



Scoping the Role of Canadian Diaspora in Global Diplomacy and Policy Making

Dr. Alaa Abd-El-Aziz
Dr. Lloyd Axworthy
Dr. Parvin Ghorayshi
Claire Reid
Benita Kliewer
Charlotte Kudadirgwa

University of Winnipeg

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“We haven’t quite figured out how to take full advantage of the influence and resources of our Diaspora communities and their communications networks around the world.”

*President of the University of Winnipeg and
Former minister of Foreign Affairs to
Canada-
Lloyd Axworthy.¹*

Within this globalized world, the movement of people has become a central feature of our time. The *World Bank* estimates that at the beginning of the 21st century, about 2.5 percent of world’s population, or roughly 130 million people, lived outside their countries of birth, and that this number is rising at a rate of approximately 2% per year.² At the same time, there are an increasing number of displaced persons in the world; 23 million refugees had crossed national borders by 1995, in addition to another 20 million displaced within their own countries.³ Just as globalization has affected the patterns of migration, so too has it affected how we understand the overall phenomenon of migration. Increasingly, policy-makers and activists are emphasizing that migration is not a one-way street by which migrants from the poor Southern nations come to settle in the more developed Northern nations, whereupon they sever all ties with their country-of-origin. The migration process no longer necessarily culminates in permanent settlement, integration, and citizenship. Instead, with the development of communications, facilitated international travel, liberal host country policies, and changes in the structure of international finance and politics, migration has become a two-way street, by which migrants continue to contribute to both their country of origin and their host country. Members of the Diaspora are increasingly able to integrate into their host country while maintaining strong links and building effective networks in their country of origin. Increasingly, they can have their cake and eat it too.

Canada is a country that is well aware of the challenges and opportunities brought forth by the movement of peoples. Indeed, it is a country built on immigration. It is destination for a large number of international migrants- both voluntary and forced, and is considered to be one of the most multicultural societies in the world. National policies designed to respect multiple identities have preserved Diaspora groups, who maintain significant knowledge about the culture, language, and traditions of its source country; knowledge that is invaluable in today’s globalized world.

Nevertheless, this wealth of information within Canada has not been adequately accessed and applied. Part of the reason for this is that immigration in Canada continues to be understood

¹ Axworthy Llyd. *Navigating a New World: Canada’s Global Future*. Toronto: Knopf, 2003.

² World Bank. 2000: 38.

³ World Bank 2000:37

according to the traditional theory, referred to by Rudi Robinson as the “settler model.”⁴ According to Robinson, the settler model emphasizes a specific geographical location, circumscribed by an immigrant-host state relationship. What the settler theory omits is, *inter alia*, the potential role for the Diaspora, as transnational migrant communities, able to influence international politics. Similarly, what has not been sufficiently addressed is the significance of Canada’s multi-ethnic make up on the country’s foreign and domestic policies. There is a gap in research and discussion regarding the impact of Canada’s multi-ethnic make-up and its multicultural consciousness on its national definition and on its conduct of international relations.

By understanding Diasporas as transnational communities we include voluntary migrants as well as forced migrants, otherwise known as internally displaced peoples, refugees, and asylum-seekers. These two groups have often been referred to in the literature as “Labour Diaspora” and “Victim Diaspora” respectively. While it may be true that, due to the reason(s) for their flight, refugees and asylum-seekers naturally do not maintain ties to their home country to a similar extent as do voluntary migrants, it is questionable the extent to which the distinction between the two Diaspora types is absolutely valid. While the political context of the exit from their country of origin may differ considerably between migrants on the one hand and refugees on the other, both types of Diaspora exhibit similar ability to influence and establish various forms of transnational networks.

In what follows we present a profile of the Diaspora community in Canada; understood as an integral part of civil society and constituting significant social capital for Canada. Please note that this discussion paper is intended only as a first step in establishing a basis for discussion. It is by no means an exhaustive examination of Diaspora in Canada. It is intended as a preliminary consideration of some of the major themes, issues, and challenges.

1-A Profile of Diaspora Community in Canada

What is Diaspora? Its Composition and Distribution:

Initially, the term ‘Diaspora’ was used to refer to the Jewish community that was outside the modern day Israel.⁵ Today, “Diaspora” is being used to refer to the dispersal of any group of people from their original country to other countries. Diaspora was traditionally differentiated from “immigrant communities,” to the extent that the latter were interpreted as temporary in the sense that its members would gradually, over the generations, assimilate into the host country. However, paradigm shifts in the understanding of migration and Diaspora reveal what is confirmed by James Clifford who states that: “Diasporic discourses reflect the sense of being part of an ongoing

⁴ Robinson, Rudi. *Beyond the State-Bounded Immigration Incorporation Regime*. North-South Institute: 2005. 6

⁵ The Walter & Duncan Gordon Foundation (2005).

transnational network that includes the homeland, not as something simply left behind, but as a place of attachment in a contrapuntal modernity.”⁶

In Canada, the Diaspora community encompasses all ethnic groups, except Aboriginal peoples. It is important to note that many factors affect types and composition of Diaspora. Gender, skill level, education, generation, economic class and time of arrival are among some of the dimensions that are important when discussing issues related to Diaspora. To this list we must add the reasons behind people’s migration to Canada. Citizenship and Immigration Canada categorizes immigrants into three groups: **1)** the economic class, **2)** the family reunification class, and **3)** the refugee and asylum-seeker class.⁷ All these groups settle in different parts of Canada and form distinct Diaspora communities and are admitted by the Government of Canada according to different criteria.

A great variety of peoples from all corners of the globe and for a variety of different reasons have migrated to Canada. Their reasons include, *inter alia*, seeking better employment opportunities, escaping conflict or various hardships in their home countries, or reuniting with their family members. There are now over 113 different ethnic groups who reside in Canada. The degree of variety of ethnic groups that comprise Canada make it unique from other immigrant receiving countries such as the United States and Australia.⁸ In 2001, recent immigrants account for over a third of foreign-born population in Canada. This figure is 39.0%, 44.0% and 34.6% for Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal respectively. In fact the proportion of foreign-born Canadian has been growing in Canada from 16.1% in 1991 to 18.4% in 2001. The cities of Toronto with 43.7% and Vancouver with 37.5% have the highest percentage in this respect.⁹ It is important to note, as shown in Table one (1) and two (2) and Chart one (1), increasingly immigrants who come to Canada are equipped with university degree and have much to offer to the knowledge-based economy of Canada. While, some immigrants indubitably continue to face hardship, research also documents the affluence and growing economic power of other immigrants.¹⁰

Table three (3) gives a list of the different ethnic groups in Canada and Table four (4) presents the top ten largest Diaspora communities in 2004. The latter figures draw our attention to the fact that there are significant variations in the size of Diaspora groups. Another important fact about the Diaspora communities is that most immigrants tend to settle in three metropolitan cities of Vancouver, Montreal and Toronto. Of these three cities, Toronto has the largest proportion of

⁶ Clifford, James (1994). “Diasporas” *Cultural Anthropology* 9:3. 311

⁷ Citizenship and Immigration Canada, “Glossary of Terms” The Monitor. 2005
[Http://www.cic.gc.ca/English/monitor](http://www.cic.gc.ca/English/monitor)

⁸ Isajiw, W. 1999. *Understanding Diversity: Ethnicity and Race in the Canadian Context*. Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing.

⁹ Justus, M. “Immigrants in Canada’s cities” in C. Andrew (Guest Editor) *Our Diverse Cities* Ottawa: Metropolis Institute, 2004. 46

¹⁰ Li, Peter. *Destination Canada: Immigration Debates and Issues*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. 104

recent immigrants (23%), Vancouver is second (21%) and Montreal is third (9%). Table five (5) and Chart three (3) show the settlement patterns of immigrants in 2001. These figures draw our attention to the fact that Diaspora communities live in provinces where half of the Canadian population resides. The rest of Canada, where the other 50% of Canadians live, does not boast a similar level of diversity.

2- Making a Difference: Diaspora Civil Society

Much attention has been paid to the economic capital of the Diaspora, but their social, political and cultural capital has received less scholarly and political attention. In fact, there is a tendency in the literature to promote immigrants solely as, what economists refer to, as “human capital.” According to the human capital view, migration is based upon the rational decision to leave one’s country of origin. Individuals will choose to migrate to that country in which they will be the most productive. This view stresses the importance of economic capital and the monetary return individuals may potentially enjoy when s/he joins the host country’s labor force. The unit of analysis for the human capital approach is the individual. Following the critics of the human capital theory, we argue that besides being individual bearers of economic capital, members of the Diaspora represent political, cultural, and social capital. Collectively they form important networks and the value of their cultural and social capital cannot be understood in the singular. Bourdieu (1986),¹¹ Coleman (1988),¹² and Portes (1998)¹³ all demonstrate in their work the importance of social, political and cultural capital. This importance is well exemplified in the area of development. Diaspora groups’ are able to generate information about their country of origin that surpasses anything that could be “discovered” through second-hand research. Their familiarity with customs, language, tradition, and a host of unwritten rules has the potential to make a sizeable difference in Canada’s efforts at international development. With the inside knowledge provided by Diaspora groups, development projects can be created to address real needs and implemented in a way that is effective and that strengthens global connections and solidarity. This example illustrates how, by expanding our understanding of “capital,” we are better able to grasp the potential contribution of Diaspora groups. It is evident that their involvement in the affairs of Canada far exceeds their market value.

Diaspora groups are an influential component of Canada’s civil society. Civil society is a broad term that is used to refer to a wide range of organizations and activities that occur outside the governmental sphere and that have significant impact upon the world. While the state continues to

¹¹ Bourdieu, P. “The Forms of Capital” in J. Richardson, ed. *Handbook of Theory and Research for Sociology of Education*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1986. 241-58.

¹² Coleman, J. (1988). “Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital”, *American Journal of Sociology* 94: 95-120.

¹³ Portes, A. (1998). “Social Capital: Its Origin and Applications in Modern Sociology”, *Annual Review of Sociology* 24: 1-24.

maintain a dominant position in local, national, and international affairs, it is increasingly forced to share the arena with civil society groups. As described by academic D. Rieff, “the state is increasingly beset from within by armed rebellions and ethnic tensions and from without by the border-leaping forces of globalization.”¹⁴

As a whole Diaspora communities represent a reservoir of information, knowledge and agency that requires and deserves our immediate attention. We need to explore the ways in which they can and do shape our cities, our politics, and the social and economic institutions at local, national and international levels. As Mafinezam suggests, there is a lack of discussion regarding the impact of Canada’s multi-ethnic make-up on our national definition and our international relations.¹⁵ The following sections refer to some of the involvements of respective Diaspora communities in Canada’s civil society and in so doing takes a small step in this direction

a) Networks:

With a consistent influx of new immigrants, established Diaspora groups are of much assistance to their communities. Frequently functioning as a system of self-support, Diaspora groups facilitate the arrival of newcomers, provide them with assistance and services and help them to better deal with the challenges they face. These Diaspora organizations frequently take over where the Government has left off thereby filling an important gap in promoting cohesion within Canadian society. A case in point is the Jewish Diaspora group called *Beit Din*, which provides members of its community with services such as informal family and youth counseling and low-cost childcare. In general, most of the Diaspora communities in Canada have formed a range of both formal and informal networks and organizations to help improve their lives in Canada. In addition, they struggle to improve the situation of their loved-ones whom they left behind in their countries-of-origin. These Diaspora groups work independent of government, constituting an integral part of Canada’s civil society. Nevertheless, hitherto they have not been given adequate recognition. In many cases, while the Government may provide some financial support, they do so without understanding the complexity or dimensions of the issues that the Diaspora communities are trying to solve.

a.i) Diaspora as Economic investors

Diaspora communities are a voice for newcomers to Canada while simultaneously representing the needs and concerns of many of their fellow ethnics who remained in the country-of-origin. An integral component of Diasporas continued interaction with their country-of-origin is the economic networks established through remittances. By sending remittances, Diaspora communities attempt to

¹⁴ Rieff, David. 1999. “Civil Society and the Future of the Nation-State: Two Views”. *The Nation*. www.globalpolicy.org/nations/ Rieff also discusses the shortcomings of the term “civil society” as it is currently used in the literature.

