

McMASTER UNIVERSITY 2016-7
HISTORY 772

THE STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY CANADA, 1948-2000

I. McKay

Office: Chester New Hall Room 632

Phone: Extension 24137

Class: Tuesday mornings 9:30-12:30

Office Hours: Tuesday afternoons 2:30-5:00

or by appointment

e-mail: mckayi@mcmaster.ca

This course provides a critical survey of twentieth-century Canadian history from 1948 to 2000, using as its focus the transformation of a Canadian state that originally incorporated classical liberal understandings yet which was, in the wake of the Great Depression, challenged by a diversity of new movements and ideas that called such understandings into question. A Canadian liberal revolution in the mid-nineteenth century was followed by the emergence of a new liberal order in the twentieth. Included in this second liberal revolution were revaluations of the role of government in the economic and social order, the rights and duties of the labour movement, the position of women, the role of expertise in the arts and sciences of government, and the growth of a “pedagogical state” increasingly preoccupied with transforming and regulating the cultural world. Inherent in this new liberal revolution were also new concepts of nationalism, as older colonial definitions of Canada gradually ceded to newer notions of citizenship and democracy.

This course is thus designed for students who would like to read broadly and in depth about the making of modern Canada from a transnational political perspective. Its architecture has also been profoundly influenced by a second consideration, that of the contemporary crisis within the discipline of Canadian history itself. A widespread postmodern skepticism about master narratives and the advent of important new fields of historical enquiry (women's, native, environmental, religious, and regional history are merely five of many) have placed a question mark over the continued possibility of Canadian history as a coherent field of enquiry. Among many social and cultural historians there is a consensus that national syntheses narrowly focused on the political sphere in one country are no longer viable. There are, however, also concerns that the unlimited fragmentation and subdivision of Canadian history may entail the loss of

historians' abilities not only to talk to a wider Canadian public, but also to communicate with each other. This course will suggest a framework of analysis that might allow scholars to retain both the insights from the new fields that have emerged within the discipline of history over the past half-century and the historians' ability to talk about, and to, 'Canada' in an increasingly globalized world.

This course adopts a project-centred approach. In the first month, you should define a historiographical project that you would like to pursue throughout the term. Since the liberal order framework that underlies the course is a broad one, a wide range of topics is open to you – but planning and discussion is required before any project can be launched.

The McMaster Rule is 3500 pages of reading per term-long seminar (with the proviso that PhD candidates are expected to read 50% more than that). As the course proceeds, I shall suggest ways in which the reading load of about 290 pages per session can be tailored to your specific interests. In general, the presenter is expected to have mastered the assigned readings; other participants will be offered ways they can triage them.

Marking Scheme and Assignments:

Seminar Questions and Contribution to the Course – 30%

All students are required to have completed the readings each week and to have circulated to the class e-mail list at least two questions addressing the themes developed in the texts. One student per class session is responsible for opening the discussion with a short (c.15 mins) presentation, concluding with five core questions (the presentation and questions should be reviewed ahead of time with the instructor).

Book Review – due 3 October 5%

The books for review in 2016 are Elsbeth Heaman, *A Short History of the State in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015); Sean Mills, *The Empire Within* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010); and Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). Your review should do three things: outline the core themes of the book, present the book in its general scholarly context, and assess the book's actual or potential contribution to the field of Canadian history. It should be about 10 double-spaced pages long. Consult with me ahead of time if you hope to match a particular book to your own research interests.

Paper Proposal – due 18 October 15%

Most papers in History 772 will focus on a key theoretical or conceptual issue and focus on secondary literature, but in some cases students may work on papers based on primary research, as long as they first obtain the consent of the instructor. This proposal should contain a bibliography of about 10 secondary works – books, articles, and book reviews in respected

academic sources -- related to the core problem explored in the paper.

Major Paper—due 6 December 50%

This final essay (of no more than 20 typed double-spaced pages; 30 in the case of PhD students) is the major written work required during the term. Highlighting a problem raised in the literature, it is to be an original piece of scholarship, focused on an aspect of the state and civil society in twentieth-century Canada.

Books Ordered (Campus Bookstore)

Jean-François Constant and Michel Ducharme, eds., *Liberalism and Hegemony: Debating the Canadian Liberal Revolution* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

Elsbeth Heaman, *A Short History of the State in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015).

Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006).

Sean Mills, *The Empire Within: Postcolonial Thought and Political Activism in Sixties Montreal* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010).

I have only ordered in books we will be using for more than one or two chapters or which are candidates for your first paper. All other titles will be available on reserve or pre-circulated before our seminars.

Formalities

Participation weekly seminars is mandatory. Students who unavoidably miss a seminar will have to see me in order to arrange for additional written work to make up the readings they have not done. In addition, as noted above, each student will be required to lead at least one seminar discussion, which will involve a 15-minute presentation of the central themes and questions prompted by the readings and the precirculation of five "leading questions."

