

POL 363F
Canadian Political Development
Department of Political Science
University of Toronto
Fall 2022
Wednesdays 4-6

Instructor: Professor Robert Vipond

Office: 3008 Sidney Smith Hall

Email: robert.vipond@utoronto.ca

Marking TA: Etienne Cardin-Trudeau etienne.cardintrudeau@mail.utoronto.ca

Student Hours : Thursday, 11-1.

This course explores continuity and change in Canadian politics, emphasizing the extent to which and the ways in which the past informs the present. We will use the Confederation “moment” of 1864-1867 as a hinge that allows us to move back (to explore the connection between conquest and the origins of the state) and ahead (to recognize and explore more recent patterns of politics). We will pay particular attention to what Professor Peter Russell calls the three “pillars” of the Canadian political community – English, French, and Indigenous – and to the central idea of “sovereignty.” Along the way, we will meet and try out some of the conceptual tools of the developmental approach to political science – 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 that contribute to understanding present-day Canadian politics) and methodological (to become familiar with the political development toolkit).

Textbook and Other Readings:

Our guide throughout the course will be Peter H. 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 prefer a digital edition, here is the link:
<https://uoftbookstore.vitalsource.com/products/canada-39-s-odyssey-peter-h-russell-v9781487514488>

Other readings will be posted directly to the course Quercus page or be readily accessible in other ways.

Format

There are four essential elements to this course: **lectures, readings, written assignments, and engagement.** The **lectures** are meant to provide a sort of roadmap to the course material as a whole. They are (I flatter myself to think) essential to getting from “here” (curiosity about the course themes) to “there” (more systematic and reflective knowledge about the course themes). Barring any viral surprises, this will be what university courses used to be – a not-to-be-missed, in-person event that occurs every Wednesday afternoon over the fall from 4:10 until 6:00 p.m. in Woodsworth 126. (It was kind of the room scheduling office to place us in a venue named after someone who played a significant role in Canada’s political development!). It is important that you attend the lectures if at all possible. They will build on the readings but go well beyond them, so they will add (I hope) a dimension you can’t get from the readings alone. Besides, there are few things more dispiriting to us professors than to look out over a half-empty lecture hall. That said, I realize that there may be occasions when you are unable to attend lectures (neither Covid nor family emergencies have disappeared, after all). As a result, I will record and post the lectures for a limited period of time on the Quercus site.

Readings:

In constructing the course, I have assumed that students have a basic knowledge of Canadian politics (which is why the prerequisite – a 200-level course in Canadian politics – exists). Some of the material we cover may already be familiar to you, but my hope is that, for the most part, the readings for this course will lead you into less charted territory. As I’ve already noted, the foundational reading for the course, to which we will return again and again, is Peter Russell’s magisterial account of what he calls Canada’s odyssey. But we’ll explore other intellectual trails as well in our pursuit of Canadian political development: primary documents, pamphlets and polemics, scholarly articles and chapters, and even some art and music (the latter will be a regular feature of the course). Russell’s book you should buy; everything else will be on Quercus or linked through Quercus.

Writing assignments:

Whatever you may or may not learn about Canadian political development, my hope is that you will develop the ability to write well. Like many other skills, writing requires technique, repetition, and coaching. To that end, POL 363 provides you with several opportunities to develop your writing skills. These are:

- a) **Reading Responses:** You will be asked to submit **three** short essays (by short I mean a maximum of 800 words or about 3 double-spaced pages) that will take the form of a response to one or more of the course readings. I will provide five topics

and readings from which to choose, with due dates spread throughout the term so that you can write on a topic that you find interesting and that suits your schedule. More specifically, potential reading response topics will be posted at least two weeks before they are due, with due dates at the end of Weeks 3, 5, 7, 9, and 11. At least one of these responses (and preferably two) must be submitted by Week 7 of the course. Each reading response is worth **20% of the final grade**. Taken together, then, the **reading responses account for 60% of the total grade for the course**. Late penalty = **2% per day (including weekends)**.

- b) **Essay:** The summative assignment – a take-home essay assignment that is meant to draw together the big themes of the course – will be posted on Quercus no later than November 22 and will be due during the exam period – more specifically, by **11:59 p.m. on Wednesday, December 14**. This assignment will be worth **25% of the final grade**. Late penalty = **2% per day (including weekends)**.

Engagement:

Unlike most 100- and 200-level courses in political science, there are no tutorials in this course (nor in most other 300-level courses). That removes the most obvious means of engagement, so we/you will have to find other ways to engage with the course material.

