

Migration and Citizenship

Fall 2014, GL/POLS 4274
Glendon College, York University

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How can or should the concept of citizenship evolve to meet today's challenges, many of which are caused or exacerbated by migration? What does the rise and growth of European rights signify about the future of citizenship? How should we think in moral and ethical terms about issues such as access to citizenship, the integration of immigrants, temporary workers, irregular migrants and the admission of family members and refugees? How do world-historical events alter predominant views on such matters? How should we understand Canada's immigration and refugee history?

Course aims and structure

The dual purposes of this intensive fourth-year seminar are to enable you to 1) critically discuss ideas and concepts, and 2) write a research paper. To succeed, you should read and think carefully about the assigned material before the relevant class, write weekly reading analyses and regular peer critiques, attend classes regularly, lead several class discussions and participate actively in the others, and complete a research paper of 7000-8000 words (including notes/bibliography). The seminar meets in York Hall A204 on Wednesdays 9am - noon.

<i>Grading</i>	option A	B
Best five reading analyses	20%	20%
Discussion leadership	14%	21%
Research paper	51%	44%
Final exam	10%	10%
Participation	5%	5%

Reading analyses

Starting in week II, you will submit weekly reading analyses for all weeks with course readings (II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, XI), each worth 4% of your final grade. The total available is 20%, so you may either skip one or two weeks or have your lowest mark(s) disregarded. You will receive no credit if you submit your analysis later than noon on the day before the relevant class. See "Guidelines for Reading Analyses" for a detailed guide.

Discussion leadership

An important skill – whether in academic settings or elsewhere – is the ability to lead and guide discussions. Our class discussions will focus on key ideas, arguments, and concepts related to the readings; they will not summarize the readings. (Discussion leaders will assume that all class participants have thought carefully about each week's readings.) The aim of the discussions is not to convey information but to consider different ways of thinking and reasoning. We will discuss ways of framing questions that are neither too narrow (or factual) or too open-ended but rather invite serious debate in ways that challenge and hopefully enlighten all members of the class. For each discussion you lead, you should prepare several discussion questions and a general sense of where the discussion might lead. Under option A, you take responsibility for leading two discussions. Under option B, you will lead three.

Research paper

The research paper is the single largest component of this class, but the work is divided into several tasks spread out through the term. At our meeting of September 17, you will come prepared with a draft research question. This means you will have settled on a topic and done some general reading to come up with a research question and ideas for how to approach it. (You will come to class with a one-sentence question you will answer in your paper and a draft paragraph-length answer.) You will discuss your ideas in class, receiving constructive suggestions from fellow participants. Your detailed paper outline (approximately 1000 words in bullet point form, or 2000+ words in paragraph form) and bibliography (at least 10 academic sources, annotated briefly) are due September 29, and we will discuss in class on October 1, so that you can again receive helpful feedback. You will then spend the next five weeks (including co-curricular week) completing your paper, submitting the first draft (at least 6000 words, preferably more) by November 9. November 12 is the Paper Workshop; you *must* prepare and attend. You will use the suggestions to improve your paper. The next meeting is an intensive writing week; instead of required readings, we will hear from two special guest speakers (the author of one of the course readings and a former Minister of Citizenship and Immigration); you will meet individually with a Glendon librarian to discuss where to find any remaining materials needed to complete your paper. The second draft is due two weeks later (November 23) in advance of our meeting on November 26, which is the Migration and Citizenship Mini-Conference. MCMC is open to the public and will be advertised as a public presentation of your work. (See the “How to present your research to the public” handout.) Any remaining corrections can be made on the final draft, due a few days later. The paper is worth either 51% or 44% (depending on how many discussions you lead) of your overall grade. The weighting of the components (totalling 100%, which will then be multiplied by either 51% or 44%) is: question and abstract (5%), outline and bibliography (20%), first draft (25%), second draft (25%), presentation (20%), final draft (5%).

Final exam

The final exam will cover all readings, discussions, and student research presentations and will allow you to demonstrate the knowledge and understanding you have gained.

Attendance and participation

You should attend all classes (after one unexcused absence, you will lose 2% of your final grade for each unexcused class you miss) and participate actively in class discussion (the *quality* of your contributions matters more than their quantity, but you should contribute every week). You *must* attend the November 12 and November 26 classes, for paper presentations. This class will operate using Moodle. If you do not yet have one, you must open a Moodle account: <http://moodle.glendon.yorku.ca> Please also ensure your email is up-to-date.