¹⁵ Mafinezam, Alidad. *Canada: Home of the Global consciousness*. Center of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement. 2004.

alleviate the hardships of their people who have remained in the country-of-origin. The importance of such income for a country is exemplified by the comments of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, who once called Indians abroad a bank “from which one could make withdrawals from time to time.” Theorist Wucker highlights the fact that in 2003, migrant workers living abroad sent more than \$100 billion in remittances to their home countries and this source of fund is now being seen as new hope for the developing world.¹⁶ The remittances that were sent to Latin America amounted to \$38 billion in 2003, almost equaled the entirety of foreign investment by private companies in the region. World Bank researcher Dilip Ratha, is correct to note that this human link represents great potential for developing the world’s poorer region and that such potential ought not to be ignored.¹⁷

In the United States, policy makers are finding ways in which they can use their remittance flows to open up sources of credit. A good example of such initiations is that of the Inter-American Development Bank which is running a test program that allows applicants to count remittance income in their loan applications and thus increase their eligibility for credit.

Moreover, Diaspora communities may improve Canada’s place in the global market. A case in point involves the Chinese Diaspora in British Columbia. Approximately, a third of British Columbians have family ties in Asia, and yet B.C. continues to under-perform in Asia.¹⁸ Part of the trouble is that most B.C. firms do not have immigrants in top management positions. Another problem is that the United States continues to be Canada’s largest partner in terms of foreign investment. Diaspora communities can help Canada to expand their relations with various parts of the world, however this important link has not yet been capitalized upon to its full extent. Nevertheless, the impact of remittances is not always positive and the current debate covers both the pros and the cons.

a.ii) Diaspora as “Cultural Brokers”:

Members of the Diaspora can be perceived as what anthropologists term “cultural brokers.” Their knowledge of their source country can and is being used to improve Canada’s internal and international relations. Their wealth of knowledge in this area has not gone completely unnoticed by powerful Canadian politicians. For instance, recently, former Prime Minister Jean Chretien wisely took a number of Sikh cabinet members with him on his visit to India.

¹⁶ Wucker, M. (2004). “Remittance: the perpetual Migration Machine.” *World Policy Journal*. Summer.

¹⁷ Global Development finance, Washington D.C. World Bank Publication, 2003, p.157.

¹⁸ Monte, Stewart (2004). “Business backs stronger Asian connections: Summit hears immigrants are a key resource.” *Business Edge*.

Respective Diaspora Communities always maintain an interest in their home country. Often members of such communities have connections with their home countries and, in most cases; they have family or friends who have remained there. Consequently Diaspora communities have been active participants and catalysts in forcing other Canadians to take note of key current issues and events. For example, after the Tsunami crisis in South Asia, it was first the Indian and Sri Lankan Diasporas, which encouraged the Canadian government to take a leading role in offering assistance. Beyond getting the government involved, these communities also developed their own networks for sending aid to the target nation.

In addition, members of the Diaspora maintain the role of cultural brokers in the area of art. We have witnessed highly creative output of Diaspora communities in, *inter alia*, the area of film production. The importance, uniqueness and value of Diaspora films¹⁹ is being recognized in a number of cities across Canada. Members of the Diaspora communities in Canada not only create magnificent and original pieces of art, but in the same breath they are able to inform and educate the rest of the Canadian population. With the use of the visual arts, artists are able to transcend language barriers and access a wide number of people. The Toronto-based South Asian Visual Arts Collective (SAVAC)²⁰ is an example of a Diaspora group coming together to integrate their art in the wider Canadian art society. SAVAC is currently planning a panel discussion with TRIBE, and aboriginal artists' collective to explore their similar experiences and to build community connections.

Similarly, Diaspora literature is an important cultural resource and represents a unique and powerful way of communicating with the public. It has been able to take Canadians to the inside world of the Diaspora, as well as venturing into the world of future. For instance, Michael Ondaatje²¹ demonstrates with his novels how people can come together, regardless of their origin, build a new place and develop networks across countries. Ondaatje charts a new identity for the world's citizens.

Other well-known Diaspora writers are Joy Kogawa (Japan), Denise Chong (Chinese), Mordechai Richler (Jewish), Souvankham Thammavongsa (Thailand), and the list goes on. Some, in this group, are first generation Canadians; others have been here much longer. Aside from the above-mentioned authors who are already established are those new writers who are exploring their experience in the Diaspora. For example, the Maytree Foundation in Toronto is attempting to put

¹⁹ See www.diasporafilmfest.org The Diaspora Film Festival is an art forum dedicated to the celebration of the diversity of films and videos made by those cineastes living and working outside their countries of origin. The Festival showcases all genres that push traditional boundaries in storytelling methods which inspire, provoke, inform and entertain audiences with challenging images, topics, and themes.

²⁰ South Asian Visual Artist Collective http://www.savac.net/Html/current_programs.htm

²¹ Ondaatje, Michael. *In the Skin of Lion*. N.Y.: Knopf, 1987.
Ondaatje, Michael. *The English Patient*. Toronto: Vintage Books, 1992.

together a collection called “Diaspora Dialogues”²² seeking to uncover the experiences of people from the Diasporas in poetry or writing.

Despite the importance and creative value of Diasporic communication networks and artistic mediums, it is important not to fall into the trap described by scholar Neil Bissoondath. Bissoondath accuses Canada’s policy of multiculturalism for having transformed ethnic communities into museums of exoticism, celebrating the ‘other’ solely at the level of food and festivities.²³ Consequently, the importance of Diaspora art must not be confined to an artistic appreciation but rather must be recognized for having included those who are viewed as different or as “too diverse” in the daily working of the country.

a.iii) Diaspora as Communication Highways

The British thinker Anthony Giddens, opines that we are witnessing the “compression of time and space” as an increasing part of our life world, from international finance, to commerce, from education to entertainment, from news to bond-trading is being realigned by global information technology. The key features of new information technologies, from cassette recorders and VCRs to satellite television and the internet, are lower barriers to entry and the possibilities of wider participation as producers, not just consumers, of mediated communication. Today’s signature information, internet, a world-wide “web” of information and medium of communicating, has captivated journalists, activists and academics whose working communities it expands.

Through a variety of different mediums, Diaspora groups in Canada communicate within and across groups that transcend national borders. A case in point is the wide variety of ethnic media outlets. There are over four hundred ethnic publications across Canada²⁴. In Toronto alone, there are over 100 different ethnic newspapers and there are hundreds of other such periodicals across Canada.

Of particular note is how, for the Diaspora community, electronic- mail and the Internet have become incredibly useful tools to connect cultures and disseminate information. They use list servers, discussion forums, E Conferences, news groups and other Internet resources to foster diversity and culture beyond the range of one specific community. Enthusiasts see virtual communities forming with new possibilities.

²² <http://www.canadainfonet.org/home/default.asp?s=1>

²³ Bissoondath, Neil. *Digging up the Mountain*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2002.

²⁴ National Ethnic Press and Media Relations Council of Canada, <http://www.nepmcc.ca/>

The Internet arrived in Diaspora's source countries along with other technologies that together open up channels of communication, choice, and participation in an expanding public domain fostered by popular access to new media. The expanding arena of international communication actors is affecting the traditional institutions of power, including the nation-state. Using the Internet, members of the Diaspora are able to circumvent traditional modes of communication and avoid detection by those Governments who maintain an iron fist on freedom of speech, expression, and communication. They are able to participate in international protests. Consider for example how the Diaspora was at the forefront of Canada's opposition to the US war on Iraq²⁵.

In a similar fashion, the Iranian Diaspora has joined in the struggle for human rights that is ongoing in Iran. Shireen Ebadi, the Noble peace prizewinner who represents the growing Iranian Diaspora and their transnational networks in their struggle for democratic rights is a perfect example. The Iranian Diaspora has become a growing influential force within Canada, in various parts of the world, and in Iran. The Iranian exile writers, filmmakers, academics and others continue to cooperate with Iranian NGOs to carve democratic spaces for women and minorities within Iran. Another case in point, is how, from their adopted homeland, they used their influence in order to pressure the government of Canada, and thereby advanced their demands regarding Zahra Kazemi, the journalist who was killed in Iran.

a.iv.) Diaspora as Politicians:

Participation has been enshrined as a basic component of democracy in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, in the Official Languages Act (1985), in the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1988), and in the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (2002). Despite this, Canada has not yet arrived at a state in which all citizens have the opportunity to participate in the discussions that set the rules by which we agree to live. All Canadians do not have a seat at the tables where critical decisions are made. While, many groups have made gains over the course of 20th century, women, minority groups and Aboriginal peoples still find themselves seriously under-represented among elected politicians. Women account for 21% of Members of parliament. Internationally this places Canada at 36th in the ranking of women's representation in the lower house of the government.²⁶

In a similar fashion, Diaspora groups are generally under-represented in term of actual political candidacy.²⁷ The under-representation of foreign-born Canadians at all levels of government is

²⁵ Haroon Siddiqui (Editor Emeritus) "Why Hugging an Immigrant is a Good Idea" *Toronto Star*, March 27 2005.

²⁶ Biles, J. and E. Tolley. "Getting Seats at the Table (s): The Political Participation of Newcomers and Minorities in Ottawa" in C.Andrew (Guest Editor) *Our Diverse Cities* Ottawa: Metropolis Institute, 2004. 174.

²⁷ Law Commission of Canada 2004 "Voting Counts:Electoral reform for Canada." Ottawa: Public works and Government Services of Canada. 34.

widely documented.²⁸ Ethnic minority under-representation in all levels of Government, especially at the local level, is an important issue that needs to be addressed. As a suggestion, Karen Bird recommends that Canada look to emulate the largest Danish cities. In Denmark regulations exist that ensure the proportional representation of minorities in the city councils.²⁹

Nevertheless, Diaspora groups are frequent participants in activism; promoting their rights, lobbying government and protesting discrimination in Canada. In addition, they exert tremendous effort to raise awareness about issues and injustices in their source countries. Moreover, Diaspora communities carry strong weight in electoral politics, particularly in large urban centers. A case in point was the year 2000 election of Ujjal Dosanjh, a Sikh, as premier of B.C. He was the first ethnic minority to be elected as a provincial premier in Canada. This represents a major victory for the Indo-Canadian community. Similarly, in 1999, Adrienne Clarkson, an ethnic Chinese from Hong Kong, was appointed governor general and in 2005 Haitian-born Michaëlle Jean was appointed to succeed Clarkson in this position. With a positive voter turnout and increased representation at the legislative level, the ideas, values and needs of Diaspora groups are entering the forefront of mainstream Canadian society.

The participation in politics of diverse members of Canadian Diaspora varies by generation. The longer their stay in Canada, the higher is the rate of their participation in governance related activities. The average participation rate for first generation immigrants is 34% and goes up to 50% for the second generation. The first generation tends to be active in activities that are related to ethnic or immigrant organization; those in second and third generation divert their attention and activities in other issues. Similarly, the rate of participation for those who are eligible to vote is 53% for those who arrived in 1991 and 92% for those who came in 1961. In the 2004 federal election, *Elections Canada* launched a campaign to educate Canada's ethno-cultural communities on the importance of voting in Canada, as well as on how to vote in Canadian elections. As part of this campaign, titled "My future, my vote," TV commercials aired in 12 different languages, radio ads were broadcast in 23 languages, and print ads appeared in 24 languages.³⁰

In considering Diaspora communities as economic investors, cultural brokers, communication highways, and politicians, we are awarded with a more nuanced approach to understanding the role they can potentially play in fostering global citizens.

²⁸ Political Participation Research Network. "Diversity in Canadian Governments: Preliminary Research on the Numerical Representation of Women, Minorities and Immigrants in Seven Cities". September 2004. And Biles and Tolley (2004). See supra note No. 26.

²⁹ Bird, K. "Obstacles to Ethnic Minority Representation in Local Government in Canada" in C. Andrew (ed.) *Our Diverse Cities*. No.1, Ottawa: Metropolis Project, 2004.

³⁰ A Moral Obligation, CBC Archives, 2005, http://archives.cbc.ca/IDC-1-73-1450-9563/politics_economy/voting_rights/clip11

a.v) Diasporas as Transnational Citizens

Diaspora Communities maintain their ties with family and friends in their country of origin. In recent years there has been an exponential increase in social networks between the Diaspora and country of origin and among the members of any Diaspora community dispersed around the world. The emergence of transnational networks among members of the same ethnic groups who live in a variety of host states, facilitates the promotion of the Diaspora's interest and influence in all spheres of life. For instances, nearly 80% of the investments in Mainland China, come from the overseas Chinese³¹. The Punjabis and the Gujaratis in Canada are in the threshold of forming 'transnational communities' through their socio-economic, political and religious networks. Language, regional culture and religion offer the base for their identities and bondage for fusion at the global level. The dispersed members of the Diaspora transcend the boundaries of the nation states wherein they are situated, yet fall within the legislated norms of international relations.

