

### **Immigration and Integration in Canada in the Twenty-first Century**

by John Biles, Meyer Burstein, and James Frideres (eds.). Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008, viii, 282 pp.

*Immigration and Integration in Canada in the Twenty-first Century* is the first volume of an anticipated collection that will facilitate knowledge transfer by the members of METROPOLIS, an international network for comparative research and policy development on immigration, diversity, and integration in cities in Canada and worldwide. The chapters in this Canadian-focused volume are the fruit of a series of workshops at the 8<sup>th</sup> National Metropolis Conference held in Vancouver in March 2006, and the collaborative efforts of the editors John Biles, Meyer Burstein, and James Frideres, who benefited from the input of a number of academics, community leaders, and government officials. The editors' introductory chapter sets the stage by presenting the overarching goal of the book, namely, "to provide a comprehensive framework that covers all aspects of immigrant adjustment and associated public endeavour" (p. 5), and by briefly describing the policy implications of tensions such as integration uncertainty, social exclusion, shifting power balance, and new management priorities. Perhaps the greatest achievement of the editors is to have successfully pulled together nine chapters that stand up well as individual pieces on integration, and that collectively illustrate how immigrants and mainstream society must work together in a "two-way street" approach "where both immigrants and current citizens are expected to adapt to each other, to ensure positive outcomes for everyone in the social, cultural, economic, and political spheres" (p. 4). From a logistics perspective, the editors did a great job by organizing this volume into two distinct yet complementary sections.

The four chapters in the first section of the book collectively perform an "environmental scan" of the concept of integration in Canada, and propose measures for evaluating the nature and extent of in-

tegration in the country. The first chapter in this section, by Arthur Sweetman and Casey Warman, provides an economic assessment that reveals increased poverty among new immigrants, and calls for the need to conduct more research to examine the economic impact of immigration on the Canadian economy so all can benefit from Canada's relatively high standard of living. In the second chapter, Christopher G. Anderson and Jerome H. Black discuss the two-way interaction of political integration—naturalization, political participation, and representation—from a long-term perspective and ask the more immediate questions of whose integration and what standards of integration are at stake. While the authors find that immigrants generally carry out their political integration responsibilities quite well, they believe that more research and analysis is needed to help the Canadian mainstream demonstrate greater leadership in the two-sided approach to integration in general, and with respect to remedial measures to deal with disadvantaged groups in particular. Complementing the political analysis of Anderson and Black, James Frideres presents an extensive review of the literature showing the need to promote social integration in Canada through the creation of an inclusive society. In the final chapter of this section, Marjorie Stone, Hélène Destrempes, John Foote, and M. Sharon Jeannotte examine immigration and cultural citizenship in relation to responsibilities, rights, and indicators, and conclude that the topic needs to be further investigated by various levels of government. According to the authors, governments should also support initiatives of writers and artists from minority groups, and works dealing with intercultural exchanges, to foster greater receptivity and space for immigrants and minorities in Canada.

The five chapters in the second section address the question of societal integration in Canadian contexts. The two chapters on integration policy, by John Biles and the Conseil des relations interculturelles, respectively, focus on the situation in English-speaking Canada and French-speaking Quebec, and similarly conclude that more coordinated approaches

need to be implemented. While John Biles stresses the need to tackle challenges of continuity and evaluation in government-funded initiatives in general, the Conseil des relations interculturelles suggests that Quebec needs to specifically implement evaluation mechanisms to assess practical elements of immigrant integration in the province. The following three chapters of the section provide a solid overview on how the general public perceives immigrants and how the latter are represented in media coverage. Jack Jedwab's chapter reviews a large body of public opinion polls showing that there is a great deal of convergence around the two-way street relationship for immigrant integration in Canada, but that supporters have some conflicting opinions about immigration levels and how integration gets defined and implemented. In their chapters, Minelle Mahtani and Chedly Belkhodja respectively present the results of their content analysis of major English-language and French-language media. According to Mahtani, immigrants are widely misrepresented in the media, notably through stereotyping and under-representation. She identifies a need to conduct more immigration research in the arenas of production and consumption. Belkhodja discusses the debate over what constitutes reasonable accommodation, and considers some of the broader implications of the growing competition between Quebec pluralist sentiments and the rise of criticisms over diversity and accommodation.

