

Department of Political Science
University of Toronto
POL 220H1-S
Winter Term 2023
Immigration, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship in Canada
Tuesdays 3-5
Brennan Hall 200

Professor: Robert Vipond

Office: Sidney Smith, Room 3008

Email: robert.vipond@utoronto.ca

TAs: James Ankers

Email: james.ankers@mail.utoronto.ca

Anika Ganness

Email: a.ganness@mail.utoronto.ca

Alex Pekic

Email: alex.pekic@mail.utoronto.ca

This course asks three questions that are central to just about any political community, especially nation states: Who belongs? On what terms? And to what end? These questions have been an enduring - and enduringly challenging - part of Canadian politics since well before Confederation established what we now call Canada. They are central to what is often called the “national” question – that is Canada’s relationship to Quebec and to French Canada. They go to the heart of Canada’s relationship with Indigenous peoples. And these questions of belonging animate the themes of this course – immigration, multiculturalism, and citizenship.

The course is divided into two overlapping parts, divided by Reading Week. The first part centres on the politics of immigration (that is, who is invited to join the Canadian club), the second on multiculturalism (that is, the club’s terms of membership for those who are allowed to join). As this course is an introduction to these subjects, we will sample a variety of ways in which political scientists (and other scholars) have tried to make sense of, explain, and evaluate Canada’s record on immigration and multiculturalism – its citizenship regime. And through a combination of written assignments and verbal participation, we will explore some of the ways in which the personal and the political, experience and analysis, can be helpfully combined.

This course counts **both** as a credit in Canadian politics **and** as a Diversity and Identity course. While a previous course in Canadian politics (e.g. POL 214 or POL 224) is not required, it is highly recommended.

Format

There are four essential elements to this course: **lectures, tutorials, readings, and written assignments**. The **lectures** provide a sort of roadmap to the course as a whole. They are (I flatter myself to think) essential to getting from “here” (curiosity about the course themes) to “there” (more systematic and reflective curiosity about the course themes). This is an in-person course, in which we meet every Tuesday afternoon from 3-5 on the St. George campus. That said, I don’t want you to come to class if you are down with the flu or Covid, so lectures will magically appear on Quercus soon after they are given, usually the next day. Still, it is important that you attend the lectures if at all possible. There is nothing more dispiriting to us professors than to see a half-empty lecture hall.

Tutorials are an essential part of the course. They provide an opportunity to discuss issues and questions arising from the lectures and course readings in a setting that is conducive to discussion. And the issues raised in and by the course are eminently discussable.

There will be five (5) tutorials over the course of the semester, which means you should be expecting to attend a one-hour tutorial every two weeks. (Either your TA or I will provide a more precise tutorial schedule once the course begins. They will likely begin in Week 3 and run during odd weeks thereafter.)

As a crude incentive to persuade you to attend tutorials, 5% of your final mark will be determined by attendance at tutorials; another 5% will be allocated on the basis of the quality of your participation. If you have questions about the course, either substantive or structural, you should speak first with your TA. They are the first point of contact for all students.

Readings: Somewhat surprisingly, there are very few large undergraduate courses devoted to the themes of immigration and multiculturalism offered at Canadian universities. As a result, and unlike courses like POL 214, there is no market for textbooks that provide a *tour d’horizon* of the field. (That’s probably a good thing, actually.) The result is that I have cobbled together a customized menu of readings that covers the topics that I want to lecture on (and that I think you will enjoy). If nothing else, this will save you money. There are no books that you need to purchase. All of the readings are available online, most of them from Robarts, and all of them will be deposited to your Quercus locker (for which you have the combination). That said, it is vitally important that you do the readings; they typically amount to 50-60 pages per week. I have curated readings that I think are a terrific introduction to the themes of the course. Your task is to engage with them. Don’t let me down!

Written assignments:

- 1) **Reading Responses:** You will be asked to submit **three** short essays (maximum= 800 words or about 3 double-spaced pages each) that will take the form of a response to a

prompt that I will provide - related to one or more of the course readings. I will provide **five** topics/weeks/readings from which to choose, with due dates spread throughout the term so that you can choose a topic that you both find interesting and that suits your schedule. At least one of these reading responses (and preferably two) **must** be submitted, however, by Week 6 of the course. Each reading response is worth **20% of the final grade. Taken together, then, the reading responses account for 60% of the total grade for the course.** If you wish, you may submit a fourth response; we will count the best three. (Four is the maximum you may submit.) **Late penalty – 2% per day or partial day (including weekends).**

- 2) **Summative Assignment:** One of the themes we will explore in this course is the extent to which schools (especially public schools) are a site for the politics of multiculturalism both in Canada and elsewhere. Your task will be to reflect on and assess **your** educational experience (whether in Canada or somewhere else) in light of the various definitions and theories of multiculturalism that we will encounter in the readings. The goal of the exercise is to connect your personal experience with the ideas and evidence that you will encounter in the readings. A more precise rubric or framework will be provided in due course to guide your reflections. This essay should be between 2,000 and 2,500 words in length. The precise question, expectations, and accompanying material will be made available by Tuesday, March 21 at the latest. It will be due on **Tuesday, April 11 by 11:59 pm.** It is worth **25% of the final grade in the course.** **Late penalty = 2% per day or partial day (including weekends).**
- 3) **Participation:** The final **15% of the course grade** will be allocated along three dimensions: **5%** will reflect attendance in tutorials. **5%** will reward regular and helpfully engaged participation in tutorials. The final **5%** will be awarded for answering several (anonymous) opinion surveys that will dovetail with the material we are studying in the course. More details will be provided as we go along.