In a state of the art office on Karve Rd in Pune, India, a staff of 50 is troubleshooting Internet problems for clients thousands of kilometres away in Canada. The Pune call center is operated by Markham-based pathway communications, which outsource software and hardware services for hundreds of Clients in Canada, from hospitals to banks. The company describes itself as follows: "We are a Canadian company with roots in India. We see India as a huge opportunity." Like Kalle who considers himself a citizen of the world, these entrepreneurs will travel to and from India frequently. Such international mobility sets many of today's new Canadians apart from previous waves of immigrants.³² India with its highly educated, English-speaking and relatively cheap workforce, is poised to become a world power in software, engineering and internet-mediated services, providing everything from medical diagnosis reading X-Rays and MRIs scans to accounting and financial analysis for clients in North America. There are fabulous opportunities for Canadians of Indian Origin to participate in this.

An examination of transnational communities, or Diasporas, permits us to further develop the meaning of "global citizenship." In the case of Canada, Diaspora communities can help Canada to expand its relations with various parts of the world. With the wealth of knowledge, resources, and expertise that is present within these communities, Diaspora groups are well poised to assist Canada to steer towards a careful, reasoned, democratic, humanistic and secular future. With meaningful participation of Diaspora we can develop foreign policies that spare the world from what future historians may call the "Century of Terror". Else, as Hoodbhoy states, "shipwreck is certain"(2002)³³.

³¹ Bhat, c. and Sahoo, K. "diaspora to Transnational Networks: The Case of Indians in Canada." Centre for the Study of Indian Diaspora, University of Hyderabad. Occasional Paper-7. www.uohyd.ernet.in/ss

³² Prithi, Yelaja. "New Lives Link Two Worlds: Our shrinking Globe, modern travel and communications allow immigrants to retain business and personal contacts in one land while living in another" *Toronto Star*, 23 March 2005, B02.

³³ Pervez Hoodbhoy. "Muslims and the West after 9/11." *ZNet*. 12 January 2002.

3- From Global Cities to Global Citizenship: Building the Public Domain

Lloyd Axworthy in his book, *Navigating a New World*, warns us about the threat posed by an uncontrolled global capitalism and offers a plan for global reform, suggesting that a sustainable globe requires constant evolution of associations and networks. He challenges those nations that tend to close themselves off to international collectiveness. Along the same line Jennifer Welsh calls for a balanced foreign policy for Canada in which there is more space for the rest of the world, other than U.S. (2004)³⁴. Cohen³⁵ recommends a re-examination of the principle arms of the Canadian foreign relations. He wants Canadians to think imaginatively about Canada as they think about nationhood- sovereignty, memory, and identity. Specifically, he recommends that Canada rethink its role in promoting global citizenship, a notion which has become controversial since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

a) The World after September 9/11:

Subsequent to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 we began to live in a different, more dangerous world. Now is the time to ask why. We need to examine the sickness of human behaviour impelling terrorists to fly airlines filled with passengers into skyscrapers. We also need to understand why millions celebrate while others die: “In the absence of such an understanding there remains only the medieval therapy of exorcism; for the strong to literally beat the devil out of the weak.”³⁶

Nations around the world quickly committed themselves to a “global war against terrorism”. Nation-states have responded to the indiscriminate violence of terrorism with new laws and measures that themselves fail to discriminate between the guilty and the innocent. Numerous countries have passed regressive anti-terrorism laws that expand governmental powers of detention and surveillance in ways that threaten basic rights. There has been a continuing spate of arbitrary arrests and detentions of suspects without due process. Unknown numbers of detainees have been transferred between countries by means beyond regular extradition procedures and without judicial oversight, including countries with known records of torture and unfair trials³⁷. New laws and government initiatives have placed far-reaching powers in the hands of police, security intelligence agencies, customs, immigration officials, and other authorities. These new powers have been

³⁴ Welsh, Jennifer. *At Home in the World: Canada's Global Vision for the 21st Century*. Toronto: Harper Collins, 2004.

³⁵ Cohen, Andrew. *While Canada Slept: How we Lost our Place in the World*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2003.

³⁶ Pervez Hoodbhoy, 2002 See supra note No. 33.

³⁷ “September 11 Two Years On.” Human Rights Watch (<http://hrw.org/press/2003/09/911>)

introduced with little public awareness of their impact on civil liberties, privacy, sovereignty, and basic human rights³⁸. Rocco Galatai, lawyer for the Canadian Islamic Congress, sums it up well:

19 terrorists in 6 weeks have been able to command 300 million North Americans to do away with entirety of their civil liberties that took 700 years to advance from the *Magna Carta* onward. The terrorists have already won the political and ideological war with on terrorist act. It is mind-boggling that we are that weak as a society³⁹.

The erosion of civil rights has affected the Diaspora Communities in Canada, in particular those of Muslim faith. High profile cases of Muslims in Canada accused of aiding and abetting *al-Qaeda* have added to this community's anxiety. During the weeks following September 11, 2001, hate crimes against Muslims increased in Canada, as in other Western countries. Ethnic profiling by police and intelligence authorities, Anglophone media, together with the negative attitude of the Canadian population contributed to the high level of harm and fear among the Muslim population. All this contributed to the development of a perception that Canadians "do not like Muslims" and believe Muslims are violent⁴⁰. In addition, changes were made to Canada's immigration and refugee Act, changes, which have resulted in the denigration of rights for asylum-seekers and refugees alike.⁴¹

Given the reality of the world subsequent to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, we must ask ourselves: will Canada's unique multicultural foundation be eroded as openness gives way to suspicion; inclusion replaced by enclaves of disaffected minorities; transparency of justice clouded by secret evidence and secret trials? The pillars of Canadian society—tolerance, compassion and fairness—will be tested in the years to come. Every Canadian must reflect seriously upon his/her role in shaping our society for the better, against those forces who desire otherwise. Canada's traditions of tolerance and peaceful integration should ensure that our core institutions and values remain constant as the face of society changes.⁴² The obligation of the Canadian state and Canadian

³⁸ In the US for instance, those suspected of involvement in terrorism have been charged or brought before a court in only a handful of cases. Hundreds more remain *incommunicado*, in detention without charge at Guantanamo Bay, in military custody inside the United States, or other US bases at undisclosed locations around the world.

Similarly, in India, a new Prevention of Terrorism Act has been used against political opponents, religious minorities, Dalits, tribals and even children. In Indonesia, new legislation and presidential decrees threaten fundamental rights, invoking broad definitions of terrorism that could be used to target political opponents.

These abuses advance neither the cause of justice nor the goal of defeating terrorism. The bitter experiences of the past years show that repression and human rights abuse fuels the cycle of grievance from which terrorism grows. It closes off peaceful and political channels for political dissent and moves it towards extremisms and violence

³⁹ Connie Fogal. "Liberty V.S. Security." Defence of Canadian Liberty Committee/ Le Comite de la liberte canadienne, 2 November 2001.

⁴⁰ Canadian Arab Federation. Arabs in Canada: Proudly Canadian and Marginalized. Ottawa. April 2002.

⁴¹ Consider among many: *Suresh v. Minister of Citizenship and Immigration*; *Abani v. MCI*.

⁴² Joseph Hall. "The Ways we'll be in 2007" *Toronto Star*, 23 March 2005.

majorities today is to avoid the excess of World War Two, where innocent groups and individuals were victimized by state sanctioned oppression, and to stand on guard to preserve civil liberties despite perceived national security threats.⁴³

b) An Agenda for Action:

Haroon Siddiqui, editor emeritus of the *Toronto Star*, reminds us, “While our demography has changed, our public discourse, especially in the media, has not to the extent it must in order to keep up with the times and also better informed public policy”⁴⁴. He proposes that policy makers will have to “put visible minorities front and centre on the national agenda heading towards 2007.” Similarly, Anisef and Lanphier propose an agenda for action:

This agenda calls for more dialogue, re-examination of settlement policy formulation, and implementation at the federal level, no less than at the provincial and municipal levels. Continued and even more sustained dialogue between policy-makers and researchers is in order to ensure conditions of maximal inclusiveness in heterogeneous metropolitan areas.⁴⁵

The Canada of today is home to virtually all the world’s peoples, and thus a unique depository of global knowledge. Canadians are finding themselves taking part in an increasingly globalized world through travel, work, education, politics, trade and technology. The country is well poised to play a leadership role in this era of globalization that is filled with opportunities and challenges. Canada can offer a third way to the global community between those wishing to control the world through military force and self-interest and those “fanatical extremists” who murder and maim indiscriminately. Lloyd Axworthy, a leading spokesperson on global citizenship, reminds Canadians that their privileged position comes with an obligation to protect and ensure social justice within and outside Canada.

The search for Canada’s international role must be anchored in the country’s domestic condition and must take into account the growing presence of Diaspora communities in the Canadian cities. Cities can show the extent to which multiculturalism fails or succeed. When immigrants with different histories, cultures and needs arrive in Canadian cities, their presence disrupts taken-for-granted categories of social life and urban space. The degree of diversity in respective urban centres determines, in part, whether a particular Canadian city is more aptly described as a “global city.” The

⁴³ Morton Weinfeld. *Canadian Diversity-Soft and Hard—in a post 9/11 and Post Saddam World*. Toronto: Gibsons Jessop Gallery, 18 May 2004.

⁴⁴ Haroon Siddiqui. “Why Hugging an Immigrant is a Good Idea” *Toronto Star*, 27 March 2005.

⁴⁵ Anisef, Pand M. Lanphier (eds.) *The World in a City*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003. 478

extent to which individual members of a Diaspora maintain aspects of their unique identity and their overall level of participation in city life demonstrates to what extent Canada's policy of multiculturalism has succeeded- or failed. In this way, global cities represent a "test case" for Canada's multiculturalism. The challenge is how societies establish civility, then conviviality, in spite of cultural differences. This requires, as Sandercock rightly states "... the active construction of new ways of living together, new forms of spatial and social belonging."⁴⁶

The concentration of Diasporas in global cities means that both newcomers and hosts have to undergo a process of adaptation. Immigration-receiving countries like Canada need to learn how to live with others. McGown⁴⁷ in his study of Somalis in Toronto and London finds that "there is diversity and flexibility to be seen in the attitudes of recent Somali immigrants, the majority of whom have declared themselves to be more, not less Muslim since migrating westward. There is every reason to believe that they will integrate successfully over time into the Western political system". This is an important conclusion.

There are formidable challenges facing all metropolitan dwellers in Canada, and they require the co-operation of all levels of governments and civil society organizations. Government has a critical role to play in creating social cohesion and in promoting the integration of Diaspora communities. The Government must generate ways to increase the political participation of immigrants, and related to this, increase the openness of society towards new notions of emerging identity and citizenship. However, these tasks are not solely the responsibility of Government. Individuals and societal institutions are essential participants. Likewise, efforts to reform global structures and promote a sense of global citizenship cannot be done without engaging Diaspora groups.

Educators and educational institutions have a special role to play in this regard. Mafinezam suggests that it is essential to identify the leading media outlets of the Diaspora community in order to link the editors, publishers or producers to those who can identify the most important and relevant essays, reports, books etc. to be translated into English. This is the first step in accessing the existing knowledge and linking it with the leading experts in Canada. In such a way, we will begin to illuminate the opportunities and challenges facing particular Diasporas in Canada and discern ways of addressing them.⁴⁸ There is a need for Canadian academics to become more involved in "area studies," in which particular countries are examined in detail. According to Mafinezam, such studies remain under-represented within Canadian universities.⁴⁹ Institutions of learning, such as universities

⁴⁶ Sandercock, L. "Sustainable Canada's Multicultural cities" in C.Andrew (Guest Editor) *Our Diverse Cities* Ottawa: Metropolis Institute, 2004. 154.

⁴⁷ McGown, R.B. *Muslims in the Diaspora: The Somali Communities of London and Toronto*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

⁴⁸ Mafinezam (2004), 21. See Supra note no. 15.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

have to become or remain connected with the Diaspora community at local and international levels. Universities must develop links with other development organizations. A case in point is *Canada Corps*.⁵⁰ Projects initiated by *Canada Corps* such as monitoring the elections in the Ukraine in 2004 and in the Democratic Republic of Congo or strengthening democratic institutions in Haiti are examples of the ways in which the Diaspora communities in Canada can help to promote, development, democracy and social justice.

