INTRODUCTION
This course introduces the debates and problems of Canadian Political Economy (CPE), both in historical analysis and in contemporary policy concerns. Topics may include the institutional analysis of markets; staples; capital and class analyses; state formation and the role of the state; theories of economic development, trade, and dependency; political-economic aspects of empire and colonialism; and gender, Indigenous, and anti-racist analyses.

Canadian political economy as a discipline developed rapidly in five distinct periods: the 1920s to 1940s; the 1960s to 1970s; the 1980s and 1990s; the period following September 11, 2001; and the period following the international financial crisis in 2007-8. Leading trends in international economics and political economy have influenced CPE. But the field emphasizes problems that Canada faces in particular, and approaches them in distinctive ways. Themes and approaches from all these periods have re-appeared in recent literature and debates over pressing matters in Canadian political economy. CPE as a discipline generally views the latter, an object of study, as a real-world complex of interacting structures, often-conflictual agents and interests, and institutions.

REQUIRED TEXTS

You can access other required readings by links at the Macpherson Library electronic course reserves, at the POLI 366 CourseSpaces site, via clickable URLs in the electronic copy of the syllabus on the CourseSpaces site, or at online sites (on the wider web or through the library’s online catalogue site).

ASSIGNMENTS – SUMMARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assignment</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Due Date</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participation</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>Throughout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take-Home Mid-Term</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>Released Friday, Oct 4</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Due end of Friday, Oct 11 (midnight)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper proposal</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>End of Sunday, Oct 27 (midnight)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Final Paper</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>End of Friday, Nov 29 (midnight)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final Exam</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>Scheduled during regular exam period</td>
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</table>
Assignments – Detailed Breakdown
(Page lengths assume a Times New Roman font, 12-point size, and 1-inch margins (that is, margins similar to those in this syllabus).)

Attendance and participation:
I circulate an attendance sheet regularly. This forms the core of attendance and participation. The quality of participation is also important; it depends on general preparation and engagement. Persistently substandard performances may impact your mark. I recognize different modes of participation and engagement (e.g., one person may talk more than another, but the two may be equally smart and attentive). Exceptionally disruptive, disrespectful, or disgraceful behavior may also detract from your mark, though these are different from spirited disagreements in the class.

Paper Proposal (3 pages, including bibliography but excluding the cover page):
This spells out your final paper topic and reports on your progress in generating a research paper. You should outline at least a limited set of concrete, answerable research questions, and ideally a defined, if still tentative thesis statement. Your proposal and final paper should engage with concepts and debates from Canadian political economy. You can discuss non-CPE approaches and work with comparator countries, but this should take second place to CPE debates and Canadian contexts. Read the detailed requirements for proposals and final papers (below) carefully before researching your topic. (These requirements will be distributed and discussed in class, and will be posted on the CourseSpaces site.)

Upload the proposal in one electronic document (rtf, pdf, or MWord-readable formats only please-see below on formats). It has 3 distinct sections: 1) a preliminary summary of the final paper topic, key research questions, and key themes (1/2 page, double-spaced); 2) a report on your progress, including key successes and problems encountered (1/2 page, double-spaced); and 3) a partly annotated bibliography. The annotations in the bibliography should cover one peer-reviewed scholarly work (books, articles, or book chapters) and one quality non-peer-reviewed analysis of similar length and quality (total bibliography: 2 pages, double-spaced). Some valuable resources for the specific debates and problems of Canadian political economy can be found at the library’s site for study guides, under our course number in the Political Science section.

Mid-Term (take-home):
This test covers all required readings and lectures up to and including the week before the test. It will emphasize core concepts, scholarly positions, and arguments. I will outline the format in advance.

Final Paper (12-15 pages of text, double-spaced, plus title page and bibliography):
This research paper should a) explore (in an analytical manner) a concrete historical or contemporary problem in Canada that connects to themes or theories presented in the course, and/or b) address a theoretical problem in the Canadian political economy literature. A purely descriptive paper will not receive top marks.
NOTE: I will not mark the final paper if documentation (footnotes, endnotes, or parenthetical quotations, plus an appropriate bibliography) is unprofessional or grossly insufficient; or if the paper does not engage with Canadian Political Economy, understood as a broad and multi-faceted tradition of inquiry.

Final Exam (three hours):
This exam covers all required readings and lectures from the whole course, with a slight emphasis (in the identification questions) on material covered after the mid-term. The exam will emphasize core concepts, scholarly positions, and arguments. I will outline the format in advance.

Style and Submission of Written Assignments
Presentation: Type or use word-processing software. Edit the final copies of written assignments before submission. Clear and accurate vocabulary, grammar, punctuation, style, and spelling are important in
scholarship. Occasional problems in these areas are of little concern, though I will point out problem patterns for your correction. Serious deficiencies in these mechanical matters can lower your grade in this course, and (more importantly) they can mask your insights. If you become aware of a weakness in these areas, the Library’s Writing Centre can help you identify and correct them. They will not edit your paper for you, but they can train you to write better. An excellent basic guide to editing for clearer prose is the style section in William Strunk and E.B. White’s *Elements of Style* (multiple editions in print and on line). Another handy reference is William E. Messenger, et al., *The Concise Canadian Writer’s Handbook*, 2nd edition (Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press, 2013). A helpful primer in writing research papers in the social sciences is Margot Northey et al, *Making Sense in the Social Sciences: A Student's Guide to Research and Writing*, 6th ed. (Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press, 2015)

**Plagiarism and Academic Integrity**

**General remarks:**

By third year, I expect you to know and adhere to academic standards of integrity. This includes avoiding plagiarism (that is, the misrepresentation of the ideas and/or exact wording of others as your own) and cheating on assignments. For the university policy on academic integrity and enforcement procedures, see [https://web.uvic.ca/calendar2019-05/undergrad/info/regulations/academic-integrity.html](https://web.uvic.ca/calendar2019-05/undergrad/info/regulations/academic-integrity.html). Insufficient care or knowledge about academic dishonesty is not an excuse in the eyes of the university.

