

POL491-H1S: Topics in Canadian Politics II

Identity, Diversity, and Political Behaviour: Canada in Comparative Perspective

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Lectures: Wednesdays 18:10-20:00 at RL 14190

Office hours: Wednesdays 20:00-21:00 or by appointment

A. Course Description

This course explores the interplay of public policy and public opinion in the policy areas of immigration, multiculturalism, and socioeconomic inequality. The course offers a survey of policy debates and public attitudes by drawing on public opinion and political behaviour studies, and public policy literatures from Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, and other countries. We will examine the various ways in which the politics and policies of citizenship have interacted with, challenged, and transformed public policy in contemporary liberal democracies. We will study the normative, conceptual, and empirical debates on citizenship and the impact of immigration, race, and multiculturalism on public policy from a comparative perspective. By the end of the course students should gain a substantial knowledge of the major debates and concepts of citizenship and the politics of diversity.

B. Teaching Method

This course is a seminar, and consequently, students are expected to participate actively in class. The instructor's role is to lead discussion, to pose questions, to evaluate the strengths of the arguments and to provide additional information when it is required. Only occasionally will there be lectures. Students are strongly encouraged to bring a laptop or tablet to class.

C. Quercus(CourseWebsite)

The course has an active Quercus page. The instructor will upload assignments and other course materials to the course website on Quercus. It is your responsibility to regularly check the course page on Quercus for any course-related announcements and documents.

D. Required Texts

Most readings assigned for this course are available through the library's electronic databases. The web links to the full texts will be posted on the Quercus page. The texts that are not available electronically can be accessed through the course reserves section of the library.

E. Course Requirements:

Detailed descriptions of requirements will be provided in class and on Quercus. Please note that course requirements are non-negotiable.

Course Component	Assignment Description, Deadlines, and Instructions	Weight
Participation	Participation is exhibited by consistent attendance, punctuality, preparation, active participation in small and large group discussions and overall contribution to the seminar.	15%
Reading Responses	5 response papers x 3 %. Due in class between weeks 3 and 11. Instructions: (1) Each one of these participation papers should be roughly 500 words long and should discuss one of the readings from the module we are covering in a given week. (2) The reading response should discuss the critical points of the reading of your choice. That is, we are not looking for a general overview/summary	15%

	<p>of that reading. I'd like you to briefly reflect on the critical discussion that takes place in that piece. Feel free to suggest further questions for reflection or to speculate on how a particular problem raised by the reading could be solved/tackled.</p> <p>(3) You can hand in only one response papers per week.</p> <p>(4) I will not accept any response papers over email. All of them have to be handed in person during the class.</p> <p>(5) You can use any citation style. Please make sure you clearly identify the article/book chapter you are responding to.</p>	
<p>Essay Proposal</p>	<p>Your essay proposal is due via the Quercus submission folder on February 8 (Class #5) by 11:59 PM.</p> <p>(1) You should think of the <i>research proposal</i> and the <i>term essay</i> as one project. The combined weight of these two assignments is 55% of your final grade. You should not treat the proposal as an independent piece of work. The sole purpose of this assignment is to prepare for the writing of the term paper.</p> <p>If you write a good proposal, you will be better prepared for three important reasons. First, you will have done a lot of research and thinking on the essay by the time you begin to write the essay. Second, your proposal will guide you through the writing process of your essay. Third, you will receive feedback from me on your preliminary argument, approach to the topic, and the sources you plan to use, before you write the essay.</p> <p>(2) The proposal should have a clear and concise</p>	<p>15%</p>

	<p>statement of the argument and a literature review component (brief annotations on at least eight peer-reviewed journal articles or book chapters from outside the readings list on the course outline).</p> <p>(3) The part that introduces the preliminary thesis of your prospective essay should contain (a) a clear statement of the argument you plan to develop in your essay, (b) why you think that argument is theoretically important (how is it related to the larger debates that we study in POL 491), and (c) a brief (tentative) statement of how you plan to substantiate it.</p> <p>(4) The part that reviews the sources you plan to draw on, or engage with, when writing your essay, should contain three-four sentences on each of these items, specifying how and why you intend to use those particular readings. The main question these brief annotations should answer is the following one. <i>How are these texts connected to the argument(s) that I want to construct in my essay?</i></p>	
<p>Group Presentation</p>	<p>(1) Students will lead part of a seminar in groups of two.</p> <p>(2) Your presentation should focus on two-three of the weekly readings and should take no longer than 30 minutes.</p> <p>(3) You should approach these readings in the ways highlighted above, in the response paper instructions.</p> <p>(4) Following the presentation, your group will lead the discussion on these readings for one hour.</p> <p>(5) Finally, you need to inform me about which two-three texts your presentation will focus on</p>	<p>15%</p>

	at least four calendar days before your presentation.	
Research Essay	<p>(1) Your essay is due via the Quercus submission folder on March 22nd (Week 11) by 11:59 pm.</p> <p>(2) The essay should be no longer than 4000 words and no shorter than 3500 words excluding the bibliography and title pages.</p> <p>(3) Your essay must be on the same topic as your essay proposal.</p>	40%