Students are strongly advised to retain a physical copy of any written work submitted for a part of their mark. Assignments may be submitted electronically, but responsibility for making sure a given essay has been received by the instructor resides with the student. A penalty of 5% per working day is assessed on all late essays.

Academic dishonesty consists of misrepresenting by deception or by other fraudulent means and can result in serious consequences, e.g. the grade of zero on an assignment, loss of credit with a notation on the transcript, and/or suspension or expulsion from the university. If you are in doubt about the rules governing plagiarism – and in an internet age, they are not always as clear as one might wish – consult with the instructor. You are also responsible for familiarizing yourself with McMaster's rules on

Academic Integrity, <http://www.mcmaster.ca/academicintegrity/>.

Faculty of Humanities Policy on Student E-mail communications with Instructors:

“It is the policy of the Faculty of Humanities that all email communication sent from students to instructors (including TAs), and from students to staff, must originate from the student’s own McMaster University email account. This policy protects confidentiality and confirms the identity of the student. Instructors will delete emails that do not originate from a McMaster email account.”

SYLLABUS

GENERAL OUTLINE

1. INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE. 13 SEPTEMBER
2. THE LIBERAL ORDER FRAMEWORK AND THE REWRITING OF CANADIAN HISTORY. 20 SEPTEMBER
3. THE CONCEPT OF SETTLER COLONIALISM IN THE WRITING OF CANADIAN HISTORY. 27 SEPTEMBER
4. MACKENZIE KING AND PASSIVE REVOLUTION. 4 OCTOBER
5. THE INTERWAR CRISIS OF THE CANADIAN ORDER, 1918-1939. 11 OCTOBER
6. SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE IN COLD WAR CANADA, 1948-1975. 18 OCTOBER.
7. NEW CANADIAN NATIONALISMS, 1948-1975. 25 OCTOBER.
8. THE ‘SIXTIES’: CONTESTED DECADE(S). 1 NOVEMBER.
9. REGULATING INDIGENOUS BODIES AND POLICING A LIBERAL ORDER. 8 NOVEMBER.
10. SEEING AND USING NATURE IN A LIBERAL ORDER. 15 NOVEMBER
11. SEEING AND USING HISTORY IN A LIBERAL ORDER. 22 NOVEMBER.
12. THE GREAT RIGHT TURN, 1975-1995. 29 NOVEMBER

**SYLLABUS
DETAILED OUTLINE**

1. INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE. 13 SEPTEMBER

•Christopher Dummitt and Michael Dawson, eds., *Contesting Clio's Craft: New Directions and Debates in Canadian History* (London: Institute for the Study of the Americas, 2009). Introduction and Chapters 1, 3, 5 and 8.

2. THE LIBERAL ORDER FRAMEWORK AND THE REWRITING OF CANADIAN HISTORY. 20 SEPTEMBER

•Elsbeth Heaman, *A Short History of the State in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), Chapters One and Two.

•Jean-François Constant and Michel Ducharme, eds., *Liberalism and Hegemony: Debating the Canadian Liberal Revolution* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), pp. 3-97.

•John C. Weaver, *The Great Land Rush and the Making of the Modern World, 1650-1900* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), Introduction and Chapter Two.

•Keith D. Smith, *Liberalism, Surveillance, and Resistance: Indigenous Communities in Western Canada, 1877-1927* (Edmonton: Athabaska University Press, 2009), Chapters One and Eight.

3. THE CONCEPT OF SETTLER COLONIALISM IN THE WRITING OF CANADIAN HISTORY. 27 SEPTEMBER

•Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), Introduction and Chapter Three.

•Elizabeth Furniss, *The Burden of History: Colonialism and the Frontier Myth in a Rural Canadian Community* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), Chapters One and Eight.

•Sarah Carter, "Erasing and Replacing: Property and Homestead Rights of First Nations Farmers of Manitoba and the Northwest, 1870s-1910s," in Adele Perry, Esyllt W. Jones and Leah Morton, eds., *Place and Replace: Essays on Western Canada* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2013), 14-39.

•John S. Milloy, 'A National Crime': *The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999), Chapters Five and Twelve.

4. MACKENZIE KING AND PASSIVE REVOLUTION. 4 OCTOBER.

•Ian McKay, "The Canadian Passive Revolution," *Capital and Class*, 3 (2010): 361-381.

•Doug Owram, *The Government Generation: Canadian intellectuals and the state 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986),

Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine.

- Peter A. Hall, ed., *The Political Power of Economic Ideas: Keynesianism across Nations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), Chapters Two and Three.

- John Macfarlane, *Ernest Lapointe and Quebec's Influence on Canadian Foreign Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), Chapters Three and Four.

5. THE INTERWAR CRISIS OF THE CANADIAN ORDER, 1918-1939. 11 OCTOBER

- Denis Forgacs, ed., *An Antonio Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings 1916-1913*, Introduction and Part Two, pp.189-299; glossary, 420-431.

