

**UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO**  
**Department of Political Science**

**POL 467H / 2167H**  
**The Politics of Immigration and Multiculturalism in Canada**  
**Fall 2018, Tuesdays, 12 p.m. – 2 p.m.**

Dr. Erin Tolley  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Political Science  
University of Toronto

Office: SS 3122  
Office Hours: Tuesdays, 2:15-3:15 p.m.,  
or by appointment  
Email: [erin.tolley@utoronto.ca](mailto:erin.tolley@utoronto.ca)

## **1. COURSE SYNOPOSIS 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**

	<b>DUE DATE</b>	<b>WEIGHT</b>	<b>SUBMISSION</b>
<b>Engagement</b>	Structured interventions (2), as assigned In-class participation throughout	25%	In-class
<b>Discussion questions and seminar leadership</b>	Assigned week, working in pairs/threes Discussion questions due Sunday @ noon Reflection due Wednesday @ noon	15%	Questions: Canvas Reflection: Email
<b>Research proposal</b>	Friday, October 12, 2018 @ 4:30 p.m.	15%	Canvas
<b>Peer reviews</b>	Friday, October 26 @ 4:30 p.m.	10%	Canvas
<b>Research essay</b>	Friday, December 1, 2018 @ 4:30 p.m.	35%	Canvas

**Late penalties:** 5% per day or part thereof, including weekends. Late assignments will not be accepted more than 7 calendar days after the due date and will receive a grade of zero. Unless there is a medical situation or other emergency, you must be lead the seminar on the assigned date, or you will receive a

grade of zero. Discussion questions are due 48 hours before class; your contribution reflection is due 24 hours following class. If you miss the class in which you've been assigned a structured intervention, you must make it up in the next class; email me to arrange.

### 3. BRIEF OVERVIEW OF COURSE

Week	Date	Topic	Notes
1	September 11	Introduction & Expectations	
2	September 18	Key Debates & Perspectives	<i>Submit top leadership / discussion Q / partnership choices by September 20 @ 4:30 p.m.</i>
3	September 25	Immigration and Refugee Policy	
4	October 2	Professional Toolkit: Reading, Writing, Proposing, Presenting	
5	October 9	Race, Intersectionality and Whiteness	<i>Research proposal due October 12 @ 4:30 p.m.</i>
6	October 16	Policy Decisions and Discretion	<i>Mid-term evaluation of engagement</i>
7	October 23	Multiculturalism, Integration, and Citizenship	<i>Peer reviews due October 26 @ 4:30 p.m.</i>
8	October 30	Equity and Economic Integration	
--	November 6	Fall break – no class	
10	November 13	The Media	
11	November 20	Surveillance and Securitization	
12	November 27	Electoral Politics	<i>Essay due December 1 @ 4:30 p.m.</i>
13	December 4	Evaluating Success, Addressing Failure	

### 4. TOPICS AND READINGS

Reading materials are available through the library's online course reserves: <https://cr.library.utoronto.ca/>. Students are responsible for accessing their own materials and making alternate arrangements if, for some reason, the assigned materials are not available through the library.

#### Week 1: Introduction and Expectations

1. You are strongly encouraged to read the entire syllabus in detail before the first day of classes.
2. Canadian Council for Refugees. 2010. [Refugees and immigrants: a glossary](#).
3. Michael Dewing. 2013. [Canadian Multiculturalism](#). Ottawa: Library of Parliament.

#### Week 2: Key Debates and Perspectives

1. Augie Fleras. 2015. *Immigration Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press. pp. 1-70.
2. 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.

3. Will Kymlicka. 2004. Marketing Canadian Pluralism in the International Arena. *International Journal* 59(4): 829-852.
4. *Colonization Road* (CBC, 2016) <http://www.cbc.ca/firsthand/episodes/colonization-road>

### **Week 3: Immigration and Refugee Policy**

1. Vic Satzewich. *Points of Entry: How Canada's Immigration Officers Decide Who Gets In*. Vancouver: UBC Press. Ch. 3 "Immigration Policy."
2. Augie Fleras. 2016. *Immigration Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press. Ch. 5.
3. Robin Maynard. 2017. *Policing Black Lives: State Violence in Canada from Slavery to the Present*. Ch. 6 "Of Whom We Have Too Many."

### **Week 4: Professional Toolkit**

1. Gerald Graff and Cathy Birkenstein. 2018. *They Say, I Say: Moves that Matter in Academic Writing*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Chapter 2, "Her Point is: The Art of Summarizing," p. 30-42; and Ch. 14, "What's Motivating this Writer? Reading for the Conversation," p. 176-186.
2. Additional materials posted to Canvas.

### **Week 5: Race, Intersectionality, Whiteness**

1. Robin DiAngelo. 2011. White Fragility. *International Journal of Critical Pedagogy* 3(3): 54-70.
2. 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.
3. Rita Dhamoon. 2009. *Identity / Difference Politics*. Vancouver: UBC Press. Ch. 3 "Rethinking Accounts of the Immigrant," pp. 67-92.
4. Robin Maynard. 2017. *Policing Black Lives: State Violence in Canada from Slavery to the Present*. Ch. 5, "Misogynoir in Canada."

