

Western University · Dept. of Political Science  
**The Politics of Immigration and Citizenship**  
Political Science 3540G  
Winter 2025

**Instructor:** Dr. Zack Taylor  
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**Consultation:** Zoom by appointment  
**Class Time:** Tuesdays, 2:30–4:30am  
**Class Location:** SSC 2024

We live in an era of extraordinary international mobility. Large numbers of people now move across national borders, temporarily or permanently, and voluntarily or unwillingly. These movements frequently generate domestic political conflict as countries decide how to respond to migration pressures while also being transformed by them. In this course, we will examine immigration policy, politics, and governance with a primary focus on Canada, but in comparison with other countries and with attention to international organizations and obligations. Topics include the ethics of national borders, immigration and settler colonialism, immigration policy, refugee resettlement and asylum claims, temporary foreign workers, access to citizenship, integration policy, and anti-immigrant sentiment.

This course is designed to be of interest to students interested in all subfields: Canadian Politics, Comparative Politics, International Relations, Political Theory, and Global Justice.

**Learning Objectives:**

By the end of this course:

- You will become conversant with leading theories of borders, migration politics, and governance and their intersection with settler colonialism, gender, and race.
- You will become familiar with immigration policies in Canada and other countries, including the setting selection criteria for the admittance of permanent residents, temporary labour, refugees, and asylum claimants; multiculturalism and integration policies; and granting citizenship;
- You will become familiar with theories and empirical evidence regarding the evolution of public opinion toward immigrants, including recent anti-immigration mobilization.
- You will have sharpened your analytic and argumentative skills through classroom discussions and assignments.

**Prerequisites:** Any of:

- Political Science 2530 Foundations of Canadian Government and Politics
- Political Science 2531 Foundations of International Relations
- Political Science 2537 Foundations of Political Theory
- Political Science 2545 Foundations of Comparative Politics

## **SCHEDULE OF TOPICS**

### **PART I: MIGRATION, BORDERS, AND THE NATION-STATE**

Class 1	Jan 7	Introduction: Human Mobility in a World of Nation States
Class 2	Jan 14	Admission, Exclusion, and Justice
Class 3	Jan 21	Rights and Obligations

### **PART II: MIGRATION POLICY: CANADA IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE**

Class 4	Jan 28	Dilemmas of Migration States
Class 5	Feb 4	Canada <i>Argumentative Essay Due</i>
Class 6	Feb 11	Refugees, Asylum Seekers, and Forced Migration
	Feb 18	<i>No Class – Family Day / Reading Week</i>
Class 7	Feb 25	Temporary Foreign Labour
Class 8	Mar 4	The United States

### **PART III: CITIZENSHIP, STATE, AND SOCIETY**

Class 9	Mar 11	Citizenship and the State <i>Comparative Migration Policy Briefing Note Due</i>
Class 10	Mar 18	Citizenship and Indigenous Peoples in ‘Nations of Immigrants’
Class 11	Mar 25	Multiculturalism, the Welfare State, and Anti-Immigrant Backlash
Class 12	Apr 1	Is Canada (Still) Exceptional?
	Apr 8	Drop-in Session for Exam Review
		<i>Final Exam Held During Exam Period</i>

## **COURSE WEBSITE**

This course makes use of OWL Brightspace. Please refer to the course website regularly for announcements and course information.

## **COURSE FORMAT**

This is a lecture course in which regular interaction by students is expected. Reading the required texts in advance is a necessary prerequisite for doing well in this course and will make for more exciting and insightful discussion.

## **COURSE MATERIALS**

There is no textbook required for purchase. All required readings not available through links provided in the reading list will be posted on OWL Brightspace.

## **EVALUATION**

**Participation (10%):** Students will be expected to participate regularly and constructively in our weekly sessions. Students will be given partial credit for attendance. Beyond that, participation will be evaluated based on the following considerations: relevance, responsiveness to the material laid out in assigned readings and lecture segments, and insightfulness.

**Discussion Questions (10%):** Students will submit two discussion questions each class based on the assigned readings (classes 2 through 12). Read the material, reflect on it, and then raise two questions that point to areas of confusion or difficulty in your view. Full marks will go to questions that are insightful and seriously engage with the material. **Simply restating the author's research question will result in a grade of zero.** Please submit on OWL in advance of the class. Submit questions for 10 of the 11 classes (not counting the first class of the semester).

