

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

**POL 220H1F**  
**Immigration, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship in Canada**

Summer 2023  
Monday and Wednesday 10:00 AM – 12:00 PM, Sidney Smith Hall 1071

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**Course Description and Objectives**

It is no exaggeration to say that immigration has transformed Canada. Until the 1960s, immigration policies entrenched Canada's identity as a self-declared "white man's country." Today, Canada is among the most culturally diverse industrialized democracies in the world. Most Canadians support relatively high levels of immigration and official multiculturalism. Populist anti-immigration politics, a bane of governments in many other democracies, is a marginal phenomenon in Canada. Some commentators have referred to Canada as "exceptional" and emulation of the "Canadian Model" of immigration is commonplace. This course explores Canada's development into a multicultural immigration country, probing the degree to which Canada's reputation as an exceptionally welcoming, tolerant country is warranted. We begin by tracing the evolution of Canadian immigration policy from Confederation to the present, asking why anti-immigration positions have generally failed since the late-1990s. We consider the politics of refugee resettlement and asylum, noting that in this area Canadian hospitality has distinct limits. We then turn to citizenship policy, an area where Canada is indeed unique, as most immigrants acquire Canadian citizenship. We move on to consider Canada's policy of official multiculturalism, charting its origins, development, and shortcomings. We conclude by asking whether recent changes to immigration policy spell the end of the "Canadian Model."

This course will enhance your understanding of immigration, citizenship, and multiculturalism policy in Canada and assist you in developing your ability to read and synthesize information effectively. Tutorial participation will help you develop your public speaking skills.

**Required and Supplementary Readings**

You will be tested on your knowledge of the **required** readings. Please complete them in advance of each lecture. Supplementary readings are included if you want to expand your knowledge of the topic. I will also refer to the supplementary readings in my lectures. I have posted all of the required and supplementary readings to our POL220 Dropbox Student Portal (<https://tinyurl.com/3vjfzvrr>) and Quercus page, or provided a link to them in this syllabus. Please contact me immediately if you have any trouble accessing any of the readings.

## Course Requirements and Grading

Three requirements make up your grade for this course:

▪ Tutorial Participation	Cumulative throughout the course	20%
▪ Midterm Test	<b>Monday May 29, 10-12, SS1071</b>	40%
▪ Final Examination	In-person, date time, place TBC	40%

### Midterm Test and Final Examination:

The midterm test is on **Monday May 29, from 10:00 AM to 12:00 PM**, in room **SS1071**. It is worth 40% of your final grade. The final examination will be scheduled during the final examination period (**June 21-26**) and is worth 40% of your final grade. The midterm test and final examination will feature short-answer and essay questions. You will be tested on your knowledge of information covered in **lectures** and **required readings**. I will provide more information regarding the midterm test and final examination to you in class and via Quercus.

### Tutorial Participation:

From week two onwards, you will attend mandatory tutorial sessions (for time and room information, see: <https://timetable.iit.artsci.utoronto.ca/summer2023>). Your TA, Lucia Nalbandian ([l.nalbandian@mail.utoronto.ca](mailto:l.nalbandian@mail.utoronto.ca)), is a PhD student in the Department of Political Science and an expert in the field of Canadian immigration policy. She will lead discussions on themes related to the week's topic, organize small-group activities, and assist you in preparing for the midterm test and final examination. You must attend all your tutorial sessions and participate actively. Tutorials provide an excellent opportunity to develop your public speaking skills—please take advantage of them, especially if public speaking is not your strong suit. Tutorial participation is worth 20% of your final grade.

## Course Policies

### Academic Integrity:

Please be aware of the importance of academic integrity and the seriousness of academic dishonesty, including plagiarism. The more obvious instances of plagiarism include copying material from another source (book, journal, website, another student, and so on) without acknowledging the source, presenting an argument as your own – whether or not it is a direct quotation – rather than fully acknowledging the true originator of the idea, having another person help you to write your essay, and buying an essay. All of these are instances of academic dishonesty, which the university takes very seriously, and they will result in academic penalty. Those penalties can range from failing the assignment, failing the course, having a notation on your academic transcript, and/or suspension from the university.