As a whole, this is an important and timely book that contributes to broadening our understanding

about how immigration integration is addressed in Canada and why. The concluding chapter of the three editors—John Biles, Meyer Burstein, and James Frideres—is particularly well done from a Canadian public policy perspective as it presents a solid working framework for identifying immigrant integration with the two-way process model, and discusses currently available empirical indicators for measuring immigrant integration in economic, social, cultural, and political sectors. Still, what was not covered in the book raises the question of potential knowledge gaps. Interesting comparative work between the situation in Quebec and English-speaking Canada is present in the book, but we still know very little about legal immigration issues as they relate to the civil and common-law systems of the country, or about the settlement and integration realities of immigrants and refugees who migrate from Quebec to English-speaking Canada. More gender-based analysis and qualitative research would also be welcome. While it is my hope that these topics get picked up in the next volumes of the anticipated METROPOLIS collection and/or in future research projects and discussions, I fully recommend this first volume as it provides an excellent introduction to the topic of Canadian immigration and integration and has great appeal for a broad audience.

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### **The Impact of 9/11 on Canada-U.S. Trade**

by Steven Globerman and Paul Storer. University of Toronto Press, 2008.

After the 9/11 attacks, the United States closed its border, shutting down bilateral trade with Canada. The reopening of the border heralded a regime of heightened security that has resulted in longer waits at the border and increased costs of moving goods between the two countries. In *The Impact of 9/11 on Canada-U.S. Trade*, Steven Globerman and Paul Storer measure the effect of post-9/11 security measures on bilateral trade flows between the two countries.

The book opens with an account of the closing and reopening of the United States border in the weeks following the attacks, and describes the security measures and agreements that were put in place in the following weeks and years. From there, the authors describe the geography of the land ports at the border (chapter 2) and provide an overview of the bilateral trade in goods (chapter 3), noting the importance of certain goods (automobiles and parts) and certain ports (the lion's share of shipments pass through ports at Detroit, Buffalo-Niagara, and Port Huron). They also summarize previous estimates of increased waiting times and costs associated with the enhanced security (chapter 4). These chapters provide the background needed to evaluate the methodology and findings of the book.

The authors' methodology involves using bilateral trade covering the period 1996–2005 to estimate parsimonious models of exports to and imports from the United States. Any declines in imports or exports that occurred after September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001, that cannot be accounted for by standard determinants of trade (the exchange rate and the national incomes of the two countries) are attributed to the extra costs of shipping resulting from increased security measures. As the costs associated with crossing the border before and after 9/11 cannot be consistently measured, this strikes me as a reasonable approach. Using this framework, the authors find that exports to and imports from the United States decreased dramati-

cally in the months and years immediately after 9/11, falling by as much as 25 percent and 20 percent in 2002 and 2003, respectively. Although imports appear to have recovered by 2004, exports were still approximately 13 percent below expected levels in 2005.

Globerman and Storer acknowledge that their methodology will overstate the effect of security enhancements if other factors resulted in reduced trade flows. They systematically consider several potential candidates, including changes in the auto industry and the ongoing softwood lumber dispute, and make a compelling case that these factors were unlikely to play a substantive role in trade flows in the post-9/11 period. I felt some concern that the methodology might not be able to fully control for exchange rate effects, given that the exchange rate was depreciating in period before the attacks and appreciated sharply in the aftermath. However, the finding that imports and exports both fell suggests that time effects indeed capture the effects of the new security measures.

Globerman and Storer apply this methodology to the ten largest ports, to determine whether the flow of goods across certain ports was particularly susceptible to disruptions arising from new border measures. They find that certain ports, such as Detroit, appeared to normalize within a few years, while exports and imports remained depressed until the end of their study period at others, such as Port Huron. An analysis of the types of goods and modes of transportation at various ports suggests that those ports through which a higher fraction of goods are shipped by rail were more likely to continue to experience a reduced flow of goods. The authors suggest that this arises because inspection of rail containers involves removing railcars from trains, delaying the entire train for over two hours.