Course Policies and Procedures:

Quercus: This course will use Quercus to disseminate all course-related information and assignments. It is your responsibility to log on to Quercus regularly and obtain relevant information.

Submitting written assignments: All written assignments must be submitted through Quercus.

Rough drafts and electronic copies of papers: Students are strongly advised to keep rough/draft work *and* electronic copies of their essays and final assignment before handing them in. These should be kept at least until marked assignments have been returned to you and the grades posted on ACORN.

Academic Integrity and Plagiarism: *“Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information on plagiarism please see Writing at the University of Toronto <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>”.*

Please take a look at the linked page. It provides helpful tips about how not to plagiarize. One piece of good advice is, if in doubt, better to over-reference than under-reference. I'd add another: In writing essays, don't rely too heavily on quotations. You may want to quote a passage directly because you think the way an author has expressed an idea is clear, its meaning self-evident. Of course, that is what the author wants you to think, but it often isn't true. There are often ambiguities, complexities, and contradictions lying just beneath the appealing surface. So, instead of simply repeating an author's words and ideas (in quotation marks), it is usually better to inspect them, disassemble them, play with them, then re-construct them in your own words. You still need to attribute those ideas appropriately (see above), but in fully engaging with a text you not only add value, you plagiarize-proof your essay.

Re-grading assignments:

If you are unhappy with the grade you received on one of the assignments, you may request to have the assignment re-graded. The process or protocol for re-grading has several steps:

- 1) The first thing to do is to wait. Neither the TAs nor the professor will discuss your assignment for at least 48 hours after the assignment has been returned to you. This “cooling off” period gives you an opportunity to marshal the evidence you need to make your case.
- 2) Your TA is your first point of contact. Since your TA marked your assignment in the first place, it is only fair to have them explain why you received the mark you did. When you reach out to your TA, you must provide a brief, written explanation (no more than 250 words) in which you explain where you believe an error has occurred.
- 3) If you are not satisfied with their explanation as to why you received the grade you did, you may ask them to re-grade your paper. (Be aware, however, that this does not guarantee your mark will be raised. It could go up, down, or remain the same.)
- 4) If after re-grading you are still unhappy, you may appeal to Professor Vipond. Again, you must wait for 48 hours. And again, he reserves the right to raise, lower, or leave your mark as it was.

Accessibility

Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. If you have a disability/health consideration that may require accommodations, please feel free to approach me and/or Accessibility Services. Staff at Accessibility Services are available by appointment to assess specific needs, provide referrals and arrange appropriate accommodations. Please call (416) 978- 8060, email accessibility.services@utoronto.ca, or visit <http://www.accessibility.utoronto.ca> for detailed information about the Accessibility Services at University of Toronto.

Accommodations

It is important both for success in university and in whatever career(s) you undertake thereafter that you develop good time management skills. That's why we have deadlines. At the same time, we understand that these are not normal times and that life during a particularly active flu season and at what we hope is the tail end of a pandemic has a way of mocking the best laid plans. If you absolutely need an extension on your written work, here are the steps to follow:

- 1) Reach out to your TA **before the deadline for the assignment.**
- 2) Explain the reason you need the extension. A doctor's note is helpful but, under the current circumstances, not absolutely necessary. You also need not provide personal or medical information that you feel uncomfortable revealing.
- 3) Provide a proposal for a new deadline.

Your TA will make the final decision about what accommodation, if any, will be made. As noted above, work that is submitted late will be subject to a penalty of **2% per day.**

Drop Date

The final date by which to drop the course is **March 19, 2023.**

Schedule of Classes and Readings

Part I: Immigration

Week 1 (January 10) Introduction

Week 2 (January 17) How We Got To Where We Are: A Brief History

Readings:

Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, "Introduction," *The Making of the Mosaic* (Toronto: UTP, second ed. 2010), 3-21.

Patricia Roy, "Introduction," *The Writing on the Wall: Chinese and Japanese Immigration to BC* (Toronto: UTP, 1974), vi-xxxi.

Irving Abella and Harold Troper, "'The line must be drawn somewhere': Canada and Jewish Refugees, 1933-1939," in Franca Iacovetta (ed), *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s-1960s* (Toronto: UTP, 1998), 412-445.

Week 3 (January 24) The 1960s and 1970s: Paradigm Shifts

Readings:

Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos, *Becoming Multicultural: Immigration and the Politics of Membership in Canada and Germany* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012), chapter 4, "Dismantling White Canada," 86-119.

