

**Department of Political Science**  
**University of Toronto**  
**POL 220H1-F**  
**Fall Term 2025**  
**Immigration, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship in Canada**  
**Wednesday 9-11**

**Professor: Daniel Rubenson**                      [daniel.rubenson@utoronto.ca](mailto:daniel.rubenson@utoronto.ca)  
**Office: Sidney Smith, Room 3008**              **Office Hours: Monday 1-2.30**

**TAs:**

**Alex Pekic**    [alex.pekic@mail.utoronto.ca](mailto:alex.pekic@mail.utoronto.ca)  
**MaeMae Richardson**                              [maemae.richardson@mail.utoronto.ca](mailto:maemae.richardson@mail.utoronto.ca)  
**Avia Amon**     [avia.amon@mail.utoronto.ca](mailto:avia.amon@mail.utoronto.ca)  
**Alex Shkandrij**                                       [alexandra.shkandrij@utoronto.ca](mailto:alexandra.shkandrij@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 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. 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 terms of membership for those who are allowed to join the club). 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 tests**

The **lectures** provide the framework for the course as a whole. They are meant to guide you from initial curiosity about the themes to a more systematic and reflective understanding. This is an in-person course: We meet every Wednesday from 9–11am on the St. George campus. While lecture attendance is not graded and slides (along with other materials) are posted on Quercus after each class, it is still in your best interest to attend in person.

Keep in mind that slides are designed to *illustrate*, not summarize, the lecture material—so what you’ll see online is not a substitute for being in the room. Lectures also go beyond the assigned readings, and material presented only in lecture ~~may~~ will almost certainly appear on exams. Finally, if the appeal to your self-interest is not enough, let me add a personal note, echoing my predecessor and almost every other professor I know: few things are more discouraging and boring for a professor than speaking to a half-empty hall. When you show up, I’ll do my best to make it worth your while.

**Tutorials** are a central part of the course. They offer a chance to explore questions and themes from the lectures and readings in a smaller, discussion-oriented setting—one that suits the subject matter, which is, by nature, highly discussable.

There will be nine tutorials over the semester, beginning in Week 3 (the week of September 15). This means you can expect to attend a one-hour tutorial most weeks. You will already have been assigned to a tutorial group, scheduled across different days of the week. Because most tutorials are now full and take place in rooms with strict limits, switching groups is difficult and often impossible. If a change is absolutely necessary, you must contact the Department of Political Science.

If you have questions about the course—whether about substance or logistics—your first point of contact is your TA (see top of the syllabus for contact information).

**Readings** in this course are drawn from a range of sources because, somewhat surprisingly, very few Canadian universities offer large undergraduate courses on immigration and multiculturalism. As a result—and unlike courses such as POL 214—there is no textbook that provides a comprehensive overview of the field. That’s probably for the best. Instead, I’ve assembled a customized set of readings tailored to the topics I’ll be lecturing on (and ones I think you’ll find engaging).

There are no books to buy. All readings are available online, most through Robarts, and will be posted on Quercus, either as an attachment or a link. But I also do expect you to know how to find a reading in the library or on the internet. Weekly readings typically run about 50 pages. Sometimes a bit more, sometimes a bit less. **It is essential that you keep up with them.** I've chosen these readings carefully as a strong introduction to the course themes, and they work best when you come prepared to engage. I will post some tips on "how to read." Of course, I know you know how to read! But these tips are designed to help you get the most out of reading academic work and to make you a more efficient reader.

Most of your grades in this course will come from three in-class **tests** (you can call them exams if you want – I will just use the terms interchangeably). These will cover material we have dealt with in lectures, tutorials and readings. These will be on October 1, November 5 and November 26. There is no exam during the exam period. More information on the format will be provided in class.

**Graded Elements:**

Participation	15%	Every tutorial
Surveys	10%	Occasionally
Reading reactions	10%	Every tutorial (except last 2 weeks)
Test 1	20%	October 1
Test 2	20%	November 5
Test 3	25%	November 26

**Participation (15%):** This refers to tutorial participation. You will be graded based on your participation in discussion of the assigned readings and your overall tutorial participation and engagement. You will be graded in terms of attendance (you can lose grades by missing classes – see below) and on both the quantity and quality of your participation in class discussions, though the latter is more important than the former. While assessing tutorial participation always includes some subjective element, our rough breakdown is that forty percent of the participation grade will come from participating actively and regularly in class discussions. The other sixty percent of the participation grade will be based on the quality of your participation in discussion. Take this is a rough guide – not a hard and fast rule. The point is, active participation matters, and the quality of that participation also matters, and the latter matters a bit more than the former.

