



Internal use 899112

Application for a Grant

Identification		
This page will be made available to selection committee members and external assessors.		
Funding opportunity Insight Grants		
Joint or special initiative		
Application title Complex Sovereignties: Theories and Practices of Indigenous-Self Determination in Settler States and the International System		
Applicant family name MacDonald	Applicant given name David	Initials B
Org. code 1350311	Full name of applicant's organization and department University of Guelph Political Science	
Org. code 1350311	Full name of administrative organization and department University of Guelph College of Social and Applied Human Sciences	
		Preferred Adjudication Committee 435-21
Does your proposal involve Aboriginal Research as defined by SSHRC? Yes <input checked="" type="radio"/> No <input 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 type="radio"/> No <input checked="" type="radio"/>		
Does any phase of the proposed research or research-related activity:		
A. Constitute a physical activity carried out on federal lands in Canada, as defined in sub-section 2(1), in relation to a physical work and that is not a designated project;		Yes <input type="radio"/> No <input checked="" type="radio"/>
B. Constitute a physical activity carried out outside of Canada in relation to a physical work and that is not a designated project;		Yes <input type="radio"/> No <input checked="" type="radio"/>
C. (i) Permit a designated project (listed in the CEAA 2012 Regulations Designating Physical Activities (RDPA)) to be carried out in whole or in part;		Yes <input type="radio"/> No <input checked="" type="radio"/>
C. (ii) Depend on a designated project (listed in the RDPA) that is, or will be, carried out by a third party?		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 _____		



Family name, Given name
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Participants

List names of your team members (co-applicants and collaborators) who will take part in the intellectual direction of the research. Do not include assistants, students or consultants.

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Department/Division name

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Given name

Initials

Org. code

Full organization name

Department/Division name



Family name, Given name
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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	1000	North America
2	7000	Oceania
3	3100	Scandinavia

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	
2	7200	NEW ZEALAND	
3	1200	UNITED STATES	
4	3105	NORWAY	
5	3107	SWEDEN	



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.

Settler state governments have long claimed absolute political sovereignty over Indigenous lands, institutions, and peoples, claims which have always been subject to contestation by Indigenous Peoples (IPs). This project seeks to better conceptualize IPs' rights to self-determination in new, creative and innovative ways, which fully respect Indigenous laws, traditions, and nation-to-nation relationships with settler governments. Scholarly debates in the Indigenous rights, politics, and law literatures focus attention on whether the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples advances Indigenous rights, or constitutes a form of assimilation and subjugation. This project sheds light on how Indigenous political actors in Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand, USA, and Nordic countries, are advancing self-determination in practice with, within, and across the borders of states, while navigating the international system, in assertive, maximal, innovative, and peaceful ways.

We will explore ways in which the UNDRIP has articulated self-determination as different, as a unique and relational form, requiring negotiation. While UNDRIP seems to offer a novel view of Indigenous self-determination, it may also foreground new and evolving global understandings of self-determination, decoupling it from sovereignty and territoriality, with salient practical implications that move beyond IPs to impact wider issues of global governance. We will investigate this global change proposition, and its requisite political negotiations on multiple levels.

Our research aims to inform both the theoretical development of self-determination and policy decisions, building on literature documenting the history of Indigenous diplomacy and trade. We also problematize methods by which states are resisting or acceding to these efforts, given the overall history of settler state suppression of Indigenous rights. This research program recognizes the challenges faced by IPs when seeking to articulate their interests within a settler colonial context. We explore distinct, but overlapping and complementary, forms of self-determining practice, including passports, independent trade or diplomatic missions, involvement in elements of state external sovereignty, treaty relations, territorial and economic self-determination, pooled sovereignty, global organizing beyond the state, and the rebuilding and assertion of nationhood.

We will use recognized Indigenous methodologies, and will proceed from a strong basis of community stakeholder support. This includes working closely with a team of Indigenous and other collaborators in Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand, and elsewhere. A clear, comparative, and systematized discussion of Indigenous self-determination goals and practices globally may help policy makers to better conceptualize how to support self-determination efforts as a means of affirming mutually respectful, nation-to-nation relationships, as articulated in UNDRIP. This project can inform the external relations work of the AFN, COO, FSIN, UBCIC, ICF and other Indigenous organizations who represent the sovereign interests of First Nations and other IPs.

This project will also enhance scholarly understanding of the myriad ways IPs are asserting themselves and how they view the UNDRIP's influence or lack thereof in their governance practices. We will write a co-authored book, and a co-edited book, in addition to 12 academic articles, many with our graduate students. The proposed research will enable us to develop new courses and enhance existing offerings. We will also be holding a public workshop and keynotes through the NCTR, and another through the ISA, to train students, and to expand our outreach to Indigenous and settler communities off campus.

OBJECTIVES

Settler state governments have long claimed absolute political sovereignty over Indigenous lands, institutions, and peoples, claims which have always been subject to contestation by Indigenous Peoples (IPs). This research program seeks to better conceptualize IPs' rights to self-determination in new, creative and innovative ways, which fully respect Indigenous laws, traditions, and nation-to-nation relationships with settler governments. As we approach the tenth anniversary of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Indigenous rights enjoy near-universal rhetorical support, but there is no agreement as to *how* they are to be implemented (51,71). While Indigenous Peoples around the world often center their struggles in self-determination, states have historically resisted, fearing the potential for political and economic instability, even territorial fragmentation. However, some states, including Canada, are taking their obligations under UNDRIP more seriously and grappling with the twin issues of reconciliation and implementation of Indigenous rights, including self-determination (28, 94, 217).