### **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. Ch. 6 "Spousal and Partner Sponsorships" and Ch. 7 "Federal Skilled Workers," pp. 139-186.
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.
3. *Who Gets In*. (National Film Board, 1989) [http://www.nfb.ca/film/who\\_gets\\_in/](http://www.nfb.ca/film/who_gets_in/)

### **Week 7: Multiculturalism, Integration and Citizenship**

1. Randall Hansen. 2014. Assimilation by stealth: Why Canada's multicultural policy is really a repackaged integration policy. *The Multiculturalism Question: Debating Identity in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Canada*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. pp. 73-88.
2. Neil Bissoondath. 1994. *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada*. Toronto: Penguin. Ch. 5 "The Simplification of Culture" and Ch. 9 "Endings," pp. 78-97 and 186-224.
3. Will Kymlicka. 2016. "Defending Diversity in an Era of Populism: Multiculturalism and Interculturalism Compared." *Multiculturalism and Interculturalism: Debating the Dividing Lines*, Nasar Meer, Tariq Modood and Ricard Zapata-Barrero, eds., 158-177. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
4. Irene Bloemraad. 2006. "Becoming a Citizen in the United States and Canada: Structured Mobilization and Immigrant Political Incorporation." *Social Forces* 85(2): 667-695.

### **Week 8: Equity and Economic Integration**

1. 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* 61(3): 469-502.
2. Yasmeen Abu-Laban and Christina Gabriel. 2008. *Selling Diversity: Immigration, Multiculturalism, Employment equity, and Globalization*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Ch. 5 "Employment Equity," pp. 129-163.
3. 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.

### **Fall Break – No Class**

### **Week 10: The Media**

1. Augie Fleras. 2011. *The Media Gaze: Representations of Diversities in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press. Ch.8 "Racializing Immigrants and Refugees," pp. 140-155.
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): 518-535.
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.
4. Erin Tolley. 2016. *Framed: Media and the Coverage of Race in Canadian Politics*. Vancouver: UBC Press. Chapter 5, "Journalists and the Framing of Race," pp. 164-185.

### **Week 11: Surveillance and Securitization in a Multicultural Context**

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.
2. 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.
3. Megan Gaucher. 2014. "Attack of the Marriage Fraudsters!: An Examination of the Harper Government's Anti-Marriage Fraud Campaign." *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 50: 187-206.
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).

### **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.
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.
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.
4. Erin Tolley. 2017. Political Players or Partisan Pawns? Immigrants, Minorities and Conservatives In Canada. *The Blueprint: Conservative Parties and their Impact on Canadian Politics* Toronto: University of Toronto Press. pp. 101-128.

### **Week 13: Evaluating Success, Addressing Failure**

1. Michael Adams. 2008. *Unlikely Utopia: The Surprising Triumph of Canadian Multiculturalism*. Toronto: Penguin. Chapter 2, "The Facts on the Ground," pp. 110-151. \*Note that this page reference refers to the 2008 edition.
2. Randy Besco and Erin Tolley. 2017. Does Everyone Cheer? The Politics of Immigration and Multiculturalism in Canada. Working paper.
3. Keith G. Banting. 2010. Is There a Progressive's Dilemma in Canada? Immigration, Multiculturalism and the Welfare State. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 43(4): 797-820.

## 5. ASSIGNMENTS AND ASSESSMENT

### (a) Engagement

Engagement, critical reflection, and discussion are not only integral parts of the political process, they are essential to your success in a seminar course. Your grade for engagement is based on two components: structured interventions and general in-class participation. You are expected to contribute to all classes, and your engagement grade will be a combination of these two components.

#### Structured interventions

Seminar classes are most effective when students do the readings, reflect on them, and come to class prepared to contribute. To encourage forethought, I will assign all students **two weeks** in which they are to prepare a structured intervention. These will occur between weeks 3-15. Your structured intervention is not a presentation. Rather, it is a few written lines that ask a question, provide a reflection, or raise a critique of one of the readings assigned for that week. It could also be a response to one of the discussion questions. You will submit your structured intervention in hard copy at the beginning of class. During that class, you should contribute your intervention, or expect to be called on to raise it. Although you are being assigned particular weeks for structured interventions, you should still come prepared to participate in all other classes. Graduate students will be assigned two formal structured interventions, but they are expected to engage in a structured, high-level manner throughout the course, whether it is one of their assigned weeks or not.

#### In-class participation

In-class participation can be thought of as a combination of **presence + purpose**. You need to attend to receive any participation mark at all, but mere presence is insufficient. You must also make a purposeful contribution to the seminar. This might mean any or all of the following:

- Initiating discussion
- Providing information, defining a concept or clarifying a fact
- Giving an informed opinion or reaction
- Providing an example for illustration
- Asking a question or seeking clarification
- Raising potential weaknesses or inaccuracies in an argument
- Drawing a connection with other course concepts or discussions
- Seeking out the opinion of another student or encouraging others to participate
- Synthesizing or summarizing part of the discussion

To gauge your in-class participation, the guide below might be helpful. Although active listening is an important part of effective participation, this guide makes clear you cannot remain silent for the entire seminar and expect to receive a passing grade for your contribution.

