

**SELECTED POLITICAL PROBLEMS I:
INDIGENOUS STATE RELATIONS**
POLSCI 780
Winter 2022, Term 2

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Lecture: Monday, 11:30 am - 2:20 pm

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Course Description

This course will examine various Indigenous responses to the ways in which colonial nation-states have attempted to subjugate Indigenous leadership and usurp Indigenous sovereignty as a means of accessing, controlling, and benefiting from Indigenous lands and resources. Through course readings, class discussions, student presentations, and research papers this course will explore issues such as treaty making, Indian Act, citizenship, identity, land claims, United Nations, systemic racism, criminal justice system, gender issues, self-government initiatives, and various policy developments. All the materials presented in the class will be from Indigenous scholars allowing students an opportunity to engage with Indigenous perspectives of Indigenous-State relations critically and thoroughly.

Course Objectives

By the end of the course students should be able to:

- Identify the central Indigenous scholars of Indigenous governance, law, policy, and politics
- Have a firm grasp of the major arguments in the field to be able to critically engage with them
- Write a book review
- Demonstrate a high level of understanding of issues relating to Indigenous-state relations

Required Materials and Texts

- Students will be able to access the articles through A2L or through the McMaster library.
- Students are expected to obtain their own of the books for the book reviews copies either buying or borrowing them from the library.

Class Format

The course will use a seminar format. Regular and consistent participation by all students is required.

Course Evaluation – Overview

1. Participation – 25%, ongoing throughout term
2. Essay Proposal – 10%, due January 28
3. Book Reviews – 2 @ 15% each, due February 18
4. Major Essay – 35%, due April 14

Course Evaluation – Details

Participation (25%), throughout term

This course has a heavy emphasis on class discussions. Students are expected to come to class fully prepared by having read the assigned readings and contributing to discussions in a meaningful way. Students want to demonstrate they are critically engaged with the course materials. You do not necessarily have to understand the material, but it should be evident that you are working towards understanding it. Students who do not participate in class discussions will not receive a passing grade for participation. Absences will be deemed as non-participation. Students will be assessed on their ability to effectively communicate their critical understanding of the readings in a professional and academic manner.

The criteria for assessing meaningful participation will be as follows:

- A- to A+: Contribute frequently and appropriately; demonstrate critical understanding of assigned reading; apply relevant material from readings and discussions to the issue; build on the comments of others; make integrative statements;
- B- to B+: Contribute regularly; demonstrate understanding of main points of reading; occasionally employs relevant materials from readings and discussions to the issue; offers observations but does not integrate or build on the contributions of other students;
- C- to C+: Contribute a few times; demonstrate having read assigned material; employed some theory in understanding issues; made statements unconnected to main subject or repeated comments already offered;
- D: Was present but contributed minimally to discussion; little demonstration of having read or carefully read assignment; offered comments which did not advance discussion of the issues.

Essay Proposal (10%), due Jan 28

Students will submit a 3-page proposal outlining their essay topic. The proposal will outline the research topic and provide a thesis statement. Students will be expected to situate their essays within the foundational literature of the topic. The proposal should include a bibliography with a minimum of 5 pages. Though students are expected to have read some of their sources at this point, they will not be required to have read all the sources. Students are encouraged to discuss their topics with the instructor prior to submitting their essay proposals.

Book Reviews (2 @ 15%), due Feb 18; Mar 18

Students will write two 3-page (roughly 750 words) book reviews. Students will assess the strengths and weaknesses of the author's argument. Students will be required to

identify the author's thesis statement and assess to what degree they have effectively demonstrated it. If the student argues that the author successfully argues their thesis, they should provide 2 examples of arguments that were effective and 1 example of a that was not. However, if the student argues that the author does not provide a convincing argument, they should provide 2 examples of arguments that had shortcomings and 1 example that was on point.

Book Review 1 – choose one (1) below, due February 18

Adams, Howard. *Prison of Grass: Canada from a Native Point of View*. Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1975.

Cardinal, Harold. *The Unjust Society*. Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1999 (1969).

Anaya, S. James. *Indigenous Peoples in International Law*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Andersen, Chris. *Métis: Race, Recognition, and the Struggle for Indigenous Peoplehood*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014.

Barker, Joanne. *Native Act: Law, Recognition, and Cultural Authenticity*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2011.

