

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
Department of Political Science

POL467H1S
The Politics of Immigration and Multiculturalism in Canada

Summer 2024
Monday and Wednesday 11:00 AM – 1:00 PM

Instructor: Carolina Reyes Marquez
Office hours: By appointment in-person or via Zoom
Email: carolina.reyesmarquez@mail.utoronto.ca

Course Description and Objectives

This course examines Canadian immigration and multiculturalism from theoretical, empirical, and applied perspectives. It includes a discussion of normative foundations, an analysis of the components of the policy framework, and an assessment of the impact of immigration and multiculturalism on other aspects of social, cultural, and political life.

Course Requirements and Grading

Grades for this course will be based on the following requirements:

| Assignment | Weight | Due Date | Submission |
|------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| Attendance and Participation | 20% (Individual) | Ongoing | In-class |
| Written Interview | 15% (Individual) | July 17 th | Quercus |
| Oral Presentation | 20% (Group) | Dates TBD | In-class |
| In-Class Debate | 20% (Group) | August 7 th | In-class and E-mail |
| Take-Home Test | 25% (Individual) | August 19 th | Quercus |

Attendance and Participation

This is a seminar-based class; therefore, you are expected to complete each week's required readings in advance, attend every class, and engage in class discussions. Attendance will be taken at the beginning of each class, and it is your responsibility to account for any absences (unexplained and unexcused absences will be considered as part of your class attendance and participation grade).

Due to the fast pace of this course, I understand that weekly reading requirements constitute a significant part of the preparation for class. Therefore, each class will consist of substantial academic readings and on occasion additional shorter pieces drawn from current political news, opinion analyses, and editorials. This will ease your workload while ensuring you can adequately prepare for each session and engage in discussion with your peers.

Written Interview

In this assignment, you will explore and reflect on the implications of immigration policy and multiculturalism in Canada through firsthand perspectives. Each student is tasked with conducting an interview with an immigrant living in Canada. Through this interview, students should aim to gain insight into the motivations of the interviewee in coming to Canada, their personal experiences with the migration process and government requirements, and the challenges and elements that have facilitated their navigation into Canadian society.

A document with precise instructions will be posted on Quercus, including a general questionnaire to guide you in conducting this assignment. Your written interview reflection should be between 1,000 and 1,300 words. This assignment is due on July 17th, 2024, and should be submitted through Quercus.

Oral Presentation

In groups of 2 to 3 students, you will have the chance to lead the seminar through a 30-45 minute presentation on that week's readings. Your presentation should briefly summarize the central points of the readings you have been assigned, relate it to the broader theme addressed in that week's seminar, and help set up our seminar discussion by raising criticisms, posing questions, and drawing out implications.

A document with precise instructions will be posted on Quercus, including presentation guidelines, participation expectations, and evaluation criteria. Presentation dates will be determined during the first week of class.

In-Class Debate

Students will participate in an in-class debate about immigration and multicultural policies in Canada. Divided into four groups of 5 to 6 students each, two teams will advocate respectively in favour and against a statement related to immigration policy, while the other two teams will tackle a statement regarding multicultural policies:

1. Canada's immigration levels are too high.
2. Canada is succeeding at integrating immigrants into Canadian society.

Through rigorous research and persuasive argumentation, students will articulate their positions, drawing on evidence, statistics, and real-world examples to support their claims. This will be an occasion for students to engage critically about immigration and multicultural policy decision-making in Canada. The debates will take place on August 7th, 2024, in class. One hour will be devoted to debating each statement. Each team is expected to submit via e-mail to the instructor a one-page summary of their position and main arguments on the day of the debate, showcasing their understanding of the topic.

A document with precise instructions will be posted on Quercus, including the debate structure and evaluation criteria. Debate groups will be determined during the first week of class.

Take-Home Test

The final assignment will be a take-home test responding to and reviewing the readings from the class. I will share a short list of prompts related to the themes we will have discussed throughout the semester. You will choose and respond to two (2) prompts. Each prompt should be answered in the form of a reading response essay. Students are expected to draw from the course reading list. The word count for each prompt is 1,500 words (including footnotes and in-text citations). This assignment is due on August 19th, 2024, and ought to be submitted through Quercus.

A document with precise instructions will be posted on Quercus, including guidelines to support you in your writing and evaluation criteria. We will discuss the assignment details in class on July 29th, 2024.