- Terry Crowley, *Marriage of Minds: Isabel and Oscar Skelton Reinventing Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), Chapters Seven and Eight.

- Stephen L. Endicott, *Raising the Workers' Flag: The Workers' Unity League of Canada, 1930-1936* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), selections.

- Lara Campbell, *Respectable Citizens: Gender, Family, and Unemployment in Ontario's Great Depression* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), Introduction and Chapter Five.

6. SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE IN COLD WAR CANADA, 1948-1975. 18 OCTOBER.

- Peter McInnis, *Harnessing Labour Confrontation: Shaping the Postwar Settlement in Canada, 1943-1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), Chapter Four.

- Joan Sangster, *Transforming Labour: Women and Work in Postwar Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).

- Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006), Chapters Seven and Eight.

- Valerie J. Korinek, *Roughing It in the Suburbs: Reading Chatelaine Magazine in the Fifties and Sixties* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), Chapters One and Eight.

7. NEW CANADIAN NATIONALISMS, 1948-1975. 25 OCTOBER

- Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London and New York: Verso, 1991), Chapters Six, Ten and Eleven.

- José Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada, 1945-71* (Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2006), Chapters Two and Three.

- Michael Behiels, *Prelude to Québec's Quiet Revolution: Liberalism versus Neo-Nationalism, 1945-1960* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985), Chapters One and Four.

- Daniel Coleman, *White Civility: The Literary Project of English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), Chapters One and Three.

8. THE 'SIXTIES': CONTESTED DECADE(S). 1 NOVEMBER

- Sean Mills, *The Empire Within: Postcolonial Thought and Political Activism in Sixties Montreal* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), Chapter Three.
- Sean Mills, "Quebec, Haiti and the Deportation Crisis of 1974," *Canadian Historical Review* 94, 3 (September 2013), 405-435.
- Stuart Henderson, *Making the Scene: Yorkville and Hip Toronto in the 1960s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), Chapter Seven.
- Joan Sangster, "Invoking Experience as Evidence," *Canadian Historical Review* 92, 1 (March 2011), 135-161.

9. REGULATING INDIGENOUS BODIES AND POLICING A LIBERAL ORDER. 8 NOVEMBER

- Ila Bussidor and Üstün Bilgen-Reinart, *Night Spirits: The Story of the Relocation of the Sayisi Dene* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1997), Introduction and selections.
- Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), Chapter One.
- Sherene Razack, *Dying From Improvement: Inquests and Inquiries into Indigenous Deaths in Custody* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), Chapter Six and Conclusion.
- Seth Adema, "Traditions and Transitions: Elders Working in Canadian Prisons, 1967-1992," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 25, 1 (2014), 243-275.

10. SEEING AND USING NATURE IN A LIBERAL ORDER. 15 NOVEMBER

- Sean Kheraj, "Restoring Nature: Ecology, Memory, and the Storm History of Vancouver's Stanley Park," *Canadian Historical Review* 88, 4 (December 2007), 577-612.
- Tina Loo, *States of Nature: Conserving Canada's Wildlife in the Twentieth Century* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007), Introduction and Chapters One and Two.
- Peter A. Stevens, "'Roughing it in Comfort': Family Cottaging and Consumer Culture in Postwar Ontario," *Canadian Historical Review* 94, 2 (June 2013), 234-262.
- Alan MacEachern, *Natural Selections: National Parks in Atlantic Canada, 1935-1970* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), Introduction and Chapter Five.

11. SEEING AND USING HISTORY IN A LIBERAL ORDER. 22 NOVEMBER

- Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing since 1900*, 2nd edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), Chapters Two and Five.
- Ian McKay, “Liberty, Equality and Tourism: D.C. Harvey, Prince Edward Island, and the Power of Tourism/History, 1931-1956,” *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 49 (June 2016), 263-287. Available on-line at <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/619044/pdf>
- Jennifer Reid, *Louis Riel and the Creation of Modern Canada: Mythic Discourse and the Postcolonial State* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), Chapters Two and Seven.
- Geoff Read and Todd Webb, “The Catholic Mahdi of the North West’: Louis Riel and the Metis Resistance in Transatlantic and Imperial Context,” *Canadian Historical Review* 93, 2 (June 2012), 171-195.

12. THE GREAT RIGHT TURN, 1975-1995. 29 NOVEMBER

- Daniel Rodgers, *Age of Fracture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011), Chapters Two and Three.
- Richard Harris, *Creeping Conformity: How Canada Became Suburban, 1900-1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), Chapters Six and Seven.
- F.A. Hayek, “The Principles of a Liberal Social Order,” in G.W. Smith, ed., *Liberalism: Critical Concepts in Political Theory* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), Vol. 1, 41-56.
- Ronald Dworkin, “Liberalism,” in G.W. Smith, ed., *Liberalism: Critical Concepts in Political Theory* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), Vol. 1, 57-80.
- Edmund Fawcett, *Liberalism: The Life of an Idea* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014), Coda.