For further information on the University's Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters, see: <http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>. To avoid problems in your assignments, please consult "How Not to Plagiarize" by Margaret Proctor: <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize>.

### Quercus:

This course uses Quercus to disseminate course-related information. It is your responsibility to log on to Quercus regularly and obtain relevant information.

### Plagiarism Detection Software:

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to the University's plagiarism detection tool 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 tool's reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of this tool are described on the Centre for Teaching Support & Innovation web site (<https://uoft.me/pdt-faq>).

### Office Hours and Email Policy:

I am happy to meet in person or via Zoom about any matter relating to the course. I am also available by email—but please reserve email communication for scheduling appointments and simple matters, using office hours for substantive issues.

### Assistance and Accommodation:

The University of Toronto is committed to supporting student accessibility and overall student well-being. Many resources exist to help students who are in need of assistance. Resources include but are not limited to accessibility services, health and counseling services, writing centres, and peer mentoring systems. The University also is committed to providing allowances for religious observances. If you have an accessibility consideration that may require accommodation, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible. The Accessibility Services office is located at 455 Spadina Ave, 4th Floor, Suite 400 (next to the campus bookstore). Accessibility Services staff can be contacted via email at [accessibility.services@utoronto.ca](mailto:accessibility.services@utoronto.ca) and phone at (416) 978-8060.

### Notice of Video Recording and Sharing:

Should circumstances require a shift to remote learning, this course, including your participation, will be recorded on video and will be available to students in the course for viewing remotely and after each session. Course videos and materials belong to your instructor, the University, and/or other sources depending on the specific facts of each situation, and are protected by copyright, including the *Copyright Act*, RSC 1985, c C-42. Do not download, copy, or share any course or student materials or videos without the explicit permission of the instructor.

### Course Modification Statement:

The instructor reserves the right to modify assigned readings during the term – with reasonable notice and with an explanation.

## Schedule of Seminar Topics and Readings

### Monday May 8 – Class 1: Course Introduction

*I will provide an overview of the course's objectives, requirements, and expectations. I will also give a brief lecture on trends in immigration, citizenship, and multiculturalism in Canada.*

Required Tasks:

- Carefully review the course syllabus
- Familiarize yourself with the course website/Quercus and Dropbox Portal
- Tutorial: There are no tutorials scheduled for this week.

### Wednesday May 10 – Class 2: Immigration and the Politics of Membership

*What makes immigration political? How do states exercise a “monopoly over the legitimate means of movement”?*

Required Reading:

- John Torpey, “Coming and Going: On the State Monopolization of the Legitimate ‘Means of Movement’,” *Sociological Theory* VOL. 16, No. 3 (1998): pp. 239-259.

Supplementary Reading:

- Aristide R. Zolberg, “International Migrations in Political Perspective,” in *Global Trends in Migration: Theory and Research on International Population Movements*, ed. Mary M. Kritz, Charles B. Keely and Silvano M. Tomasi (New York, 1981): pp. 3-27.
- Tutorial: There are no tutorials scheduled for this week.

### Monday May 15 – Class 3: Colonization, Settlement, and the Building of “White Canada”

*How did immigration and the subjugation of Canada's Indigenous peoples intersect after Confederation? How did immigration policy reflect and entrench Canada's self-image as a “white man's country”?*

Required Reading:

- Andrew Stobo Sniderman and Douglas Sanderson (*Amo Binsahii*), *Valley of the Birdtail: An Indian Reserve, A White Town, and the Road to Reconciliation* (Toronto: Harper Collins Publishers Ltd., 2022): pp. 87-150.

- David Scott FitzGerald and David Cook-Martín, “Canada: Between Neighbor and Empire,” chapter in *Culling the Masses: The Democratic Origins of Racist Immigration Policy in the Americas* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014): 141-172.

Supplementary:

- Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos, “Building Walls, Bounding Nations: Migration and Exclusion in Canada and Germany, 1870–1939,” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 17, no. 4 (2004): 385-427.
- Tutorial: Tutorial sessions begin.