Scholarly debates in the Indigenous rights, politics, and law literatures focus attention on whether UNDRIP advances Indigenous rights, (42, 68, 195, 201) or constitutes a form of assimilation and domestication. (47, 54, 60) Critical Indigenous scholars have argued that the rights discourse itself forms a politics of recognition that subjugates Indigenous peoples (9, 61). This project will enter these debates by shedding light on how Indigenous political actors in Canada and other countries are advancing self-determination *in practice*, with, within, and across the borders of individual states, while navigating the international system, in assertive, maximal, innovative, and peaceful ways. We frame this cross-national comparative project by the following research areas, while recognizing that our questions will continually be adapted in consonance with Indigenous Elders, Knowledge Keepers, collaborators, and others who will directly inform the nature of our work.

1. **Traditional definitions and practice:** What do self-determination, autonomy, and sovereignty mean to IPs in various national contexts, and how did they practice self-determination before colonization and maintain diplomatic and other relations?
2. **Settler states:** How were self-determining principles and capabilities undermined by settler states, and how do IPs understand and practice self-determination today?
3. **Self-determining futures:** What are the future self-determining goals of IPs, what are the primary structural and ideational impediments to the realization of these, internal and external to the state?
4. **Comparative analysis:** How do Indigenous understandings and practices vary between settler states and within them? How do the demographic, economic, and geographic sizes of Indigenous nations influence their self-determining capacities?
5. **Expanding contributions:** Where and how do IPs want to make meaningful contributions over policy formulation and implementation within settler states? Examples include treaty making, independent diplomatic agreements with other countries, citizenship and passports, independent participation in international bodies. To what extent do IPs desire direct input into policy areas such as immigration, industrialization, urbanization, foreign policy, treaties and agreements?
6. **Financial autonomy:** To what extent have neoliberal economic forms of self-determination taken a privileged position over political and other forms?
7. **Capacity:** In what ways can Indigenous capacity be strengthened domestically and internationally in order to increase the viability of self-determination?
8. **Incommensurability:** Are territoriality and self-determination inextricably linked, or can they be uncoupled in a new, more plural, conception of sovereignty that respects IPs' right to self-determination without threatening state sovereignty?
9. **International Relations:** Are Indigenous rights expectations and understandings shifting global conceptions of sovereignty and self-determination? How might the exercise of self-determination expand our understandings of sovereignty in the international system?

10. **Communities of colour:** Given that settler states are increasingly composed of non-European settlers, is there potential for alliance building and working towards common goals in supporting Indigenous self-determination within and outside of settler states?

Relationship to Scholarly Literature & Theoretical Approach

The right of self-determination is central to the UNDRIP, yet highly controversial (23, 24, 63,152). Its 46 articles represent an important compromise, (68) while embodying a fundamental tension: recognizing Indigenous Peoples as peoples with the inherent right of self-determination (Article 3) while simultaneously upholding state rights to existing sovereignty and territorial integrity (Article 46) (169, 171, 213, 215). While some activist and scholarly voices hold that the UNDRIP recognizes an Indigenous legal right to self-determination equal to all other peoples, with parallels to the 1960 UN Decolonization Declaration (44, 71, 206), others critique UNDRIP for diminishing self-determination rights within a colonial matrix of settler state power (54, 148, 211). A third path views the UNDRIP's articulation of self-determination as a unique and relational form (15, 128, 224), requiring negotiation. International fora, such as the UN Permanent Forum, have long been useful to IPs working across state boundaries (89,128), while domestically, organizations such as the Iwi Chairs Forum, the Assembly of First Nations, and provincial counterparts have promoted forms of self-determination on behalf of their members. Norway, Finland, and Sweden have institutionalized Indigenous legislatures (39,117,118).

Some IPs exercise self-determination in ways that resemble the external sovereignty of states: issuing and travelling on their own passports (64, 119, 188), conducting trade and diplomatic missions, (27, 95, 119, 126, 137) engaging in international trade (77, 123, 161, 205), and negotiating and entering into treaty-like agreements with other IPs (27, 103, 128, 141). We will focus on this path, positing that while UNDRIP seems to offer a novel view of Indigenous self-determination, it may also foreground new and evolving global understandings of self-determination, decoupling it from sovereignty and territoriality (129,130,171), with salient practical implications that move beyond IPs to impact wider issues of global governance. We will investigate this global change proposition, and its requisite political negotiations on multiple levels. This has been inadequately explored in International Relations, alongside the contributions of Indigenous peoples and theory (27,110, 199).