I will be enforcing these standards, and you should know that the Political Science department handles violations and penalties, rather than me handling them. If upheld, a plagiarism finding forms part of your academic record. (Who needs that trouble?) Beyond anything else, I take violations as a personal insult.

**A crucial distinction: plagiarism versus drawing on the ideas and words of others**

Citing and borrowing ideas with proper credit is a mark of high-quality scholarship. Do not avoid referencing others. Well-handled, this practice is essential to conducting a high-level academic conversation. But plagiarism – a false claim about authorship – is a serious academic offence.

**Implicitly, you claim authorship of all ideas and words that appear under your name in an academic paper. If they actually came from someone else, you need to identify them as such.**

**Precautions in taking notes for research:** When you take notes, mark clearly the source and page number for the source. If you are copying the exact words from a source, mark clearly where the quotation begins and ends, so that you can always distinguish your ideas and reactions from the original material. Make a clear visual distinction between 1) a direct quotation, 2) your own rephrasing of another author’s ideas, and 3) your personal comments, interpretations, and views. Don’t cite from memory: use your memory to dig up the original reference, then cite it.

**Precautions in the review article and final paper:** Give full credit (i.e., provide citations) for 1) the actual words of other people, and 2) the ideas, concepts, findings, and arguments of other people.

Credit for 2) applies, even if you use your own words to describe those ideas. The latter is a key skill, and a sign of good scholarship.

Remember that you are generally better off demonstrating that you can restate an author’s position in your own words, so point 2) is important. WHEN IN DOUBT, DOCUMENT!

**Documentation:** Footnotes, endnotes, or parenthetical (in-text) citation are all acceptable forms of documentation. You should use one for the proposal and the final paper. Whichever approach you take among these three, dozens of professional styles exist. Use one consistently and accurately, and you will be fine. Generally, the natural sciences have citation formats that are not very appropriate for the social sciences and...
humanities: look for a style from the latter two. The style you choose must be one in which citations include specific page references, except in citing a feature of a work taken as a whole. Style handbooks for scholarly documentation exist in profusion. They include the MLA Handbook, Kate Turabian’s A Manual for Writers of Research Papers, Theses, and Dissertations (an adaptation of Chicago style), and others available at the bookstore. A comprehensive footnoting guide (based on Chicago style) is at the University of Victoria Department of History website: http://www.uvic.ca/humanities/history/assets/docs/styleguide.pdf.

Other infringements of academic integrity: These include submitting an assignment written by someone else, writing an assignment for someone else, bringing notes into closed-book tests or exams, secret communications during tests or exams, helping others to cheat in these different ways, and presenting one assignment to two different courses without previous arrangement and agreement with the course instructors. (On the last infringement, however, see below.)

Joint Assignments: You can arrange for joint assignments for submission to two different courses that include this one, if all the course instructors involved, including me, agree to it from the proposal stage. Usually a joint assignment is equivalent in purpose, size, and difficulty to the sum of the assignments it replaces. The appealing aspect of such an assignment (for some students) is the freedom to explore a research area in more depth, and in a way that builds on the themes of two courses.

How to Submit Your Work: Submit in either Microsoft Word format (.doc or .docx), or MWord-readable formats such as .odt or .rtf (Rich Text Format). I cannot work with “.pages”, since I use MWord systems. I do accept papers in “.pdf” if I can open and edit them with Microsoft Word or Adobe software, using the comment functions of those programmes; you must also be confident that you will be able to read my comments.

Upload written work directly to CourseSpaces for the assignment. Under exceptional circumstances (such as when you have an extension for the paper, or if you have a technical problem submitting to CourseSpaces), you can submit late papers in electronic form (as file attachments and in the formats described above) to my email address.

Do not slip an assignment under my office door, under the marker-grader’s office door, or under the door of the department office.

Also, do not use the assignment drop box marked “Lawson” by the department office. Because I handle papers electronically, that box is rarely used, and I may lose track of the paper.

Backup Copies Required: Students must always retain at least one paper copy or one electronic copy of the final version of every writing assignment. Normally, I consider a missing paper that you cannot rapidly replace to be a non-existent paper.

For my part, I will make every effort to keep assignments secure during marking. The CourseSpaces system is reliable, but you have to do your part. Make sure you press Submit at the end of your process. Also, verify a successful upload has occurred before signing out of the site.

In those exceptional cases where you send me your paper by email (for instance, after a problem with CourseSpaces or for a late submission arranged with me), I will confirm receipt of your email submissions.