Here are three possibilities:

- a) **Introductory Quiz:** It will be extremely helpful for me to have a sense of your knowledge of Canadian political history before we get too far into the course. The first assignment in the course, therefore, is a short quiz that you will find on the course website. The goal here is for my information only. You will earn **5% of the final grade** simply for taking the test, regardless of how well or badly you do. So please do not rely on anything other than your own knowledge when you take the quiz. **In order to earn the mark for this assignment, you must complete the online quiz by the end of the first week of classes – that is, by 11:59 p.m. on Friday, September 16.**
- b) **One-on-one meetings:** Given that there are no tutorials in the course, I'd like to have an opportunity to get to know each of you at least a little bit. To that end, I want to schedule one-on-one meetings in the early weeks of the course. No pressure. This is not a test, just an opportunity to learn a bit more about you, your interests, background etc.. I will post a sign-up sheet. Ideally, these short meetings will occur in the first few weeks of the course and **no later than Week 6**. As a crude incentive, **5% of the final course mark will turn on your meeting with me**.
- c) **Mid-term quiz:** It's important that you keep up and engage with the readings. To that end, there will be a short web-based quiz on material from the readings. **Value= 5%.** Students will be given (at least) a week to complete the quiz. It will be due by **11:59 p.m. on Friday, November 18.**

Taken together, then, the requirements for the course look like this:

- 1) 3 reading responses @ 20% each = 60% of the final grade.
- 2) Final summative essay = 25% of the final grade.
- 3) Introductory quiz = 5%
- 4) One-on-one meeting with Professor Vipond = 5%
- 5) Mid-term quiz = 5%

Course Policies and Procedures:

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.

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

Class Recordings:

This course, including your participation, will be recorded on video and will be available to students in the course for viewing after each session.

Course videos and materials belong to your instructor, the University, and/or other sources depending on the specific facts of each situation and are protected by copyright. Do not download, copy, or share any course or student materials or videos without the explicit permission of the instructor.

Academic Integrity and Plagiarism:

Here is the University of Toronto's official statement about academic integrity:

Academic integrity is essential to the pursuit of learning and scholarship in a university, and to ensuring that a degree from the University of Toronto is a strong signal of each student's individual academic achievement. As a result, the University treats cases of cheating and plagiarism very seriously. The University of Toronto's Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters outlines the behaviours that constitute academic dishonesty and the processes for addressing academic offences. Potential offences include, but are not limited to:

- Using someone else's ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement.
- Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor in all relevant courses
- Making up sources or facts
- Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment

All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated following procedures outlined in the Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters. If you have questions or concerns about what constitutes appropriate academic behaviour or appropriate research and citation methods, please reach out to me. Note that you are expected to seek out additional information on academic integrity from me or from other institutional resources (for example, the [University of Toronto website on Academic Integrity](#)).

Extensions and Absence Declarations:

Illnesses – and other circumstances that affect your ability to submit course work on time – happen. We understand that and try to be as understanding and accommodating as possible. This often involves your asking for an extension (without the usual penalty being assessed). In the pre-pandemic university, students were obliged to submit a ***Verification of Illness (also known as a “doctor’s note”)*** when requesting an extension. This is no longer required. Instead, students who are absent from academic participation for any reason (e.g., COVID, cold, flu and other illness or injury, family situation) and who require consideration for missed academic work should **report their absence through the online absence declaration**. The declaration is available to students through ACORN under the Profile and Settings menu. For updates, please reference the [University policy for absence declaration](#).

It is important to note, however, that we (that is, the instructors) will not be alerted when a student declares an absence. Nor does the mere declaration of absence trigger an extension in and of itself. As a student, you must still contact the instructor who will be marking your work and request the extension *before* the assignment is due. In other words, to get an extension (without penalty) on an assignment, you must both complete the absence declaration and speak with the instructor.

Re-grading assignments:

If you believe you have not been given full value for a written assignment, you may request to have the assignment re-graded. The process or protocol for re-grading has the following steps:

- 1) The first thing to do is wait. Neither the TA nor the professor will discuss your assignment for at least 48 hours after the assignment has been returned to you. This “cooling off” period gives you an opportunity to marshal the evidence you need to make your case.
- 2) The TA for the course will mark some of your work; I will mark the rest. If you are unhappy with one of the assignments marked by the TA, you should speak with him first to explain why you received the mark you did. If you are not satisfied with the explanation, you may ask to have your paper re-graded. Be aware, however, that this does not guarantee your mark will be raised. It could go up, down, or remain the same. (If I have marked the assignment you would [obviously] skip this step.)
- 3) If after re-grading you are still unhappy, you may appeal to me. Again you must wait 48 hours. And again, your mark could go up, down, or remain the same.