Self-determination is a common area of theoretical work in Indigenous Studies (9, 15, 16, 60, 61, 117, 118, 186, 187), yet is often considered either as cultural/linguistic/spiritual resurgence or in terms of relations between IPs and the state (75, 127). Few theoretical or empirical examinations explore political self-determination that operates independently of domestic Indigenous-state relationships or beyond the state. Our research aims to inform both the theoretical development of self-determination and policy decisions (4, 85, 102, 128, 146, 183, 209), building on literature documenting the history of Indigenous diplomacy and trade (27, 66, 67, 72, 73, 74, 180, 212, 221). We also aim to examine the methods by which states are resisting or acceding to these efforts (181), given the overall history of settler state suppression of Indigenous rights. This research program recognizes the challenges faced by IPs when seeking to articulate their interests within a settler colonial context. Our project is trauma informed (100, 145, 158), in that we recognize the challenges of historical and intergenerational trauma (31, 32, 35, 36, 37, 38, 41, 45, 50, 80, 81, 84, 99, 113, 114, 178, 179, 196, 214), which have reduced the viability of some IPs to fully realize their self-determining goals within the confines of settler states (19, 53, 105, 135, 138, 151, 155, 163, 170, 193, 194, 197, 218, 219, 220, 221). Settler state impediments to self-determination have included genocide/cultural genocide (19, 53, 105, 135, 138, 151, 155, 163, 170, 193, 194, 197, 218, 219, 220, 221), structural racism (6, 8, 12, 18, 20, 25, 26, 52, 69, 83, 92, 218), poverty (56, 83, 96, 154, 168), and severe gaps in health, social welfare, education, and judicial outcomes (6, 12, 17, 55, 78, 106,196). Alongside the literature on the negative effects of settler colonialism is a consonant literature on the benefits to health and well-being of Indigenous self-determination (9, 11, 12, 16, 48, 59, 122, 143, 144,1 47).

A final trajectory explores how communities of colour engage with Indigenous self-determination. Non-Europeans were excluded from treaty processes with IPs in Canada, NZ, and the US. (86, 87, 107, 125, 154, 185). They occupy an ambiguous position, some suggesting they are settlers, sometimes complicit in ongoing colonial practices (124, 140, 166, 200), while others posit that PoCs form a third category in a triangular relationship (22, 142, 207). This is so given that historically they were targeted by restrictive immigration policies (20, 104, 200), discriminatory legislation (20, 70, 76, 164) and continue to be subject to structural racism (14, 70, 88, 124, 172, 173, 174). Black Lives Matter and their twin focus on highlighting anti-Black racism (14, 210) while also creating alliances with Idle No More is but one example of this phenomenon (149, 157, 182). The intersections of multiculturalism and Indigenous-settler biculturalism remain underexplored (133,134). PoCs may benefit from pluralistic Indigenous conceptions of the state, with multiple forms of sovereignty that propose alternatives to European settler values, practices, and institutions (46, 49, 82, 97, 107, 120, 121, 125, 153, 175, 223). We explore distinct, but overlapping and complementary, forms of self-determining practice:

- 1) **Passports:** Some nations issue and routinely travel on their own passports, including the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, the Aboriginal Provisional Government in Australia, Haida Gwaii, and the Kichwa Confederacy, Ecuador. The theoretical and practical implications of this strong claim of self-determination are profound and largely unexamined (167, 186,167).
- 2) **Independent trade or diplomatic missions:** Direct international trade and diplomatic missions constitute a growing arena for the exercise of self-determination (21, 24, 51). We have identified Indigenous trade missions: an AFN trade mission to China, a Māori Party-led trade mission to Korea, the Yidinji nation of Australia meeting with ambassadors as a nation, and tribal leaders from the National Congress of American Indians' diplomatic mission to Cuba.
- 3) **Involvement in elements of state external sovereignty:** In New Zealand and Canada, IPs may play a stronger role in consultation over immigration, defense policy consultations, foreign and trade policy. Māori iwi are demanding consultation with the NZ government over climate change, trade agreements like the Trans-Pacific Partnership, and other issues (3, 177). Canada has recently held consultation meetings with Indigenous peoples on defense policy (91).
- 4) **Treaty relations:** Some IPs are entering into treaty or partnership agreements with other groups, in conjunction with state institutions, or outside state purview. The Saami people engage in cross-national governance through the Saami Council, in consonance with the draft Nordic Saami Convention (13, 21, 112). Twenty Indigenous nations along the Canada-US border have signed the 2014 Iinnii (Buffalo) Treaty, and 85 Indigenous nations signed a treaty, in September 2016, to jointly fight pipelines that carry tar sands oil. The International Indian Treaty Council has held treaty conferences without state participation since 1974 (109, 183, 202).
- 5) **Territorial self-determination:** IPs are asserting self-determination as guardianship assertions over traditional lands, even absent technical sovereignty or jurisdiction. Instructive cases include: pipeline resistance in the US and Canada (34, 165), an uprising against an observatory on the sacred site at Mauna Kea, Hawaii, and Māori iwi Ngāi Tahu's earthquake recovery co-management initiative in Christchurch after 2011 (198), and Tainui's river settlement (156).
- 6) **Economic self-determination:** Some Indigenous peoples engage in direct international commercial relations. For example, some Māori iwi sell fish or dairy products directly to China as a form of economic self-determination, while Te Ohu Kaimoana, the Māori Fisheries Trust, advances self-determination in fisheries and aquaculture. (90, 203, 208).
- 7) **Pooled Sovereignty:** Some Indigenous peoples are pooling sovereignty by ceding some self-determining consultative powers to pan-tribal bodies like the Assembly of First Nations, Union of BC Indian Chiefs, and Chiefs of Ontario Chiefs, and the Iwi Chairs Forum in New Zealand (79, 90, 101,137). The Sami also have established legislatures to aggregate and represent their interests.
- 8) **Global organizing beyond the state:** Indigenous groups have organized and advocated for

themselves in international space, without representing or being represented by settler states – a form of global political self-determination (59, 79, 98, 103, 117, 118, 119, 127, 186, 195). The International Indian Treaty Council, the UN Permanent Forum II and #Idle No More are examples.

