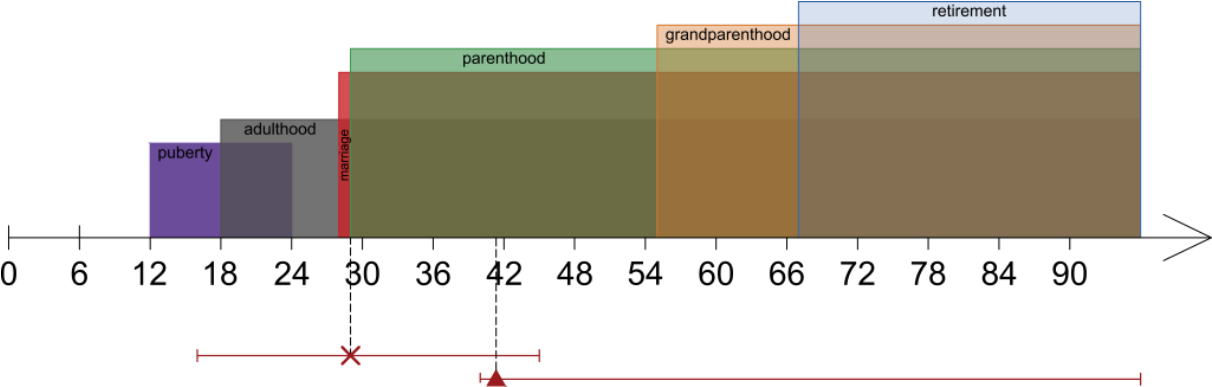
Figure 1: Straight time as a lifetime axis with normative life phases illustrated above the line and potential deviations below the line. (Figure by the author, digitalised by Martina Idžanović).

3.1.2.2 Queer time constructs

As illustrated in Figure 2, queer lifetimes are delayed by marginalization caused by a cisheterosexist societies, a delay also known as *het lag*[11]. Queer lifetimes are delayed due to security issues, for example insecurity of 'coming out' to a hostile social environment and therefore waiting until it is safer, often until adulthood. Delays also happen due to institutionalised marginalization, for example hardship in finding jobs and housing, even if anti-discriminatory law is in place (OECD 2019). Same-sex partners might wait longer to announce their relationship because time verifies the sincerity of the relationship and fends off time related accusations such as 'it's just a phase' or 'they're just experimenting'. Queer partnerships also experience political and juridical hinders that add time-delays to settling down, for example criminalization of same-sex sexuality, marriage, and adoption. Even when legal, settling down take longer time in queer relationships because cisheterosexist bureaucracies alienate queerness.

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[11] *het lag* is a play on words from jet lag, only the disorientation comes from navigating heteronormativity not jet-travel. I have been unsuccessful in finding its origin, but the phrase is used commonly in queer speech.

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Queer time is diverse, but some variations occur more often, like the 'closeted gay' in timeline a) in Figure 2. Being 'closeted' is *non-existence*, because you do not experience life as your authentic self: hetero dating is not a substitute for gay dating, these experiences are not interchangeable, because one is real and the other is violence. Especially 'closeted' teens and young adults experience adolescence as a time of non-existing, because of the security reasons mentioned above. Their existence is literally on hold until they are safe enough to be their authentic selves, without having to rely economically on queerphobic parents nor having the option of moving away from a queerphobic neighbourhood or town. Many closeted teens already live in their queer future, mentally, emotionally, socially, and romantically; waiting to catch up chronologically. Still, 'coming out' can be an ongoing process or happen over a short time and be repetitive as new acquaintances assume you are cisgender and heterosexual.
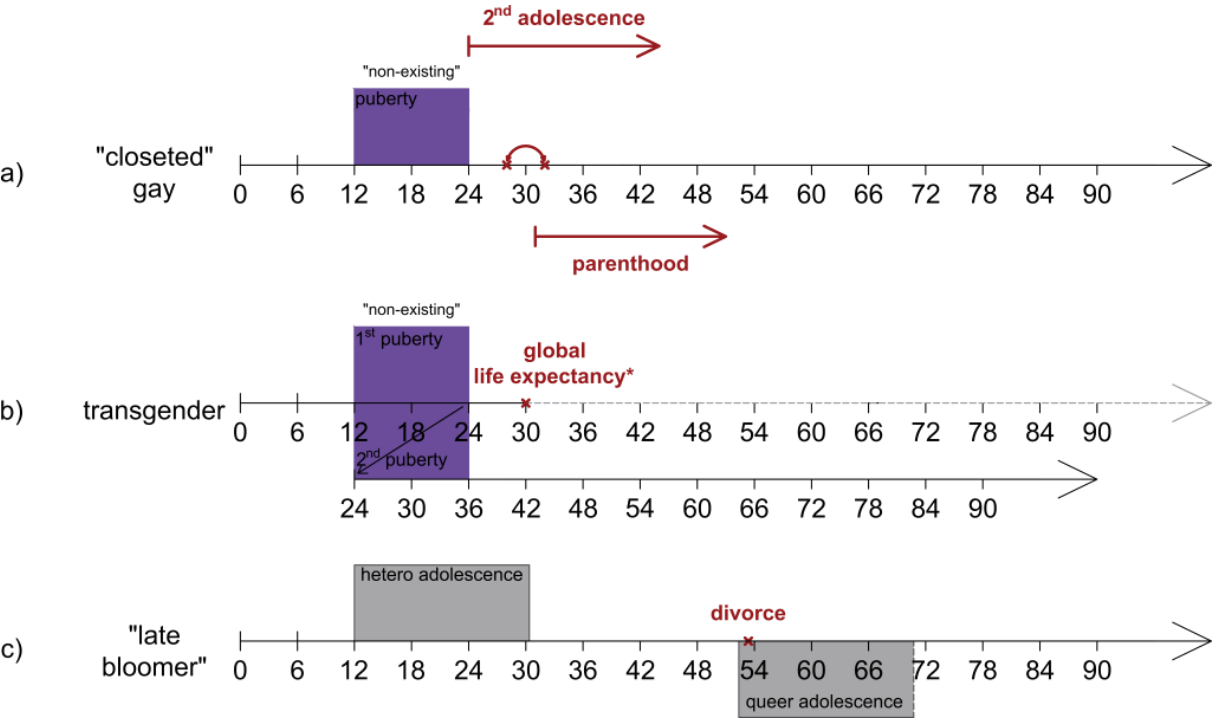
Figure 2: Queer times as three typical lifetimes disrupted by cisheteronormativity. (Figure by the author, digitalised by Martina Idžanović).[12]

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[12] *It has been claimed by trans-activists and organisations that global life-expectancy for transgender individuals is 30 or 35 years, however, there are insufficient data, mostly due to law enforcements and juridical systems not acknowledging queer genders and therefore not coding homicides, suicides and other deaths by correct genders. But organisations such as TGEU (Transgender Europe) and GATE (Trans, Gender Diverse and Intersex Advocacy in Action) are working to monitor and generate data on trans (in)justice.

A different het lag is for example the 'late bloomer', timeline c) in Figure 2, with a heterosexual marriage and grown children, who realise she is lesbian, gets divorced, and start dating women. Perhaps she re-examines, and thereby re-lives, her previous experiences of dating, sexuality, romance, and marriage, now knowing what her attractions and orientation truly are and might always have been. This is a different type of time-delay from a), because her motherhood continues while she also starts a second adolescence in terms of romantic, social, and emotional relations when she starts dating women.

Timeline b) in Figure 2, illustrate time travel by someone who starts transition at the age of 24. All transitions are different, the *timing* is personal and for many also a private moment. Some experience transition as finally welcoming home someone they known for a long time, as finally meeting their authentic selves, or as being born again. In terms of medical transition, the body will re-enter puberty, and physically travel in time while redoing a specific developmental phase. These 'restarts' from jumping out of cishetero time, regardless of chronology, motivates queer terms like 'baby gay' and 'baby trans'. It has nothing with babies to do, but indicates someone new to their identity, who might need extra care, support, and guidance while recovering from het lag.

3.1.2.3 Indigenous and colonial time constructs

Indigenous times are disrupted by colonial time constructs that seek to replace indigeneity, but colonial time constructs can also be replaced, depending on how the Indigenous pasts (pre-colonial) and futures (de-colonial) are weaved together, see Figure 3. Depending on how past and future are connected (theorised), time can replace a colonial future with an Indigenous, and consequently decolonise. In *Our History is the Future*, assistant professor in American Studies Nick Estes (2019) of the Lower Brule Sioux Tribe describes a connection of past and future. For Estes, the Standing Rock[13] movement exemplify anti-colonial battles that has already been fought many times before and will be fought again. Indigenous writings about time recognise how the future is seen in the past, because to build a future you need to imagine it, and pre-colonial images might be better building blocks than many contemporary images. Figure 3 illustrates my interpretation of time from reading Indigenous theory, thus from my position as a white settler, and may not represent Indigenous experience of time.

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[13] Standing Rock Sioux Reservation is where the Dakota Access Pipeline protests happened in 2016.
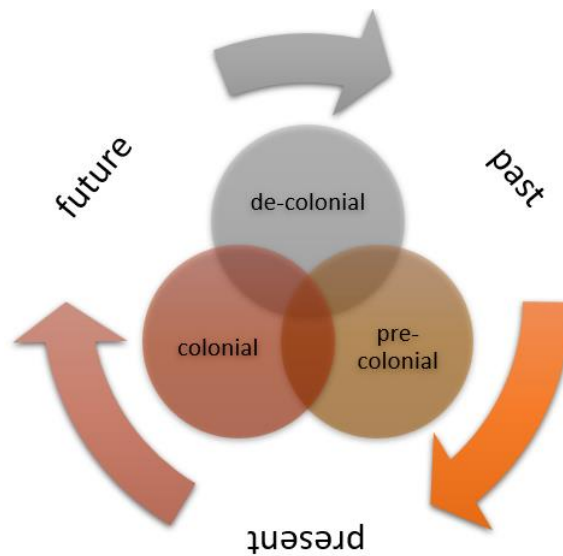
Figure 3: Indigenous and colonial times overlaps but not completely. As the circles indicate, colonialism is a part of the past (pre-colonial), present, and future (de-colonial), but there is also space for indigeneity to consciously manoeuvre in this structure. (Figure by the author).

The term *de-colonial* acknowledge that a *post-colonial* future is not possible. The damage done by colonizers is too extensive. Too much is stolen and destroyed, effectively fragmenting not only Indigenous physical existence, but also Indigenous existence in time. Ancestry is always present through inheritance, such as DNA, items, ideas or environment, we are always surrounded by and connected to ancestral existence. In my understanding, Indigenous epistemologies are more aware of this connection at both an individual and collective level. It troubles the modern (settler) state to be exposed as something temporary, as historical, because settler politics tries to be ahistorical (Morgensen 2011a).

Indigenous scholars often de-base and seek to rectify previous settler "research" on Indigenous peoples (Tuck & Yang 2012). Research like the Maori Sexuality Project on sexual diversity in pre-European Indigenous societies "has uncovered important information about historical concepts of Maori sexuality as it was expressed by our ancestors" (Aspin 2011:116). "This contemporary source of information serves a double purpose of refuting information disseminated by colonial sources and assuring people from sexual minorities today that their sexuality and sexual expression are not vastly different from those of our ancestors and, as such, are parts of our lives of which we should be proud of, rather than ashamed" (Aspin

2011:117). Time carries political power when people are connected to and through time, a secluded and underestimated power.

Time is both specific and abstract, for example in the political context of *tradition*. Political ideologies, progressive and conservative alike, often refer to *tradition* but seldom specify *when*. Because specifying *when* raises the question of *which traditions,* effectively disrupting time-power. The time-power of tradition lies in the unseen, unspoken and unheard, which often makes the ideological use of *traditions* similar to political dog whistling: statements that appear innocent to the general public but subtly communicates a secondary message to an intended group. When dog whistled, *tradition* means 'a time before', before women's emancipation, before gay rights, before gender equality, before the decline of cisheteropatriarchy and white supremacy. *Tradition*, unspecified in time, is a powerful dog whistle, because it mobilises across a public that would otherwise be divided and turn the ideology of a minority into a politics of the majority.

Professor of First Nations and Indigenous Studies, Daniel Heath Justice (2010:13) of Cherokee Nation, calls it 'speech act', and describes how tradition, under colonialism, came to mean different things within Native communities: "*Tradition* is too often an empty word, devoid of intelligible meaning, though incredibly powerful as a speech act. It's generally employed without being defined, as though everyone understands what it's intended to mean or what values it's supposed to convey. Yet the meaning of *tradition* to non-Christian Cherokee ceremonialists is often very different from those of churchgoing Cherokee Baptists or syncretic stomp dance Baptists. To the Cherokee opponents of same-sex desire, tradition seems to affirm a heterocentric version of Judeo-Christian propriety, an oppositional and antagonistic understanding of gendered relationship, procreative-specific sexuality, and a hierarchical value system that pathologizes queer desire and exiles it from the body politics". In section 3.2 and 3.3 I will elaborate on how this hierarchical value system, with its biopolitics, pathologizes and exiles queer and Indigenous desires, and in 3.5.2 I will explain how queer desires can unsettle these social hierarchies.

Time-normativity also applies to the development field, where being ahead, being progressive, is seen as better than falling behind. There is a value bias connected to time and development, hence the idea of 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th world, where 1st world is seen as leading both in development and time. But according to contemporary politics, the future is not always

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the best, as exemplified by the US wishing to be "made great again", searching for a future in their past. But when Indigenous peoples reach for their past to build a future it is seen as reaching for non-developable traditions (Kutzer 2002). This supposedly conundrum of how the white subject can utilize the past, while the racialized subject cannot, will be explored further in section *3.2.1.3*. Both on the global and individual arenas, deviating from time norms can cause frictions, demonstrated with saying as 'they were ahead of their time' or 'they have yet to catch up'. Both indicates a subtle resignation, or an unwillingness to engage with timelines that are not synchronized to dominant time norms. When someone is distant to us in time, we tend to also distance us form them socially and politically.

3.1.3 Existentialism

Existentialism is the philosophy that God is dead, or God has left us. Consequentially we are responsible for our own existence, and for creating our own meanings. Existential responsibility can cause *existential angst*, a type of *anxiety* caused by human existence being *absurd* in its uniqueness and initial meaninglessness. On the *absurd*, we may differentiate between white existentialist and Black existentialist thinking. For white thinkers, *absurdity* was originally philosophized from the perspective of upper middle-class men who found human existence to be boring or meaningless. Black existentialist thinkers, however, describe *absurdity* in the context of colonial human trafficking and being born into slavery based on skin colour (Gordon 2000). I agree that human existence is slightly *absurd*, but the hate, violence, and marginalization we deliberately expose each other to is the true *absurdity*. I write 'deliberately' because we can choose what kind of world we wish to live in: these choices are our *existential responsibilities*.

Our existential responsibility can be carried out with *Authenticity*, or in *Bad Faith*. *Authenticity* refers to living honestly, as your true and best self, while *Bad Faith* is pretending to be something or someone you are not. Like the existing/non-existing dichotomy used to describe living in queer/straight and Indigenous/colonial times in the previous section: a queer person exists in straight time through Bad Faith. This hints at there being different types of or reasons to live in *Bad Faith*. First, *Bad Faith* where you avoid 'finding your true self', an example of not seeking the truth, Second, *Bad Faith* where you know who you are, but you chose to live as someone or something else due to personal preferences, vanity, dishonesties or plain mischief, an example of living on a lie.

Third, when your *Authentic* self is not accepted but you are forced into an existence of *Bad Faith* as a means of survival.

I think these three Bad Faith-approaches to life are familiar to most people, and that we all tend to drift between them. Because specific technologies force queer and Indigenous people into Bad Faith, depending on shifts in dominant society and how individuals assess their own safety. In this thesis I seek to expose such technologies and weave together the critiques from queer theory and Indigenous theory.

Lastly, I draw from existentialism the concept of *the Other* to analyse hierarchical exclusion from dominant society. Status in dominant society may be related to whiteness and being a *universal subject*, while racialized and queered people are *affectable Others*. In most existentialist thought, being -*the Other*- creates further existential anguish and angst, which I understand as heightened by xenophobia, ethnocentrism, and essentialism.

3.2 Lethal European-American essentialism and time norms

Essentialism generates stereotypes and human categories, such as white/Black, male/female, hetero/gay, and so on, and humans socialize more efficient when categorising others based on stereotypical readings of their appearance. However, problems arise when appearance and stereotypes are ranked in social hierarchies, and when people cannot self-ascribe nor unsubscribe identities. Then the essence is no longer authentic, but in bad faith and potentially harmful as people cannot escape their appearances nor how they are categorized and perceived. Appearance is key to essentialism, but also existentialism, as Africana philosopher Lewis Ricardo Gordon (2007:7) reads Frantz Fanon from an existentialist view, and write that "Fanon reminds us that we always appear *as* something. […] The etymology of the word "existence" points to standing out – *ex sistere* – to emerge. Appearance is a form of emergence". Racism and cisheteropatriarchy are harmful, non-consensual, social hierarchies in which appearance such as primary and secondary sex attributes, and skin colours – often divided into 'white' and 'Others' – dictates status. 'Othering' can also be described as Orientalism (Said 1979).

