



OCT 27–28, 2022

# COMPARING IMMIGRATION POLICIES: *Canada & the World*



**McGill**

McGill Institute for the Study of Canada  
L'Institut d'études canadiennes de McGill



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## Thursday, October 27

- 8:00 a.m.     *Registration and breakfast*
- 9:00 a.m.     Words of welcome
- 9:15 a.m.     Keynote (Canada)
- 10:00 a.m.    *Break*
- 10:15 a.m.    Roundtable (Canada)
- 12:00 p.m.    Special announcement from MISC
- 12:15 p.m.    *Lunch*
- 1:30 p.m.     Keynote (Québec)
- 2:15 p.m.     *Break*
- 2:30 p.m.     Roundtable (Québec)
- 4:15 p.m.     *Reception*

## Friday, October 28

- 8:00 a.m.     *Registration and breakfast*
- 9:00 a.m.     Words of welcome
- 9:15 a.m.     Keynote (Europe)
- 10:00 a.m.    *Break*
- 10:15 a.m.    Roundtable (Europe)
- 12:00 p.m.    *Lunch*
- 1:15 p.m.     Keynote (USA)
- 2:00 p.m.     *Break*
- 2:15 p.m.     Roundtable (USA)
- 4:00 p.m.     Closing remarks
- 4:15 p.m.     *Reception*

# MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR



Dear friends,

Welcome to the annual conference of the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada (MISC). Since 1994, MISC has hosted an annual interdisciplinary conference on an issue of specific importance to Canadians. This year, our conference is devoted to immigration policy, a complex topic that calls for meaningful discussion across Canada and beyond.

The objective of this conference is to improve our understanding of immigration policy in Canada through a comparative perspective, allowing us to draw lessons from other countries and regions on the world while assessing what they in turn could learn from Canada. This is why the second day of the conference is devoted to putting the Canadian context in dialogue with policy dynamics in the United States, Europe and beyond.

At the same time, Canadian provinces have gained considerable power over immigration policy since the 1990s, something that is particularly true in Quebec, a jurisdiction where this topic became a central issue during the recent provincial electoral campaign. This is why the first day of the conference is devoted to both immigration policy at the federal level and in Quebec.

Because immigration can easily lead to simplistic rhetoric, this conference brings together experts of immigration policy who are interested in dialogue rather than polemic. The conference was put together with the help of top Canadian and international specialists of immigration policy: Irene Bloemraad (University of California at Berkeley), Mireille Paquet (Concordia University), and Terri Givens (McGill University). With their support, we invited specialists of immigration policy from Canada and several other countries to come to Montreal and share their thoughts about immigration policy with us.

By bringing top Canadian and international experts, we hope to improve the public discourse about immigration policy. By making academic and policy knowledge about immigration widely available to a broader audience of informed citizens, journalists, practitioners, researchers, and university students, our hope is to identify the challenges facing immigration policy today while thinking about how to address them effectively moving forward.

Thank you for participating in this conference and please do consult our website to learn about our past and forthcoming activities.

Sincerely yours,

**Daniel Béland, PhD**

Director, McGill Institute for the Study of Canada (MISC)  
James McGill Professor, Department of Political Science



# MESSAGE DU DIRECTEUR



Chers amis, chères amies,

Bienvenue à la conférence annuelle de l'Institut d'études canadiennes de McGill. Depuis 1994, nous organisons chaque année une conférence interdisciplinaire à propos d'une question d'intérêt public au Canada. Cette année, notre conférence est consacrée aux politiques d'immigration, un sujet complexe qui soulève des discussions significatives à travers le Canada et au-delà.

L'objectif de cette conférence est d'améliorer notre compréhension des politiques d'immigration au Canada à travers une perspective comparative nous permettant de tirer des leçons d'autres pays et régions du monde tout en évaluant ce qu'ils pourraient à leur tour apprendre du Canada. C'est pourquoi la deuxième journée de la conférence est consacrée à mettre le contexte canadien en dialogue avec les dynamiques politiques aux États-Unis, en Europe et au-delà.

Parallèlement, les provinces canadiennes ont acquis un pouvoir considérable sur les politiques d'immigration depuis les années 1990, ce qui est particulièrement vrai au Québec, une juridiction où ce sujet est devenu un enjeu central lors de la récente campagne électorale provinciale. C'est pourquoi la première journée de la conférence est consacrée à la fois aux politiques d'immigration au niveau fédéral et au Québec.