How I Mark and Return Assignments: I provide comments electronically on the paper copy you send, and return a marked-up copy of it via CourseSpaces. The same dialogue box by which you upload your assignment also has (a little further down) a place for me to attach a file. That is where I put your marked papers. Even if you sent a paper late or had technical problems with CourseSpaces and sent by email instead, I will normally return the marked copy this way, unless I indicate otherwise.
Note that in returning your work by CourseSpaces, I do not separately fill in the special section of the dialogue box for marks or comments. You must open your marked copy from me to get the mark and my comments. With the latter, I intend to provide you advice for a better result in the future, so do look them up. They are why marking takes a while.

If you used a pdf document to submit your paper, usually you will then have to open the various notes or comments I have made. These will appear under some but not all of the material I have highlighted in bright colours. Click highlighted portions of the text with a marker in the top left of the highlighted text: that marker indicates a comment is there.

Make sure to set your document file so that comments are visible. If you are using .doc or .docx, go to the “Review” tab, and under “Track Changes”, click “on” and choose “All Markup” rather than “Simple Markup”. Similar adjustments may be necessary to read my comments in other formats. I will always offer you some comments, both at the start and throughout the paper.

**Late policy and academic concession arrangements**

**Due Dates:** All written assignments are due by midnight at the end of the due date. I assess timely submission mostly by the time shown on CourseSpaces, or on my server in the case of an emailed assignment.

I say “mostly”, because CourseSpaces software allows deadlines only in five-minute increments. If I set the due date at midnight, CourseSpaces records it as the next day, which causes confusion. Rest assured that I treat any papers uploaded in those last five minutes as being on time. (I still recommend earlier submission, even though I have been there myself, submitting at the last minute!)

I penalize late assignments at 5% per day, Monday through Sunday inclusive, unless I accept a documented excuse for an extension.

**Extensions or deferrals:** Handle any extension requests with me before the end of term, usually with written evidence. Submission of documents does not guarantee acceptance: I have to accept the documentation demonstrates a justification for an extension. That said, reasonable efforts in these circumstances normally get a sympathetic hearing from me.

University regulations place a strict final limit on ordinary extensions. Special arrangements apply after the general grade submission date for the course, or if multiple extensions push into the exam period. Deferrals are the standard response to such problems. Aegrotat grades (that is, grades based purely on the work already completed) are very rare. The university grants deferrals (or very occasionally, Aegrotat results) only for reasons that clearly forbid timely completion and that are beyond the student’s personal control (for example, a major, well-documented medical problem, but not multiple deadlines at the end of term).

Both deferrals and Aegrotat cases are subject to a formal application process (Application for Academic Concession). Forms are available in paper at the University Centre’s Office of the Registrar, and electronically at the Office’s website. You must not abuse deferrals, but everyone involved takes serious applications seriously and sympathetically.

Processing these forms is confidential, as is their content. The deferral request goes first (with supporting documents) to the registrar’s office, and then to the professor and the department chair for approval. In either case, applicants must supply documents proving the valid excuses for not meeting official deadlines. (These are serious excuses, such as bereavement or illnesses that require time off work.) Applicants must also agree with the instructor about a suitable substitute date. This discussion should occur as soon as possible upon
return to work. I normally consider a substitute date final (consistent with university policy), and failure to observe it normally results in a grade of zero for the assignment.

Contact about extension or deferral: When a student is seeking an extension or deferral, I always prefer the earliest possible contact to a surprise later. That said, I prefer having contact of any kind to having none at all.

On the other hand, please do not damage your own health, or bring a serious contagious disease to school, just to deliver that message! I’d rather have an email message than a virus, and I am sure your colleagues would agree!

Absences and attendance marks
Short, occasional absences
I assume that a person might be away for a few class sessions because of short illness or the general pressures of student life. You do not need to inform me about absences of this kind. We are all adults, and a rare absence will not offend me. One or two absences also make virtually no difference to your attendance mark (try the arithmetic yourself). If you miss the occasional lecture, you should definitely arrange to borrow notes from a classmate. I do not usually share my own class notes or slides, except for people with documented learning accommodations at the Centre for Accessible Learning.

Longer or more frequent absences will definitely detract from your mark. I can excuse longer absences at my discretion, and subtract those days from the attendance grade, if they have occurred for legitimate reasons such as illness or bereavement. If you have had serious problems attending class, or anticipate such problems, you should contact me at the earliest possible moment, especially if you have a legitimate reason.

Long or frequent absences also affect a student’s ability to catch up. This is so, quite apart from the degree of control you have over them, or how sympathetic I might be about your situation. Deferral or retroactive withdrawal from the class may sometimes be in your long-term best interest, if exceptionally long or frequent absences have happened with you.

If you attend fewer than two-fifths of the lectures (or fail to complete a major assignment), I will ordinarily assign an N grade (failure due to non-completion), regardless of your performance in other assignments. This excludes absences that have a documented excuse.

You are responsible for drawing longer, excusable absences to my attention, and for documenting them. Please do this in a timely fashion. I will not normally accept such notification or documentation after the last day of class or after a long period of resumed attendance, unless you can document valid reasons for the delay.

