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Crossing the Divide: Reconciling International Student Migration and Indigenous Peoples

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Abstract

Reconciliation rests at the nexus of relationships between immigrants and Indigenous peoples of Canada. Setting out this literature review was focused on providing an environmental landscape on what has been researched on the reconciliation between international students, Canadian higher education, and Indigenous peoples. However, as this comprehensive literature review will demonstrate there is considerable extant literature regarding related topics, new immigrant transitioning, socio-cultural and historical contexts, contestations, and decolonizing initiatives within universities and communities, which while related and offer opportunities of engagement, do not delph deep into Canadian higher education's role (as an economic immigration pathway) in the reconciliation of international students (as potential new immigrants and settlers) and Indigenous Peoples' Whilst this literature review explores key concepts and contestations its' overall purpose has been to reveal gaps, and crevices, which demonstrate the need for research into Canadian higher education's ethical and fraught role into reconciling international students and their relations with Indigenous peoples. This literature review is followed by research recommendations focused on addressing the gaps identified and formed around two key questions: 1. how do international students' perceptions about Indigenous peoples change and 2. how might this contribute to reconciliation, if at all?

Keywords: (Internationalization, Indigenization, Racism)

Crossing the Divide: Reconciling International Student Migration and Indigenous Peoples

Higher Education's Role in Settler-Hood

The purpose of this study was to produce a scoped literature review of the Canadian higher education and overall landscape on how international students (new future immigrants) form their opinions, thoughts, and beliefs and understanding about Indigenous Peoples of Canada. This topic of begins in Foucauldian "genealogical" style as it unpacks the "history of the present" of Canadian higher education and its' reliance on international student tuition revenue and its' balance of Indigenous decolonization (Foucault, 1991, p. 53-54). Canadian higher education has found itself as the primary economic federal migration pathway for international students seeking eligibility to meet permanent residency requirements in Canada. As such Calder et al. (2016) asserts that Canadian higher education has increasingly higher "stakes in the success of [international] students". Additionally, Canadian higher education is in an ethically fraught position as while it has been charged with the decolonization of higher education in support of Indigenous students (TRC, 2015), it is being funded to do this primarily through internationalization recruitment, retention, and attrition of international students. According to Statistics Canada (2020a), "Over a ten year-period international students' education in formal programs [have] more than tripled while Canadian student enrolments increased at a slower pace…[this] represents 57.2% of total growth in… [post-secondary] program enrolments" (p. 1). More than federal IRCC pressure, post-secondary has become increasingly, "relian[t]…on [international student] tuition as a revenue source [which] has grown over the past decade to an estimated 40% of all tuition fee [revenues] and [now] accounted for almost $4 billion in annual revenues for Canadian universities in 2018/2019" (Statistics Canada, 2020b, p.1).

The economic investments by international students in Ontario alone are evidenced by "international students [directly contribute[ing] $7.8 billion to the Ontario economy in 2016" (Ministry of Advanced Education and Skills Development, 2019, p. 5). The Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada (IRCC, 2020) Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration indicated that in 2020 alone, over "5,774, 342 travel documents [were] issued to visitors, workers, and students, [including an additional] 404,369 temporary work permits, [of which] 74,586 individuals transitioned from temporary foreign worker and international mobility programs, [and] 341,180 permanent residents [were]admitted to Canada. [As such] permanent and non-permanent immigration [now]account[s] for 80% of Canada' s population growth" (p. 1). These figures align with the Statistics Canada (2020a) report that reported, "international students account for all the growth in postsecondary enrolments in 2018/2019", [and in the] 2018/2019 academic year, over 2.1 million students were enrolled in Canadian public universities and colleges, up 1.8% from the previous year" (p. 1).