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A common misconception holds that humans only appear as one of two sexes, male or female, a binary that also applies to genders; the popular belief being that humans are either man or woman. But human biology appears like most nature do: arbitrary, fluid, and confusing. There are endless variations of chromosomes, hormones, and physical sex characteristics (genitals, breasts, body hair, and such), underscoring that sexes appear in a spectrum, not in a dichotomy (Holmes 1994). But only a few combinations are deemed representative for the male/female population, the rest are deviations. This narrow interpretation of which bodies are male/female is gender essentialism and is colonial because the genders are defined by European standards and values, which are enforced globally through colonialism and imperialism. The European values that govern sexes and genders come primarily from religious politics and beliefs, while the standards come from Cartesian dualism.

Cartesian dualism works in logics of dichotomies: body and mind, reason and emotion, public and private, male and female, civilized and savage, and so forth. Most importantly, the binaries do not interact but work as opposites. Within Cartesian dualism you only need one category: the default. If a phenomenon does not fit the default category, it belongs to the Other, causing the non-default category to contain more variables than the default one. The defaults for the first category are white European-American sexes, genders, and sexualities. This creates a bias against the second category which is no longer a category but a deviation from Category One. For sexes and genders, the default categories are male and man, as existentialist philosopher and feminist, Simone de Beauvoir (2010), exemplify in her book from 1949 *The Second Sex*. Bias for the default applies not only to sexes, genders, and sexualities, but to the white subject as the universal and default 'Category One', and to 'Others' as deviations from 'Category One'.

Essentialism simplifies colonization and makes it easier to mark who and what is considered BIPOC through myths and stereotypes (Morgensen 2011b). These narratives dehumanise, as teaching professor M. Daphne Kutzer (2002) argues in her book on how white supremacy is educated through children's literature. Once marked, the subject or behaviour is categorized for assimilation, segregation or annihilation (death). For example, when Indigenous languages are criminalised, they are marked for annihilation; when traditional Native livelihoods, like reindeer herding, are exploitable by the colonizer but still considered an Indigenous realm and therefore segregated; and when Indigenous children are potentially not Indigenous adults and must therefore be assimilated through settler boarding

schools or forced adoptions (Jensen & Errata 2013). Essentialising indigeneity creates exploitable stereotypes, with some stereotypes being more lethal than others (Kutzer 2002).

Kutzer (2002:84) lists three lethal colonialist stereotypes of Native Africans: "the noble savage; the bestial savage, prone to cannibalism and other unnamed 'savage rites'; and the childlike savage". Kutzer points out that these stereotypes were applied to Native Americans too, but in a less loathing way than to Native Africans. All three stereotypes provide reasons for the White Man's Burden and showcase technologies used to solve the claimed developmental problems of the stereotypes, and to create colonial order (DuBois 1991). Colonial order severely changes families and communities by implementing the cisheteropatriarchal nuclear family as social structure (Cox 2000), which is a mass scale social experiment that erases queer and Indigenous co-habitations and kinships. Driskill explain how a European nuclear family structure racialised, queered and destroyed as the "incursion of white settlers into Indian land broke up hunting grounds and insisted on nuclear-family-based farming practices, thus directly attacking traditional male and female gender roles. A large part of the goal was to force Indian men into women's work and Indian families into nuclear models, to destroy the core of matrilineal societies based on women's central role in agriculture and forcibly reorient Native cultures to patriarchal, property-based models" (Driskill 2010:18). I will come back to the severity of erasing matrilineal inheritance of status in section 3.5.3.

I will first elaborate on how these stereotypes kill, so we can recognise the mechanisms. The 'childlike savage', the 'underdeveloped', is marked for assimilation, due to potential for becoming modern by renouncing indigeneity, as exemplified at the Carlile Indian School by Richard Pratt's motto: "Kill the Indian, and save the man" (Eastman 1935). Consequences of such schooling is presented by anthropologist and queer scholar Walter Lee Williams (1986:182-3) in his publication on Lakote stories: "By the 1940s, after more Indians had been educated in white schools, or had been taken away in the army, they lost the traditions of respect for *winktes*. The missionaries condemned *winktes*, telling families that if something bad happened, it was because of their associating with a *winkte*. They would not accept *winkte* into the cemetery, saying 'their souls are lost'. Missionaries had a lot of power in the reservation, so the *winktes* were ostracized by many of the Christian Indians". And, from another talking about "the pressures put on *winktes* in the 1920s and 1930s: "The missionaries and agents said *winktes* were no good and tried to get them to change their ways. Some did and put on men's clothing. But others, rather than change, went out and hanged themselves. I

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remember the sad stories that were told about this" (Williams 1986:182). Whether by 'education' or suicide, indigeneity is killed, and community ties broken as the first quote from Williams highlights that together with the death of the *winkte* individual, the cultural identity carried by *winktes* and their relationship with the community also dies.

The 'bestial savage', the 'un-developable', is marked for segregation. Because the person or behaviour cannot be separated from their indigeneity, queerness, or Blackness, hence must the person or behaviour be separated from dominant society. Segregation laws make explicit what dominant society, the white subject, uses to determine itself by separation from the 'Others'. For example, the Norwegian state criminalized Sámi shamanism, rune drums, language and gákti[14], because these were considered so essential Sámi that they were not compatible with also being Norwegian (Jensen & Errata 2013; Olsen 2010). In contrast, Norway segregated reindeer herding businesses and the Sámi families associated with the livelihood. Reindeer herding was not criminalised because the settler state can exploit it as a segregated Sámi business strictly regulated by the settler state (Jensen & Errata 2013; Olsen 2010).

The 'noble savage' myth feeds an idea that Indigenous populations are dying (Kutzer 2002) and that modern development will just run its natural course. A declining Indigenous population is deemed to excuse settler colonialism, because someone (the settler) must utilize the future lands as the Indigenous populations wither (Tuck & Yang 2012). This rhetoric justifies contemporary policies that force Indigenous peoples off their lands in the name of development and modernity. Indigenous people are erased so the settler state can come to life (Morgensen 2011a). Smith (2010) applies philosopher and gender theorist Judith Butler's (2011) critique of 'origin stories', and queer theorist Lee Edelman's (2004) 'future Child' to describe oppressive policies as supported by logics of the past and narratives of a future of inevitable development in which the future Child is the beneficiary of contemporary political interventions.

Incorporating the future Child into contemporary politics is not bad. Responsible policies are accountable to future generations. The problem is that the future Child is imagined as white (Edelman 2004). Thus, Smith (2010:47) concludes, "normative futurity depends on an

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[14] A piece of traditional Sámi clothing.

'origin story'. The future is legitimated as a continuation of the past", a past narrated by white history to imagine a white future. Further, Cuban-American queer theorist José Esteban Muñoz (2007:363) states that Edelman's future Child is "indeed always already white", as "racialized kids, queer kids, are not the sovereign princes of futurity". Smith (2010:48) adds that "the Native child may already be queered". The affectable subject is a genealogical subject (Povinelli 2006), "trapped within tradition, determined by the past and the future" (Smith 2010:48). Both queer and Indigenous theory can disrupt the politics of futurity and traditions. Queer theory's anti-normativity combined with Indigenous theory's anticolonialism gives a broader and deeper critique of politics of past, present and future.

3.3 Erasing queer and Indigenous voices in a globally white world

Understanding how and why queer and Indigenous voices are erased from conversations in global development will help us learn to listen and thereby unmute queer and Indigenous conversations. As alluded to in Chapter 1, nation states are inherently exclusive, because "the basic biological features of the human species [has become] the object of political strategy" (Foucault 1978:1). This strategy marks Others as different and lesser humans, e.g. through racialisation and queering, and the mark is death. Cameroonian philosopher Achille Mbembe (2008) describe mechanisms of this strategy as necropolitics: the use of social and political power to dictate how some people may live and Others must die. Or, as Morgensen (2011a:54) writes, citing Foucault, the sovereign state "enacts the power to 'make' live or 'let' die". Terminology from different scholars overlap, but I think biopolitics describe how some people may live, and necropolitics as how Others may die. Together, biopolitics and necropolitics generate the biopower that ensures a state's sovereignty over its polity.

Necropolitics and biopolitics create one another, and together they construct sovereign power, and sovereignty exerts both necropolitics and biopolitics to establish order. Disrupting the order of the sovereign state results in the exclusion of the disrupter, and this *logic of elimination* constitutes the *state of exception* (Agamben 1998; Agamben 2000; Wolfe 1999). The state of exception applies to queered and racialised bodies as Othered from heterosexual whiteness, an exception which forces silence and erasure from a logic of elimination; queered and racialized voices must not speak (loudly), must not exist (visibly). The logic of elimination is trackable in genocides of BIPOC; in pathologizing and/or criminalisation of queers who

therefore are forced through 'therapy' and/or locked up; in colonial exploitation of and settlerism on Indigenous lands; in mandatory heterosexuality; in lack of recognition for Indigenous sovereignty, and so on. These exemplify how necropolitics kill directly, or indirectly through social, economic, and political exclusions of the *homo sacer*.

Morgensen (2011a:54) describes *homo sacer* as exposed to a logic of elimination by being "killed without being sacrificed or made subject to homicide". The *homo sacer* is a concept from Roman law, which is the juridical origins of Western law, and the concept is that of being an exception to the law, of being outlawed by a paternal state. Casting outlaws exemplify how a sovereign state establishes order through a biopolitical body, further, "it can even be argued that the production of a biopolitical body is the original activity of sovereign power" (Agamben 1998:6), because those who do not conform to the biopolitics of the sovereign power are ruled out. And the biopolitical body of sovereign state power is that of racism, or more precisely; *whiteness*, because sovereign state power is constructed on a white state exported through European-American imperialism and colonialism.

Australian anthropologist and ethnographer Patrick Wolfe (2006:338) argues that "settler colonizers come to stay: invasion is a structure not an event". The structure Wolfe theorizes is a biopolitical one, where the elimination of indigenous people is "not to destroy, but to produce life, as in methods to [merge] Indigenous peoples, cultures and land into the body of the settler nation" (Morgensen 2011a:56). The biopolitical structure of settler colonization is meant to replace Indigenous life with modern life (Ellinghaus 2009), because the modern nation state is a monocultural constitution, and Indigenous life challenges the constitution of a monocultural state (Jensen & Errata 2013). Colonialism and imperialism have structured the modern global world and continue to do so because colonial social and political ideas, legislations, economic theories, and order still exists in global institutions and structures: "settler colonialism made Western law spatially nonspecific and demonstrably universal, long prior to modern mechanisms of global governance" (Morgensen 2011a:66). European-American imperialism and colonialism exports white nation states and a white Christianity that brings a white God, white Jesus and white Salvation.

White state building brings white order, white leaders, white bureaucracy, white democracy, and general *whiteness*. Whiteness is spawned from racism and is not only a skin colour but an ideal existence, a way of life and set of statuses. Whiteness include behaviours

and appearances coded as 'white' because they mimic white subjects (Morgensen 2011a), meaning that whiteness is *performed*, not just obtained. Professor of Gender, Race, Sexuality and Social Justice Denise Ferreira da Silva (2007) explains that the mechanisms behind whiteness constructs the white subject as *universal* and self-determined, situated against the racialized Other who are *affectable* subjects to natural conditions and the self-determined power of the western subject. Whiteness is the mechanism behind European-American imperialism and colonialism, which has created a globally white world with marginal time and space for Others to exist.

In a globally white world, to avoid exposure to necropolitics, everyone reaches for whiteness and universality, but the game is rigged. White-skinned people also reach for whiteness, though it is readily available for us because we can be both white and White. Smith (2010:44) argues that within a colonial logic "Native particularity cannot achieve universal humanity without fundamentally becoming 'inauthentic'". This is because 'Nativeness' is constructed as the Other of western subjectivity, and inevitably positioned at the 'horizon of death' (Da Silva 2007) in a white future. There is a higher cost for BIPOCs who must renounce their Otherness, their authentic selves, to achieve whiteness. A whiteness that can be taken away any time, or might always be out of reach, because many queers and BIPOCs cannot hide the appearances of their basic biological features that are objects for political strategies such as cisheterosexism, racism, and colonialism[15]. Whiteness is not sustainable for non-whites and we must question what a globally white world implies for global development.

The implications whiteness has for global development must be scrutinised, because whiteness can also be performed by institutions, such as nation states, the UN and the SDGs. DuBois (1991:10) argues that "development is the process that has as its goal the restructuring of the behaviour and practices of individuals and populations (or the introduction of new ones)", and in that regard is it detrimental for human existence that conversations on global development is dominated by UNs 193 member states. These do not discuss the underlying causes of abuse, exclusion, exploitation, and unfair distribution of resources done by states, and

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[15] In the face of death, one must fight, as trans activists Marsha P. Johnson and Sylvia Rivera did when they, and many others, rioted against police raids at Stonewall Inn during 1969. Johnson and Rivera were Black transgender women whose biological features made them highly visibly as Other and therefore targets for political strategies, such as gay bar raids and police brutality. With whiteness out of reach the Stonewall Inn police riots are examples of self-defence against necropolitics.

therefore are the SDGs not a universal development but a development of universalism, which is a racialised project. Dominant discourse lack conversations about world views and make it seems like an implicit goal to enrol the world into a European-American world view of a predominantly white future. The main problem for me is that the targets and indicators often reflect western civilisation, capitalism and individualism. It is almost as if a 'measure of development' is a 'measure of difference' from western society, which makes me wonder if the SDGs is a continuation of *la mission civilisatrice.*

If so, it echoes the White Man's Burden of 'teaching development' to non-western states and societies deemed 'underdeveloped', as expressed by British coloniser Edward Wakefield writing to the British Empire from Aotearoa (New Zealand) in 1815 – 1853: "The New Zealanders are not savages properly speaking, but a people capable of civilization. A main object will be to do all that can be done for inducing them to embrace the language, customs, religion, and social ties of the superior race" (Erai & Pitama 2011:73). Whether one perceive universal global development to be a civilisation project depends on how one theorises civilisation (Cox 2000), but I am afraid the global development field still perceive white European-American society as the ideal for civilisation, because that is what the SDGs targets and indicators describe. But one cannot apply a universal scale of development, especially if based on the 'First World' as DuBois (1991:25) argues in *Governance of the Third World*: "one cannot deny the existence of certain political, economic, and social conditions of existence that threaten life itself, but 'underdevelopment', one interpretation of these conditions, is a construction". The same applies to 'developed'; the idea that some countries, cultures or economies are more developed, more progressed, is a construct. Predatory, capitalist modernity and economic growth increases material quality of life for some people for a short period of time, but at the expense of human existence and our habitats, hence, are the most 'developed' regions least able uphold human life. Which cannot be called development but rather destruction, thus the necessity to ask what alternatives can be unmuted from Other conversations.

3.4 Lessons between queer and Indigenous perspectives

This section examines what we can learn from conversations between queer and Indigenous theories with implications for global development and for counter-hegemonic alliances. I will start with the perspectives talking with each other in context of global development, then transition to the perspectives talking together on global development.

3.4.1 Intellectual sovereignty through a subjectless critique

Indigenous theory can incorporate a *subjectless critique* from queer theory. A subjectless critique redirects focus from generating theory on queer subjects, to generating queer theory (Warner 1993:xxvi). Adapting a subjectless critique provides Indigenous studies with a method to critique colonialism rather than to describe Indigenous people (Driskill 2011:21). Indigenous scholars can expand a subjectless critique to a discourse that reclaims intellectual sovereignty (Warrior 1992) and "places Native people as producers of theory and not simply as objects of analysis" (Smith 2010:45). Professor of American Literature and Culture Robert Warrior (1992) of Osage Nation points out that intellectual sovereignty is not to be equated with intellectual isolationism. Naming and claiming builds authority, and Indigenous scholars have the authority to name and claim Indigenous concepts and theory, and a subjectless critique can "demonstrate that Native studies is an intellectual project that has broad applicability not only for Native people but for everyone" (Smith 2010:46). To clarify, applying Indigenous theory or queer theory 'for everyone' does not mean that it is a post-identarian critique, and this is important because in a globally white world post-identarian perspectives risk centring whiteness.

Scholars such as Sarita See (2017) and Hiram Perez (2005) who do queer of colour theory argue that a subjectless post-identity critique "often retrenches white middle-class identity while disavowing it" (Driskill 2011:46). Centring white middle-class has been a challenge in both queer culture and theory. In *Fear of a Queer Planet* social theorist Michael Warner (1993) concedes that queer culture has been dominated by those with capital: typically middle-class white men. Warner also argues that post-modern social movements tend "to rely on very modern notions of authenticity, of culture as an assured meaning and source of identity. Queer culture will not fit this bill…because queer politics does not obey the member/non-member logics of race and gender", cited by Driskill (2011:47) who responds to Warner that,

"if queerness is dominated by whiteness […] then it also follows a logic of belonging and not belonging. It also relies on a shared culture – one based on white supremacy". Therefore, is the sharing queer and Indigenous perspectives so powerful; when listening to each other's critiques, we can produce theory that applies a subjectless anticolonial critique while not centring whiteness.

