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Building Bridges: A Case Study on The Role of the Indian Diaspora in Canada

The Centre for the Study of Democracy

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Executive Summary

India has emerged as an economic giant and a stable, vibrant democracy. Policies of active engagement with India were initiated and intensified by former Prime Ministers Jean Chrétien and Paul Martin, and the present Harper government is following suit. The growing population of Indo-Canadians now numbers 1 million, many of whom share the values and common interests of both countries. Indo-Canadians are a conduit between the two nations; this study is intended to explore the potential of this Diaspora to build partnerships between India and Canada.

The present study is largely a product of deliberations that took place in three roundtables held in Toronto, New Delhi and Chandigarh, against the backdrop of Dr. Salehi's literature review. Roundtable discussions in Toronto provided Canadian perspectives on the current role of the Indian Diaspora in building bridges of understanding within international business, knowledge networks, and epistemic communities between these two important democracies. Roundtable discussions in New Delhi provided useful insights and perspectives on the project from the Indian point of view, with considerable interest in India's economic and social development. The Roundtable in Chandigarh focused on the role of the Diaspora from the State of Punjab, which constitutes 50% of the Indian Diaspora in Canada.

The Roundtables explored cooperation in trade, investment and branding, but many participants noted that the Diaspora has potential to extend its power to social/ideological arenas. It became clear that Indo-Canadians are increasingly interested in social remittances, and the flow of ideas.

Conditions and policies in both countries favor the development of strengthening existing links and the creation of new ones. Apart from trade and education, the Roundtables pointed out that there is untapped value in Diaspora contribution to deepening partnerships in democracy, federalism and multiculturalism.

The case study provides a brief history of Indian immigration, and draws a current demographic profile of the Indian Diaspora (in both Canada and the US,) its identity, dynamics, and place in the context of globalization. Following is a discussion of strengths and weaknesses, but the study's primary focus is on leveraging the role of Indo-Canadians as go-betweens, creating opportunities for Indians and Canadians to know one another better and to gain better understanding of each others' interests on global issues. The latter may also help remove the existing miasmas of misunderstanding on some divisive issues. The study refers to the need to build deeper partnerships on environmental issues, energy, security, and health care.

Finally, a preliminary survey and an analysis of its results brought valuable insights to the project team. Our research indicated that significantly onerous visa and emigration policies may have caused, and could continue to cause Indians to choose the US over Canada, and our survey confirmed this. Almost half of respondents knew of cases where visa and immigration policies had prohibited or excessively complicated emigration Indians to Canada. Many respondents offered valuable feedback on a range of issues, from the question of whether there is a unified, or unifiable Diasporic "voice," to how Canada can better foster bilateral partnership through its Indo-Canadian Diaspora. On this point, respondents made clear that partnership would be better enabled through greater understanding and awareness by government, civil society, and the media, of the considerable skills and contributions of the Diaspora. Survey respondents were especially helpful in pointing out that future research must itself include broader Diasporic participation. If there is a flaw in the survey's administration, it is in the sample; the majority responding demographic was male, between 45 and 64 years of age, and of a higher income bracket than Statistics Canada's figures for the Indo-Canadian Diaspora generally. However, data gathered provides a rich source for further survey design and administration, to asses the Indo-Canadian Diaspora more comprehensively.

Recommendations

With changes in the policy domain by federal and provincial governments in Canada, by Central/State governments in India, combined with measures by the private sector and civil society in Canada and India, the Indian Diaspora in Canada can accelerate tangible progress in social and commercial exchange.

Recommendations in this study are informed by the three roundtables, and include suggestions to increase the civic engagement of Indo-Canadians, to see greater involvement of Indian origin Members of Parliament and Members of Provincial Parliaments for improvements in visa and immigration policies, as well as measures for greater recognition of credentials. We also look for a greater focus on future Indo-Canadian leaders, for mobilizing the support of returning Indo-Canadians, for better media coverage to facilitate public awareness of Indo-Canadians contributions to Canadian society. We recommend broadening of academic and policy research studies, and enhancing exchange and internship programs through the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute (SICI).