The Ontario Ministry of Advanced Education and Skills Development (OMAESD, 2018) indicated that "Long-term international students directly contributed $7.8 billion to the Ontario economy in 2016, supporting thousands of jobs across the province. Institutional revenues alone from international postsecondary students totaled $1.8 billion in 2015-2016" (p. 5). Further OMAESD (2018) indicated that "Education is an important Canadian export. Education-related services are among the country's top 10-service exports, accounting for $5.8 billion in 2015" (*ibid*, p. 3)". Further, "The ministry estimates that by 2022, If current trends continue, international enrolments will account for roughly 20 percent of all postsecondary enrolments in the province" (*ibid*, p. 5).

Although OMAESD (2018) indicated they hoped to "enhance Ontario's settlement services" in coordination with the Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration with the hope of "expanding the International Student Connect program pilot across more campuses and municipalities, connecting international students to settlement organizations" (p. 5), this has not happened as of 2021, and current immigrant settlement services include international student support in the form of funded workshops on resumes, tax assistance, which has left higher education institutions across Canada in a tenuous position to provide settlement services which extend beyond their institutional mandates of supporting international students academically and personally in their successful credential completion.

The focus of IRCC's immigration pathway via Canadian higher education for international student transition to permanent residency places increasing pressure on Canadian higher education to prepare international students as the next generation of Canadian settlers. As such higher education is the primary conduit and incubator for emerging immigrant settler-hood issues between international students and Indigenous Peoples. As Jodi Byrd (2011) asserts, "settlers, arrivants [immigrants], and natives" [are] not separate but "bleed[ing] into one another…[and] the task is to discern how the noise of competing claims, recognitions and remediations function to naturalize possession at the site of post-racial inclusion, transformative multiculturalism, and cruel optimism" (p. 40). This is described by Tuck & Yang (2012) as "colonial equivocation" (p. 7), which according to Chatterjee (2018a), is the "minimizing or collapsing [of] the Indigenous and immigrant experience" (p 6).

As Chatterjee (2018b) asserts citing Byrd, it is this "'cacophony…a critical term diagnosing the persistence of racialization, subjugation, and hierarchized subject positionalities within and among those targeted and oppressed by the processes of imperialism and colonialism, war, and genocide, [where] alliances [forge]across historical and cultural experiences in opposition to the competition upon which colonialism relies'". Chatterjee (2018b) claims it is this, "'cacophony' of the competing projects of diasporic immigrants and Indigenous peoples that allow the settler state to continue its business as usual" (p. 6). Despite higher education being 'ground zero' for Byrd's (2011) "cacophony" of international student settlement and Indigenous Peoples reconciliation, there has been no research conducted on these relationships (specifically) and on how TRC's (2015) *Calls to Action* for educational decolonization are working to reconcile these potential new immigrants with Indigenous Peoples work on sovereignty. Historical context is provided followed by themes in the extant literature which provide an environmental landscape on key discussions and work yet to be done for higher education to play an important role in guiding international students (as future settlers) and Indigenous Peoples in reconciliation.

Historical Context of Immigration and Indigenous Peoples

Bohaker and Iacovetta (2009) provide a historical and political account of how Indigenous peoples, policies, and civic education have been not only run out of the same government offices as immigration but used to assimilate and integrate Indigenous peoples akin to new immigrants to Canada. Bohaker and Iacovetta (2009) argue that since the beginning of immigration policy, the government has sought to treat both Indigenous Peoples and immigrants the same (outsiders that must be assimilated and integrated). Both Bohaker and Iocovetta (2009) assert that the combination of the post-world war and the passing of the 1947 Citizenship Act followed by governing the Department of Citizenship and Immigration (DCI), and Indian Affairs by one central ministry "from 1950 until 1966" was done as a strategic move

as "ministry officials aimed to create a "one size fits all category of societal citizenship". DCI's activities were heavily modelled after the citizenship campaigns being developed for immigrants within the DCI's Canadian Citizenship branch" (p. 427).