When not specifying a subject, the universal subject is usually assumed to be white. The point of a subjectless critique is not to transgress identity in a post-identarian critique, but to analyse structures that marks the subject without singular focus on the subject. It is possible to perform a subjectless critique without losing sight of subjectivity and is necessary because thinking one is objective can fool one into thinking one is not making assumptions or affected by norms. Sexuality as is a colonial tool for order (Stoler 1995; Stoler 2010), and the queer subject is also a settler, so a subjectless queer theory that fails to address colonialism conceals whiteness (Driskill 2011; Perez 2005). Objectivity may embed hegemonic subjectivity, but norms are not objective, although it is dangerously easy to think so because hegemonic norms are naturalised until they are perceived as neutral. But nothing is neutral in global development policies; everyone must choose, and, in those choices, one is navigating between authenticity and bad faith. Blindly abiding to hegemonic norms is bad faith, a pretence of objectivity.

3.4.2 Holding queer theory accountable for its whiteness

Indigenous theory exposes and holds queer theory accountable for its whiteness, and queer theory must learn from this critique by incorporating anticolonial perspectives. Since cisheteropatriarchy is a colonial tool for order, is also decolonisation queer (Morgensen 2011b; Stoler 1995) and critiquing colonial cisheteropatriarchy thus intersect both queer and Indigenous organising (Driskill 2011). Decolonisation challenges power relations in settler society (Morgensen 2011c), which queer movements are a part when centring on minority politics. When queer movements identify as sexual minorities, they also identify the multicultural nation state as emancipator, with the responsibility of ensuring formal liberation and equality: "Defining gender or sexual liberation in civil rights or multicultural inclusion makes the settler state the horizon of freedom and reinforces settler authority on Native land" (Morgensen 2011c:143). Queer movements that identify as sexual minorities may end up as assimilative, if their liberation comes from mimicking the oppressor, from fighting for equality by mimicking cisheterosexuals.

Queer liberation becomes assimilative and self-defeats as emancipation if it mimics heteronormativity. For example, marriage equality is not only about equal love, but about accessing the same rights and privileges as cisheterosexual partnerships. These include having legal status as next of kin if something happens to your partner(s), for example to be eligible for (conjugal) visits in prison or other institutions; guardianship and decisive authority on medical situations if partner is incapable to decide themselves; custody and parental status as adoptive or stepparent; tax benefits such as co-signing mortgages; legal inheritance if partner dies[16], etcetera. By fighting for marriage equality, I fear that queer movements will accept that marriage holds such privileges, when the queer movement should rather dismantle matrimonial privileges. Further, queer critique of mandatory monogamy (Moen & Sørlie 2018) juxtaposes queer movements for marriage equality if queer marriage is to be the same as cisheteropatriarchal marriage. To be queer is to be radical, to fight for queer families, the disruptive constellations of uncle-aunts, mom-dads, Dad and Daddy, Mom and Mommy. Equality through liberating sexual minorities is not a fight for queer families to be queer, but for queer families to be considered straight.

Queer movements can avoid assimilative liberation if they incorporate anticolonial perspectives. But queer organising must also hold itself accountable to Indigenous theory, thereby expand and hopefully move towards a more emancipatory position. Morgensen (2010:113) points out that, "queer people who, while familiar with unsettling the lives of straights, must learn to unsettle their own and all non-Natives lives by critiquing their formation by settler colonialism". Morgensen (2011c:132) makes the fair point that however 'unsettling' queer organizing is, it has failed to thoroughly address settler colonialism, despite Native queer and Two-Spirit organisers who "have long explained how settler colonialism, gender, and sexuality interrelate in one another's lives, for Native people generally, and for non-Natives". As Morgensen points out, "this cannot be absorbed by their focus on citizenship in the settler state […] Truly confronting it will challenge non-Natives sense of belonging to themselves as much as to the settler state or stolen land" (Morgensen 2011c:134). If queer scholars find themselves not belonging to the settler state, it does not mean that they belong to the Native state. This alliance requires white and non-Indigenous scholars to properly engage with Indigenous perspectives, not to appropriate them.

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[16] Wen same-sex couple cannot marry, it enables their potentially homophobic children to claim full inheritance and thus make the remaining partner both homeless and financially insecure as a form of revenge.

Queer theory's incorporation of Indigenous theory is not hybridization either: us non-Indigenous scholars cannot produce Indigenous theory, but can centre Indigenous scholars as knowledge producers, and hold our selves accountable by applying anticolonial critiques to our work. Unangax, Aleut-member and professor of Critical Race and Indigenous Studies Eve Tuck and professor of Social and Cultural Studies, Wayne K. Yang, warns that, "the settler intellectual who hybridizes decolonial thought with Western critical traditions (metaphorizing decolonization), emerge superior to both Native intellectuals and continental theorists simultaneously" (Tuck & Yang 2012:16). Tuck and Yang are not arguing for intellectual separatism but warns that hybridization will almost certainly centre the settler and erase the Native. This is also why queer Indigenous scholars such as Driskill (2011) uses 'conversations' to describe how the theories can cooperate. Queer theory must not fall for the white subject as the universal queer subject (again), as "...the meeting of queer and Native studies is neither new nor clean. It is not and cannot be a carefree, joyous meeting and greeting, caring and sharing. […] The project of thinking these fields together has to acknowledge this 'dirty history' and then still be able to talk about comradeship. […] to see the connections that might allow us to say that Native studies and queer studies challenge and nurture each other *from within*" (Justice et al. 2010:14). The white settler intellectual must repeatedly un-centre whiteness, and remind themselves before, during, and after such conversations, to not re-centre settler perspectives; the decolonial thought must come to the settler mind, not the other way around.

Justice (2010:22) asks if it is "possible that queer studies needs Native studies more than the other way around?" and the answer is yes. I think queer studies risk assimilation into a society where we accept being minorities, mistaking liberation for emancipation. And queer organising risk positioning ourselves so that we empower settler states and colonial social hierarchies, rather than emancipating all queerness. Queer studies need anticolonial theory to understand what positions we participate in, and where it is possible to manoeuvre.

3.4.3 Queering Native Nation building

Indigenous Nations, Tribes and communities are already queered because a tribal relation is a queer relation vis-à-vis the liberal settler state (Justice & Rifkin 2010; Miranda et al. 2011). Since the Indigenous Nation is not organised as the settler state and does not conform to colonial gender roles or social hierarchies, the Indigenous Nation is portrayed as disorderly, uncivilised and savage. Therefore, the settler state must carry the White Man's

Burden and bring "order" to a queer Indigenous Nation where Indigenous people must become modern 'men' and 'women', as the universal white subject is man and woman. Sexuality is a colonial tool for order in a queered Indigenous Nation. Today "articulations of Native governance and sovereignty often mimic the logics of the settler state rather than draw on forms of Indigenous governance" (Smith 2010:59). This mimicking is a Hegelian politics of recognition is problematised by numerous scholars (e.g. Fanon 1952, 1967; hooks 1990: Coulthard 2006), as it erases authentic Indigeneity.

In a globally white world, Native Nation building risks mimicking the settler nations, including their cisheterosexuality and patriarchy. "Heteropatriarchy has become so natural in many Native communities that it is internalized and institutionalized as if it were traditional" (Finely 2011:34), and this causes a second wave imperialism of sexuality when queer Natives are accused of breaking traditions. Professor in History and Native American Studies, Jennifer Nez Denetdale (2005) of Diné/Navajo tells of Navajo youth who move to urban areas in search of a queer community, because the Navajo Nation "mirror[s] the US nation by relying on homophobia and heteropatriarchy to establish national belonging" (Finley 2011:39). In 2004 the Cherokee Nation banned same-sex marriage, and in April 2005 the Navajo Nation did the same, "despite a veto by the Nation's president and public objections by traditionalist elders" (Justice et al. 2010). "Historically, Maori society, as with other Indigenous populations, was characterized by its acceptance and celebration of sexual diversity. It is only within contemporary Maori society that efforts have been made to constrain and restrict diverse and multiple expressions of sexuality" (Aspin 2011:113). But "How may the increased visibility of queer Native people affect the ways sovereignty and peoplehood are conceptualized and lived?" (Rifkin 2010A:34). I think it entirely disorders the development of a globally white world.

There are two distinct ways the visibility of queer Native people affects how sovereignty and peoplehood is conceptualised. One is that it affects relationships to land and thereby state formations, which I will come back to in section 3.5.3. The other is the way we identify with peoplehood as part of a biopolitical body. The visibility of queer Native people challenges the "original activity of sovereign power" (Agamben 1998/2000) and the way producing a biopolitical body is contingent on a logic of elimination. Professor in American culture and scholar on race and gender Chris Finley (2011:32) of Colville Confederated Tribes asks how "the queering of Native bodies affect Native sovereignty struggles?". One answer is that it decimates the efforts of Native resistance because the

queering enables a nexus of oppressive systems to lock in place simultaneously. Within the queering, Native bodies are entrapped, racialized, infantilized, outlawed, and marked for death, all at the same time. By subjugating the Native body to a queering by European-American ethnocentric modernity, there are too many battles to be fought at the same time for Indigenous sovereignty to be imaginable. This means that Native Nations, Tribes and communities must achieve sovereignty as their authentic selves, not as mimics of their settlers.

Mirroring the settler state is not an ideal model for Native Nation building and will not construct an authentic Native sovereignty, but separatism is also a difficult manoeuvre though potentially a more emancipatory trajectory. The issue of positionality in Native Nation building resembles the critique of queer organizing for assimilative liberation rather than authentic emancipation. At this intersection, I wish to bring José Esteban Muñoz into the conversation, because he talks about a tool that can alleviate the issues of mimicry, assimilation, separatism and politics of recognition: namely disidentification.

3.4.4 Disidentification can shift mimicry to authenticity

Muñoz (1999:11) introduces disidentification as "the third mode of dealing with dominant ideology, one that neither opts to assimilate within a structure nor strictly oppose it; rather, disidentification is a strategy that works on and against dominant ideology". Dominant ideology created the narratives of noble, bestial, and childlike savages, of gender non-conformity and homosexuality as diseases of the mind and morals and countering these narratives from a position of disidentification allows for a wider political mobility. Muñoz (1999) equates disidentification with Gramsci's war of position. Rather than carving out political space in a globally white world, disidentification enables us to build time and space outside dominant ideology by not succumbing to the narratives of dominant discourse. In part, Indigenous organising already does this when re-imagining a future from the past, as Estes (2019) does in *Our History is the Future*. I will argue that an important use of Muñoz's disidentification it to connect it with political time constructs.

It is not enough to disidentify with contemporary hegemonies and dominant discourse. Queer and Indigenous movements must also disidentify with narratives of the past and with politics of futurity that leaves us to die. Defying both time and position in a globally white world enables authentic emancipation because it deconstructs dominant discourse and offers a narrative where we survive, where we escape necropolitical

mechanisms: "Through disidentification, other critiques emerge that centralize Native peoples, Nations, identities, land bases, and survival tactics, which can be called Two-Spirit critiques" (Driskill 2010:79). Two-Spirit critiques name and claim Indigenous intellectual sovereignty, as they "neither identify as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or queer, nor as transgender, but will refer to themselves by the term appropriate for their specific gender status in their respective culture, such as *nádleeh* (Navajo), *tainna wa'ippe* (Shoshone), *dubads* (Paitue), and so on" (Lang 2016:304). And here lies much of the authentic emancipation from a colonizing and dominant discourse and from hegemonic academia.

Two-Spirit is a pan-Indigenous term that Native Americans started using around the early 1990's, which de-centres masculinism, and is used in opposition to or together with settler terms like gay, lesbian, trans, queer, and so on (Gilley 2006). Two-Spirit is a term that reclaim language and intellectual sovereignty, while also separating sexuality from gender. Within colonial cisheteronormativity, desire is mixed with gender aesthetics, expressions and appearances. For example, when a man crosses the lines of gender or mixes gender aesthetics, this behaviour is associated with same-sex preferences, and he is assumed to be homosexual. His desire is conflated with his aesthetics. This is the sexual objectification with emphasis on gender construction. Using the term Two-Spirit also works "to separate American Indian gay experience from non-Native gays and lesbians" (Gilley 2011:127).

Two-Spirit critiques are examples of how Indigenous theory can re-centre and re-claim their subject without using a subjectless critique, because Two-Spirit organising applies a "*disidentification* with intellectual strategies" (Rifkin et al. 2010:25-6). Two-Spirit critique speaks its own body into existence rather than abide to the biopolitical body of settler states or argue with dominant discourse. Also, disidentifying with the universally white queer subject enables queer Indigenous people and Two-Spirits to travel in time and reconfigure sovereignty, both intellectually and politically by using their own discourse rather than settler-discourse. Here lies an important difference between Indigenous movements and queer movements, because "while radical non-Native queer movements formulate queerness as oppositional and antinormative, Two-Spirit critiques locate Two-Spirit and queer Native identities as integrated into larger Indigenous worldviews and practices. […] In this way, radical Two-Spirit politics are not oppositional in the way radical queer movements are; they seek to create and maintain balanced relationships and power dynamics in our communities as part of decolonial activism" (Driskill 2010:86). The queer movements do not have an oppositional

alternative: we have to dismantle the power relations of cisheteropatriarchal nation states for our authentic emancipation, and therefore is queer organising also anticolonial organising.

3.4.5 Queer anticolonial organising unsettles whiteness

Authentic emancipatory queer organizing is anticolonial organizing, even when performed by white non-Indigenous queers, just like anticolonialism is queer emancipation. "Centering scholarship on how settlement shapes queer formations and the state will create spaces where the powers of sexuality and settlement together can be interrogated and transformed" (Morgensen 2010:125). Disidentification affects queer organising's tendency to centre a white subject as universal and reading universal queerness onto Indigenous non-conformity. Queer organising must move from opposing cisheteropatriarchy to opposing colonial cisheteropatriarchy. By centring other voices and other producers of theory than the queer white settler, we will be able to formulate a counter-hegemonic critique worthy of alliance.

Anticolonial queer theory can unsettle social hierarchies in settler society and offer a place where settlers can move away from colonialism. Queer movements must advocate queer family structures and redefine western social relations. Instead of a cisheteropatriarchy, we need new understanding of sexualities and families, which are neither appropriation of Indigenous non-conformity nor a continuation of cisheteropatriarchal whiteness. "A first step for non-Native queers thus can be to examine critically and challenge how settler colonialism conditions their lives, as a step toward imagining new and decolonial sexual subjectivities, cultures, and politics" (Morgensen 2010:124). In this position, queer anticolonial organising is important for Indigenous emancipation and sovereignty, because anticolonial queer movements are key to unsettling power relations in settler society from within.

3.5 Queer unsettling of power relations in a globally white development

White cisheteropatriarchy in European-American civilisation have travelled globally in two distinct 'waves'; first during European colonialism; and secondly during neo-liberal globalization (Drucker 2009). The first wave manifested heterosexuality and patrilineality as written into colonial state laws and constitutions of colonised lands and nations, causing cisheteropatriarchy to be interpreted as tradition today. The second

wave travels along with neo-liberal economics and politics through international development agencies, aid programmes, human rights, and the globalization of a queer movement (Drucker 2015). Yet, the first wave of patriarchy, queerphobia, and mandatory heterosexuality continues, since the "ideologies of straightness [that] informed settler understandings of Native family formation, homemaking, and residency" (Rifkin et al. 2010:24) are still prevalent today. The second wave of Western sexuality collides with the first when African leaders claim that homosexuality is a Western disease and therefore 'un-African' (Wahab 2016).

3.5.1 Sexuality as a colonial tool for order

This first wave of white cisheteropatriarchy started because "colonialism needs heteropatriarchy to naturalize hierarchies and unequal gender relations. Without heteronormative ideas about sexuality and gender relationships, heteropatriarchy and therefore colonialism, would fall apart" (Finley 2011:34). Smith (2010:61) writes that this mis-match in social hierarchies observed "when colonist first came to America", consequently highlighted "the necessity of instilling patriarchy in Native communities because they realized that Indigenous peoples would not accept colonial domination if their own Indigenous societies were not structured on the basis of social hierarchy. Patriarchy, in turn, rests on a gender-binary system; hence it is no coincidence that colonizers also targeted Indigenous peoples who did not fit within the binary model". The colonial state construct Native people as non-cisheteronormative, since they do not conform to cisheteropatriarchy (Finley 2011:33), e.g. by not conforming to patrilinear inheritance of status, not having private ownership to land, and not organising society into a productive-reproductive nuclear family.