Institutionally, we recommend the establishment of:

a) An Indian Diaspora Council to facilitate a diverse and proactive advisory and advocacy platform to assess progress in Canada-India relations, and to formulate joint programs between our federal and provincial governments in Canada with Indian counterparts.
b) A trilateral group consisting of representatives of Canadian, Indo-Canadian and Indian organizations to outline the contours of comprehensive partnership possibilities between the two countries.
c) A nodal point, with comprehensive ownership of the issues related to the role of the Indian Diaspora.
d) A consultative mechanism for the coordination and monitoring of these recommendations.
e) Active and effective links between Indo-Canadian institutions in Canada and key organizations in India such as the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), SICI, the Indian Merchants Chamber, the Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs), and the Indian Institutes of Management (IIMs).

The most important role of the Indian Diaspora in Canada is in the cultivation and flow of ideas and business networks. Such activity will have significant long-term benefits to the actual and potential content of partnership between two countries. When Canada helps the Indian Diaspora to build bridges with India, both nations win. The study suggests that the governments in Canada and India, civil societies of two countries, and the Indian Diaspora in Canada need to work collaboratively to develop links between the two countries.

CONTENTS

Executive Summary **2**

Acknowledgements **9**

Acronyms **12**

Building Bridges: A Case Study on The Role of the Indian Diaspora in Canada ... **14**

Introduction to the Indo-Canadian Diaspora: A Brief History 14
Bridge-Building Potential 15
Canada/US Diaspora Demographics 18
The Indian Diaspora as a Phenomenon of Globalization 22
Challenges & Possibilities 22
Policies of Federal & Provincial Governments 28
Investment in India & the Diaspora 29
Current Priorities & Policies of the Government of India & Its States 31
Current Engagement & Potential Opportunities 32
Ensuring Sustained & Tangible Progress 35
Policy Recommendations 39
Conclusion 44

Appendix I: The Role of the Indian Diaspora in Canada: A Literature Review **45**

Introduction 45
Diaspora: Definitions & Approaches 48
India's Policies & Practices Toward its Diaspora 55
The Indian Diaspora in Canada 57
The Indian Diaspora in Canada & the US: Differences & Challenges 66
Studies on the Indian Diaspora 75
Conclusion 78
References 80

Appendix II: The Diasporic Dimension of India's Bilateral Economic Relations ... **89**

Introduction 89

Bilateral Trade Relations 91
Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) 94
Place of Origin Factors 95
Inferences 97
References 98

Appendix III: Multiculturalism & the Indian Diaspora in Canada 99

Introduction 99
Trends Impacting Multiculturalism 100
Canada & Multiculturalism 101
India & Canada: Diverse Roads to Multiculturalism.....104
Multiculturalism: Challenges & Management.....105

Appendix IV: The Bridging Indo-Canadian Diaspora 108

India's Engagement with Diaspora 108
PBD 2008 – India's Agenda.....109
Indo-Canadians: Areas of Concern & Connectivity 111
The Canadian Government Agenda 112
Ground Realities: Status on Development Projects in Punjab & Canada's Role.....114
Conclusion & Policy Recommendations 117

Appendix V: The Indo-Canadian Diaspora: A Preliminary Survey & Analysis 119

Introduction 119
Methodology 120
Analysis/Interpretation 121
Family, Community & Social Relationships (Questions 1-18) 121
Economic, Political & Cultural Activity in Canada (Questions 19-37) 123
Economic, Political & Cultural Activity Abroad (Questions 38-52) 126
Identity & Demographics (Questions 53-64).....128
The Women's Voice.....129
Open Questions (#65-71) 130
Survey Discussion in relation to Building Bridges Project 133
References 137