Defining a Canadian National Unity

These campaigns assert Bohaker and Iocovetta (2009) focused "ministry officials and their network of public and private groups, and agencies [in the creation of] a one-size-fits-all category of societal Canadian citizenship" (p. 427). As Bohaker and Iocovetta (2009) note, when Canadian prime minister Louis St. Laurent was asked in 1950 why he housed Indian Affairs with Citizenship and Immigration he said, "to make Canadian citizens of those who come here as immigrants, and to make Canadian citizens of as many as possible of the descendants of the original inhabitants of this country" (p. 429). DCI went on "to develop integration programs for both newcomers and Aboriginals until 1966, when Indian Affairs moved to a new ministry" (Bohaker & Iocovetta, 2009, p. 429).

As Bohaker and Iocovetta (2009) point out, the Canadian government's work to create a "national unity" that enveloped settlers, new immigrants, and Indigenous peoples was "'to make Aboriginals immigrants too' through repetitive assimilation tactics however, even present day the concept of "national unity provided by 'Canadian citizenship'[which] is 'contested ground' for Indigenous peoples vying for sovereignty" (p. 427). Moreover, Bohaker and Iacovetta (2009) assert the best way for a "dominant group" to clean up its' political image is to create an image (as Canada has done) of being an innovative multicultural "peacebuilding nation to the world, which includes a purge (whitewashing) of past systemic racism and colonization of Indigenous Peoples" (p. 427). Whereas Wallis et al. (2010) claim that recognition of both groups as distinct and separate is an important step towards finding paths to reconciliation, as both "exist in Canada's history and present an unacknowledged continuity that defines its dominant and structural social, economic, political and cultural orders" (p, 1).

Themes

Terra Nullis

In discussing Canadian colonization, settlers, and Indigenous peoples, both Buchan (2005) and Wallis et al., (2010) discuss the foundational use of the European indoctrination term 'Terra Nullis', and according to Buchan (2005), Europeans used this legal term to claim that Canadian "land was occupied but unowned' and "therefore vacant" (p. 1). Windschuttle in Buchan (2005) makes the case that British settlers "brought the gift of civilization and new techniques for living, however their claim to define who is 'civilized' and why some are 'uncivilized' or 'savages' should be questioned" (p.3). Buchan (2005) asserts that "ideas of civilization helped to shape colonial attitudes towards Indigenous peoples" and "these stereotypes are still at play in modern contexts" (p. 4). This idea is furthered by Wallis et al. (2010) who argue that additional "structural hierarchies of racial inequality…attempt to erase its Indigenous reality" (p. 1), and the use of 'Terra Nullis' by original settlers to Canada has encouraged the present day concepts of "globalization, where there is a constant ebb and flow of newcomers that are colonizers or victims of colonization, which makes 'colonization' and 'racialization' the foundation to begin the conversation between newcomers and Indigenous Peoples" (p. 3). Both Wallis et al. (2010) stress that 'coalition building' between racialized newcomers and Indigenous Peoples is a strategy to counter political rhetoric used as a 'divide and conquer' attempt to keep these groups alienated" (p. 5).

Reconciliation Where to Begin?

How does Canada reconcile new immigrants and Indigenous Peoples in a respectful relationship? As Akhmetova (2019) points outs in her research into newcomers and immigrant settlement services in Manitoba that most “newcomers” or “immigrants” to Canada are unaware of how to approach their relationship with Indigenous Peoples, as “they could [not] articulate their understanding of reconciliation…[and]it seemed that was a general lack of understanding or agreement among non-Indigenous peoples that they [even]…shared [a]responsibility to reconcile" and all participants in Akhmetova’s research agreed that they need more education on Indigenous Peoples and reconciliation (p. 44).

Akhmetova's (2019) research determined three rationales provided by newcomers regarding their responsibility or non-responsibility for reconciliation with Indigenous peoples. The first was that newcomers did not feel responsible or supportive of original settler decisions regarding residential schools and felt since they were not direct hereditary descendants of these people, they were innocent. Secondly, some immigrants felt because their home countries are also impacted by colonization, they could not envision themselves as both the "colonizer" and the "colonized" therefore they were also innocent. Thirdly, new immigrants have other pressing priorities when they arrive from shelter and employment, which leaves little time to consider Indigenous Peoples and the "injustices of their past”, so survival also made them innocent (p. 64).