Getting Help when You are in Trouble You are always welcome to talk with me about your situation and your options. On the other hand, it is not my place to pry into your private affairs, and I do not have training as a counsellor. When in trouble, consider also reaching out to your personal network of friends or relatives. Also, do seek help from medical, psychiatric, and/or social work professionals, especially if people you trust suggest it. In addition to the public health-care system and private clinics in the city, the university offers confidential counselling to help you deal with serious personal circumstances. It also has a multi-faith chaplaincy which some people may find helpful.

Life is More Important than School.
This course is hard work, especially if you care anything about it. I want to reward your best efforts, good planning, and diligent application. But remember the following:

1) If you feel in despair about your academic situation or about any other combination of things, you do not have to address them alone. Among other supports you may have, university resources, including confidential counselling and medical care, are there to help.
2) Department offices, department advisors, university counselling offices and websites, as well as posters in many washrooms around campus, can provide you contact information for counselling services. These services are often stretched, but they do include emergency services, as well as other services that may help you in a difficult situation. For counselling, see https://www.uvic.ca/services/counselling/ and for chaplaincy, see http://www.uvic.ca/multifaith/.

3) However important this material and your studies are to you, you are far more important to yourself, to your intimates, and to the wider world, than any problem you are facing. The same is true for the people around you.

4) Reach out to others and seek help if things are going wrong.

5) Do not harm yourself or others.

Course Experience Survey (CES)
I value your feedback on this course. Towards the end of term, as in all other courses at UVic, you will have the opportunity to complete an anonymous survey regarding your learning experience (CES). The survey is vital to providing feedback to me regarding the course and my teaching, as well as to help the department improve the overall program for students in the future. The survey is accessed via MyPage and can be done on your laptop, tablet, or mobile device. I will remind you and provide you with more detailed information nearer the time but please be thinking about this important activity during the course.

Grading Calculation Scheme
In this class, final grades are in percentage values (the university standard). On major assignments, I usually assign a letter grade that I then convert to a percentage for calculating the total grade for the course. The percentage values of any letter grades will normally be the median value in each letter grade range, as those ranges are laid out in university policy (see chart below). I calculate your final grade with un-rounded grade components, but I report it (as required) as a rounded percentage in whole numbers.

An A- assignment has a percentage value of 82%, unless otherwise noted, because 82% is the mid-point between 80% and 84%, and that is the percentage range for “A-” (see below). Intermediate grades, such as “B+/A-”, has the lowest percentage value for the higher letter grade. Thus, “B+/A-” will receive a percentage grade of 80%, because 80% is the lowest percentage in the A- range.

The chart below explains what we are trying to communicate about your performance by assigning you a particular percentage or letter grade. Terms like “good comprehension” are adjusted to the course level. These signals differ from some secondary schools, as well as some other universities, in the sense that a B here is not necessarily the same percentage equivalent as a B there. The chart is made available to people who might later assess your transcript after you graduate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passing Grades</th>
<th>Grade Point Value</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A+</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>90 – 100</td>
<td>An A+, A, or A- is earned by work which is technically superior, shows mastery of the subject matter, and in the case of an A+ offers original insight and/or goes beyond course expectations. Normally achieved by a minority of students.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>85 – 89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>80 – 84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B+</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>77 – 79</td>
<td>A B+, B, or B- is earned by work that indicates a good comprehension of the course material, a good command of the skills needed to work with the course material, and the student’s full engagement with the course requirements and activities. A B+ represents a more complex understanding and/or application of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>73 – 76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>70 – 72</td>
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the course material. Normally achieved by the largest number of students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Grade Point Value</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C+</td>
<td>65 – 69</td>
<td></td>
<td>A C+ or C is earned by work that indicates an adequate comprehension of the course material and the skills needed to work with the course material and that indicates the student has met the basic requirements for completing assigned work and/or participating in class activities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>60 – 64</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>50 – 59</td>
<td></td>
<td>A D is earned by work that indicates minimal command of the course materials and/or minimal participation in class activities that is worthy of course credit toward the degree.</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Failing Grades</th>
<th>Grade Point Value</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0 – 49</td>
<td>Unsatisfactory performance. Wrote final examination and completed course requirements; no supplemental.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0 – 49</td>
<td>Did not write examination or complete course requirements by the end of term or session; no supplemental.</td>
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</table>

If a student has not completed the exam or other major course requirements, but has submitted work that totals more than 49% of the total grade for the course, the instructor must still assign a percentage grade of 49% or less.

**Deferrals (“DEF” grades) and Interim “N” Grades**

A DEF grade may be assigned if a student has experienced an unavoidable, serious disruption to their studies, normally a serious illness or family bereavement. A DEF grade allows the student to complete exam or paper assignments after term ends. After course work is completed for a DEF case, the instructor submits a form to change the grade to the full percentage the student has earned.

A DEF grade is only assigned after a student has filled in a Request for Academic Concession, accompanied by appropriate documentation (usually medical note) and after the instructor (Dr. Lawson) and department chair have approved it.

Until an Academic Concession process is completed for a DEF grade and Academic Concession, the affected student is assigned an “N” grade for the course, and the professor indicates to the Registrar’s office what the failing grade should be if the student does not complete.

So if an N shows up soon after the course completes, and you were expecting to see a “DEF” grade because of a deferral request, don’t panic! This may simply mean that the course requirements are not complete (hence the “N”) AND that the Concession request is still being processed.

When the paperwork is complete and accepted at all levels, the university administration changes the grade to DEF while the course work is being completed and marked. If the Concession request is not resolved or is denied, the N grade stands.

