

University of Toronto
Department of Political Science

POL 424 H 1 S / POL 2361 H 1 S
GLOBALIZATION & INDIGENOUS POLITICS
Winter 2017 | Wednesdays | 10-12 | AH 105

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Introduction

Course Description

This course investigates globalization and its critique from the perspectives of Indigenous peoples in the lands that we now call the Americas. Globalization is neither a singular nor a new phenomenon. Rather, it is a complex set of processes embedded in a long history of communication, economic, and political networks that have come to connect different parts of the world. Scholars of globalization tend to emphasize the intensification of connections between disparate parts of the globe. Flows of global capital are a key aspect in many accounts of this connectivity. The acceleration of exchange, the intensification of resource extraction, and the expansion of transnational trade agreements have rendered nation-state economies increasingly interconnected and amplified the influence of trans- and multi-national corporations. Such entwinement of globalized capital and politics has also relied on the expansion of communications technologies and networks. Expanding, accelerating, and integrating communications networks not only enable the extension of capital, but also shape how the effects of globalized markets, trade, and extraction are represented and apprehended. Communication and how we come to see—and *unsee*—globalization will be a central theme of our course. Globalized trade, politics, and communications are not a uniform development, but knotted of processes with uneven effects. This course will thus not address “globalization” as a noun, as something achieved or completed. Instead, we will take up “globalizing” as a verb, as many ongoing processes. And as a course designed to study the relationship between Indigenous politics and such globalizing processes, we will attune our inquiries to how Indigenous peoples and nations have engaged these networks of capital, politics, and communication.

Globalizing networks of capital and communication have worked to bind the local to the global. Indigenous communities have often found themselves on the frontlines of these processes and their frequently violent effects. From this position of relentlessly facing extractive capital in its historical and contemporary forms, Indigenous communities have been sources of innovation and leadership in the disruption of extractive industry. In interacting with such industries, Indigenous communities have also harnessed the very communications networks central to globalizing capital to articulate rights claims and to expose violence done to lands and bodies to local, national, and global audiences. From the collaborative articulation of rights through UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) to embodied and bodily resistance at the Oceti Sakowin and Sacred

Stone camps, Indigenous communities and movements consistently mobilize important insights about the intensification of extractive industry, its effects, and its erasures.

To ground our analysis, this course will specifically focus on how extractive industries operating on Indigenous territories illustrate processes of connectivity between capital, politics, and communications networks. The intensification of these networks and of extractive industry are not processes that exclusively affect peoples in faraway lands. Many of the processes of globalization and, more specifically, of globalized extractive industry are also at work here in Canada. The problematic effects of globalization, such as dispossession of land, privatization of resources, and erosion of community self-determination have not just unfolded in Cochabamba (Bolivia), Marlin (Guatemala), and Lago Agrio (Ecuador). They have been unfolding across what is now called Canada since the advent of the Fur Trade and continue in places such as Fort McMurray, Sarnia, and across the Northwest Territories and Nunavut.

In the first part of the course, we will build a shared conceptual vocabulary by defining and interrogating terms like “globalization”, “land”, “rights”, and “self-determination”. Our engagement with these concepts will open up a discussion of how globalized capital has attempted to—and continues to—organize life, resources, and land in relation to settler colonial and imperial accumulation. A key point of departure is Audra Simpson’s insight into the violent relationship that colonial states and their industries apprehend between Indigenous peoples and land: “The desire for land produces ‘the problem’ of the Indigenous life that is already living on that land” (2014, 19). In many ways, our work together will be a study of how extractive industries—with the assistance of state governments—has enacted this desiring of Indigenous lands and perpetrated the problematization of Indigenous life on those lands.

In the second part of the course, we will take a regional case study approach. Here, we will investigate how Indigenous peoples have been impacted by globalized economic, political, and communications flows. We will look at examples from Canada, Guatemala, Ecuador, Mexico, Honduras, and the United States to identify how nation-states and extractive industries have used economic, political, and communications networks to the extraction of resources, the exploitation of Indigenous communities, and the undermining of Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination. However, as our case studies will reveal, Indigenous communities in these places have also made use of networks to resist state and industrial incursions, to communicate local conditions of extractive exploitation to global audiences, and to create alliances with other Indigenous communities.