In addition, the Ottawa-based Metropolis Project links social science research to policy making, reflecting what may be an excellent model for educational institutions. Metropolis began in 1996 and at present has five research units or ‘centers of excellence’ within Canada. These units represent a consortium of local universities in five Canadian regions. In cooperation with Metropolis International the Project team has organized annual conferences on immigration and related topics in Canada and abroad. Metropolis has a variety of publications on immigration and related themes. Metropolis plays a key role in building links between scholars and officials, and between government departments on immigration, multiculturalism, as well as urban issues.

Furthermore, the knowledge and information among members of the Diaspora can be used to improve international development projects. A good model is CANADEM,⁵¹ which advances the universal principles of the UN Charter, international peace and security, human rights and the responsibility to protect all individuals. It draws from multi-ethnic and multi-talented Canadians and recruits and mobilizes from expanded number of communities.

Diaspora Participation entails a new way of thinking. How we perceive our heritage, how we consider the use and design of our public space, what we consider to be appropriate behaviour, and so forth, are all questions whose answers require input from Diaspora communities. Ultimately, we must create what scholar D. Ley refers to as “multicultural readiness.”⁵² The fostering of multicultural readiness has already begun. Consider, for example, that in Toronto, by 2007, every one of Centennial College’s more than 10,000 students will be required to complete a diversity course aimed at giving them what President Ann Buller calls “cultural competency.” In public school boards in Peel and York (Toronto), the schools have developed reception policies and packages that help parents understand what is expected of their children in Canadian society. That package is available in 26 languages⁵³.

⁵⁰ Canada Corps University Partnership Program, http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/cida_ind.nsf/0/E401FA9EF59411A185256F700062BD53?OpenDocument#2

⁵¹ Canada International Development Agency, Canada Corps. www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/cida_ind.nsf

⁵² Ley, D (1999). “Myths and Meanings of Immigration and the Metropolis” *The Canadian Geographer/ Le géographe canadien* 43,1: 2-12.

⁵³ Isabel Teotonio and Tess Kalinowski “The Class of 2017” *Toronto Star*, 23 March 2005, B01.

The creation of this multicultural readiness has the potential to set Canada on a course to re-examining its identity and role on the global stage. The role that the Diaspora can and ought to play in this process of identity re-creation is essential. Rather than simply relying upon past impressions of Canada as peacekeeper, donor, trader, and/or diplomat, we should also be building upon those qualities that make Canada unique, such as its multiculturalism and its corresponding global consciousness.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Mafinezam, (2004): 5. See supra note no. 15.

Scoping the Role of Canadian Diaspora in Global Diplomacy and Policy Making II: Manitoba in Focus.

The increased migration of highly trained and well-resourced persons across nation-states and the surge of asylum seekers from less developed countries seeking entry to the developed parts of the world is exemplified by the migration trends in Manitoba. If one were to consider Diaspora population numbers alone, Manitoba, and Winnipeg-as the province's capital- appear to be not as ethnically diverse as Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver. Nonetheless, the City of Winnipeg well reflects the challenges and opportunities that are present in Diaspora communities.⁵⁵ By examining a smaller city and one that is not considered as “global” as say, Toronto, we are demonstrating the extent to which migration has shaped and influenced the entirety of Canada, not solely its major cities.

Manitoba is making determined efforts to increase immigration, and is having exceptional success through the provincial nominee program.⁵⁶ Moreover, since 1971, the City of Winnipeg has pursued a “Sister City Program,” with the objective of integrating itself into the international community, fostering relationships with foreign communities and opening the door for exchange on economic, political, and personal levels.⁵⁷ These efforts have resulted in a province that has increasingly enjoyed a steady stream of immigrants and that may boast of Winnipeg as a highly ethnically diverse city.

A. The nature of composition of Diaspora in Manitoba

To date, Manitoba has enjoyed a steady flow of migrants, both voluntary and forced. While the provincial population remains largely Manitoba-born and historically has been dominated by immigrants of Northern Europe, trends have begun to shift. While the top three countries of birth of immigrants to Winnipeg prior to 1986 were the United Kingdom, the Philippines and Germany,⁵⁸ nowadays, the majority of immigrants destined for Manitoba arrive from non-Western European countries. From 2001 to 2003 the most common countries of origin were the Philippines, Germany, India, and Korea.⁵⁹ These different groups of immigrants combine to make Winnipeg a widely

⁵⁵ The percentages of foreign born in Toronto and Vancouver and in Canada in general are as follows: 43.7 percent in Toronto, 37.5 percent in Vancouver and 18.4 percent across Canada and 16.5 in Winnipeg. (See, Table 8).

⁵⁶ Citizen and Immigration Canada, *The Monitor*, Fall 2003. “Year-End Figures, 2004,” 4, <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/monitor/pdf/issue-09e.pdf> (accessed 25 July 2005).

⁵⁷ For a list of the City of Winnipeg's Sister Cities please consult Appendix 1.

⁵⁸ Citizenship and Immigration Canada, *Recent Immigrant in Metropolitan Areas, Winnipeg: A Comparative Profile Based on the 2001 Census*, “Immigrants by period of immigration – top ten countries of birth, Winnipeg Census Metropolitan Area, 2001,” April 2004, 6.

⁵⁹ Province of Manitoba, *Manitoba Immigration Facts – 2003 Statistics Report*, “Manitoba Immigration by Source Country,” 13, http://gov.mb.ca/labour/immigrat/infocentre/pdf/mif_booklet.pdf (accessed 5 August 2005).

multicultural city with a number of more and less well-established Diaspora groups that contribute in different ways to the identity and role of Winnipeg.

According to the 2001 Census, Winnipeg has a foreign-born population of 16.5 percent. The provincial Government has prioritized immigration and in 2002 they set of goal of increasing the number of immigrants to 10, 000 annually. They hope to achieve this goal by the year 2006 primarily through the Provincial Nominee Program.⁶⁰ In recent years, Winnipeg has attracted the majority of immigrants coming to Manitoba (78.8 percent in 2003) with the remaining immigrants settling in Winkler, Steinbach Brandon and Morden.⁶¹

2003 Provincial Regional Distribution

Winnipeg	5 120	78.8%
Winkler	411	6.33%
Steinbach	393	6.05%
Brandon	77	1.18%
Morden	24	0.37%
Other	467	7.19%
Total Immigration	6 492	

Source: metropolis project

At present, the largest Diasporas in Manitoba remain those who historically have been well represented. These include individuals from English, Scottish, German, Ukrainian, French, and Irish homelands.⁶² Also of note are the Icelandic Diaspora in Gimli, the Mennonite Diaspora dispersed throughout southern Manitoba, and the Ukrainian Diaspora in Winnipeg.

A. 1 The City of Winnipeg

Of the 109,400 immigrants in Winnipeg in 2001, 82,980 immigrated before 1991 and 26,405 immigrated between 1991 and 2001. A further 3,365 of Winnipeg's population are non-permanent residents. According to the same census, 12.5 percent of the population identified themselves as a visible minority.⁶³

⁶⁰ Manitoba Government News Release, 3 May 2004, p. 30.

<http://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/press/top/2004/05/2004-05-03-01.html>

⁶¹ Metropolis Project, Atlantic Canada. Online at: <http://atlantic.metropolis.net>

⁶² Statistics Canada, Population by selected ethnic origins, by census metropolitan areas, 2001 Census.

⁶³ The most common of these minorities were Filipino (36.5 percent), South Asian (15 percent), Black (14 percent), and Chinese (13 percent).
Statistics Canada, Visible minority population, by census metropolitan areas, 2001 Census.

Between the 1990s and 2001, the Philippines were the most common place of birth for immigrants living in Winnipeg. Interestingly, as of 2001, the census metropolitan area of Winnipeg has the highest proportion of Filipino residents among all metropolitan areas in Canada. Of the 308,600 Filipinos living in Canada, 30,100 or approximately ten percent, live in Winnipeg.⁶⁴ In addition, Winnipeg is increasingly the destination of a large number of refugees from the Sudan, Afghanistan and Ethiopia.

B. Focusing on 2 Diaspora Types:

What follows is a brief examination of two important Diaspora groups in Manitoba: the Filipino community and the Sudanese community. The comparative framework we have invoked is intended to highlight the differences and similarities that exist between and within Diaspora groups and also the differences and similarities between what some may refer to as “Labour Diaspora” and a “Victim Diaspora.” Such an examination may reveal that this latter distinction is not valid and that in contrast to much of the literature, little difference exists, in terms of networks and influence, between those who migrate voluntarily and those who are coerced or forced to do so. In addition to information provided by the literature, the approaches taken in analyzing these two communities are informed, to a great extent, by the views and opinions of members of these respective communities, as they have been communicated to us.

The Philippines is the source-country of the largest percentage of immigrants in Manitoba, which is why it was chosen as a subject of study. The Sudan is *not* the next largest group. Instead, we have chosen the Sudanese community as an appropriate subject of analysis due to its classification as a so-called “Victim-Diaspora,” comprised primarily of refugees and asylum-seekers. Compared to many of the various “Victim-Diaporas” in Winnipeg, the Sudanese represent one of the strongest, most united groups. Furthermore, *the University of Winnipeg’s* connection with the ad hoc committee of the Lost Boys and Girls of Sudan suggested that the Sudanese Diaspora would be an appropriate subject of analysis for a brainstorming session hosted by the University of Winnipeg.

Any examination of the ways in which Diaspora groups do or do not participate in the society of their host country must pay careful attention to the question of “capabilities.” Capabilities include the issue of self-identification with the home country and with reconstruction efforts in that country. Capabilities also include the political structure of their host country. In other words, are the means and strategies deployed by the Diaspora affected by the political structures of Canada? Does the Government of Canada operate in such a way so as to directly or indirectly restrain the political activities of the Diaspora? Attention to the institutional order of the host country changes the angle of our approach. We look, in part, to these structures in order to determine the ways in which they affect and influence the integration and adaptation or lack thereof of Diasporas in Canada, as

⁶⁴ Justus, M. “Immigrants in Canada’s cities” in C. Andrew (Guest Editor) *Our Diverse Cities* Ottawa: Metropolis Institute, 2004.

opposed to looking exclusively at the traditions, cultures, and backgrounds of individual members of the Diaspora as the predominant influence on integration efforts.

Hitherto, the study of Diasporas and transnational communities has focused upon the challenges and opportunities these groups pose to host states. In contrast, one of the questions of increasing importance relates to how these communities contribute to State-building, development and reconstruction efforts in their countries-of-origin? Similarly, most literature on globalization studies that touches upon the issue of migration focuses upon the effects that the international migration of people has on developed countries. Far fewer studies have analyzed how globalization interacts with development in less developed countries. In other words, to what extent do these Diaspora groups and their various ways of participating in society in both their country of origin and their host country constitute a form of “globalization from below?” In order to answer this question, one must consider the various transnational networks that have been established by various Diaspora groups.

Furthermore, debates surrounding the potential and actual roles of Diaspora groups highlight the question of citizenship- who does the state consider as “appropriate members?” These debates bring to the fore the question of which members of the Diaspora have access to services, benefits, and so forth. Notwithstanding the question of whether it is even possible to discern different types of Diaspora, in this analysis we compare the Filipino Diaspora group, comprised primarily of economic migrants, with the Sudanese Diaspora group, comprised primarily of refugees and asylum-seekers. In this analysis we hope to flesh out the discussions regarding entitlements and rights, and the changing nature and understanding of citizenship.