New Settler Separation from Original Settler Colonial Identity?

Information shared on or by Indigenous Peoples to newcomers either from settlement or other government or non-government agencies informs and provides new immigrants knowledge and representation on the dominant’s group view of Indigenous Peoples. Also, information shared sets expectations of what the relationship should or should not be between newcomer immigrants and Indigenous peoples. This information (or non-information) sets the tone of “appropriation of Indigenous land and exploitation of Indigenous labour”, and these are, “foundation in settler nation formation” sustainability (Chatterjee, 2018, p. 5).

As Fanon (1963) describes this passing of Colonizer perspective on Indigenous Peoples to newcomers could be paramount to a “kind of perverted logic”, as he asserts that “colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native’s brain of all form and content…it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures, and destroys it. This work of devaluing pre-colonial history takes on a dialectical significance today” (p. 210).

New Settler Intent & Complicity

The relationship between new immigrants and Indigenous Peoples is not just based on historical or current information provided or not provided to newcomers at the time of settlement. As Jaffri (2012) indicates migrant intent is a concept needing examination, as perceived migrant "complicity" towards Indigenous Peoples in the recolonization of Canada needs to be considered as the "thinking in terms of complicity shifts attention away from the self and onto strategies and relations that reproduce social and institutional hierarchies" (p. 55). Many migrants are unaware of Canada's political and historical past with Indigenous Peoples

despite that they may also be benefitting from the stolen land following arrival (Jaffri, 2012; Dua & Lawrence, 2005). In contrast as Jaffri (2012) points out, this "shift in thinking places greater emphasis on migrant accountability for beliefs and actions instead of migrant culpability on their thoughts, beliefs, and actions of Indigenous Peoples" (p. 55). However, as Akhmetova (2019) and Lawrence and Dua (2005) note, newcomers may not see themselves as complicit as there is a distinction noted between settler and white privilege. Akhmetova (2019) notes new immigrant "settler privilege…gives an opportunity to associate with the benefits of living on stolen lands," but that this benefit comes with their recognition that they may also experience racialization and discrimination (Akhmetova, 2019, p. 54). Nevertheless, Akhmetova (2019) notes when "complicity" pertaining to settler colonialism occurs, it is through no fault of their own, as new immigrants can be "vulnerable to adopting inaccurate information about Indigenous peoples" due to the lack of "Indigenous education and orientation [they receive following] arrival to Canada" (p. 67) (this will be flushed out later in this examination).

Newcomer Accountability for Ongoing Settler Colonialism

Although Lawrence and Dua (2005) argue, that racialized people through their "citizenship and voting rights contribute to the government's policy and processes on reconciliation and decolonization, with and for Indigenous Peoples", they do not fully acknowledge the marginalized position that many of these people may be in that contribute to their inability to have a voice from financial and health insecurities, language deficits, and not understanding government policy, process, and history (p 162). Albeit Lawrence and Dua (2005) give some consideration of racialized peoples need to assimilate and integrate, their cultural and lived experience in other countries, including increased pressure to assimilate and fit in with the dominant group (not to be accused of taking some of the original settlers pie), and how this all plays into a perceived "complacency", they challenge the idea that "only white and European settlers can be guilty or solely responsible for colonization when racialized peoples are also benefitting from what has been stolen from Indigenous Peoples" (p. 132).