- 9) **Rebuilding nationhood:** Many IPs globally are enhancing social capital by rebuilding their identity, linguistic, cultural and spiritual capacity as a form of self-determination (7). We intend to study Six Nations' and Akwesasne's efforts in this area, while working with regional chiefs' organizations in Ontario and BC.

Importance, Originality & Anticipated Contribution to Knowledge

The proposed research joins our research trajectories and addresses some gaps in the extant literatures on Indigenous peoples, International Relations, decolonization, settler colonial theory:

1. Focuses on **Indigenous-led organizations, institutions, and legislatures** which represent, aggregate, and practice collective forms of self-determination at the pan-tribal/iwi levels, provincially, nationally and globally.
2. Conducts a post-UNDRIP cross-national, international, and cross-tribal **comparative analysis of self-determining theory, practice, and capacity.**
3. Centres **in-depth consultation with Elders and Knowledge Holders** to situate research methodologies, questions, data collection techniques, prioritizing benefits to communities.
4. **Problematises and critiques Eurocentric assumptions** behind literatures on sovereignty, self-determination, independence, and interdependence.
5. Explores **gaps between state rhetoric and practice** over Indigenous rights.
6. **Expands the duty to consult and accommodate** to non-traditional areas like foreign policy, defence, immigration, in addition to industry and resource extraction.
7. **Explores the perceptions of people of colour in Canada and New Zealand** about Indigenous settler reconciliation.

A clear, comparative, and systematized discussion of Indigenous self-determination goals and practices globally may help policy makers to better conceptualize how to support self-determination efforts as a means of affirming mutually respectful, nation-to-nation relationships, as articulated in UNDRIP. Our proposal fits SSHRC's definition of Indigenous research, building "*on traditions of thought and experience developed among, and in partnership with, First Nation, Inuit and Métis peoples in Canada, as well as [I]ndigenous peoples in other parts of the world.*" We engage two Future Challenges, first, by exploring "*the experiences and aspirations of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada essential to building a successful shared future,*" and second, by highlighting knowledge "*Canada need[s] to thrive in an interconnected, evolving global landscape.*" Our program addresses "*the implications of historical and modern treaties,*" and proposes ways to achieve "*increased consciousness about traditional and contemporary Indigenous values, cultures, leadership, and knowledge systems.*" We aim to "*build enhanced capacity by, with and for Aboriginal communities to engage in and benefit from research.*" On Future Knowledge, our comparative research with IPs and organizations at local, domestic and international levels will address how "*increased understanding about interconnected dispersed communities [might] affect Canada economically, socially and culturally.*"

Relationship to On-Going Research

Sheryl is Anishinaabe, a citizen of the Lake Superior Band of Ojibwe. She is Canada Research Chair in Global Indigenous Rights and Politics and associate professor in First Nations and Indigenous Studies and the Department of Political Science, at UBC. She has fifteen years' work experience with tribes and community-based organizations in the Twin Cities, including nine years as Chair of the American Indian Policy Center, a research and advocacy group. Her book, *Global Indigenous Politics: A Subtle Revolution*, was published in 2016 by Routledge. This year, Sheryl is completing her IDG, a major

multi-national comparative study of state apologies to Indigenous peoples. This proposed IG project focuses on several unanswered questions from Sheryl's previous research and several components of her CRC: what do and should models of Indigenous self-determination look like in practice? Are territoriality and self-determination inextricably linked, or can they be uncoupled in new, more plural, conceptions of sovereignty? Are Indigenous rights expectations shifting global conceptions of sovereignty and self-determination?

David is full professor in political science at UOG, of Scottish and Indo-Trinidadian ancestry, whose research interests include International Relations, comparative Indigenous politics in settler states, communities of colour, and genocide studies. His SRG examined Indian Residential Schools through the lens of the UN Genocide Convention, and included interviews with Survivors, government officials, Elders and other leaders. He participated in the work of the TRC, including consulting and a report on genocide. His current IG compares relations between IPs, European settlers, and communities of colour in Canada and NZ, focusing on lessons Canada might learn from NZ's biculturalism. His current collaborators are the Ontario Federation of Indigenous Friendship Centres and the Mosaic Institute, with projects entitled "Ska:Na - Examining Indigenous Concepts of Peace in Nation-to-Nation Relationships" and "Communities of Colour and Reconciliation in Canada." His PDG (as a CA), explores how IRS Survivors can work with settler allies to virtually represent an Indian Residential School, building empathy and fostering stronger understanding between generations of Survivors about IRS legacies. This IG proposal expands his focus from Indigenous-settler power-sharing to self-determination as a means of promoting well-being and decolonization. It builds on his interest in the evolving relationship between IPs and PoCs in states transitioning from hegemonic settler norms, institutions and practices to more pluralistic systems.