Late assignments will be subject to a **late penalty** of 2% per day (including weekends) of the total marks for the assignment. Assignments submitted seven calendar days beyond the due date will be assigned a grade of zero. Assignments handed in **AFTER** the work has been returned to the class cannot be marked for credit. Accommodations due to late registration into the course will **NOT** be approved.

F. Course Schedule & Required Readings (subject to change)

Please note that students are expected to read the readings from the online reading list on Quercus. Some of the readings on this course outline will be denoted as recommended rather than required readings. I will announce on Quercus which readings are considered recommended/optional readings and which are considered required. In the event of any conflict between the course outline and the reading list on Quercus, the latter shall prevail.

Week 1 (January 11). Introduction: What it means to be a citizen? Public Policy and Public Opinion

- (1) Marshall, T. H. 1950. "Citizenship and Social Class." In *Citizenship and Social Class, and Other Essays*. Cambridge [Eng.]: University Press.
- (2) Walzer, Michael. 1989. "Citizenship." In *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*, edited by Terence Ball, James Farr, and Russell L. Hanson, 211–19. Ideas in Context. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge

University Press.

- (3) Kymlicka, Will. 2003. "Being Canadian." *Government and Opposition* 38 (3): 357–85. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1477-7053.t01-1-00019>.
- (4) Pocock, J. G. A. 1995. "The Ideal of Citizenship since Classical Times." In *Theorizing Citizenship*, edited by Ronald Beiner. SUNY Series in Political Theory. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- (5) Page, Benjamin I., and Robert Y. Shapiro. "Effects of Public Opinion on Policy." *American Political Science Review* 77, no. 1 (March 1983): 175–90.
- (6) Burstein, Paul. "The Impact of Public Opinion on Public Policy: A Review and an Agenda." *Political Research Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (March 1, 2003): 29–40.
- (7) Klüver, Heike, and Mark Pickup. "Are They Listening? Public Opinion, Interest Groups and Government Responsiveness." *West European Politics* 42, no. 1 (January 2, 2019): 91–112.

Week 2 (January 18). Canadian multiculturalism policy

- (1) Besco, Randy, and Erin Tolley. "Does Everyone Cheer? The Politics of Immigration and Multiculturalism in Canada." In *Federalism and the Welfare State in a Multicultural World*, edited by Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant, Richard Johnston, Will Kymlicka, and John Myles. Queen's Policy Studies Series. Kingston, ON : Montreal ; Kingston ; London ; Ithaca: School of Policy Studies, Queen's University ; McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018.
- (2) Wright, Matthew, Richard Johnston, Jack Citrin, and Stuart Soroka. "Multiculturalism and Muslim Accommodation: Policy and Predisposition Across Three Political Contexts." *Comparative Political Studies* 50, no. 1 (January 1, 2017): 102–32.

- (3) Winter, Elke. "Rethinking Multiculturalism After Its 'Retreat': Lessons From Canada." *American Behavioral Scientist* 59, no. 6 (May 1, 2015): 637–57.
- (4) Stuart Soroka and Sarah Robertson, "A literature review of Public Opinion Research on Canadian attitudes towards multiculturalism and immigration, 2006-2009."

Week 3 (January 25). Debating multiculturalism – public policy & public opinion in Europe and the U.S.

- (1) Vertovec, Steven, and Susanne Wessendorf. "Introduction: Assessing the Backlash against Multiculturalism in Europe." In *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices*, edited by Steven Vertovec and Susanne Wessendorf. London ; New York: Routledge, 2010.
- (2) Statham, Paul. "How Ordinary People View Muslim Group Rights in Britain, the Netherlands, France and Germany: Significant 'Gaps' between Majorities and Muslims?" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42, no. 2 (January 26, 2016): 217–36.
- (3) Westlake, Daniel. "Multiculturalism, Political Parties, and the Conflicting Pressures of Ethnic Minorities and Far-Right Parties." *Party Politics* 24, no. 4 (July 1, 2018): 421–33.
- (4) Morjé Howard, Marc, and Sara Wallace Goodman. "The Politics of Citizenship and Belonging in Europe." In *Debating Immigration*, edited by Carol M. Swain, Second edition. Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- (5) Moberg, Sarah Patton, Maria Krysan, and Deanna Christianson. "Racial Attitudes in America." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 83, no. 2 (September 12, 2019): 450–71.