Learning & Teaching Methods

The aim of this course is to examine globalizing processes as they intersect with Indigenous politics and from the perspective of Indigenous peoples and nations. Our geographic focus will be the places now called the Americas. While the majority of our case studies address the extractive practices of global capital in the past few decades, we will attune ourselves to the longer histories of invasion, colonization, and extraction in which these more contemporary cases unfold. Throughout the course, we will repeatedly bring our attention to the status of land, how it is targeted for accumulation, and how relations with land are defended.

As this is a seminar course, your participation every week is crucial. You will be expected to come to class having read each text and be prepared to speak about them, raise questions, and make connections. The texts I have selected for us to read are a blend of

academic works and media texts. In this course, we will give both kinds of works our critical attention.

I know that we all arrive in this classroom with a range of starting points: some of you may have grown up in Indigenous communities and are experienced in the effects of extractive colonial industries and the complexities that accompany them, and others may be encountering Indigenous perspectives for the first time. While we do not all experience it in the same way, we are all implicated in the settler colonial present—a present structured in significant ways by the globalizing forces of communication and capital. Our abilities to understand colonial realities expand when we acknowledge that our perspectives are works in progress. Similarly, I do not expect any of you to be experts in the oil, gas, or mining industries. Nor do I expect vast expertise in the settler colonial and imperial histories of the Americas. We will develop experience in these areas together. However, I do expect you to engage with in the readings, assignments, and class discussions with openness, honesty, and seriousness.

Learning Objectives

In looking at how networks of global capital, communication, and politics collide with Indigenous communities across the Americas, we will build towards five learning objectives:

- Articulate a clear grasp of the concepts “globalization”, “self-determination”, “land”, and “rights”.
- Identify the broader imperial and colonial histories in which contemporary extractive capital operates.
- Recognize and communicate interrelationships between local and global actors, but also across different groups of local actors.
- Indicate when and how networked relations between global capital and Indigenous communities and their lands are erased, are made visible, or might be made differently visible.
- Develop and support your own arguments about extractive industry and Indigenous politics in clear and creative written and oral forms.

Assignments, Evaluation, & Due Dates

This course is designed around a rigorously researched and carefully argued final paper. I strongly encourage you to begin thinking about your paper in the first weeks of class. However, I have designed several assignments to assist you in thinking, researching, and writing along the way. These assignments will encourage you to begin planning your paper early and will give you the opportunity to receive feedback from me and from your peers throughout the course.

Your final grade for the course will come from the following assignments:

- 1) Response paper: 10%
- 2) Paper proposal, with peer review: 15%
- 3) Revised paper proposal, with annotated bibliography: 25%
- 4) Final paper: 40%
- 5) Participation self-assessment: 10%

Response paper: 10%

A two-page (maximum 500 words) diagnostic essay responding to an essay question. This assignment will require close textual reading and analysis and is an opportunity for me

to offer early feedback on your writing and approach to the ideas of the course. I will hand out the essay topic in class during Week Two (January 17).

The response papers are due **in class on January 23**. Only hard copies handed in at the beginning of class will be accepted. Due to the nature of this assignment, late papers will not be accepted.

Paper proposal, with peer review: 10% + 5% [total 15%]

NOTE: Read the description of the Final Paper before planning your paper proposal.

Paper proposal (10%): The final research paper is at the heart of this course. Writing a strong, organized, well-researched, and clearly argued paper requires time and planning. To encourage you to begin the final paper well in advance of the due date, your first paper proposal will be due **in class on February 14**.

Your proposal should be two pages (maximum 500 words). The proposal should introduce your research topic and identify what is at stake in this topic (ie: Why does it matter? To whom does it matter? How does it matter?). You should also include a clear, concise, and arguable research question and some indication of how you intend to answer the research question.

Peer review (5%): By assigning a paper proposal early in the term, you will have the opportunity to receive constructive feedback on your ideas. To give you the opportunity to learn from and alongside one another, we will do an in class peer review of our proposals. This will give you the chance to consider the ideas and approaches of your peers and to practice giving constructive feedback on research questions.