1. Filipino Diaspora

Since the first Filipinos arrived in Winnipeg in 1959 until 2001 the population has grown to approximately 31 645 in Manitoba, 31 210 of whom live in Winnipeg.⁶⁵ It is estimated that an additional 2,500 Filipinos have moved to Winnipeg since this time.⁶⁶ This immigration period can be divided into three main waves. From the 1960s to the early 1970s, Filipino immigrants were mostly professionals (doctors, nurses, teachers, etc.) who entered Canada as landed immigrants. In the 1970s, with the declaration of martial law in the Philippines, many more Filipinos migrated to Canada as refugees, or benefited from the Government's policy of promoting family reunification. In the 1980s and continuing today, a great number of Filipinos, especially women, enter Canada as temporary workers. A vast majority of these women enter Canada under the Government's *Live-In Caregiver Program*. Many of these women are "encouraged" to migrate from the Philippines due to a lack of valid employment opportunities. The Philippine Government has established a "Labour Export Program," in which the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) facilitates training of live-in care-givers and other workers and the Government Placement Branch (GPB) helps foreign employers recruit Filipino workers.⁶⁷ Likewise, Filipina women are "encouraged" to come to Canada by the latter's need for live-in domestic labour: "...there is a shortage of Canadians or permanent residents to fill the need for live-in care work..."⁶⁸ In conclusion, Filipino domestic workers embody the complex interaction of push and pull factors that are at work in all migration scenarios.⁶⁹

Migrant workers such as the Filipinos, represent a major challenge to the traditional conception of "citizenship" as tied to national membership. A great majority of live-in-caregivers and domestic workers are not permanent residents or Canadian citizens. Foreign domestic workers are their own "special class" under the Live-in-Caregiver program and are not entitled to apply for permanent residency in Canada until they have completed 24 months of full-time employment over a period of three (3) years in the country.⁷⁰ In 2004, there was a total of 90,668 foreign workers in Canada, and a

⁶⁵ Statistics Canada, Population by selected ethnic origins, by census metropolitan area, 2001 Census, and Population by selected ethnic origins, by province or territory, 2001 Census.

⁶⁶ Manitoba Immigration by Source Country (Top 10), Manitoba Immigration Facts – 2003 Statistics Report.

⁶⁷ Philippine Overseas Employment Administration. Online: <http://www.poea.gov.ph/html/gpb.htm>
Accessed 22 August 2005.

⁶⁸ Citizenship and Immigration Canada. The Live in Caregiver Program.
Online: <http://www.Cic.gc.ca/English/pub/caregiver/caregiver-2.html>
Accessed: 19 August 2005.

⁶⁹ Philippine Women Centre of B.C., Status of Women in Canada, Canada: The New Frontier for Filipino Mail-Order Brides, 2001.

⁷⁰ Citizenship and Immigration Canada. The Live in Caregiver Program.
Online: <http://www.Cic.gc.ca/English/pub/caregiver/caregiver-2.html>
Accessed: 19 August 2005.

total 23,390 refugee claimants. These two groups represented only a portion of the 245, 731 temporary residents in Canada as of 2004.⁷¹

While these individuals are classified as temporary residents, many of them have become permanent populations in Canada. While they are not accorded permanent residency and the rights that attach to such status, they *are* entitled to certain rights and privileges that attach to them by virtue of their humanity. Traditionally, rights and privileges were doled out according to citizenship- national identity. Consequently, the situation of migrant workers highlights what is increasingly being referred to as “transnational citizenship” in which citizenship is defined more according to personhood and universal human rights, than it is defined according to national membership and territorial divisions.⁷²

Economic Networks

The most extensive literature related to the potential role Diasporas can play in the development of their country-of-origin, is limited to an analysis of remittances. In this regard, the Filipino community in Manitoba has played an important role.

In the midst of a growing economic crisis, the Philippine government has become increasingly reliant upon the remittances of migrants to bolster the economy and pay off the massive foreign debt owed to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. In a Status of Women Canada publication, it is noted that Filipino migrant workers are often touted as the “modern-day heroes” of the Philippines. They are even cited as the reason why the Philippine economy did not suffer as deep a crisis as that of neighboring economies during the height of the Asian “flu” in 1997-98.⁷³ According to data from one of the main banks in the Philippines, *Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas*, between 1996-2001, the Filipino Diaspora in Canada remitted more than US\$190 million, accounting for 0.57% of foreign currency remittances through official banking channels alone.⁷⁴

While remittances tend to be sent to individuals or families, thereby having only an indirect effect on the development of the country as a whole, Filipinos also directly contribute to development efforts in their country of origin. They do this, primarily through the Philippine Governmental programme: *Linkod sa Kapwa Pilipino (LINKAPIL)* or Link for Philippine Development Program. From 1990 to June 2001, the Filipino Canadian Diaspora channeled a total of P51.60 million worth of donations to

⁷¹ Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Facts and Figures 2004, Immigration Overview.

⁷² See: Soysal, Yasemin Nuhoglu. *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1994.

⁷³ Status of Women Canada, Canada: The New Frontier for Filipino Mail-Order Brides, 2000, p. 11.

⁷⁴ The Filipino Immigrant Community in Canada, http://www.ops.gov.ph/visit2002/background_can.htm

the country through LINKAPIL, making Filipinos in Canada the third largest contributor to the said program. Their contributions accounted for 5.08% of said assistance.⁷⁵

In a similar manner, the Filipino Diaspora in Canada contributes directly to the fostering of a healthy and inviting business environment in the Philippines. To some extent they could be referred to as a “business Diaspora.” According to Robert Cohen, “Business Diasporas are seen as a means to adapt to rapid capital flows, the international market for skills and to the demands of the powerful multinational corporations.”⁷⁶ The Filipino community has fulfilled this role primarily through the Manitoba Philippine Business Council. The Council is a branch of the Canadian Philippine Business Council, which works to promote trade and business between Canada and the Philippines. Further objectives of the Manitoba branch are to help enhance and expand business opportunities to existing Filipino owned and operated businesses, and to participate and maintain linkages with other organizations in the consideration of common problems and provide input on economic priorities and policies to provincial and city governments.⁷⁷ In such a manner the Filipino community has established itself as a business Diaspora, understood as a “...global network of mutual trust means that capital and credit can flow freely between family, kin, and even more loosely associated co-ethnic members.”⁷⁸ According to some members of the Winnipeg Filipino community, commerce is the most effective way to influence society and politics in the country of origin.

Social Networks

Despite the evident importance of economic assistance and business networks, an examination of the potential influence of a particular Diaspora group must also include an analysis of the political, social, and cultural impacts that a Diaspora group has on both their country-of-origin and their host country. Such impacts may occur at a number of different levels: 1) the individual level, through, for example, family networks; 2) at the institutional level, through community organizations for example; 3) at the international level through, for example, international organizations.

At all of these levels, the Filipino community in Manitoba has made significant contributions. They have influenced both the development of their country-of-origin and have also impacted the development of meaningful multiculturalism in the province and in the country as a whole. The Philippine community in Winnipeg is vibrant and active. With more than one hundred groups and associations from teachers’ organizations to dance associations, from media outlets to politics, this

⁷⁵ The Filipino Immigrant Community in Canada, http://www.ops.gov.ph/visit2002/backgrounder_can.htm

⁷⁶ Cohen, Robert (1995). “Rethinking Babylon: Iconoclastic conceptions of the diasporic experience.” *New Community* 21(1), 5-18. 13.

⁷⁷ Filipino-Canadian Business Council http://www.ndpcaucus.mb.ca/mlas/the_maples/community/fcbc.html; Mission, Canada-Philippines Business Council. <http://lorica.ca/CPBC/Objectives.htm>

⁷⁸ Cohen, Robert. (1995): 12. See supra note no. 19.

community is busy and involved in the political, social, economic, religious, cultural, athletic, arts, and entertainment spheres.

The *Filipino Journal* is the premier Filipino news-journal in Winnipeg. It has been published bimonthly in Winnipeg since 1987 and is available free at various locations.⁷⁹ It focuses on linking the Filipino community, providing a Philippine news update, and running a variety of stories from different writers. There are also a number of Filipino radio shows on the only local multi-lingual radio station, CKJS 810 AM Radio, which serves more than twenty different ethnic groups. The most prominent of these shows is called “Good Morning Philippines” which also sponsors a number of other events. In addition to music, news, and information from the Philippines, the programs feature a healthy balance of international, national, and local news as well as sports, open lines, weather and traffic reports.⁸⁰

The Philippine-Canadian Centre of Manitoba is another initiative, which provides opportunities for cultural exchanges. The Centre opened in 2001 with the objective of providing support for the settlement and acculturation needs of new Filipino immigrants, as well as the social, educational and cultural requirements of the Filipino community and the community-at-large.⁸¹

The Manitoba Association of Filipino Teachers Incorporated (MAFTI) is another important organization in Manitoba’s Filipino community. It is a non-profit organization, founded in 1977 and formally organized in 1981. As an organization they respond to and represent the needs and desires of Filipino families and students within the Manitoba school districts. A case in point concerns the issue of maintaining Filipino culture and language while at the same time promoting multicultural activities more generally. MAFTI organizes multicultural activities, liaises with school divisions in developing Filipino educational programming, and supports efforts to teach *Tagalog* at schools. MAFTI also plays a role in encouraging Filipino trained educators to come to Canada. In this sense, they may be seen as a service in facilitating immigration to the extent that they support and assist foreign-trained teachers in acquiring their Manitoba Teaching Certificate.

MAFTI is an excellent example of how a Diaspora group can affect government policy- in this case education policy- in a way that is beneficial to their particular cultural and linguistic community. In addition, their promotion of multicultural education is of great benefit to the province at large to the extent that it strengthens Manitoba’s educational sector.

⁷⁹ Filipino Journal, <http://www.filipinojournal.com/cms/>

⁸⁰ Victor P. Gendrano and Emmie Z. Joaquin (1999). “Winnipeg’s Filipino radio program.” *Heritage*, 13: 4.

⁸¹ Canada-Manitoba Infrastructure Program, Canada-Manitoba Infrastructure Program Invests in a Multi-purpose Community Facility, 2001. see also PCCM website: http://www.pccm.ca/cms/index.php?option=com_frontpage&Itemid=1

Political Networks

In examining the nature of political participation of the Filipino community in Manitoba, it is important to analyze extent to which scope, forms, and effectiveness of Diaspora-politics are related to the opportunity to participate in politics of host-countries. Political structure refers both to the access, which the Diaspora may or may not have, public opinion of the electorate, and the readiness of the host-country to tolerate various forms and expressions of the Diaspora's political activism.⁸² Political structure thereby also includes the legal situation, the rights and obligations, and the access to citizenship of respective Diaspora groups.

The Filipino community in Winnipeg boasts stronger representation in politics than any other ethnic visible minority, with a City Councilor, two MLAs and a Minister of Parliament. All of these representatives were elected in a North Winnipeg riding with a significant percentage of Filipino residents.⁸³ These political members have all made important contributions to the Filipino community in Winnipeg as well as promoting relations between the Philippines and Canada.⁸⁴ A case in point is the 1979 twinning of Winnipeg and Manila, under the Sister City Program. In 1980 the Philippine Consulate opened in Winnipeg due to a recommendation from the 1977 First Provincial Conference of Filipinos in Manitoba. Although the Consulate closed in 1985, Dr. Roland Guzman has continued to serve as Honorary Consul General of the Philippines ever since.

Filipino involvement in politics is not, however, limited to official party politics. The community has actively organized on several instances in order to broadcast their concerns. A case in point revolves around the 2002 visit of Philippine President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo. Arroyo visited Canada in order to thank Filipino Overseas Workers for their financial contribution and to encourage them to increase the levels of remittances.⁸⁵ Arroyo was *not*, however, welcomed with open arms by the entire Filipino Canadian community. Filipino domestic workers were insulted at being called the 'new Filipino investors.' Further, Arroyo was challenged by protesters across the nation unhappy about her decision to allow 600 US troops to occupy Mindanao, in the southern part of the Philippines, under the guise of quelling the small Muslim rebellion. Given that this military invasion

⁸² Ostergaard-Nielsen, Eva. "Diasporas in World Politics," Daphne Josselin and William Wallace, eds., *Non-state Actors in World Politics*. New York: Palgrave, 2001.

⁸³ Hitherto, Filipinos in the City of Winnipeg tend to settle in Downtown West, Inkster West, Seven Oaks West, and to a lesser extent Point Douglas North, Downtown East, Inkster East. Recent immigrants tend to settle in the Downtown East and West, Seven Oaks West, and also Inkster East and West [City of Winnipeg, *Recent Immigration and Visible Minorities*]. All of these neighbourhoods are located in the north and west area of Winnipeg. (Scan map of Winnipeg from "Immigrant/Ethnic/Racial Segregation")

⁸⁴ For a description of several prominent Filipino political leaders, please consult **Appendix 2**. Please note that the list is NOT exhaustive.