Book Review 2 – choose one (1) below, due March 18

Borrows, John. *Recovering Canada: The Resurgence of Indigenous Law*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.

Coulthard, Glen S. *Red Skins, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014.

Hill, Susan M. *The Clay We Are Made of Haudenosaunee Land Tenure on the Grand River*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2017

Lightfoot, Cheryl. *Global Indigenous Politics: A Subtle Revolution*. New York: Routledge Press, 2016.

Turner, Dale, *This Is Not a Peace Pipe: Towards a Critical Indigenous Philosophy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006.

Major Essay (35%), due April 14

Produce a 20-25 page paper of publishable quality based on the essay proposal.

Note: Submit all work through Avenue 2 Learn course page by 11:59PM of the due date.

All assignments should be double-spaced. Use 12pt Arial font. Sources must be cited using proper citation format – any style is fine, as long as it is a recognized scholarly citation style (see below for policy on plagiarism).

Weekly Course Schedule and Required Readings

Week 1 (January 10) Introductions/Decolonization

Readings:

Tuck, Eve and K. Wayne Yang. "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor" *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no. 1 (2012): 1-40

Week 2 (January 17) Indigenous Feminism

Readings:

Arvin, Maile, Eve Tuck and Angie Morrill. "Decolonizing Feminism: Challenging Connections between Settler Colonialism and Heteropatriarchy." *Feminist Formations* 25, no. 1: (2013): 8-34.

Hunt, Sarah. "Embodying Self-Determination: Beyond the Gender Binary." In *Determinants of Indigenous Peoples' Health, Second Edition: Beyond the Social*. Edited by Margo Greenwood, Sarah de Leeuw, Nicole Marie Lindsay. Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2018.

Simpson, Audra. "The State Is a Man: Theresa Spence, Loretta Saunders and the Gendered Costs of Settler Sovereignty." *Theory & Event* 19, no. 4 (2016): 1-16.

Week 3 (January 24) Treaty Making

Readings:

Hill, Susan M. "'Traveling down the river of life together in peace and friendship, forever': Haudenosaunee Land Ethics and Treaty Agreements as the Basis for Restructuring the Relationship with the British Crown." in *Lighting the Eighth Fire: The Liberation, Resurgence and Protection of Indigenous Nations*. Edited by Leanne Simpson, 2008, Arbeiter Ring Publishing, Winnipeg, MB: pp. 23-45.

McCarthy, Theresa. "Haudenosaunee Clans and the Reconstruction of Traditional Haudenosaunee Identity and Nationhood" *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 2010.

Stark, Heidi Kiiwetinepinesik. "Respect, Responsibility, and Renewal: The Foundations of Anishinaabe Treaty Making with the United States and Canada." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 34, no. 2 (2010): 145–64.

Note: Essay Proposal due January 28

Week 4 (January 31) Treaty Implementation

Readings:

- Borrows, John. "Wampum at Niagara: The Royal Proclamation, Canadian Legal History, and Self-Government." In *Aboriginal and Treaty Rights in Canada: Essays on Law, Equity, and Respect for Difference*. Edited by Michael Asch. Pp. 155–72. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997.
- Ladner, Kiera. Treaty Federalism: An Indigenous Vision of Canadian Federalisms. In *New Trends in Canadian Federalism, 167-196*. Edited by M. Smith and F. Rocher. Peterborough: Broadview, 2003.
- Starblanket, Gina. "Constitutionalizing (In)Justice: Treaty Implementation and the Containment of Indigenous Governance" *Constitutional Forum* 28, no. 2 (2019): 13-24.

Week 5 (February 7) The Political 1960s

Readings:

- O'Bonsawin, Christine. "From Black Power to Indigenous Activism: The Olympic Movement and the Marginalization of Oppressed Peoples (1968-2012)" *Journal of Sport History* 42, no. 2 (Summer 2015): 200-219.
- Innes, Robert Alexander. "A Philosophy Worthy of 1867': Was the White Paper the Logical Outcome of the Hawthron Report." *In 'In Partnership': Proceedings of the Annual CINSA Conference*. Department of Native Studies and Department of Indian Studies, Saskatoon, SK (2001): 4-13.
- Nichols, Sarah. "Reconsidering 1969: The *White Paper* and the Making of the Modern Indigenous Rights Movement" *Canadian Historical Review* 100, no. 2 (2019): 223-238.

