UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO Department of Political Science

POL 467H / 2167H

The Politics of Immigration and Multiculturalism in Canada Fall 2016, Tuesdays, 12 p.m. – 2 p.m. (SS 2129)

Dr. Erin Tolley Office: SS 3122

Assistant Professor Office Hours: Tuesdays, 2:15-3:45 p.m.,

Department of Political Science or by appointment

University of Toronto Email: erin.tolley@utoronto.ca

1. COURSE OVERVIEW AND OBJECTIVES

Immigration and multiculturalism are more than just policies: they are also inherently political. In this class, we will discuss the normative foundations of immigration and multiculturalism, the current policy frameworks, and a number of key debates. Who should get in? What is the basis of Canadian citizenship? How are those decisions made? And are Canadians as accepting of immigrants and minorities as we believe ourselves to be? We will assess these questions using theoretical, empirical and applied evidence, paying particular attention to contemporary case studies. By the end of this class, you will be able to:

- Describe Canada's immigration and multiculturalism policy framework and the normative foundations underpinning it
- Understand how institutions have responded to immigration and multiculturalism
- Apply an intersectional lens to issues related to immigration and multiculturalism
- Discuss the effects of immigration and ethnocultural diversity on policy and politics
- Analyse the political implications of Canada's approach to immigration and multiculturalism

2. COURSE REQUIREMENTS

	DUE DATE	WEIGHT	SUBMISSION
Class participation	Cumulative	15%	In class
Seminar presentation & handout	As assigned	10%	In class
Weekly discussion outlines	* Due @ noon on the day of class * You must submit 5 outlines by November 1, or you will incur a 3% penalty on your final grade * You may not submit a discussion outline on the day you present	3.75% each x 8 = 30%	Blackboard
Research proposal	Tuesday, October 25, 2016 @ 4:30 p.m.	10%	Blackboard
Research essay	Friday, December 9, 2016 @ 4:30 p.m.	35%	Turnitin

Late penalties: The weekly discussion outlines must be submitted by the beginning of class, or they will not be graded. If you do not submit at least 5 weekly discussion outlines by November 1, you will receive a 3% deduction on your final course grade. Unless there is a medical situation or emergency, the seminar presentation must be delivered on your assigned date, or you will receive a grade of zero. For all other assignments submitted after the deadline, I will assess a late penalty of 5% per day or part thereof, including weekends. Late assignments will not be accepted after 7 days. If you submit an assignment late, you must email me, and I will confirm receipt.

3. BRIEF OVERVIEW

Week	Date	Topic	Notes
1	September 13	Introduction & Expectations	Seminar topics will be assigned
2	September 20	Theoretical and Normative Perspectives	
3	September 27	Immigration and Refugee Policy	
4	October 4	Debates About the Policy Framework	
5	October 11	Race, Gender and Intersectionality	
6	October 18	Policy Decisions and Discretion	
7	October 25	Integration, Multiculturalism & Citizenship	Research proposal due @ 4:30 p.m.
8	November 1	Equity and Employment	Must have submitted 5 weekly discussion outlines by this day
9	November 8	Fall break (no classes)	
10	November 15	Media Coverage	
11	November 22	Policing and Security	
12	November 29	Electoral Politics	
13	December 6	The Backlash (and the Way Forward?)	Research essay due December 9 @ 4:30 p.m.

4. TOPICS AND READINGS

Text = Augie Fleras, 2015, *Immigration Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press) **Blackboard** = resource available through the Course Reserves module on Blackboard **Journal** = Journal article available through the U of T Library catalogue **eBook** = Electronic book available through the U of T Library catalogue **Online** = Link to a document on the internet

Week 1: Introduction, Expectations and Assignment of Seminar Topics

- 1. Canadian Council for Refugees. 2010. Refugees and immigrants: a glossary. (online)
- 2. Michael Dewing. 2013. Canadian Multiculturalism. Ottawa: Library of Parliament. (online)

Week 2: Theoretical and Normative Perspectives

- 1. Augie Fleras. 2015. Immigration Canada. Vancouver: UBC Press. pp. 1-70. (text)
- 2. Will Kymlicka. 2010. Testing the Liberal Multiculturalist Hypothesis: Normative Theories and Social Science Evidence. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 43(2): 257-271. (journal)

3. Peter Li. 2003. <u>Deconstructing Canada's Discourse of Immigrant Integration</u>. PCERII Working Paper 04-03. Edmonton: Prairie Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Integration. (online)

