

McGILL UNIVERSITY  
Department of Political Science/Canadian Studies  
POLI 411/CANS 405  
The Politics of Immigration and Multiculturalism in Canada

Professor Jerome H. Black  
Leacock 521; 398-4813  
Office Hours: Tues. 4:00-5:00  
                  Thurs. 4:00-5:30  
Email: through *myCourses* only

Fall 2007

**READINGS**

As is evident, readings for this course are drawn from a wide variety of sources, and with the exception of those available through *myCourses* all are available from the library reserve system.

In addition, the following books, which contain a significant amount of required reading and might be desired as permanent additions to the student's library, are available at the bookstore (in paperback editions):

Fleras & Elliott, *Engaging Diversity: Multiculturalism in Canada*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Toronto: Nelson/Thompson Learning, 2002)

Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-2006*, revised ed. (Toronto: Dundurn, 2007)

Kymlicka, *Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural Relations in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford, 1998)

Readings signified by "Req'd" are required readings. Those signified by "Rec'd" are recommended or optional readings. A course pack will be available containing all required readings except for material taken from the above three volumes and those readings provided through *myCourses* -- *myCourses* will be also be used to list references and other recommended material.

**COURSE OUTLINE**

**PART ONE: INTRODUCTION** (Sept. 4-11)

1. Overview: Objectives and Scope of the Course

2. Immigrants and Immigration in Canada -- Some Initial Comments and Observations

Req'd: Fleras & Elliott *Engaging Diversity*, 31-34

Kalbach & Kalbach, "Becoming Canadian: Problems of an Emerging Identity,"  
*Canadian Ethnic Studies* 31 (2), 1999, 1-16

## PART TWO: THE POLITICS OF IMMIGRATION IN CANADA (Sept. 13-Oct. 25)

### 1. Thinking About Immigration

Req'd: Castles & Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 3rd ed. (New York: Guilford Press, 2003), ch. 4  
Weiner, "The Global Migration Crisis," in Gungwu (ed.) *Global History and Migrations* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997), 95-115

Rec'd: Castles & Miller, *The Age of Migration*, ch. 3  
Carens, "Who Should Get In? The Ethics of Immigration Admissions," *Ethics and International Affairs* 17 (1), 2003, 95-110

### 2. Immigration History and Policy Evolution, 1867-WWII

Req'd: Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates*, chs. 4-7  
Abella & Troper, "The Politics of Futility: Canadian Jewry and the Refugee Crisis, 1933-39," in Dahlie & Fernando (eds.) *Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada* (Toronto: Methuen, 1981), 233-53

### 3. Post-War Developments

Req'd: Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates*, chs. 8-11

### 4. Into the New Millennium: Bill C-11 and September 11

Req'd: Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates*, ch. 12  
Dept. of Foreign Affairs & International Trade, "The Canada-U.S. Smart Border Declaration" (2001)  
Dept. of Foreign Affairs & International Trade, "Action Plan for Creating a Secure and Smart Border" (2003)  
Abu-Laban & Gabriel, *Selling Diversity* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2002), 61-89

### 5. Interpreting Contemporary Immigration Policy Making

Req'd: Adelman *et al.* (eds.) *Immigration and Refugee Policy, Vol. I* (Toronto: UTP, 1994), ch.4  
Simmons & Keohane, "Canadian Immigration Policy: State Strategies and the Quest for Legitimacy," *Canadian Review of Sociology & Anthropology* 29 (4), 1992, 421-52  
Black & Hagen, "Quebec Immigration Politics and Policy: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives," in Gagnon (ed.) *Quebec: State and Society*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Toronto: Nelson, 1993), ch.16

Rec'd: Black & Hicks, "Electoral Politics and Immigration in Canada: How Does Immigration Matter?" Department of Political Science, McGill University (*through myCourses*)

Veuglers "State-Society Relations in the Making of Canadian Immigration Policy During the Mulroney Era," *Canadian Review of Sociology & Anthropology* 37 (1), 2000, 95-110

Anderson & Black, "Navigating a New Course: Liberal Immigration and Refugee Policy in the 1990s" in Pal (ed.) *How Ottawa Spends 1998-99* (Toronto: Oxford

University Press, 1998), 191-216,  
*CONFERENCE DEBATE: The Pros and Cons of Immigration*  
Req'd: Coyne vs. Dirks, "Should States Pursue an Open Border toward Migrants?" in  
Charlton & Barker (eds.), *Crosscurrents*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Toronto: ITP Nelson, 1998),  
453-78  
Stoffman, "The Mystery of Canada's High Immigration Levels," *Canadian Issues*, April,  
2003, 23-4  
Li, "Understanding Economic Performance of Immigrants" *Canadian Issues*, April,  
2003, 25-6