The authors provide several recommendations for improving the flow of goods while pursuing the security goals of the United States. They argue that a common security perimeter is untenable, as Canadian politicians are unwilling to cede the necessary

sovereignty. Globerman and Storer advocate using policies and technologies that allow shippers to notify border officials of shipments before they reach inspection points, so that officials can identify those shipments posing the greatest risks. They also call for coordinated efforts to improve border infrastructure.

This book is an important reminder that 9/11 has permanently changed the nature of border, and that

this change is costly for Canada, given our commercial linkage with the United States. Globerman and Storer provide a careful study of how border changes have disrupted trade flows. This work should inform both policy discussions about trade and security, and subsequent studies of bilateral trade.

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**Nunavut: Rethinking Political Culture**

by Ailsa Henderson. Vancouver, Toronto: UBC Press, 2007.

Ailsa Henderson is currently senior lecturer at the School of Social and Political Studies at the University of Edinburgh (UK). In this book she explores very carefully the emergence of a political culture in Nunavut, a new territory in the Canadian Arctic that was created in 1999. Nunavut, "our land" in Inuktitut, is a huge region stretching from Greenland to the Northwest Territories populated by about 30,000 residents, 85 percent of whom are Inuit beneficiaries of the Nunavut Land claim.

In her study, Henderson uses the notion of culture in a rather broad perspective. It includes the various contemporary discourses, the norms of political behaviour, and political values, but also the institutions that structure political relationships within the territory. In this perspective, social practices play a secondary role, more space being given to ideologies. But her approach is solid and well grounded. Far from starting with the first elections of the Nunavut Legislative Assembly in 1999, Henderson takes into account many elements from the past, assuming rightly that political culture in Nunavut bears the marks of three important cultural influences that contain different approaches to political life: "a traditional Inuit approach to resource distribution and social control, a liberal Canadian political culture into which Inuit were integrated, and the institutional development of the Northwest Territories" (p. 215). Henderson argues that the federal culture has been more dominant than the other two cultures, the less influential factor being traditional Inuit approaches to social control and decision making.

The book is divided into ten chapters grouped in two parts. After a short introduction, Part 1 deals with the various influences that played a part in shaping contemporary Nunavut political culture. Chapter 2 offers a general, historical, and institutional presentation of Nunavut as well as its social and economic environment. The reader will appre-

ciate the careful but too-brief discussion on the role of residential schools in shaping Nunavut political culture. Chapter 3 identifies the traditional approaches to power, leadership, and social control in both contact and post-contact Inuit society. Using interviews with elders from the Igloodik oral history project, Henderson explores the notion of social control and governance in the shamanic and socioeconomic domains. She introduces a distinction between spiritual and temporal agents of social control and evaluates the impact of Christianization on those agents. The reasoning is thorough, but the idea that Inuit lost a significant element of their culture when they adopted Christianity might be too quickly accepted and also part of an ideological discourse. Following the paradigm of indigenization, one could argue that Inuit incorporated these new ideas in their own way and that Christianity thus enriched their traditions. Western societies always emphasize their enrichment when they adopt foreign features, and so why should the Inuit lose something? It is also a pity that Henderson does not point out the crucial role of middlemen and half-breed people who, very early during the whaling and trading periods, played an important role in facilitating the adoption of new ideas and practices from the outside. In Chapter 4 Henderson analyzes the process by which the Inuit were integrated into the Canadian political system in the 1960s and 1970s, underlining the fact that they were either excluded and isolated or courted and encouraged to participate in various elections. It is true that the federal government tended either to assimilate the Inuit or to integrate them. Chapter 5 provides an original analysis of government decisions regarding the institutions structuring political life in the Canadian Arctic. In some sort of an archaeological perspective, Henderson identifies the distinct visions of institutional design in the Northwest Territories as well as the conflicting views of the federal, territorial, and Inuit actors about political development.