Policies

Important information for students regarding the Ethics Review process, Access/Disability, Academic Honesty/Integrity, Student Conduct, and Religious Observance Days is available on the CCAS webpage (see Reports, Initiatives, Documents):

http://www.yorku.ca/secretariat/senate_cte_main_pages/ccas.htm

Please also read <http://www.yorku.ca/academicintegrity/>

Readings

The fall 2014 version of this course is focused on Canada in comparative perspective. We will all read five books as well as selected readings from other sources. Furthermore, you will find (with guidance from me and from Glendon librarians) and use a range of academic sources appropriate for your research topic. The five books are:

- Willem Maas, *Creating European Citizens*
- Joseph Carens, *The Ethics of Immigration*
- Christopher Anderson, *Canadian Liberalism and the Politics of Border Control*
- Willem Maas, ed., *Multilevel Citizenship*
- Phil Triadafilopoulos, *Becoming Multicultural: Immigration and the Politics of Membership in Canada and Germany*

The supplementary readings as indicated below are available via the course website (Glendon Moodle). Additional readings may be assigned or recommended.

Course outline

I (10 Sep) Introduction

Citizenship and Immigration Canada, <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/citizenship/become-eligibility.asp> Read the website that gives an overview of current citizenship law.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada, *Discover Canada: The rights and responsibilities of citizenship* <http://www.cic.gc.ca/discovercanada> Read the study guide for prospective citizens.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada, <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/department/index.asp> Browse especially the department's mandate and the "reports and statistics" section.

EUDO Citizenship, <http://eudo-citizenship.eu/> Browse for a sense of worldwide citizenship trends and issues.

Preliminary discussion of research topics. Please come to class prepared with a topic and a sense of what kind of research question you might want to explore this term.

II (17 Sep) Creating European Citizens / Draft research question+answer

Discussion of your draft research question. You will come to class with a one-sentence question you will answer in your paper, and a preliminary paragraph-length answer. We will brainstorm collectively to improve and sharpen it into a feasible form.

Willem Maas, *Creating European Citizens*: The emergence of European rights in the past half century reflects the rise of individuals demanding rights as citizens rather than subjects. Rather than simply accepting authority bestowed from on high, individuals increasingly demanded a voice in the shaping of that authority, a voice that finds expression in the modern idea of rights. In a story that parallels the development of democratic states, one right follows another—civil rights foster demands for political rights, which in turn foster demands for social rights—in a process that can eventually

lead to the extension of citizenship, a status bestowed upon those considered full members of the community. The rise of EU citizenship shows that Europe is no longer simply a community of states but has become a community of individuals with a common status. Reading this book prepares you for the special event next week.

III (24 Sep) European Citizenship (special event: 1pm-2:50pm)

Roundtable on EU citizenship, featuring Willem Maas, Patricia Mindus (professor of legal philosophy at the University of Uppsala, Sweden), and Ettore Recchi (professor of sociology at Sciences Po, Paris). Each of the presenters will have a paper, which I will post on the course website for you to read.

** Paper outline & bibliography due by 29 Sept

** Prepare peer critiques (one page of bullet point suggestions) for two classmates.

IV (1 Oct) Paper outlines

This class will be devoted to constructive criticism on your paper outlines.

V (8 Oct) The Ethics of Immigration

Joseph Carens, *The Ethics of Immigration*: Carens synthesizes a lifetime of work to explore and illuminate one of the most pressing issues of our time. Immigration poses practical problems for western democracies and also challenges the ways in which people in democracies think about citizenship and belonging, about rights and responsibilities, and about freedom and equality. Carens begins by focusing on current immigration controversies in North America and Europe about access to citizenship, the integration of immigrants, temporary workers, irregular migrants and the admission of family members and refugees. Working within the moral framework provided by liberal democratic values, he argues that some of the practices of democratic states in these areas are morally defensible, while others need to be reformed. In the last part of the book he moves beyond the currently feasible to ask questions about immigration from a more fundamental perspective. He argues that democratic values of freedom and equality ultimately entail a commitment to open borders. Only in a world of open borders, he contends, will we live up to our most basic principles. Many will not agree with some of Carens' claims, especially his controversial conclusion, but none will be able to dismiss his views lightly.