#### 6. Refugees and Refugee Policy

Req'd: Dolin & Young, Parliamentary Research Branch, "Canada's Refugee Protection System"  
(includes Appendix 3: "Safe Third Country Agreement") Background paper. July  
1993/ Revised October 2002. pp. 1-23, Appendices 1-3

#### *CONFERENCE DEBATE: Canada's Response to Refugees*

Req'd: Gallagher, "Canada's Dysfunctional Refugee Policy" Canadian Institute of International  
Affairs *Behind the Headlines* 58 (4), 2001, 1-17  
Dench, "Why Take Refugees?" *Canadian Issues*, March, 2004, 11-13  
Canadian Council for Refugees, "Refugee Rights are Human Rights"  
([www.web.net/%7Eccr/refright.htm](http://www.web.net/%7Eccr/refright.htm), 2000), 11 pgs

#### 7. Some Gendered Aspects

Req'd: Macklin, "Dancing Across Borders: 'Exotic Dancers,' Trafficking, and Canadian  
Immigration Policy," *International Migration Review* 37 (2), 2003, 464-500  
(through myCourses)

Rec'd: IRB, Guidelines, "Women Refugee Claimants Fearing Gender-Related Persecution"  
(through myCourses)

### PART THREE: THE POLITICS OF MULTICULTURALISM IN CANADA (Oct. 30– Nov. 20)

#### 1. Thinking About Diversity, Identity, and Minority Groups

Req'd: Fleras & Elliott, *Unequal Relations*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Toronto: Prentice Hall, 2003), ch. 4  
Reitz & Banerjee, "Racial Inequality, Social Cohesion and Policy Issues in Canada,"  
in Banting *et al.* (eds.), *Belonging? Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship  
in Canada* (Montreal: IRRP, 2007), 489-545 (through myCourses)

Rec'd: Castles & Miller, *The Age of Immigration*, ch. 2

#### 2. The Origins of the 1971 Policy

Req'd: Breton, "Multiculturalism and Canadian Nation-Building," in Cairns & Williams (eds.)  
*The Politics of Gender, Ethnicity and Language in Canada* (Toronto: University

of Toronto Press, 1986), ch. 2

Rec'd: Peter, "The Myth of Multiculturalism and Other Political Fables," in Dahlie & Fernando (eds.) *Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada*, 56-67

### 3. The Nature and Evolution of Multiculturalism

Req'd: Fleras & Elliott, *Engaging Diversity*, pp. 1-7, chs. 1,2,3

Rec'd: (moderately recommended) Fleras & Elliott, *Engaging Diversity*, chs. 5,6,7,8

### 4. Debates and Controversies

Req'd: Fleras & Elliott, *Engaging Diversity*, chs. 4

Bissoondath, "A Question of Belonging: Multiculturalism and Citizenship," Kaplan (ed.), *Belonging* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1993), 368-87

Kymlicka, *Finding Our Way*, intro., chs. 1-5

Rec'd: Kymlicka, ch. 6

### *CONFERENCE DEBATE: The Pros and Cons of Canadian Multiculturalism*

(Based mostly on above readings)

### 5. Whither Multiculturalism?

Req'd: Fleras & Elliott, *Engaging Diversity*, afterword (252-62)

Abu-Laban, "The Politics of Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration," in Bickerton & Gagnon (eds.) *Canadian Politics*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Peterborough: Broadview, 1999), pp.463-83

Kymlicka, *Finding Our Way*, ch. 8

Rec'd: Kymlicka, "The Uncertain Futures of Multiculturalism," *Canadian Diversity* 4 (1), 2005,

82-5

## PART FOUR: IMMIGRANTS/MINORITIES AS POLITICAL ACTORS -- SELECTED ASPECTS (Nov. 22 - Dec. 4)

### 1. Some Past Episodes of Political Expression

Req'd: Laine, "Finnish Canadian Radicalism...", in Dahlie & Fernando (eds.) *Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada*, 94-112

Sunahara, "Deportation: The Final Solution to Canada's `Japanese Problem'," in Dahlie & Fernando (eds.) *Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada*, 254-78

### 2. Some Contemporary Political Behaviour Patterns

Req'd: Saloojee & Siemiatycki, "Formal and Non-Formal Political Participation by Immigrants and Newcomers," *Canadian Issues*, April, 2003, 42-4