METHODOLOGY

This project engages in a cross-national comparison of models of Indigenous self-determination. We will use recognized Indigenous methodologies that require a particular set of ethics, protocols, and methods. First, respectful and reciprocal relationships between researcher and research subjects must be established and maintained. Second, the researchers must establish and maintain integrity and trustworthiness in all research processes. Finally, researchers must be accountable to the Indigenous communities being researched and engage in "culturally responsive research practices." This means that at least some research questions must emanate from Indigenous communities and results given back to those communities in a comprehensible way (30, 65, 176, 184, 189, 190, 191, 192). This shares similarities with participatory research methods, exemplified by "planning and conducting the research process with those people whose life-world and meaningful actions are under study" (29). Researcher reflexivity is very important (33, 92). Research questions, community priorities in terms of themes, methods, and modes of knowledge delivery will be privileged (111).

Our research proceeds from a strong basis of community stakeholder support. This includes established links with the Māori Party, Haudenosaunee Confederacy, National Congress of American Indians, the Sami Parliament in Norway, the International Indian Treaty Council, Te Puna Kokiri, the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, and the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. This also includes collaboration with the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation. Our methodology consists of six interrelated processes as outlined below, with geographical focus on Canada, NZ, USA, Norway, Finland, and Sweden.

1) Data Collection: from Years 1-5, PI, CA, and GSRAs will conduct data collection, comprising background and historical context on NZ, Canada, USA, Sweden, Finland, and Norway, as well as theoretical work related to self-determination. Each GRSA will develop an independent proposal covering an aspect of the larger project. The majority of research can be conducted through university and specialized libraries in and around our respective universities. However we will also visit

specialized libraries and archives in Winnipeg, Ottawa, Victoria, NZ, UN Headquarters in New York and Nordic countries.

2) Elders: We will regularly consult with Elders as “key informants” (62,162), reflecting their recognition as anchors in research with IPs (1,2,5). Working collaboratively to benefit communities, we hope Elders will help us generate questions, provide insight into the needs and concerns of their communities, suggest methods of recruitment, and articulate how research might be of benefit to them. Our team will follow appropriate cultural protocols and we will approach Elders as research partners.

3) Interviews: Sheryl and David have considerable interview experience with Indigenous leaders, government officials, activists, and others, having interviewed over 100 people in their SRG and IG grants, with about 50 more from Sheryl’s earlier research. We will conduct approximately 70-80 interviews each; from Years 1-5. Details of the number of interviews and locations are provided in the Training and the Budget Justification sections. We will work with our collaborators to identify suitable people to interview, while strictly adhering to community protocols. We will conduct interviews in New Zealand, Canada, the United States, and Nordic countries.

4) Observational Research: we have both attended and respectfully observed regular meetings of Indigenous organizations. Observational research which will continue with meetings of the Assembly of First Nations (Ys1-5), Chiefs of Ontario (Ys2-5), BC Chiefs (Ys1-5), UN Permanent Forum (Ys 2,4), International Indian Treaty Council (Ys 2,4), Iwi Chairs Forum (Y 1;4), and Sami legislatures and gatherings (Ys0, 2, 4). We will informally consult with participants where appropriate, conduct interviews, and if permitted, prepare field notes and take data recordings (43). This process will be informed by what the OFIFC calls “non-intrusive observation,” involving “deep listening and hearing with more than ears.” Here, the researcher is “quietly aware and watching without interfering with the individual and community processes” (115, 132, 158, 159, 160).

5) Sharing Circles and workshop: In Ys 2-5, our team and an Indigenous facilitator approved by the community will conduct sharing circles. Y2: 2 sharing circles at Six Nations; Y4 2 sharing circles at Mosaic, and to be used for both exploratory and phenomenological purposes: to first understand an issue, generate hypotheses, and develop concepts, and second, to “understand the experiences and outlook of respondents” (54). Circles will be comprised of 8-12 people. A moderator’s guide will be prepared with 10-12 well developed questions or statements for group reflection (67, 74, 86, 104, 164). In Y 3 we will hold a workshop in collaboration with the NCTR, bringing together 25 Elders, activists, academics, and other Indigenous leaders to discuss their visions and practices of self-determination.

6) Collaborators: We will work with an international team of Indigenous and other academics, Elders, and Knowledge Holders: Robert Joseph (Director Indigenous Governance Program, Law School, University of Waikato); Claire Charters (Associate Professor, Law School, Auckland, Advisor to President of UN General Assembly on enhancing Indigenous Peoples’ participation); Sacha McMeeking (Senior Lecturer, Head of Māori and Indigenous Studies, University of Canterbury); Valerie Galley (Indigenous Consultant); Joyce King (Director, Akwesasne Justice Department, Mohawk Council of Akwesasne); Rauna Kuokkanen (Associate Professor, Political Science and Aboriginal Studies, University of Toronto); Richard Hill (Senior Project Coordinator, Deyohahá:ge: Indigenous Knowledge Centre, Six Nations Polytechnic); Jason Tockman (Post-doctoral fellow, Latin American Studies, University of Washington); Paulette Regan (Research Director TRC Canada); Aimee Craft (Research Director National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation); Ry Moran (Director NCTR); Matt Wildcatt (Instructor, Political Science and Native Studies, University of Alberta); Bernie Farber (CEO, Mosaic Institute). Our collaborators will work with us regarding research methodologies, community histories and priorities, interview recruitment and planning, data collection, knowledge mobilization, and on research and co-authored publications for local communities, as well as for academic publications domestically and internationally. *NB:* Due to an error, Mr Hill’s initial collaboration invitation acceptance had to be re-sent and has not yet been filled out, but he has agreed in writing to collaborate.