VI (15 Oct) Multilevel Citizenship

Willem Maas, ed., *Multilevel Citizenship*: Citizenship has come to mean legal and political equality within a sovereign nation-state; in international law, only states may determine who is and who is not a citizen. But such unitary status is the historical exception: before sovereign nation-states became the prevailing form of political organization, citizenship had a range of definitions and applications. Today, nonstate communities and jurisdictions both below and above the state level are once again becoming important sources of rights, allegiance, and status, thereby constituting

renewed forms of multilevel citizenship. For example, while the European Union protects the nation-state's right to determine its own members, the project to construct a democratic polity beyond national borders challenges the sovereignty of member governments. *Multilevel Citizenship* disputes the dominant narrative of citizenship as a homogeneous status that can be bestowed only by nation-states. The contributors examine past and present case studies that complicate the meaning and function of citizenship, including residual allegiance to empires, constitutional rights that are accessible to noncitizens, and the nonstate allegiance of nomadic nations. Their analyses consider the inconsistencies and exceptions of national citizenship as a political concept, such as overlapping jurisdictions and shared governance, as well as the emergent forms of sub- or supranational citizenships. *Multilevel Citizenship* captures the complexity of citizenship in practice, both at different levels and in different places and times.

VII (22 Oct) Multiculturalism, Immigration, and the Politics of Membership

Phil Triadafilopoulos, *Becoming Multicultural: Immigration and the Politics of Membership in Canada and Germany*: In a world of nation-states, international migration raises questions of membership: Should foreigners be admitted to the national space? If so, according to what criteria and for what ends? And should they and their children be granted citizenship? Canada's and Germany's responses to these questions during the first half of the twentieth century consisted of discriminatory immigration and citizenship policies aimed at harnessing migration for economic ends while minimizing its costs. Yet, by the end of the century, the admission, settlement, and incorporation of previously excluded groups had transformed both countries into highly diverse multicultural societies. *Becoming Multicultural* explains how this remarkable shift came about. Triadafilopoulos argues that world-historical events and epoch-defining processes -- including the Holocaust, decolonization, and the emergence of global human rights culture -- gave rise to a markedly different normative context after the Second World War. These changes in global norms made the maintenance of established membership regimes difficult to defend, opening the way for the liberalization of Canada's and Germany's immigration and citizenship policies. Combining sophisticated theoretical reflection and careful empirical analysis, this thought-provoking book sheds light on the dynamics of membership politics and policy making in contemporary liberal-democratic countries.

VIII (29 Oct) No meeting due to Co-curricular week

IX (5 Nov) Canadian Liberalism and the Politics of Border Control

Christopher Anderson, *Canadian Liberalism and the Politics of Border Control*: As a liberal democracy built on immigration, Canada has long had a reputation for inclusiveness. Since 9/11, however, this reputation has been clouded by restrictive immigration policies, increased interdiction, and the detention of asylum seekers arriving on Canada's shores. Moreover, public debate over the arrival of non-citizens -- especially those seeking entry through unofficial channels -- is now often framed within a security discourse that is used to justify a more restrictive approach. These developments are not surprising in the current context, but as Anderson illustrates, they are also nothing new. *Canadian Liberalism and the Politics of Border Control* sheds light on the complex

history of Canada's response to immigrants and refugees during its first century -- a century that saw the imposition of the Chinese Head Tax, the turning away of the *Komagata Maru*, the rejection of Jewish refugees during the interwar period, the internment of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War, and the postwar development of a new human rights-based discourse. Framing these and other pivotal moments in the wider context of how the rights of immigrants and refugees have been debated and pursued in Canadian politics, Anderson demonstrates that today's more restrictive approach reflects traditions deeply embedded within liberal democracies. His insights into Canadian immigration and refugee history offer valuable lessons for understanding the nature of contemporary liberal-democratic control policies.

** Paper first drafts due November 9 (Sunday; not Tuesday as usual)

** Prepare first and second discussant comments (critiques and presentations), and peer critiques (one page of bullet point comments) for all other classmates.

X (12 Nov) Paper Workshop

Intensive discussion of paper drafts.

XI (19 Nov) Christopher Anderson (*Canadian Liberalism and the Politics of Border Control*), followed by **Elinor Caplan, former Minister of Citizenship & Immigration**

Special guest **Christopher Anderson** (9:05 – 10:15), followed by special guest (10:30 – 11:45): **Elinor Caplan**, former MPP (1985-1997) and Minister of Health, Government of Ontario; former MP (1997-2004) and Minister of Citizenship and Immigration (1999-2002) and Minister of National Revenue (2002-2003), Government of Canada.

** Research paper second drafts due by November 23

XII (26 Nov) Migration and Citizenship Mini-Conference (MCMC)

You will make your paper presentations, in conference format.

** Final paper drafts due December 2.

XIII (3 Dec) Conclusions

Open book final exam.