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# Application for a Grant

<b>Identification</b>						
This page will be made available to selection committee members and external assessors.						
Funding opportunity <b>Insight Grants</b>						
Joint or special initiative						
Application title <b>Bi-Nationalism as a form of Aboriginal-Settler Reconciliation in a Multicultural Context: What Can Canada Learn from New Zealand's Model of Power-Sharing?</b>						
Applicant family name <b>MacDonald</b>			Applicant given name <b>David</b>		Initials <b>B</b>	
Org. code <b>1350311</b>	Full name of applicant's organization and department <b>University of Guelph Political Science</b>					
Org. code <b>1350311</b>	Full name of administrative organization and department <b>University of Guelph College of Social and Applied Human Sciences</b>					
Scholar type	Regular <input checked="" type="radio"/>	New <input type="radio"/>	Research Group			
If New, specify category	1 <input type="radio"/>	2 <input type="radio"/>	3 <input type="radio"/>	4 <input type="radio"/>	435-2	
Does your proposal require a multidisciplinary evaluation?					Yes <input type="radio"/>	No <input checked="" type="radio"/>
Is this a research-creation project?					Yes <input type="radio"/>	No <input checked="" type="radio"/>
Does your proposal involve human beings as research subjects? If "Yes", consult the <i>Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans</i> and submit your proposal to your organization's Research Ethics Board.					Yes <input checked="" type="radio"/>	No <input type="radio"/>
Does your proposal involve activity that requires a permit, licence, or approval under any federal statute; or physical interaction with the environment? If 'Yes', complete Appendices A and B.					Yes <input type="radio"/>	No <input checked="" type="radio"/>
	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5	Total
Total funds requested from SSHRC	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____



### Research Activity

The information provided in this section refers to your research proposal.

### Keywords

List keywords that best describe your proposed research or research activity. Separate keywords with a semicolon.

Aboriginal; South Asian; Caribbean; multiculturalism; reconciliation; Canada; New Zealand; binationalism

### Priority Areas - Priority area(s) most relevant to your proposal.

1. Aboriginal Research

### Disciplines - Indicate and rank up to 3 disciplines that best correspond to your activity.

Rank	Code	Discipline	If "Other", specify
1	62800	Political Science	
2	63400	Sociology	
3	51000	History	

### Areas of Research

Indicate and rank up to 3 areas of research related to your proposal.

Rank	Code	Area
1	240	Indigenous peoples
2	300	Multiculturalism and ethnic studies
3	320	Politics and government

### Temporal Periods

If applicable, indicate up to 2 historical periods covered by your proposal.

From	To
<p>Year</p> <p>1750</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>BC AD</p> <p><input type="radio"/> <input checked="" type="radio"/></p> <p><input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/></p>	<p>Year</p> <p>2012</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>BC AD</p> <p><input type="radio"/> <input checked="" type="radio"/></p> <p><input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/></p>



Family name, Given name  
MacDonald, David

**Research Activity (cont'd)**

**Geographical Regions**

If applicable, indicate and rank up to 3 geographical regions covered by or related to your proposal. Duplicate entries are not permitted.

Rank	Code	Region
1	1120	Central Canada
2	7000	Oceania
3	9001	International

**Countries**

If applicable, indicate and rank up to 5 countries covered by or related to your proposal. Duplicate entries are not permitted.

Rank	Code	Country	Prov./ State
1	1100	CANADA	ON
2	7200	NEW ZEALAND	
3	7100	AUSTRALIA	
4	1200	UNITED STATES	
5			

## STATEMENT OF ALIGNMENT

This project proposal arguably fits SSHRC's definition of Aboriginal research as: "*research that builds on traditions of thought and experience developed among, and in partnership with, First Nation, Inuit and Métis peoples in Canada, as well as indigenous peoples in other parts of the world.*" This is so for the following reasons:

- 1) This project aims to compare two distinct models of engaging with indigenous-settler relations and multiculturalism, models located within Anglo-American settler states. I seek to gauge the relative success of Māori-Pākeha bi-nationalism in New Zealand (in part through continued engagement with Māori researchers), and to understand if aspects of this model can be applied to Aboriginal-settler relations in Canada. I do so while being mindful that any application of this model in Canada must recognize the wide diversity of Aboriginal peoples (in contrast to the relative homogeneity of Māori), and the country's evolving multicultural context.
- 2) This research proceeds in formal collaboration with the OFIFC, the NRSSS, and hopefully (if the relationships progress as I would wish), with the Six Nations of Grand River and Council Fire (Toronto). This project also prioritizes the role of Elder contributions as fundamental to every stage of this project, not only as windows of new information, but as crucial anchors in keeping us as researchers honest and grounded.
- 3) A key purpose of this project is to engage as fully as possible with Aboriginal knowledge, particularly forms of Aboriginal governance, modes of dealing with diversity (pre-conquest multiculturalism in a sense), and perceptions of Canada's official multiculturalism and English-French bi-culturalism. As such, this project will contribute to SSHRCC's goal of "increase[ing] the impact of aboriginal research on the lives of Canadians."
- 4) This project envisages working *with* Aboriginal peoples and communities rather than *on* them, in the process hopefully mitigating some of the arrogance that has often marked earlier relationships between university researchers and Aboriginal communities. A goal of this research is to examine ways that Aboriginal communities can be empowered through provincial and federal institutional changes, enabling bi-national power-sharing arrangements (outside of treaty mandated and unceded lands) between Aboriginal peoples and non-Aboriginal Canadians.
- 5) Ultimately this project aims to establish a long term vision of how reconciliation might proceed according to a bi-national model, complementing the TRC's work. A more balanced polity, it is argued, will be one where Aboriginal peoples can assume a meaningful place as full partners in charting the present and future direction of the country, in political, cultural, linguistic, and economic terms.
- 6) In hiring community liaison persons and working closely with them, I hope this project will contribute to SSHRCC's goal of "develop[ing] aboriginal research talent, capacity and leadership".