Feel free to be in touch if that N status lasts a long time past the time you submitted the paperwork.
Readings and Schedule

PLEASE NOTE: I may announce occasional changes to reading assignments in class. I will make any additions or replacements available on the CourseSpaces site for the course, in time to allow you to read them.

WHY SO MANY READINGS?
Answer: Don’t Panic!

“REQUIRED READINGS”: Read them, following any instructions about choosing a sub-group of them – I set the mid-term and the exam based on them.

“CLUSTER” READINGS: you may choose one or more of these for start-up information in your final paper. They generally cover a debate or sub-topic within the week’s subject matter. They may also be of personal interest to you. They are not required readings for the course, and apart from the final paper selections, they play no role in your evaluation.

“SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS”: If the subject interests you or you are writing on the topic, I offer them for your consideration. Again, while you can use them, they play no role in your evaluation.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Weeks &amp; Days</th>
<th>Lecture Topics and Readings</th>
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<tr>
<td>Week 1</td>
<td>Introduction and Opening Lecture</td>
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<td>Sept 4</td>
<td>Lecture/Discussion</td>
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<tr>
<td>Week 2</td>
<td>The History of CPE Debates</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Required Readings: (15 + 27 = 42 pages)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Supplementary Readings:</td>
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### STAPLES APPROACH, ‘STAPLES TRAP’ AND ‘STAPLES DOMINANCE’

**(Innis/Mackintosh/Levitt/Watkins/Clement/Naylor/Drache)**

The ‘colonial staple’ has roots in the medieval institution of the staple – the monopoly regulation of basic raw materials for city-states and imperial towns in Europe. Americans and other colonial interests took it up to describe raw material exports from colonies and former colonies. It therefore pre-dates the Canadian usage. But as Canadian scholars took it up in the 1920s and 1930s, the concept took up a new form. The Canadian notion of staple took a radical turn in the thought of Harold Adams Innis, always attentive to the institutions and transportation and communications infrastructure surrounding the raw material export trades, not just to the raw material itself. Innis also showed that far from being a pure tool of a metropolitan centre, staples trades were reciprocal relationships between metropole and hinterland. Innis also observed a distinctive tendency for staples to dominate political and cultural institutions in the source countries, to generate one dominant staple after another, and to fall prey to violent boom and bust cycles that he described as “cyclonics”.

WA Mackintosh was a scholar and public servant who profoundly influenced federal policy during the 1930s into the 1950s. He had elite economic training, which exposed him to Keynesian counter-cyclical fiscal and monetary policy, and the key concept in those theories of the multiplier effect. Earlier, he had taken up the discussion about staples in both the US and Canada, and his early works on staples influenced Innis. Strong colleagues in many respects, the two disagreed about Canada’s trend lines: Mackintosh saw staples in other countries being the platform from which a self-reinforcing transition to manufacturing and services would occur. A Keynesian welfare state could also be built on the platform of a staples-oriented economy.

When scholars took up these themes again in the 1960s, many of them on the left emphasized Innis’ predictions about the impact on other sectors in the Canadian economy, including an overdeveloped financial sector and a weakened, dependent manufacturing centre. Daniel Drache announced the emergence of a “New Canadian Political Economy” that built on and extended the old. Kari Levitt raised the left-nationalist alarm about a weak industrial core to the Canadian economy, exceptionally foreign-owned. Mel Watkins combined Innis and Mackintosh on predicting economic directions with a staples approach that borrowed Mackintosh’s debt to Keynesian multiplier effects, in his theory of forward, backward and final demand linkages.

Were these analyses right, and are they now? Panitch and others following British and continental European developments in political economy took issue with the finding, often based on similarities they found between the “neo-Innisian” left nationalism and trade-focused left-nationalism in the Global South (dependency theory, world-systems theory, etc.)

### REQUIRED READINGS: (26 + 21 = 47 pages)

Jim Stanford, “Staples Dependence Renewed and Betrayed: Canada’s Twenty-First Century Boom and Bust” in Thomas et al., *Change and Continuity*, 79-105


CLUSTER ONE: Innis, Mackintosh


CLUSTER TWO:

CLUSTER THREE:

CLUSTER FOUR

CLUSTER FIVE: STAPLES DOMINANCE AND WEAK INDUSTRIALIZATION
Melissa Clark-Jones, A Staple State: Canadian Industrial Resources in Cold War 1-21. (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1987)

CLUSTER SIX: STAPLES SCEPTICISM

Supplementary Readings:
Brendan Haley, “From Staples Trap to Carbon Trap: Canada’s Peculiar Form of Carbon
**Week 4**

**Capital as Process; Capital as Struggle: Exploitation, Growth, and Crisis**

Marxist analyses of capital and class have had a profound impact on Canadian Political Economy. Unlike earlier institutionalist and elite-based theorizations, the Marxist analysis of power emphasizes power as a contradictory relationship. Similarly, capital is understood, not as a factor of production, but as a complex process of accumulation and exchange, involving a dialectical and exploitative class relationship between capital and labour, a general growth imperative, and a complex tendency for capital to revolutionize itself through economic crises.