Paper proposals are due at the start of class on **February 14. Bring TWO copies of your paper. One with your name: for me. One anonymous: for peer review.** We will randomly circulate the op-ed papers three times. You will read and review three papers and will receive three reviews back at the end of the exercise. This will provide you with valuable feedback for moving forward with your final paper.

NOTE: Attendance for this exercise is mandatory. If you are not present for the peer review, you will not receive any credit. No exceptions.

Revised paper proposal and annotated bibliography: 25%

Revised paper proposal: In response to the feedback you receive from me and from your peers, as well as in response to your findings as you conduct further research on your selected topic, you will write a revised paper proposal. This second proposal should clearly indicate the research topic and its stakes. It should also include the research question and a **clear thesis statement**. As you will now be several weeks into the research process, this second proposal should also give a clear outline of how you will build the argument identified in the thesis statement and indicate the examples or case study you will be using. The revised proposal should indicate how your ideas have developed from the first proposal. This portion of the assignment should be approximately two pages (500 words).

Annotated bibliography: Gathering scholarly sources is fundamental to the research process. As you read, analyze, and synthesize materials, you will clarify your research question, develop a stronger thesis statement, and identify the detailed evidence and examples necessary to defend your thesis. All of this takes time. To push you to begin this process early, your revised paper proposal will include an annotated bibliography. The bibliography must include **five scholarly sources**. Here, “scholarly source” refers to a book

published by an academic press, a chapter in an edited collection, or a journal article. Your annotations should be both descriptive and critical. For each source included in your bibliography, your annotation must answer the following:

- Summary: What is the topic of the source? What is the author's core argument? What is the key evidence the author uses to make their argument (i.e.: field research, interviews, document analysis, etc.)?
- Evaluation: What perspective or standpoint does the author write from? How does this source relate to the other sources in your bibliography? How will you use this source in your own paper (i.e.: Does this source provide evidence for your thesis? Does it provide a key example? Are you refuting the claims of this source in your argument?)?

Each entry in your bibliography must be properly cited using MLA or APA format. Incorrectly formatted citations will receive penalties. You can write the annotation as a short paragraph following the citation.

The revised paper proposal and annotated bibliography will be due **in class on March 14**. Assignments must be submitted in hard copy.

Final paper: 40%

The final paper is the final step in your semester-long project of digging deeply into a course topic that interests you. Choose an issue relating to the course content to write a research paper or choose a topic from the list below. The research paper can be either a case study (focusing on particular Indigenous people(s) and/or issue) or a more conceptual/theoretical consideration. The final research paper should build on and extend the bibliography you submitted earlier in the term.

Successful papers will have a clear research question and a precise thesis statement. The argument posed in the thesis statement will be defended in a well-organized, clearly written paper that uses carefully selected, concrete examples and illustrates claims with specific details. You will synthesize the various sources you cite in your argument, offering critical insights rather than simple description. In addition to precise argumentation, successful papers will be clearly written and carefully edited. This means that all citations will be properly introduced and properly formatted. They will also be free of grammatical errors, awkward phrasing.

For undergraduate students, final papers will be 12-15 pages in length. For graduate students, papers will be 15-20 pages in length.

Sample topics:

- Intellectual property rights and Indigenous peoples
- Indigenous peoples and climate change
- Indigenous self-determination and global governance
- Indigenous economies in the era of globalization
- Communicating/Representing resource extraction in Indigenous communities
- Globalization, environmental issues, and Indigenous peoples
- Development discourse and Indigenous peoples
- Duty to consult and questions of consent
- Indigenous peoples' resistance to globalization
- Globalization and indigenous women
- Militarization and indigenous peoples

- Regional Indigenous rights movements and globalization
- Regional extraction activities and Indigenous responses
- Transnational corporations and indigenous peoples
- Globalization, violence, and indigenous peoples

If you wish to write about a topic beyond this list, you must consult me in person as soon as possible.

Final papers are due **in class on April 4**. Papers must be submitted in hard copy.