Driskill (2011:35) suggests that all "sexualization of Native peoples constructs them as incapable of self-governance without a heteropatriarchal influence that Native people do not 'naturally' possess". Particularly queered are Native men, who "are read as non-heteronormative because Native men do not correctly practice heteropatriarchy and govern Native women and children" (Finley 2011:36). Native men have an "effeminized male leadership that invited and justified conquest" (Morgensen 2010:112), and it is the White Man's Burden to educate the underdeveloped by bringing morality and modernity to Indigenous communities that lack 'order' in their 'primitive sexuality and social structures'. Following the mechanisms of necropolitics, it is not possible to develop into modernity without renouncing your authentic self. Bethany Schneider (2007:606-7) argues that "policies aimed at assimilating Indians through the destruction of kinship structure figured Indian cultures as other than

heteronormative in order to reinvent and assimilate them as straight, private-property-owning, married citizens".

Colonialism thus develops and educates affectable Others into white cisheteropatriarchy, e.g. by training young Indigenous girls into becoming proper women. "These intentions are exemplified by the reflections of Miss Freda Lily Sharp, a teacher at Rakaumuanga Native School, Huntly, [Aotearoa/New Zealand]: "[T]he status of the Maori girl becomes increasingly important. She is the wife and mother of the future generation; she is going to be responsible for the perpetuation of the Maori people as race; on her influence will be moulded the characters and habits of men and women who will be future citizens of our state. Above all, the girls must be equipped with a sound set of morals, a distinct notion of what is right and what is wrong, habits of cleanliness which will become part of their make-up, and a good basic knowledge of cooking and how to run a house economically, intelligently and hygienically" (Erai & Pitama 2011:75). This 'schooling' is what Rev. John Morgan (1859) saw as the distinction between "sinking to the Maori level, or rise to that of Europeans", as he explicitly puts it: "Our first duty and object therefore was to endeavour to raise them to the European Standard" (Erai & Pitama 2011:75). The self-determined White Man's Burden weighs heavily on the Reverends shoulders.

3.5.2 Sexuality governs our relationships to land and sovereignty

Western civilisation and modernity operate with capitalism, private property, and patrilinear inheritance of ownerships and status, all which govern how we relate to each other, land, and the state. Also "Indigenous gender and sexual identities are intimately connected to land, community and history" (Driskill 2010:73), but "in the process of settler colonialism, land is remade into property and human relationships to land are restricted to the relationship of the owner to his property. Epistemological, ontological, and cosmological relationships to land are interred, indeed made pre-modern and backward. Made savage" (Tuck & Yang 2012:5). The individualism of western modernity causes the white subject to focus on themselves as singular, a sort of introverted quest for self. While Indigenous perspectives are more concerned with the relational: who you are in connection to others and how communities exist and relates collectively, a more extrovert search for self[5]. A pluralistic approach to oneself and the collective challenges colonial order.

For example, colonial and settler law restrict status of inheritance to patrilines, a jurisdiction that nullify Indigenous women's inherited statuses and ties to their Indigenous Nations (Morgensen 2012; Smith 2010). Aboriginal women activists in Canada and New Zealand have exposed and opposed the patrilineality in settler laws even up to today (Morgensen 2011a; Smith 2013), demanding that the laws change, and repercussions be made. "Lawrence argues that the Act already had achieved 'statistical genocide': with over 25 000 women between 1876 and 1985 having had status rescinded, estimates range that from one to two million descendants of these women are incapable of asserting legally-recognised Indigenous identity in Canada, and remain removed from relationship with or even awareness of their peoples and lands" (Morgensen 2011a:63). The rescinding of women's Indigenous status makes it so that, statistically, the 'noble savage', the dying native, is a reality. Patrilinear inheritance of status is only effective if families are structured as cisheterosexual nuclei, because more flexible forms of kinship make it easier to pass on status through other inheritance lines.

Sexuality also governs how nations are built and our understanding of sovereignty. Land must be constructed as "private" for the nation-sate to exist, as the state is a sovereign administration within a specific territory with clear geographical borders. This is also one of the root causes to why Indigenous Nations are not respected by western states. And it is difficult to imagine western states respecting the sovereignty and integrity of Indigenous Nations, if the western states do not first change their own relations to land. Smith (2011:59-61) reports from the 2009 World Social Forum (WSF), that there seemed to merge a consensus that "Indigenous liberation depends on global liberation from the nation state form of governance". Other arguments from the 2009 WSF was that "once land is not seen as property, then nationhood does not have to be based on exclusive control of territory. If sovereignty is more about being responsible for land, then nationhood can engage all those who fulfil responsibilities for land" (Smith 2011:61). This vision challenges what national belonging mean, what statehood and citizenship are, as it shifts from focusing on citizens as subjected to a state, to people belonging to the land in the capacity of taking responsibility for that land.

Land not seen as property creates a form of national belonging that is not definitionally exclusivist and hold the potential to absolve issues of *homo sacer*. "Sovereignty, when defined as my right to be responsible … requires a relationship with territory (and not a relationship based on control of that territory) … What must be understood then is that

Aboriginal request to have our sovereignty respected is really a request to be responsible. I do not know of anywhere else in history where a group of people have had to fight so hard just to be responsible." (Monture-Angus 1999:36). Land as property creates a statehood based on a childish notion that if you own the land you can order people off it. As Genevan philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau writes in *Discourse*[17]: "The first person who, having enclosed some land, took it upon himself to say "This is mine", and found people simpleminded enough to believe him, was the true founder of civil society... How many crimes, wars, murders, miseries and horrors, would that man have saved the human species, who pulling up to the stakes or filling up the ditches should have cried to his fellows: Don't listen to this imposter; you are lost, if you forget that the fruits of the earth belong equally to us all, and the earth to nobody!" (Rousseau 1992:44). Misinterpreting Earth is key prerequisite for interpreting land as commodity and thinking that a nation can be a sovereign state with exclusive control over land as territory.

3.5.3 Anticolonial queer desire for unsettling social hierarchies -changing our relationships to sexuality, land, and sovereignty

Sexuality is a colonial discourse, produced through biopower, which makes sexuality a place of decolonial resistance. Decolonising sexuality includes decolonising colonially imposed social hierarchies of gender and sexuality. Anticolonial scholars, such as professor of US Ethnic Studies Mark Rifkin (2011:173) has highlighted 'erotics' as a less colonial term, and explores "how might *erotics* offer a way of rethinking the meaning of *sovereignty*". Rifkin (2011) points to Driskill, who in *Stolen from Our Bodies* offers the notion of a 'Sovereign Erotics' to bridge the gap between individual and collective histories of desire, longing, dispossession, imposition, and exclusion. To decolonise then, the Sovereign Erotics necessitates "a changed understating of the relation between *sexuality* and *sovereignty*, in which the former does not serve as a basis for exiling people from inclusion in the latter" Driskill (2011:16). Driskill (2011:16), and other Two-Spirit-identified poets and scholars, focus on the radical erotic, where "the erotic may invoke a relationship of 'bodies and pleasures' that can displace the colonial power of 'sexuality'". For non-Indigenous queers, erotic critique might resemble a critique of heteronormativity, but there is an important distinction: critique of heteronormativity might not challenge colonial thought.

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[17] first published in 1755.

Heteronormativity centres on European-American sexuality as universal, and therefore problematic in non-western contexts, or in societies centred on marriage[18]- or caste[19]-normativity. Mandatory heteronormativity is more than just sexuality, just like erotics is more than sexuality. To build anticolonial critique, without centring western sexuality, I want to speak into existence what has been silently structuring 'inequalities of desires' (Gilley 2011) for so long: *eronormativity*. Eronormativity is how individuals and collectives, in local and global contexts, relate to themselves and each other in terms and norms of erotics, sexuality, attraction, romance, courtship, family life, community structure, and formation of nations. Eronormativity governs the biopolitical body, where the ero-typical are 'made to live', and the ero-nonconforming are 'left to die' but is not confined to only critique cisheteronormativity. Instead of focusing on predefined or universal categories, eronormativity changes its position according to its context, while heteronormativity is pre-positioned to a western context.

Critique of eronormativity includes critique of Native Nations internalisation of colonial heteronormativity, but without centring colonial queerness as opposite to colonial heteronormativity. There are culturally conservative motivations for rejecting queerness as a colonial quality, but scholars such as professor of English and American Studies Lisa Brooks (2006) of Abenaki and Polish heritage, and Mark Rifkin, argues that "reimagining kinship presents a method for affirming that diversity without reinforcing heterosexist norms of family or nation in Indigenous communities" (Driskill 2011:20). This is not to say that Indigenous Nations, Tribes or communities do not have eronormativity, but this is not the same as colonial sexuality or western gender roles. Indigenous people claiming sexualities are not claiming the singular experience of a sexuality but Indigenous "relationships and collective identities" (Morgensen 2010:116). And I think eronormativity can help bridge critiques from non-Indigenous queer, Two-Spirit, and queer Indigenous movements, both within and across our communities, but also our shared critiques of dominant society.

Indigenous sovereignty requires that non-Indigenous change our relation to sexuality, land, and sovereignty. Western society and settler states corrupts land into a commodity and

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[18] "We don't have heteronormativity in Bangladesh. We have marriage normativity" a member of audience said at a lecture given by Jolly (2011:23). The audience member explain that social sanctions are stronger for not marrying than for having queer relationships outside of heterosexual marriage.

[19] For example Indian families might see marriage between a Hindu and a Muslim as a subordinate expression of heterosexuality (Jolly 2011:21).

private property, making it exploitable for monetary profit. Like the western subject is universal so is the western society, and thus expect Other societies relates to, and wish to transition into, a relation to land mimicking that of western states. A globally white world sees Indigenous relations to land such as Protector, Guest, or responsible Caregiver as backwards and peculiar for not capitalising nor exploiting the land. Since the western society's relation to land is deemed universal, it naturalizes both colonialism and a global development field where development is seen as the Other becoming like the west by adopting their relation to land as commodity and private property. And to do so, the Other must also adopt European-American sexuality, family-structure, and state-formation.

The shared critique of eronormativity has profound implications for global development theories, as "thinking about sovereignty and colonialism in relation to theory in queer studies would shift conversations of citizenship and subjectivity to rethinking the validity of the [settler] nation state" (Finley 2011:33). Because global development policies, and agencies such as the World Bank tends to "see the heterosexual, nuclear family as a useful contributor (and beneficiary of) market based economic growth" (Drucker 2009:828). And unfortunately, "the methodology for much development research and policy is still based on profoundly heteronormative models of the household. Assumptions are made such that a male head of household, married with children, is the norm" (Jolly 2011:24). Drucker (2009) proclaim that global development agencies, such as the World bank, is affected by how Gender and Development sees family set-ups: women might gain an income and some status within the family, but nevertheless the family remains heteronuclear. Which may defeat poverty reduction programs, because "such programmes, premised on family strengthening as an anti-poverty strategy, result in more pressure on people to marry or stay within heterosexual family set-ups" (Jolly 2011:24). Heteronuclear family set-ups might also exclude Indigenous kinship and Nation building, and therefore threatens Indigenous sovereignty.

Indigenous sovereignty is just as diverse as Indigenous Nations, in *Afterword*, Brooks (2006) uses a tribally specific reading, Abenaki, to describe Nation building as gathering from within not as a means of boundary making, both in the geographical and biopolitical sense. Indigenous Nation building can relate to Indigenous family building, for example as Métis scholar June Scudeler (2011:195) explains: "Crees have an intricate form of *wâhkotowin*, meaning kinship or the state of being related. *Wâhkotowin* is more extensive than the western conception of kinship, which often focuses on the nuclear family as a starting

point. *Wâhkotowin*, like *nêhiyawi-itâpisiwin*, includes generations past, present, and those yet to come, as well as adopted people, who in some cases can be closer than blood family". Although citizenship in settler states might enable civil rights, such citizenship erases and devalues Indigenous sovereignty, Nation building, and family building, and is therefore a coercive citizenship and a forced assimilation into the white settler sovereignty (Bruyneel 2004). One step towards Indigenous sovereignty is for settler and coloniser states to shift their policies on Indigenous people from domestic to foreign policy.

4 Conversations on activisms and solidarity

Here I will present findings and analyses from my fieldwork, consisting of three workshops with the following civil society organisations: Queer Youth of Norway[20] (QYN), Norwegian Students' and Academics' International Assistance Fund[21] (SAIH), and Queer World (QW). Each workshop follows the presentation shown in Appendix 1, which participants used as a springboard to discuss topics closest to their concerns. I will first present each workshop together with a short analysis, then I will do a more in-depth analysis across all three.

4.1 Queer Youth of Norway

QYN organise young queers and allies aged 13 - 30 across Norway. Local chapters in QYN predominantly organise social and political events for members and others. Nationally, they offer a phone helpline and online chat for youths, called *Ungdomstelefonen*, and a series of educational seminars for schools, called *Restart*. QYN also contributes to *Rosa Kompetanse*, who aid and educate workers within health care, child welfare, education, kinder garden, police, and jurisdiction. In addition, QYN organise two yearly summer camps, called *Kjønnsmangfoldleiren* (gender diversity camp) and *Jafnaðr* (Norse for 'equality'). The latter span over five days with up to 200 participants each year. A couple of months prior to the research workshop, queer Sámi youth founded Garmeres (Sámi for 'proud'), and members of QYN were discussing how to relate and cooperate with the movement.

4.1.1 Searching for a non-Indigenous queer position on decolonisation

Participants in the workshop with QYN were eager to learn how queer and Indigenous movements are connected in their opposition to gender essentialism, oppressive sexism, homophobia, transphobia, and patriarchy. Especially the queer Indigenous critique of non-Indigenous queer tendencies to support colonial powers took QYN by surprise, and participants response was to explore a more radical position to decolonisation. Participants contrasted radicalisation, the work toward emancipation outside state systems, with liberation, the work for acceptance and diversity within dominant society. The participants described their current

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[20] In Kvensk: Käyrät Nuoret, and North-Sami: Bonju Nuorat.
[21] In North-Sámi: Norgga Studeanttaid ja Akademihkkariid Álbmogiidgaskasaš Veahkkefoanda.

approach as assimilative, and therefore not in conformity with QYN's policies. Participants concluded that QYN's current position may hinder solidarity with their Sámi peers, and expressed a desire to change this, while they were also concerned about *how* to change.

Participants discussed gender roles as being embedded in colonial/Western culture and how colonisation affects culture in a long-term perspective, also after formal decolonisation has taken place. A participant explained that:

> if colonial powers withdraw, it is in a way decolonisation, but not necessarily in a good way. It will take a long time to 'tidy up' the remains from colonialism, if it ever is tidied. It will probably never be fully decolonised (W2P2)

The participant imagines a decolonial future as still untidied by colonial gender roles, and thus articulate how decolonial futures cannot fully escape from colonial pasts, as illustrated in Figure 3, Section 3.1.2.3. The expression 'tidy up' creates an image of precolonial time not being entirely disappeared but 'hidden', with potential to rematerialize if effort is put into 'tidying up'. Participants were eager to explore how colonial gender roles and sexuality could be 'tidied up', and how QYN could support efforts to decolonise, but were also concerned that:

> it can lead to us supplying our solutions on the issues with gender roles, and then we transfer that to Indigenous communities. And that would be wrong. We cannot decolonise in a way that *we* think it should be done, but rather we can join and help when they do it themselves (W1P1)

The position to assist, not overrun, got consensus amongst the participants. Such a position can offer alliance without a second wave of colonial sexualities as Two-Spirit critiques warned against in Section 3.4.2. But for non-Indigenous queer movements to assist in decolonisation implies that they must radically address power-relations that also affects queer organising. When I started to describe how radical decolonisation could be, one participant interrupted, saying:

> We have to...well, you ask if this is radical...it must be radical! If not, then nothing will change. If it's not radical, then we'll not move forward. If it's not radical, then we'll just stand still (W1P4)

Others nodded in agreement, showing they were still committed to the previous statement about helping, but one participant pointed out that:

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it can be difficult to achieve any larger changes unless the state system carries the cost. And that will be difficult to achieve, because it [the state] is so ingrained in the world. It will be a big change that will take a long time (W1P5)

Together, these statements describe development as change over time, where change must be radical for there to be progress. Participants acknowledge that decolonisation is not over until Indigenous Nations and Tribes have taken back sovereignty, culture, sexuality, language, and so forth. Participants express solidarity, and want to support, but are unsure about how to take solidary actions, for two reasons. One reason being a fear of over-stepping and consequently re-colonise, the other reason being uncertainty about what the actual steps for decolonisation is. For me, both reasons seem to risk pacifying solidarity into a stand-by mode waiting for Indigenous leadership.

One first step participants took towards alliance, was to start incorporating Two-Spirit and queer Indigenous critiques into their own. The workshop started discussing how ideas from modernity frames conversations about global development, and one participant described how the Western school of medicine pathologize and racialize at the same time:

Much of medicine and WHO [World Health Organization] assume that the human is defined by a 'normal'. […] There are extreme variations in human bodies, in terms of gender characteristics, but also between populations. When these variations are categorised by medicine as mutations or deviations one end up pathologizing peoples and populations. Populations who are not represented by this list [see Appendix 1:27] are exposed to extreme violations! (W1P5)

The participant objected to the biopolitics of whiteness and describe intersectional consequences of racial and gendered essentialisms from Section 3.2, where the human 'default' is a cishetero, white, universal subject and all Others are deviations from this ideal.