Week 3: Immigration and Refugee Policy

- 1. Augie Fleras. 2015. Immigration Canada. Vancouver: UBC Press. pp. 71-199. (text)
- 2. Danielle Wong. 2011. 10 myths about immigration. *Hamilton Spectator*. 15 October. WR1. (Blackboard)

Recommended:

3. Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock. 1998. *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. pp. 3-20 and 404-440. (e-book)

Week 4: Debates about the Policy Framework

- 1. James Bissett. 2009. The current state of Canadian immigration policy. *The Effects of Mass Immigration on Canadian Living Standards and Society*. Herbert Grubel, ed. Vancouver: Fraser Institute. pp. 3-28. (e-book)
- 2. Stephen Gallagher. 2008. Canada's Broken Refugee Policy System. *Immigration Policy and the Terrorist Threat in Canada and the United States*. Alexander Moens and Martin Collacott, eds. Vancouver: Fraser Institute. pp. 53-69. **(e-book)**
- 3. Neil Bissoondath. 1998. No Place Like Home. New Internationalist 305 (September). (online)
- 4. Phil Ryan. 2010. *Multicultiphobia*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. pp. 29-64. (Blackboard)
- 5. Jan Wong. 2014. <u>Canada's birthright citizenship policy makes us a nation of suckers</u>. *Toronto Life* (May). **(online)**

Week 5: Race, Gender and Intersectionality

- 1. Nisha Nath. 2011. Defining Narratives of Identity in Canadian Political Science: Accounting for the Absence of Race. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 44(1): 161-194. **(journal)**
- 2. Rita Dhamoon. 2009. *Identity / Difference Politics*. Vancouver: UBC Press. pp. 67-92. (Blackboard)
- 3. Susan Moller Okin. 1998. Feminism and Multiculturalism: Some Tensions. *Ethics* 108(4): 661-684. (journal)
- 4. Ange-Marie Hancock. 2007. Intersectionality as a Normative and Empirical Paradigm. *Politics & Gender* 3(2): 248-254. (journal)

Week 6: Policy Decisions and Discretion

- 1. Vic Satzewich. 2015. *Points of Entry: How Canada's Immigration Officers Decide Who Gets In.* Vancouver: UBC Press. pp. 139-186. (Blackboard)
- 2. Sean Rehaag. 2012. The Luck of the Draw? Judicial Review of Refugee Determinations in the Federal Court of Canada (2005-2010). Research Paper No.9/2012. Toronto: Osgoode Hall Law School. (e-book)
- 3. National Film Board. 1989. Who Gets In. Film. (online)

Week 7: Integration, Multiculturalism and Citizenship

- 1. Michael Adams. 2007. *Unlikely Utopia: The Surprising Triumph of Canadian Multiculturalism*. Toronto: Penguin. pp. 110-151. **(Blackboard)**
- 2. Will Kymlicka. 2004. Marketing Canadian Pluralism in the International Arena. *International Journal* 59(4): 829-852. (journal)
- 3. Adam Chapnick. 2011. A 'Conservative' national story? The evolution of Citizenship and Immigration Canada's Discover Canada. *American Review of Canadian Studies* 41(1): 20-36. (journal)

Recommended:

4. Citizenship and Immigration Canada. 2012. *Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Canadian Citizenship*. Study guide for the Canadian citizenship test. Ottawa: Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Skim. (online)

Week 8: Equity and Employment

- 1. Philip Oreopoulos. 2011. Why Do Skilled Immigrants Struggle in the Labor Market? A field Experiment With Thirteen Thousand Résumés. *American Economic Journal: Public Policy* 3(4): 148-171. (journal)
- 2. Jeffrey G. Reitz, Josh Curtis and Jennifer Elrick. 2014. Immigrant Skill Utilization: Trends and Policy Issues. *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 15(1): 1-26. (journal)
- 3. Sonia K. Kang, Katherine A. DeCelles, András Tilcsik and Sora Jun. 2016. Whitened Résumés: Race and Self-Presentation in the Labor Market. *Administrative Science Quarterly*. Online FirstView. (Blackboard)
- 4. Joe Friesen. 2012. Why Canada Needs a Flood of Immigrants Why Canada Needs a Flood of Immigrants. *Globe & Mail.* 12 May. **(online)**

Week 9: FALL BREAK (NO CLASS)

