

**POL382H1: SPECIAL TOPICS IN CANADIAN POLITICS
(INDIGENOUS NATIONS AND THE CANADIAN STATE)
SPRING 2024**

Instructor: Chadwick Cowie
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Office: Sidney Smith Hall, Room 3117
Office Hours: Wednesdays: 12:30pm-2:30pm

Course Time: Mondays and Wednesdays: 3pm-5pm

Course Location: TBD

Land Acknowledgement: The University of Toronto (Scarborough, Mississauga, and St. George Campuses) are located upon the traditional territory of the Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg Nation – a member nation of the Anishinaabeg. Today, this meeting place is still the home to many Indigenous peoples from across Turtle Island as well as non-Indigenous peoples.

Course Description:

The title of this course is ‘Indigenous Nations and the Canadian State’ in order to highlight and differentiate the fact that Indigenous peoples, their societies, and political structures have existed long before the Canadian state and settler/Indigenous contact.

Both Indigenous and Settler contexts are central to what will be discussed and the course readings will reflect this as we delve into Canadian/Indigenous relationships, their development, histories, and potential futures. This course is an introduction course to the topics at hand and will give you a chance to begin learning and understanding on an important component of Canadian politics and Canadian political science. A vast majority of topics in Canadian politics can, and do, have a caveat and component that reflects, or should reflect, Indigenous nations and peoples that share territory with the Canadian state.

The course will begin with a review of Canadian Political Science & Indigenous relations/understandings of research. Additionally, the outlining of some Indigenous nations and confederacies’ political and socio-economic structures are pertinent as a way to understand the complex systems that controlled and existed in North America prior to and after contact. Following this, the course will move into discussions of European philosophy in relation to colonization, the development of Settler/Indigenous relations, the creation of Canada without Indigenous inclusion or consent, as well as the policies that were implemented to unravel and deconstruct Indigenous political, legal, and societal structures. The last weeks of the class will introduce students to the ongoing discussions and changing relationship between Indigenous

peoples and Canada from the 1970s onwards – whether reflecting territorial rights, Indigenous feminism, identity, reconciliation and decolonization.

Course Objectives:

By the end of this course, I hope students will be able to consider and look at the following concepts relating to Indigenous/Canadian relations as well as with the field of political science:

- Be more adept at reading political science literature, identifying the main arguments, points and potential ‘gaps’ in the literature/argument
 - Assessing the literature at hand through critical responses.
 - Understand the historical and contemporary causations and situations relating to Indigenous/Canadian relations, policy, and politics.
 - Understand that Indigenous nations and peoples in relation to Canadian politics, political science, and, to the Canadian state, are far bigger and complex than we are taught throughout our time in education.
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Required Texts:

Note: Readings will be available via Quercus or listed as available online.

Course Requirements and Evaluation:

Participation:	(15%)	(Self Explanatory – See Below)
Written Test #1:	(15%)	Date: May 08, 2024
Annotated Bibliography.	(15%).	Date: May 22, 2024
Written Test #2:	(15%)	Date: June 03, 2024
Final Paper:	(40%)	Date: June 10, 2024

Participation:

Participation and attendance are a vital addition to this course. Class time will especially provide opportunities for students to discuss the readings and receive guidance on how to prepare for written assignments. **I acknowledge that not all students are comfortable with public speaking, and in turn I would also like to see students submit at least two (2) questions/observations per week in relation to the readings discussed.** The questions MUST be printed off and submitted to me at the beginning of each class. In addition to the aforementioned form of participation, please keep an eye on the news as I will traditionally ask at the opening of class for students to tell me what is being reported regarding Indigenous peoples (especially in North America) – students may also submit a link of the article (and a paragraph reviewing the article) at the end of the same document you submit for your weekly Questions and Observations.

Test #1 (Monday May 08, 2024):

The purpose of this test will be to assess your reading and critical thinking skills in relation to subject matter that will be looked at between Classes 1-3. The written test will be held in the first

half of class and followed by the lecture for Week 3. Additional details will be provided on the date of the test.

Annotated Bibliography (Wednesday May 22, 2024):

An annotative bibliography of sources that you will use in writing your term paper is required. This assignment is to assist in enhancing writing and preparation skills for major papers in the field of political science, specifically Canadian politics (and will be discussed further in class).

The annotated bibliography should include, at minimum, 8 sources (with 5 being academic) and no more than six (6) pages in length, typed and double spaced. Students are expected to use a standard 12 point font and be consistent with Chicago style citations and footnotes.

