

POL 363H1F
Canadian Political Development
Department of Political Science
University of Toronto
Summer Session 2021`
Mondays and Thursdays 4-6

Instructor: Professor Robert Vipond

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This course explores continuity and change in Canadian politics over the past two centuries. We will use the Confederation agreement of 1867 as a hinge that allows us to move back (to explore the connection between conquest and the origins of the state) and ahead (to explore the development of what has come to be known as the 'liberal order' in Canadian politics). We will pay particular attention to what Peter Russell calls the three 'pillars' of the Canadian political community – English, French, and Indigenous. Along the way we will meet and try out some of the conceptual tools of the developmental approach – among them path dependence, theories of state making, political orders, and democratization.

In other words, the goals of the course (and hence the learning objectives) are both substantive (to learn more about the historical patterns of Canadian politics) and methodological (to become familiar with the political development tool kit).

Textbook and Other Readings:

Our guide throughout the course will be Peter Russell, *Canada's Odyssey: A Country Based on Incomplete Conquests* (University of Toronto Press, 2017). It is available for purchase at the University of Toronto Bookstore. If you want to purchase a digital copy, here is the link: https://www.campusbookstore.com/integration/AccessCodes/default.aspx?bookseller_id=96&Course=STG+POL+363HF+CANADA'S+ODYSSEY+eBook&frame=YES&t=permalink

Other readings will either be posted directly to the course Quercus page or be linked to the Robarts Library system or be available for you to find online.

Format and Delivery:

The course will be delivered online. It includes both asynchronous and synchronous components.

Asynchronous:

- Starting with the material for Lecture 2 (May 6), lectures will be pre-recorded and uploaded to Quercus.
- These pre-recorded lectures will be approximately 70 minutes each, typically divided into about four smaller, more digestible lecture segments. As this is a compressed, summer session class, there will be two such lectures per week. That means, among other things, that you will have to budget more time per week to do the required readings, write assignments, and so on.
- You are expected to view the pre-recorded lectures and related material prior to our synchronous class meetings on Monday and Thursday afternoons. The lectures will be uploaded a few days prior to the online synchronous sessions.
- Slides used in pre-recorded lecture segments will be posted under Modules on Quercus.

Synchronous

- The class will also have a synchronous component and will meet twice a week at the scheduled time (4:10 on Mondays and Thursdays) for an interactive discussion of the course material with the professor.
- The synchronous component will consist primarily of class discussions and exercises on the course material. For class discussions, I will usually assign discussion questions or prompts on the course material. I will also use these meetings to answer queries about the course material or provide clarifications about points made in the lectures. The synchronous component of the class (Monday and Thursday afternoons) will be approximately 40 minutes each. In effect, this means that your “class” – lectures plus discussion twice a week – should take about as much time as a standard in-person class at the 300 level.
- The synchronous discussion component will not be recorded. Students are expected to attend and participate in the bi-weekly synchronous sessions.
- If you are in a different time zone and cannot attend the synchronous session, please contact me and we can work out alternative methods of participation.
- To prepare for the synchronous component, you are expected to view the pre-recorded material posted on Quercus and complete the readings for the week. You are encouraged (but not required) to turn on your camera if you are able to and connectivity permits in the synchronous online sessions.

Course requirements:

- 1) **Russell v. Russell:** This essay assignment asks you to compare and contrast two accounts of the Confederation settlement of 1867. Both were written by Peter Russell –

about 25 years apart. Your task will be to explain whether and how his interpretation of what happened in 1867 has changed over the years. (A more specific question and set of guidelines will be provided.) **Due: Monday, May 17 by 11:59 pm EDT. Value: 20% of final grade. Late penalty = 2% per day, including weekends.**