Participation self-assessment: 10%

This course is a seminar course. The style of your participation in our time together each week is linked to you and your colleagues' willingness to think and work. Write a short paragraph describing the style of your participation in these seminars. This exercise will demand your honesty—an old fashioned idea, I realize. “Honest” comes the Latin *honestus*, which leans upon the idea of honor or personal integrity. Honesty could also be described as the capacity to see clearly, the capacity to see things with a clear, dry, unshy eye—a quality that critical thinkers and students of critical thought should cultivate.

So, honestly describe your participation in the course in one page. Assign yourself a grade out of 10. Hand in this one page discussion **in class on April 4**.

Course Texts

Required texts

Todd Gordon & Jeffery R. Webber. 2016. *Blood of Extraction*, Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing.

All additional required readings will be academic journal articles or book chapters—available via the UofT Libraries—or will be posted to Blackboard.

Course Schedule

Week One: Introduction & Defining “Globalization”

January 11

Wilmer, Franke. “Where You Stand Depends on Where You Sit: Beginning an Indigenous-Settler Reconciliation Dialogue.” *Indigenous Diplomacies*. Ed. Beier, J Marshall. New York: Palgrave, 2009. 187-206.

Week Two: Indigenous Peoples, Indigenous Lands

January 17 *** *Response Paper Assignment to be handed out* ***

Taiiaki Alfred & Jeff Corntassel. 2005. “Being Indigenous: Resurgences Against Contemporary Colonialism,” *Government & Opposition* 40(4): 597-614.

Erica-Irene A. Daes. 1996. “Working Paper on the Concept of ‘Indigenous People’”.

Geneva: UN Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights.
[Available on Blackboard]
Shiri Pasternak. 2017. "Jurisdiction from the Ground Up: A Legal Order of Care." *Grounded Authority: The Algonquins of Barriere Lake Against the State*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 77-98.

Week Three: Land

January 24 *** Response Paper DUE ***

Glen Coulthard. 2014. "Introduction: Subjects of Empire." *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1-15.
Cole Harris. 2004. "How Did Colonialism Dispossess? Comments from an Edge of Empire." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 94(1), 165-182.
Women's Earth Alliance and Native Youth Sexual Health Network. "Violence On The Land, Violence On Our Bodies" Building an Indigenous Response to Environmental Violence". Pg 1-70. Online:
<http://landbodydefense.org/uploads/files/VLVBReportToolkit2016.pdf>

Week Four: Historical Networks of Capital & Communication

January 31

Tasha Hubbard. 2014. "Buffalo Genocide in Nineteenth Century North America: 'Kill, Skin, and Sell'" in *Colonial Genocide and Indigenous North America*, edited by Andrew Woolford, Jeff Benvenuto, and Alexander Laban Hinton, Durham: Duke University Press, 292-305.
Harold Innis. 1930. "Summary" in *The Fur Trade in Canada*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 140-143.
M. Scott Taylor. 2011. "Buffalo Hunt: International Trade and the Virtual Extinction of the North American Bison," *The American Economic Review* 101(7): 3162-3195.

Week Five: Rights & Self-Determination

February 7

Isabelle Schulte-Tenckhoff. 2012. "Treaties, Peoplehood, and Self-Determination: Understanding the Language of Indigenous Rights" in *Indigenous Rights in the Age of the UN Declaration*. Eds. Pulitano, Elvira and Mililani Trask. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 64-86.
Andrea Muehlebach. 2003. "What Self in Self-Determination? Notes from the Frontiers of Transnational Indigenous Activism." *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 10(2): 241-268.

Week Six: UNDRIP

February 14 *** Paper Proposal I DUE; In-class peer review activity ***

UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples [Available online at
http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf]
S. James Anaya. 2013. "The Human Rights of Indigenous Peoples: United Nations Developments." *University of Hawaii Law Review* 35: 983-1012.

READING WEEK, NO CLASS

February 21

Week Seven: Law, Consent, & Duties to Consult

February 28

GUEST: Katherine Brack

S. James Anaya. 2005. "Indigenous Peoples' Participatory Rights in Relation to Decisions about Natural Resource Extraction: The More Fundamental Issue of What Rights Indigenous Peoples Have in Lands and Resources." *Arizona Journal of International and Comparative Law* 22(1): 7-17.