Family name, Given name

MacDonald, David

### Summary of Proposal

The summary of your research proposal should indicate clearly the problem or issue to be addressed, the potential contribution of the research both in terms of the advancement of knowledge and of the wider social benefit, etc.

Hidden in plain sight, Aboriginal peoples represent one of the fastest growing and most dynamic groups in Canada, while also being one of the most marginalized. While the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada observes that reconciliation may take seven generations, they have maintained a shorter term focus on reconciliation with families and communities, and an emphasis on healing. Complementing the TRC's approach, this project asks whether a longer term vision of reconciliation, epitomized through seven generations teaching, could help channel Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal energies towards a better, shared future. One (albeit imperfect) model of reconciliation is offered by New Zealand's bi-national partnership between indigenous Maori and settlers. This program of research problematizes bi-nationalism as a model of reconciliation in Canada, within an evolving multicultural context marked by continued Anglo-French settler dominance.

Focused on New Zealand and the province of Ontario, this project seeks to determine:

- 1) Whether multiculturalism as it is presently constituted benefits Aboriginal people. While heralded as a model for ethnic and cultural relations, many Aboriginal theorists are critical of the concept. I seek to understand whether multicultural policies and practices could be better synchronized with Aboriginal priorities.
- 2) The potentiality of adapting NZ-inspired bi-national models of power and resource sharing to the Canadian reconciliation process, while foregrounding the diversity of Aboriginal peoples.
- 3) The extent to which seven generations teaching can help establish benchmarks to help determine a timeline for successful reconciliation. Bi-nationalism offers the prospect of both Aboriginal self-determination on their own lands, and the potential to meaningfully share political, cultural, and economic power in Canadian institutions while also indigenizing these institutions and practices. Moving beyond the NZ model, a more inclusive bi-national multiculturalisms framework would recognize the diversity and distinctiveness of Aboriginal peoples as pre-conquest multicultural peoples, alongside the multiculturalism of settlers.
- 4) To explore how Canada's racialized minorities (in particular South Asian and Caribbean peoples -- reflecting the PI's ethnic background) relate to each other through multiculturalism, and to posit how this relationship might change within a different power-sharing context.

While bi-nationalism is invoked comparatively in outlining what Canada is not, the prospects for bi-nationalism here have yet to be fully explored, an important scholarly gap which this project aims to fill. This will also be the first major qualitative study to engage with Aboriginal and radicalized minority perceptions of multiculturalism, using regular Elder consultation, elite interviews, and focus groups with community stakeholders. This research can contribute to policy level discussions about changing how we understand the "integration" process for immigrants, rethinking default "Canadian" values, while increasing opportunities for Aboriginal peoples to help shape discourses and practices surrounding how Canada is imagined as a community. Early findings will be featured in the TRC's Final Report, for which the PI is authoring three chapters (unpaid). Further, racialized minority organizations will find this research useful in identifying solidarities and bridge-building opportunities with Aboriginal peoples. This program of research proceeds from a strong basis of community stakeholder support: formal collaboration with OFIFC, an established partnership relationship with NRSSS, a letter of support in principle from Six Nations, and interest in principle for research collaboration from CASSA.

### *Objectives*

Hidden in plain sight (166), Aboriginal peoples are one of the fastest growing groups in Canada (105, 122, 147), yet their contributions have been marginalized in national life. It is undeniable that Aboriginal peoples face serious power imbalances relative to settler Canadians, due to the intergenerational effects of legalized discrimination, alienation from land and spirit, abuse in Indian Residential Schools (IRS), inordinate rates of incarceration, poverty, social exclusion, and other systemic challenges (8, 9, 28, 103, 123). Those conducting research with Aboriginal peoples are well aware of broken relationships and fractured communities created by the IRS system, but are equally cognizant of the potential of Aboriginal traditional systems and ways of knowing to engender a more vibrant and dynamic society for all of us (91, 166). There is movement towards improving Aboriginal-settler relationships through reconciliation, a term with multiple interpretations (119). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) observes that reconciliation may take seven generations, but has chosen to focus on shorter term reconciliation between Survivors, families, and communities, with an emphasis on their healing journeys. Complementing the TRC, this IG posits that a long term vision of reconciliation, epitomized through seven generations teaching (thinking seven generations into the future, or positioning oneself in the middle of seven generations, three before and three to come), could channel Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal energies towards a better, shared future which emphasises the contributory aspects of Aboriginality. One (albeit imperfect) model of where we might direct reconciliation efforts is offered by New Zealand. From the 1970s, (indigenous) Māori political mobilization and Pākeha (settler) acknowledgement of colonial injustices invigorated the ideal of bi-nationalism, a process of power-sharing and cultural syncretism. This was starkly different from our view of bi-nationalism as an English-French settler dyadic relationship (161). This program of research problematizes NZ-style bi-nationalism as a model of reconciliation in Canada, within an evolving multicultural context. It has four aims:

1. To determine whether current multicultural policies and practices advance the interests of Aboriginal people. While heralded as a model for ethnic and cultural relations, many Aboriginal theorists are critical of it. I seek to understand whether multicultural policies and practices could be better synchronized with Aboriginal priorities.
2. To gauge the potentiality of bi-national models of power and resource sharing as a means to reconciliation, and to critically examine the prototypical case of NZ to determine whether this model (with both positive and negative features) offers insights into where our relationship with Aboriginal peoples *could* move. This foregrounds the linguistic, cultural, and geographic diversity of Aboriginal peoples here, and their more complex treaty and non-treaty relationships with the crown.
3. To use seven generations teaching to envisage benchmarks for successful reconciliation. Bi-nationalism offers the prospect of both Aboriginal self-determination on their own lands, and the potential to meaningfully share political, cultural, and economic power in Canadian institutions while also indigenizing these institutions and practices. This project also questions whether the NZ model can be expanded to encompass *bi-national multiculturalisms*, to create a framework which recognizes both the diversity and distinctiveness of Aboriginal peoples as pre-conquest multicultural peoples (165), alongside the multiculturalism of settlers.
4. To gauge the prospects for bi-national multiculturalisms amongst Canada's racialised minorities (in particular South Asian and Caribbean peoples – those sharing the ethnic heritage of the PI). To see how Aboriginal peoples and racialized minorities relate to each

other *now* through multiculturalism, and to posit how this relationship might change in positive ways (while also identifying potential problems) if a bi-national basis for governance is created within an adapted multicultural framework.

### ***Relationship to Scholarly Literature & Theoretical Approach***

Canada promotes itself as a world trendsetter in multiculturalism, and mainstream discourses often privilege narratives of social harmony and respect for diversity (76, 145, 146, 152, 153). Conversely, intolerance, racism, and disparities between settlers of European origin, racialised minorities, and Aboriginal peoples sustain relatively little attention (12, 61, 82, 97, 100, 138, 148). Dominant views hold that multiculturalism as “unity in diversity” has successfully integrated newcomers into “mainstream” society, without questioning what mainstream actually means (33, 76, 77). Consonant with this is the view that Canada’s relationship with Aboriginal peoples has been more progressive than America’s (83). Yet, official multiculturalism sits uneasily with many Aboriginal people, since from 1971, it was not designed to recognize Aboriginal distinctiveness, but emerged from the same liberal tradition that created the assimilationist White Paper of 1969 (26, 62, 154). Tropes of what constitutes a “desirable” immigrant (linguistic and cultural integration, intermarriage, mainstream political participation, economic equality, and patriotism) often run counter to the legal rights and needs of many Aboriginal people (76, 77). Indeed, viewed through right of center perspectives, Aboriginal people share much with unassimilated immigrants, who are unfairly singled out for contributing to a more fragmented, ghettoized, “tribalized,” or otherwise insecure society (31, 50, 101, 127, 144). A growing body of work from more critical Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal theorists challenges our current multicultural framework, advancing several core arguments:

- Aboriginal *sui generis* legal and historical relationships with the crown are often diluted by lumping them with racialised minorities, as peoples in need of “tolerance” for their “diversity” (34, 36, 42, 43, 68, 81, 84, 97, 98, 130, 134).
- Multiculturalism channels “diversity” to relatively “safe” areas that do not threaten the hegemony of English and French Canada (96, 157). It perpetuates the normalness of dominant European-derived cultures and institutions, while inhibiting problematisation of colonialism, racial histories, sexism, and inequality (14, 46, 55, 64, 87, 99, 151). Racialised minority peoples may also feel a sense of marginalization, and sometimes demonstrate solidarity with Aboriginal peoples and their concerns (37, 107, 112, 113, 132).
- Multiculturalism can perpetuate misleading narratives of the innocence and goodness of Canada’s foundation (11, 125, 143), ignoring the fundamental disconnect in settler and Aboriginal collective memories, over such issues as territorial boundaries, genocide against Aboriginal peoples and/or colonial dominance (8, 14, 29, 46, 78, 107, 112, 113, 121, 132).
- While multiculturalism promotes a certain degree of unity, racialised minorities are not always benign towards Aboriginal peoples, since they too are caught up in processes of colonialism, often unwittingly (81, 106).

I aim to see whether these critiques bear out in practice. What do Aboriginal peoples understand about multiculturalism, and what do racialised minorities understand about Aboriginal peoples? Is there a perceptible gap that could be filled, and how? Arguably, New Zealand presents an alternative model of how multiculturalism and Aboriginal-settler relations could be understood, where prioritising indigeneity has taken precedence over a shallow recognition of cultural diversity (85). NZ was founded in 1840, theoretically according to bi-national principles, although until the 1970s, bi-nationalism was primarily rhetorical (87, 117, 133, 142). De facto

forms of bi-nationalism grew as a result of Māori political mobilization during the 1960s and 1970s. Aspects of a Māori-Pākeha partnership developed, framed as a relationship between *tangata whenua* (people of the land) and *tangata tiriti* (settlers represented by the Treaty of Waitangi) (3, 15, 71, 156). Māori have achieved parliamentary representation higher than their percentage of the population, with prominent Māori in cabinet and in other positions of leadership (135). This is starkly different from Canada (73, 160). Further, recent studies demonstrate that Māori and Pākeha are equally committed to common national symbols and culture, a relatively unique situation amongst western settler states (135).