- 2) **Reading Responses:** The second cluster of assignments consists of **three** short essays (**maximum 800 words each** – that is, approximately 3 double-spaced pages.) I will provide five topics from which to choose, with due dates spread throughout the term so that you can choose a topic that you find interesting and that suits your schedule. Each reading response is worth **15% of the final grade. Taken together, these short essays therefore account for 45% of the final grade.** These responses will be due on Fridays by 11:59 pm EDT – except for the final one which will be due the last day of classes, Monday, June 14 by 11:59 pm EDT. **Late penalty = 2% per day, including weekends.**
- 3) **Take home assignment:** Open book and open notes. The take-home assessment will be scheduled during the end of term assessment period. The take-home will be posted on Quercus on the final day of classes, Monday, June 14. It will be due one week later – **Monday, June 21 by 11:59 pm EDT.** (This is a firm and fast deadline.) The assignment is designed to be completed as if it were an in-person exam, but you will have several days in which to complete it. **Value = 30% of final grade. Late penalty = 2% per day including weekends.**
- 4) **Attendance and Participation: 5%**

Course policies and procedures:

Virtual office hours: Office hours will be held on Mondays and Thursdays from approximately 4:30-5:00 – that is, after the synchronous class discussion. Other virtual options (such as individual Zoom meetings) can also be arranged.

Emails: I will attempt to respond to all emails within 48 hours. (I am currently the Acting Chair of the Department, which sometimes slows down my responses!).

Quercus: This course will use Quercus to disseminate all course-related information and assignments. It is your responsibility to log on to Quercus regularly and obtain relevant information.

Submitting written assignments: All written assignments must be submitted through Quercus.

Technological difficulties: I want to create an equitable and inclusive class environment. I do recognize that technological limitations and other factors might occasionally inhibit your ability to access materials, participate in the online synchronous session or submit assignments. If you

face such difficulties, please get in touch with me as soon as possible and we can work together to find an alternative solution.

Rough drafts and electronic copies of papers: Students are strongly advised to keep rough/draft work *and* electronic copies of their essays and final assignment before handing them in. These should be kept at least until marked assignments have been returned to you and the grades posted on ACORN.

Academic Integrity and Plagiarism:

Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information on plagiarism please see Writing at the University of Toronto. <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>.

Accessibility

Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. If you have a disability/health consideration that may require accommodations, please feel free to approach me and/or Accessibility Services. Staff at Accessibility Services are available by appointment to assess specific needs, provide referrals and arrange appropriate accommodations. Please call (416) 978- 8060, email accessibility.services@utoronto.ca, or visit <http://www.accessibility.utoronto.ca> for detailed information about the Accessibility Services at University of Toronto.

Accommodations:

These are unusual, even extraordinary, times, and we understand that the pressures on you are out of the ordinary. For this reason, the Faculty of Arts and Science has relaxed its rules about providing a medical note to explain absence from class or the inability to finish an assignment on time. For more information, follow this link: <https://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/covid19-artsci-student-faqs#fw2021-absence-declaration-accordion-1>.

Grade Appeals:

If you are unhappy with a grade on an assignment, you may submit a written appeal to me, explaining why you feel your grade on an assignment is unjustified. **You must submit this written appeal no later than two weeks after your assignment is returned.** Be warned: regrades do not result in an automatic increase in the grade, as assignments must be evaluated anew. Your grade may stay the same, go up, or go down.

Week 1: Part I: (Monday, May 3) Introduction: What is Canadian Political Development?

*****Note: This class will be held synchronously, beginning at 4:10 p.m.**

Readings:

Peter H. Russell, *Canada's Odyssey: A Country Based on Incomplete Conquests*, Introduction, pp. 3-19.

Jack Lucas and Robert Vipond, "Back to the Future: Historical Political Science and the Promise of Canadian Political Development," *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, March 2017, vol. 50, no. 1, pp. 219-241.

Part II: (Thursday, May 6) 1867 And All That

Russell, *Canada's Odyssey*, ch. 7, pp. 125-163.

Donald Creighton, "Conservatism and National Unity," in Jacqueline D. Krikorian et al, *Roads to Confederation: The Making of Canada, 1867*, volume 1, (University of Toronto Press, 2017) pp. 251-267.

Canada, Constitution Act, 1867. You should be familiar with the CA (originally known as the British North America Act). In the early part of the course, we will pay particular attention to the Preamble and Sections 90-95. The Constitution Act is readily available online.

For the first essay: Peter Russell, "Confederation," in Krikorian et al, *Roads to Confederation*, volume 1, pp. 115-137.