### Wednesday May 17 – Class 4: Dismantling White Canada

*Why did Canada stop selecting immigrants according to ethnic and racial characteristics by the late-1960s? How did bureaucrats help develop a new approach to immigrant selection?*

- David Scott FitzGerald and David Cook-Martín, “Canada: Between Neighbor and Empire,” chapter in *Culling the Masses: The Democratic Origins of Racist Immigration Policy in the Americas* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014): 172-185.
- Jennifer Elrick, “Bureaucratic Implementation Practices and the Making of Canada’s Merit-based Immigration Policy,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* (2020): DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2020.1817731.

Supplementary:

- Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos, “Dismantling White Canada: Race, Rights, and the Origins of the Points System,” in *Wanted and Welcome? Policies for Highly Skilled Immigrants in Comparative Perspective*, ed., Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos (New York: Springer, 2013): pp. 15-37.
- The Champlain Society Podcast: Jennifer Elrick, Making Middle-Class Multiculturalism (on the origins of the 1967 “points system”): <https://tinyurl.com/ykfvp82d>
- Tutorial: Tutorial sessions begin.

### **Monday May 22: Victoria Day – No Class**

### Wednesday May 24 – Class 5: The “Canadian Model” of Immigration

*Why did Canada expand access to highly skilled economic immigrants while restricting access to family immigrants and asylum seekers during the 1980s, 90s and early-2000s? What are the central features of the “Canadian Model” of immigration?*

#### Required Reading:

- Antje Ellermann, “The Making of Canadian Immigration Policy: Explaining Economic and Family Admissions,” in *The Comparative Politics of Immigration: Policy Choices in Germany, Canada, Switzerland, and the United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021): pp. 215-244.
- Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos, “Good and Lucky: Explaining Canada’s Successful Immigration Policies,” in *Policy Success in Canada: Cases, Lessons, and Challenges*, ed. Evert A. Lindquist et al (New York: Oxford University Press, 2022): pp. 161-182.

#### Supplementary:

- Jeffrey G. Reitz, “Canada: Continuity and Change in Immigration for Nation-Building,” in *Controlling Immigration: A Comparative Perspective*, Fourth Edition, ed. James F. Hollifield et al (Stanford: Stanford University Press: 2022): pp. 123-167.
- Paul May, “Immigration, Multiculturalism and Tolerance,” in *Assessing Multiculturalism in Global Comparative Perspective: A New Politics of Diversity for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century?* Ed., Yasmeen Abu-Laban et al (New York: Routledge, 2023): pp. 292-307.

– Tutorial: Yes.

### Monday May 29 – Class 6: Midterm Test (In-Class)

### Wednesday May 31 – Class 7: Canadian Exceptionalism?

*Why do most Canadians support large-scale immigration? Why are there no successful anti-immigration parties in Canada? What are the limits of Canadian exceptionalism?*

#### Required Reading:

- Environics Institute, Focus Canada – Fall 2021: Canadian public opinion about immigration and refugees, October 22, 2021, <https://tinyurl.com/29vvp3bu>
- Keith Banting and Stuart Soroka, “A Distinctive Culture? The Sources of Public Support for Immigration in Canada, 1980–2017,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 1 (2020): 821-838.

- Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos and Zack Taylor, “The Political Foundations of Canadian Exceptionalism in Immigration Policy,” in *International Affairs and Canadian Migration Policy*, ed. Yiagadeesen Samy and Howard Duncan (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021): pp. 13-40.

Supplementary:

- Randy Besco and Erin Tolley, “Does Everyone Cheer? The Politics of Immigration and Multiculturalism in Canada,” in *Federalism and the Welfare State in a Multicultural World*, ed. Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant et al (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2018): 291-318.
- John Geddes, “What’s Actually Standing in the Way of Right-wing Populism in Canada?” *Maclean’s*, February 8, 2022: <https://tinyurl.com/eutvwm6h>
- Tutorial: Yes.