- (6) Davenport, Lauren D. "Beyond Black and White: Biracial Attitudes in Contemporary U.S. Politics." *American Political Science Review* 110, no. 1 (February 2016): 52–67.
- (7) Moberg, Sarah Patton, Maria Krysan, and Deanna Christianson. "Racial Attitudes in America." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 83, no. 2 (September 12, 2019): 450–71.

Week 4 (February 1). Immigrant Integration, Social Policy, and the Welfare State

- (1) Baldi, Gregory, and Sara Wallace Goodman. 2015. "Migrants into Members: Social Rights, Civic Requirements, and Citizenship in Western Europe." *West European Politics* 38 (6): 1152–73.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2015.1041237>.
- (2) Goodman, Sara Wallace, and Matthew Wright. 2015. "Does Mandatory Integration Matter? Effects of Civic Requirements on Immigrant Socio-Economic and Political Outcomes." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 41 (12): 1885–1908. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1042434>.
- (3) Joppke, Christian. 2017. "Civic Integration in Western Europe: Three Debates." *West European Politics* 40 (6): 1153–76.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2017.1303252>.
- (4) Green, David A., and Christopher Worswick. 2017. "Canadian Economics Research on Immigration through the Lens of Theories of Justice." *Canadian Journal of Economics/Revue Canadienne D'économie* 50 (5): 1262–1303. <https://doi.org/10.1111/caje.12298>.
- (5) Sweetman, A. and K. Truong. 2018. "The United States and Canada: Intergenerational social mobility among immigrants and their native-born children", in *Catching Up? Country Studies on Intergenerational Mobility and Children of Immigrants*, OECD Publishing, Paris, <https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264301030-9-en>.

Week 5 (February 8). Immigration Policies as a Social Policy: A Comparative Perspective

- (1) Lo, Lucia, Wei Li, and Wan Yu. 2019. “Highly-Skilled Migration from China and India to Canada and the United States.” *International Migration* 57 (3): 317–33. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12388>.
- (2) Kaushal, Neeraj, and Yao Lu. 2015. “Recent Immigration to Canada and the United States: A Mixed Tale of Relative Selection.” *International Migration Review* 49 (2): 479–522. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12093>.
- (3) Akbari, Ather H., and Martha MacDonald. 2014. “Immigration Policy in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States: An Overview of Recent Trends.” *International Migration Review* 48 (3): 801–22. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12128>.
- (4) Bhuyan, Rupaleem, Daphne Jeyapal, Jane Ku, Izumi Sakamoto, and Elena Chou. 2017. “Branding ‘Canadian Experience’ in Immigration Policy: Nation Building in a Neoliberal Era.” *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 18 (1): 47–62. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-015-0467-4>.
- (5) Bragg, Bronwyn, and Lloyd L. Wong. 2016. “‘Cancelled Dreams’: Family Reunification and Shifting Canadian Immigration Policy.” *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 14 (1): 46–65. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2015.1011364>.

Week 6 (February 15). Immigration debates in comparative perspective

- (1) The Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford, “UK Public Opinion toward Immigration: Overall Attitudes and Level of Concern.”
- (2) Hansen, Randall. “Making Immigration Work: How Britain and Europe Can Cope with Their Immigration Crises (The Government and Opposition/Leonard Schapiro Lecture, 2015).” *Government and Opposition* 51, no. 2 (April 2016): 183–208.

- (3) Wallace, Tom. "Policy-Driven Evidence: Evaluating the UK Government's Approach to Immigration Policy Making." *Critical Social Policy* 38, no. 2 (May 1, 2018): 283–301.
- (4) Kaushal, Neeraj, and Yao Lu. 2015. "Recent Immigration to Canada and the United States: A Mixed Tale of Relative Selection." *International Migration Review* 49 (2): 479–522.
- (5) Bhuyan, Rupaleem, Daphne Jeyapal, Jane Ku, Izumi Sakamoto, and Elena Chou. 2017. "Branding 'Canadian Experience' in Immigration Policy: Nation Building in a Neoliberal Era." *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 18 (1): 47–62.
- (6) Bragg, Bronwyn, and Lloyd L. Wong. 2016. "'Cancelled Dreams': Family Reunification and Shifting Canadian Immigration Policy." *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 14 (1): 46–65.