**Argumentative Essay (15%):** Students will write a short argumentative essay in which they will argue for or against a position regarding an ethical dilemma to do with migration, borders, or citizenship. A list of possible topics will be distributed two weeks in advance. Length: 5 double-spaced pages, not including title page or bibliography.

**Comparative Migration Policy Briefing Note (30%):** Students will work in groups of four to research and write a policy briefing note that critically compares Canada to one peer country of their choice with respect to their levels and admission criteria for immigrants (permanent residents), temporary workers, asylum-seekers, and refugees, and also pathways to citizenship. The imagined audience is the deputy minister of immigration of Canada. The briefing note should not only summarize factual information, but also evaluate the countries' policy priorities in light of the political pressures they face using Hollifield et al.'s (2022) "dilemmas" – trade-offs between *markets*, *security*, *culture*, and *rights* (see reading in Class 4). Length: 25 double-spaced pages, not including title page or bibliography.

**Final Exam (35%):** A study guide will be provided in advance. The exam date will be determined by the registrar.

## **COURSE POLICIES**

**E-mail policy:** All Western University students are required to have an @uwo.ca e-mail account. The instructor will *only* respond to e-mails sent from a Western University account, that clearly identify the sender, and have “POL3540” in the subject line. The instructor will **not** accept assignments by e-mail.

**Late assignments:** The penalty for late assignments is two percentage points per day (including weekend days). A grade of 80% on an assignment therefore becomes 72% in four days. Assignments more than 10 days late will not be accepted. Extensions due to illness require a medical certificate. If you foresee problems meeting submission deadlines please consult the instructor early; accommodations can always be made with adequate advance notice. This means *at least one week before the deadline*, not the night before the work is due! The last day for submission of term assignments with penalty is **Monday, April 14, 2025**, after which they cannot be accepted without special arrangements agreed.

**Use of AI tools:** Using ChatGPT or other AI tools to generate content for your assignments is unacceptable in this class. These tools should never be used as a substitute for an internet search engine or university library search tools and collections. They regularly “hallucinate” ideas and sources. Our goal in this course is to read texts closely and think deeply about issues and questions that you will have to resolve as you continue with your doctoral studies. Authentic, original thought is essential to this intellectual process. If I suspect that an assignment contains AI-generated writing, I will discuss its content in a meeting with you. If you are unable to explain and defend the content as your own work, I will require you to re-write the assignment. Any late penalties incurred since the original due date will be applied to the re-written assignment.

**Academic Offences:** Scholastic offences are taken seriously and students are directed to read the appropriate policy, specifically, the definition of what constitutes a Scholastic Offence, at: [http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/academic\\_policies/appeals/scholastic\\_discipline\\_grad.pdf](http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/academic_policies/appeals/scholastic_discipline_grad.pdf)

All required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to the commercial plagiarism-detection software under license to the University for the detection of plagiarism. All papers submitted for such checking will be included as source documents in the reference database for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of papers subsequently submitted to the system. Use of the service is subject to the licensing agreement, currently between The University of Western Ontario and Turnitin.com (<http://www.turnitin.com>). If you are unclear about what constitutes plagiarism or how to reference sources, please visit the Writing Support Centre <http://www.sdc.uwo.ca/writing/> or review information at: <http://www.lib.uwo.ca/tutorials/plagiarism/>.

## **ASSISTANCE**

If you are having trouble with the course material or are falling behind in your work, please contact the course instructor as soon as possible. We can only help you if the lines of communication are open. Learning to express ideas clearly is a central goal of the university experience. If academic writing does not come easily to you, you are strongly encouraged to make use of the Writing Support Centre: <http://www.sdc.uwo.ca/writing/>.

**Health/Wellness Services:** Students who are in emotional/mental distress should refer to Western's Wellness and Well-Being hub at <http://www.uwo.ca/uwocom/mentalhealth/> for a complete list of options about how to obtain help.