⁸⁵ GMA thanks 'great Filipino workers' in U.S. for contributions to Philippine economy
<http://www.ops.gov.ph/visit2002/>

was conducted as part of the US “international war on terrorism,” Arroyo’s complicity caused many in the Diaspora to believe that she was simply a puppet for US interests. The protests of the Filipino workers and organizations were in solidarity with the sentiments of the majority in the Philippines.⁸⁶ Although Arroyo did not visit Winnipeg, the Winnipeg community actively protested, organized and led by the Movement of Filipino Workers of Manitoba (KAMPI) and the Filipino Women’s Centre of Manitoba.⁸⁷

The Power of a Cause: The case of Filipino Live-in-Caregivers

Leaders of the Filipino community in Manitoba have suggested that in order to mobilize the Diaspora, one requires a “cause.” In other words, members of the Diaspora will be motivated to engage themselves politically, socially, and culturally, primarily if they are of the opinion that such engagement will assist others of their community who are in need. This tactic has been successfully employed in the case of Filipino temporary workers in Canada. Concern for the well being of temporary workers focuses specifically on the situation of live-in caregivers who arrived in Canada under the 1981 Foreign Domestic Movement program or its replacement, the 1992 Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP). 76.92 percent immigrant live-in caregivers arriving in Canada under the LCP come from the Philippines. Eighty (80) percent are women.⁸⁸ Overall concern for these workers is communicated to members of the Diaspora through the Diaspora media, newsmagazines such as *Bulatlat* and *Kalayaancente.net*. In addition, immigrant care-givers have convened and formed interest groups such as the Toronto based Community Alliance for Social Justice, the Vancouver-based National Association of Women and Law (NAWL) and the West Coast Domestic Workers Association (WCDWA), Quebec-based, *Table feministe*, and Winnipeg-based Filipina Domestic Workers’ Association of Manitoba (FDWAM) to simply name a few.

These advocacy groups have extended the reach of their influence beyond members of the Filipino Diaspora and have made their presence known on Parliament Hill. Efforts have catalyzed around the 1992 Live-in-Caregiver Program (LCP). It is important to note that the previous mobilization of Filipino Diaspora groups culminated in the establishment of the LCP’s predecessor, the FDM. Then as now, immigrant care-giver rights groups sought greater protection and respect for domestic workers within Canada. Despite the fact that the LCP is seen as an improvement over the FDM, it remains subject to heavy criticism. The LCP is criticized primarily because of the stipulated live-in requirement. According to CIC, “The LCP exists only because there is a shortage of Canadians or permanent residents *to fill the need for live-in care work*. There is no shortage of Canadians or permanent residents available for care-giving positions where there is no live-in requirement.”⁸⁹ However,

⁸⁶ Overseas Filipino Women Outraged by US Military Presence in the Philippines
<http://pwc.bc.tripod.com/whatsnew/womenagstwar.html>

⁸⁷ Filipinos in Canada protest U.S. military intervention in the Philippines
<http://www.ddh.nl/pipermail/wereldcrisis/2002-February.txt>

⁸⁸ According to 1997 figures. See CITIZENSHIP CANADA, Work Permits for Live-in-Caregivers by country and province from 1992-1997.

⁸⁹ Ibid. Emphasis added.

immigrant caregiver rights groups all point to the live-in requirement as one that promotes “economic, physical, and psychological exploitation of these workers.”⁹⁰

The concern for the plight of Filipino domestic workers is not one that is had *only* amongst Filipinos living in Canada. Consider, the 2 March 2005 House Resolution No.643 presented to the House of Representatives of the Republic of the Philippines. The Resolution is entitled: RESOLUTION DIRECTING THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON OVERSEAS WORKERS’ AFFAIRS TO CONDUCT AN INVESTIGATION IN AID OF LEGISLATION, INTO THE LIVE-IN CAREGIVER PROGRAM OF THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT AND RECOMMEND MEASURES THAT WILL PROTECT THE WELFARE OF OVERSEAS FILIPINO WORKERS EMPLOYED AS CAREGIVERS IN CANADA AS WELL AS IN OTHER COUNTRIES.⁹¹ This resolution represents a prime example of the transnational networks that remain intact between Diaspora and fellow ethnics in the country-of-origin.

CONCLUSION

Despite the traditional assumption that members of the Diaspora will eventually return to their country-of-origin, an examination of the Filipino Diaspora in Canada and in Manitoba suggests that they comprise a permanent population in Canada. Community leaders within Manitoba have emphasized that while new immigrants may initially identify more with the Philippines than with Canada, after having lived in Canada for a few years, the desire to return to the home-land dissipates. Rather than understanding their situation as one of exile, they consider themselves as members of a transnational network. While Diaspora has traditionally been defined with emphasis upon their catastrophic origins, their mass nature, and their potentially negative effects, this examination demonstrates the extent to which Diaspora ought to be understood with emphasis upon the various ways in which they galvanize creative energy outside of their country-of-origin.

⁹⁰ National Association of Women and the Law (2001). Brief on the Proposed Immigration and Refugee Protection Act(Bill C-11)Submitted to the Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration

⁹¹ Republic of the Philippines, House of Representatives Thirteenth Congress, First Regular Session. House Resolution No. 643. 2 March 2005.

Online: http://www.kalayaancentre.net/content/philupdate/2005/March/ResoLCPmarch2_05.html

Accessed 19 August 2005.

2. Sudanese community

Traditionally, Canada has eagerly sought highly educated immigrants with resources of their own and who bring with them skills and knowledge sought after in Canada. While Canada is well respected for its relatively liberal refugee and asylum policies, sadly refugees and asylum-seekers in Canada enjoy far fewer benefits and services than do economic migrants. Prior to attaining official refugee status, asylum-seekers receive very little support from the Canadian Government. They are prohibited from seeking work until their application has been approved and must live on funds they have brought with them (which tends to be next to nothing). Ballay and Bulthuis demonstrate the not surprising fact that of all the different immigrants in Canada, refugees are the most likely to become homeless.⁹² The lack of services and entitlements for asylum-seekers awaiting official status recognition demonstrates the extent to which many members of so-called “Victim-Diaspora” are excluded from the State’s conception of citizenship.

Hitherto, much discussion regarding “victim-diasporas” has focused on what supports they provide for their members in the host country and on what processes must be in place for members of such Diasporas to return to their home country. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees’ [UNHCR] policy of promoting voluntary repatriation as the preferred solution to refugee crises illustrates the assumption that refugees, once able to, will return to their country of origin. However, increasingly refugees are becoming permanent populations in their host countries, thereby becoming “transnational communities.”

Reconceived as transnational communities, refugees and asylum-seekers do not remain outside of the scope of traditional analyses of migration processes. Just as the Filipino community was examined in order to ascertain its role as an actor within Canadian and Filipino politics, so too can the Sudanese community be examined in regards to their potential role as catalysts for change in their country-of-origin. Exile communities can make significant contribution to the reconstruction of their homelands. Such a re-engagement would suggest a transformation from a victim Diaspora (i.e. forced Diaspora) to a labour Diaspora (who choose to remain in host country voluntarily). This transition has important policy implications because the political activism of exile communities is often viewed as a destabilizing factor in national and international security.

Participation

Recall that any discussion regarding participation must take into account the question of capabilities, and that capabilities refers to both the question of self-identification with the country-of-origin and also to the political structure of the host country. In addressing the question of capabilities, we convey the agency of the Sudanese Diaspora. We do not want to simply recognize and appreciate their cultural differences, rather we want to imagine their capacity, their ability, to reflect upon and

⁹² Ballay, P. and Bulthuis, M. “The Changing Portrait of Homelessness,” in: C. Andrew, ed. *Our Diverse Cities*. Ottawa: Metropolis and Canadian Federation of Canadian Municipalities, 2004. 119-123.

negotiate the challenges, obstacles, and opportunities that exist for them as a Diaspora group in Canada.

The great majority of the Sudanese Diaspora fled in order to escape the violence and destruction associated with the twenty-one year old civil war. Sudanese have sought asylum in, inter alia, Asia, Australia, Europe, and North America. In 2004, 225 Sudanese immigrated to the province of Manitoba, comprising 3.03 per cent of Manitoba's immigration. The Sudan thereby ranks 8th in the top ten source countries for Manitoba immigration.⁹³ Like all migrant groups in the province, the majority of Sudanese are located within Winnipeg.

As a result of the war and violence in the South of the Sudan, individual members of the Diaspora may find it difficult to relate to the Sudan as "home." The duration and nature of the conflict with the Arab Sudanese population has left many African Sudanese disenfranchised with the idea of a unified Sudan. With the death of Vice-President John Garang at the end of July 2005, it has been suggested that the South of Sudan will now agitate strongly for succession. In addition, many Sudanese in the Diaspora spent years in refugee camps prior to coming to Canada. Many youth were born in these same camps. This cannot but have an effect upon one's self-identification with a "homeland."

Furthermore, the structure of Canadian political system has influenced and shaped the ways in which the Sudanese can and cannot participate in Canadian society. Unlike economic migrants, the majority of Sudanese arrive as refugees with few if any resources. Often they do not have proper identification, which makes it hard not only to enter Canada in the first place, but also makes it difficult to find employment once in Canada, considering that one may not have records of past education and employment. Similarly, the recognition of foreign-earned certification is an ongoing challenge not only for the Sudanese but also for all immigrant groups in Canada.

Mainstream media, literature, arts, and politics tend to pay little attention to the Sudanese Diaspora in Canada. The twenty-one year old conflict has only recently been given space in the media and the Canadian Government has only tentatively engaged themselves in efforts to affect positive change in the Sudan. Recently the Government appointed Senator Mobina Jaffer, as Canada's Special Envoy for Peace in the Sudan. Likewise, in May 2005, the Canadian Government created a special advisory team to coordinate and promote Canada's initiatives in the Sudan. Nonetheless, the Sudan and the Sudanese Diaspora have featured very little within Canadian life. It is telling that there is no published literature on the Sudanese community in Manitoba. Similarly, while there is significant information on the Sudanese community in Australia, the United States, and Egypt, there is very little information on the Sudanese community in Canada.

Economic Networks

⁹³ 2004 Manitoba Immigration Facts.

Like members of the Filipino community, members of the Sudanese community contribute financially to their families' development in the Sudan by way of remittances. Given that the Sudan has been immersed in war for the past 21 years and that it is considered an "under-developed" country, many Sudanese in Manitoba are expected to send money to family members in the Sudan. The sending of remittances is not a choice but rather an obligation. Such an expectation places great pressure on those individuals in Manitoba who may not have sufficient financial resources to support their family in Manitoba, let alone their family in the Sudan.

Social Networks

The International Centre, Stepping Stones, the NEEDS Centre for War Affected Families, and the Welcome Place all provide general settlement services and counseling services for refugees and immigrants in Manitoba. The Sudanese community has complemented the services provided, in part through services and programs organized through the Sudan Humanitarian Relief Organization, the Sudanese Association of Manitoba, the Sudanese Community Resource Centre, and the Calvary Temple. At the Calvary Temple, members of the Sudanese community in Manitoba may participate in workshops on resume writing, computer skills, and ESL. In addition, the Temple provides spiritual guidance and counseling for members of the community. It also provides a safe space in which individuals and youth may socialize and relax.

Similarly, the Sudanese Community Resource Centre, located in the downtown of Winnipeg at 80 Sherbrook Street is a center in which members of the community may convene, interact, hold functions, and so forth. The need for safe space in which members can interact and avoid a sense of isolation is considered by members of the community to be of utmost importance. The majority of Sudanese in Winnipeg are located in the inner city, and many have expressed concern regarding the safety of their children, especially in the evening.

Violence is a central concern for the Sudanese community in Winnipeg, not only in regards to youth, but also in regards to domestic violence. The literature attests that for many immigrants, adjusting to new roles as man, woman, husband, wife, father, mother and so forth is extremely difficult. As stated by Monica Boyd in her study of Women and Migration, "new economic roles and new responsibilities affect spousal relationships in some instances leading to considerable negotiations and resistance to change by both men and women."⁹⁴ The Sudanese Association of Manitoba (SAM) has taken considerable steps towards reducing and preventing family violence and victimization of women and youth in the Sudanese community in Winnipeg. Having received funding for what they entitled the "New Canadian Family Violence Prevention Project," SAM has organized public information sessions and presentations, and conflict resolution and personal safety training in an effort to promote healthy, non-violent relationships amongst members of their community.

Political Networks

⁹⁴ Boyd, Monica. "Women and Migration: Incorporating Gender into International Migration Theory." Online: <http://www.migrationinformation.org>
Accessed July 26, 2005.