The second part of the book is less historical and devoted to the understanding of the constituent elements of contemporary political culture in Nunavut. In Chapter 6, Henderson addresses consensus

politics, tracking its origins and impact on the behaviours of legislators. She also explores the absence of political parties, the emergence of political elites, and relations between the public and the legislature. This chapter is rich and detailed, which is also the case of Chapter 7 where she analyzes the behaviour of voters focusing on voter turnout in federal and territorial elections. Many tables are well presented and commented upon to support the argument. Taking the example of political competition, Henderson suggests that it took less than ten years for the political class in Nunavut to resemble political classes in southern Canada. Chapter 8 not only provides an interesting analysis of political attitudes in Nunavut but also explores the demographic foundations for political cleavages and the ideological clusters that can be found in this territory. Geographic, ethnic, generational, and spiritual cleavages are examined. Using the method of attitudinal clusters, Henderson identifies “five ideologically coherent groups”: (a) small community modernists, (b) frustrated Iqaluit-based young workers, (c) politically satisfied materialists, (d) cynical spectators, and (e) postmaterialist traditionalists. The discussion that follows is of great interest, not only for political scientists but also for other specialists in social sciences doing research on northern issues as well as for the Inuit. But such a typology remains tricky, and raises many questions. I am not convinced by the notion of postmaterialism that is brought in, but the author herself remains cautious in her conclusion. Chapter 9 focuses on the effort to transform political culture in Nunavut through the promotion and implementation of Inuit *qaujimaqatuqangit* (IQ). This new concept refers to “the traditions of the past that are considered still useful today” and expresses the wish many Inuit and non-Inuit share to give more space to Inuit views, values, and practices within Nunavut institutions. Using official reports released by the Nunavut government, Henderson provides a brief history of that concept, but she leaves out too many key references authored by Inuit, geographers, and anthropologists. Similarly she does not discuss enough the notion of resilience that seems to me so crucial to understanding Inuit

*qaujimaqatuqangit*. It would have been worthwhile here to go beyond the various discourses to discuss, for instance, the many conflicts still taking place when Inuit, well supported by Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated and other organizations, have to face Western views, rules, and values: see the question of respecting hunting quotas for bears or belugas, the ongoing conflict over the dog killings committed by the RCMP in the 1960s, and the problems in following the Canadian justice system or Western education parameters. The last part of that final chapter explores the various expectations and impacts of Nunavut on northern residents.

Henderson’s contribution is rich but much oriented toward ideological discourses and institutions. Practices, orality and local conflicts are excluded from her analysis, and so the study remains incomplete. If we integrate this practical level, Inuit resilience appears much more salient. Beyond the adoption of Western views and institutional models, there is a dynamic of indigenization and conflict that is not discussed in this book. Regarding the sources, it is surprising to find so many important books missing from the list of references such as M. Mitchell’s contribution, *From Talking Chiefs to a Native Corporate Elite: The Birth of Class and Nationalism among Canadian Inuit* (1996), W. Rasing’s *Too Many People: Order and Non-conformity in Iglulingmiut Social Process* (1994), a few books published by the Nunavut Arctic College in different series such as *Perspectives on Traditional Law* (2001), or the books published in the Life Stories of Northern Leaders series to mention only some of them.

This being said, this book is well written and innovative. It provides an interesting contribution to the understanding of political culture in Nunavut by exploring new topics and raising new questions. I consider it an original and stimulating contribution to northern studies that should be read by scholars, students, and northern residents.

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**Two Cheers for Minority Government:  
The Evolution of Canadian Parliamentary  
Democracy**

by Peter H. Russell. Toronto: Emond Montgomery Publication Limited, 2008.