Parce que l'immigration peut facilement mener à une rhétorique simpliste, cette conférence réunit des experts des politiques d'immigration qui s'intéressent au dialogue plutôt qu'à la polémique. La conférence a été organisée avec l'aide des meilleures spécialistes canadiennes et internationales des politiques d'immigration : Irene Bloemraad (Université de Californie à Berkeley), Mireille Paquet (Université Concordia) et Terri Givens (Université McGill). Avec leur soutien, nous avons invité des spécialistes des politiques d'immigration du Canada et d'autres autres pays à venir à Montréal et à partager avec nous leurs réflexions sur les politiques d'immigration.

En réunissant ainsi ces experts, nous espérons améliorer le discours public sur les politiques d'immigration. En rendant les connaissances académiques et techniques sur l'immigration accessibles à un public plus large de citoyens informés, de journalistes, de praticiens, de chercheurs et d'étudiants universitaires, notre espoir est d'identifier les défis auxquels sont actuellement confrontés les politiques d'immigration tout en réfléchissant à la manière de les relever efficacement à l'avenir.

Merci de votre participation à notre conférence, et veuillez consulter notre site Web pour en savoir plus sur nos activités passées et à venir.

Bien cordialement,

**Daniel Béland, PhD**

Directeur, Institut d'études canadiennes de McGill (IÉCM)  
Professeur James McGill, département de science politique

# COMPARING IMMIGRATION POLICIES: *Canada*



Keynote:

## **The Honourable Ratna Omidvar**

*The Honourable Ratna Omidvar was appointed to the Senate of Canada as an independent senator representing Ontario in April 2016. She is the Chair of the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology and served as Deputy Chair of the Special Senate Committee on the Charitable Sector. She is currently the Vice-President of the Canada-Germany Interparliamentary Group and a Director at the Century Initiative, a Councillor on the World Refugee and Migration Council, a Founding Committee Member of Lifeline Afghanistan and Chair Emerita for the Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council. She is also a Juror for the Global Centre for Pluralism's annual Pluralism Award. Previously at Toronto Metropolitan University (TMU), she was a Distinguished Visiting Professor and founded the Global Diversity Exchange, a think-and-do tank on diversity, migration and inclusion. Prior to her appointments at TMU, she was the President of Maytree, where she played a lead role in local, national and international efforts to promote the integration of immigrants. Senator Omidvar was appointed to the Order of Ontario in 2005 and became a Member of the Order of Canada in 2011.*



Moderator:

## **Mireille Paquet**

*Mireille Paquet is the Concordia Research Chair on the Politics of Immigration and Associate Professor of Political Science. Her current research agenda analyzes policy and political discourses to understand the politics of immigration in Canada and comparative settings, with a specific focus on the roles played by administrative institutions, political parties and different forms of knowledge. She is also leading research on the evolution of Canadian and Quebec immigration policies. She is currently the scientific leader of the FRQSC-funded Équipe de recherche sur l'immigration au Québec et ailleurs (ERIQA) and has just directed *Dynamiques de l'Immigration au Québec*, published this fall at Presses de l'Université de Montréal.*

# COMPARER LES POLITIQUES D'IMMIGRATION: *Canada*



**Jennifer Elrick** is an Associate Professor of Sociology at McGill University. Her research focuses on the social construction of state classifications and their material and symbolic effects. Specifically, she examines how race, ethnicity, class, legal status, and gender intersect in census and immigration categories to create particular modes of inclusion and exclusion. Her first book, *Making Middle-Class Multiculturalism: Immigration Bureaucrats and Policymaking in Postwar Canada*, was published in late 2021 by University of Toronto Press.



**Daniel Hiebert** is a Professor of Geography at the University of British Columbia and conducts research on migration and its impact on cities. At the broadest scale, this reflects an interest in how migration policy is formed and regulated by nation states and includes an effort to understand Canadian immigration policy within the wider global context. In conjunction with his research projects, he plays an active role in the Canadian policy process. He is a member of the Deputy Minister's Advisory Council (Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada), works closely with the office of the British Columbia government that constructs immigration policy, and has been Co-Chair of the City of Vancouver Mayor's Working Group on Immigration. Since September of 2021, he has been seconded to IRCC as Academic in Residence, and is affiliated with the Strategic and Program Policy sector.