NZ is navigating the transition from Pākeha mono-nationalism to bi-nationalism, but there is little support for multiculturalism. Multiculturalism has been criticized for glossing over the partnership ethos and depoliticizing Māori claims, within a neoliberal context marked by increasing economic inequality (41, 42, 116). Many Māori object to the introduction of multiculturalism *before* their relationship with Pākeha has been properly addressed. Critics point out that Māori are treated as a “junior partner” (116, 140), and note that Māori governance structures have been fundamentally altered to accommodate Pākeha political practices (56, 87, 151). NZ offers a cautionary warning, because bi-nationalism has impoverished efforts to produce a multicultural society, has sometimes resulted in anti-immigrant racism (63), and demonstrates tension between “the value of diverse cultural expression, and social justice understood in egalitarian terms” (141). As such, were we to adopt a bi-national model, it should avoid the pitfalls of anti-immigrant sentiment, seek to build understanding between marginalized communities, while foregrounding the *sui generis* rights of Aboriginal peoples.

With these caveats in mind, a bi-national model offers in principle a more representative form of recognition and power-sharing for Aboriginal peoples than current multiculturalism. It might reduce the “whiteness” of how the mainstream is imagined, mitigating the internalized self-loathing (due to skin colour and disjunctures with European settler cultures and values) that affect some Aboriginal and racialized minority peoples. It could work alongside the promotion of Aboriginal self-determination, constructing narratives based on a “majority-to-majority partnership”. This relationship would be premised on shared sovereignty (outside of treaty mandated and unceded Aboriginal lands, which should be self-determined), Aboriginal representation in existing institutions, and the potential for new institutions devoted to sharing power and resources. Expanding NZ’s bi-national model offers the potential for a wider recognition of diversity, given that Turtle Island was in a sense multicultural before western contact (165, 33) with well over 50 distinct linguistic and cultural groups. We might understand *Canada as a bi-nationalism of two multiculturalisms – between those who were here before colonization, and those who have come after. A bi-national multicultural model would not promote an essentialised, homogenized standard of what constitutes Aboriginal identity (165). Rather the analysis would be framed by the polyvalence of Aboriginal communities over millennia. The approaches by which Aboriginal peoples have engaged with their own multicultural diversity might introduce new avenues for exploring how best to work with newcomer diversities now. This can be conceived as a process of relationship-building, based on movement, exchange, and future-oriented discussion.*

Through over a decade of working with indigenous people in western settler states, I have been marked by the tremendous richness of indigenous cultures, and the many aspects of governance, languages, spirituality, and knowledge systems which could contribute to bi-nationalism. There is a growing interest in Aboriginal ways of knowing, from legal traditions (13, 19), forms of leadership and governance (8, 9, 166), understandings of the natural world and



our place within it (7, 25, 52, 70, 102, 126, 128), and knowledge systems (23, 27, 40, 48, 49, 75, 163, 166). Also important are critiques of the Canadian justice system (22, 38, 57, 58, 59, 60, 80, 114, 128, 129, 139), political institutions (8, 13, 20, 21, 78), western education (44, 46, 51, 110), and Canada's colonial legacies (8, 13, 46, 53, 78, 111, 124, 166). This project builds on my extensive research experience, and my interviews and conversations with Elders, officials, and community leaders throughout Canada. It also reflects my own identity struggles, and my awareness of the hardships experienced by my racialized minority relations in seeking (sometimes in a futile manner) to "fit in" to a country which is not always welcoming.

### ***Importance, Originality & Anticipated Contribution to Knowledge***

While bi-nationalism is invoked comparatively in outlining what Canada is *not* (10, 43, 56, 72, 87), the prospects for bi-nationalism in Canada have yet to be fully explored. I want to test the viability of this model *here*, and if appropriate, to promote a conceptual model of how this might operate in practice. This would also be the first major study to critically engage with Aboriginal and radicalized minority perceptions of multiculturalism, using regular Elder consultation, elite interviews, and focus groups with community stakeholders. Many otherwise excellent critiques of multiculturalism have not incorporated focus group research. There is also a need for new work on how bi-nationalism could function as a form of reconciliation (87), and how a reconciled bi-national country would reinterpret multiculturalism, and change its default settings for "integration".

More published work on racialised minority perspectives of Aboriginal history, politics, and dominant settler values and institutions would contribute to a fuller understanding of the potentialities of building solidarities within the reconciliation process. Focus group work with racialised minorities is used for issues such as discrimination (30, 39, 69), housing and service provision (24, 45, 136), security and terrorism, (47) and education (120). While focus groups have been used on reconciliation (35) and multiculturalism (1), racialised minorities have not been an explicit focus of study. This project builds on the recent work of other social scientists in North America, the UK, and Australasia (16, 17, 37, 79, 108, 115, 155), who, in problematizing the liberal civic character of the western settler state, are critically examining underlying ethnic tensions and hierarchical relationships within it.

There are policy ramifications. If the reconciliation process eventually leads to the incorporation of a bi-national model, the status of Aboriginal peoples may improve from marginalization to partnership, as suppressed languages, cultures, knowledge systems, and forms of governance assume a significant place at the heart of our polity. The nature of multiculturalism might change, as dominant cultures (to which immigrants are expected to integrate) become more diverse and polyvalent. Bi-nationalism might contribute towards a process of "reframing" – changing the symbols and narratives used to interpret the past and chart a course for the future (66). However, I also acknowledge the difficulty in altering dominant political and legal structures, and mainstream settler attitudes, which are highly sedimented (65).

