

University of Toronto
Department of Political Science
Summer 2020

POL 382H1S Topics in Canadian Politics
Diversity and the Welfare State: Canada in Comparative Perspective

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Meeting Time: MW 4:00 - 6:00 pm

Office Hours: Drop-in office hours on *Zoom*, Wednesdays 4:00 - 5:00 pm, or by appointment

Course Type: Online; a hybrid of synchronous and asynchronous components

1. Course Description and Learning Objectives

Liberal democratic welfare states are becoming more diverse via large-scale migration, at the same time as they are experiencing the increasing politicization of longstanding forms of diversity such as ethnic/racial diversity and Indigenous/settler diversity. Some express concerns that increasing, and increasingly politicized, diversity decreases both support for and actual welfare spending. These concerns stem from the theoretical assumption that the solidarity that undergirds the welfare state requires homogeneity.

This course explores this intersection of diversity and the welfare state. How does diversity matter, if at all, for welfare state spending and attitudes toward welfare state spending? Do diverse places redistribute less than homogenous places? Is support for redistribution lower in diverse versus homogenous places? Do people prefer to redistribute more to others who are like them? Finally, how does the partisan political arena fuel and/or respond to attitudes toward diversity and the welfare state?

In the first half of this course, we ask these questions in the comparative context; in the second half, we situate Canada as a particular case. The goal of this course is to give students the understanding needed to identify comparative patterns in how diversity affects welfare state spending and attitudes toward the same, and to identify in which ways Canada does and does not conform to those patterns.

2. General Course Plan

This course will be a hybrid of synchronous components (live things that you need to attend at a designated time) and asynchronous components (things that you can complete on your own time). Synchronous components will be infrequent, and will always take place during the appointed course time of Mondays or Wednesdays between 4:00 and 6:00 pm.

Lecture videos for both classes in a given week will be posted by Monday at 10:00 am. Students are expected to watch these videos and complete the assigned readings by Wednesday at 5:00 pm, at which time the weekly discussion will open and stay open until Saturday at 11:59 pm. A typical week will thus look like this:

MON	TUE	WED	THUR	FRI	SAT	SUN
Lecture videos posted at 10:00 am		Drop-in office hours on <i>Zoom</i> , 4:00 - 5:00 pm Discussion opens at 5:00 pm			Discussion closes at 11:59 pm	

If this were a traditional, in-person course, we would have 12 two-hour class sessions, or four hours of class time per week. We have used these times as a guideline for our online course. Thus we expect that you will spend a total of four hours per week simulating this in-class time: roughly 1 - 1.5 hours watching lecture videos and taking notes, and roughly 2.5 - 3 hours on discussions (including researching and writing your discussion contributions). As with a traditional, in-person course, you are expected to complete readings on your own time.

Quercus will be the hub of the course. We will post assignments there and use it to communicate with you. You should check it regularly. In addition to Quercus, we will also use *Zoom* and *Slack*. Please take some time to familiarize yourself with these softwares before the first day of class. A Code of Conduct that will guide online behaviour across platforms is posted separately to Quercus.

We know that the circumstances around COVID-19 are making your lives more difficult. We have tried to build flexibility into the course design, in recognition of the fact that things beyond our control will happen (you will get called into work, or your internet will go down, etc.). We encourage you to communicate with us about difficulties related to the course that you are experiencing so that we can help.

3. Evaluation

3.1. Participation - 30%

Students will have the opportunity to discuss course material via chat on *Slack*. You will be assigned to a group of approximately 15 students on *Slack*. Each Wednesday at 5:00 pm,

questions about that week's course material will be posted to *Slack*, and discussion will be open until Saturday at 11:59 pm. In general, you will be expected to post an initial answer to the question, and then to return to the chat periodically for discussion. You are expected to spend approximately 2.5 - 3 hours each week on *Slack*, inclusive of research and writing time, to approximate the amount of time we would have spent on discussion had this been an in-person course.

In addition to being assigned a smaller group for discussion, there will also be a whole-class channel on *Slack*. You can use this whole-class channel to ask the instructors questions that are pertinent to everyone, or to post news articles that you've found in the course of your research that you think might be of interest to your classmates.

Your participation grade will be a holistic assessment of how productively you participate in each *Slack* discussion. A grading rubric for *Slack* participation will be posted separately to Quercus.

There will be six *Slack* discussions, corresponding to the six weeks of the course. You can miss one *Slack* session for any reason, without it affecting your participation grade. There is no need to notify us that you will be missing. Each of the remaining five *Slack* discussions will be worth six percent, for a total of 30 percent of your final grade. If you do not miss a *Slack* discussion, we will simply drop your lowest *Slack* grade from the equation.