**Anna Triandafyllidou** is the Canada Excellence Research Chair in Migration and Integration. She is engaged into a variety of projects on migration management with a special focus on the role of migrant agency, the interaction between different drivers of migration and the global governance of migration and asylum (including an interest in irregular migration). With regard to migrant integration, she has a special interest in issues of identity, diversity, nationalism and multicultural citizenship approaches. She is also looking into the governance of cultural and religious diversity in different world regions (Europe, Asia, the MENA region). Finally, she is considering migration and migrant integration in relation to the wider processes of socio-economic and geopolitical transformation that characterise the 21st century.



**Ethel Tungohan** is a Canada Research Chair in Canadian Migration Policy, Impacts and Activism and an Associate Professor of Politics at York University. Her research examines temporary labour migration, migrant social movements, and public and social policies pertaining to labour, health, education, and care work. In 2022, she has two forthcoming books: *Containing Diversity: Canada and the Politics of Immigration in the 21st Century* (University of Toronto Press), which is co-authored with Yasmeen Abu-Laban and Christina Gabriel and *Care Activism: Migrant Domestic Workers, Communities of Care and Movement Building* (University of Illinois), which won the National Women's Studies Association First Book Prize. She regularly uses socially-engaged research methods in her work and has a long history of research and advocacy collaborations with migrant social justice movements.

# COMPARING IMMIGRATION POLICIES: *Quebec*



Keynote:

## **Mireille Paquet**

*Mireille Paquet is the Concordia Research Chair on the Politics of Immigration and Associate Professor of Political Science. Her current research agenda analyzes policy and political discourses to understand the politics of immigration in Canada and comparative settings, with a specific focus on the roles played by administrative institutions, political parties and different forms of knowledge. She is also leading research on the evolution of Canadian and Quebec immigration policies. She is currently the scientific leader of the FRQSC-funded Équipe de recherche sur l'immigration au Québec et ailleurs (ERIQA) and has just directed Dynamiques de l'Immigration au Québec, published this fall at Presses de l'Université de Montréal.*



Moderator:

## **Yolande James**

*Yolande James leads Radio-Canada's inclusion and engagement initiatives, providing support and guidance to departments and teams on their diversity and inclusion projects as well as developing and strengthening Radio-Canada's connections with communities and industry. A lawyer and mediator, she became the first Black woman elected to Quebec's National Assembly in 2004, and the first person from the Black community appointed to a Government of Quebec cabinet position when she was named Minister of Immigration and Cultural Communities in 2007. Three years later she became Families Minister. Among the many jobs she took on after leaving politics, her involvement in Bishop's University's Task Force on Equity, Diversity and Inclusion deserves special mention.*

# COMPARER LES POLITIQUES D'IMMIGRATION: *Québec*



**Antoine Bilodeau** is a full professor in the Department of Political Science at Concordia University. His research interests focus on the political integration of immigrants and on attitudes toward immigration and ethnocultural diversity. His research has been published in *JEMS*, *IMR*, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *Nations and Nationalism*, the *IPSR*, *Democratization*, the *CJPS*, *Politics and Religion*, and *Territory, Politics and Governance*. In recent years, he has received a Concordia University Research Award (2016/2017) and the John McMenemy Prize twice for the best paper published in the *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. He is also one of the two co-directors of the Immigration Research Initiative at Concordia University.



**David Birnbaum** served as the Liberal member of the National Assembly for the riding of D'Arcy-McGee, first elected in 2014 and reelected in 2018. He was Parliamentary Assistant to the Premier, the Ministers of Education and Higher Education and the Minister responsible for the Status of Women under the Liberal government of Premier Philippe Couillard; and the Official Opposition Critic for Relations with the English-speaking Community, Mental Health, Intergovernmental Affairs and la Francophonie Canadienne in his second mandate. He is a former replacement Chair of National Assembly Commissions and the former Vice-Chair of the Special Commission on the evolution of end-of-life care in Québec.



**Adèle Garnier** is an Associate Professor and the Director of Undergraduate Studies at the Département de géographie at Université Laval and an Honorary Senior Lecturer, School of Social Sciences at Macquarie University in Australia. She investigates connections between territory, governance and migration in comparative perspective, with a focus on refugee admission and migrant employment. Her research has been published in the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *Refuge*, *Hommes et Migration*, *Brussels Studies* and *Frontiers of Human Dynamics*.