In a manner distinct to that of the Filipino community in Manitoba, the Sudanese community has not involved themselves to any great extent in the political life of Canada. To the extent that they have, it is in regards to issues that affect the Sudan. Given that the conflict in the Sudan continues, the focusing of their energies upon affecting political change in the Sudan as opposed to in Canada is understandable. Nevertheless, the Sudanese community in Manitoba has lobbied hard the provincial government, demanding for improvements to be made in the housing options of refugee families and for additional ESL classes to be made available. Their persistence encouraged the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg to engage in a research project, which focuses, inter alia, upon the experiences of immigrants and refugees in finding suitable housing, and addresses their concerns regarding the type of housing in which they currently live.

Another case in point of how the Sudanese community in Manitoba organized to pressure the government, in this case the Canadian Government, was the protests organized around the 2000 International War-Affected Children Conference. In September 2000, Foreign Minister of Sudan, Mr. Mustafa Osman Ismail was invited to come to Winnipeg to participate in the International Conference, the largest ever gathering of governments, experts, academics, NGOs and young people to discuss issues facing children affected by war.⁹⁵ Local Sudanese emigrants were outraged at this invitation, feeling that by welcoming this man from the Sudanese government, Canada was giving its blessing to all the government-initiated terrorist activities taking place in Sudan. The coup-created Sudanese government has bombed schools, churches and hospitals. Specifically, it is believed that Ismail is responsible for the deaths of 2 million people from Southern Sudan and the abduction of six thousand Ugandan youth for child soldiers or sex slaves.⁹⁶ Hundreds of Sudanese people, including prominent pastor James Okot, protested in Winnipeg in front of the Fort Garry Hotel where the conference was being held and were encouraged to pressure their MPs.

In most of their organizational efforts at organizing, the Sudanese Diaspora relies heavily upon the Internet. The Sudanese government maintains an iron fist over the rights of the Sudanese to free speech and freedom of political participation. For Sudanese who live abroad the grip is not as strong, although its presence is still felt. Members of the Sudanese Diaspora use the Internet to communicate with one another, with fellow Sudanese in other countries, and with fellow Sudanese still in the Sudan. Prominent websites include: <http://www.southsudan.net> <http://sora.akm.net.au/diaspora.php> ; <http://www.splmtoday.com> The latter is the official website of the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement and includes a section dedicated to the Diaspora.

Mobilizing to affect change in the Sudan- the example of Talisman

In addition to virtual protest and awareness raising, the Sudanese community has taken advantage of the liberty and freedom to organize that is available in Canada. In 2000, the Sudanese community in Winnipeg organized themselves through the Sudanese Humanitarian Relief Organization, and engaged in a protest against the Canadian Government. Their protest followed the Government's

⁹⁵ <http://www.crossroads.ca/calcom/r054.htm>

⁹⁶ War Affected Children's Newsletter <http://www.tgmag.ca/wacyouth/pdf/edition2.pdf>.

decision not to take action against Talisman Energy Inc, an Alberta-based oil company accused of contributing to and exacerbating the civil war in the Sudan.

Talisman, the Canadian, Alberta-based, oil company began oil exploration in Southern Sudan in 1998. It was a part of the Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Company Consortium (GNPOC), and provided technological expertise, managerial skills, and financial backing, to oil exploration in the region. While the cause of the civil war in the Sudan cannot be attributed to oil alone, there is no doubt that oil exploration has fueled the conflict and exacerbated the already violent situation. As a result, Talisman was accused of being complicit in the violations of human rights of the Southern Sudanese; violations that were intensified following the establishment of the GNPOC.

Within Canada, a civil society coalition, comprised of church groups, non-governmental organizations, trade unions, Sudanese Diaspora organizations, and human rights activists launched a high-profile protest campaign against Talisman. Moreover, since Talisman is a Canadian company, the coalition also focused its attack on the Canadian Government, who had done nothing to restrain the actions of Talisman in the Sudan. As a result of the pressure exerted by this coalition, the Canadian Government, specifically Minister of Foreign Affairs Lloyd Axworthy, appointed an independent assessment team comprised of six Canadian development and human rights academics and activists. The task of the Assessment Mission was to “investigate the impact of oil exploration and extraction on the conduct of the civil war by the Government of Sudan and to evaluate findings against putatively universal standards of human rights and humanitarian law.”⁹⁷ The Mission produced an official report: *Human Security in Sudan: The Report of a Canadian Assessment Mission, 2000*. The Report concluded that: “...the oil operations in which a Canadian company is involved add more to the suffering.”⁹⁸

The establishment of the Assessment Mission and the subsequent publishing of the Report are due, in large part, to the efforts of Canadian civil society. While the Canadian Government never did officially sanction Talisman or otherwise compel it to withdraw from the Sudan, the pressure exerted by members of the Sudanese Diaspora in Canada and other civil society groups in Canada pushed Talisman into selling its Sudan interest to a subsidiary of India’s state-owned oil company.⁹⁹ The sale was completed in March 2003. Had members of the Sudanese Diaspora in Canada not galvanized support for their protest among members of Canadian civil society, perhaps Talisman would still be operating in the Sudan. This example highlights an important way in which Diasporas can influence the policies of their host country vis-à-vis their country of origin. Their protests highlighted the tensions between economic development and profit on the one hand and human rights on the other

⁹⁷ Macklin, Audrey (2003). “Our Sisters from Stable Countries’: War Globalization and Accountability.” *Social Politics* 10:2. 264.

⁹⁸ Cited in : Ibid. 263.

⁹⁹ “Talisman Pulls out of Sudan,” *BBC News* 10 March 2003.

hand, encouraging the broader Canadian public to become more informed about the situation in the Sudan.

Conclusion

Our discussion of the Diaspora, their roles, their potential, their rights and privileges, suggests a changing conception of “citizenship.” Traditionally defined with emphasis upon nationhood, today “citizenship” is increasingly defined with emphasis upon personhood. That being said, the promotion, protection, and fulfillment of human rights is still dependent upon the nation-state and in such a way, citizenship and the rights that attach to “citizens” is still shaped by the nation-state. Nonetheless, the state’s obligations to Diasporas extend beyond the nation-state itself. The rights and claims of immigrants, refugees, temporary residents and so forth are grounded in ideologies of transnationalism and universal human rights. As stated by Yasemin Nughoglu Soysal, “the individual transcends the citizen.”¹⁰⁰ The notion of universal rights allows individuals to advance claims, enjoy rights, and demand protection from a state of which they are not necessarily a citizen.

The case studies of the Filipino and Sudanese communities in the province of Manitoba, more specifically within the City of Winnipeg, demonstrate the important role that Diasporas play at all levels: political, social, cultural, and economic. Both communities have struggled to fill in the gap in services left by the Government. Further, they have worked with the Government to influence the ways in which the Diaspora community is integrated into Canada and have also influenced the ways in which the Government deals with their country of origin. Our examination of the Sudanese community has demonstrated the extent to which it is important to conceive of “victim Diasporas” as transnational communities thereby including them within the general study of immigration. Indeed, it is questionable to what degree we can differentiate between “labour” and “victim” diasporas. The reasons for their exile may not have that significant effect upon their role and influence once having arrived in the host country.

Our examination of the Filipino and Sudanese communities respectively demonstrates that Diaspora groups in Manitoba affect the provincial and therefore the country’s national definition and influence international relations. Through their various economic, social, cultural, and political networks, both these Diasporas shape the City of Winnipeg and the province of Manitoba, influence our social and economic institutions, and change the nature of our international foci.

In our attempts to gain a better understanding of what “global citizenship” entails and of what role Canada can play in advancing this concept, we have examined the people who comprise Canada. Indeed, the country is only as great as the people who call it “home.” However, a failure to comprehend the “*peopleness*” of the country will necessarily handicap any analysis we may make of contemporary trends. We cannot consider how to reconsider our Canadian identity, how to re-conceptualize Canada as a leader in promoting global citizenship without first considering just what

¹⁰⁰ Soysal [1994]: 142.

it is and who it is that “Canada” represents. This requires an analysis of the various Diaspora groups. While the term traditionally connoted the idea of eventual return [once the conditions in the homeland improved], today’s Diaspora’s groups are considered to be permanent populations, and more importantly consider themselves as Canadian citizens- permanently. In our brief examination, we hoped to shed light on the ways in which Canada is, and is not, responding to the increasing flows of people. The answer to how the country is doing this will tell us a great deal about the future of Canadian politics, the future role for Canada within the international arena, and the potential for Canada in fostering a peaceful and liberal future world order.

APPENDIX 1

Winnipeg's Sister Cities:

Setagaya, Tokyo - October 5, 1970; Reykjavik, Iceland - September 7, 1971; Minneapolis, United States - January 31, 1973; Lviv, Ukraine - November 26, 1973;

Manila, Philippines - December 31, 1979; Taichung, Taiwan - April 2, 1982; Kuopio, Finland - June 11, 1982; Beer-Sheva, Israel - May 15, 1984; Chengdu, China - February 24, 1988; Chinju, Korea - April 1, 1992; San Nicholas de los Garza, Mexico - July 23, 1999.

Sister Cities, New Winnipeg, 2005. <http://www.newwinnipeg.com/news/info/sister-cities.htm>

APPENDIX 2

Non-Exhaustive list of several prominent political leaders from the Winnipeg Filipino community.

Mike Pagtakhan has served on City Council representing Point Douglas since 2002 and was appointed as Deputy Mayor in 2004 by mayor Sam Katz [*Mike Pagtakhan, Biography, New Winnipeg, 2005.*

<http://newwinnipeg.com/news/info/mike-pagtakhan.htm>] He recently accompanied Katz to the Philippines marking the 25th anniversary of the sister-city agreement between Manila and Winnipeg to "promote Winnipeg business, tourism, and education." [*Dave Roads, Winnipeg Mayor and Pagtakhan to enjoy warmer weather this weekend. New Winnipeg. <http://www.newwinnipeg.com/news/2005/01-26manila.htm>]*

Cris Aglugub was elected to represent Maples in 1999 and has been active in promoting Canadian-Philippine relations. He helped facilitate the twinning agreement between Manila and Winnipeg as well the sister university agreement between the University of the City of Manila and the University of Manitoba. He has also served on the Mayor's Race Relations Committee, and he is credited with the passage of two pro-immigrant Private Members Resolutions [Cris Aglugub, Biography, New Democratic Caucus of Manitoba. http://www.ndpcaucus.mb.ca/mlas/the_maples/bio.html]

Current MLA of Wellington, **Conrad Santos** has worked in government since the 1970s working for his vision of a multicultural Manitoba, where equality of opportunity and access to jobs and training, health care and education, daycare and enjoyment of family life area all guaranteed to every Manitoban. [*Conrad Santos, Biography, New Democratic Caucus of Manitoba. <http://www.ndpcaucus.mb.ca/mlas/wellington/index.html>*]

The Honourable Dr. Rey Pagtakhan was first elected to the House of Commons in the 1988 federal election in the riding of Winnipeg North. In the process, he became the first Filipino-born Canadian to be elected to the House of Commons. Since then, Pagtakhan has served as parliamentary secretary to Prime Minister Jean Chretien, as secretary of state (Asia-Pacific), as minister of Veterans Affairs, and in Western Economic Diversification.[Rey Pagtakhan, Wikipedia. http://wikipedia.org/wiki/Rey_Pagtakhan]

Glossary

Business Immigrant - Business immigrants include three classes of immigrants--investors, entrepreneurs and self-employed people. Business immigrants become permanent residents on the basis of their ability to become economically established in Canada. The spouse and children of the business immigrant are also included in this category.

Ethnic origin- Refers to the ethnic or cultural group(s) to which the respondent's ancestors belong. An ancestor is someone from whom a person is descended, and is usually more distant than a grandparent. Ethnic origin pertains to the ancestral "roots" or background of the population, and should not be confused with citizenship or nationality.

Immigration - The concept of immigration concerns the movement of nationals of any given country to another country for the purpose of settlement. It applies to a person who has been granted the right to permanently live in Canada by immigration authorities. It usually applies to persons born outside Canada but may also apply to a small number of persons born inside Canada to parents who are foreign nationals. Similarly, a small number of persons who are Canadian by birth have been born outside Canada to Canadian parents. Once a person has been accorded immigrant status it becomes a life-long attribute as long as the person lives in Canada. Therefore, immigrants are often further classified by period of immigration in order to distinguish between recent immigrants and earlier immigrants.