Appendix VI: Roundtables 138

The Toronto Roundtable & Concluding Recommendations 138

The New Delhi Roundtable & Concluding Recommendations 143

The Chandigarh Roundtable & Concluding Recommendations 150

Appendix VII: Indo-Canadian Institutions 153

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Acronyms

AIIMS	All India Institute of Medical Sciences
APFC	Asia Pacific Foundation Canada
CCC	Canadian Chamber of Commerce
CRRID	Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development
CEAB	Canadian Engineering Accreditation Bureau
CEQB	Canadian Engineering Qualification Board
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CIF	Canada India Foundation
CII	Confederation of Indian Industries
CSD	Centre for the Study of Democracy
DFAIT	Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FICCI	Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry
GOPIO	Group of People of Indian Origin
IAC	Indian American Council
ICBC	India Canada Business Council
ICCC	Indo-Canada Chamber of Commerce
ICCR	Indian Council of Cultural Relations
IDIC	Indian Diaspora in Canada
IIM	Indian Institute of Management
IIT	Indian Institute of Technology
IITAC	Indian Institute of Technology Alumni Canada
MNC	Multi National Corporation
MOIA	Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs
NRI	Non Resident Indian
OIC	Overseas Indian Certificate

OIFC	Overseas Indian Facility Centre
PBD	Pravasi Bharatiya Divas
PBSA	Pravasi Bharatiya Samman Award
POI	Person of Indian Origin
PROMART	DFAIT's Arts and Culture Promotion grants program
ROM	Royal Ontario Museum
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SICI	Shastri Indo Canadian Institute
SWOT	Strengths Weaknesses Opportunities Threats
TiE	The Indus Entrepreneurs
TRB	Those Remaining Behind
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

Building Bridges: A Case Study on The Role of the Indian Diaspora in Canada

Introduction to the Indo-Canadian Diaspora: A Brief History

Canada's Indian Diaspora originates largely from the Jat Sikh community of Doaba in Punjab. In 1907, Indians were disenfranchised (despite being British subjects) and further exclusion came with the 1908 continuous passage Order-in-Council, which put more restrictions on immigration, including the infamous continuous-journey requirement.[1] Religion's solace thus became a major force in Diasporic community life; Gurudwaras (Sikh temples) provided the forum for community mobilization. Punjabis in general and Sikhs in particular developed political community within their religious affiliations. The activities of the Gadar party, and India's push for independence, gave further impetus to this phenomenon.

Developments in East Africa, culminating in the expulsion in 1974 of East Indians by Idi Amin, brought seven to eight thousand Ismailis to Canada. Many Ismailis were entrepreneurs and traders. This cohort sought to distance themselves from the local Indian community, given India's then-image underdevelopment, starvation, and poverty. Other migrants from East Africa mostly belonged to the middle class service community. The majority of non-Ismaili migrants from East Africa were also originally from Punjab. Wealthier migrants from East Africa tended to go to the UK. Indo-Caribbeans and Indo-Fijians who came to Canada also belonged primarily to the serving or professional classes.

With the introduction of the point system in 1967 by which immigrants were awarded varying degrees of value to Canada based on their credentials, some professionals, (i.e. doctors, engineers and academics) did migrate to Canada, largely from Punjab, though their first choice was usually the US. The image of Punjabi working class Indians in Canada remained in the minds of most Canadians and Indians. This image has, to some extent,

[1] See Appendix I.

shaped the attitudes and expectations of the Indian Diaspora in Canada. As well, India's earlier weak economic status, its excessive red tape, and its corruption in the lower echelons of bureaucracy served to shape the perception of the community towards their country of origin. The 1967 point system played a decisive role in the evolution of the profile of the Indian Diaspora in Canada; since the point system, immigrants to Canada have been selected by profession in relation to Canada's economic needs, which has drawn doctors, engineers and academics. By 1980, the notion of Indians in Canada shifted from one of working class to a more professional or entrepreneurial image, in the minds Indians and Canadians generally.