Week 6 (February 14) Métis Identity

Readings:

- Adese, Jennifer. "A Tale of Two Constitutions: Métis Nationhood and Section 35(2)'s Impact on Interpretations of Daniels." *Topia* 36 (2016): 7-19.
- Gaudry, Adam and Chris Andersen. "*Daniels v. Canada*: Racialized Legacies, Settler Self-Indigenization and the Denial of Indigenous Peoplehood" *Topia* 36 (2016): 19-30.
- Gaudry, Adam. "Communing with the Dead: The "New Métis," Métis Identity Appropriation, and the Displacement of Living Métis Culture" *The American Indian Quarterly*, 42, No. 2, (2018): 162-190.

Note: Book Review 1 due February 18

Week 7 (February 22) Mid-term recess, NO CLASS

Week 8 (February 28) Treaties in the Contemporary Context

Readings:

- Starblanket, Gina. "The Numbered Treaties and the Politics of Incoherency" *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 52, no. 3 (2019): 443-459.
- Walker, Katherine. "The Duty to Consult: Creating Political Space for First Nations?" In *Back To Blakeney: Revitalizing The Democratic State*. Edited by David McGrane, John Whyte, Roy Romanow, and Russell Isinger. Regina: University of Regina Press, 2019.
- Innes, Robert Alexander and Terrence Ross Pelletier. "Cowessess First Nation: Self-Government, Nation-Building and Treaty Land Entitlement." In *Aboriginal Self-Government in Canada: Current Trends and Issues*, 3rd Edition. Edited by Yale Belanger. Saskatoon: Purich Publishing, 2008.

Week 9 (March 7) Nationhood/Peoplehood

Readings:

- Holm, Tom, J. Diane Pearson and Ben Chavis. "Peoplehood: A Model for the Extension of Sovereignty in American Indian Studies" *Wicazo Sa Review* 18, no. 1 (2003): 7-24.
- Cornthassel, Jeff. "Who is Indigenous? 'Peoplehood' and Ethnonationalist Approaches to Rearticulating Indigenous Identity." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 9, no. 1 (2003): 75-100.
- Andersen, Chris. "Peoplehood and the Nation Form: Core Concepts for a Critical Métis Studies." In *A People and A Nation: New Directions in Contemporary Métis Studies*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2021.

Week 10 (March 14) Politics of Recognition & Refusal & Child Welfare

Readings:

- Coulthard, Glen S. "Subjects of Empire: Indigenous Peoples and the 'Politics of Recognition' in Canada" *Contemporary Political Theory* 6 (2007): 437-460.
- Simpson, Audra. "On Ethnographic Refusal: Indigeneity, 'Voice' and Colonial Citizenship." *Junctures: The Journal for Thematic Dialogue* 9 (2007): 67-80.
- Stevenson, Allyson D. "Demanding the Right to Care for Métis Children in Saskatchewan: A History of the Métis Society Resisting Child Removal in the 1970's." *Métis Rising: Beading Métis Social and Economic Well-Being: Historical and Contemporary Accounts, Vol. 2*. Edited by In Yvonne Boyer and Larry Chartrand. Vancouver: UBC Press, (January 2018).

Note: Book Review 2 due March 18

Week 11 (March 21) Child Welfare and International Relations

Readings:

Naiomi Metallic, "A Human Right to Self-Government over First Nations Child and Family Services and Beyond: Implications of the Caring Society Case," *Journal of Law and Social Policy* 28 (2018): 4-41.

Lightfoot, Cheryl and David Macdonald. "Treaty Relations between Indigenous Peoples: Advancing Global Understandings of Self-Determination." *New Diversities Special Issue Indigenous Politics of Resistance: From Erasure to Recognition* 19 (2017): 25-40.

- - -. "The United Nations and Both Foe and Friend to Indigenous Peoples and Self-Determination." In *The United Nations: Friend or Foe of Self-Determination?* Edited by Jakob R. Avgustin. Pp. 32-46. Bristol, England, E-International Relations Publishing, 2020.

Week 12 (March 28) Citizenship

Readings:

Green, Joyce. "Self-determination, Citizenship, and Federalism: Indigenous and Canadian Palimpsest." In *Reconfiguring Aboriginal-State Relations*. Edited by Michael Murphy. Pp 329-352. Kingston, ON: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, School of Policy Studies, Queen's University, 2005.