3.2. Essay Outline - 15% - Monday July 20

Students are required to submit a 2-3 page essay outline via Quercus. The essay question and technical guidelines will be posted separately to Quercus.

3.3. Comparative Quiz - 15% - Wednesday July 22

A quiz covering the first half of the course - *Part I: Diversity and Comparative Welfare States* - will be given. The format will be short-answer questions.

The questions will be posted to Quercus on Wednesday July 22 at 4:00 pm, and answers must be uploaded to Quercus by Wednesday July 22 at 6:00 pm. The quiz will be designed to be completed in 1.5 hours between 4:00 pm and 5:30 pm. The half hour between 5:30 pm and 6:00 pm is to allow for any necessary troubleshooting related to submission. Nothing will be accepted after 6:00 pm.

The quiz will be open-book, meaning students can use readings and lecture notes, but no collaboration of any kind between students is allowed. Any collaboration will be considered academic misconduct (please see section 5.8 below).

3.4. Essay - 25% - Wednesday August 12

Students will submit an 8-10 page essay via Quercus that builds on course material with their own research. The essay question and technical guidelines will be posted separately to Quercus.

3.5. Canadian Quiz - 15% - Monday August 17

A quiz covering the second half of the course - *Part II: The Canadian Case* - will be given. This quiz will focus on the second half of the course, but general familiarity with concepts from the first half will be required. The format will be short-answer questions.

The questions will be posted to Quercus on Monday August 17 at 4:00 pm, and answers must be uploaded to Quercus by Monday August 17 at 6:00 pm. The quiz will be designed to be completed in 1.5 hours between 4:00 pm and 5:30 pm. The half hour between 5:30 pm and 6:00 pm is to allow for any necessary troubleshooting related to submission. Nothing will be accepted after 6:00 pm.

The quiz will be open-book, meaning students can use readings and lecture notes, but no collaboration of any kind between students is allowed. Any collaboration will be considered academic misconduct (please see section 5.8 below).

4. Schedule and Readings

***** PART I: DIVERSITY AND COMPARATIVE WELFARE STATES *****

4.1. MONDAY JULY 6

Class 1: Introduction to Course. A Brief Overview of Welfare States in Comparative Perspective. [S.B. & M.S.]

***** Live Zoom at 4:00 pm *****

- Van Kersbergen, K., and Manow, P. (2017). "The Welfare State." In Caramani, D. (Eds.), *Comparative Politics* (pp. 376-393). Oxford University Press.
- Heath, J. (2011). "Three Normative Models of the Welfare State." *Public Reason* 3(2): 13-43.
- OECD. (2019). "Public Social Spending is High in Many OECD Countries." *Social Expenditure Update 2019*.
<https://www.oecd.org/social/soc/OECD2019-Social-Expenditure-Update.pdf>

4.2. WEDNESDAY JULY 8

Class 2: Is there a Tradeoff between Diversity and the Welfare State: What Should we Expect? [M.S.]

- Goodhart, D. (2004). "Too Diverse?" *Prospect Magazine*.
<https://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/magazine/too-diverse-david-goodhart-multiculturalism-britain-immigration-globalisation>
- Kymlicka, W. and Banting, K. (2006). "Immigration, Multiculturalism and the Welfare State." *Ethics and International Affairs* 20(3): 281-302.

4.3. MONDAY JULY 13

Class 3: Is there a Tradeoff between Diversity and the Welfare State? Empirical Evidence [M.S.]

- Brady, D. and Finnigan, R. (2014). "Does Immigration Undermine Public Support for Social Policy?" *American Sociological Review* 79(1): 17-42.
- Eger, M.A. and Breznau, N. (2017). "Immigration and the Welfare State: A Cross-Regional Analysis of European Welfare Attitudes." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 58(5): 440-463.
- Finseraas, H. (2012). "Poverty, Ethnic Minorities among the Poor, and Preferences for Redistribution in European Regions." *Journal of European Social Policy* 22(2):164–180.

4.4. WEDNESDAY JULY 15

Class 4: Case Study: The United States [S.B.]

- Alesina, A. and Glaeser, E. (2006). *Fighting Poverty in the US and Europe: A World of Difference*. New York: Oxford University Press. Chapter 6.
- Coates, T. (June 2014). "The Case for Reparations." *The Atlantic*.
<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2014/06/the-case-for-reparations/361631/>
- Gilens, M. (1999). *Why Americans Hate Welfare*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapter 3.
- Michener, J. (May 2018). "The Politics and Policy of Racism in American Health Care." *Vox*. <https://www.vox.com/polyarchy/2018/5/24/17389742/american-health-care-racism>

4.5. MONDAY JULY 20

Class 5: Partisan and Policy Responses [M.S.]