This important and highly accessible book is of interest to those studying multiparty parliamentary first-past-the-post systems, in general, and the Canadian system, in particular. For Russell, the governments producing policy and legislative outcomes most preferred by Canadians are minority governments since to maintain the confidence of the House of Commons they must propose compromises that better serve Canadians. Under majority governments, Russell argues prime ministers tend to suppress parliamentary debate, which eliminates the checks and balances of the parliamentary system—a problem exacerbated under *false* majority government since the ruling party usually obtains less than 40 percent of the electoral support. He attributes the 12 (out of 27) short-lived minority governments from 1921–2006 to Canadians being divided along more than liberal-conservative lines as evidenced by the fact that since 1935, third parties have had the support of at least 20 percent of the popular vote.

Unfortunately, this book came out before Prime Minister Harper called an early election<sup>1</sup> on 14 October 2008. We can, however, use Russell's analysis to understand how Harper's misreading of his governing power in the first mandate plunged Canada into a parliamentary crisis on the inaugural day of his second mandate. In his first minority government, Harper was able to implement many proposals by making them subject to a vote of confidence which, to avoid an election, the Liberal Party did not oppose. Taking advantage of the weaknesses of the Liberal Party and wanting a parliamentary majority, Harper called an early election for October 14. Canadians gave him only a slightly stronger minority than in his first mandate. On 19 November, Harper used the Speech from the Throne to outline his plan for the 40<sup>th</sup> Parliament painting a rosy picture of the Canadian economy. The Opposi-

tion disagreed since they believed that the speech did not contain the economic stimulus needed to deal with the negative impact of the world financial crisis. In addition, they opposed Harper's proposal to eliminate the government's financial support for parties. Harper's plan, however, backfired as his apparent resolve to rule as if he had a majority united the Opposition, who on 1 December announced their intention to form a Liberal–New Democratic Party coalition (with support from the Bloc Québécois) to defeat Harper's government. To avoid a non-confidence vote and the possibility of a Liberal-led coalition government, on 4 December Harper made history by convincing the Governor General to prorogue Parliament until 26 January 2009. On 27 January, Harper presented his budget to the House, offering an extensive stimulus package that will produce the largest deficit in Canadian history. The Liberals, now stronger under their new leader Michael Ignatieff, decided to support the government and kill their agreement with the NDP. Ignatieff made it clear, however, that the Liberals were putting Harper on "probation" requiring him to provide quarterly economic statements. It remains to be seen whether Harper learned his lesson.

Russell argues that Canadian minority governments avoid coalitions because they prefer to gain parliamentary support on an issue-by-issue basis rather than facing the constraints imposed by coalition partners. In spite of this, he argues Canadians should examine the experience of the northern European countries (Denmark, Spain, Norway, and Sweden) with minority coalition governments where there is no government paralysis and little resistance to coalition governments. Voters and parties accept that in multiparty legislatures there will be post-election negotiations in order to avoid the constant threat of early elections. For Russell, Canadian should not be afraid of coalition governments because other developed democracies have not suffered under them. Russell argues that Canadians elect minority governments not because they are unaware that their choices may lead to minority governments, but rather because voters understand

the diversity of preferences across regions and collectively prefer the compromises of minority governments to the uncompromising prime ministerial positions of majority governments. Russell documents the achievements of Canadian minority governments, and shows that even in a first-past-the-post Westminster system, minority governments have produced important pieces of legislation.

In conclusion, Russell has written an important contemporary book that sheds light on the current Canadian political debate. Using his framework, we understand that by misreading the power conferred by Canadians, Harper had to make far more compromises than he had envisioned prior to the October 2008 election. I would have liked, however, to see greater emphasis placed on the effect the regional distribution of voter preferences has on electoral outcomes and whether this will make minority governments a common feature of the political land-

scape—Canada has had three consecutive minority governments. The question that remains unanswered is whether regional representation makes the Canadian electoral system a *hybrid* between the first-past-the-post and the proportional representation systems. This highly accessible book could not have come at better time since it helps those interested to understand the advantages of minority governments and that coalition governments may not be such a bad possibility for Canadians in the future.

#### NOTE

<sup>1</sup>He called an early election even though his government had passed a law (with the support of the Opposition) setting a four-year election cycle counting from the date of the last election.

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