Week 7. Reading Week – No class on February 22

Week 8 (March 1). Multiculturalism and Immigration Debates in non-liberal democratic contexts.

- (1) Malakhov, Vladimir S. "Russia as a New Immigration Country: Policy Response and Public Debate." *Europe-Asia Studies* 66, no. 7 (August 9, 2014): 1062–79.
- (2) Akcapar, Sebnem Koser, and Dogus Simsek. "The Politics of Syrian Refugees in Turkey: A Question of Inclusion and Exclusion through Citizenship." *Social Inclusion* 6, no. 1 (March 29, 2018): 176–87.
- (3) Light, Matthew. "Migration Policy in Russia, 2006 to 2013: Constraints on Reform." In *Fragile Migration Rights: Freedom of Movement in Post-Soviet Russia*. Routledge Studies in Criminal Justice, Borders and Citizenship. Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016.
- (4) Koca, Burcu Toğral. "Syrian Refugees in Turkey: From 'Guests' to 'Enemies'?" *New Perspectives on Turkey* 54 (May 2016): 55–75.

- (5) Aktürk, Sener. *Regimes of Ethnicity and Nationhood in Germany, Russia, and Turkey. Problems of International Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012. (Read Chapters 4&7)
- (6) Herrera, Yoshiko M., and Nicole M. Butkovich Kraus. “Pride Versus Prejudice: Ethnicity, National Identity, and Xenophobia in Russia.” Text, April 2016.
- (7) Gerber, Theodore P. “Public Opinion on Human Rights in Putin-Era Russia: Continuities, Changes, and Sources of Variation.” *Journal of Human Rights* 16, no. 3 (July 3, 2017): 314–31.
- (8) Sarigil, Zeki, and Ekrem Karakoc. “Inter-Ethnic (In)Tolerance between Turks and Kurds: Implications for Turkish Democratisation.” *South European Society and Politics* 22, no. 2 (April 3, 2017): 197–216.

Week 9 (March 8). Multiculturalism, Distributive Justice, and the Welfare State

- (1) Banting, Keith, Richard Johnston, Will Kymlicka, and Stuart Soroka. 2006. “Do Multiculturalism Policies Erode the Welfare State? An Empirical Analysis.” In *Multiculturalism and the Welfare State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199289172.001.0001/acprof-9780199289172-chapter-2>.
- (2) Miller, David. 2006. “Multiculturalism and the Welfare State: Theoretical Reflections.” In *Multiculturalism and the Welfare State*, edited by Keith Banting and Will Kymlicka. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199289172.001.0001/acprof-9780199289172-chapter-12>.
- (3) Fraser, Nancy. 1995. “From Redistribution to Recognition? Dilemmas of Justice in a ‘Post-Socialist’ Age.” *New Left Review*, no. I/212 (August).
- (4) Banting, Keith G. 2010. “Is There a Progressive’s Dilemma in Canada? Immigration, Multiculturalism and the Welfare State.” *Canadian Journal of*

Political Science/Revue Canadienne de Science Politique 43 (4): 797–820.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0008423910000983>.

- (5) Kymlicka, Will. 2015. “Solidarity in Diverse Societies: Beyond Neoliberal Multiculturalism and Welfare Chauvinism.” *Comparative Migration Studies* 3 (1): 17. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-015-0017-4>.

Week 10. (March 15). Poverty, Race, and the Welfare State (cont’d)

- (1) Kidd, S. A., J. Thistle, T. Beaulieu, B. O’Grady, and S. Gaetz. “A National Study of Indigenous Youth Homelessness in Canada.” *Public Health, The Health of Indigenous Peoples*, 176 (November 1, 2019): 163–71.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.puhe.2018.06.012>.
- (2) Chartrand, Vicki. “Unsettled Times: Indigenous Incarceration and the Links between Colonialism and the Penitentiary in Canada.” *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice* 61, no. 3 (July 2019): 67–89.
<https://doi.org/10.3138/cjccj.2018-0029>.
- (3) Neubeck, Kenneth J., and Noel A. Cazenave. 2001. “AFTER AFDC AND THE RETURN OF STATES’ RIGHTS-ERA WELFARE RACISM.” In *Welfare Racism: Playing the Race Card against America’s Poor*. New York: Routledge.
- (4) Gilens, Martin. 1996. “‘Race Coding’ and White Opposition to Welfare.” *American Political Science Review* 90 (3): 593–604.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/2082611>.
- (5) Lieberman, Robert. 2003. “Race and the Limits of Solidarity: American Welfare State Development in Comparative Perspective.” In *Race and the Politics of Welfare Reform: Edited by Sanford F. Schram, Joe Soss, and Richard C. Fording*, edited by Sanford Schram, Joe Soss, and Richard C. Fording. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- (6) An, Brian, Morris Levy, and Rodney Hero. 2018. “It’s Not Just Welfare: Racial Inequality and the Local Provision of Public Goods in the United States.” *Urban Affairs Review* 54 (5): 833–65.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1078087417752476>.