- Koning, E. (2017). "Selecting, Disentitling, or Investing? Exploring Party and Voter Responses to Immigrant Welfare Dependence in 15 West European Welfare States." *Comparative European Politics* 15(4): 628-660.
- Edsall, T.B. (December 2014). "The Rise of 'Welfare Chauvinism.'" *New York Times*.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/17/opinion/the-rise-of-welfare-chauvinism.html>
- Review Kymlicka and Banting 2006 from Class 2

4.6. WEDNESDAY JULY 22

Class 6: Quiz

- No readings

***** PART II: THE CANADIAN CASE *****

4.7. MONDAY JULY 27

Class 7: A Brief Overview of the Canadian Welfare State [S.B.]

- Jenson, J. (2010). "Continuities and Change in the Design of Canada's Social Architecture." In J.C. Courtney and Smith, D.E. (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Canadian Politics* (pp. 417-433). Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Koning, E., and Banting, K. (2013). "Inequality below the Surface: Reviewing Immigrants' Access to Utilization of Five Canadian Welfare Programs." *Canadian Public Policy* 39(4): 581-601. [Read from page 584, "Admission Policy in Canada", to end].

4.8. WEDNESDAY JULY 29

Class 8: Is there a Tradeoff between Diversity and the Welfare State in Canada? Cultural Explanations [S.B.]

- Kevins, A. and van Kersbergen, K. (2019). "The Effects of Welfare State Universalism on Migrant Integration." *Policy & Politics* 47(1): 115--131.
- Soroka, S., R. Johnston, and Banting, K. (2007). "Ethnicity, Trust and the Welfare State." In R. Johnston and Kay, F. (Eds.), *Social Capital, Diversity and the Welfare State* (pp. 279-303). Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Johnston, R., K. Banting, W. Kymlicka, and Soroka, S. (2010). "National Identity and Support for the Welfare State." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 43(2): 349-377.

4.9. WEDNESDAY AUGUST 5

Class 9: Is there a Tradeoff between Diversity and the Welfare State in Canada? Economic (Fiscal Burden) Explanations [S.B.]

- Banting, K. (2010). "Is There a Progressive's Dilemma in Canada? Immigration, Multiculturalism and the Welfare State." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 43(4): 797-820.
- Borwein, S., and Donnelly, M. (2018). "Fiscal Burdens and Knowledge of Immigrant Selection Criteria." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 1-20.
- Harell, A., S. Soroka, S. Iyengar, and Valentino, N. (2012). "The Impact of Economic and Cultural Cues on Support for Immigration in Canada and the United States." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 45(3): 499-530.

4.10. MONDAY AUGUST 10

Class 10: Case Study: Indigenous Peoples [M.S.]

- Banting, K., S. Soroka and Koning, E. (2013). "Multicultural Diversity and Redistribution." In K. Banting and Myles, J. (Eds.), *Inequality and the Fading of Redistributive Politics* (pp. 165-186). Vancouver: UBC Press.
- King, T. (2014). *The Inconvenient Indian: A Curious Account of Native People in North America*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Chapter 7.
- Harrell, A., S. Soroka, and Ladner, K. (2014). "Public Opinion, Prejudice, and Racialization of Welfare in Canada." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37(14): 2580-2597.
- Harrell, A., S. Soroka, and Iyengar, S. (2016). "Race, Prejudice and Attitudes toward Redistribution: A Comparative Experimental Approach." *European Journal of Political Research* 55(4): 723-744. [Read Analysis section only.]

4.11. WEDNESDAY AUGUST 12

Class 11: Partisan and Policy Responses in Canada [M.S.]

- Koning, E. (2019). *Immigration and the Politics of Welfare Exclusion: Selective Solidarity in Western Welfare States*. University of Toronto Press. Chapter 4.
- Banting, K., and Thompson, D. (2016). "The Puzzling Persistence of Racial Inequality in Canada." In J. Hooker. and Tillery Jr., A.B. (Eds.), *The Double Bind: The Politics of Racial and Class Inequalities in the Americas* (pp. 101-122). Report of the Task Force on Racial and Social Class Inequalities in the Americas.

4.12. MONDAY AUGUST 17

Class 12: Quiz

- No readings

5. Course Policies

5.1. Co-teaching, Office Hours, and Email

This course will be equally taught by both instructors. The lead instructor for each class is denoted with initials. We will hold optional, drop-in office hours from 4:00 - 5:00 pm on Wednesdays on *Zoom*, the links for which will be published in an announcement on Quercus. In general, if you have substantive questions about course material or assignments, we encourage you to bring these questions to office hours, as opposed to asking them over email.