Bridge-Building Potential

The role of the Diaspora in the context of Canada's multicultural policies will largely depend upon its strength in Canada and the connectivity it has maintained with India. If the Diaspora is assumed to have a "fractured identity," its role will remain limited, but understood as a "community of communities," this population will have considerable influence. Indo-Canadians tend to see themselves as both Indian and Canadian, with additional identities based on religion or even occupation. Our survey[2] of Indo-Canadians indicates that over half of those responding to the question of identity felt that the Diaspora was defined by language, and to a lesser degree, by religion. But interestingly, 20% stated that the Diaspora was essentially un-definable. Such cosmopolitanism is a potential asset to Canada, not only with reference to forging links between Canada and India, but as a model of multiculturalism at its best. India was a "host" society long before her people began to migrate in large numbers to other lands. Waves of peoples came to settle, conquer or seek refuge in India, bringing with them their cultures and memories. India received and absorbed them into an increasingly pluralistic society, which appears to breed an endless capacity for multicultural adaptation. Such a variety of ethnicities, religions, and languages has made the Indian culture an extraordinarily synthetic one. Indians have "learned to live with difference, developing

[2] See Appendix V.

strategies, norms and institutions which allowed them to live together with a range of groups while retaining their own ethno cultural identity. Indian Diasporas have inherited this very complex legacy and culture and taken it with them to the host countries including Canada"[3]. The overall picture of Diaspora is one of considerable heterogeneity; existing ideological divisions are inevitable with any sizeable populations, but the degree of community activity even in low Diaspora population areas indicates that such rifts are not significant. Separatist activities have caused tension within the Diaspora community, and Indo-Canadian gangs in BC, for example, are also a cause for concern, as is the fact that according to our survey[4], a higher precentage of Diaspora women than men report experience with inter-generational conflict based on cultural values. However, the Indian Diaspora's size, demography and cosmopolitanism suggest that overall, it is a body naturally predisposed to making connections to thrive – in other words, to build bridges in order to succeed and grow. The nature of its role will, however, depend upon the development of Canada's institutional commitment and infrastructure, which is currently quite unlike those in the US. Our survey[5] of the Diaspora showed that a mere 14% of those responding felt that the Canadian government and private sector was "very effective" in engaging Indo-Canadians in trade, investment and development. Nevertheless, the Diaspora seems generally keen to bring Indian values to the notice of Canadian public, and participates in Canadian life in a significantly varied capacity, including in academics, charitable work (including within non-Indo-Canadian based organizations such as the *Rotary Club* and the *Lions Club*), science and technology, and trade.

Since the 1990s, Indo-Canadians have become increasingly active in the mainstream political arena. 66% of those who were eligible to vote did so in the 2000 federal election. This is especially encouraging in that our survey finds a full 59% of Indo-Canadians responding feel that Canadian policy makers and politicians have an inadequate understanding of India today;

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[3] Milton Israel. (1994). *In The Further Soil: A Social History of Indo-Canadians in Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press Inc.
[4] See Appendix V.
[5] See Appendix V.

this figure beside the high voter turnout might be taken to suggest that the Diaspora has positive confidence in its capacity to urge leaders to understand India better.

In a 2002 survey, 48% of respondents of East Indian origin reported having participated in an organization (such as a church or sports team) in the 12 months preceeding the survey.[6] Notable Indo-Canadian politicians include former federal cabinet minister Herb Dhaliwal, current Member of Parliament Ujjal Dosanjh, and current Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Foreign Affairs Deepak Obhrai. The Diaspora is also well represented in provincial legislatures.

Indo-Canadian intellectuals living in Canada promote positive change, both in Canada and in India in the political, social and cultural fields. With their deep understanding of both Canadian and Indian democratic traditions and practices of multiculturalism and accommodation of diversity, they are well equipped to foster useful exchange of views on matters relating to federalism, democratic governance, the right to information, the rule of law, and knowledge about best practices in these areas in the two countries. However, this aspect of bilateral exchange is underdeveloped; our survey[7] found that 90% of Diaspora responding feel that Canadian universities are remiss on not recruiting students from India, unlike the US, which recruits quite heavily.