**Accessible Education Western (AEW):** Western is committed to achieving barrier-free accessibility for all its members, including graduate students. As part of this commitment, Western provides a variety of services devoted to promoting, advocating, and accommodating persons with disabilities in their respective graduate program. Graduate students with disabilities (for example, chronic illnesses, mental health conditions, mobility impairments) are strongly encouraged to register with Accessible Education Western at [http://academicsupport.uwo.ca/accessible\\_education/index.html](http://academicsupport.uwo.ca/accessible_education/index.html), a confidential service designed to support graduate and undergraduate students through their academic program. With the appropriate documentation, the student will work with both AEW and their graduate programs (normally their Graduate Chair and/or Course instructor) to ensure that appropriate academic accommodations to program requirements are arranged. These accommodations include individual counselling, alternative formatted literature, accessible campus transportation, learning strategy instruction, writing exams and assistive technology instruction.

## **READING LIST**

All documents should become available if you access them while on the campus network or using Western's EZ-Proxy service: <https://www.lib.uwo.ca/offcampus/remote.html>.  
If a link to a journal article doesn't work properly, search through the library website directly.

### **PART I: MIGRATION, BORDERS, AND THE NATION-STATE**

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#### **Class 1: Introduction – Human Migration in a World of Nation States**

- To begin, visit the UN International Organization for Migration (IOM) interactive website for its 2024 *World Migration Report* at <https://worldmigrationreport.iom.int/msite/wmr-2024-interactive/>. Scroll down to learn about the volumes and flow of international migration around the world. What are the biggest sending and receiving countries? How does Canada compare?
- Benhabib, Seyla. 2005. "Borders, Boundaries, and Citizenship." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 38(4): 673–677. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096505050328>

#### **Class 2: Admission, Exclusion, and Justice**

*On what basis – in theory – can nation-states selectively admit or exclude migrants?*

- Joseph Carens. 1987. "Aliens and Citizens: The Case for Open Borders," *Review of Politics* 49:251–73. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0034670500033817> or <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1407506>
- Miller, David. 2015. "Justice in immigration." *European Journal of Political Theory* 14 (4):391–408. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1474885115584833>

#### **Class 3: Rights and Obligations**

*This week we approach some important dilemmas: Should non-citizens be allowed to vote? What rights should excluded non-citizens have with respect to deportation? Do wealthy migrant-receiving states have obligations to poor migrant-sending states?*

- Beckman, Ludvig. 2006. "Citizenship and Voting Rights: Should Resident Aliens Vote?" *Citizenship Studies* 10 (2):153–165. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13621020600633093>
- Lenard, Patti Tamara. 2015. "The ethics of deportation in liberal democratic states." *European Journal of Political Theory* 14 (4):464–480. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1474885115584834>
- Ferracioli, Luara. 2015. "Immigration, self-determination, and the brain drain." *Review of International Studies* 41 (1):99–115. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210514000084>

## PART II: MIGRATION POLICY: CANADA IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

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### Class 4: Dilemmas of Migration States

*What are the major dilemmas of immigration policy in the Global North – principally Europe, North America, and Australia? What different dilemmas do Global South migration states face?*

- Hollifield, James F., Martin, Philip L., Orrenius, Pia M. and Héran, François. 2022. “The Dilemmas of Immigration Control in Liberal Democracies,” Ch. 1 in *Controlling Immigration: A Comparative Perspective*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., edited by James F. Hollifield, Philip L. Martin, Pia M. Orrenius, and François Héran, 3–51. Redwood City: Stanford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781503631670-003>
- Joppke, Christian. 2021. “Immigration Policy in the Crossfire of Neoliberalism and Neonationalism.” *Swiss Journal of Sociology* 47 (1):71–92. <https://doi.org/10.2478/sjs-2021-0007>
- Adamson, Fiona B. and Gerasimos Tsourapas G. 2020. “The Migration State in the Global South: Nationalizing, Developmental, and Neoliberal Models of Migration Management.” *International Migration Review* 54(3) 853–882. <https://doi.org/10.1177/019791831987905>

### Class 5: Canada

*How has Canada’s immigration regime evolved over time?*

- Triadafilopoulos, Triadafilos. 2013. “Dismantling White Canada: Race, Rights, and the Origins of the Points System.” Ch. 2 in *Wanted and Welcome? Policies for Highly Skilled Immigrants in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos, 15–37. New York: Springer. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-0082-0\\_2](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-0082-0_2)
- Triadafilopoulos, Triadafilos and Zack Taylor. 2024. “The Domestic Politics of Selective Permeability: Disaggregating the Canadian Migration State.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 50(3), 702–725. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2023.2269785>