Additionally, students are expected to add at the beginning of this assignment a thesis statement (this is in order to assess how well your sources reflect your research paper), to number their pages, and to submit the assignment as a PDF. Annotated Bibliographies are to be submitted to Quercus by 3:00pm EST on the date due AND in Hard Copy by 3:10pm EST on the due date. A **penalty of 5%** per day, including weekends and statutory holidays will be assigned to all late assignments. **Late assignments will not be accepted after ten (10) days**, including weekends and statutory holidays.

Note: For additional information and guidance on how to write an annotative biography, I strongly suggest you visit: <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/specific-types-of-writing/annoted-bibliography>, and/or make an appointment to discuss with myself or your TA during office hours.

Test #2 (Monday June 3, 2024):

The purpose of this test will be to assess your reading and critical thinking skills in relation to subject matter that will be looked at between Classes 4-8. The written test will be held in the first half of class and followed by the lecture for Week 3. Additional details will be provided on the date of the test.

Term Paper (Monday June 10, 2024):

Term Papers are expected to **focus on a topic of your choice in relation to the course at hand.**

The paper is expected to include more than 12 sources, with 7 or more being academic sources, and be between 3000-3500 words (10-12 pages) in length. This does not include endnotes, footnotes, and your work-cited. **Students are expected to use a standard 12 point font, double spaced, and be consistent with Chicago style citations and footnotes.**

Additionally, students are expected to number their pages and to submit the assignment as a PDF. Essays must present a clear and logical thesis based on the research the student has done on their topic and the chosen premises within their topic. All essays are to be submitted to Quercus by 3:00pm EST on the date due AND in Hard Copy by 3:10pm EST on the due date. You are to also add an appendix to your final paper showing the pages you have cited/footnoted from the source used (This is to be compiled into one document and submitted via direct email to me). A **penalty of 5%** per day, including weekends and statutory holidays will be assigned to all late assignments. **Late assignments will not be accepted after ten (10) days**, including weekends and statutory holidays.

Statement on Accessibility:

Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. In particular, if you have a disability/health consideration that may require accommodations, please feel free to approach me and/or the AccessAbility Services Office as soon as possible.

AccessAbility Services staff (located in Rm AA142, Arts and Administration Building) are available by appointment to assess specific needs, provide referrals and arrange appropriate accommodations 416-287-7560 or email ability@utsc.utoronto.ca. The sooner you let us know your needs the quicker we can assist you in achieving your learning goals in this course

Statement on Academic Integrity:

Students must adhere to the Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters. You are responsible for ensuring that you do not act in such a way that would constitute cheating, misrepresentation, or unfairness, including but not limited to, using unauthorized aids and assistance, impersonating another person, or committing plagiarism. For more information see U of T Academic Integrity website.

Academic integrity includes understanding appropriate research and citation methods. If you are uncertain about this, please seek out additional information from the instructors or from other institutional resources including the following:

- This tip sheet provides clear and helpful information about appropriate academic citation: <http://guides.library.utoronto.ca/citing>
 - Before handing in assignments students can also review this academic integrity checklist provided by the UofT Centre of Teaching Support & Innovation:
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Statement on Plagiarism Detection:

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to the University's plagiarism detection tool for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the tool's reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of this tool are described on the Centre for Teaching Support & Innovation web site (<https://uoft.me/pdt-faq>).

Statement on Use of Generated AI in Assignments:

This course policy is designed to promote your learning and intellectual development and to help you reach course learning outcomes. **The use of generative artificial intelligence tools and apps is strictly prohibited in all course assignments unless explicitly stated otherwise by the instructor** in this course. This includes ChatGPT and other AI writing and coding assistants. Use of generative AI in this course may be considered use of an unauthorized aid, which is a form of cheating.

Grading:

All grading is based on the 4-point grading scheme presented below. For each assignment you will receive a letter grade and be informed of its point value. Course instructors will not 'curve' or adjust final grades according to any preset formula.

Grade:	Percent:	GPA:	Grade Definition:	
A+	90-100%	4.0	Very Good	Strong evidence of original thinking; clear capacity to analyze and synthesize; superior grasp of subject matter with sound critical evaluations; evidence of extensive knowledge base; superb research, writing, and organizational skills.
A	85-89%	4.0		
A-	80-84%	3.7		
B+	77-79%	3.3	Good	Evidence of strong grasp of subject matter; indication of critical capacity and analytic ability; understanding of relevant issues; evidence of familiarity with literature; strong research, writing, and organizational skills.
B	73-76%	3.0		
B-	70-72%	2.7		
C+	67-69%	2.3	Satisfactory	Illustrates partial understanding of the subject matter; demonstrates an ability to develop solutions to simple problems in the material; research, writing, and organization skills need improvement.
C	63-66%	2.0		
C-	60-62%	1.7		
D+	57-59%	1.3	Conditional Pass	Limited familiarity with the subject matter; insufficiently developed critical and analytical skills; research, writing, and organization skills are weak.
D	53-56%	1.0		
D-	50-52%	0.7		
F	0-49%	0.0	Fail	Little evidence of understanding subject matter; limited or irrelevant use of literature; poor research, writing, and organization skills