Week 10: The Media

- 1. Augie Fleras. 2011. *The Media Gaze: Representations of Diversities in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press. pp. 140-155. (**Blackboard**)
- 2. Victoria Esses, Stelian Medianu, and Andrea S. Lawson. 2013. Uncertainty, Threat, and the Role of the Media in Promoting the Dehumanization of Immigrants and Refugees. *Journal of Social Issues* 69(3): 536-578. (journal)
- 3. Sean P. Hier and Daniel Lett. 2013. Racism, media, and analytical balance. *Communication in Question: Competing Perspectives on Controversial Issues in Communication Studies*. Joshua Greenberg and Charlene Elliot, eds. Toronto: Nelson. pp. 123-130. (**Blackboard**)
- 4. Erin Tolley. 2016. Framed: Media and the Coverage of Race in Canadian Politics. Vancouver: UBC Press. pp. 164-185. (Blackboard)

Week 11: Policing and Security

- 1. Scot Wortley and Akwasi Owusu-Bempah. 2011. The usual suspects: police stop and search practices in Canada. *Policing and Society* 21(4): 395-407. (journal)
- 2. Yasmeen Abu-Laban and Nisha Nath. 2007. From Deportation to Apology: The Case of Maher Arar and the Canadian State. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* (39)3: 71-98. (journal)
- 3. James Bissett. 2008. Security Threats in Immigration and Refugee Policies. *Immigration Policy and the Terrorist Threat in Canada and the United States*. Alexander Moens and Martin Collacott, eds. Vancouver: Fraser Institute. pp. 75-91. (eBook)
- 4. Desmond Cole. 2015. The skin I'm in: I've been interrogated by police more than 50 times—all because I'm Black. *Toronto Life* (April). **(online)**

Week 12: Electoral Politics

- 1. Antoine Bilodeau. 2014. Is Democracy the Only Game in Town? Tension Between Immigrants' Democratic Desires and Authoritarian Imprints. *Democratization* 21 (2): 359-381. (journal)
- 2. Karen Bird. 2015. 'We are not an ethnic vote!' Representational perspectives of minorities in the Greater Toronto Area. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 48(2):249-279. **(Blackboard)**
- 3. Myer Siemiatycki. 2008. Reputation and representation: Reaching for political inclusion in Toronto. *Electing a Diverse Canada: The Representation of Immigrants, Minorities and Women.* Caroline Andrew, John Biles, Myer Siemiatycki and Erin Tolley, eds. Vancouver: UBC Press. pp. 23-45. (Blackboard)
- 4. Erin Tolley. 2015. Political players or partisan pawns? Immigrants, minorities and Conservatives in Canada. Working paper. (Blackboard)

Week 13: The Backlash (and the Way Forward?)

- 1. Phil Ryan. 2010. *Multicultiphobia*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. pp. 171-196. **(Blackboard)**
- 2. Will Kymlicka. 2012. <u>Multiculturalism: Success, Failure and Future</u>. Washington: Migration Policy Institute. **(online)**
- 3. John Biles, Erin Tolley and Humera Ibrahim. 2005. Does Canada have a multicultural future? *Canadian Diversity* 4(1): 23-28. (**Blackboard**)
- 4. Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor. 2008. *Building the Future: A Time for Reconciliation*. Quebec City: Gouvernement du Québec. Skim pp. 43-60; Read pp. 63-76. (**Blackboard**)
- 5. Frank Graves. 2015. Are Canadians Getting More Racist? iPolitics. 12 March. (Blackboard)

5. ASSIGNMENTS AND ASSESSMENT

Additional details on all assignments will be provided in class and via the course Blackboard.

6. COURSE POLICIES

Course Communications

You are required to have a valid UTOR email address and to ensure it is properly entered in ROSI. Email will sometimes be used to communicate with students. Forwarding your utoronto.ca email to Gmail, Hotmail or some other account is not advisable, as the message may be filed as "junk" and you will not receive it.

I welcome students to speak with me about the course and assignments. I am available before and after class as well as during my office hours and by appointment. Students may also email me, although I should emphasize that not all issues can be dealt with effectively through this medium; some may require an in-person meeting. Please read the syllabus before you send me an email with a question about due dates or course polices. If you send me an email with a question that is answered in the syllabus, you will more than likely receive "See syllabus" as a response.

I check my email regularly during working hours (weekdays from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.) and you can generally expect a reply within 24 hours during this time period. If contacting me by email, please put the course code (e.g., POL 467) in the **subject line** and use your UTOR email address. A valid UTOR email address should be maintained throughout the course, as email will sometimes be used to communicate with students.