**Marjorie Villefranche** est la directrice générale de la Maison d'Haïti. Elle se consacre depuis plus de 40 ans à l'éducation et à la défense des femmes immigrantes et des demandeurs d'asile. Elle occupe l'avant plan de l'actualité par son implication et l'énergie qu'elle met à faire avancer le dossier des femmes immigrantes et celui des sans papier. Son implication est sans faille et l'énergie qu'elle a mise et met encore à faire avancer le dossier du parrainage humanitaire et pour faciliter la venue de l'accueil de réfugiés des victimes de catastrophes humaines et naturelles est remarquable. Elle est honorée par plusieurs prix dont, Citoyenne d'honneur de la ville de Montréal en 2021, Grande Bâtisseuse de la cité en 2017. Personnalité de la semaine, *La Presse*, *Radio-Canada* en 2012, Femme de mérite, catégorie Éducation de la Fondation du YWCA, 2008.



**Catherine Xhardez** is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at the Université de Montréal. She holds a PhD in political science (Université Saint-Louis–Bruxelles and Sciences Po Paris). Previously, she was a FWO postdoctoral researcher at the Brussels School of Governance of the Vrije Universiteit Brussel and a postdoctoral fellow at Concordia University. She is a member of the Équipe de recherche sur l'immigration au Québec et ailleurs and affiliated with the Centre d'études et de recherches internationales and the Centre de recherche sur les politiques et le développement social at the Université de Montréal. Her research has been published in *Regional Studies*, *Citizenship Studies* and *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, among others, as well as in several edited volumes.



# COMPARING IMMIGRATION POLICIES:

*Europe*



Keynote and Moderator:

## **Terri Givens**

*Terri Givens is currently a Professor of Political Science at McGill University and is the founder of the Center for Higher Education Leadership and Brighter Professional Development. Terri is the author of the book *Radical Empathy: Finding a Path to Bridging Racial Divides*.*

*Beyond Radical Empathy, she is the author of books and articles on immigration policy, anti-discrimination politics, and comparative race politics. As an accomplished speaker, author, consultant, and mentor, Terri is using her platform to develop leaders' understanding of the importance of diversity and encourage personal growth through empathy.*

# COMPARER LES POLITIQUES D'IMMIGRATION: *L'Europe*



**Antje Ellermann** is Professor of Political Science and Founding Director of the Centre for Migration Studies at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, *xʷməθkʷəy̓əm* (Musqueam) territory. Her research focuses on the politics of migration and citizenship in liberal democracies. She is the author of *The Comparative Politics of Immigration: Policy Choices in Germany, Canada, Switzerland and the United States* (2021, recognized with the Charles H. Levine Memorial Book Prize by the International Political Science Association) and *States Against Migrants: Deportation in Germany and the United States* (2009), both published with Cambridge University Press.



**Justin Gest** is an Associate Professor of Policy and Government at George Mason University's Schar School of Policy and Government. He studies immigration and the politics of demographic change. He is the author of six books: *Apart: Alienated and Engaged Muslims in the West* (2010); *The New Minority: White Working Class Politics in an Age of Immigration and Inequality* (2016); *The White Working Class: What Everyone Needs to Know* (2018); *Crossroads: Comparative Immigration Regimes in a World of Demographic Change* (2018); *Mass Appeal: Communicating Policy Ideas in Multiple Media* (2020); and *Majority Minority* (2022) He also co-edits the Oxford University Press book series, "Oxford Studies in Migration and Citizenship."



**Anna C. Korteweg** is Professor of Sociology at the University of Toronto. Her research focuses on immigrant integration as a politics of (non-)belonging. Her current projects look at the return of women and men who joined ISIS to their European home countries, the co-construction of borders and subjectivity in LGBTQ+ refugee politics, and the citizenship implications of refugee sponsorship in Canada. She has published two monographs: *The Headscarf Debates: Conflicts of National Belonging* (Stanford UP 2014); *Debating Sharia: Islam, Gender Politics, and Family Law Arbitration* (UToronto Press 2012) as well as numerous peer-reviewed articles and book chapters.



**Phil Triadafilopoulos** is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Toronto. He teaches courses in political science and public policy at the University of Toronto Scarborough and the Munk School of Global Affairs & Public Policy and conducts research in the areas of immigration and citizenship policy in Europe and North America. He received his PhD in Political Science for the New School for Social Research and is a former Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada Postdoctoral Fellow. He is the author of *Becoming Multicultural: Immigration and the Politics of Membership in Canada and Germany*, the editor of *Wanted and Welcome? Policies for Highly Skilled Immigrants in Comparative Perspective*, and the co-editor of *Segmented Cities? How Urban Contexts Shape Ethnic and Nationalist Politics*.