Note: Students should note that in all but exceptional situations all components of the course must be completed to receive a passing grade. Recording is permitted only with the prior written consent of the professor and/or if recording is part of an approved accommodation plan.

Course Schedule and Readings:

Class 1: Introduction and Indigenous Inclusion in Canadian Political Science

Monday May 6, 2024:

- Ladner, Kiera. "Taking the Field: 50 Years of Indigenous Politics in CJPS." *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, volume 50, issue 1 (2017): pps. 163-179
- Cowie, Chadwick. "Reconciling Canadian Political Science" Including Indigeneity in the Discipline." (*Book Title TBD*). Editor: Dr. Ian Peach, (page numbers TBD). Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2024.

Class 2: Indigenous Ways of Knowing and Perspectives on Research

Wednesday May 8, 2024:

- Anderson, Chris & Maggie Walter. "Chapter 1: Deficit Indigenes." In *Indigenous Statistics: A Quantitative Research Methodology*. New York: Routledge, 2013
- Kovach, Margaret. "Chapter 1: Indigenous and Qualitative Inquiry: A Round Dance?" In *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009
- Okalik, Looee. "Inuujuunga: The Intricacy of Indigenous and Western Epistemologies in the Arctic." In *Indigenous Pathways into Social Research: Voices of a New Generation*, edited by Donna M. Martens, Fiona Cram, and Bagele Chilisa, pps. 239-249. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press Inc, 2013
- Kalluak, Mark. "Chapter 2: About Inuit Quajimajatuqangit." In *Inuit Quajimajatuqangit: What Inuit Have Always Known to Be True*. Edited by: Frank Tester, pps. 41-60. Halifax & Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2017.

Class 3: Indigenous Governance and Legal Structures (Pre-1876)

Monday May 13, 2024 (Class will be Pre-Recorded and Posted to Quercus):

- Borrows, John. "Chapter 3: Indigenous Law Examples." In *Canada's Indigenous Constitution*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010
- Simpson, Leanne. "Chapter 1: Nishnaabeg Resurgence: Stories from Within." In *Dancing on Our Turtle's Back: Stories of Nishinaabeg Re-Creation, Resurgence and New Emergence*. Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 2011
- Simpson, Leanne. "Chapter 6: Resurgence in Our Political Relationships." In *Dancing on Our Turtle's Back: Stories of Nishinaabeg Re-Creation, Resurgence and New Emergence*. Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 2011
- Sitting Eagle, Lawrence Henry. "Clan Responsibilities: Ojibway Clan Systems: The Seven Original Clans." Prepared for Roseau River/Roseau Rapids Anishinabe First Nations

Class 4: European Encroachment and the 'Indian' Dilemma

Wednesday May 15, 2024 (Class will be Pre-Recorded and Posted to Quercus):

- Aristotle. “The Association of the Household and its Different Factors: Chapters 5-8, In *Aristotle: Politics*, translated by Ernest Barker. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995
- Flanagan, Tom. “Chapter 2: We Were Here First.” In *First Nations? Second Thoughts*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2000
- Flanagan, Tom. “Chapter 3: What Ever Happened to Civilization?” In *First Nations? Second Thoughts*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2000
- The Papal Bull Romanus Pontifex (1455) (*Available Online*)
- The Papal Bull Inter Caetera (Doctrine of Discovery, 1493)
- The Papal Bull Sublimas Dei (The Enslavement and Evangelization of Indians, 1537)

Victoria Day:

Monday May 20, 2024

- No Class

Class 5: From Peace and Friendship to Land ‘Surrender’

Wednesday May 22, 2024 (Guest Lecturer: Nathan Tidridge):