*Every year the Minister of Immigration makes a report to Parliament. Skim and compare the last two years’ reports. How do they differ in what they emphasize, downplay, and forecast for the future?*

- Canada. 2023. *Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration*. Ottawa. ON: Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada. [https://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection\\_2023/ircc/Ci1-2023-eng.pdf](https://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2023/ircc/Ci1-2023-eng.pdf) (focus on “Key Highlights” and “Canada’s next permanent resident Immigration Levels Plan”)
- Canada. 2024. *Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration*. Ottawa. ON: Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada. <https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/ircc/documents/pdf/english/corporate/publications-manuals/annual-report-2024-en.pdf> (the font is large, so there’s not a lot of text – skim for the big facts and ideas).

## **Class 6: Refugees, Asylum-Seekers, and Forced Migration**

*How are refugees and asylum-seekers governed? What obligations do nation-states have to refugees and asylum-seekers?*

- Barnett, Laura. 2002. "Global governance and the evolution of the international refugee regime." *International Journal of Refugee Law* 14(2–3), 238–262. [https://doi.org/10.1093/ijrl/14.2\\_and\\_3.238](https://doi.org/10.1093/ijrl/14.2_and_3.238)
- Ostrand, Nicole. 2015. "The Syrian refugee crisis: A comparison of responses by Germany, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States." *Journal on Migration and Human Security* 3(3): 255–279. <https://doi.org/10.1177/23315024150030030>
- Boyd, Monica and Nathan T.B. Ly. 2021. "Unwanted and Uninvited: Canadian Exceptionalism in Migration and the 2017–2020 Irregular Border Crossings." *American Review of Canadian Studies* 51(1): 95–121. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02722011.2021.1899743>

## **Class 7: Temporary Foreign Labour**

*How do nation-states use temporary foreign labour to fill labour market gaps? What obligations do nation-states have to temporary foreign workers?*

- Ruhs, Martin. 2012. "The Human Rights of Migrant Workers: Why Do So Few Countries Care?" *American Behavioral Scientist* 56(9): 1277–1293. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764212443815>
- Ruhs, Martin, and Philip Martin. 2008. "Numbers vs. Rights: Trade-Offs and Guest Worker Programs." *International Migration Review* 42 (1):249–265. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2007.00120>
- Chartrand, Tyler, and Leah F. Vosko. 2021. "Canada's Temporary Foreign Worker and International Mobility Programs: Charting Change and Continuity Among Source Countries." *International Migration* 59(2): 89–109. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12762>
- O'Donnell, Ian, and Mikal Skuterud. 2022. "The Transformation of Canada's Temporary Foreign Worker Program." *Canadian Public Policy* 48 (4): 518–538. <https://doi.org/10.3138/cpp.2021-093>

## **Class 8: The United States**

*Few policy areas are more politicized in the United States than immigration. What is happening there, and why? How is American immigration policy different from Canada's? What will be the impact on Canada of changing U.S. immigration policy? Note: Much is in flux with the return of Donald Trump to the presidency. I may add or change readings closer to the date to capture current developments.*

- Martin, Philip L. and Pia M. Orrenius. 2022. "The United States: Whither the Nation of Immigrants?" In J. F. Hollifield, P. L. Martin, P. M. Orrenius, & F. Héran, eds., *Controlling Immigration: A Comparative Perspective*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. pp. 69–108. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press. <https://doi.org/doi:10.1515/9781503631670-006>
- Watson, Tara and Jonathon Zars. 2024 (Dec. 19). "Commentary: What to expect on immigration policy from a Trump White House: Five policy areas and three scenarios."



## PART III: CITIZENSHIP, STATE, AND SOCIETY

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### Class 9: Citizenship and the State

*On what basis is citizenship acquired in different countries? What are the pathways to citizenship for migrants? What does it mean to be stateless? What obligations are the stateless owed?*

- Shachar, Ayelet. 2009. *The Birthright Lottery: Citizenship and Global Inequality*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Chapter 1, pp. 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.4159/9780674054592>
- Mignot, Jean-François. 2019. “By soil and blood: Citizenship laws in the world.” *La vie des idées*, 1–10. <https://shs.hal.science/halshs-02334206>
- Bloemraad, Irene, Korteweg, Anna, & Yurdakul, Gökçe. 2008. “Citizenship and immigration: Multiculturalism, assimilation, and challenges to the nation-state.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 34: 153–179. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.34.040507.134608>
- Belton, Kristy A. 2011. “The neglected non-citizen: Statelessness and liberal political theory,” *Journal of Global Ethics* 7 (1): 59–71. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17449626.2011.558733>