Jennifer Elrick, "Bureaucratic implementation practices and the making of Canada's merit-based immigration policy," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 2020.

Geoffrey Cameron, "Reluctant Partnership: A Political History of Private Sponsorship in Canada (1947-1980)," in Cameron and Labman (eds), *Strangers to Neighbours: Refugee sponsorship in context* (Montreal and Kingston: MQUP, 2020), 19-41.

Weeks 4 and 5 (January 31 and February 7) The Politics of Immigration

Readings:

Zack Taylor, "The Political Geography of Immigration: Party Competition for Immigrants' Votes in Canada, 1997-2019," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 51:1 (2021), 18-40.

Mireille Paquet, "Federalism and Immigration in Canada," in H. Bakvis and G. Skogstad (eds), *Canadian Federalism: Performance, Effectiveness, and Legitimacy* (4th ed), (Toronto: UTP, 2020), 337-362.

Keith Banting and Stuart Soroka, "A Distinctive Culture? The Sources of Public Support for Immigration in Canada, 1980-2019," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 53 (2020), 821-838.

Michael J. Donnelly, "Discrimination and Multiculturalism in Canada: Exceptional or Incoherent Attitudes?," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 51:1 (2021), 166-188.

Michael J. Donnelly, *Canadian Exceptionalism: Are We Good or Are We Lucky?*, McGill Institute for the Study of Canada, 2017.

Week 6: (February 14) Where Should We Go From Here?

Guest Lecturer: Professor Joseph Carens

Joseph Carens, "Immigrants, Political Realities, and Philosophy," lecture delivered at UC Berkeley (typescript).

Gary Gutting and Joseph Carens, "When Immigrants Lose Their Human Rights," *New York Times*, 25 November 2014. (Six pages).

Patti Tamara Lenard, "How *Should* We Think about Private Sponsorship of Refugees?," in Cameron and Labman (eds), *Strangers to Neighbours: Refugee sponsorship in context* (Montreal and Kingston: MQUP, 2020), 61-73.

OR Patti Tamara Lenard, "How Exceptional? Welcoming Refugees the Canadian Way," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 51:1 (2021), 78-94.

Doug Saunders, *Maximum Canada: Toward a Country of 100 Million* (Toronto: Vintage, 2019), excerpts.

Reading Week – February 21 – No Class

Part II: Multiculturalism and Citizenship

Week 7: (February 28) Assimilation – And Resistance

Robert Vipond, *Making a Global City: How One Toronto School Embraced Diversity* (Toronto: UTP, 2017), chapters 2, 3, and 4.

Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006), pp. 49-62.

Arthur Ross, *Communal Solidarity: Immigration, Settlement, and Social Welfare in Winnipeg's Jewish Community, 1882-1930* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2019), "Conclusion,"

Week 8: (March 7) From Resistance to Pluralism: Wave I

Harold Troper, "Becoming an Immigrant City: A History of Immigration into Toronto since the Second World War," in Paul Anisef and Michael Lanphier (eds), *The World in a City* (Toronto: UTP, 2003), 19-62.

Government of Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* (1967), excerpts.

Pierre Trudeau and others, Statements to the House of Commons on multiculturalism, 8 October 1971.

Week 9: (March 14) Multiculturalism in Theory and Practice: Wave II

Will Kymlicka, "Multicultural states and intercultural citizens," *Theory and Research in Education* 1:2 (2003), 147-169.

Elisabeth Ivarsflaten and Paul Sniderman, "The challenge of Muslim inclusion: A study in thresholds," Digscore working paper, University of Bergen, 2017.

Keith Banting and Will Kymlicka, Multicultural Policy Index, Queen's University.
<https://www.queensu.ca/mcp/>

Randy Besco and Erin Tolley, "Does Everyone Cheer? The Politics of Immigration and Multiculturalism in Canada," in Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant et al, *Federalism and the Welfare State in a Multicultural World* (Montreal and Kingston: MQUP, 2018), 291-318.

Week 10: (March 21) The (Complicated) Politics of Multiculturalism: Recognition, Accommodation, and Support: Wave III

Robert Vipond, "Heritage Moments: Customs, Traditions, and Multicultural Citizenship in Canada," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 51:1 (2021), 41-61.

Elisabeth Ivarsflaten and Paul Sniderman, *The Struggle for Inclusion: Muslim Minorities and the Democratic Ethos* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2022), chapter 4, pp. 70-87.

Supreme Court cases – *Multani* (2006) and *Alberta v. Hutterian Brethren of Wilson Colony* (2009); and Quebec's Bill 21.

Week 11: (March 28) Good News and Bad News

Will Kymlicka, "The Precarious Resilience of Multiculturalism in Canada," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 51:1 (2021), 122-142.

Keith Banting and Debra Thompson, "The Puzzling Persistence of Racial Inequality in Canada," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 54:4 (2021), 870-891.

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Week 12 (April 4) Conclusion