Despite Lawrence and Dua's (2005) assertion that immigrants "at particular historical moments…may have been complicit with ongoing land theft and colonial domination of Aboriginal peoples" (p. 132), they go on to build their argument that other pre-existing factors (government policy and processes including the Indian Act of 1876), have had more impact on the current relationship between Indigenous Peoples and new immigrants (p. 3).
Overall, Lawrence and Dua (2005) assert that immigrant complicity exists due to immigrants' refusal to recognize that reconciliation is not just a white settler issue, and newcomers must ask themselves, "if people of colour are settlers, then are they settlers in the same way that the French and British were originally the settlers in Canada? And what does be a settler mean?" (p. 4). In contrast to this argument Akhmetova (2019) (an immigrant herself) makes the case that because new immigrants do not reap the same 'privilege" as previous or white settlers that they should not be "considered settlers" (p. 60). Although, Akhmetova (2019) distinguishes a perceived difference between "white and settler privilege" there needs to be a stronger base for her argument to be able to make a compelling claim that newcomers do not receive sufficient bells and whistles to be labelled as settler, as both groups (new and old) are settlers, and both groups have varied degrees of "privilege" bestowed to them despite the process or procedures in place for landing, and both are occupying stolen land (p. 54).

New "Settler Mindset"

Akhmetova (2019) explains immigrants adopt a "settler mindset" after arrival regarding Indigenous peoples which seems to mirror past “settler mindset”. “Newcomers are afraid to disrupt the status quo and… risk [being]labeled as troublemakers… [as they] begin a new life in a safer country. [Immigrants find] it easier and safer to blend in and to adopt the colonial rhetoric and attitudes rather than to resist them" (p. 62). As McCalla and Satzewich (2002) note the ongoing capitalist colonization of Canada is fueled by ‘constructing immigrants and ‘Indians’ as racialized others” (p. 25). Ling Chung (2009) notes that reconciliation between newcomers and Indigenous peoples must be done from a "non-pluralist framework" beginning with acknowledgement that the lands newcomers arrive on are "stolen" and that they are participating in an ongoing "colonial project" (p. 54). Regardless Ling Chung (2009), Lawrence and Dua (2005), and Chatterjee (2018), all posit the role of newcomers in Canada without the gravitas needed in examining this from the lens of Indigenous peoples and the notion of Indigenous sovereignty.

Impacts of the Ongoing Colonial Project Furthered by Globalization & Immigration

As Alfred points out in Lawrence and Dua (2005), it is difficult to move forward to constructing a new relationship between Indigenous Peoples, settlers, and new immigrants, when the “government continues to divest responsibility for the effects of colonialism on Aboriginal peoples, while holding onto their land base and resources, redefining without reforming, and further entrenching in law and practice the real basis of its power” (p. 125). Regardless of “anti-racism theory and practice” Lawrence and Dua (2005) assert that new immigrants and settlers must be made of aware of “the deeper, older stories and knowledge connected to the landscape around us” to be able “to acknowledge that we all share the same land base and yet [we need] to[collectively] question the differential terms on which it is occupied…to become aware of the colonial project that is taking place around us” (p. 126). Chatterjee (2019) argues about the dangers of implicating "immigrant settlement" into the dynamic discussion of "Indigenous decolonial justice" and the advancement of the "Settler colonial project" because in doing so, Chatterjee (2019) warns that we are losing focus of the "capitalist colonial project" underplay to further remove Indigenous peoples from their land and stack with new and improved immigrant reinforcements (p. 644).

Instead, Chatterjee (2019) urges that an amnesty is applied to new immigrants of "no border politics," which is an 'anti-racist" method to approach both the "recruitment/resettlement (of immigrants) and dispossession (of Indigenous peoples) on the land (p. 644). Chatterjee (2019) concludes that it is important to "move past the settler-Indigenous binary" and to consider how "labor-capital-nation-nexus factors into this dialogue” (p. 655).