Week 2: Part I (Monday May, 10) Missed Opportunities: Quebec Conference of 1864

Various drafts of the Quebec Resolutions (1864) will be put on the course Quercus site.

Part II: (Thursday, May 13) The Deeper Structures of Canadian Politics: The Origins of the State and the Dynamics of being ‘Conquered into Liberty’

Russell, *Canada's Odyssey*, chapters 2 (pp. 23-41) and 4 (pp. 54-70).

Charles Tilly, “War Making and State Making as Organized Crime,” in Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol (eds), *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge, 1985), ch. 5, pp. 169-191.

Douglass North and Barry Weingast, “Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth Century England,” *Journal of Economic History* 49, no. 4, (December 1989), pp. 803-832.

Week 3: Part I (Monday, May 17) Deeper Structures: Indigenous Peoples

Russell, *Canada's Odyssey*, chapters 3 (pp. 42-53) and 5 (pp. 73-89).

J.R. Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant: Canada's Treaty-Making Tradition*, 1-44.

Part II: (Thursday, May 20) Consolidating the Liberal, Federal Order

Russell, *Canada's Odyssey*, chapters 8, 9, 10 (skim).

Package of newspaper editorials on the Rivers and Streams disallowance case, 1880s

Ian Mackay, “The Liberal Order Framework,” in Krikorian *et al*, *Roads to Confederation*, volume 2, pp 407-431.

Robert Lieberman, “Ideas, Institutions, and Political Order: Explaining Political Change,” *American Political Science Review* 96(4): 697-712.

Mary-Ellen Kelm and Keith D. Smith, *Talking Back to the Indian Act: Critical Readings in Settler Colonial Histories* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 26-31.

Week 4: NO CLASS ON MONDAY, MAY 24 – VICTORIA DAY HOLIDAY

Part II: (Thursday, May 27) Democratization

Veronica Strong-Boag, “‘The Citizenship Debates’: The 1885 *Franchise Act*,” in Robert Adamoski *et al*, *Contesting Canadian Citizenship* (Broadview, 2002), pp. 69-94.

Joan Sangster, *One Hundred Years of Struggle: The History of Women and the Vote in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018). (Precise pages TBD).

Week 5: Part I (Monday, May 31) The Party System

Richard Johnston, “Polarized Pluralism in the Canadian Party System,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 41(4), 2008: 815-834.

Christopher Cochrane, *Left and Right: The Small World of Political Ideas* (McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2015), chapter 8, pp. 145-174.

Part II: (Thursday, June 3) The Welfare State

E.A. Heaman, *A Short History of the State in Canada* (UTP, 2015), pp. 143-188.

Carolyn Hughes Tuohy, *Accidental Logics: The Dynamics of Change in the Health Care Arena in the United States, Britain, and Canada* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 37-61.

Paul Pierson, *Politics in Time: History, Institutions, and Social Analysis* (Princeton, 2004), pp. 17-53.

Week 6: Part I: (Monday, June 7) Quebec, the Constitution, and the Charter

Russell, *Canada’s Odyssey*, chapters 11, 14.

Alan C. Cairns, “The Charter and the Constitution Act,” in *Charter versus Federalism: The Dilemmas of Constitutional Reform* (McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1992), 62-95.

Part II: (Thursday, June 10) Citizenship, Race, and Multiculturalism

Russell, *Canada’s Odyssey*, chapter 13.

Pew Research Center, “What It Takes To Be Truly ‘One of Us’” (2017).

Randall Hansen, “Assimilation by Stealth: Why Canada’s Multicultural Policy is Really a Repackaged Integration Policy,” in Jack Jedwab (ed), *The Multicultural Question: Debating Identity in 21st Century Canada* (McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2014), 73-87.

Debra Thompson, “Race, the Canadian Census, and Interactive Political Development,” *Studies in American Political Development* 34(1), 2020: 44-70.

Week 7: (Monday, June 14) Indigenous Peoples and Conclusion

Russell, *Canada's Odyssey*, chapter 14 (reprise), 16.

Dale Turner, *This is Not a Peace Pipe: Towards a Critical Indigenous Philosophy* (University of Toronto Press, 2006), chapter 1, 12-37.