# COMPARING IMMIGRATION POLICIES: USA



Keynote:

## **Pia Orrenius**

*Pia Orrenius is a labor economist working on regional economic growth and demographic change. She manages the regional and microeconomics group in the Dallas Fed Research Department, is executive editor of the quarterly publication Southwest Economy and co-edited Ten Gallon Economy: Sizing up Economic Growth in Texas (2015, Palgrave MacMillan). Her academic research focuses on the labor market impacts of immigration, unauthorized immigration and U.S. immigration policy. She is coauthor of the book Beside the Golden Door: U.S. Immigration Reform in a New Era of Globalization (2010). She is research fellow at the Tower Center for Public Policy and International Affairs and the Mission Foods Texas-Mexico Center at Southern Methodist University and at the IZA Institute of Labor in Bonn, Germany, as well as adjunct scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. She was senior economist on the Council of Economic Advisers in the Executive Office of the President, Washington D.C., in 2004-05, where she advised the Bush administration on labor, health and immigration issues.*



Moderator:

## **Irene Bloemraad**

*Irene Bloemraad holds the Class of 1951 Chair of Sociology at the University of California, Berkeley where she also directs the Berkeley Interdisciplinary Migration Initiative. Her work has been published in journals spanning sociology, political science, history, and ethnic/migration studies. She is author or coeditor of Handbook of Citizenship (2017), Rallying for Immigrant Rights (2011), Civic Hopes and Political Realities (2008), and Becoming a Citizen (2006). She currently co-directs the Boundaries, Membership and Belonging program of the Canadian Institute for Advanced Research.*

# COMPARER LES POLITIQUES D'IMMIGRATION: *États-Unis*



**Rupa Banerjee** is Associate Professor of Human Resource Management and Organizational Behaviour at Toronto Metropolitan University, and Tier 2 Canadian Research Chair of Economic Inclusion, Employment and Entrepreneurship of Canada's Immigrants. Her research examines employment outcomes of newcomers, a topic on which she has published extensively. Her current program of research focuses on the role of post-secondary institutions and employers on the migration and integration of temporary residents and immigrants in Canada. Her research has appeared in leading journals in the fields of immigration and labour such as *International Migration Review*, *International Migration*, *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, and *Industrial & Labor Relations Review*.



**Jeanne Batalova** is a Senior Policy Analyst at the Migration Policy Institute and Manager of the Migration Data Hub, an online resource that provides instant access to the latest facts, stats, and maps covering U.S. and global data on immigration and immigrant integration. Her areas of expertise include the impacts of immigrants on society and labor markets; social and economic mobility of first- and second-generation youth and young adults; and the policies and practices regulating immigration and integration of highly skilled workers and foreign students in the United States and other countries. She earned her PhD in sociology, with a specialization in demography, from the University of California-Irvine; an MBA from Roosevelt University, Chicago; and Bachelor of Arts in economics from the Academy of Economic Studies, Chisinau, Moldova.



**Anna Boucher** is currently an Associate Professor in Public Policy and Comparative Politics at the University of Sydney. Her tertiary education is in political science, law and research methods at the University of Sydney and the London School of Economics and Political Science, and she holds six qualifications in these fields. She has worked on key immigration issues including skilled immigration, migrants in the labour market, migration and unemployment effects, migration and diversity, population politics and immigration data. Her work is applied, and she is a frequent media commentator and advisor to Australian and international government agencies on these topics. She is also an admitted solicitor of the Supreme Court of NSW, having undertaken her Diploma in Practical Legal Training at the College of Law, with a placement at Clayton Utz law firm where she volunteered in the pro bono section assisting migrant workers in cases.



**Shannon Gleeson** is professor of Labor Relations, Law, & History at the Cornell ILR School. She earned her Ph.D. in Sociology and Demography from the University of California, Berkeley. Her published books include *Accountability across Borders: Migrant Rights in North America*; *Building Citizenship From Below: Precarity, Migration, and Agency*; *Precarious Claims: The Promise and Failure of Workplace Protections in the United States*; *The Nation and Its Peoples: Citizens, Denizens, Migrants*; and *Conflicting Commitments: The Politics of Enforcing Immigrant Worker Rights in San Jose and Houston*. Her National Science Foundation funded research (with Els de Graauw) examines the local implementation of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program in three metropolitan regions. Her book *Scaling Migrant Worker Rights: How Advocates Collaborate and Contest State Power* (with Xóchitl Bada) is forthcoming.







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