References

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KNOWLEDGE MOBILIZATION PLAN

This comprises five components: outreach to Indigenous community partners, academic scholarship, public, media, and pedagogy. Dissemination will be first through our universities and project website (complexsovereignties.ca), our collaborators, and a twitter feed, all assisted by our graduate students.

Community Research Partners: Crucial to this research is not only the fostering of enhanced Indigenous capacity to achieve their community-based visions of self-determination, but additionally to extend the relevance of Indigenous thought to mainstream settler Canadian society. Our team will consult regularly with collaborators, Elders, and community members to ensure that research outputs are the result of respectful interaction, and directly benefit community stakeholders. We will co-author articles and other publications with our students and Indigenous collaborators, and we will participate in community outreach activities: talks, workshops, and conferences, website / newsletter articles, discussion papers, and reports. We have established connections with Indigenous organizations in Canada and internationally and this IG will provide us with further opportunities to expand our networks and connections, creating meaningful research outputs designed to benefit communities.

Scholarship: To reach an academic audience, we will target both mainstream and specialist peer-reviewed journals. Beginning at the end of Y1 (after initial research), papers will be presented by the PI, CA, and/or our GSRAs at conferences such as the ISA, CPSA, and NAISA. We will present at 12 conferences in total, 11 with our GSRAs, 2 national and 10 international. With our GSRAs, we will publish articles in peer-reviewed journals such as *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, *American Indian Quarterly*, *AlterNative*, *Journal of Democracy*, *Native Studies Review*, *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, *Settler Colonial Studies*. From Year 2, we will publish 2-3 peer reviewed articles per year for a minimum total of 12 articles. We anticipate that half of these will involve co-authorship with our graduate students and many will be in open access journals. All will be uploaded onto UOG and UBC repositories. Findings will also be posted through Indigenous organizations, including Indigenous media. We also plan, with help from our GSRAs, to hold a SSHRCC-funded workshop to allow our GSRAs and other graduate students to present and to publish an edited work, alongside established academics, Elders, and activists working in this field. We are both affiliate researchers with the NCTR and plan to hold the workshop at their offices in Winnipeg, and also to hold a workshop through the International Political Sociology section of the International Studies Association. We expect to produce a co-authored monograph entitled *Complex Sovereignties: Indigenous Self-Determination and Western Settler States*, for publication with UBC Press, MQUP, or UTP.

Policy: Our conference papers, reports, position papers, and peer-reviewed publications will be made available to Indigenous organizations, policy institutes, and government departments, with whom we will deepen our existing connections. Indigenous policy-oriented outlets, such as Gáldu Centre, Indigenous Governance Centre Te Piringa (Waikato), Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga (Auckland), and Deyohahá:ge: (Six Nations) will be sought where available and appropriate.

Media: our research team will actively solicit radio, television, and newspapers to offer comments and opinions, and give interviews on themes pertaining to this project. As we have done before we will publish articles in newspapers like the *Globe and Mail*, *National Post*, *Indian Country Today Media Network*, and local papers.

Pedagogy: To reach learner-centred audiences such as students, David will offer an undergraduate course related to this project at UOG. We will both integrate our results into existing courses which already focus or feature Indigenous theory, practice, and discussion. Through our positions in the university system, we will continue to promote the increased visibility of IPs and knowledge systems on campus and in the wider community. Our planned workshop and public keynote lectures Y3, and ISA workshop in Y5 will both function as means of integrating local graduate research and national academic work from around Canada, while stimulating further public and scholarly 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	Enhanced research collaboration	
3	Student training/skill development	

Social Benefits

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

Rank	Benefit	If "Other", specify
1	New or enhanced partnerships	
2	Enriched public discourse	
3	Enhanced policy	

Audiences

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

Rank	Audience	If "Other", specify
1	Aboriginal Peoples	
2	Federal government	
3	International audiences	
4	Academic sector/peers, including scholarly associations	
5	Provincial/territorial government	



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.

The potential benefits and outcomes of the proposed research revolve around three components, namely scholarship, policy, and pedagogy.