- The Royal Proclamation of 1763 (*Available Online*)
- Simon, Natasha. “Beyond Cultural Differences: Interpreting a Treaty Between the Mi’kmaq and British at Belcher’s Farm.” In *Living Treaties: Narrating Mi’kmaq Treaty Relations*, edited by Marie Battiste, pps. 166-177. Sydney: Cape Breton University Press, 2016
- Borrows, John. “Wampum at Niagara: The Royal Proclamation, Canadian Legal History, and Self-Government.” In *Aboriginal and Treaty Rights in Canada*, edited by Michael Asch, pps. 155-172. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997
- Johnson & Graham’s Lessee v. McIntosh (1823) – US Supreme Court: The Doctrine of Discovery, Ultimate Title, and Aboriginal Title
- Isaac, Thomas. “St. Catherine’s Milling and Lumber Co v. R. (1888),” in *Aboriginal Law*, edited by Thomas Isaac, pps. 28-32. Saskatoon: Purich Publishing Ltd, 2004

Class 6: The Dominion and Cultural Genocide

Monday May 27, 2024 (Guest Lecturer: Colleen Flanagan)

- The Indian Act, Original Version (1876) and Recent Version (*Available Online*)
- Joseph, Bob. *21 Things You May Not Know About the Indian Act: Helping Canadians Make Reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples a Reality*. Port Coquitlam: Indigenous Relations Press, 2018
- Ferguson, Barry. “The Formation of Manitoba” in *Canadian Issues/Thèmes Canadiens* (Summer 2021): pps. 16-23
- Teillet, Jean. “Louis Riel and Canada: A New Relationship, 150 Years in the Making” in *Canadian Issues/Thèmes Canadiens* (Summer 2021): pps. 56-60

Recommended:

- Truth and Reconciliation Canada. Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. Winnipeg: Truth and Reconciliation Canada. (37-134)
- Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada (The Bagot Commission, 1845)

Class 7: Indigenous Nations, the Provinces and Canadian Expansionism

Wednesday May 29, 2024:

- Tester, Frank. "Colonial Challenges and Recovery in the Eastern Arctic," in *Inuit Quajimajatuqangit: What the Inuit Have Always Known to be True*, edited by Joe Karetak, Frank Tester, and Shirley Tagalik, pps. 20-40. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing Inc, 2017
- Russel, Peter. "Oka to Ipperwash: The Necessity of Flashpoint Events," in *This is an Honour Song: Twenty Years Since the Blockaded*, edited by Kiera Ladner and Leanne Simpson, pps. 29-47. Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Press, 2010
- Calder, Ryan S. D, Amina T. Schartup, Trevor Bell, and Elsie M. Sunderland. "Muskratt Falls, Methylmercury, Food Security, and Canadian Hydroelectric Development." In *Muskrat Falls: How a Mega Dam Became a Predatory Formation*, edited by S. Crocker and L. Moore, pps. 81-116. St John's: Memorial University Press, 2021.
- Cowie, Chadwick. "Quebec Sovereignty and Indigenous Nationhoods: Critiquing the Quebec Secessionist Movement from 'an Indigenous Lens'" in *Journal of Australian, Canadian, and Aotearoa New Zealand Studies*, volume 1, issue 1 (June 2021): pps. 7-44

Recommended:

- Jappan, Radha. "The Federal-Provincial Power Grid and Aboriginal Self-Government." In *New Trends of Canadian Federalism*, edited by Francois Rocher and Miriam Smith. Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1995

Class 8: 'Modern' Treaty Making & Constitutional Patriation

Monday June 3, 2024:

- Borrows, John and Leonard Monkman. "Calder V. British Columbia (Attorney General). In *Aboriginal Legal Issues: Cases, Materials & Commentary*, edited by John Borrows and Leonard Monkman, pps. 221-241. Markham: LexusNexus Canada INC, 2007
- Isaac, Thomas. "Subsection 35(3) and Modern Treaties/Land Claims Agreement." In *Aboriginal Law*, edited by Thomas Isaac, pps. 93-110. Saskatoon: Purich Publishing Ltd, 2004
- Ladner, Kiera, and Michael McCrossan. "The Road not Taken." In *Contested Constitutionalism: Reflections on the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, edited by James Kelly and Christopher Manfredi, pps. 263-283. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2009
- Isaac, Thomas. "Recognition and Reconciliation: Recent Developments in Métis Rights Law." In *Bead By Bead: Constitutional Rights and Métis Community*, edited by Yvonne Boyer and Larry Chartrand, pps. 32-51. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2021.