Further problematics with a normative school of medicine came up in a conversation between two participants, both of whom were studying health care:

All lectures are given by white cis men and women (W1P2)

Yes! And every case presented to us uses male pronouns only (W1P1)

Yes! And the examples showing how to check oral nerve status[22], checking for colouration and similar, all describe a white patient. I've seen *one* sentence in *one* textbook saying: 'and this is how you read signs on a different skin colour'. Which are completely different signs! And this is problematic! (W1P2)

These examples echo of how humans are categorised into the default Category One, and the Other category characterised as deviations, as theorised in Section 3.2. But the examples coming from textbooks and educational contexts gives evidence to the cultural hegemony of a normative school of medicine where hegemonic ideas are passed on directly through curriculum. These examples were followed by a brief conversation on how language is used. A participant argued how everyday language

don't facilitate decolonisation. Thus, we need a post-structural perspective, and examine how we use language. This connects to how society at large fails to see how we formulate sentences or that the way we emphasise certain words in a sentence will change power structures (W1P5)

The participant wants to deconstruct dominant discourses, a manoeuvre well known for queer movements that rename and reclaim slurs, identities, sexualities, relationships, and orientations. Such manoeuvres could foster disidentification, as explored in Section 3.4.4, and Two-Spirit organising already do both disidentification and deconstruction of discourse by reclaiming Two-Spirit discourse. Maybe anticolonial alliances can affect post-structural perspectives in non-Indigenous queer organising.

Our last topic was about positions on liberation versus emancipation. One participant positioned non-Indigenous queer organising in relation to assimilative positions and described how both tendencies of liberation and emancipation are present:

This is so exciting! Because, these are things we have not been able to do [internally] in the queer movement. There are both tendencies to assimilation and emancipation within the queer movement. The rhetoric that QYN mostly follows is liberation from the norms in society, where we want to dismantle the norms. While other queer movements, like FRI[23] and even more so the previous

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[22] Important for assessing respiration and oxygen flow.

[23] FRI is the largest national LGBT-organisation in Norway, previously known as LLH and critiqued for focusing primarily on gay/lesbian perspectives. In 2016 LLH was renamed FRI and refocused to include identities as trans, fetish, poly, and others.

LLH, have had more of an assimilation approach, such as 'We shall be normal!', 'We shall be included in dominant society!' And we give both those signals to state authorities. In the continuation of this, both are assimilation movements, but in different ways. And I do not know how we are to break it down […] how we are to build down state power. Hmmm. It is very exciting to sit here in this dissonance... (W1P5)

When saying 'both are assimilation', the participant balances the difference between liberation and emancipation where liberation is assimilative. Liberation is to achieve equal rights and status, while emancipation is to be freed from the power of another. When leaning either towards liberation or emancipation, it also involves a movement towards' a position on decolonisation. But these struggles that the participant mentions are also struggles of reaching for whiteness, where 'We shall be normal!' is the right to mimic cisheteronormativity as described in Section 3.4.2.

In response to the discussion above, another participant pointed out that queer struggle is not just one thing, but about being able to work for both liberation and emancipation when either one is possible:

I am thinking that the queer struggle consists of two things: the cultural and normative things, how we want to create language, how to speak differently about genders, and how we can generate acceptance in dominant society. And then there is specific issues we work for, that we must direct to the nation state, like health care services for transgender people, and legal stuff like marriage. What should we base these things on if we do not direct them to the nation state? (W1P9)

The participant points out that liberation and emancipation is not an either/or question, and that the queer movements have many legs to stand on. On the question of leaning more weight onto one leg than the other the participant circles back to the initial question of *how*, then another participant pointed out that:

A group who have done this quite successfully is the Separatist movement in Mexico. They have fully emancipated themselves from the Mexican state, and built their own institutions, [and now] run their own economy and have their own structure in a completely different way. And other groups of Indigenous people in Latin-America are trying to do much of the same (W1P5)

But there is a long way and considerable differences between the Indigenous movements in Mexico and the non-Indigenous queer movements in Norway, or perhaps not, it depends from what position one looks at it. Whiteness is more reachable for queers in Norway than for Natives in Mexico, and that might be a decisive factor for radical emancipation and decolonisation.

4.1.2 Repositioning queer politics

In *Unsettling Queer Politics*, Morgensen (2011B:134) argues that if non-Indigenous queers were to respond to anticolonial and Two-Spirit critiques "they would question the colonial origins and uses of sexual minority and queer identities, displace desires for a history or future on stolen land, and challenge the colonial power of settler states and global institutions". In my view, Morgensen's account fits the way QYN responded to anticolonial critiques, especially their critique of biopower from both racialized and queered perspectives, and the re-thinking of liberation versus emancipation inside/outside the state. And Morgensen continues: "In the process they would recognize themselves *as* 'non-Natives' - persons defined in relationship to Native people by settler colonialism – who respond by holding themselves accountable to alliance with Native struggles for decolonization". I interpret the response from QYN participants as recognizing themselves as non-Indigenous, based on their immediate search for a position of alliance.

But participants also expressed concerns about what anticolonial queer movement looks like if not addressing the state, thus I wonder if queer movements could draw more from Two-Spirit disidentification brought up in Section 3.4.4. Despite uncertainties about *how*, participants expressed solidarity with queer Indigenous emancipation and decolonization, while seating themselves, as non-Natives, in the backseat. I asked the participants at QYN if they wanted to learn and engage more with anticolonial queer organizing, and participants seemed eager to do so. One participant asked during lunch that followed: "Why are we only learning about this now? Why were we not aware of this?".

4.2 SAIH

SAIH is a solidarity organisation formed by students and academics who see knowledge and education as important tools against injustice, and whose motto is *education for liberation*. Currently SAIH supports 30 organisations in seven countries in Latin-America, Southern Africa, and Asia, and work politically to improve conditions for education and global development. At the time of the workshop, SAIH was ending a campaign on decolonisation of academia and preparing for a campaign on the criminalisation of queer and gender studies that is putting academic freedom at risk. Workshop participants described hegemonies and how they interlock; what solidarity is and how it can be performed; and what is missing and needed to create a counter-hegemonic alliance. They also discussed anxiety from activism, either from being marginalised or having privilege, or even from holding both positions. My main findings are that solidarity can cause anxiety, which in turn makes solidarity silent; and that a radical alliance is wanted but not found, which deactivates solidarity.

4.2.1 Anxieties in activisms

After examining the maps on hegemony (Appendix 1:15–17), four participants presented their own thought-maps. The four had different approaches, but all agreed that making a structured overview on hegemonies is difficult. Each participant identified specific hegemonies and explained how these move into or connect to the next one(s), and that some hegemonies, such as language, are overarching, while other hegemonies are so intertwined, such as religion, that they cannot be described unconnectedly. Combined, the participants describe ruling hegemonies as (social) hierarchies that create in-/out-groups, such as safe/unsafe or protected/exploited, and identify hegemonies that dominate across multiple methods: economic, political, social, and religious. One participant suggested that alienation is a common denominator for these hegemonies: that different hegemonies causes different forms of oppression in different contexts, but that it all boils down to alienation. The thought maps prepared by participants can be found in Appendix 2.

A participant used a post-structuralist approach to describe how a complex worldview is constructed from several structures building on each other:

> I started with cisheteropatriarchy, because this establishes a system of
> heterosexuality which distributes gender roles, but also racialize people by what

type of masculinity they have: If the masculinity is safe or not safe; who should be protected and who can be exploited. And then I feel like that fortifies what culture is. I have written 'knowledge' here, because it gives an understanding of how we interpret the world, and therefore how we construct and organize ourselves based on that. Then I wrote 'boarders and laws' […], in the beginning of capitalism it was important to establish the state, so the state is an important stakeholder who maintains capitalism. Which gives us economic classes and economic roles, and a structure of 'production-reproduction', which again maintains all the aforementioned. I see this as a meaning-making-thing that gives us the opportunity to establish something material which we then assume to be true (W2P1, see Appendix 2:1).

The participant deconstructs and reconstructs ruling hegemonies, using examples of both queering and racialisation when talking about masculinities. By breaking hegemonies down to more specific phenomena and describing them from intersecting marginalised perspectives, the participant is reconstructing materials of hegemonic meaning-making. Perhaps one must deconstruct hegemonies as to find their underlying mechanisms before one can explain how the hegemonies interlock, which can also describe the conversation between queer and Indigenous theories in Chapter 3.

Another participant was sceptic to describing the chronological manifestation or theorisation on different ruling hegemonies as significant to their relations (as illustrated by my thought map in Appendix 1:13). The participant is raising an important question about how time and hegemony is connected:

I don't think I have done it so different from you [see Appendix 1:15]. I have done it more hierarchical, so things affect each other more. Are more intricate. For me, the 'boxes-within-boxes' do not make much sense. Or, it makes sense historically that the cisheteropatriarchy comes before capitalism that comes before the state and so on. But I am not so sure if this [the historical chronology] makes a hierarchy in that way. I have also added a couple of boxes, such as 'language imperialism', because it is through language that culture, history and the world move. Hmm, yes… (W2P2, see Appendix 2:2).

The participant points to language as a power structure that hegemonies utilise, just as time is a power structure that can be utilised. This links to how theory uses queer

and Indigenous time constructs, and how queer and Indigenous organising both reclaim and rename worlds, words and languages.

Another participant also had an overarching approach, but from a more deconstructive perspective:

I started thinking 'what really drives power structures?', or 'what causes someone to have power and others not?', 'Is there a common denominator?' That, if you have an idea about *the others*, or that there is something that makes one *ours*, *common*, and *the others*. And if that idea grows, it will foster this type of power structures. Or rather, it fosters ways to legitimise colonial powers, exploitation of resources, and discrimination. [...] These are the mechanisms behind ruling hegemonies. I think alienation drives these power-structures, and it is a self-reinforcing thing, the background for it lies in the more specific alienation. Which is different from context to context. But that there is such a common feature (W2P5, see Appendix 2:4).

Such alienation can also be understood as a form of Othering, and the construction of *homo sacer* as described in Section 3.2. The participant is pointing to a similar realisation as I had when realising that colonialism and cisheteropatriarchy is basically the same structure when you stand at the intersection of queer and Indigenous theories. The participant is pointing to the covert power of hegemonies: the power that interlock them so that they feed each other. And I wonder if this power comes from shared tenets of whiteness and cisheteropatriarchy as a 'common denominator', hence the fostering of 'ways to legitimise' oppressions across different contexts.

Continuing from the discussion on how ruling hegemonies interlock, one participant explained that:

I grew up in a very Marxist family, with a Marxist dad in the 70s and 80s Latin-America, with a huge fight against capitalism and the established elites. But in this struggle, there were always oppression of women and others, because my father's Marxism was a patriarchal understanding of the economic system. [...] And when I critique him for this, today, he still does not understand. Which is interesting, because he is Indigenous, he understands how we are seen differently. But not how women or queers are alienated. So, the whole struggle is one-sided, which only reproduces all oppression once again.

And this is interesting, because they just think that it is going to disappear, but it is still there (W2P1)

The issue with the father's position on a Marxist-Indigenous-feminist alliance, echoes the Two-Spirit and BIPOC critique of queer movements being centred on those with capital: typically, white middle-class men (see Section 3.4.2). It seems that the risk of one-sidedness is present in most counter-hegemonic alliances.

Looking at Michelle Holliday's map (Appendix 1:17), one participant commented that "it is interesting with such things ... for it is seldom part of a liberal discourse. With Michelle's approach, a sense of duty emerges, not only ... a sense of justice, but perhaps a more relational understanding of the world" (W2P2). The participant is comparing Rupa Marya's map of micro/macro hegemonies connected to colonialism (Appendix 1:16), and Michelle Holliday's response to Marya (Appendix 1:17). Holliday sought to add a perspective of identifying what is needed to thrive, what more to add. In a way, Marya describes what must be stopped, and Holliday describes what must be started or what must be continued. Perhaps Holliday's map elicits action, and therefore a sense of duty emerges.

Related to existentialism, participants had conversations about appearances and how anxiety can arise when others interpret you. Or from how you interpret others interpretation of you, which also is a source of existential anxiety. One participant clarified:

having responsibility [for your existence] gives anxiety ... yes. But from my perspective as an Indigenous and brown woman: It's not necessarily because I don't know what to do, but because I have gotten used to being told what to do all the time. For me to fulfil the requirements, I must do things in a certain way, or I will fall out of the system. My anxiety comes from the thought of having to do things in a correct manner. […] I think this categorises as 'born into slavery' [Appendix 1:19]. Either you must work twice as hard, or you are trapped by the system. That is where the anxiety comes from, the stress is too much (W2P1)

The participant refers to a distinction between Black and white absurdity (see Section 3.1.3), and how the different absurdities generate different anxieties. The participant describes consequences of not fulfilling requirements as falling out of the system or being trapped by the system, where I interpret 'the system' as structural privileges that

arise from reaching for whiteness (see Section 3.2). For example, gaining 'employability' by mimicking whiteness in the way you dress, speak, or keep your hair. The way the participant describes the anxiety for being excluded reminds me of the *homo sacer*, where those who do not conform to the biopolitics of the sovereign power are ruled out.

In another conversation, participants linked appearance to authenticity and what is described as 'reaching for whiteness'. One participant asked: "Why is it called queered bodies and racialised bodies, not persons?" (W2P2). Another participant answered:

> I think about it the way it is for us immigrants. That you fit in, but because you have a type of skin colour that allows you to fit in and can act as a white person. We call them *coconuts*, *Oreos*, *kinder eggs*... The idea is that you move like they [white people] do, despite your skin colour. It is the body first, but personality also has something to say, because then you show whether you are a part of the discourse or not (W2P1)

I followed up by asking about "Reaching for whiteness?" The first participant asked: "As Obama?" (W2P2), then the participant answering elaborated:

> Yes! We joke about it all the time. For example, third generation Pakistanis at BI [a private school of economics]. When I meet those, I feel uncomfortable because I am alienated. Not me alienating them, but I am dropping out because I am not square in a way. I am not a part of it, if you understand (W2P1)

I think the participant is describing a more subtle necropolitical consequence: to reach for whiteness you must renounce what makes you Other, and others who have what you have renounced in yourself can interpret that as your renouncing them. Because they are not disidentifying. When asked if 'coconuts' are living in bad faith by 'pretending to be white', the participant answered:

> Hmmm, it is more the thought that we are never going to be seen as authentic, or equal with whites. We think it is amusing, that people are trying to become like them, when you know, deep inside, that you are never going to become like them. There are differences in a brother who lives in [place] and is still an immigrant, we separate ourselves from those who join, who adjust their lives and maintains the system we are still dropping out of (W2P1)

This resembles the discussion QYN had about liberation versus emancipation, that there is a difference between gaining equal status and being free from the power of another.

Presented with the SDGs anew (Appendix 1:35), participants discussed premises for development, and clarified that the SDGs are not necessarily bad, but contingent on who has legitimacy to decide what they contain. Contingent on *who* can decide *how* to reach the goals. A participant reiterated:

> As I said in the beginning: which premises are at the bottom of each [SDG]? You can flip it and say they can be used to dismantle the nation state and colonial thought sets. The UN, who runs the SDGs, also work with legitimising nation states and international cooperation. But it has a lot to say *which* knowledge has the premise. There is nothing wrong in saying 'we need to abolish poverty' [SDG 1], but it is the *how* we must consider. We can flip it and look at how to abolish poverty by ending capitalism, because it is profit-driven capitalism that drives most poverty. But [in SDG 1], there are no questions about abolishing capitalism, it just exists, and that makes the goal self-contradictory (W2P1)

The same participant critiqued REDD+ and concluded that the issue of *how* applies to global development outside the SDGs as well:

> The same critique applies to REDD+, where nature is to be preserved, but also people live off that nature and need access to their land. There are organisations and communities who solve local struggles their own way, but the mainstream development field does not connect with them. Many are engaged in dismantling the state or nationalism, but that is suddenly too radical. The Zapatistas are a good example of groups who come together, declare war against the Mexican state and still call themselves Mexicans. They established a new identity and meaning of being Mexican […]. But not many engage with them, or ally with them. Economic profit is not the most important, but to support schools and health services that the Mexican state do not offer them. So, there are solutions already, but how do we catch up with them? As the idea of 'state failure'; it's not necessarily the sate collapsing, because there are

always people who make it work anyway. People who establish new networks and ways to organise (W2P1)

Adding to their analysis, the participant connects the *how* to whether the development supports state building or not, and the REDD+ and Zapatistas illustrate how being excluded from nation states also excludes one from global development.