### Class 10: Citizenship and Indigenous Peoples in ‘Nations of Immigrants’

*How should we think about citizenship in immigrant-accepting settler countries?*

- Ellermann, Antje and Ben O’Heran. 2021. “Unsettling Migration Studies: Indigeneity and Immigration in Settler Colonial States.” Ch. 3 in Catherine Dauvergne, ed., *Research Handbook on the Law and Politics of Migration*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar. 21–34. [https://cenes-narratives-2020.sites.olt.ubc.ca/files/2022/08/Day-3\\_Ellerman-and-OHeran-Unsettling-migration-studies.pdf](https://cenes-narratives-2020.sites.olt.ubc.ca/files/2022/08/Day-3_Ellerman-and-OHeran-Unsettling-migration-studies.pdf)
- Bohaker, Heidi & Franca Iacovetta. 2009. “Making Aboriginal People ‘Immigrants Too’: A Comparison of Citizenship Programs for Newcomers and Indigenous Peoples in Postwar Canada, 1940s–1960s.” *The Canadian Historical Review* 9(3) 427–461. <https://doi.org/10.3138/chr.90.3.427>
- Spoonley, Paul. 2017. “Renegotiating Citizenship: Indigeneity and Superdiversity in Contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand,” Ch. 11 in Jatinder Mann, ed., *Citizenship in Transnational Perspective: Australia, Canada, and New Zealand*, 209–222. Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing AG. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/west/reader.action?docID=4878128&ppg=215>

## **Class 11: Multiculturalism, the Welfare State, and Anti-Immigrant Backlash**

*What is multiculturalism and how might it facilitate immigrant integration? What drives anti-immigration sentiment? Is there a “progressive’s dilemma” – that is, is there a tension between multiculturalism and the welfare state?*

- Bloemraad, Irene. 2022. “Multiculturalism and Inclusive Democracy.” Ch. 2 in Yasmeen Abu-Laban, Alain-G Gagnon, Arjun Tremblay, eds., *Assessing Multiculturalism in Global Comparative Perspective: A New Politics of Diversity for the 21st Century?* New York, NY: Routledge. pp. 41–52. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003197485>
- Banting, Keith, Daniel Westlake, and Will Kymlicka. 2022. “The politics of multiculturalism and redistribution: Immigration, accommodation, and solidarity in diverse democracies.” Ch. 11 in Markus Crepaz, ed., *Handbook on Migration and Welfare*, 210–229. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/west/reader.action?docID=6869386&ppg=224>
- Westlake, Daniel. 2018. “Multiculturalism, Political Parties, and the Conflicting Pressures of Ethnic Minorities and Far-right Parties.” *Party Politics* 24(4) 421–43. <https://doi.org/10.1177/135406881667888>
- Leblang, David, and Margaret E. Peters. 2022. “Immigration and Globalization (and Deglobalization).” *Annual Review of Political Science* 25 (1):377–399. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-051120-105059>

## **Class 12: Is Canada (Still) Exceptional?**

*Is Canada somehow less susceptible to anti-immigration sentiment? If so, why?*

- Bloemraad, Irene. 2022. “Multiculturalism and Inclusive Democracy.” Ch. 2 in Yasmeen Abu-Laban, Alain-G Gagnon, Arjun Tremblay, eds., *Assessing Multiculturalism in Global Comparative Perspective: A New Politics of Diversity for the 21st Century?* New York, NY: Routledge. pp. 52–55. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003197485>
- Besco, Randy. 2021. “From Stability to Polarization: The Transformation of Canadian Public Opinion on Immigration, 1975–2019.” *American Review of Canadian Studies* 51(1): 143–165. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02722011.2021.1902169>
- Triadafilopoulos, Triadafilos and Zack Taylor. 2022. “Canada: The Quintessential Migration State?” Ch. 11 in James F. Hollifield and Neil Foley, eds., *Understanding Global Migration*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press. 269–293. <https://doi-org.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/10.1515/9781503629585-014>