- (7) Yinger, John. 1995. "Public Policy to Combat Discrimination in Housing: A Comprehensive Approach." In *Closed Doors, Opportunities Lost: The Continuing Costs of Housing Discrimination*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- (8) Lindsey, Duncan. 2009. "The Color of Child Poverty." In *Child Poverty and Inequality: Securing a Better Future for America's Children*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.
- (9) Lindsey, Duncan. 2009. "Eliminating Welfare and Reducing Child Poverty." In *Child Poverty and Inequality: Securing a Better Future for America's Children*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

Week 11 (March 22). Federalism and cultural diversity: Is federalism a solution?

- (1) Gagnon, Alain-G., and Guy Laforest. 2012. "The Moral Foundations of Asymmetrical Federalism: Normative Considerations." In *Federalism, Plurinationality and Democratic Constitutionalism: Theory and Cases*, edited by Ferran Requejo Coll and Miquel Caminal i Badia. Nationalism and Ethnicity / Routledge Studies in Nationalism and Ethnicity. Abingdon, Oxon ; New York: Routledge.
- (2) Stepan, Alfred C., Juan J. Linz, and Yogendra Yadav. 2011. "The U.S. Federal Model and Multinational Societies: Some Problems for Democratic Theory and Practice." In *Crafting State-Nations: India and Other Multinational Democracies*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- (3) Stepan, Alfred C. 1999. "Federalism and Democracy: Beyond the U.S. Model." *Journal of Democracy* 10 (4): 19–34.
- (4) Simeon, Richard, and Daniel-Patrick Conway. 2001. "Federalism and the Management of Conflict in Multinational Societies." In *Multinational Democracies*, edited by Alain Gagnon and James Tully. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- (5) Kymlicka, Will. 1998. *Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural Relations in Canada*. Toronto ; New York: Oxford University Press. Chapters 10, 11, 12.

(6) Tully, James, and Michael Simpson. 2012. "The Unfreedom of the Moderns: In the Post-9/11 Age of Constitutionalism and Imperialism." In *Federalism, Plurinationality and Democratic Constitutionalism: Theory and Cases*, edited by Ferran Requejo Coll and Miquel Caminal i Badia. Nationalism and Ethnicity / Routledge Studies in Nationalism and Ethnicity. Abingdon, Oxon ; New York: Routledge.

(7) Saunders, Cheryl. 2003. "Federalism, Decentralisation and Conflict Management in Multicultural Societies." In *Federalism in a Changing World, Learning from Each Other*, edited by Arnold Koller and Raoul Blindenbacher. Montreal, Quebec: McGill- Queen's University Press.

Week 12 (March 29). Quebec and Identity Politics

(1) Gagnon, Alain-G. 2014. "Five Faces of Quebec: Shifting Small Worlds and Evolving Political Dynamics." In *Canadian Politics, Sixth Edition*, eds. James Bickerton and Alain- G Gagnon. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

(2) Gagnon, Alain-G. & Raffaele Iacovino. 2007. "Canadian Federalism and Multinational Democracy: 'Pressures' from Quebec on the Federation." in *Canadian Federalism: Performance, Effectiveness and Legitimacy, Second Edition*, eds. Herman Bakvis & Grace Skogstad. Toronto: Oxford University Press: 334-354.

(3) Iacovino, Raffaele. 2015. "Contextualizing the Quebec Charter of Values: Belonging without Citizenship in Quebec." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 47 (1): 41-60.

(4) Maclure, Jocelyn. 2011. "Québec's Culture War: Two Conceptions of Québec Identity." in *Quebec Questions: Quebec Studies for the Twenty-First Century*, eds. Jarrett Rudy, Stephan Gervais & Christopher Kirkey, Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press. |

(5) Bouchard, Gerard, and Charles Taylor. 2008. "Building the Future: A Time for Reconciliation (Abridged Final Report)". Montreal, Quebec: The Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences. <http://www.accommodements-quebec.ca/documentation/rapports/rapport-final- abrege-en.pdf>

(6) Haque, Eve. 2012. *Multiculturalism Within a Bilingual Framework: Language, Race, and Belonging in Canada*. Toronto ; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press. Chapters 5 and 7.

Week 13 (April 5). Review and Catch Up