One participant dissented from the view of the SDGs being not so bad, and declared, frustrated, that:

I think the SDGs are just nonsense. But Quality of Education [SDG 4] can be interesting, for what does it implicate? Compared to what we have today; socialism is good; democracy is good; many of these goals are empty, like liberal thought. Things should be nice, and everyone agrees, but there is no discussion about implications (W2P2)

Another participant argued that the SDGs adapts to specific contexts, and implications depends on the context, explaining that

The SDGs are just a framework, a categorization of things that must be addressed to make a more just world. In that manner you can claim that the SDGs are just empty, or nonsense, for they are rationalised on a general level. The road ahead is to cooperate with local communities and organisations who know where the shoe pinches (W2P5)

On which the participant with the initial analysis added:

I agree, but I also see problems arise when the state interferes and wishes to regulate those cooperation's. It is criminalised when the premises of the nation state are challenged and is seen as bad or a potential threat. This affects how organisations in an alliance communicate or continue the work. As in [Latin-America], regarding criminalisation of Indigenous peoples, the Norwegian Church Aid and the Norwegian state was also criminalised because they chose to support the Indigenous organising against 'development'. Hence, power affects who has legitimacy, which is the nation state, because the UN was created to secure sovereignty and inter-state cooperation. The UN is contributing to the problem and gets to define the framework and how we work within that. But then again, many organisations work strategically for justice by 'going around' (W2P1)

The participants' combined critique illustrates that muted conversations on global development is a wicked problem and require more than one solution. The problem is not necessarily the framework or the SDGs in themselves, but how they are locally conceptualised and the implications of these how's.

Talking about the implications of a less nation state centred development led the participants into a discussion mirroring the theories of Antonio Gramsci, first by debating whether a revolution or a war of positions and manoeuvres is the best approach:

> I am very much pro abolishment, because I am very radical, and think it's not feasible to build on structures that already exclude others. That is just sugar-coating. You are re-painting the house, but the house is still the same. I am pro changing the entire system. But that does not mean we should throw away everything. We can revise and change much of what already exists (W2P1)

The participant distinguishes between structures that are inherently oppressive, and structures that are connected to oppression but not necessarily oppressive in themselves. This distinction links to the thought-maps presented earlier, where structures and institutions are connected but the challenge is to find the underlying reason for alienation and exclusion.

Other participants were also reluctant to accept an 'abolishment of everything'. But where to start, or where to draw the line would be difficult, more so when oppressive structures can also be comfortable:

> I think this is difficult, because it sucks to just throw everything out the window. But personally, what makes it difficult for me to have a positive motivation for anything is that I have a quite comfortable life in this nice Norwegian social democracy that we got … I look white, or, I am actually white. I am a queer man, but still man. I have no other deviations from society except being a queer man. I have some slight discomforts with society, but they are not deep enough for me to want major fundamental changes in society. It is one thing to admit that *something* is bad, but to admit a specific situation is more difficult. So, I am waiting for someone else to come up with something (W2P2)

The participant describes how positionality, the specific status in social hierarchies, can be either a hindrance or a motivator for solidarity and radicalisation, which I compare with Gramsci's silent consent and feminist's security in silence.

Another participant agreed that status and privilege affect one's radicalness, adding that:

> It is similar for me; in a way I am generally more for reformation, to deconstruct and rebuild, rather than revolution. And it's probably contingent upon my privileged position. But I think it's important to acknowledge that the colonial state and problematic state that we have, give benefits to people, and things are in many ways better than they were before. So, even if there are problematic aspects with the society that we have and the nation states we live in, I still think it will be less work to reform it into something better, rather than to start again. And probably easier to do, on a bit more rational level. We're unlikely to get democratic consensus to throw everything out the window (W2P3)

Continuing the analysis of positionality, a participant contrasted their own position in Norway with that of their Latin-American aunts:

> I wanted to say something similar. I am very pro abolishing, but I am in position to do that. As opposed to my aunts in [Latin America], who I argue with because they are not fighting the system. Joining the system was the only way to get anything done; get good people on the inside, someone who would think about everybody and not reproduce inequalities. But this is difficult, because what space do you really have to negotiate? In a system that does not accommodate that many. And to problematise further: can we actually take everyone into consideration at the same time? Is it practically feasible? At the same time, I am thinking yes! Because we are capable of thinking in multi-level analyses, I do that, so others can too. They just need to get out of the binary way of thinking (W2P1)

Thus, tensions between privilege and solidarity, and what solidarity requires and can be promoted under different circumstances were recurrent themes of discussion and some agonising.

Earlier, participants acknowledged that solidarity meant people in position should fight on behalf of those who are not surviving in today's systems. But fearing over-stepping someone who is more representative, and an uncertainty about where and how to perform solidarity, were identified as hindrances for alliance. Challenged with their desire for action-based solidarity but lacking confidence and know-how, participants voiced a need for radical leadership:

> I don't see any organisations, or any organised resistance that is radical enough. In Norway we have Queer Youth of Norway and Fri, they can be radical. And perhaps a few Sámi organisations, but I don't have an overview of what happens in Sámi communities. There is no visible anti-system fight that I feel is visible for me in any way. Especially with transgender persons in mind: I know numerous trans persons, but when am I talking over someone? When is one crossing a boundary? I've had bitter discussions about trans and trans women...but to answer an anti-trans article in the media ... I've thought about it...but I know someone will come. […] I know a trans person will come, should I then, as a cis male, write an answer. Would that be fitting? They must use their own words. I would rather support someone else who comes with such a vision. I am thinking about this all the time...but how should one save the world? (W2P2)

Another participant pointed to how being in position, even when a representative, can be lonely, and that fighting the struggle alone is uncomfortable:

> I know many academics who are anti-system, and their research is trying to change how we think about things. […] Which is also the reason why I changed my opinion about academics. Someone with a PhD came and told me I *had* to go study, but I thought "nah, I'm an activist, I don't do stuff like that". But then I had a break-up with politics when I realized politics is not activism. I realised I was maintaining the state by joining political parties. I still vote though, because people are affected by which parties are governing, even if I disagree with having a parliament that decides and regulates me. But I found many academics who are anarchists, who are very critical, who are focusing on power-relations, what we should think and learn and how to live our lives. And I thought "oh wow! Here I can join and change how we are thinking" […] I find it uncomfortable to engage in struggle alone. When you feel that no one is thinking like you. So, I understand what you mean

with finding a place to put the effort. Which is the reason why I turned my back on my old activism, the macho-perspective was so strong that I just couldn't stand it: you give up on the struggle, it becomes uncomfortable. But with my mindset, am I allowed to just give up? I am not. Even if I am situated with some privileges in Norway, I cannot give up even if I want to. Even if it's uncomfortable, it boils down to self-reflexiveness. To say, 'Okay, we must abolish everything'. We might just have to do that (W2P1)

The participant mentions a strong macho-perspective during their previous activism, and how it made them uncomfortable to the degree of almost giving up. A lack of intersectionality can push activists away when they feel forced into one-sided alliances, even if they have solidarity with the cause. Later, the participant described it as 'waiting your turn' for when the organising would focus on non-male perspectives.

When acknowledging the discomfort of loneliness and fear of misrepresenting, participants focused on motivations for radical solidarity:

The reason I've become so radical, because I was not previously, is that I'm thinking we cannot give up, because then everybody is going to die. And it is sad if everybody dies. I'm thinking...I don't know where to start...something about feeling that you have a....you kind of have to feel that there is a problem (W2P2)

Another participant followed up by describing how they came to realise their own position on, and thereby relation to, the issues they were concerned with:

I was like that before too. I thought that democracy is very good! I was going to learn a lot about Norway and take it with me back home to [Latin America] and fix it back home, and so on. I honestly though the answer was to just take the institutions and copy them back home. But during field work, I talked to my own people and were reminded that we are diverse groups with our own languages. And that democracy comes from the state regulating resources, which compromises Indigenous people's ways of living. I had to reassess how I was thinking. But it was not until I talked with my own people that I realised I was reproducing colonial and ethnocentric ways of thinking. You *have to* sit down and do an uncomfortable journey I think (W2P1)

When asked if not knowing the outcome of radical abolishment, or the chance of things getting worse, induces fear of action, one participant concluded, it is "both. There is fear for not having a goal, and that it can get worse. And because there is less effort in just living in the world that currently exists. Living by the principle of the 'path of least resistance'" (W2P3).

4.2.2. Comfort in solidarity

Participants had different views on the SDGs but agreed that they are a framework where local context is important for *how* the SDGs are operationalised. In continuation of this, the participants criticised conversations on global development for being silent on the *how's* and what they implicate, and for being silent on the premises for the SDGs and the power structures dictate *who* decides the *how's*. Dictating power structures were identified as global development agencies supporting state-led development, while development that challenges state authority is criminalised. Exemplified by Indigenous organising under REDD+, where also those cooperating with Indigenous groups were criminalised. Language is singled out as an overarching hegemony that others move through, which is discourse analysis: the study of what is being said.

Participants describe anxieties from activism and solidarity, fearing over-stepping from a position of privilege, and the discomfort from being alone either on the inside or outside of activist organising. When outside of the specific activism or marginalised group, it is difficult to know how, when and where to perform solidarity. And inside intersectional activism that has a one-sided focus, it can be difficult to feel included and stay motivated. Participants also expressed that privilege is comfortable, and the fear of discomfort can demotivate actions of solidarity and radicalisation. Participants self-identify as radical, and long for a more radical organising. I interpret this as showing that the conversations on *why* to be radical and have solidarity are present among activists, but that the conversations on *how* are perhaps muted. Or not as loud.

4.3 Queer World

Queer World organises LGBTI+ persons with immigrant and minority backgrounds, focusing on community building and educational campaigns on topics of domestic violence, substance abuse, sexual health and rights, and relationship workshops (samlivskurs). In Oslo, every Thursday, there is an Open Café with food and the occasional event, and the chosen arena for this research workshop. QW started as a group within Fri, formed by members wanting to have an arena where queer immigrants and racial minorities can be the majority. Participants focused on how solidarity is performed; how to represent others; how to speak *with*, not *to* or *over*; and the importance, but also difference, of teaching versus learning. One participant suggested guidelines for how to be representative and perform solidarity by following four practical steps.

4.3.1 How, where, and who to speak

Participants critiqued SDG 5 on Gender Equality for not including queer genders, stating it is not true gender equality if it only implies women being equal to men. Although agreeing, one participant pointed out that, women's liberation "in many countries is still a valid goal. Equality for women is still something to be achieved in many places. Even in Europe. We think we are so advanced, so developed, or whatever people say, but you got to know that Europe, if you go around, there is not so much of it [gender equality]" (W3P3). The participant added that equality, for example measured as 40–50 % female representation in politics, "after hundreds of years […] that's not good enough", implying that gender equality is more than being statistically equal.

Continuing from the SDGs, there was a discussion about freedom starting with one participant stating that "I think we could add here the democracy and freedom" (W3P1). Pointing out that the word democracy is not used in the SDGs, the participant continued: "As a queer person, 'Gender Equality' does not really represent me. Freedom could be more inclusive, and freedom would include everything when it comes to sexuality, relations..." (W3P1). The participant slowed down and another continued:

...but then it would just be interpreted like freedom in the US, you know.

Many places, and America is the best example, they go like freedom! freedom!

freedom! But at the same time there is a lack of respect for those with least

freedom. You end up, after university, with a debt of 250 000 dollars, how are you going to afford a house? Is that freedom? And then you have the freedom to go hurt people, that's not freedom, that is wrong (W3P3)

The 'freedom to go hurt people' refers to the "gay panic" defence[24], a legal practice that had been banned in New Jersey during the previous week. This made the "gay panic" defence illegal in, so far, only nine out of fifty states in the U.S.

One participant pointed out that alliance is seeing other's struggle as a continuation of your own; and alliance does not require sharing struggle, it is enough to recognise others' inequality. The participant introduced these as:

> Two observations on alliance. If we go back to that picture of the SDGs [see Appendix 1:35], and we look at that 'Gender Equality' [SDG 5], and then everybody ... we kind of protested gender equality being part of LGBT-rights. Connecting to what you just said here, gender equality *is* LGBT-rights, because it is also feminism, and it is also something *we* should fight for. So, if what you are saying is true, then gender equality is also something that is important for us. […] And the other observation: It was the Holocaust Memorial-Day just a few days ago, and there was this survivor from Auschwitz, he said something that moved a lot of people […], and he said: "The eleventh commandment is to not be indifferent. When you see people treated unequally, you must speak up, whether you are them or not. Just don't be indifferent!" (W3P3)

Other participants agreed that the most important is to speak up at all, then to reflect on how and when to speak up. I interpret this as when first speaking up one is entering a conversation, and within that conversations one must foremost seek to listen and learn. Perhaps more so the more privilege one holds. And that silence is to be indifferent and to consent to oppressive hegemonies.

One participant warned about the consequences if everybody is to speak up. Without consideration of who is speaking, those with privilege can soon be taking the centre stage:

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[24] "The LGBTQ+ "panic" defense strategy is a legal strategy that asks a jury to find that a victim's sexual orientation or gender identity/expression is to blame for a defendant's violent reaction, including murder. It is not a free-standing defense to criminal liability, but rather a legal tactic used to bolster other defenses. When a perpetrator uses an LGBTQ+ "panic" defense, they are claiming that a victim's sexual orientation or gender identity not only explains—but excuses—a loss of self-control and the subsequent assault" cited from (LGBTBar)

Alliance is important, but at the same time what is happening is that the people with privilege are taking the place and the whole voice of the minority, and over the vulnerable people. So somehow, we are not represented anymore. This is problematic, as if you just said: "I am a trans person, my voice will not be heard, so we need the cis-people to come and fight, because for them it will be less emotionally and, like, they will have a stronger voice, they will be heard". But that's the problem, even in our alliance we must find the level where we are supporting this group but not taking over their voices. For example, when a white cishetero person is speaking up for a trans, Black, HIV-person. And somehow, it's not really representing, and if we keep saying our voices are not heard and we need someone else to speak up for us, we are not really empowering ourselves or bringing our voice (W3P1)

Worrying that the only two options would be speaking over or not speaking, another participant clarified that:

it should be speaking *for* them; I should be speaking *for* others. Inclusive. There are many ways to do things, it's not to replace other people's voices, it's to just include them. My voice as well, but my voice should be speaking *for* them, not instead of them, but *with* them, and I think that is a big difference (W3P3)

The first participant agreed and suggested step-by-step how to speak up *for* others:

Yes! Here I think the key is, for example as a cishetero person who want to represent trans people, if I am going to speak up in a conference; then first, only if there are <u>no</u> trans person present to speak up. But if there is a person who could take my place then it is better to have that person there instead of me. But if that person is not able to go and speak, then at least I must not speak up for myself. I have to go and talk to everyone in this room and try to get the ideas from the trans persons myself and ask, "what do you want me to speak of *for* you?", instead of just going and speaking up. And I have noticed this, and I am really pissed off. So many, for example white Norwegian people, talking about immigrants and refugees and their experience, heh, excuse me, hello? What do you know about my suffering and my life? And then there are so many hetero people who are trying to speak up for the gay people, and there are even so many white gay people trying to speak up for the Black trans people. Without

even coming back to the people themselves, to hear from them! So, that's the thing with alliance. I've seen it many times as taking over the space instead of supporting (W3P1)

Here the participant suggests practical steps to mitigate misrepresentation, and highlight the harm done when outsiders speak over or speak out of place. People are so diverse that it is difficult to have for a where everyone is present, hence there is need for condensing representation so that a few represents many. A strong hint of misrepresentation is if people are not recognising themselves in what their representatives say, as the participant describes. To speak on the behalf of someone is to partake in a conversation, and the participant suggests a few steps for how to ensure that the one who speaks is a part of those they speak for, and I will come back to these steps in Section 4.4.4.

Understanding how to represent and speak up *for* others was linked to intersectional education. In the presentation (Appendix 1:14), I had written: "We must constantly teach each other, we must seek new voices and perspectives on our own accords". One participant suggested:

> […] If I were writing that sentence, I would not write "we must constantly teach each other" but rather "we must constantly learn from each other". This is how I would put it, because I cannot decide for you what you will have to listen to from me or for me to teach you, I can only decide that I want to be open minded and I want to learn from other people. So, I think it would be more inclusive to put it that way (W3P3)

All participants nodded and hummed in agreement. Although a small shift, there is a profound difference in 'teaching each other' and 'learning from each other', as the participant said: "I cannot decide for others to learn from me, I can only decide to learn from others" (W3P3). Then it becomes an issue of matching those who teach and those who wish to learn, creating arenas where they can meet, which is an important feedback on research ethics. Researchers and academics have extra responsibility to select research strategies that empower arenas where everyone involved in the research can learn. For example, Indigenous methodologies, as mentioned in Chapter 2, focus on the relational and reciprocal in research, which can help build communities and knowledge sharing across activisms and academics.