Municipalities Sites of Contestation

Clearly municipalities emerge as key sites of contestation and where misunderstandings between newcomer migrants and Indigenous Peoples most often occur. As such it is important to historically understand “municipal colonialism,” Stanger-Ross (2008) outlines this concept by examining the historical steps taken by the City of Vancouver (taken by many other cities in Canada) as a way of, “dispossessing” Indigenous peoples of their urban Indigenous reserve land as Indigenous peoples in the urban downtown core was considered undesirable for empire building (p. 541). As Stranger-Ross (2008) reflects historical titans of industry “saw the Indian reserves as a particular challenge for urban development”, and in Vancouver, B.C., this was reflected in the local newspaper editors publishing, “the city is suffering, as it has suffered these forty years or more, from a useless, undeveloped, untaxable piece of waste land [the

reserves] impinging on the populous area". "An Indian Reserve in the middle of a big city is an anachronism…a city is no place for the primitive wards of the government" (P. 542). As Stanger-Ross (2008) points out the municipality was building its argument as to why Indigenous people were "savage" which further "validated the appropriation of Aboriginal land" located in urban centres (p. 542).

Indigenous and International Municipal and Provincial Economics

Whereas municipalities and provinces view new immigrants as economic benefits and they create plans to attract and retain this population, Indigenous Peoples in municipalities are viewed as liabilities. Collins et al. (2017) report which compares Newfoundland and Labrador's education on both international and Indigenous provides an example of the perception of growing immigration settlement for economic vibrance. International students are presented as advantageous, "immigration allows Canada's population to grow and thrive...the province recognizes the importance of encouraging immigrant families to stay and contribute to the cultural diversity and economic prosperity of the province "(*ibid*, p. 89-90). Immigrant settlement is aspired to as something to work and retain in the region. Whereas Indigenous students' education is positioned as "important for both Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people", followed with a small list of Indigenous schools and whether they were open or how they were funded (*ibid,* p. 81).

As Ong in Godlewska et al., 2017 asserts, "FNMI people are largely absent in discussions of the economy. With today's emphasis on economic success, this silence is significant (p. 446-447). In the development of municipal newcomer settlement toolkits particular attention must be paid into the framing of the narrative of Indigenous peoples and their economic value to the larger society. The idea that newcomers and even international students should be prioritized as they pose significant opportunity to municipalities, provinces, and higher education institutions as "economic migrants" is pervasive (Gates-Gasse in Cox, 2014, p. 49). Moreover, Busbridge (2018) lists off several immigrant civic education integration projects funded by the government, of which "none provide newcomers with Indigenous people knowledge or programs to forge connection and reconciliation with these groups" (p. 52-53). Busbridge (2018) concludes her overview and evaluation of integration services provided to newcomers entering Canada by noting, "not surprisingly, the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration concluded in a recent report that 'that there is a need for a better coordination strategy vis-à-vis the various federal and provincial departments involved in the delivery of settlement services" for economic gain (p. 68).

Higher Education's Role in International Student Settlement Services

As Cox (2014) points out the increased impetus of Canadian higher education to be an economic migration pathway for international students calls for increased, "higher education, policy, and programming in providing settlement service provisions to international students through a neoliberal lens" (p. 5). Cox (2014) argues that Canada's Immigration Strategy seeks to exponentially expand international student migration pathways to fill immigration quotas, and does not take into consideration how this growth and how these decisions impact and support the exclusion of international students. Cox (2014) builds her argument through her analysis of IRCC policies related to immigration, international student targets, and government strategies to build her case that "social inclusion of international students in Canada," is not considered essential (p. 5). Further Roach cited in Cox (2014) argues that international students who are excluded from settlement agency supports have increased barriers (p. 34).

As Albiom in Cox (2014) attests, Canadian higher education service supports for international students are not standardized across Canada, which leaves ongoing gaps contributing to their exclusion (p. 34). Whilst Cox (2014) touches on the importance for international students to be supported to build both "social capital" and "bridged social capital" connections with the local communities, Cox's (*ibid*) argument falls short as it does not include any reference to another important part of international student inclusion in Canadian society, which is the need for higher education institutions across Canada to provide localized and standardized education on Indigenous Peoples (p. 43). Cox's (*ibid*) review of student programming and services at UBC, U of Calgary, Ryerson University, and Memorial make no mention of Indigenous reconciliation programming provided or undertaken on Indigenous Peoples for international student benefit (p. 52-54).