Scholarship: Few comparative studies rigorously explore UNDRIP's effects on IPs' self-determination efforts within settler states, and through international organization and mobilization. This project will enhance scholarly understanding of the myriad ways IPs are asserting themselves and how they view the UNDRIP's influence or lack thereof in their governance practices. A large proportion of the literature on reconciliation focuses on state-centred strategies to bridge economic, social, educational and health disparities, eliding solutions premised on Indigenous self-determination and governance capacity building. We will assess how the exercise of IPs' sovereign rights presents solutions to many setter-derived problems, while investigating opportunities for thinking about sovereignty in novel theoretical ways. Literature on pooled sovereignty tends to focus on the European Union. Yet Indigenous nations have been engaged in this process for centuries, through treaty-making, the Kingitanga, and organizations like the AFN, ICF, and Sami legislatures. We aim to expand the literature on these institutional practices, not only within Indigenous Studies, but more broadly in Comparative Politics, Democracy Studies, and International Relations. Similarly, literature on microstates often portray such states nonviable due to isolation and low domestic capacity. We will explore how new modalities of connectedness in e-form change how IPs can enhance viability and increase opportunities for economic and political collective interest aggregation and policy promotion. Centrally, our work may help to better understand IPs as sovereign, self-determining political actors who have never relinquished their autonomy or traditions. Our work may enable settler academics understand IPs as active agents of political change, representing several millennia of governance traditions and practices.

Policy: Our research outcomes may contribute to policy level discussions about how settler Canadians and our federal and provincial governments should understand Indigenous traditions, practices, and future visions of self-determination, with a focus on what the UNDRIP can bring to discussions of reconciliation. This will include comparing Indigenous peoples across three continents, assessing foci, strategies, practices, and challenges. We will seek to understand what opportunities IPs find through working together across state borders, and through the constructive deployment of international networks and organizations. Our project will elaborate how the duty to consult and accommodate can be expanded to include areas such as foreign policy, international trade, defence, and immigration. Already, Sheryl has been consulted by the Ministry of Defence as part of a new consultative process with Indigenous academics and other leaders. This project can inform the external relations work of the AFN, COO, FSIN, UBCIC, ICF and other Indigenous organizations who represent the sovereign interests of First Nations and other IPs.

Pedagogy: David will develop a new undergraduate course, focused on comparative Indigenous institutions, new conceptions of sovereignty, self-determination, and territoriality. It will also contribute substantially to more fully integrating Indigenous perspectives into Sheryl and David's existing courses. This IG will enable us to offer greater learning opportunities for our graduate students in terms of Indigenous research methods, Indigenous community relations, paper writing and presentation, publications, and networking. This IG will allow us to expand our outreach into Indigenous and settler communities.

RESEARCH TEAM, PREVIOUS OUTPUT, AND STUDENT TRAINING

Description of the research team: The team comprises David as PI and Sheryl as CA, with collaboration from researchers in Canada, the USA, and ANZ, plus Graduate Student Research Assistants (GSRAs): two PhD students per year (one each = 10 one-year positions with renewal; 350 hours), and two MA students per year (one each = 10 one-year positions with renewal; 200 hours). David will devote 90 percent of his research time (current IG and PDG end 04/17), and is on sabbatical 07/17 to 12/17. Sheryl will devote 90 percent of her research time (current IDG ends 06/17). She has a sabbatical 01/21-06/21. Potential GSRA team members are already being supervised by Sheryl (PhD: Alison James, Jose Arias, Gudrun Ros Arnadoittir, Kathy Walker, Benjamin O’Heran, Andrea Vasquez, MA: Matthew Norris, Fabian Mayer, Jan-Phillip Wagner, majority of whom are Indigenous) and David (PhD: Brian Budd, Jackie Gillis, Malissa Bryan, MA: Lisa Philips, Charles Fairbank, Alexa MacKenzie-Cooper). As the timeline progresses, more qualified students will be recruited for supervision and research roles. Indigenous students will be encouraged to apply.

The team also comprises a network of Indigenous and other academics, Elders, and Knowledge Holders, (see our six page summary). These include NZ-based Māori collaborators Robert Joseph, Claire Charters, and Sacha McMeeking, Sami political scientist Rauna Kuokkanen, Indigenous consultant Valerie Galley, Joyce King, Director of the Akwesasne Justice Department, Richard Hill, Senior Project Coordinator at Deyohahá:ge, Six Nations Polytechnic; Jason Tockman, post-doctoral fellow at the University of Washington, Nehiyaw political scientist Matt Wildcatt, former TRC Research Director Paulette Regan, Aimee Craft, Research Director, and Ry Moran, Director of the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, and Bernie Farber, CEO of the Mosaic Institute.

TIMENE

Description of Previous and Ongoing Research Results

The proposed research is informed directly and substantively by Sheryl and David's SSHRC grants and Sheryl's Canada Research Chair. Sheryl's CRC in Global Indigenous Rights and Politics (2013-2018, renewable for 2018-2023) includes four interconnected lines of inquiry that ask how global Indigenous politics are shifting elements of the international order and how this in turn impacts the politics of Indigenous-state relationships. This proposed project directly addresses her third line of inquiry, which is "to interrogate the principle of self-determination in Indigenous contexts" and also encompasses some of the fourth line of inquiry, to examine "the politics of Indigenous rights movements vis-à-vis the implementation of Indigenous rights both domestically and on the global level." This project builds upon Sheryl's IDG "The Politics of State Apologies to Indigenous Peoples" (2013-2015, extended to 2018 due to a medical leave.) In this IDG, she aimed to understand the role of state apology to Indigenous peoples as a tool of restorative and/or transitional justice. Her primary objectives were both explanatory and normative, first, to examine how and why states issue official political apologies to Indigenous peoples. Second, in its normative dimension, the study examined how and why apologies can best be utilized by states, as well as how Indigenous peoples can and should respond to them. The study explored, in comparative perspective, the processes by which several states came to offer official and collective apologies to IPs, documenting what types of apologies are offered and in what political contexts. The variance in how these apologies are received by Indigenous peoples was also explored.