On the topic of matching those who teach and those who learn, one participant told about their personal experience, which captures several issues at once, namely representability, how to talk and listen, how to teach and learn, and how challenging alliance can be:

Here is the problem, as you say, even for people with privilege, to come and hear and learn from us. That is a huge issue. I live in [place] and came to Norway four years ago. And when I arrived, there were two white Norwegians coming to immigrant-school teaching about LGBT issues. And it was super problematic, after every class there were huge conflicts. Always there were huge conflicts. Because those two people were talking from a Norwegian perspective, to people from the Middle East. From my country for example, in my country we don't even talk about sex between men women, sex is a forbidden word not to be used. Whereas here in Norwegian society we are already talking about monogamy, polygamy, open relationships, surrogacy, and whatever. So, I tried so many times, over the years, to go to these people and tell them "what you are doing is amazing work, but the problem is that when you are talking, you are using a Norwegian perspective while talking to people with another background. So, you are talking from stage ten, where our people are still in stage minus ten. They do not understand you". So, I've offered my help for over a year, and they never even bothered to call me or asked me to come join them, until once... I even tried to go to the school itself telling them "Hey, what you are doing is not really working. People are hating this, and even becoming more homophobic and transphobic after these classes". And even the school didn't want to listen to me. Until one day there was a huge drama, they had to call the police, people were hitting each other. Because the person that came, she started talking about surrogacy, and about sex between father and daughter, […], two women having children together, sperm donors, and so on. Then people were so provoked, they got really aggressive, and someone had to call the police. It was a huge drama. The week after, those two didn't want to come back to the school, they were super afraid. So, then the school <u>had</u> to call me and invite me there. But it took me one and a half year of fighting to just go there and talk. And since I started, from the first class, everyone was super amused, and people were just sitting there and listening. Because I was speaking from their language, from their level. But here's the problem, I had to fight for one and a half year just to get my voice heard. And they did not call because they wanted to hear me, but

because they found no other to come and give the course. So, here is also another problem when we are talking about people with privilege and talking about alliance (W3P1)

This experience also touches on homonormativity and homonationalism, considering how teachers and students were talking on level ten and minus ten (*3.2.5.3*). Since queerness is different across societies and nations, people will not necessarily bond over a shared queerness, nor easily recognise themselves in other queers.

Responding to the story, another participant shared their experience of LGBT-education at a refugee reception centre, arguing that in addition to representativity, the ability to teach depends on the specific person's ability to explain:

Yes, I think it depends on the people. Like LGBTS-rights, it depends on the person. People who are not LGBT cannot explain all that well, and they do not understand. For example, when I was in mottak [refugee reception centre], people came in to try teaching us about Norwegian laws, LBGT-rights, marriage equality, they were not homosexuals, but they explained it very well. And I think, when educated well, from time to time, I think that people who were living in the camp, like from the Middle East, from Syria or from different places where such things are not accepted. They came to understand that this is another place, and this is another law and they have to abide by it. So slowly they were changing. Their abuse was changing. So, I don't think we can assume and generalize. Like, to speak, of course also a gay person can speak very well, but we cannot say that if someone is not LGBT, he cannot explain. Because some people also explain better, so I think it also depends on the person (W3P5)

The initial participant added: "I totally agree with you, but here is the thing: The people who came to your camp […], they came to speak with you at your level, and then they built it up from there" (W3P3). "Yes, that is right" (W3P5). (not sure how to 'wrap this up', I feel that the conversations and analyses speak for themselves, and me commenting or elaborating will twist or overshadow what the participant are saying).

Most participants chose to not present their thought-maps on hegemonies, but one participant held up theirs (Appendix 2:7) and summarised counter-hegemonic alliance by explaining that:

gender inequality and LGBT-discrimination are...intertwined in a way, and solutions are not really intertwined. So, actually getting into a place where everything is solved can take more effort than it took to create the problems in the first place (W3P6)

The participant focused on gender inequality and LGBT-discrimination, but their analysis is applicable to all the topics from this field work. In fact, it is applicable to all counter-hegemonic alliances that 'the problems are intertwined, but the solutions are not'. This observation is important for all conversations on activism, solidarity and global development.

Rather than discussing reasons, motivations or goals for solidarity and alliance, the participants from QW were more concerned with framing how to ally, how to represent, and how to speak. The fact that participants so readily built such a framework might have to do with QW starting as a group that grew out of Fri, and the participants status as triple minorities, therefore having more experiences with intersectional representation. The most important was to speak up at all, to not be indifferent to others injustice, then secondly how to speak up and how to take responsibility for having a voice.

4.4 Problems are intertwined, but solutions are not

I will now analyse findings from workshops and events described in Section 2.3.2 and connect these to theory from Chapter 3. In Chapter 3 I focused on finding common ground and describing intertwined problems between queer and Indigenous academia and activism, but for the upcoming analysis I will follow the participants' notion that solutions are not intertwined. Since participants were mostly concerned with *why* form and *how* to form alliances and decolonise, rather than whether it should be done or not, my focus will be on describing how solidarity and alliance can be done. I will also tie together participants analyses of *what* is wrong and *how* with what participants think *can* and *should* be done, thus connecting challenges and solutions.

My main findings are that dominant global development, mainly REDD+ and SDGs, is seen as empty and superficial because it does not challenge oppressive structures nor address underlying causes for marginalisation (to a satisfactory level). Radical change is characterised by emancipation, while liberation is not characterised as radical change (to a satisfactory level). Both theory and field, then, argue that positionality on emancipation versus liberation is prescriptive for radical and authentic change, but also a prerequisite for counter-hegemonic alliance. Although alliances can sort out their shared and not shared positions, there is also an issue with various anxieties arising from activism and solidarity. These anxieties must be addressed, together with the issues of positionality, and I therefore conclude this analysis by suggesting an action-based, radical leadership model for radical counter-hegemonies alliances.

4.4.1 Real development is radical change for emancipation, not merely liberation

Participants see development as change over time, but this change must be radical for there to be 'real' development, if not it is 'empty'. Radical global development means to challenge oppressive structures, including state biopower, and to work towards emancipation rather than liberation. Liberation is to formally achieve equal status, whether through reform or assimilation, while emancipation is to be freed from the power of another through radical change and revolutions. Emancipation cannot be achieved within contemporary hegemonies, such as exclusivist state systems, so authentic development requires radicalisation. Although participants agree that the SDGs can be a framework also for radical change, they critique the

UN for not addressing underlying causes of the issues the SDGs are concerned with. However, they conclude, the UN is not in a position to apply the SDGs radically and never will be.

The UN consists of member states, and their primary goal is to secure their state sovereignty and international cooperation. Although the UN direct global development via the SDGs, the SDGs cannot challenge the marginalisation caused by state systems, because that would challenge member state sovereignty. which the UN is obligated to protect. This means that the UN and the SDGs cannot provide authentic or radical development, but only provide an evolution of and an adaption to oppressive status quo. The UN might not be able to move outside the sovereign state system, but social movements can, which leaves civil society, NGOs and social movements to be drivers for change and challenges to state biopower. Both literature and participants highlight that the goal of social movements should be emancipation rather than liberation, to challenge oppressive states rather than assimilate into them. But as participants point out: there are numerous questions around *how* to generate radical, emancipatory, authentic global development. Questions such as how civil society can come up with a framework for global development that matches and substitutes that of the SDGs, bring back my research problem, the *divide et impera*.

It is difficult to paint a broad picture of what the future of a counter-hegemonic alliance could look like, because social movements are so divided that it is impossible to think them all into one context. Also, the premise of having one collective picture of the future is wrong, since there is no one solution nor one answer. Both from reading literature and listening to participants, I am convinced that to manoeuvre away from contemporary hegemonies (whiteness, colonialism, imperialism, and exclusivist state systems) there must be movements in multiple directions. Counter-hegemonic alliances are not to move as one, but in whatever directions we can away from hegemony, while also manoeuvring to support and uplift each other. This raises issues addressed in Section 3.4, where queer and Indigenous perspectives critiqued each other's positionality. One issue is queer organising holding the state as emancipator, and the other is Indigenous Nation building mirroring the settler nation. Both issues involve a position for liberation, not emancipation, by upholding state biopower and dominance which counteracts the struggle for emancipation. Hence, the first challenge in moving towards radical global development is to find a position of alliance to manoeuvre from.

4.4.2 Positions of alliance and solidarity for radical global development

Positionality for alliance was brought up in section 3.4, critiquing how queer organising positions itself as sexual minorities, and seek liberation through civil rights and state recognition, which hinders alliance with Indigenous movements because sexuality is a colonial tool for creating order. Morgensen (2011b:14) asserts that us non-Indigenous queers must pronounce how nation, gender, and sexuality intersects for us in a settler society, he claim that for us, "claiming a sexual minority identity apart from recognizing its non-Native formation will be a settler colonial act that remains disengaged from Two-Spirit organizing". But non-Indigenous queers "can alter their organizing by neither erasing nor absorbing Native people, but by critiquing settler colonialism, and on that basis meeting Native people in accountable relationships based in anticolonial alliance politics" (Morgensen 2011c:138). Participants from QYN expressed keen interest in re-thinking their position to settler colonialism and to build accountable relationships with Indigenous movements. The views of QYN participants therefore, for me, confirm the potential for conversations and alliances between queer Indigenous, Two-Spirit, and non-Indigenous queer critiques.

Also, Indigenous Nation building is critiqued for seeking recognition from surrounding settler states by mirroring their queerphobia and patriarchy, which hinders Indigenous alliance with queer movements. But Two-Spirit critiques, and projects like the Maori Sexuality Project (Aspin 2011), are problematising cisheteropatriarchal nation building in Native Nations that were gender-nonconforming prior to colonialism. In her later works, Kim TallBear (2018), a Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate professor of racial politics in science, focus on decolonising the valorisation of monogamy by critiquing the hegemonies of "compulsory settler sex, family, and nation". Non-Indigenous queers can easily support these critiques but must do so without centring settler queerness as universal. For example, reading TallBears work as 'Indigenous people are not practicing nonmonogamy' centres a non-Indigenous queer understanding of sexuality because nonmonogamy is equally colonial as monogamy. But, reading TallBears work as 'Indigenous peoples are not practicing settler monogamy' centres Indigenous understandings and relations. Conversations about which political positions hinder and/or support alliance are already present, but we must be wary interpreting a search for shared positions as a demand for universal answers and solutions, because the organisations also stress that strength in alliances partly derive from their different world views, distinct experiences and different solutions.

Drawing on my theory, pluralistic worldviews are a prerequisite for counter-hegemonic alliances and solidarity for radical global development. With multiple world views incorporated, alliances are adaptable to solve numerous development issues by utilising our different perspectives and experiences. Counter-hegemonic alliances must also acknowledge that, although we can learn a lot from each other, there is no blueprint for emancipation. For example, emancipation from gender roles will not look the same for men, women, non-binaries, trans, intersex, and others, and Indigenous sovereignty will not look the same across different Nations and Tribes. But allies within counter-hegemonies must have a basic agreement of what oppression and which hegemonies we are collectively up against, and such solidarity must come from conversations across social movements and sharing knowledge through communities.

When social movements and alliances lack conversations and learning across communities, activists will lack know-how, and this may make activists anxious and therefore hinder solidarity. Much of the know-how in activism comes from first-hand experience with marginalisation, and these experiences spark a more intuitive navigation *away* from oppression with less focus on precisely where to. And social movements can perhaps be disorienting for those of us who do not have first-hand experiences with the specific marginalisation in question, meaning that social organising is less intuitive for allies when we do not know where to manoeuvre too nor from. Lack of know-how in solidary activism was described by participants when they talked about fear of over-stepping (W1), insecurity about when and how to speak up (W2), and not being heard or represented respectfully (W3). These situations cause anxieties, which, if not dealt with, may weaken solidarity and harm alliances. But such anxieties can be mitigated by talking and learning across movements.

The participants are voicing uncertainty about how decolonization will work in terms of dismantling settler state power, articulating a settler fear of chaos and the need for settlers to have a recognizable future. Most of us settlers are living in a time where our future is predictable and familiar, whereas a decolonised future is unfamiliar and therefore scary. Fear forecloses plurality (Agathangelou 2016), meaning that fear hinders pluralistic worldviews, and therefore decolonisation, which is contingent on multiple worldviews existing together. But a decolonized future will not be recognizable for the settler unless we take responsibility and shape that future ourselves. Morgensen (2011c:45) explains, that "queer Indigenous critiques

call participants in non-Native queer politics to investigate their formation by settler colonialism and respond with new radicalization". Radicalization is to imagine non-Native queerness in a future outside the settler state, to have an anticolonial queer politics of futurity. And QYN-participants were ready to shift their queer movement into a radical position to settler colonialism, meaning that they are either unafraid of a decolonised future or willing to tackle that fear.

Cox (2000:226) argues that those who remain suspicious of contemporary development ideologies "have so far failed to present a compelling alternative". He expects a singular alternative that substitutes a globally white world, but what we are searching for looks nothing like that. The compelling alternatives does not look neat, but rather messy and unsettling, like looking through a kaleidoscope; multiple bits and pieces continuously shifting together in a disorderly but beautiful mosaic of futures. Cox (2000:229) also writes: "the problem for political analysis is to spot these contradictions and to assess the possible directions for change. The bias implicit in enquiring into the development of civilizations is an acknowledgement that there *is* collective choice about the future for societies. More likely there will be several collective visions". We cannot imagine a collective future if we are not thinking together collectively: Such polytheism requires an omnipresence of thought, a pluralistic actual imagination of our futures, not just extrapolations of the status quo.

To build a shared understanding of alliance and solidary know-how, we must talk about time-constructs within social movements. As explained in section *3.1 A philosophical framework*, different time constructs generate different ways of working towards emancipation. Participants in all workshops problematised the roles of time-horizons and goal-orientation within counter-hegemonic alliance. A participant said **"**It will take a long time to 'tidy up' the leftovers from colonialism, if it ever is tidied. It will probably never be fully de-colonised" (W1P2). Another concluded that "actually getting into a place where everything is solved can take more effort than it took to create the problems in the first place" (W3P6). Some participants discussed feelings of anxiety and fear related to not having clear goals or not knowing what the end-goals from radical global development might look like (W2P3). Both literature and field, confirm an understanding of anti-oppressive work as not defined by time or end-goals, but just work that everybody must always do. This renders global development work defined by uncertainty and prone to anxiety, since it remains impossible to describe one universal future.

4.4.3 Alliances must deal with anxieties from activism

The open-endedness of radical alliances can cause anxieties related to insecurities of how, when and where to perform solidary activism, but standing outside of alliance can also cause anxiety. A participant explained a type of existential angst from being hyper-aware of how majority people expect people of minorities to appear and behave, who therefore must constantly evaluate potential consequences of their actions. Another gave the example of a lack of alliance from the white, queer, Norwegian educators who did not want to de-centre themselves. Their lack of self-awareness sabotaged solidarity when they failed to respond when explained how to find common issues and a common language for talking with people at refugee reception centres. Hence, marginalisation and differences in privilege can also generate lack self-awareness, which is harmful for alliance and solidary activism.

Also, people in privileged positions can perform solidarity but might lack a self-sustaining force to organise themselves, partly because of their comfortable positions but also a worry about over-stepping those with the 'proper right to protest'. A proper right to protest derives from experienced oppression, because struggle from a position of marginalisation necessitates activism but also makes organising more intuitive. I understand the lack of solidary activism as a silent consent, with consent both to oppressive hegemonies but also to their abolishment: people of privilege are not strongly affected either way but sympathise with those seeking justice. This might stem from people of privilege not seeing how their position oppress others, because it is easier to identify with the oppressed than as an oppressor (Tuck & Yang 2012). But then again, being in a position of privilege and seeing how you are benefiting from an oppressive system but not finding like-minded allies among your peers can induce anxiety from loneliness, as described by participant one in workshop two. And to be honest, I am familiar with the feeling of solitude within academia, but I have also been lucky to meet a handful co-students who share my radical sentiments, and together we have carved out a small community of radical activist-academics who support and nurture each other.

Feelings of solidarity are valuable and important, and actions of solidarity can drive change over time, thus drive development. An outsider might never fully learn or achieve full self-awareness, and will therefore be unsure about how, when and where to perform solidarity. Participants describe comfort from privilege, and discomfort from activism and solidarity because of not knowing when and how to perform solidarity causes anxiety, and the fear of over-stepping causes inaction and silence. These feelings of self-awareness and anxieties partly

describe how QYN participants are wary of how to be an ally with Garmeres, and how SAIH participants worry about how to speak up and act from a place of privilege, and how QW has emerged as a space more inclusive of minorities within minorities. So, there is a need to figure out how feelings of solidarity can be turned into actions of solidarity that do not over-step or misrepresent. Some participants described a step-by-step plan for avoiding speaking over. Others expressed a longing for leadership and more radical intersectional organising to alleviate anxiety, loneliness, and discomfort through moving to solidary activism.

4.4.4 Radical leaderships for radical alliances

First, I must address two important, interlocking, aspects of leadership from the margins, namely the idea of having a 'proper right to protest', and relationships with power contingent on privilege. Foucault (1975) describes power as both negative and positive,[25] and I argue that a person with more privilege has more experience with positive power, while a more marginalised person has more experience with negative power. This has implications for how leadership is performed and recognised, because leadership is to wield power. People with privilege are given, often economic, incentives to change their behaviour, while marginalised people are governed by surveillance, policing, and criminalisation of their ethnicity and/or livelihoods. If leaders from the margins have experiences with power as negative, as abusive, reductive, oppressive, and limiting human capabilities and worth, then I assume this will affect how these leaders express and wield their leadership. Perhaps different activists would even have difficulties of recognising leadership from different positions, because of the different powers these positions offer.