- Anderson & Black, "The Political Integration of Newcomers, Minorities and the Canadian Born: Perspectives on Naturalization, Participation and Representation,"  
in J. Biles *et al.* (eds.) *Immigration, Integration and Citizenship in 21st Century Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queens Press, forthcoming) (through myCourses)
- Black, "Ethnic Minorities and Mass Politics in Canada," in *International Journal of Canadian Studies*, 3, 1991, 129-51
- Rec'd: Black & Leithner, "Immigrants and Political Involvement: the Role of the Ethnic Media," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 20 (1), 1988, 1-20
- Lapp, "Ethnic Group Leaders and the Mobilization of Voter Turnout..." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 31 (2), 1999, 17-42
- 3. Party Politics and Representation**
- Req'd: Black & Hicks, "Visible Minority Candidates in the 2004 Election," *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 29: 2 (Summer, 2006), pp. 26-31 (through myCourses)
- Black, "Ethnoracial Minorities in the 38<sup>th</sup> Parliament: Patterns of Change and Continuity" in Caroline Andrew *et al.* (eds) *Electing a Diverse Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, forthcoming) (through myCourses)
- Kymlicka, *Finding Our Way*, ch. 7
- Rec'd: Black, "The 2006 Canadian Election and Minority Representation in 39<sup>th</sup> Parliament: More of the Same?" Department of Political Science, McGill University (through myCourses)
- Matheson, "Seeking Inclusion: South Asian Political Representation in Suburban Canada," *Electoral Insight* 8 (2), 2006, 30-4 (through myCourses)

## **COURSE REQUIREMENTS**

Three options are available and involve variations on taking the midterm examination and/or writing an essay -- everyone must write the three-hour final examination and attend conferences. Conferences will count for 15% in all cases. Option one: 35% for the midterm exam, 50% for the final exam. Option two: 35% for the essay, 50% for the final exam. Option three: 15% for the midterm exam, 25% for the essay, 45% for the final.

You do not need to specify the particular option that you will follow. Clearly, if you do not sit the midterm examination, it will be presumed that you will be completing the second option. (A "J" will be reported if you do neither.) Understand as well, that once you sit the midterm, you are restricted to Options one and three.

## **RE: ESSAYS**

**Important:** The essay topic and bibliography must be cleared in advance, and an outline and bibliography handed in.

### **More exactly:**

1. You must clear your topic IN PERSON with me or the Teaching Assistant before submitting your outline and essay. Among other things, this will ensure that the topic is manageable and well-focussed and that there is sufficient research material available. (You may be encouraged to report back to me or the Teaching Assistant to discuss the progress you are making in your efforts.)
2. For the sake of maximum clarity, understand that topics sent by e-mail will **not** be considered.
3. You should regard your topic as being cleared only when I (or the Teaching Assistant) explicitly tell you so and record your name.
4. Your outline and bibliography (see next point) will only be accepted after you clear your topic.
5. A two-page (hardcopy) outline is due **THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 22**, explaining your topic and research approach, along with a *preliminary* bibliography. Late outlines will be penalized with a deduction of 1 mark off the final essay grade (marked out of a hundred) per 24-hour period late. At the same time, outlines and bibliographies handed in by Thursday, November 8 will earn a *bonus of four marks*, and those handed in by Thursday, November 15 will earn a *bonus of two marks*.
6. The outlines will neither be graded nor handed back. You should feel free, however, to consult with us if you would like *further* feedback on your outline.
7. The essay, itself, is due **THURSDAY, DECEMBER 13**. You must hand in a hardcopy version and as well an electronic version (e-mailed through *myCourses*) by that date. Late essays will be penalized 2 marks off per 24-hour period late. In case the point is not already clear: if your topic has not been cleared, your paper will **not be accepted**, regardless of whether you hand in an outline and bibliography, and a **J** will be reported (assuming you have not taken the midterm exam).

**Essay length:** If you choose to write an essay, it must be **15-20 pages, double-spaced**. Students are permitted--indeed encouraged--to work on essays **in pairs** (20-25 pages required), or in **groups of three** (25-30 pages).

## **RE: MIDTERM EXAMINATION**

It will be held on **TUESDAY, OCTOBER 23 (1 HR. 20 minutes)**

**RE: SUPPLEMENTAL EXAMINATION**

This exam will count for 65% of the (second) grade, with your term work (midterm and/or essay) contributing 35%. Please note that students **will not** be allowed to do “additional work.”

*McGill University values academic integrity. Therefore all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures (see [www.mcgill.ca/integrity](http://www.mcgill.ca/integrity) for more information).*