Quality here refers to generating and contributing cogent, analytical criticism of the readings and of your classmates' arguments. As a guide, we will ask ourselves whether a student's participation: developed an argument; connected to the readings and to classmates' arguments; was coherent; was helpful in moving the discussion and debate forward. See the table below for a rubric.

## Participation rubric

Performance Indicator	"A" Level	"B" Level	"C" Level	"D" Level
Frequency of Participation	Frequently initiates contributions & offers to respond to questions posed in class; regularly raises questions in tutorials	Occasionally initiates contributions & offers to respond to questions posed in class; occasionally raises questions in tutorials	Rarely initiates contributions & offers to respond to questions posed in class; rarely raises questions in tutorials	Does not initiate contributions & will only respond to direct questions posed to student; does not raise questions in tutorials
Quality of Comments/Questions	Comments always insightful & constructive; uses social scientific terminology; asks insightful questions, demonstrating student has done reading & has actively listened to the presentation	Comments mostly insightful; mostly uses appropriate social scientific terminology; asks questions demonstrating a good understanding of the material presented during the presentation	Comments are sometimes constructive; does not use appropriate social scientific terminology; comments too long or not always relevant to discussion	Comments are uninformative; does not use appropriate social scientific terminology; heavy reliance on general sentiment ("I don't like the idea", "sounds great")
Listening Skills	Actively listens during meetings/presentations, including when other students speak; builds on comments of others	Mostly attentive when others present or pose questions; occasionally needs reminder from instructor to focus or comment	Often inattentive & needs reminder to focus in class; interrupts others or otherwise disrupts others who are speaking	Does not listen to others; speaks while others speak; detracts from discussion

**Surveys (10%):** From time to time, you will respond to public opinion surveys online. Links to these will be available via Quercus. They will be short. There are no right or wrong answers. This is graded simply on completion. If you complete them all, it will count for 10% of your grade. The purpose is to a) learn about how public opinion on these topics is measured, b) to learn about what public opinion is on these topics in Canada and elsewhere and c) to compare how our class opinion differs or is like the general population opinion.

**Reading reactions (10%):** At the start of each tutorial (except during the last two weeks of class), you will be asked a question about one of the readings for that week. You will provide a (very) short written response (so bring a pen or pencil!). This should not be more than 2-3 sentences of reaction. These will be graded on the engagement you show with the readings, not on how brilliant or creative is your response. In other words, if you do the readings, these will be almost free grades. It is meant to ensure you do the readings and think about them while doing them. And it will also spur class discussion. You are allowed to miss one of these for free.

**Tests (20%, 20% & 25%):** As mentioned above, these are written, in-class tests where any material and topics we have covered in lecture, tutorial and readings can appear.

### **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.

**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>”.*

While this course does not have an essay or other major written component, I still encourage you to look at the linked page. It provides helpful tips about how not to plagiarize.

### **Grading:**

Your tests (see above) will be graded by your TA in consultation with me. All of us on the teaching team are guided by the Undergraduate Grading Scale:

Percentage	Letter Grade	Grade Point Value *	Grade Definition	
90-100	A+	4.0	Excellent	Strong evidence of original thinking; good organization; capacity to analyze and synthesize; superior grasp of subject matter with sound critical evaluations; evidence of extensive knowledge base.
85-89	A	4.0		
80-84	A-	3.7		
77-79	B+	3.3	Good	Evidence of grasp of subject matter, some evidence of critical capacity and analytic ability; reasonable understanding of relevant issues; evidence of familiarity with literature.
73-76	B	3.0		
70-72	B-	2.7		
67-69	C+	2.3	Adequate	Student who is profiting from his/her university experience; understanding of the subject matter; ability to develop solutions to simple problems in the material.
63-66	C	2.0		
60-62	C-	1.7		
57-59	D+	1.3	Marginal	Some evidence of familiarity with subject matter and some evidence that critical and analytic skills have been developed.
53-56	D	1.0		
50-52	D-	0.7		
0-49	F	0.0	Inadequate	Little evidence of even superficial understanding of subject matter; weakness in critical and analytic skills; with limited or irrelevant use of literature.

To ensure consistency across tutorials, the TAs and I meet as a group before marking begins to discuss how this scale maps onto a particular assignment or test.