David's SRG (2009-13) explored how the UN Genocide Convention could help interpret the history and legacies of Indian Residential Schools. The research involved GSRA's in interviews with IRS Survivors through collaboration with the NRSSS in Sault St Marie, as well as interviews with former government officials, officials at the AHF, and others. It also involved participating in the work of the TRC, attending 4 of 7 National Events, and 3 regional TRC events, plus Survivor reunions and conferences. This work involved writing a chapter on genocide for the TRC, and developing close relations with the TRC staff, commissioners. David and a GSRA conducted a nationwide survey of all provincial and federal elected officials on their perceptions of the IRS system and the applicability of the UNGC. David's IG grant (2013-2017) engages with forms of Indigenous-settler reconciliation. As a mixed race person of colour, David has sought to understand how PoCs can play a role in the reconciliation process. A key focus has been comparing Indigenous-settler biculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand and reconciliation in Canada. This project has involved wide ranging consultation and interviews with Maori and elected government leaders (including cabinet ministers) in NZ and Canada, and research links with universities (Auckland, Otago, Canterbury, Otago, Massey) and prominent academics. David has two collaborators, the Mosaic Institute and the Ontario Federation of Indigenous Friendship Centres. David's PDG (as Co-Applicant 2014-2017) explores how IRS Survivors can work with settler academics to create a virtual representation of some IRS experiences. An outcome of these grants has been the finding that apologies and reparations to IPs are insufficient, as are co-management and biculturalism, in addressing the long-term legacies of colonialism. Self-determination with restoration of political, economic, and other forms of power has the potential to reinvigorate Indigenous nations, in the process forging new and evolving conceptions and practices of sovereignty.

We have endeavored to produce an accessible, influential, and theoretically robust range of high quality deliverables from their grants. Having been appointed Canada Research Chair in Sheryl's third year as assistant professor testifies to her level of expertise. From her IDG, she has 9 sole-authored conference papers, keynote addresses, roundtable, workshop and symposia participation. From her internal UBC grants, she has 34 such public presentations. Outputs from the IDG and internal UBC grants include one sole-authored book, 4 sole-authored journal articles, 2 co-authored journal articles, 1 non-refereed publication, and 4 book chapters, including 1 forthcoming, as well as a monograph from her IDG. As

direct outputs, David has co-edited 2 peer-reviewed journal issues, and introductions, 4 sole-authored and 2 co-authored published and 1 forthcoming peer-reviewed academic journal articles, 1 published peer-reviewed book chapter, and 7 book chapters directly related to research findings. He has produced 27 peer-reviewed conference papers, and delivered 14 public lectures, keynotes, and roundtable presentations.

Description of Proposed Student Training Strategies

The largest single expense is for graduate student training, supervision, and mentorship. As PI and CA, we 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 skills, data transcription, qualitative research methodology, archival research, and research ethics approval. Our extensive student teaching and training histories are detailed in our Research Contributions documents.

Our interest has always been in conducting research in a good way, with and for the direct benefit of Indigenous peoples. Central to our research objectives is the concept of sharing, working closely with community partners and collaborators such as Claire, Matt, Sacha, Rick, Rauna, Maria, Ry, Aimee, Joyce, and Robert, to ensure that research is done in a mutually beneficial manner, both culturally sensitive and appropriate. Students will conceive, design and execute research projects that will make distinctive academic contributions, and address the project objectives, tackling subjects such as: UNDRIP and international law, Indigenous self-determination, comparative conceptions of sovereignty, bi-nationalism in Aotearoa New Zealand, reconciliation in Canada, models of Indigenous governance and law, models of consociationalism / power-sharing in divided societies. Their active participation in research will further enable GSRAs to construct well-rounded, articulate theses or MRPs. 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. 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.

We will train GSRAs in presentation and writing skills invaluable to the dissemination of research results in community and academic settings. We will assist GSRAs in thesis/MRP compilation, and the writing of conference papers, journal articles, research reports, and community oriented publications. From 2017 to 2022, we will co-author conference papers, present at conferences, and generate peer-reviewed journal articles. Students will thereby gain valuable presentation skills, while developing a network of contacts which will help them in their future careers. By Y2, we will publish an average of 2-3 peer reviewed journal articles per year for a minimum total of 12 articles. Half of these will involve co-authorship with our graduate students. Findings will be posted on websites of collaborator institutions, and we will deliver talks and meet with people at these institutions. With help from GSRAs, in Y3 we will apply for a SSHRCC workshop grant to allow our GSRAs and other graduate students to present and to publish an edited work, alongside established academics and Elders working in this field at the NCTR. We will also work with our GSRAs to hold a workshop on Indigenous self-determination theories and practices, hosted by the International Political Sociology section of the International Studies Association. David is currently co-organizing a workshop for ISA 2017, and has organized two ISA presidential panels. Both of us have considerable experience supervising, mentoring, and working with graduate students. We look forward to continuing our work and attracting new students to work with.