But Marxism is far from a single point of view. As we have seen, most of the neo-Innisians we considered last week (those since the 1960s) consider themselves to be Marxists. But many Marxists in the Canadian context have disagreed that a staples approach helps analysis; and whether metropole/hinterland relations are helpful in understanding how capital works, how capitalism links to non-capitalist economic activity, and how the Canadian state is related to the capitalist economy.

Here we are considering those Marxists whom some call “orthodox”, and who emphasize the contradictions at the heart of core capitalist accumulation operations. First, exploitation through production processes matters in this approach more than exploitation through unequal trade relations.

Second, building on Lenin and Hilferding, many Marxists are exploring what happens to production relations when, as the result of restructuring in the 1980s and 1990s, the financial sector acquires a controlling influence over them.

Later in the course, we will also see that for some, Lenin’s theories of imperialism (as well as Leon Trotsky’s) provide an explanation of Canada’s role in the world that contradicts the neo-Innisan one and the Latin American dependency approach that influenced it. These suggest that capitalist production dynamics give rise to monopoly and imperialism.

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**Required Readings/Resources: (25 + 28 = 53 pages)**


**CLUSTER: EARLY INDUSTRY AND THE RISE OF A HOME MARKET**


**CLUSTER: FOREST SECTOR WORK PROCESS: WHY MECHANIZATION, AND WITH WHAT EFFECTS?**


CLUSTER: RESTRUCTURING IN THE 1990S

Supplementary Readings:

Sep 23 Lecture/Discussion
Sep 25 Lecture/Discussion

Week 5 Gender and ‘Race’: Segmented Labour Forces and Reproductive Labour

Gender and ‘race’ are essentially social and political constructs that are nonetheless associated (socially) with particular physical attributes of particular groups of people. As a consequence, and unlike some other vectors of oppression, many people experience life from within social constraints (whether advantageous or disadvantageous) that are enacted based directly on their physical appearance to other people. From typical critical political economy perspectives, both gender and race are helpfully understood in relational terms. Thus, for example, qualities attributed to women gain their significance in contradistinction to qualities attributed to men; qualities associated with entire communities or peoples should be understood in relation to other qualities associated with other communities or peoples. Crucially, these qualities are not themselves physical attributes, something proven by the fact that they vary considerably from society to society and from one age to another. State policy does much, alongside civil-societal norms, to shape these constructs and their implications.

None of this means these relationships aren’t real. It is certainly true that race and gender leave their imprints on the communities defined by them. For instance, they have profound effects on distribution of incomes, and the roles people play in the economy. For this reason, and because the constructs are social rather than psychological, personal commitments to equality may be a basis for a commitment to struggle for change, but are not sufficient to create a non-patriarchal and non-racial environment. At the same time, these real effects create the basis for distinctive forms of social identity and political solidarities.

Gender and “race” are particularly important in thinking through the tasks known variously as the economy of care, domestic and personal services, or reproductive labour. In these respects, how do they influence one another and reproductive labour, and how do they interact with questions of class?

An equally important area of research in CPE is in the gendering and racialization of precarious, peripheral, or casualized labour. In these respects, how do they influence one another and precarious labour, and how do they interact with questions of class?
## Required Readings: (18 + 29 = 47 pages)

### CLUSTER: DOMESTIC WORKERS AND REPRODUCTIVE LABOUR


### CLUSTER: GENDERING RESOURCE COMMUNITY WORK AND PLAY


### CLUSTER: MIGRANT LABOUR: CASE STUDY - AGRICULTURE


### CLUSTER: ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

- **Sherry Olson** “Downwind, Downstream, Downtown: The Environmental Legacy in Baltimore and Montreal” *Environmental History*, 12, no. 4, Special Issue on Canada (Oct., 2007): 845-866.
- **Winona LaDuke**, “Akwesasne: Mohawk Mothers’ Milk and PCBs” *All Our Relations:*
Native Struggles for Land and Life 11-26. (Boston, MA: South End Press, 2008)

CLUSTER: THE LEGACIES OF SLAVERY AND INDENTURE IN CANADA
Harvey Amani Whitfield, “The Struggle over Slavery in the Maritime Colonies” 
Acadiensis, 41, no. 2 (Summer/Autumn-Été/Automne 2012): 17-44
H. Clare Pentland, “The Development of a Capitalistic Labour Market in Canada” 

Supplementary Readings:
Heather Jon Maroney and Meg Luxton, Feminism and Political Economy: Women’s Work and Women’s Struggle (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1987)
Andrew Baldwin, Laura Cameron and Audrey Kobayashi, eds. Rethinking the Great White North: Race, Nature, and the Historical Geographies of Whiteness in Canada (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia, 2011)
Grace-Edward Galabuzi, Canada's Economic Apartheid: The Social Exclusion of Racialized Groups in the New Century (Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholars’ Press, 2006)

Sep 30 Lecture/Discussion
Oct 2 Lecture/Discussion
Release Date: Mid-Term Friday Oct 4

Week 6 Establishing and Maintaining Capitalism: Settler Colonialism and Accumulation by Dispossession
Marx criticized Adam Smith’s peaceable vision of the ‘primitive’ or ‘primary accumulation’
that launched the first divide between capitalists and workers. For Smith, wealth accumulated in the hands of relatively few, primarily because of their exceptional thrift, ingenuity, and hard work. They are then in a position to buy equipment and property, and also hire workers.