## Re-grading tests:

If you are unhappy with the grade you received on one of the tests or assignments, you may request to have it 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 and ask that it be re-graded. (Be aware, however, that this does not guarantee your mark will be raised. It could go up, down, or remain the same.) **You must initiate this appeal to your TA within two weeks from the time the grade and comments appeared on Quercus.**
- 3) If after re-grading you are still unhappy, you should contact the Head TA, Alex Pekic. He will determine whether to pass it along to Professor Rubenson for another re-grade. Again, you must wait for 48 hours. And again, on appeal we may 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](mailto:accessibility.services@utoronto.ca), or visit <http://www.accessibility.utoronto.ca> for detailed information about the Accessibility Services at University of Toronto.

## Accommodations

Strong time management skills are essential—not only for succeeding at university, but also in whatever career you pursue afterward. Deadlines exist to help you build those skills. At the same time, life has a way of disrupting even the best-laid plans. The Faculty of Arts and Science provides procedures to accommodate circumstances such as illness, medical emergencies, and bereavement. You should take the time to familiarize yourself with these options:

*If you become ill and it affects your ability to do your academic work, consult me right away. Normally, I will ask you for documentation in support of your specific medical circumstances. This documentation can be an Absence Declaration (via ACORN) or the University's Verification of Student Illness or Injury (VOI) form. The VOI indicates the*

*impact and severity of the illness, while protecting your privacy about the details of the nature of the illness. If you cannot submit a VOI due to limits on terms of use, you can submit a different form (like a letter from a doctor), as long as it is an original document, and it contains the same information as the VOI (including dates, academic impact, practitioner's signature, phone and registration number). For more information on the VOI, please see <http://www.illnessverification.utoronto.ca>. For information on Absence Declaration Tool for A&S students, please see <https://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/absence>. If you get a concussion, break your hand, or suffer some other acute injury, you should register with Accessibility Services as soon as possible.*

An alternate date for a test will only be approved in extremely rare circumstances. Do not ask for a different test date for reasons like, “My other courses have assignments due the same week,” “I am going on holiday,” “My aunt is in town,” or similar things. If there is a serious reason why you need to take a test on a different date (for example, scheduled surgery or you have been picked for a space mission or something), you will need to ask well in advance.

One way or another, you should follow these steps:

- 1) Think very hard about whether you want to make this request.
- 2) Reach out to your TA **before the test date**.
- 3) Explain the reason you need the extension using the most appropriate documentation (see immediately above).
- 4) Provide a proposal for a new date.

Your TA will make the final decision about what accommodation, if any, will be made.

**Please note that these accommodations apply to tutorial attendance as they do to written assignments. In other words, if you miss a tutorial you will be marked absent and receive a mark of zero for attendance (for that tutorial) unless you are covered by one of these accommodations. The one exception is the one dropped reading reaction (see above).**

## **Drop Date**

The final date by which to drop the course is **November 11, 2025**.

## Schedule of Classes and Readings (subject to change – with notice)

### Part I: Immigration

**Week 1 (September 3)** — Introduction

**Week 2 (September 10)** — *No class (APSA)*

#### Readings:

- Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, “Introduction,” *The Making of the Mosaic* (Toronto: UTP, second ed. 2010), 3–21.
- Andrew Stobo Sniderman and Douglas Sanderson (Amo Binashii), “The Paradox at the Heart of Canada’s Waves of Ukrainian Immigration,” *The Globe and Mail*, December 22, 2022.

**Week 3 (September 17)** — The 1960s and 1970s: Paradigm Shifts

#### Readings:

- 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
- 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.
- 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.

**Week 4 (September 24)** — 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.

## **Week 5 (October 1) — Test 1**

## **Week 6 (October 8) — Where Should We Go From Here?**

### **Readings:**

- 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.

## **Part II: Multiculturalism and Citizenship**

## **Week 7 (October 15) — Social identity**

### **Readings: TBD**

## **Week 8 (October 22) — The Politics of Diversity**

### **Readings: TBD**

## **Reading Week (October 29) — NO CLASS**

## **Week 9 (November 5) — Test 2**

### **Readings to be discussed in tutorial – Assimilation, And Resistance**

### **Readings:**

- 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.

## **Week 10 (November 12) — Multiculturalism in Theory and Practice**

### **Readings:**

- 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/>

## **Week 11 (November 19) — 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 (November 29) — Test 3** (no lecture; no readings)