### ***Relationship to On-Going Research***

I am a multicultural person of Scottish and Indo-Caribbean ancestry, who has been working on research related to indigenous peoples and western settler states for over a decade, in New Zealand, Australia, and Canada. My SRG examined the history of the IRS through the lens of the UN Genocide Convention. I developed a strong interest in reconciliation, and was struck by the sharp divergence of collective memory over such issues as genocide, colonialism, racism, and

the history of Canada/Turtle Island. I began publishing on comparative indigenous politics in 2003, examining Māori identity and claims of genocide in NZ (2003), NZ national identity (2005), and NZ diplomacy with other Anglo-American countries (2012; 2013). Four chapters of my second book (2008) feature indigenous case studies from Australia, NZ, and the USA. I have also been publishing on Canadian Aboriginal-settler relations since 2007, focusing on comparative assessment of the IRS system (2007; 2008), as well as the applicability of the UNGC (2008; 2012). I have a forthcoming article, and four peer-reviewed articles under review. This complements a number of conference papers I have co/written since 2003 on: indigenous identities (3); multiculturalism (1); Aboriginal politics in Canada (10); Māori politics in NZ (2); New Zealand politics and identity (5); Canadian politics and identity (2).

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## KNOWLEDGE MOBILIZATION PLAN

This comprises five components: outreach to community partners, academic scholarship, public, media, and pedagogy. Dissemination will be first through the University of Guelph and my personal website, my OFIFC collaborators, and a project twitter feed and YouTube channel.

**Community Research Partners:** Crucial to this research is not only the fostering of an enhanced capacity of Aboriginal peoples to maintain collective identities, but additionally to extend the relevance of Aboriginal thought to mainstream Canadian society. I seek to link reconciliation to larger conceptual and geographic questions about the re-territorialization of boundaries, the privileging of Aboriginal decision-making processes, systems of governance, justice, and dispute resolution. This program will seek to facilitate spaces for dynamic forms of dialogue, and the complementary exchange of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal research paradigms and epistemologies within the larger context of community relationship-building. Our team will consult regularly with Elders and community members to ensure that our work is the result of respectful interaction, and reflects accurately the contributions provided by community organizations. We will co-author articles and other publications with our OFIFC collaborators, and my team will participate in community outreach activities: talks, workshops, and conferences, and we will write website / newsletter articles, discussion papers, and reports.

**Scholarship:** To reach an academic audience, we will target both mainstream and specialist peer-reviewed journals in the fields of political science, sociology, and native studies. Beginning in Year 2, papers will be presented at conferences such as the ISA, CPSA, and NAISA. With my GSRAs, we will publish articles in peer-reviewed journals such as *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, *American Indian Quarterly*, *Nations and Nationalism*, *Journal of Democracy*, *Native Studies Review*, *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*, and *Journal of Multicultural, Gender and Minority Studies*. From Year 2, we will publish 2 peer reviewed articles per year for a minimum total of 8 articles. I will also produce a book length manuscript on reconciliation and multiculturalism, to be published by a Canadian university press: UTP, MQUP, or UBC. This is consistent with my track record.

**Policy:** The first outlet for a policy-oriented audience will be the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, for which I am writing the chapters on genocide, multiculturalism, and political reconciliation for the TRC's *Final Report*. This is unpaid work. Conference papers and peer-reviewed publications will be made available to relevant government departments, with whom I will develop contact through elite interviews and consultation.

**Media:** my team will actively solicit radio, television, and newspapers to offer comments and opinions, and give interviews on themes pertaining to this project.

**Pedagogy:** To reach a learner-centred audience such as students, I will offer two Political Science undergraduate courses related to this project: "Race and Politics" and "Comparative Indigenous Politics." Through my positions on Senate, and in the university system I will work to promote the increased visibility of Aboriginal peoples and knowledge systems on campus and in the wider community. I will also continue to bring high profile Aboriginal speakers to campus, while organizing sharing circles and other events on reconciliation. There is also a pressing need for further understanding of racialized minority identities and concerns, which can be facilitated by public engagement and interface between Aboriginal, racialized minority, and students of European-origin. I also plan to run a SSHRC funded workshop on the themes of the project in the final year, as a means of integrating local graduate research and national academic work from around Canada, while stimulating further public engagement.



Family name, Given name  
MacDonald, David

**Expected Outcomes**

Elaborate on the potential benefits and/or outcomes of your proposed research and/or related activities.

**Scholarly Benefits**

Indicate and rank up to 3 scholarly benefits relevant to your proposal.

Rank	Benefit	If "Other", specify
1	Knowledge creation/intellectual outcomes	
2	Student training/skill development	
3	Enhanced research methods	

**Social Benefits**

Indicate and rank up to 3 social benefits relevant to your proposal.

Rank	Benefit	If "Other", specify
1	Enriched public discourse	
2	Cultural outcomes	
3	Social outcomes	

**Audiences**

Indicate and rank up to 5 potential target audiences relevant to your proposal.