Class Schedule

Week 1: (Wednesday, September 14)

Introduction: What is Canadian Political Development?

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.

Week 2: (Wednesday, September 21) 1867 And All That

Russell, *Canada's Odyssey*, chapter 7 (pp. 125-166).

Macdonald's speech to the Legislative Assembly of Canada (aka the Confederation Debates), 6 February 1865. This can be found at primarydocuments.ca. Go to Collections>Historical Categories/Pre-Confederation Documents>Confederation Debates 1864-1867>Province of Canada January 19, 1865- March 14, 1865>Legislative Assembly Debates> 6 February.

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, 1867* is readily available online.

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.

Week 3: (Wednesday, September 28) Opportunities Seized and Missed: Quebec Conference, 1864

Portions of various drafts of the Quebec Resolutions are available online at primarydocuments.ca. Go to: Collections> Historical Categories/Pre-Confederation Documents >Drafts of the Quebec Resolutions (1864). (I will provide more detailed instructions about where to go from there in class.)

Speech by Representative Jamie Raskin to the United States Senate, Impeachment Trial, 11 February 2021. (First 6 minutes.)

Week 4: (Wednesday, October 5) Deeper Structures: 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.

Jason Farago, “The Myth of North America, in One Painting,” *New York Times*, 25 November 2020.

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Part II, “Of Commonwealth,” chapters 17 and 18.

Week 5: (Wednesday, October 12) Deeper Structures: Indigenous Peoples

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

John Borrows, “Wampum at Niagara: The Royal Proclamation, Canadian Legal History, and Self-Government,” in *Aboriginal and Treaty Rights in Canada: Essays on Law, Equity, and Respect for Difference*, ed. Michael Asch (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 155–72.

Week 6: (Wednesday, October 19) Consolidating the Liberal, Federal Order

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

Package of newspaper articles from the London *Advertiser* on the Rivers and Stream disallowance case, 1880s.

Ian Mackay, “The Liberal Order Framework,” in Krikorian et al, *Roads to Confederation*, vol. 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 7: (Wednesday, October 26) Democratization

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

Excerpts from *Frank v. AG (Canada)* (2019).

Week 8: (Wednesday, November 2) The Party System

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

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

David Armstrong, Jack Lucas, and Zack Taylor, “The Urban-Rural Divide in Canadian Federal Elections, 1896-2019,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* (2022), 55, 84-106.

Jean-Francois Godbout, *Lost on Division: Party Unity in the Canadian Parliament* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020), ch. 10, pp. 228-249.

Zack Taylor, “The Political Geography of Immigration: Party Competition for Immigrants’ Votes in Canada, 1997-2019,” *American Review of Canadian Studies* 51:1 (2021), 166-188.

Reading Week – Wednesday, November 9 – no class

Week 9: Wednesday, November 16 The Welfare State

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

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

Carolyn Hughes Tuohy, “Welfare State Eras, Policy Narratives, and the Role of Expertise: The Case of the Affordable Care Act in Historical and Comparative Perspective,” *Journal of health politics, policy, and law* (2018), vol. 43 (3), pp. 427-453.

Alberta Sovereignty Act (2022).

Week 10: Wednesday, November 23 Quebec, the Constitution, and the Charter

Russell, *Canada’s Odyssey*, chaps. 11 and 14.

David R. Cameron and Robert Vipond, “Interlude: Current Reflections on the Past,” in David R. Cameron and Robert C. Vipond (ed), *The Daily Plebiscite: federalism, nationalism, and Canada* (University of Toronto Press, 2022), pp. 133-158.

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

Geneviève Zubrzycki, *Beheading the Saint: Nationalism, Religion, and Secularism in Quebec* (University of Chicago Press, 2016), chapter 1, pp. 1-15.

Week 11: Wednesday, November 30 Citizenship, Race, and Multiculturalism

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

Harold Troper, “Becoming an Immigrant City: A History of Immigration into Toronto since the Second World War,” in Paul Anisef and Michael Lanphier (eds), *The World in a City* (University of Toronto Press, 2003), 19-62.

Keith Banting and Debra Thompson, “The Puzzling Persistence of Racial Inequality in Canada,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, (2021), 54, 870-891.

Week 12: Wednesday, December 7 Conclusion

Russell, *Canada's Odyssey*, chapter 16.

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

Jeremy Webber, “Contending Sovereignties,” in Peter Oliver, Patrick Macklem, and Nathalie Des Rosiers (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the Canadian Constitution* (Oxford University Press, 2015), chapter 13.