Live-In-Caregiver - A temporary resident of Canada who has successfully completed the equivalent of Canadian secondary school; has six months of full-time training in a field or occupation related to that for which they are seeking a work permit; is able to speak, read and understand English or French at a level sufficient to communicate effectively in an unsupervised situation; and signs an employment contract with the future employer.

Non-Permanent Resident - Refers to people from another country who had an employment authorization, a student authorization, or a Minister's permit, or who were refugee claimants at the time of the census, and family members living here with them.

Permanent Resident - A person with permanent resident status is a landed immigrant, or an immigrant who has settled permanently in Canada, but has not acquired Canadian citizenship.

Place of Birth - Place of birth outside Canada refers to the country outside Canada in which a person was born.

Place of Origin - Place of origin refers to the country of residence in which a person born outside Canada last resided before immigrating to Canada.

Provincial Nominees - An immigrant selected by the provinces and territories for specific skills that will contribute to the local economy. The Regulations establish a provincial nominee class, allowing provinces and territories that have agreements with CIC to nominate a certain number of workers. A nominee must meet federal admissibility requirements, such as those related to health and security.

Recent Immigrants - According to Statistics Canada's definition, recent immigrants are those people who arrived in Canada during the five-year period immediately preceding the most recently released Census enumeration.

Refugee - According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada, refugees are divided into three classes:

Convention Refugees Abroad Class - includes people who are outside their country of origin or habitual residence. Refugees in this class have a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of: race; religion; political opinion; nationality; or membership in a particular social group. Individuals selected under this class are eligible for government assistance or may be privately sponsored

Country of Asylum Class - includes people who are outside their country of origin or habitual residence. Refugees in this class are seriously and personally affected by: civil war; armed conflict; or massive violations of human rights. Individuals selected under this class must be privately sponsored or have adequate financial means to support themselves and their dependants.

Source Country Class - includes people who would meet the definition of a Convention Refugee but who are still in their country of origin or habitual residence. It also includes people who have been detained or imprisoned and are suffering serious deprivations of: the right of freedom of expression; the right of dissent; or the right to engage in trade union activity. Individuals selected under this class are eligible for government assistance or may be privately sponsored.

Source Country – the country of last permanent residence

Visible Minority - Visible Minority refers to whether or not a person, under criteria established by the Employment Equity Act, is non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour. Under the Act, an Aboriginal person is not considered to be a Visible Minority

(Statistics Canada, <http://www.statcan.ca/english/concepts/definitions/index.htm>)

(Canada Immigrant Job Issues, <http://www.canadaimmigrants.com/glossary.asp>)

(Citizenship and Immigration Canada, <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/monitor/glossary.html>)

(Citizenship and Immigration Canada, <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/refugees/resettle-2.html>)

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Table 1

Immigrants by period of immigration and Canadian-born – 15 years of age and over – Highest level of education, Canada, 2001

	Less than grade 9	Some high school	High school diploma	College or trade diploma	<u>University degree</u>	Total 15 years and over
Canadian –born	9%	25%	24%	29%	14%	100%
Immigrants	14%	18%	20%	27%	21%	100%
Immigrated before 1986	18%	17%	18%	30%	17%	100%
Immigrated 1986-1995	11%	20%	24%	25%	20%	100%
Immigrated 1996-2001	7%	17%	20%	20%	36%	100%

Source: Recent immigrants in Canada, a comparative profile, Table B-14.

Source: Recent immigrants in Canada, a comparative profile, Table B-14.

Table 2
Immigrants Between 25 and 64 Years of Age, by Gender and Level of Education, 2004

	Males	Females
0–9 years of schooling	4,650	7,508
10–12 years of schooling	7,515	9,597
13+ years of schooling	4,720	5,706
Trade certificate	3,909	3,518
Non-university diploma	7,634	9,812
Bachelor's degree	27,657	27,424
Master's degree	11,793	8,450
Doctorate	2,449	1,174
Total	70,327	73,189

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, The Monitor, Spring 2005

Table 3

Population by selected ethnic origins, Canada, 2001 Census

	Total responses	Single responses	Multiple responses
Canada			
Total population	29,639,035	18,307,545	11,331,490
Ethnic origin			
Canadian	11,682,680	6,748,135	4,934,545
English	5,978,875	1,479,525	4,499,355
French	4,668,410	1,060,760	3,607,655
Scottish	4,157,210	607,235	3,549,975
Irish	3,822,660	496,865	3,325,795
German	2,742,765	705,600	2,037,170
Italian	1,270,370	726,275	544,090
Chinese	1,094,700	936,210	158,490
Ukrainian	1,071,060	326,195	744,860
North American Indian	1,000,890	455,805	545,085
Dutch (Netherlands)	923,310	316,220	607,090
Polish	817,085	260,415	556,665
East Indian	713,330	581,665	131,665
Norwegian	363,760	47,230	316,530
Portuguese	357,690	252,835	104,855
Welsh	350,365	28,445	321,920
Jewish	348,605	186,475	162,130
Russian	337,960	70,895	267,070
Filipino	327,550	266,140	61,405
Métis	307,845	72,210	235,635
Swedish	282,760	30,440	252,325
Hungarian (Magyar)	267,255	91,800	175,455
American (USA)	250,005	25,205	224,805
Greek	215,105	143,785	71,325
Spanish	213,105	66,545	146,555

Jamaican	211,720	138,180	73,545
Danish	170,780	33,795	136,985
Vietnamese	151,410	119,120	32,290

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population.

Table 4
Top 10 Diaspora groups in Canada, 2001

Diaspora Group	Number
Scottish	4,157,210
Irish	3,822,660
German	2,742,765
Italian	1,270,370
Chinese	1,094,700
Ukrainian	1,071,060
Dutch (Netherlands)	923,310
Polish	817,085
East Indian	713,330
Norwegian	363,760

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population.

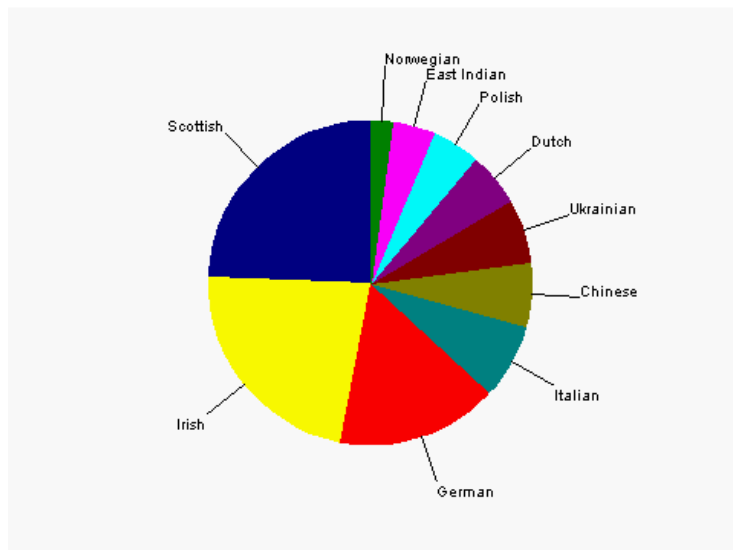
Table 5 – Immigration by province of territory, 1990-2004

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Newfoundland and Labrador	553	638	789	804	565	575	586	418	401	423	417	396	396
Prince Edward Island	176	150	151	163	162	165	155	144	136	135	189	134	134
Nova Scotia	1,570	1,499	2,359	3,021	3,469	3,583	3,221	2,839	2,049	1,606	1,606	1,705	1,705
New Brunswick	853	687	756	708	627	646	717	663	726	664	762	807	807
Quebec	40,972	51,801	48,765	44,924	28,056	27,216	29,806	27,934	26,621	29,176	32,505	37,584	37,584
Ontario	114,594	119,788	139,097	134,867	117,537	115,904	119,719	117,713	92,348	104,150	133,501	148,582	133,501
Manitoba	6,660	5,643	5,098	4,856	4,134	3,604	3,927	3,710	3,001	3,723	4,638	4,598	4,598
Saskatchewan	2,379	2,452	2,529	2,396	2,258	1,947	1,816	1,735	1,572	1,729	1,885	1,703	1,703
Alberta	19,047	17,014	17,778	18,561	17,996	14,355	13,883	12,836	11,189	12,086	14,366	16,399	14,366

British Columbia	29,101	32,315	37,000	45,928	49,115	44,586	52,019	47,843	35,996	36,116	37,423	38,420	34,
Yukon	90	87	135	105	118	94	94	88	62	79	60	65	
Northwest Territories	84	126	113	170	159	117	93	94	62	57	82	93	
Nunavut	n/a	0	0	n/a	n/a	0	6	6	n/a	n/a	12	12	
Not Stated	n/a	556	249	n/a	n/a	74	30	16	n/a	n/a	13	118	
Total	216,417	232,756	254,819	256,731	224,399	212,866	226,072	216,039	174,196	189,963	227,459	250,616	229,

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, The Monitor, Spring 2005.

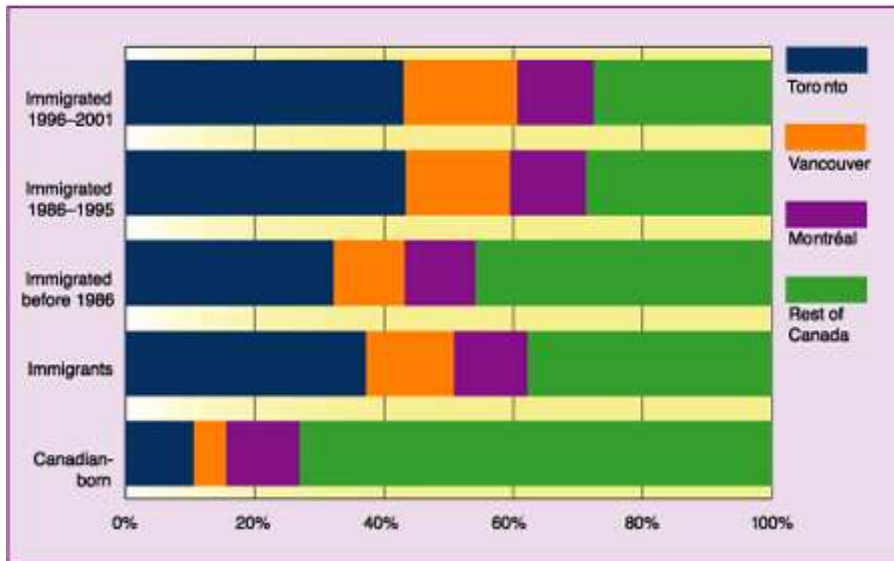
Chart 2
Top 10 Diaspora groups in Canada, 2001



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population.

Chart 3

Immigrants and Canadian-Born by Geographic Location, 2001



Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, The Monitor, Spring 2005

Table 6.

Place of Residence of All Recent Immigrants in Canada, 2001

Place of Residence					
World Region of Birth	Toronto	Vancouver	Montréal	Rest of Canada	Canada
East Asia	41.8%	37.6%	4.6%	16.0%	100.0%
South-East Asia and Pacific	39.8%	21.2%	8.1%	31.0%	100.0%
South and Central Asia	59.0%	14.3%	8.2%	18.5%	100.0%
Western Asia and Middle East	30.4%	3.7%	32.5%	33.5%	100.0%
Africa	44.3%	8.7%	16.5%	30.4%	100.0%
Eastern Europe	43.8%	8.9%	9.2%	38.1%	100.0%
Western Europe	29.2%	5.6%	20.7%	44.4%	100.0%
United Kingdom	25.7%	13.6%	2.7%	58.1%	100.0%

Latin America	27.6%	10.2%	22.0%	40.4%	100.0%
Caribbean	67.7%	1.0%	17.9%	13.4%	100.0%
United States	20.4%	11.5%	7.8%	60.1%	100.0%
Total	43.9%	17.4%	10.7%	27.9%	100.0%

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, The Monitor, Spring 2005

Table 7

Proportion of foreign-born population, by census metropolitan areas (1991 to 2001 Censuses)

	1991	1996	2001
Canada	16.1	17.4	18.4
Toronto	38.0	41.9	43.7
Vancouver	30.1	34.9	37.5
Montreal	16.4	17.8	18.4
Winnipeg	17.4	16.9	16.5

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population.

Last modified: 2005-01-27.