The Indian Diaspora in Canada is no longer as marginal as it was 30 years ago, although our survey[8] shows that 56% of Indo-Canadians do feel they have faced some degree of discrimination in seeking work in Canada, and over half feel that media representation of the Diaspora is either negative or non-existant. The Canadian government's policy of multiculturalism has been a major enabling factor in the emergence of a confident Indian community, but there is room for greater development in this area.

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[6] Retrieved on 08/26/08 from http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89-621-XIE/89-621-XIE2007004.htm.
[7] See Appendix V.
[8] See Appendix V.

Canada/US Diaspora Demographics

According to Statistics Canada 2001, 713,330 people identified themselves as of East-Indian origin,[9] largely being new immigrants, and second or third generation Canadians, and over 80% of these immigrants are in Ontario or British Colombia.[10] Many have arrived in Canada via African nations (Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia and South Africa), and the Caribbean (Guyana, Trinidad, Tobago, Suriname.) South Asians are likely to emerge as the largest visible minority in Canada, with population growth predictions raging from 72% to 137% between 2001 and 2017.[11]

Half of the East Indian population in Canada is Punjabi; other ethnic communities include Gujaratis, Tamils (Indians as opposed to Sri Lankans), Keralites, Bengalis, and Sindhis. This rich cultural and ethnic diversity means that East Indo-Canadians speak a wide variety of languages; Punjabi is the most widely spoken, followed by Tamil.[12] Urdu is typically the language of Muslims from North India, with Hindi also spoken by Indo-Canadians from North India. Gujarati and Bengali are the regional languages of Gujarat and West Bengal respectively.

South Asians have diverse religious backgrounds; Sikhs, at 30% are the largest group among South Asians. Hindus comprise 28% of the South Asian population. Muslims and Catholic respectively are 23% and 8% of the South Asian population in Canada.[13]

The younger generations of visible minorities have comparatively high aspirations for postsecondary educations,[14] and student migration from India appears likely to increase, so it seems clear that Indo-Canadians will increasingly represent a significant component of Canada's educated, professional population. 26% of Indo-Canadians have completed

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[9] Retrieved on 08/26/08 from http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/highlight/ETO/Table1.cfm?Lang=E&T=501&GV=1&GID=0.
[10] Retrieved on 08/26/08 from http://www.asiapacific.ca/data/people/demographics_dataset1_byprov.cfm.
[11] Alain Belanger and Éric Caron Malenfant, *Statistics Canada – Winter 2005 Catalogue No. 11-008.*
[12] South Asians in Canada: Unity through diversity by Kelly Tran, Jennifer Kaddatz and Paul Allard.
[13] Ibid.
[14] "Aiming high - Educational aspirations of visible minority immigrant youth" Alison Taylor and Harvey Krahn.

university, compared to 15% of the overall adult Canadian population. 9% have post-graduate degrees, twice the number of the overall Canadian population. In 2001, people who claimed an East Indian origin comprised 2% of all Canadians with post-secondary education, but represented 6% of those with degrees in mathematics, physics, and computer sciences. This group also comprised 5% of those with engineering or applied science degrees.[15]

In 2001, 64 % of all Canadians of East Indian origin were employed, compared to 62% of Canadians overall, although the Indo-Canadian's income is lower than the national average. (In 2000, their average income was just over $27,000, while Canadian born incomes were almost $30,000.[16])

The Indo-Canadian community is diverse in terms of its ethnic, linguistic, religious, and socio-economic backgrounds, but has many commonalities across its sub-ethnic groups. For instance, virtually all inculcate the value of family and the preservation of sharply defined family roles.