Additional readings are to be announced, but will be available online or through the UofT Libraries

Week Eight: Extractivism I—Guatemala

March 7

Alexandra Pederson. 2014. "Landscapes of Resistance: Community Opposition to Canadian Mining Operations in Guatemala." *Journal of Latin American Geography* 13(1): 188-214

Todd Gordon & Jeffery R. Webber. 2016. "Velvet Gloves and Iron Fists" in *Blood of Extraction*, Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing.

Todd Gordon & Jeffery R. Webber. 2016. "Mining in the Wake of Genocide: Canadian Corporations in Twenty-first Century Guatemala" in *Blood of Extraction*, Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing.

Week Nine: Extractivism II—Contemporary Canada

March 14 *** Revised Paper Proposal and Annotated Bibliography DUE ***

GUEST: Dr. Leah Sarson

Ginger Gibson and Ciaran O'Faircheallaigh. 2015. *IBA community toolkit Negotiation and Implementation of Impact and Benefit Agreements*. The Gordon Foundation, 1-203. Online: http://gordonfoundation.ca/app/uploads/2017/03/IBA_toolkit_web_Sept_2015_low_res_0.pdf

Additional readings are to be announced, but will be available on Blackboard or through the UofT Libraries.

Week Ten: Extractivism III—Ecuador

March 21 ***Location Change: Class will be held in Media Commons***

Nadja Drost and Keith Stewart. 2006. "EnCana in Ecuador: the Canadian oil patch goes to

- the Amazon” in Liisa North, Timothy David Clark, and Viviane Patroni, ed. *Community Rights and Corporate Responsibility: Canadian Mining and Oil Companies in Latin America*; Toronto: Between the Lines: 113-138.
- Luis Merino. 2006. “Unsustainable non-development: the tragedy of oil in Ecuador” in Liisa North, Timothy David Clark, and Viviane Patroni, ed. *Community Rights and Corporate Responsibility: Canadian Mining and Oil Companies in Latin America*; Toronto: Between the Lines: 139-142.
- Todd Gordon & Jeffery R. Webber. 2016. “Tapping the Veins of Ecuador” in *Blood of Extraction*, Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing.

Film: *Between Midnight and the Rooster's Crow* [To be screened in class]

Week Eleven: Resistances—Idle No More & Standing Rock

March 28

- Dina Gilio-Whitaker. 2015. “Idle No More and fourth world social movements in the new millennium” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 114(4): 866-877.
- Camp of the Sacred Stones. n.d. *NO Dakota Access Pipeline* zine.
https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/honorearth/pages/2267/attachments/original/1470612897/ND_ZINE_updated.pdf?1470612897
- Jaskiran Dhillon and Nick Estes (eds). 2016. “Standing Rock, #NoDAPL, and Mni Wiconi” blog post series (12 posts). *Cultural Anthropology* Online: <https://culanth-org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/fieldsights/1010-standing-rock-nodapl-and-mni-wiconi>

Week Twelve: Wrapping Up

April 4 *** *Final Papers DUE* ***

Course Policies

1) Assignments

Formatting: All assignments must be handed in as hard copies. Emailed attachments will not be accepted. All papers should be printed, double spaced, 12 font (Times or equivalent), with proper margins (1”), page numbers, and securely stapled. Papers that go beyond the stated page limit for the assignment, or papers that do not conform to the directions above, may be penalized.

Citation: In all written assignments you must follow basic academic citation rules. You may use the referencing style of your preference (MLA, APA, etc.), as long as you are consistent and provide complete references. If you are unsure about proper citation formatting, please consult a style guide.

Late Assignments: Late assignments will have **5% deducted from the total mark** for each day the assignment is late, including weekends and holidays. This will be calculated from the date the assignment is received as a hard copy. To make a request for an extension, you will be required to submit supporting documentation. In the event of special circumstances, you must notify the instructor at least 24 hours in advance. Missing class the day of a presentation or the day an assignment is due does not give you an extension on the

assignment. Late-assignments should be submitted to the main desk of the Political Science Department (on the 3rd floor of Sidney Smith Hall). Students should make sure that late submissions are signed and dated by staff. Only hard copies are acceptable, e-mailed assignments will not be accepted unless you have obtained prior approval from the professor.