Another difference between leadership and the power it holds comes from the idea of having a 'proper right to protest', brought up in all three workshops: those most affected by marginalisation are also most qualified to lead its resistance, which has three important implications. First, if those furthest out in the margins are most fit to lead radical alliances, leadership will be weak because the heaviest workload is put on those with fewest resources. And sometimes it is neither safe nor feasible to lead from furthest out in the margins, since "we are not accommodated or accepted in our home countries", and therefore hindered in taking leadership (W3P5). Second, such an idea could erase responsibility from people with privilege

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[25] From lecture 15th of January: "We pass from a technology of power that drives out, excludes, banishes, marginalises, and repress, to a fundamentally positive power that fashions, observes, knows, and multiplies itself on the basis of its own effects" (Foucault 1975).

as an excuse from taking on positions of leadership where they risk exposure to necropolitics. Third, this idea weakens adaptabilities in alliances. Marginalisation is not experienced equally across communities, since oppression is not inter-swappable, therefore must positions of leadership be mobile as to respond effectively to hegemonic manoeuvres. Counter-hegemonic alliances must apply leaderships that take turns, so that those with the most first-hand experience and most knowledge about the specific movement are leading the alliance. For that to work there must be a shared understanding of, and more conversations about what radical leadership is.

Based on issues and solutions addressed in literature and field, my contribution to this conversation is to suggest a model for radical leadership in radical alliances. The model in Figure 4 suggests a starting point for discussing leadership, not as a suggested blueprint. Bullet points in Figure 4 also connects horizontally, e.g. *listening* facilitate *conversations* which generate *know-how*. The model is also inspired from my queer experiences with power-play in BDSM (Bondage, Discipline, Dominance, submission, Sadism, (sado-)Machoism), as well as my leadership-experiences in social movements. To my understanding, leadership must wield positive power, meaning that it nurtures, enables, motivates, inspires, leads and unites. Leaders are facilitators, both for movements and for activist's growth within movements, thus the first thing a leader must do is to listen, then guide and speak. I see a need for further research on such radical leadership in counter-hegemonic alliances.

Figure 4: Model for action-based, radical leadership that can foster active, radical alliances. (Figure by the author).

The crucial actions in leadership is to listen, guide and speak. Where speaking follows the four-step rules of thumb from participant one in workshop three: 1) those who are talked

about are the ones who participate, 2) if someone in question are not present, find someone, 3) when speaking for someone who cannot be present, ask them first what they want you to say, and 4) remember that you are speaking for someone else, thus do not centre yourself. Such leadership and organising can lead to alliances and solidarity where conversations, community building and learning are centred, thus alleviating much of the potential anxieties described previously. Community enables feeling of belonging, learning enables felling of achievements, which in turn generates solidary activism fuelled by know-how, sharing of struggle, and continued radicalisation. Activism based on learning, sharing struggle, and mutual radicalisation, fosters activist whose future leadership is centred on listening, learning, and facilitating.

Counter-hegemonic alliances shift when oppressive hegemonies shift, and since there is always movement there will always be need for learning. It is important to stay humble in conversations about marginalization we have not experienced personally, and it is important to guide allies who are learning. As participants in workshop three explained, speaking at level ten to someone on level minus ten will not foster solidarity, so experienced activists need to nurture the language of newer activists. In counter-hegemonic alliances it is important to take the time to learn, to build community, and to listen to those who have first-hand experience and knowledge about the marginalisation we are so eager to help alleviate. Especially if we are already positioned within a dominant discourse on global development.

5 Listen and learn for authentic development: Conclusions

Here I will give short summaries of my key findings from literature and fieldwork respectively (Section 5.1). Then in Section 5.2, I will elaborate on the implications of these findings and conclusions by arguing that radicalisation is a prerequisite for development. In Section 5.3 I relate these points to my research aims, in particular some assumptions I held but which gave way to new insights. Then lastly, in Section 5.4, I suggest what I see as some of the needs for knowledge and next interesting steps forward from my research.

5.1 A summary of key findings from literature and field

These are my key findings from reviewing literatures within queer, Indigenous and global development studies:

1) Dominant discourse on global development, held by UN member states, have limited room for unmuting conversations outside state biopower because these challenge or threaten state sovereignty.

2) Colonialism and cisheteropatriarchy are more intertwined than they first appear to be and cisheteropatriarchy can be theorised as colonialism at the intersection of queer and Indigenous theory.

3) Although colonialism and cisheteropatriarchy can be theorised as one, queer and Indigenous conceptions of and solutions for emancipation are not the same. Queer and Indigenous organising are in some regard incommensurable, particularly regarding how the nation state is theorised and how the concept of time is constructed, organised, and related to. Much of the incommensurability derives from different possibilities for thinking about and reaching for whiteness, since queer subjects are usually imagined as white and Indigenous peoples as 'traditionally' cisheteronormative.

4) Queer and Indigenous organising challenge and support each other in so fundamental ways that they tend to pull each other towards more radical positions. For queer theory this means to theorise more about emancipation outside state biopower, and for Indigenous organising this means to avoid mimicking the settler state in order to obtain recognition.

5) At the intersection of queer and Indigenous theories we can learn how to unsettle oppressive social hierarchies and hegemonies, and how to change our relationships to sexuality, sovereignty, and land.

These are my key findings from field research in the form of workshops conducted with civil society organisations in queer and academic organising:

1) Global development is seen as change over time. If change is not radical enough to mitigate oppressive structures, development is seen as empty and unauthentic.

2) Non-Indigenous queer organising wish to build alliance with queer Indigenous organising and are willing to radically change their position on state biopower but are insecure about how.

3) Solidarity and intersectional activism can cause various anxieties that are harmful for alliance and even activism in general. While emotions that activate and deactivate solidarity need to be studied further my findings suggest that radical leadership and representability in leaders can alleviate anxiety and consolidate intersectional activism.

4) As I interpret participants, what is most important is to speak up on any injustice, whether it is your own or experienced by someone else. Yet to keep talking without conversation is detrimental. These conversations must be focused on learning about and sharing struggles, because alliance requires shared understandings, not necessarily shared solutions. Shared solutions can even co-opt alliance into a one-sided struggle for emancipation.

5.2 Radicalisation as prerequisite for global development

Queering and decolonizing global development will require re-imagining global justice, private property, sexuality, land, and the relationships between global powers, nations, peoples and the diversity of families and communities to which they belong. As argued by Drucker (2009:830), "Queering families, communities, and larger societies lays bare the socially constructed, ideological character of gender, family, and sexual structures" which helps organisations and social movements ask better questions "about what kinds of network best meet their material, social, emotional, and sexual needs". By challenging power-relations in

settler society, we also radically challenge our relations to land, sovereignty, and global development: "Decolonization offer a different perspective to human and civil rights-based approaches to justice, an unsettling one, rather than a complimentary one. Decolonization is not an 'and'. It is an elsewhere" (Tuck & Yang 2012:36). Authentic, emancipatory global development must therefore challenge white nation building and, in particular, we as scholars must challenge the ahistorical accounts we give of coloniality and biopower, as "these temporalized colonialisms in various pasts" are reproduced in the "supposedly unprecedented power relations in the present" (Morgensen, 2011:69). Global development cannot be contingent on white settler states.

However, the SDGs, by not being explicitly anticolonial, imply that everyone should want to live in a globally white world and reach for its whiteness. The problem is that the SDGs cannot challenge member states because the UN is supposed to nurture state sovereignty at the same time as global development is contingent on the SDGs. The UN is severely restricted in formulating development goals that speak of anticolonialism or queerness, as it would challenge the sovereignty of member states. And since the SDGs are silent on these matters, those who benefit are the oppressors: the modern nation state remains sovereign to persist as a racist cisheteropatriarchal colonial state. The solution to this conundrum is to dismantle the nation state, but we cannot expect nation states to do so.

The problem is not limited to the SDGs: for example, the World Bank is in no condition to provide funding in a manner that respects the integrity and sovereignty of BIPOC Nations. Aid from the World Bank is at best a sponsorship for the transition from Otherness to whiteness. This will generally involve financially extorting the affectable Other into becoming like the universal western subject. When laws, jurisdiction, socio-economic programmes, legal agreements, and so on, are based upon cisheteronormative whiteness, the result is that large and complex groups are rendered as of *homo sacers*, human beings who may be abandoned, even sacrificed. What we need instead is a global development that nurtures development outside nation states, that builds anti-fragile communities who can thrive independently of how society at large is organized and, with time, transform society at large. This means that instead of producing knowledge in some abstract relation to existing, dominant forms of governance, knowledge and relations must be land-based and community-based. In this regard, the global world has much to learn from Indigenous communities and their methodologies.

Global development must be socially transformative, and "alliances are necessary if Native scholars and activists are to build sufficient political power to enable the social transformation needed to ensure the survival of Indigenous Nations" (Smith 2010:43). One such alliance is non-Indigenous queer organising within settler states. As argued by Morgensen (2011:147), all non-Indigenous in a settler society must "admit their formation by colonialism, including both sexual minority and queer activists." I agree with Morgensen that queer politics has the potential to respond to and promote Two-Spirit organizing if it is grounded in anticolonialism, antiracism, and anti-imperialism. Non-Native queers too must critique and reject colonial cisheteropatriarchy and the nation state as colonial projects of settler societies. Instead we can reject "belonging to the settler state *and* desire for indigeneity in its place", by using and combining radical critiques of sexuality, gender and colonialism (Morgensen 2011c:147).

Global development theory must be radical, because true development requires us to break with status quo when status quo is oppressive. Oppression hinders human development and capabilities. Sometimes global development theory is about spreading modernity, but to the degree modernity is a colonial construct, global development fosters colonial order. I think that by listening and learning from queer desire and organising and Indigenous practices and knowledges, the white subject can begin to find its authentic self. No longer as a universal subject constructed as superior to all Others, but as an affectable subject constructed on its authentic desires for safety, inclusion, growth, protection, integrity, justice, sovereignty and so on. And I think this must happen before global development can become a healthy, inclusive, emancipatory and authentic development. If the universal white subject is not revolutionised, then we cannot start tackling white supremacy within global institutions and agencies.

5.3 A reflection on assumptions and lessons learned

During my research I discovered that I started this thesis with several assumptions. First and foremost, I assumed that dominant discourse on global development has the necessary room to facilitate a genuine unmuting of conversations from the margins, including those between queer and Indigenous organising. But I now understand that global development discourse is hegemonic to a degree and in a manner that does not have the space for advocates of

emancipation to speak about real change nor about the underlying, structural causes of marginalisation. Because such conversations would require a radical global development field to re-imagine development as processes led and realised outside state structures, which mainstream development agencies like the UN, World Bank, the WHO and the IMF would not tolerate, since they are composed of and funded by nation states.

My second assumption, exposed in the thesis statement, was that colonialism and cisheterosexism are two separate structures, when in reality they are one and the same: cisheteropatriarchy enables colonialism and colonialism enforces cisheteropatriarchy. Therefore, to dismantle cisheteropatriarchy is to decolonise, and vice versa.

The second hindsight lead me to my third assumption: since oppressive structures are intertwined, I assumed that queer and Indigenous experiences could be mirrored. But, although they are targeted by the same oppressive structures, in significant respects, neither our experiences, nor our perspectives, nor the solutions to the oppression are the same. Rather, I found that queer and Indigenous organising trouble each other more than I had anticipated. At the same time, when we listen and learn from each other, our critiques may also strengthen our alliance and respective theories. In my position, as a non-Indigenous queer scholar, alliance between queer and Indigenous organising offers an anticolonial queer critique that opposes not only colonial and cisheteropatriarchal development, but also opposes oppressive hegemonic global development at large. So, if I were to re-write my thesis statement now, it would read as follows:

Queer and Indigenous organising, both activism and academia, share intersecting critiques of global development. In being accountable to their respective positions, queer and Indigenous critiques hold academic and political counter-hegemonic alliances that can build and fortify opposition to hegemonic global development.

The fourth assumption that was weakened, or even proven wrong, during the process of my research was my ambition to fill gaps of theory and activism within global development, to bridge the *divide et impera*, as I proposed in my research aims. But I found that, although queer and Indigenous organising do have intersecting critiques and can thus support each other, some

movements are incommensurable and therefore need to change their positions for alliance to become possible. This change must be a radical one, in which both queer and Indigenous organising change their position on ruling hegemonies, to world order which means: to a world biopower of whiteness. Furthermore, non-Indigenous allies must take responsibility for our own decolonised future, because we hold colonial privilege that is not justifiable nor compatible with decolonisation and, thus we have to detach from that comfortable position. There is potential for future alliance between queer and Indigenous organising, not only from us experiencing similar oppressive hegemonies, but also from our different strengths under the same oppressive hegemonies.

As for development studies, I think that for global development to become authentic, it needs to radically address oppressive structures and uproot underlying causes of marginalisation. The divides between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic development theories must become bigger and clearer to the actors, because development theories that do not challenge oppressive systems are not authentic. I have been fooled into thinking that non-radical development theories could offer real change, but I no longer am. Clarifying this divide might draw more activists towards academics, who can promote the expansion and refinement of anti-oppressive and counter-hegemonic development theories and work to tie stronger bonds between academics and activism.

From my fieldwork, I learned that academics and activists are longing for each other, and I believe that we must find more and better ways of connecting. Participants talked about loneliness from not having like-minded peers, and a longing for more radical movements to engage in. And I think that critical, sometimes activist, academics must work more to build an activist community within academia, not just do academia as some sort of solo mission, which I am guilty of doing here in the beginning of my life as an academic. As Driskill et al. (2011:218) argues, community among academics and with academics is important also for Indigenous activists because "the idea of 'community' often creates a false binary between activists and academic discourses." Activists can build academic intellectual community and remain rooted in grassroots political movements. Such activist academic can build intellectual alliances and activism, and "does not foreclose participation in nonacademic communities, nor does it exclude non-academics from participating in this community" (Driskill

2011:218). Stronger bonds between academics and activists contributes to political change and will highlight the necessity of as well as strengthen counter-hegemonic alliance. Thus, it is my firm conclusion that counter-hegemonic alliances need more conversations between academics and activisms.

To conclude on the theme of dominant discourse, I will shift my initial perspective from unmuting conversations to rather listen and learn from already ongoing conversations. The unmuting is a perspective of bringing conversations *into* dominant discourse, while the listening is to acknowledge the integrity, agency, and sovereignty *outside* dominant discourses. Limiting conversations on global development to the UNs 193 member states is not global development, but a continuation of the status quo. Global development discourse must talk about and imagine alternative futures outside nation states, map out potentially desired trajectories, and talk about authentic, anti-oppressive, anticolonial, and emancipatory work. Queer, BIPOC, and Others, are already talking about radical change, emancipation, responsible existence, and authentic development: It is just a matter for global development workers to listen and learn. A global development field must be able to recognize and respect that quality of life, societies, and development is not going to look, nor supposed to look, the same across the globe. There is no universal answer to development questions nor any universal civilization to export. There is no White Man's Burden to carry.

5.4 Further studies to build alliances in anticolonial queer organising

For further studies to develop the insights and address the gaps that I have identified through this work, I recommend studies, research and discussion on the following five aspects:

1) *How time can be theorised at the intersections of social movements, and how time-power can be utilised in counter-hegemonic alliances*, for example by collectively calling out the use of *tradition* as political dog whistling. The need for theorising time has already been pointed out by, among others, Driskill (2010:70), who claims that "instead of seeing decolonization as something that has a fixed and finite goal, decolonial activism and scholarship ask us to radically reimagine our futures", and I think re-imagining futures within counter-hegemonic alliances will be necessary and ultimately fruitful.

2) *The desired level of radicality in counter-hegemonic alliances*. Perhaps the least common denominator for counter-hegemonic alliances is not in what we wish to reach but what we wish to abandon, meaning that instead of looking for what we have in common within oppressive hegemonies we can examine what we have in common outside. Thereby we can contribute to describing collective futures, not just the individual and collective experiences of oppression, so as not to get stuck in the past nor in the here and now.

3) *Emotions connected to activism and solidarity, especially emotions that pacify or activate solidarity*. Understanding and handling emotions with care and self-care is crucial for outsiders, potential allies and activists-to-be, as well as those who are already activists and who might struggle with feelings of loneliness or misrepresentations within solidary movements, thus risking deactivation. Conversations on these emotions are most likely a productive place to start building alliance too, and to make alliances stronger and more responsive.

4) *Radical leadership and intersectional leadership*, and how they are performed and perceived, with special focus on leaders and activists' personal experiences with positive and negative power.

5) *Knowledge that enables queer theory and queer movements to re-focus on what authentic queer lives and futures might and should look like.* This requires us to critically examine if we might be afraid of losing privilege by not reaching for whiteness and not mimicking heterosexuality.

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