Marx instead pointed to violent and unjust foundations for capitalism wherever it emerged. The state (including the imperial state) was a very common tool in making these foundational wrongs possible. He built this insight in particular on the writings of Wakefield, a thinker concerned about British colonial development who worked in both Australia and Upper Canada (Ontario) in the early 19th century. Wakefield emphasized that free or cheap land for immigrants created a barrier for capitalist development: if land was not kept artificially expensive for prospective farmers, few would prefer to work for others.

For capitalists to have the means to hire people and to provide them with the means to work, capitalists or some other force had to seize wealth, productive equipment, and land on which all people had previously depended to make their livings before capitalism. This ‘accumulation by dispossession’ (commonly known as ‘primitive accumulation’) has been used to explain the general transition in Canadian society from commercial relations with indigenous peoples to a situation in which these peoples are pushed aside or killed, but always deprived legally and practically of their ties to the land.

Rosa Luxemburg and, later, scholars like David Harvey added that ‘accumulation by dispossession’ is not just ‘primitive’ or ‘primary’. Diverse though they are, the processes leading to accumulation by dispossession are mechanisms that both establish capital and stabilize it on an ongoing basis.

Unlike many colonial settings, the result in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand was not so much a capitalist reliance on Indigenous labour (though Inuit, First Nations members, and Métis all participated in the new colonial settler economies).

Accumulation by dispossession also points to the processes by which settlers who own their own land and productive equipment (independent fishers, subsistence farmers, the self-employed, etc.) lose those things, and (often) turn into people who must work for others for a wage to survive. Examples may include the dispossession of Japanese-Canadians and other Canadians of “enemy” extraction during the Second World War, and the collapse of small fishers, loggers, and farmers during the post-war concentration of capital.

Required Readings: (17 + 17 = 34 pages)
Adrian A. Smith, “Toward a Critique of Political Economy of “Sociolegality” in Settler Capitalist Canada” in Thomas et al., Change and Continuity, 167-184

CLUSTER: HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY COLONIAL POLICING
Tia Dafnos, “Pacification and Indigenous Struggles in Canada” Socialist Studies 9.2 (Winter 2013): 57-77

CLUSTER: EARLY INDIGENOUS/SETTLER RELATIONS AND CLASS/RACE/GENDER
Ron Bourgeault, “The Indian, the Métis and the Fur Trade: Class, Sexism and Racism in the Transition from ‘Communism’ to Capitalism” Studies in Political Economy 12 (Fall):

CLUSTER: ACCUMULATION BY DISPOSSESSION, COLONIALISM, AND RESURGENCE
Glen Sean Coulthard, Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2014).

CLUSTER: EARLY TREATMENTS OF BC FIRST NATIONS AND CAPITALISM

CLUSTER: HOW DID PRODUCTION WORK IN CANADA’S EARLIEST SETTLER SOCIETIES?
Charles Post, "The American Road to Capitalism." New Left Review 133 (1982): 30-51. (This chapter covers the US Mid-West, and includes in the latter Southwestern Ontario.)
Allan Greer, Property and Dispossession: Natives, Empires and Land in Early Modern North America (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018)

Supplementary Readings:

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<td>Week 8</td>
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historically than all the provinces west of it. It has a unique history of resistance to British rule and (until the 1960s) of conservative Roman Catholic control of many social welfare functions that other provinces handled through the state. One legacy of the Conquest/Cession of Québec to the British Empire is that business fell largely into the hands of Protestant English speakers. Historians studying the French regime looked back to see whether it was fundamentally feudal and responsible in part for this later condition; or whether it was more dynamic than feudalism, and could have formed the base of an alternative model for North American development had the Conquest not occurred. When industrialization came decisively to the Montréal area, it did so on the basis of a distinctive cheap-labour model of development. The Quiet Revolution of the 1960s transformed state structures in the province, and by its end had launched a constitutional debate about the existing division of powers between federal and provincial governments. That transformation and the years of left-led nationalism that followed in the 1970s and 1980s gave rise to the so-called Québec model. This was a distinctive consensus-oriented management of capitalism that included major credit unions and investment institutions directing investment to Québec concerns, cheap electrical power in public hands for domestic use and export, strong trade unions, and manufacturing initiatives based on hydro-electrical engineering and cheap electrical power (aluminum smelting, airplane and public transit manufacture).

The Political Economy of Québec (25 + 11 = 36 pages)

Peter Graefe, “Political Economy and Quebec Capitalism” in Thomas et al., Change and Continuity, 128-148.

CLUSTER: EARLY MODERN QUÉBEC CLASS RELATIONS
Fernand Ouellet, Lower Canada, 1791-1840: Social Change and Nationalism (Toronto, ON: McClelland and Stewart, 1980)

Supplementary Readings:
Serge Gagnon, Quebec and Its Historians: 1840 to 1920, trans. Yves Brunelle (Harvest House, 1981)

| Oct 21 | Lecture/Discussion |
| Oct 23 | Lecture/Discussion |
| Due Date: Oct 27 | Proposal |
| Week 9 | Debating Class, State, and Elites |

The idea of a 'revolving door', whereby elites circulate between economic and government positions, is popular in political discourse in most advanced industrialized societies. Is it true? If true, is it a problem? If a problem, why is it a problem?
Why does Canada have a history of state involvement in the economy and of economic elites having disproportionate influence among ruling elites? Is it useful to distinguish between business and ruling elites?