Students should send all emails to both instructors. Students should use their University of Toronto email address to communicate with the instructors. We will endeavour to respond to emails within two working days, but cannot guarantee this in every case. We will not respond to emails that ask questions that are answered in the syllabus. This policy is not intended to be punitive; it is merely a time management strategy.

5.2. Recording Policy

Recording or reproducing course material of any kind is not permitted, unless you are granted special privileges by Accessibility Services. This includes taking screen-recordings or screenshots of lecture videos, slides, or discussion chats.

5.3. Readings

There are no required textbooks for this course. If a reading is not posted to Quercus, it is available electronically via the University of Toronto Libraries website.

5.4. Policy on Late Work

All assignments are due to Quercus by 11:59 pm on the respective due date. Any assignments submitted after this time will be considered late and subject to a 5 percent per day penalty. This penalty includes weekends: for example, if an assignment is due on a Friday, and is submitted on the following Monday, it will be subject to a 3 day late penalty. No assignments will be accepted after the last day of class, which is Monday August 17.

If an extension is required, please contact both instructors and we will discuss if there are grounds for such an extension. Supporting documentation will be discussed on a case-by-case basis. Note: work overload is not grounds for an extension and will not be considered. Also note that we have already set the essay deadline quite late, to allow for maximum flexibility for everyone, so there is very little room for extensions in general.

Students are strongly advised to keep rough and draft work and hard copies of their assignments. All assignments should be kept by the student until the marked assignments have been returned to them and the grades are posted to ACORN.

5.5. Policy on Missed Quizzes

Please notify both instructors immediately if you are going to miss a quiz. Documentation may be required at our discretion. A makeup quiz will be offered, consisting of different questions than the original quiz.

Note that if a student attempts to write the regular quiz, but submits it after the 6:00 pm final deadline, they will need to write a makeup quiz with different questions.

5.6. Grade Appeals

Students who have concerns regarding their grade on an assignment may submit a grade appeal. No appeal will be considered unless it is accompanied by a detailed 200-300 word written explanation of why you think the work merited a higher grade. This written explanation

should be as specific as possible, making reference to the grading criteria and the grader's feedback.

Once an appeal is submitted, the instructors will re-examine the entire assignment, not just the question or paragraph mentioned in the appeal. The appeal process can result in one of three outcomes: no change to the original grade, a higher grade, or a lower grade. If you wish to submit a written appeal, you must submit it within one week of the grade being given.

5.7. Accessibility Needs

Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. If you have an accessibility issue or health consideration that may require accommodations, please contact Accessibility Services at accessibility.services@utoronto.ca (<http://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca/as/contact-us>).

5.8. Academic Integrity

Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information on plagiarism please see the following:
<http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>.

Plagiarism is not the only kind of academic misconduct. The University of Toronto treats cases of academic misconduct very seriously. The University of Toronto's Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters <http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm> outlines the behaviours that constitute academic misconduct, the processes for addressing academic offences, and the penalties that may be imposed. You are expected to be familiar with the contents of this document. Potential offences include, but are not limited to:

In papers and assignments:

- Using someone else's ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement.
- Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor.
- Making up sources or facts.
- Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment (this includes working in groups on assignments that are supposed to be individual work).
- Submitting an altered assignment for re-grading.

On tests and exams:

- Using or possessing any unauthorized aid, including a cell phone.
- Looking at someone else's answers.
- Letting someone else look at your answers.

- Misrepresenting your identity.
- Submitting an altered test for re-grading.

Misrepresentation:

- Falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including (but not limited to) doctor's notes.
- Falsifying institutional documents or grades.
- Provide unauthorized assistance to another student. This includes showing another student completed work.

All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated following the procedures outlined in the Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters. If you have questions about appropriate research and citation methods, you are expected to seek out additional information or other available campus resources:

- Writing Centres: <http://writing.utoronto.ca/writing-centres/>
- Academic Success: <http://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca/asc>

5.9. Use of Turnitin

Normally students will be required to submit their course assignments 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 website.

Use of Turnitin.com is voluntary. If you do not wish to submit your work through Turnitin.com, an alternative arrangement for the submission of your written assignments will be made available. You will be required to: 1) Meet the instructors for a brief discussion about the research process prior to the assignment due date, and 2) submit all your rough work (earlier drafts) and notes with the final copy of your written work. Students who have concerns with the use of Turnitin.com are encouraged to discuss these with the instructors as soon as possible.