Please remember that the university is a professional environment. Email correspondence should include an appropriate salutation ("Hello Dr. Tolley" or "Dear Professor Tolley" not "Hey" or "Hiya" or "Mrs. Tolley"). Please sign off using your full name (there are lots of Michaels, Yasmeens, Omars and Sarahs). Be polite ("please" and "thank you" still go a long way), proofread what you've written, and OMG use real words and sentences.

Statement on the Use of turnitin.com

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.

Extensions

Extensions for written work will only be granted in exceptional circumstances; in general, medically documented reasons or severe family or personal crises are the only grounds for extensions. If you require an extension, please contact me as soon as possible. Extensions are at the discretion of the instructor; they are not a right. A medical certificate or other written documentation is required. Medical certificates should establish that the physician examined and diagnosed you at the time of your illness, not after the fact. You cannot be excused for medical reasons after the assignment is due, and you have already missed the due date. Falsified or altered medical notes are considered forgery. Note that computer problems, theft, Internet failure or conflicting course obligations are not legitimate excuses requesting an extension.

Grade Appeals

You are entitled to the mark that your work merits. Marks cannot be raised because you think you "deserve" a higher mark, you "tried hard," want to remain on scholarship or are trying to get into law school. These are not valid reasons to appeal. There is a "cooling off" period of 72 hours (3 days) after the assignment has been returned to you; you may not lodge a grade appeal in that time. **Grade appeals must be accompanied by a half-page explanation of the basis of your appeal.** Note that a re-read of written work may result in a raising OR lowering of a mark. There are no provisions for re-writing or "making up" assignments.

Statement on Academic Integrity

I am committed to the principles of academic integrity and reward those who uphold them. In other words, a student who works hard and plays by the rules will not receive a lower grade than someone who cheats. As is noted in the Course Calendar:

"Honesty and fairness are considered fundamental to the university's mission, and, as a result, all those who violate those principles are dealt with as if they were damaging the integrity of the university itself. When students are suspected of cheating or a similar academic offence, they are typically surprised at how formally and seriously the matter is dealt with – and how severe the consequences can be if it is determined that cheating did occur. The University of Toronto treats cases of cheating and plagiarism very seriously. Examples of offences for which you will be penalized include (but are not limited to):

- Using any unauthorized aids on an exam or test (e.g., "cheat sheets," electronic devices, etc.)
- Representing someone else's work or words as your own plagiarism
- Falsifying documents or grades
- Purchasing an essay
- Submitting someone else's work as your own
- Submitting the same essay or report in more than one course (without permission)
- Looking at someone else's answers during an exam or test
- Impersonating another person at an exam or test or having someone else impersonate you
- Making up sources or facts for an essay or report.

As a student it is your responsibility to ensure the integrity of your work and to understand what constitutes an academic offence. If you have any concerns that you may be crossing the line, always ask your instructor. Your instructor can explain, for example, the nuances of plagiarism and how to use secondary sources appropriately; he or she will also tell you what kinds of aids – calculators, dictionaries, etc. – are permitted in a test or exam. Ignorance of the rules does not excuse cheating or plagiarism.

This information is taken from the brochure, *Academic Honesty*, part of a series of University of Toronto publications to help students understand the university's rules and decision-making structures. To view this publication online, please go to www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies.htm. All of the policies and procedures surrounding academic offences are dealt with in one policy: 'The Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters.' The full text is located in the back of this calendar' (UTM Course Calendar 2013-2014, 28).

Plagiarism

Plagiarism is a serious academic offence, and perpetrators will be dealt with accordingly. Laziness, careless note-taking, and close paraphrases (i.e., changing a few words or rearranging a quote) are the principle sources of plagiarized material. The University of Toronto's Writing Centre has published a useful document, entitled How Not to Plagiarize. If you are not sure if you are plagiarizing, please ask me.

Accessibility and Accommodation

The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodation or have any accessibility concerns, please contact <u>Accessibility Services</u> as soon as possible so that arrangements can be made. Accessibility Services can be reached at accessibility.services@utoronto.ca or 416-978-8060.

Privacy and the Protection of Personal Information

The University of Toronto respects your privacy. The information on medical certificates is collected pursuant to section 2(14) of the *University of Toronto Act, 1971*. It is collected for the purpose of administering accommodations for academic purposes based on medical grounds. The Department will maintain a record of all medical certificates received. At all times it will be protected in accordance with the *Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act*. If you have questions, please refer to www.utoronto.ca/privacy or contact the University's Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Office at 416-946-5835. The address is Room 201, McMurrich Bldg., 12 Queen's Park Crescent, Toronto ON, M5S 1A1.