Rank	Audience	If "Other", specify
1	Aboriginal Peoples	
2	Academic sector/peers, including scholarly associations	
3	Federal government	
4	General public	
5	Official languages minority community	



Family name, Given name

MacDonald, David

### Expected Outcomes Summary

Describe the potential benefits/outcomes (e.g., evolution, effects, potential learning, implications) that could emerge from the proposed research and/or other partnership activities.

#### EXPECTED OUTCOMES SUMMARY

Scholarship: Bi-nationalism as a basis for reconciliation is rarely discussed in Canada. If this IG is successful, a new framework for understanding reconciliation may enter the mainstream, offering novel mechanisms for interpreting Aboriginal sui generis rights, while reinvigorating the salience of previously elided power-sharing models, such as Charlottetown and RCAP. Further, this scholarship will move beyond the NZ model by situating bi-nationalism as the basis for Aboriginal and settler multiculturalisms. This polyvalent recognition of diversity offers an innovative critique of liberal theories of multiculturalism, seeking to overcome the underlying western biases of mainstream assumptions.

This project will also engage with debates about the moral responsibilities of newcomers as part of the reconciliation process. Thinking as a treaty person in a relationship with Aboriginal people imposes different duties, responsibilities, and benefits. From a racialized minority perspective, no longer is it our primary duty to assimilate into the "mainstream," but to represent our identities as part of a relationship built on respect and mutual shaping. Conceptualizing mutuality as a function of being Canadian is a potentially new identity marker, which ties into work by the AHF (35), and the growing popularity in Saskatchewan of the idea that "We are all Treaty People". This work will also contribute to valorising Elders as knowledge keepers, while promoting seven generations teaching in mainstream research epistemologies and strategies. I want this project is to send a message of respect to Aboriginal and racialized minority communities, to better enable community capacity enhancement through engagement, mitigating the legacies of disrespectful research practices.

Policy: this research can contribute to policy level discussions about changing how we understand the "integration" process for immigrants, while rethinking default "Canadian" values in ways which could privilege Aboriginal positionalities, and assert Aboriginal rights to help shape integration discourses and practices. Ramifications for policy include reworking our immigration guide, Discover Canada, and other documents, which do a poor job of engaging Aboriginal-settler history and present realities, and which fail to promote Aboriginal world views as a means of re-imagining ourselves. Findings will inform policy directions for such ministries as Citizenship and Immigration Canada, and organizations like the AFN and the Federation of Ontario Chiefs. Racialized minority organizations will find this research useful in identifying solidarities with Aboriginal peoples. Further, the message that "real" Canadians can also be non-white, (like many newcomers), sends an important validation and welcome which European derived institutions and national myths cannot adequately promote. IRS legacies show us that assimilatory nationalism can be extremely destructive. Caution is needed when approaching claims, implicit in the work of mainstream theorists (76, 77), that immigrants often come here because they want to be "Canadian," according to how the mainstream seeks to define it.

Pedagogy: The proposed research will contribute to the development of two undergraduate courses at Guelph, focused on Aboriginal politics in Canada and the politics of race, providing a more solid background for student and faculty engagement with reconciliation and bi-nationalism. There is also a pressing need for further understanding of racialized minority identities and concerns, which can be facilitated by public engagement and interface between Aboriginal, racialized minority, and students of European-origin.

## RESEARCH TEAM, PREVIOUS OUTPUT, AND STUDENT TRAINING

### *A. Description of the research team*

The team will comprise me as Principal Investigator, with formal collaboration from Sylvia Maracle, Director of the Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres (OFIFC). The team will also comprise two PhD students employed for three years (Years 2-4) with \$16,000 stipends (400 hours per year), and two MA students per year (8 one-year positions with renewal if appropriate) with \$9,000 stipends (225 hours per year). I will devote 90 percent of my research time to this project, as my current SRG will be completed by April 2013. As I am on sabbatical from July 2013 to July 2014, I will have considerable time to ensure that good habits are developed early. GSRA team members will be identified and recruited through internet vehicles such as POLCAN, membership in organizations devoted to IG themes, academic conferences, referrals by colleagues, and academic connections. Canada-based team members will be students with undergraduate degrees (for PhD students: MAs) in social sciences, and will be based in the Political Science Department at the University of Guelph. Aboriginal and racialized minority students will be encouraged to apply. I will also hire 1 NZ-based GSRA through the Victoria University of Wellington, and will hire local liaisons based in community organizations.

Research will include working with Canadian and international scholars. In Year 1, I will be hosted in the School of History, Philosophy, Political Science & International Relations at Victoria University of Wellington, from where I will do 20 elite interviews. I plan to develop research connections with Fiona Barker, Kate McMillan, and Maria Bargh in Maori Studies (U Vic), Manying Ip, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith. I will strengthen existing contacts with Roger Maaka (EUT), Janine Hayward and Michael Reilly (Otago), and Tania Ka'ai and John Moorfield (AUT). My team and I will make/strengthen contacts with academics working in project-oriented areas: David Newhouse, Kiera Ladner, John Borrow, Taiaiake Alfred, Jeff Corntassel, Matt James, Augie Fleras, Minelle Mahtani, Bonita Lawrence, Enakshi Dua, Nandita Sharma, Will Kymlicka, Keith Banting, Rita Dhamoon, Scott Morgensen, Ashok Mathur, and others.