Grading: If you have concerns regarding your grade of a specific assignment, you may submit a grade appeal. Appeals will only be considered if accompanied by a detailed ½ - 1 page written explanation of why you feel the grade is unjustified. Once an appeal request is made, the instructor will reexamine the entire assignment, not just the specific issues raised in the appeal. The appeal process can result in one of three outcomes: no change to the original grade, a higher grade, or a lower grade. If you wish to submit a written appeal, you must submit it within two weeks of grade submission. Final grades are final. If you need to maintain a certain average, or get a specific minimum grade in this class, make sure that the quality your work warrants this grade. If you need help with any of the assignments, make an appointment with the instructor.

2) Class Conduct

This course is organized as a seminar. Students are expected to attend all classes, to have completed all readings in advance, and to be prepared to actively engage with each other and with the course materials. You are expected to treat one another with respect. This means listening carefully to the thoughts, reflections, and questions of your peers. You are not expected to always agree with one another. Indeed, critical discussion and debate are central to any seminar environment. However, disrespectful language will not be tolerated in our shared space.

The Digital: The slow, messy, open-ended practice of writing/drawing/marking-up sketchbooks is a key component to this course. Given this, and the physical constraints of table space, you are expected to leave laptops, tablets, and phones in your bags during seminars and to be prepared to take notes (in whatever form you wish) by hand. While all of our devices make our lives awesome in many ways, they are frequently a distraction in the classroom. Many of our seminar activities will involve close readings of the assigned texts. You must bring hard copies of all readings to seminars, every week. You are expected to acquire physical copies of *Blood of Extraction*. You are expected to print or photocopy the remaining required readings.

3) Communication with Instructor

If you need to contact the instructor, you are advised to look at this syllabus first (if you lose the hard copy, you will find a PDF posted on Blackboard). The answer to your question is very likely in this document. If you have carefully read through the syllabus and haven't found an answer to your question, then you may email the instructor. You can expect to receive a response in 1-2 days: if you email regarding an assignment the night before it is due, you will likely not receive a response before the deadline.

Do not email with questions regarding individual grades or the return of assignments. Grades will be posted to Blackboard and assignments will be returned in class when they are marked. Do not submit assignments as email attachments.

4) Plagiarism

Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and will be dealt with accordingly. Students are expected to be familiar with Section B of the UofT's *Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters*. As the Code outlines, it is an offence for students to:

- Use someone else's ideas or words in their own work without acknowledging that those ideas/words are not their own with a citation and quotation marks, i.e. to commit plagiarism.
- Include false, misleading or concocted citations in their work.
- Obtain unauthorized assistance on any assignment.
- Provide unauthorized assistance to another student. This includes showing another student completed work.
- Submit their own work for credit in more than one course without the permission of the instructor.
- Falsify or alter any documentation required by the University. This includes, but is not limited to, doctor's notes.
- Use or possess an unauthorized aid in any test or exam

These and other offences constitute plagiarism under the Code. Plagiarism is a serious academic offence. For further clarification and information on plagiarism, please see Writing at the University of Toronto (<http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>)

5) Blackboard

The course uses Blackboard for its course website. Required readings, assignment descriptions, this syllabus, grades, and other important information will be posted to our Blackboard course website. You are expected to regularly check both the Blackboard website and your UToronto email for updates.

To access the course website, or any other Blackboard-based course website, go to the UofT portal login page at <http://portal.utoronto.ca> and log in using your UTORid and password. Once you have logged in to the portal using your UTORid and password, look for the My Courses module, where you'll find the link to our course website along with the link to all your other Blackboard-based courses. If you require assistance activating your UTORid, visit the Help Desk at the Information Commons on the ground floor of Robarts Library. The course instructor will not be able to assist you with this.

6) Accessibility Needs

The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or course materials, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible: disability.services@utoronto.ca or <http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility>.