Overview of the Course

| | | |
|--------|-------------------------------|---|
| Week 1 | July 3 | Introduction and Expectations |
| Week 2 | July 8 July 10 | Policies of the Past and Policies of Today Dismantling White Canada |
| Week 3 | July 15 July 17 | Multiculturalism: Emergence and Contestations Canadian Citizenship Policy Regimes (Written Interview is due at 11:59 pm) |
| Week 4 | July 22 July 24 | The Origins and Evolution of the Canadian Model The Limits of Canadian Exceptionalism |
| Week 5 | July 29 July 31 | Federalism, the Provinces, and Canadian Immigration Policy Federalism, the Provinces, and Immigrant Integration Policies |
| Week 6 | August 5 August 7 | Civic Holiday (No Class) In-Class Debate (Group Written Summary is due at 11:59 pm) |
| Week 7 | August 12 August 19 | The End of the Canadian Model? Take-Home Test is due at 11:59 pm |

Course Policies

Office Hours and Communication

I am happy to meet either in person or via Zoom to discuss any course-related matters. While I am reachable by email, I kindly ask that you reserve it for scheduling appointments and addressing simple issues, reserving substantive discussions for office hours.

Course Modification

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

Course Drop Deadline

The final date to drop the course without academic penalty is July 29, 2024.

Late Assignments

The penalty for late assignments is 3% per day, including weekends. Given the pace of the course, it is very much in all our interest to keep up with the assignments.

Academic Integrity

Please be aware of the importance of academic integrity and the seriousness of academic dishonesty, including plagiarism. 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>.

Instances of academic dishonesty, which the university takes very seriously, can result in academic penalties. For further information on the University’s Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters, see: <http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>.

Plagiarism Detection Software and Usage of Generative AI

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>).

The use of generative artificial intelligence tools and apps is strictly prohibited in all course assignments. This includes ChatGPT and other AI writing assistants. The use of generative AI in this course will be considered as unauthorized aid, which is a form of cheating.

Well-being and Accessibility

Students are encouraged to review the wide range of programs and services to support their health and well-being. More information can be found here: <https://studentlife.utoronto.ca/department/health-wellness/>

I am dedicated to ensuring that all students have fair access to the course. Students who have special requirements or disabilities are encouraged to contact Accessibility Services to coordinate

necessary accommodations. 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 and by phone at (416) 978-8060.

If at any time you are experiencing distress, please know that you are not alone and do reach out for help. A range of free crisis lines and support services are also at your disposal, including:

- The Health and Wellness Centre, 214 College St (at St. George St.), which offers general health and nutrition services, as well as mental health services and support programs.
- Good2Talk 1-866-925-5454 – a free, confidential helpline for university students, available 24/7/365, with professional counselling, information and referrals for mental health, addictions and well-being.
- In case of *emergency*, call 911, then Campus Community Police at 416-978-2222, who will direct your call to the right service.

Schedule of Seminar Topics and Readings

Week 1 – Introduction

Class 1: Wednesday, July 3 – Introduction and Expectations

- Overview of the course's objectives, requirements, and expectations.

Week 2 – Canadian Immigration Policy and Multiculturalism in a Historical Perspective

Class 2: Monday, July 8 – Policies of the Past and Policies of Today

- Required Readings:

FitzGerald, D. S., & Cook-Martín, D. A. (2014). "Canada: Between Neighbor and Empire," *Culling the Masses: The Democratic Origins of Racist Immigration Policy in the Americas*. Harvard University Press, p. 141-185.

Banting, K., & Thompson, D. (2021). The puzzling persistence of racial inequality in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 54(4), p. 870–891.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/s0008423921000585>

Class 3: Wednesday, July 10 – Dismantling White Canada

- Required Readings:

Triadafilopoulos, T. (2013). "Dismantling White Canada: Race, Rights, and the Origins of the Points System," *Wanted and Welcome? Policies for Highly Skilled Immigrants in Comparative Perspective*. Springer, p. 15-37.

Elrick, J. (2022). Bureaucratic implementation practices and the making of Canada's merit-based immigration policy. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 48(1), 110–128.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183x.2020.1817731>

Week 3 – Canadian Multiculturalism and Emerging Debates

Class 4: Monday, July 15 – Multiculturalism: Emergence and Contestations

- Required Readings:

Kymlicka, W. (2015). "The Three Lives of Multiculturalism," *Revisiting multiculturalism in Canada: Theories, Policies and Debates*. Sense Publishers, p. 17-35.

Thompson, D. (2023). "Black Lives Matter, Social Justice, and the Limits of Multiculturalism," *Assessing Multiculturalism in Global Comparative Perspective*, Routledge, p. 223-236.