From Years 2-4, my team and I will develop or strengthen collaborative relationships with key stakeholder: territorial communities (Six Nations of Grand River); organizational communities (OFIFC, Council Fire, the Council of Agencies Serving South Asians, and Council of Caribbean Associations – Canada) and communities of interest (NRSSS). GSRA will gain training and mentoring as they develop research skills related to Aboriginal knowledge while similarly engaging in respectful relations with racialized minority organizations. Before conducting this research, appropriate local guidance will be sought in adhering to community codes of practice, while keeping in mind the relevance of the research to community priorities. Local research capacity will be strengthened by hiring and training community liaisons. Collaboration with OFIFC will be invaluable here. At the core of this undertaking is the desire to enshrine principles of reciprocal learning, skills and knowledge transfer between my research team and the community. Sensitivity will also be paid to gender-based analysis, to ensure that women participate equitably through the life cycle of the project.

In 2011, I collaborated closely with the **National Residential Schools Survivors Society** in Sault Ste Marie, and Director Michael Cachagee has very kindly agreed to work with me on this upcoming project. Mike and his staff can arrange focus groups with Elders and community leaders to discuss bi-nationalism, Aboriginal governance and reconciliation. In **YEAR 2**, one GSRA will be involved in **3 focus groups** at the NRSSS, and we will conduct research on reconciliation and Aboriginal governance traditions through Algoma University and the

Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre. 2 GRSAs and I will work with the **Six Nations of Grand River** for **4 focus groups**. Through Andrew Joseph I have obtained a letter of support in principle and Mr Joseph has been assigned as my temporary liaison. Six Nations is in demographic terms, the largest First Nation in Canada. Through engagement with Elders and community focus groups we will explore, *inter alia*, to what extent the Haudenosaunee “gus-wen-tah” or Two Row Wampum treaty and idea of governance can translate in a larger theoretical sense to bi-nationalism.

In **YEAR 3**, the team will focus on Aboriginal perceptions of bi-nationalism and multiculturalism. Four GSRAs will work with me on focus groups for two Toronto-based organizations. OFIFC director Sylvia Maracle has kindly agreed to formal collaboration with this project, which will involve consultation with Elders, **4 focus groups**, and one or more joint publications. I am also looking forward to working with research director Magda Smolewski. The OFIFC is a powerful voice in articulating the interests and needs of urban Aboriginal peoples. Their involvement will prove invaluable to student training and mentoring. Additionally, I have also been in contact with Andrea Chrisjohn at **Council Fire** in Toronto, an organization affiliated with the OFIFC. Council Fire brings together both urban Aboriginal and many other peoples, including racialized minorities. I plan to conduct **3 focus groups** here. In **YEAR 3** one GSRA and I will also conduct **20 elite interviews** in Ottawa: officials from Assembly of First Nations, Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development, Canadian Heritage and Official Languages, the Ottawa Multicultural Media Initiative, and Citizenship and Immigration Canada. I have good connections with some of these organizations/ministries, and GRSAs will work to identify and contact others suitable for interviews. We will also conduct archival research in Ottawa: at Library and Archives Canada, the AFN Resource Center, the Museum of Civilization, and libraries in Aboriginal Affairs, and Citizenship and Immigration.

In **YEAR 4**, four GRSAs and I will work with two racialized minority organizations in the GTA. Neethan Shan at the **Council of Agencies Serving South Asians**, replied to me in September that in principle they are “definitely interested”. This Toronto based council coordinates a variety of initiatives including Brown Canada; the South Asian Youth Advisory Committee; and the Racism Free Ontario Project. I also plan to develop create a partnership with the Toronto-based **Council of Caribbean Associations - Canada**, that brings together fourteen Caribbean national associations. I plan to do **4 focus groups** each with these organizations.

### ***B. Description of Previous and Ongoing Research Results***

The proposed research is informed directly and substantively by my SRG (obtained in April 2009), for the project “Indigenous History and the UN Genocide Convention in Canada and Australia”. In this SRG, I aimed first to understand the extent to which the UNGC was incorporated into domestic laws in Canada and Australia, and to identify tensions between domestic legislation and international law. I also sought to critically examine arguments for and against the proposition that aspects of government sponsored assimilation policies might be seen as genocide, and to determine whether Australian claims of genocide were tenable under international law, and whether such findings could help more accurately interpret our IRS system. I then explored Aboriginal understandings of genocide through interviews and surveys. Finally, I endeavored to propose adequate responses to contravention of the UNGC, including reconciliation, restitution, and memorialization.

My team of graduate students hired through my SRG has included 8 PhD and 4 MA students, who undertook under my close supervision, thematic research projects related to my

grant, including: history and legacies of the IRS system, genocide in international and domestic law, conceptions of reconciliation, models of power sharing, models of Aboriginal representation, ethnocracy and ethnic rule, and Aboriginal views of multiculturalism. I co-wrote several conference papers with PhD student Graham Hudson and we published an article in *CJPS* (July, 2012). Mark Mitchell and I conducted a survey of all elected officials in Canada, federally, provincially and territorially. We wrote a conference paper based on our findings, and have an article under review at *CPSR*. We are planning a second more tailored survey and a second article based on these new results for later this year. Chelsea Gabel and I interviewed First Nations elders and federal government officials on the IRS system. My team also included three undergraduate students who conducted research, translation, and interview transcription. I supervised four honours theses on the IRS, one of which secured the Melby Prize for best thesis in its year.