Recommended:

- Ladner, Kiera. "Treaty Federalism: An Indigenous Vision of Canadian Federalisms." In *New Trends in Canadian Federalism*, edited by Francois Rocher and Miriam Smith, pps. 167-196. Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2003

Class 9: Indigenous Peoples and 'Identity' I

Wednesday June 5, 2024:

- Palmater, Pamela. "Chapter 1: Legislated Identity: Control, Division, and Assimilation." In *Beyond Blood: Rethinking Indigenous Identity*. Saskatoon: Purlich Publishing Limited, 2011
- Napoleon, Val. "Extinction by Number: Colonialism Made Easy." In *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* Vol 16, Iss. 1 (2001): pps. 113-145.
- Voth, Daniel. "The Race Question in Canada and the Politics of Racial Mixing." In *A People and a Nation: New Directions in Contemporary Métis Studies*, edited by Jennifer Adese & Chris Anderson, pps. 67-92. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2021.

Recommended:

- Palmater, Pamela. "Chapter 2: The Right to Determine Citizenship." In *Beyond Blood: Rethinking Indigenous Identity*. Saskatoon: Purlich Publishing Limited, 2011

Class 10: Indigenous Peoples and 'Identity' II

Monday June 10, 2024:

- Green, Joyce. "Taking More Account of Indigenous Feminism: An Introduction." In *Making Space for Indigenous Feminism, 2nd Edition*. Edited by Joyce Green, pps. 1-20. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2017
- St. Denis, Verna. "Feminism is for Everybody: Aboriginal Women, Feminism, and Diversity." In *Making Space for Indigenous Feminism, 2nd Edition*. Edited by Joyce Green, pps. 42-62. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2017
- LaRocque, Emma. "Métis and Feminist: Contemplations on Feminism, Human Rights, Culture and Decolonization." In *Making Space for Indigenous Feminism, 2nd Edition*. Edited by Joyce Green, pps. 122-145. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2017
- Betasamosake Simpson, Leanne. "Indigenous Queer Normativity." In *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom Through Radical Resistance*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017

Class 11: Indigenous Peoples, Participation, and Canadian Citizenship

Wednesday June 12, 2024 (Class will be taught via Zoom):

- Palmater, Pamela. "Chapter 4: Band Membership vs. Self-Government Citizenship." In *Beyond Blood: Rethinking Indigenous Identity*. Saskatoon: Purlich Publishing Limited, 2011
- Borrows, John. "Landed Citizenship: Narratives of Aboriginal Political Participation." In *Citizenship in Diverse Societies*, edited by Will Kymlicka and Wayne Norman, pps. 326-342. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000

- Cowie, Chadwick. “Questioning Canadian/First Nations Relations: An Argument for Dual-Citizenship.” In *Citizenship in Transnational Perspective: Australia, Canada, and Aotearoa New Zealand*, Second Edition, edited by Jatinder Mann, (pages TBD). London: Palgrave Macmillan, (Forthcoming)
- Cowie, Chadwick. “Chapter 18: Validating the Canadian Electoral Process or Indigenous Nationhoods? The Complexities of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Participation in Canadian Federal Elections.” In *Elections in Canada: People, Players, and Processes*, edited by Tamara S. Small and Royce Koop, pps (TBD). Toronto: University of Toronto Press, (Forthcoming)

Recommended:

- Cowie, Chadwick and Liam Midzain-Gobin. “Progress or Status-Quo: Indigenous Peoples in Election 44.” In *The Canadian Election of 2021*, edited by J.H. Pammett and Christopher Dornan, pps. 220-245. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2022.
- Cowie, Chadwick. “A Vote for Canada or Indigenous Nationhood? The Complexities of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Participation in Canadian Politics, in *The Conversation Canada* (November 1, 2022). <https://theconversation.com/a-vote-for-canada-or-indigenous-nationhood-the-complexities-of-first-nations-metis-and-inuit-participation-in-canadian-politics-169312>

Class 12: Are Indigenous Nations and the Canadian State Reconciling?

Monday June 17, 2024:

- Epp, Roger. “We Are All Treaty People: History, Reconciliation, and the Settler Problem.” In *We Are All Treaty People: Prairie Essays*, edited by Roger Epp, pps, 121-141. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2008
- Coates, Ken. “Preface: Quiet No More.” In *#IdleNoMore and the Remaking of Canada*. Regina: University of Regina Press, 2015.
- Coates, Ken. “Chapter 7: Idle No More and the Technologies of Mass Mobilization.” In *#IdleNoMore and the Remaking of Canada*. Regina: University of Regina Press, 2015
- Truth and Reconciliation Canada. “Calls to Action,” in *Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, pps. 319-338. Winnipeg: Truth and Reconciliation Canada
- Jewell, Eva and Ian Mosby. “Calls to Action Accountability: A 2020 Status Update on Reconciliation. A Special Report. *Yellowhead Institute*. December 2020.

Recommended:

- The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Available Online)
- The Final Report on Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (Available Online)