Despite international students being noted peripherally as one of the "temporary" migrant populations in the research their situation about settlement and Indigenous reconciliation is not explored. Instead, the central arguments focus more on the states of "temporariness" prolonged to create "permanent temporariness" and the responsibility of the federal and provincial governments to review policy, processes, and outcomes in relation. (Busbridge, 2018).

Newcomer Integration Settlement Programs & Tool Kits

Some of the literature and research focused on newcomer immigrant settler services and whether these services were teaching or disseminating information on Indigenous Peoples. There has been no research done on the standardization, quality, or accuracy of information provided to newcomers from third party government settlement associations on Indigenous Peoples and reconciliation (to date) other than a few studies which determined that little or nothing was being done in direct programming due to funding and lack of Indigenous knowledge and expertise by the settlement agency. Further, Yoshida's (2014) examination explores how newcomer settlement agencies use the toolkits and information they disseminate such as "newcomer guidebooks" as citizenship "settler making tools", which serve the primary purpose of reinforcing the dominant colonized power structures (p. 8). Yoshida (2014) goes on to assert that "the guidebooks rewrite the current Canadian-Indigenous relationship to have been reconciled, which is illustrated in some of their text" (p. 12) which provides, "inaccurate and misleading information to newcomers on the state of Indigenous reconciliation and the government state" (p. 61). Yoshida (2014) fears these guides "also position 'multiculturalism' as central to the nations citizenship and identity thereby eliminating the Indigenous identity" (p. 90). In conclusion, Yoshida (2014) decides "newcomer integration and transitioning material provided by newcomer settlement agencies works as citizenship rhetoric, to ensure that new immigrants position Indigenous peoples as separate and not part of the Canadian collective identity which serves to exclude Indigenous participation" (p. 23).

Gaps/Limitations/Implications

This literature review revealed significant gaps on efforts and initiatives to encourage reconciliation between international students and Indigenous Peoples within higher education or by other stakeholders. This literature points to further investigation needed, which is critical and important, as Canadian higher education has been charged with implementing TRC's (2015) *Call to Actions* in reconciling Indigenous Peoples and the Canadian state. As the literature has demonstrated there has been a metered focus on domestic student reconciliation and knowledge building through Indigenization of the curriculum and some efforts to

'recognize Indigenous ways of knowing and being' but there has been no specific focus in Canadian higher education on international student reconciliation and relationship building with Indigenous Peoples. International students, whose primary goal is to resettle Canada using higher education as a migration pathway, continue to have little knowledge or interaction with Indigenous Peoples during their education. This places higher education at the nexus of reconciliation for both Indigenous Peoples and international students (new settlers) and acknowledges the pivotal role that Canadian Higher education may play in setting foundational beliefs and values contingent for respectful relationships between Indigenous Peoples and international students- the future generations of Canada.

Higher education's duality in reconciling Indigenous Peoples and the resettlement of Canada through the provision of credentials to international students is a privileged, and an ethically fraught position. Included in these dynamics of this tenuousness is that international departments within higher education are not mandated to provide Indigenous education nor have they been expected to play a part in reconciliation between these groups.

Conclusion

This literature review ends with unanswered questions and implications for my future research later this year including limitations on knowledge known today about international students (future settlers of Canada) and their understanding of Indigenous Peoples. Questions such as how do international students' perceptions about Indigenous Peoples change after participating in an Indigenous activity or constructed engagement? How can Canadian higher education contribute to meaningful reconciliation between international students and Indigenous Peoples? What opportunities are available to international students to learn about and interact with Indigenous Peoples? Do international students arrive with racist ideologies about Indigenous Peoples or are these formed through their interaction with other settlers, media, interactions in their school, workplace, or social lives? How do international students form ideas, opinions, and beliefs about Indigenous Peoples pre-and-post arrival to Canada? What is Canadian higher education's responsibility in educating potential new immigrants, as part of their commitment to assuming an economic migration pathway for the federal government? Does Canadian higher education have a role and responsibility in international student and Indigenous Peoples reconciliation? Difficult questions indeed.

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