Score	Description
5	Outstanding: frequently leads discussion, offers original analysis and comments; always has ideas on themes in the readings; regularly answers questions posed by the instructor; takes care not to dominate class discussion; present and attentive at every class
4	Excellent: thoughtful comments for the most part; willing, able and frequent contributor to class discussions; demonstrates familiarity with readings and refers to them in discussion; answers instructor's questions from time to time; present and attentive at nearly every class
3	Good: has a basic grasp of key concepts; arguments are sporadic and at times incomplete or

	poorly supported; rarely answers questions; displays familiarity with most readings, but tends not to analyse them or relate them to class discussions; however, shows strong evidence of active listening (e.g., not surfing the web, texting, etc); present and attentive three-quarters of the time
2	Somewhat Poor: remarks in class are marred by misunderstandings of key concepts; often digresses in unhelpful ways; sporadic participation; unwilling to answer questions; actual knowledge of material is outweighed by improvised comments and remarks; absent from one-third or more of classes
0-1	Poor: rarely speaks; parrots text or comments by others; unwilling to answer questions; shows little understanding of material; poor attendance

Mid-way through the term, I will ask you to provide a short evaluation of your own engagement, which is an opportunity to reflect and make adjustments if required. This is optional, but encouraged.

### **(b) Seminar leadership and discussion questions**

Students will be assigned a group (2-3 students) that will collectively be responsible for circulating a set of five discussion questions in advance of the class. This will take place in weeks 5-13. Your discussion questions can be thematic and draw out commonalities and differences from the set of readings, or they might focus on specific points made in the individual readings. Your discussion questions should help your classmates grapple with the issues raised and cover enough ground that they will be motivated to engage with all of the readings. In other words, your set of five discussion questions should not all focus on just one or two of the readings. A few of your discussion questions may be specific to a particular reading or readings, but there should be some questions that are much more synthetic or broad in scope. All of your discussion questions should be framed so that they allow (force!) your classmates to engage with the readings, rather than simply sharing their opinions on the topics.

Unfortunately, some discussion questions don't actually lead to discussion. That's no good! They might be too vague or too broad or there might simply not be enough information in the readings to give students a basis for responding to those questions. Practice answering your questions beforehand. What response would you give to these questions? If you don't have a response, that's a sign that the question isn't a very good one. The best questions incite different perspectives and meaningful engagement. They show that you have deeply considered the readings and come to some understanding of their main arguments.

In addition to providing a set of discussion questions, your team will provide seminar leadership. You will not make a presentation, but instead, you will pose your questions, help draw your classmates into the discussion without monopolizing, and provide your own insights if conversation has stalled. You should take care to ensure both partners participate in the leadership of the seminar.

At the conclusion of the seminar, you will provide me with a short reflection on your contribution and that of your partner(s). How well did you work together? Did you contribute equally, or were there problems? This is not a space to tattle or rat out your partner(s), but merely a forum for you to raise issues, if there were any. Your grade will be based on the quality of your discussion questions, your leadership of the seminar, and you and your partner's own evaluation of your contributions.

*Deadlines:* Your discussion questions must be posted to Canvas 48 hours prior to class (i.e., by Sunday @ noon on your assigned week). Your reflection should be sent to me by email within 24 hours of the class (i.e., by Wednesday @ noon on your assigned week).

### (c) Research proposal, peer review and essay

A research essay provides you with the opportunity to engage deeply with a topic, formulate a logical argument, refute competing perspectives, support it with evidence from a number of sources, and convince your audience of your thesis in a compelling and engaging manner. The research essay should be a significant piece of scholarly writing that engages with an issue related to the course content. Your research essay must have a Canadian focus, although you may bring in research and comparisons from other countries. Your research essay will be completed in three parts: a proposal, a set of peer reviews, and the essay itself. Additional details on these components will be provided on Canvas.

## 6. OTHER 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 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 policies. 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.

### 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. I am generally more amenable to requests for extensions if students are proactive and forward-thinking. Extensions are at the discretion of the instructor; they are not a right. A medical certificate or other written documentation is required.

### 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.

### Course Outline GIFt

Oh, wow! You’ve read this. You’re amazing. Before September 20<sup>th</sup>, mail me a GIF or meme that includes an animal in a costume, and I’ll give you a 1% bonus mark. But don’t tell your friends. If more than 15% of the class finds this GIFt, I’ll know you all colluded. That’s no fun. Keep it a secret. Make your classmates earn their bonus.

## Statement on Academic Integrity

I am committed to the principles of academic integrity. 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," cell phones, 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](http://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 [Accessibility Services](#) as soon as possible so that arrangements can be made. Accessibility Services can be reached at [accessibility.services@utoronto.ca](mailto: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](http://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.