Lee Damien and Kahente Horn-Miller. "Wild Card: Making Sense of Adoption and Indigenous Citizenship Orders in Settler Colonial Contexts" *AlterNative* 14, no. 4 (2018): 293–299.

Jobin, Shalene "Market Citizenship and Indigeneity" in *Creating Indigenous Property: Power, Rights, and Relationships*. Edited by Angela Cameron, Sari Graben, Val Napoleon. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020.

Week 13 (April 4) Resource Development

Readings:

Leddy, Lianne C. "Poisoning the Serpent: Uranium Exploitation and Serpent River First Nation, 1952-1988." In *The Natures of Empire and the Empires of Nature*. Edited by Karl Hele. Pp. 125-147. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2013

Atleo, Clifford "[Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Canada's Carbon Economy and Indigenous Ambivalence](#)," In *Regime of Obstruction: How Corporate Power Blocks Energy Democracy*. Edited by William K. Carroll. Athabasca: AU Press, 2021.

Kuokkanen, Rauna. "Indigenous Economies, Theories of Subsistence, and Women: *Exploring the Social Economy Model for Indigenous Governance*" *American Indian Quarterly* 35, No. 2 (2011): 215-240.

Week 14 (April 11) Politics of Crime

Readings:

Stark, Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik. "Criminal Empire: The Making of the Savage in a Lawless Land" *Theory & Event* 19, no. 4 (2016)

Henry, Robert. "'I Claim in The Name of . . .' Indigenous Street Gangs and Politics of Recognition in Prairie Cities." In *Settler City Limits: Indigenous resurgence and colonial violence in the Urban Prairie West*. Edited by Julie Tomiak, Tyler

McCreary, David Hugill, Robert Henry, et al. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2019

Bird, Danielle. "Settler Colonialism, Anti-Colonial Theory, and 'Indigenized' Prisons for Indigenous Women," in *Building Abolition: Decarceration and Social Justice*. Edited by Kelly Struthers Montford and Chloe Taylor. Pp. 110-121. New York: Routledge, 2021.

Note: Major Essay due April 14

Course Policies

Submission of Assignments

All assignments should be double-spaced. Use 12pt Arial font. Sources must be cited using proper citation format – any style is fine, as long as it is a recognized scholarly citation style (see below for policy on plagiarism).

Note: Submit all work through Avenue to Learn (A2L) course page by 11:59PM of the due date.

Grades

Grades will be based on the McMaster University grading scale:

MARK	GRADE
90-100	A+
85-90	A
80-84	A-
77-79	B+
73-76	B
70-72	B-
69-0	F

Late Assignments

Assignments not submitted by the due date are considered late and will automatically be penalized 10 marks off the earned grade. Late assignments without an approved extension will only be accepted for **7 days** after the due date. Assignments submitted after the return of marked assignments will not be given a passing grade but will be recorded as a completed.

Extensions to due dates will only be considered in the case of illness (if supported by a medical certificate) or for serious compassionate reasons. **NOTE:** Heavy workloads or the requirements of other courses will not be accepted as grounds for extensions.

Absences, Missed Work, Illness

Regular and consistent participation in class discussions and attendance is mandatory. Please contact me via email if you are doing to be absent.

Courses With An On-Line Element

Some courses may use on-line elements (e.g. e-mail, Avenue to Learn (A2L), LearnLink, web pages, capa, Moodle, ThinkingCap, etc.). Students should be aware that, when they access the electronic components of a course using these elements, private information such as first and last names, user names for the McMaster e-mail accounts, and program affiliation may become apparent to all other students in the same course. The available information is dependent on the technology used. Continuation in a course that uses on-line elements will be deemed consent to this disclosure. If you have any questions or concerns about such disclosure please discuss this with the course instructor.

Online Proctoring

Some courses may use online proctoring software for tests and exams. This software may require students to turn on their video camera, present identification, monitor and record their computer activities, and/or lock/restrict their browser or other applications/software during tests or exams. This software may be required to be installed before the test/exam begins.

Authenticity / Plagiarism Detection

Some courses may use a web-based service (Turnitin.com) to reveal authenticity and ownership of student submitted work. For courses using such software, students will be expected to submit their work electronically either directly to Turnitin.com or via an online learning platform (e.g. A2L, etc.) using plagiarism detection (a service supported by Turnitin.com) so it can be checked for academic dishonesty.

Students who do not wish their work to be submitted through the plagiarism detection software must inform the Instructor before the assignment is due. No penalty will be assigned to a student who does not submit work to the plagiarism detection software.

