

POL 382S
Canadian Political Development
Department of Political Science
University of Toronto
2018--19

Instructor: Professor Robert Vipond

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Office Hours: Thursdays, 2-4 (or by appointment, which I am happy to arrange).

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 standard tools of the developmental approach – among them path dependence, theories of state making, political orders, democratization and so on.

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.)

Text Book 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 (St. George and College).

Other readings will be posted on the course Quercus site.

Course requirements:

- 1) **First essay:** The first assignment will have you 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 he has changed his mind over the years. (A more specific question and set of guidelines will be provided.) **Due in class, Thursday, February 7. Value: 30% of the final mark.**

- 2) **Second term essay:** An analytical essay, drawn from a menu of topics that will be distributed well in advance. **Due in class: Thursday, March 28. Value: 35% of the final mark.**
- 3) **Final exam:** A two-hour final examination will be held during the final exam period. **Value: 30% of the final mark.**
- 4) **Participation: 5% of the final mark.**

Plagiarism:

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

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the turnitin.com website.

Late Penalties:

Late penalties for assignments are **2 per cent per day, including weekends**. If you are unable to hand your paper in during the class time, you must hand it in to the Department of Political Science main office, Sidney Smith Hall, Room 3018, which is open from 9 to 5 daily. There is a drop off box for papers that arrive after 5 pm. Papers will be date stamped the next business day.

Accessibility Needs:

The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations or have any accessibility concerns, please visit <http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility> as soon as possible.

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Weekly Schedule

Week 1: (Thursday, January 10) Introduction: What Is Political Development?

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.

Week 2: (Thursday, January 17) 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, pp. 251-267.

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

Week 3: (Thursday, January 24) Missed Opportunities: The Quebec Conference of 1864

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

Christopher Moore, *1867: How the Fathers Made a Deal* (McClelland and Stewart, 1997), ch. 4, pp. 95-132. (For background).

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

Week 4: (Thursday, January 31) 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 5: (Thursday, February 7) Deeper Structures (Part 2): Indigenous Peoples

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

Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa*, (Princeton, 2000), pp. 11-31.

Week 6: (Thursday, February 14) 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.

Reading Week (no class on Thursday, February 21)

Week 7: (Thursday, February 28) 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).

Desmond King and Robert Lieberman, "American Political Development as a Process of Democratization," in Desmond King *et al*, *Democratization in America: A Comparative Historical Analysis* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 3-27.

Week 8: (Thursday, March 7) 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.

Week 9: (Thursday, March 14) 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.

Week 10: (Thursday, March 21) Quebec, the Constitution, and the Charter

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

David Schneiderman, *Red, White, and Kind of Blue?: The Conservatives and the Americanization of Canadian Constitutional Culture* (University of Toronto Press, 2015), pages TBD.

Week 11: (Thursday, March 28) Citizenship 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* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 73-87.

Week 12: (Thursday, April 4) Indigenous Peoples

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