Outputs from this SRG so far have been: one co-authored article and one sole-authored article published, four co-authored conference papers, seven sole-authored conference papers, and approximately 200 pages of written text for a book manuscript which I am planning to finish in the next eight months. I also have one co-authored article and three sole-authored articles under review: “Genocide, Reconciliation, and the Residential Schools: A Survey of Federal, Provincial, and Territorial Attitudes among Elected Officials in Canada” (with Mark Mitchell) submitted in July 2012 to *Canadian Political Science Review*; “Reforming Multiculturalism in a Bi-National Society: Aboriginal Peoples and the Search for Truth and Reconciliation in Canada” submitted in May 2012 to *Canadian Journal of Sociology*; “The Genocide Question in Indigenous-Settler Relations: Comparing Canada, Australia, and the United States” submitted in April 2012 to *Australasian Canadian Studies Journal*. I have also written a chapter for *Colonial Genocides in Indigenous North America*, an edited book (with U of Manitoba Press) that is predicted to be the outcome of a recent workshop I attended in Winnipeg (see attached CV). I am also writing three chapters for the TRC *Final Report*, tied to my SRG research. I feel fortunate to have worked with such a fine team of dedicated, articulate, and intelligent GSRAs. Many have become friends, and two have gone on to become Assistant Professors during the lifecycle of my SRG. I hope to enhance the positive features of previous GSRA training if successful in my IG application.

### ***C. Description of Proposed Student Training Strategies***

The largest single expense in this application is for student training, a core purpose of this project. As PI, I will recruit, lead, train, and support a team of GSRAs, guiding them through research project design, data collection, community-oriented capacity building and relationship development, interview and focus group skills, data transcription, qualitative research methodology, archival research, and research ethics approval (at Guelph and through our partner organizations). GSRAs will also assist me in conducting semi-structured elite interviews, using an interview guide. Alongside me and a professional moderator (from which we will all learn) GSRAs will assist with focus groups from a cross section of stakeholder organizations.

My interest has always been in conducting research in a good way, with rather than on, Aboriginal peoples. Central to my research objectives is the concept of sharing, working closely with community partners to ensure that research is done in a mutually beneficial manner, both culturally sensitive and appropriate. GSRAs will regularly consult with Aboriginal Elders through Six Nations, the University of Guelph, the OFIFC, and Council Fire. Elders will play a central role in situating and grounding this research and as “key informants” they will be

regularly consulted over research themes and questions, interview design, and many other matters. My proposed research will include consulting with Elders, maintaining respectful community relationships, working with Aboriginal peoples on specific research questions, modes of focus group recruitment, dissemination of research findings in ways which will benefit the community. The same care will be applied to racialized minority peoples.

Students will conceive, design and execute research projects that will make distinctive academic contributions, and address the project objectives, tackling subjects such as: theories of multiculturalism, multiculturalism in Canada, bi-nationalism in New Zealand, reconciliation in Canada, racism and the South Asian or Caribbean experience, models of Aboriginal governance, civic nationalism in western settler states, models of consociationalism / power-sharing in divided societies, or other topics related to the project. Their primary and secondary data collection, and their active participation in interviews and focus groups, will further enable them to construct well-rounded, articulate theses or MRPs.

I will train GSRAs in presentation and writing skills invaluable to the dissemination of research results in community and academic settings. I will assist GSRAs in thesis / MRP compilation, and the writing of conference papers, journal articles, research reports, and community oriented publications, both for stakeholder organizations and the general public. From 2014 to 2017, we will co-author conference papers, present at conferences, and generate peer-reviewed journal articles. Topics will be related to bi-nationalism and multiculturalism, Aboriginal-settler reconciliation in Canada, comparative race and identity politics in Canada and NZ, and more general topics focused on the future of Canadian values and national identity. Students will thereby gain valuable presentation skills, while developing a network of contacts which may help them in their future careers. By year two, the project will publish 2 peer reviewed journal articles per year for a minimum total of 8 articles, since the publications process will continue after the project funding is completed. 1-2 of these will involve co-authorship with the OFIFC, and I am really looking forward to working with them. Findings will also be posted on the websites of partner institutions, and my team and I will deliver talks and meet with people at these institutions. With help from my GSRAs, I hope to end the project with a SSHRCC workshop grant to allow my GSRAs and other graduate students to present and to publish an edited work, alongside established academics working in this field.

I am committed to student training and learning, and have brought to completion 126 Honours theses since 1999, and 11 MA theses / Major Research Papers since 2002, while also being MA second reader/advisor to 8 students. I have organized and chaired the PhD Qualifying Exams for two years (including generating the questions and forming exam committees), and am graduate coordinator and chair of the graduate committee. I teach the PhD Core Course on comparative politics, and organize the graduate pro-seminar. I supervise one PhD student, two MA students and three undergraduate students, a low figure since Guelph is not known for Aboriginal politics as a field of study. I also have institutional experience of student training in the areas of grant and scholarship application writing. For example, from 2009-2011, I served on three Ontario Graduate Scholarship selection panels; in 2010 and 2011 I served as an internal adjudicator for SSHRCC PhD scholarship applications; in 2011 and 2012 I served on the Insight Development Grant review panel for SSHRCC in Ottawa. I am also vice-chair of the U of G Senate awards committee. As graduate coordinator, I am tasked with nominating our top students for a wide variety of national and international scholarships and awards. I regularly employ this expertise to help graduate and undergraduate students create winning grant and scholarship applications at the departmental and college levels.