All submitted work is subject to normal verification that standards of academic integrity have been upheld (e.g., on-line search, other software, etc.). For more details about McMaster's use of Turnitin.com please go to www.mcmaster.ca/academicintegrity.

Copyright and Recording

Students are advised that lectures, demonstrations, performances, and any other course material provided by an instructor include copyright protected works. The Copyright Act and copyright law protect every original literary, dramatic, musical and artistic work, **including lectures** by University instructors

The recording of lectures, tutorials, or other methods of instruction may occur during a course. Recording may be done by either the instructor for the purpose of authorized distribution, or by a student for the purpose of personal study. Students should be aware that their voice and/or image may be recorded by others during the class. Please speak with the instructor if this is a concern for you.

Academic Accommodation for Religious, Indigenous or Spiritual Observances (RISO)

Students requiring academic accommodation based on religious, indigenous or spiritual observances should follow the procedures set out in the [RISO](#) policy. Students should submit their request to their Faculty Office **normally within 10 working days** of the beginning of term in which they anticipate a need for accommodation or to the Registrar's Office prior to their examinations. Students should also contact their instructors as soon as possible to make alternative arrangements for classes, assignments, and tests.

Academic Integrity Statement

You are expected to exhibit honesty and use ethical behaviour in all aspects of the learning process. Academic credentials you earn are rooted in principles of honesty and academic integrity. **It is your responsibility to understand what constitutes academic dishonesty.**

Academic dishonesty is to knowingly act or fail to act in a way that results or could result in unearned academic credit or advantage. This behaviour can result in serious consequences, e.g. the grade of zero on an assignment, loss of credit with a notation on the transcript (notation reads: "Grade of F assigned for academic dishonesty"), and/or suspension or expulsion from the university. For information on the various types of academic dishonesty please refer to the [Academic Integrity Policy](#), located at <https://secretariat.mcmaster.ca/university-policies-procedures-guidelines/>

The following illustrates only three forms of academic dishonesty:

- plagiarism, e.g. the submission of work that is not one's own or for which other credit has been obtained.
- improper collaboration in group work.
- copying or using unauthorized aids in tests and examinations.

Conduct Expectations

As a McMaster student, you have the right to experience, and the responsibility to demonstrate, respectful and dignified interactions within all of our living, learning and working communities. These expectations are described in the [Code of Student Rights & Responsibilities](#) (the "Code"). All students share the responsibility of maintaining a positive environment for the academic and personal growth of all McMaster community members, **whether in person or online.**

It is essential that students be mindful of their interactions online, as the Code remains in effect in virtual learning environments. The Code applies to any interactions that adversely affect, disrupt, or interfere with reasonable participation in University activities. Student disruptions or behaviours that interfere with university functions on online platforms (e.g. use of Avenue 2 Learn, WebEx or Zoom for delivery), will be

taken very seriously and will be investigated. Outcomes may include restriction or removal of the involved students' access to these platforms

Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities

Students with disabilities who require academic accommodation must contact [Student Accessibility Services](#) (SAS) at 905-525-9140 ext. 28652 or sas@mcmaster.ca to make arrangements with a Program Coordinator. For further information, consult McMaster University's [Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities](#) policy.

Faculty of Social Sciences E-mail Communication Policy

Effective September 1, 2010, it is the policy of the Faculty of Social Sciences that all e-mail communication sent from students to instructors (including TAs), and from students to staff, must originate from the student's own McMaster University e-mail account. This policy protects confidentiality and confirms the identity of the student. It is the student's responsibility to ensure that communication is sent to the university from a McMaster account. If an instructor becomes aware that a communication has come from an alternate address, the instructor may not reply at his or her discretion.

Course Modification

The instructor and university reserve the right to modify elements of the course during the term. The university may change the dates and deadlines for any or all courses in extreme circumstances. If either type of modification becomes necessary, reasonable notice and communication with the students will be given with explanation and the opportunity to comment on changes. It is the responsibility of the student to check his/her McMaster email and course websites weekly during the term and to note any changes.

Extreme Circumstances

The University reserves the right to change the dates and deadlines for any or all courses in extreme circumstances (e.g., severe weather, labour disruptions, etc.). Changes will be communicated through regular McMaster communication channels, such as McMaster Daily News, A2L and/or McMaster email.