### Monday June 5 – Class 8: Citizenship

*What is citizenship? How do immigrants and their children acquire citizenship in Canada? What elements of Canadian citizenship policy have sparked political debates?*

Required Reading:

- Ayelet Shachar, “Citizenship,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Constitutional Law*, ed. Michel Rosenfeld and András Sajó (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012): pp. 1002-1019.
- Elke Winter, *Report on Citizenship Law: Canada* (Florence: EUDO Citizenship Observatory, 2015): pp. 1-30.

Supplementary:

- Audrey Macklin, A. (2017). “From Settler Society to Warrior Nation and Back Again,” in *Citizenship in Transnational Perspective: Australia, Canada, and New Zealand*, ed. Jatinder Mann, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017): [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-53529-6\\_15](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-53529-6_15)
- Feng Hou and Garnett Picot, “The Decline in the Naturalization Rate among Recent Immigrants in Canada: Policy Changes and Other Possible Explanations,” *Migration Studies* (2020): doi:10.1093/migration/mnaa010.
- Andrew Griffith, “Hospital Stats Show Birth Tourism Rising in Major Cities,” *Policy Options*, November 22, 2018: <https://tinyurl.com/56vd7hwy>
- Tutorial: Yes.

### Wednesday June 7 – Class 9: Refugee and Asylum Policy

*Canadians pride themselves on their commitment to humanitarianism and hospitality to refugees – is this pride warranted? How has Canada responded to asylum seekers entering irregularly?*

#### Required Reading:

- Geoffrey Cameron and Shauna Labman, “Private Refugee Sponsorship: An Evolving Framework for Refugee Resettlement,” in *Strangers to Neighbors: Refugee Sponsorship in Context*, ed., Shauna Labman and Geoffrey Cameron (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2020): pp. 3-10.
- Monica Boyd and Nathan Ly, “Unwanted and Uninvited: Canadian Exceptionalism in Migration and the 2017-2020 Irregular Border Crossings,” *American Review of Canadian Studies* 51, no. 1 (2021): 95-121.
- Richard Raycraft, “New Deal with U.S. Allows Canada to Turn Back Migrants at the Border,” CBC News, March 23, 2023: <https://tinyurl.com/3dt4kecy>

#### Supplementary:

- Geoffrey Cameron, “Reluctant Partnership: A Political History of Private Sponsorship in Canada (1947-1980),” in *Strangers to Neighbors: Refugee Sponsorship in Context*, ed., Shauna Labman and Geoffrey Cameron (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2020): pp. 19-41.
  - Shauna Labman and Jamie Chai Yun Liew, “Law and Moral Licensing in Canada: The Making of Illegality and Illegitimacy Along the Border,” *International Journal of Migration and Border Studies* 5, no. 3 (2019): PP. 188-211.
  - Open Canada Podcast: A Club for Settling Refugees with Craig Damian Smith: <https://opencanada.org/podcast/a-club-for-settling-refugees/>
- Tutorial: Yes.

### Monday June 12 – Class 10: Multiculturalism I – Origins and Development

*What are the origins of Canada’s official multiculturalism policy? Does multiculturalism policy play any role in the integration of immigrants in Canada?*

#### Required Reading:

- Will Kymlicka, “The Three Lives of Multiculturalism,” in *Revisiting Multiculturalism in Canada: Theories, Policies and Debates*, ed. Shibao Guo and Lloyd Wong (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2015): pp. 17-35.

- Irene Bloemraad, “Multiculturalism and Inclusive Democracy: Canadian Multiculturalism and Immigrant Citizenship,” in *Assessing Multiculturalism in Global Comparative Perspective*, pp. 41-59.
- Robert Vipond, “Global Clinton and Heritage Languages,” in *Making a Global City: How One Toronto School Embraced Diversity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017): pp. 163-188.

Supplementary:

- Randall Hansen, “Why Both the Left and the Right Are Wrong: Immigration and Multiculturalism in Canada,” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 50, no. 3 (2017): pp. 712-716.
- The Champlain Society Podcast: Daniel Meister, The Pre-History of Multiculturalism in Canada: <https://tinyurl.com/57hzb4um>
- Tutorial: Yes.