Bloemraad, I. (2011, September 22). *The Debate Over Multiculturalism: Philosophy, Politics, and Policy*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/debate-over-multiculturalism-philosophy-politics-and-policy>

Class 5: Wednesday, July 17 – Canadian Citizenship Policy Regimes

- Required Readings:

Abu-Laban, Y. (2023). “Building a New Citizenship Regime? Immigration and Multiculturalism in Canada,” *Citizenship in transnational perspective: Australia, Canada, and Aotearoa New Zealand*. Palgrave Macmillan, p. 279-300.

Ellermann, A. (2020). Human-capital citizenship and the changing logic of immigrant admissions. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 46(12), 2515–2532. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183x.2018.1561062>

Carlaw, J. (2023, March 21). *Declining naturalizations signal larger problems in Canada’s citizenship and immigration system*. The Conversation. <https://theconversation.com/declining-naturalizations-signal-larger-problems-in-canadas-citizenship-and-immigration-system-200509>

Week 4 – The Canadian Model and Canadian Exceptionalism

Class 6: Monday, July 22 – The Origins and Evolution of the Canadian Model

- Required Readings:

Triadafilopoulos, T., & Taylor, Z. (2022). “Canada: The Quintessential Migration State?,” *Understanding Global Migration*. Stanford University Press, p. 269–293.

Banting, K. and Soroka, S. (2020) “A Distinctive Culture? The Sources of Public Support for Immigration in Canada, 1980–2017,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 53, p. 821-838.

Hamilton, L. (2024, January 7). *What’s behind the dramatic shift in Canadian public opinion about immigration levels?* The Conversation. <https://theconversation.com/whats-behind-the-dramatic-shift-in-canadian-public-opinion-about-immigration-levels-219193>

Class 7: Wednesday, July 24 – The Limits of Canadian Exceptionalism

- Required Readings:

Boyd, M., & Ly, N. T. (2021). Unwanted and uninvited: Canadian exceptionalism in migration and the 2017-2020 irregular border crossings. *American Review of Canadian Studies*, 51(1), 95–121.

Lawlor, A., & Paquet, M. (2022). Deservingness in context: perspectives toward refugees and asylum seekers in Canada. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 48(15), 3484–3504.

Madokoro, L. (2023, March 26). *Justin Trudeau and Joe Biden are missing the bigger picture about migrant border crossings.* The Conversation. <https://theconversation.com/justin-trudeau-and-joe-biden-are-missing-the-bigger-picture-about-migrant-border-crossings-202546>

Week 5 – Immigration in a Federal Context

Class 8: Monday, July 29 – Federalism, the Provinces, and Canadian Immigration Policy

- Required Readings:

Paquet, M. (2020). “Federalism and Immigration in Canada,” *Canadian federalism: Performance, Effectiveness, and Legitimacy*. University of Toronto Press, p. 337-362.

Xhardez, C. (2024). ‘Stand by me’: competitive subnational regimes and the politics of retaining immigrants. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, p. 1–22.

Sá, C. (2024, April 22). *Canada must be more audacious with efforts to attract global talent.* Policy Options. <https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/april-2024/global-talent-chase/>

Class 9: Wednesday, July 31– Federalism, the Provinces, and Immigrant Integration Policies

- Required Readings:

Paquet, M., & Xhardez, C. (2020). Immigrant integration policies when regions decide ‘who comes in’: the case of Canadian provinces. *Regional Studies*, 54(11), 1519–1534.

Bilodeau, A., White, S. E., Turgeon, L., & Henderson, A. (2020). Feeling Attached and Feeling Accepted: Implications for Political Inclusion among Visible Minority Immigrants in Canada. *International Migration*, 58(2), 272–288.

Bouarbat, B. & Adom, I. M. (2024, April 23). *Inequalities in labour market access based on ethnic background.* Policy Options. <https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/april-2024/minorities-canadian-labour/>

Week 6 – Debates on Immigration Levels and Multicultural Policies

No Class: Monday, August 5 – Civic Holiday

Class 10: Wednesday, August 7 – In-Class Debate

- No required readings.

Week 7 – Current Debates and Tensions

Class 11: Monday, August 12 – The End of The Canadian Model?

- Required Readings:

Akbar, M. (2022). Who are Canada's temporary foreign workers? Policy evolution and a pandemic reality. *International Migration*, 60(4), 48–60.

Ellermann, A., & Gorokhovskaia, Y. (2019). The impermanence of permanence: The rise of probationary immigration in Canada. *International Migration*, 58(6), 45–60.

Legge, A. & Rawji, I. (2024, May 22). *Our immigration strategy is failing to deliver on its most important promise*. The Hub. <https://thehub.ca/2024-05-22/adam-legge-and-irfhan-rawji-our-immigration-strategy-is-failing-to-deliver/>