Are the reasons for this interpenetration of elites and of institutions distinctive to Canada, or do similar things happen for the same reasons wherever business and ruling elites interact? For instance, is it helpful to blame some of Canada’s distinctive problems (historically and today) on a distinctively influential ‘staples fraction’ of the capitalist class, a fraction that includes staple extractors, transportation providers, and finance, and that overrides the interests of manufacturing capitalists? What are the problems that the dominance of a staples fraction explains? Alternatively, is the capitalist class so divided between different fractions that a powerful capitalist state is needed to mediate between them? If these supposed patterns do hold true in their various forms for Canada, have they been economically necessary, and if necessary in the past, are they still necessary?

Canadian Marxists have often combined a Marxist conception of class with critical elite theory. In the abstract, this may seem like mixing oil and water. Why have people done things this way, and what are the consequences (whether or not you approve) of proceeding in this way?

**Required Readings:** (38 pages or 16+23=39 pages)

Pay special attention to the theoretical framework outlined rather than to the particular factual details. Pay attention also how the authors develop and present that factual evidence. What evidence counts?

**Read one of the following groups.**


OR


**CLUSTER: MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY ELITE THEORY**


**CLUSTER: COMBINING ELITE THEORY AND CAPITAL/CLASS THEORY**

Harold Innis built his work regarding media, empire, and communications on a fascination with the transportation and communications infrastructure associated with staples industries, particularly in relation to the fundamental economic unity he saw in Canada. This led to his pioneering work on the role of media in shaping the cognitive ‘biases’ of whole civilizations, a theme that influenced the media guru Marshall McLuhan. McLuhan wrote as a humanist and a scholar of literature on the very cusp of the television age.

Both Innis and McLuhan saw the very media technologies and the associated institutions as profound influences on “why we attend to the thing to which we attend.” Space- and time-binding biases, hot and cool media: these are core concepts of this so-called Toronto School of Communications. Bias here is more like inclination or orientation here with respect to the direction of the pursuit of knowledge, and less about base-line inaccuracy or lack of neutrality.

The Frankfurt School was a group of social and cultural theorists who began to form in Frankfurt, Germany in the interwar period. Driven into exile after the Nazi take-over in the 1930s, many members of the School re-formed in the United States, notably at the New School for Social Research in New York. Among the most famous of the first generation of researchers, Adorno and Horkheimer built up a theory of cultural alienation around the idea that the commodification of cultural “products” deeply deforms culture under capitalism. Their work on nature and on “cultural industry” has deeply influenced some Canadian political economists.

**Required Readings: (23 + 22 = 45 pages OR 24 + 21 = 45 pages)**

Pick and read one of the two following groups of readings:

1. **FRANKFURT SCHOOL AND CULTURAL INDUSTRIES**
   - Tanner Mirrlees, “A Political Economy of the Cultural Industries in Canada” in Thomas et al., *Change and Continuity*, 203-226
     Available as an e-book through University of Victoria Library catalogue.

2. **THE TORONTO SCHOOL AND THE BIASED “EXTENSIONS OF MAN”**

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**Supplementary Readings:**


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| Nov 4 |  |
| Nov 6 |  |
| Week 11 | **Reading Break (November 11, 13) No Lectures** |
**Week 12**

**Canada in the Wider World/The Wider World in Canada: National Identity, Imperialism and Hegemony**

**Required Readings:** (18 or 17 + 11 = 29 or 28 pages)

Read one of the following:

- Nandita Sharma, “The Political Economy of Belonging: The Differences that Canadian Citizenship and Immigration Policies Make” in Thomas et al., *Change and Continuity*, 60-78. (18 pages)
- Stephen McBride, “From Keynesianism to Neoliberalism: The State in a Global Context” in Thomas et al., *Change and Continuity*, 149-166 (18 pages)

...and one of the following:


**Supplementary Readings:**


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**Nov 18**

Lecture/Discussion

**Nov 20**

Lecture/Discussion

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**Week 13**

**CPE and Resistance in Contemporary Canada**

Why did the international financial crisis happen in 2007-8? Marxist accounts suggest that the reasons are inherent to the capitalist system: while this particular crisis had its peculiarities, the wider system is always solving some of its internal contradictions by generating new ones. Institutionalist accounts tend to stress incidental institutional failings – either too much regulation, too little, or wrong sorts of regulation. Is a crisis of this sort a failure in the effective working of the capitalist system, or is it one mechanism that can remove barriers to capitalist accumulation?

Some versions of CPE stand accused of paying too much attention to exploitative and oppressive structures, and not enough to possibilities and modes of resistance. These readings explore how oppressed and exploited groups have organized in recent times to respond to recent trends and crises that disadvantage them. It is through understanding...
the structural patterns that we understand patterns of resistance, both effective and ineffective.

**Required Readings:** (19 + 16 = 35 pages)


**CLUSTER: FINANCIAL CRISIS, 2007-2008**


**Supplementary Readings/Resources:**


**Nov 25**

**Nov 27**

**Due Date**

**Final Paper**

**End of Nov 29 midnight**

**Week 14**

**Overview; Evaluation, Review**

**Required Readings:** (26 pages)


**Dec 2**

**Dec 4**

**Exam period**

**Three-Hour Exam, Exact Time and Place to be Announced**