### Wednesday June 14 – Class 11: Multiculturalism II – Limits

Required Reading:

- Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos and Jameela Rasheed, “A Religion like No Other: Islam and the Limits of Multiculturalism in Canada,” Toronto Metropolitan University Working Paper (2020): <https://doi.org/10.32920/ryerson.14642073.v1>
- Debra Thompson, “Black Lives Matter, Social Justice, and the Limits of Multiculturalism,” in *Assessing Multiculturalism in Global Comparative Perspective*, pp. 223-236.

Supplementary:

- Kiera L. Ladner, Hope Ace, Marcus Closen, Dane Monkman, “Oh Canada, Your Home's on Native Land: Narratives of the Missing in a Multicultural Home,” in *Assessing Multiculturalism in Global Comparative Perspective*, pp. 205-222.
- Will Kymlicka, “The Precarious Resilience of Multiculturalism in Canada,” *American Review of Canadian Studies* 51, no. 1 (2021): pp. 122-142.
- Katie Nicholson, “More Than 1,000 Self-reported Incidents of Anti-Asian Racism since Start of Pandemic,” CBC News, March 23, 2021: <https://tinyurl.com/4kw2z6ct>.
- Margaretta Patrick et al, “Religion and Secularism: Four Myths and Bill 21,” *Directions* (Canadian Race Relations Foundation, December 2019): pp. 1-26.
- Tutorial: Yes.

## Monday June 19 – Class 12: The End of the “Canadian Model”? Current and Future Challenges

### Required Reading:

- Marshia Akbar, “Who are Canada’s Temporary Foreign Workers? Policy Evolution and a Pandemic Reality,” *International Migration* 60, no. 4 (2022): pp. 48– 60.
- Feng Hou, Eden Crossman and Garnett Picot, “Two-step Immigration Selection: An Analysis of its Expansion in Canada,” *Economic Insights* no. 112 (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, July 2020): <https://tinyurl.com/y9eb8ubv>
- Tania Das Gupta and Yvonne Su, “International Students Face Exploitation in Canada and Abroad,” *The Conversation*, March 29, 2023: <https://tinyurl.com/cedr228n>
- Warda Shazadi Meighen, David R. Boyd, Manuela Jimenez Bueno, “Canada Must Develop Immigration Policy as Climate Change Increases Likelihood of Mass Displacement,” *Policy Options*, August 26, 2021: <https://tinyurl.com/42k6eswh>

### Recommended:

- Armine Yalnizyan, “Permanently Temporary: The Problem with Canada’s Immigration Policy,” *Open Democracy*: <https://tinyurl.com/ypbjwpe9>
  - Leah F. Vosko, “Temporary Labour Migration by Any Other Name: Differential Inclusion Under Canada’s ‘New’ International Mobility Regime,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 48, no. 1(2022): pp. 129-152.
  - Ghada Alsharif, “‘State of Shock’: As Canada Ramps Up Immigration, Unsuspecting Newcomers are Running into Inflation Shock from Soaring Prices,” *Toronto Star*, March 20, 2023: <https://tinyurl.com/4jrxfw4p>
  - Steve Lafleur and Josef Filipowicz, “Canada’s Housing and Immigration Policies Are at Odds,” *The Globe and Mail*, April 11, 2023: <https://tinyurl.com/ujayhhmv>
  - Andrew Griffith, “How the Government Used the Pandemic to Sharply Increase Immigration,” *Policy Options*, April 25, 2022: <https://tinyurl.com/9mrrhu94>
  - Fabian Lange, Mikal Skuterud, Christopher Worswick, “The Economic Case Against Low-Wage Temporary Foreign Workers,” *Policy Options*, April 27, 2022: <https://tinyurl.com/6h6e2mzw>
  - David Green, “No, Immigration is Not Some Magic Pill for Saving the Economy,” *The Globe and Mail*, December 25, 2022: <https://tinyurl.com/2swfv927>
- Tutorial: Yes.