The main channels of migration from India to the US have been via family, the professions, and the student route. The slow economic growth in India between the mid 1960s and the mid 1970s coincided with the Kennedy Immigration Law in the US, which liberalized the entire immigration system,[17] so highly qualified professionals began to arrive in the US, which resulted in part with strong linkages between the two countries in such fields as information technology financial services, health and education, even though the number of Indians in the USA grew by only 7,000 from 1948 to 1965.[18] There was no significant difference in the population of Indians in the two countries until the early sixties, at which time the US replaced the UK as the first choice for Diaspora engaged in higher education and research. The Immigration Act of 1965 led to an increase in immigration of Indian

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[15] Retrieved on 08/26/08 from http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89-621-XIE/89-621-XIE2007004.htmp 13.
[16] Retrieved on 08/26/08 from http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89-621-XIE/89-621-XIE2007004.htm#11.
[17] See: Immigration Law: Some Refinements and New Reforms, Edward M. Kennedy, International Migration Review, Vol. 4, No. 3, U.S. Immigration, 1970: Policies, Procedures, Problems Summer, 1970, pp 4-10.
[18]Retrieved on 08/26/08 from http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/southasia/Diaspora/roots.html.

professionals, whose progeny are now a major presence in American universities.[19] The 2000 US Census reported over 1.6 million Asian Indians living in the US.[20]

The median income of the Indo-American family is over $ 62,000, far above the median income of all American families. 10% of American millionaires are of Indian origin. 15% of Silicon Valley start-up companies are owned by Indo-Americans.[21] 64% of Indo-Americans have at least a bachelor's degree. Indian men have a 79% labour force participation rate. 60% of Indo-Americans are employed in professional, management or a comparable field.[22] These figures highlight the difference in profile between Indo-American and Indo-Canadian communities. The average income of an Indo-American is more than double that of an Indo-Canadian.

Indians from East Africa in the US have a presence as small, self-employed entrepreneurs, and now constitute the single largest ethnic group operating the motel industry in the US, particularly on the Western Coast.[23]

American assimilation, known as the "melting pot" policy, holds that all persons of all nations and races immigrating should, for the good of the US nation, abandon original identity in order to adopt the American way. By contrast, Canada's relatively recent multiculturalism policies foster a significant adherence by Diasporas to the various cultural, religious, and linguistic traditions of their native regions, although an adherence to the mother culture can, at times, make for divisiveness and disconnection to other Canadian communities.

In the US, the Indian Diaspora has spread to most parts of the country, unlike the localizations of the Diaspora in Canada. The private sector, and civil society in general in

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[19] Shifting Paradigms of Globalization: The Twenty-first Century Transition Towards Generics in Skilled Migration from India. By: Khadria, Binod. International Migration, 2001, Vol. 39 Issue 5, cite p 49.
[20]Retrieved on 08/26/08 from http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/SAFFIteratedFacts?_event=&geo_id=01000US&_geoContext=01000US&_street=&_county=&_cityTown=&_state=&_zip=&_lang=en&_sse=on&ActiveGeoDiv=&_useEV=&pctxt=fph&pgsl=010&_submenuId=factsheet_2&ds_name=DEC_2000_SAFF&_ci_nbr=013&qr_name=DEC_2000_SAFF_R1010&reg=DEC_2000_SAFF_R1010%3A013&_keyword=&_industry=.
[21] Retrieved on 08/26/08 from http://www.indianembassy.org/newsite/News/US%20Media/2006/45.asp.
[22] We the People: Asians in the United States.
[23] Retrieved on 08/26/08 from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/3177054.stm.

India, is more interested in the US than Canada because of its international profile, size and the long-term strength of its economy. They also perceive that the changing profile of India does not have as much resonance in Canada as in the US. Nevertheless, the Indian Diaspora in the US has organized itself well with regard to strengthening relations with India through the Indian American Consul, the *Group of People of Indian Origin* (GOPIO) network in the US, and such NGOs as *Bridging Nations*.

The idea of "success" of the Indian Diaspora in North America rests on fairly immediate economic values. Economically, it seems that US assimilationist policies produce greater financial opportunities, but which come at the cost of identity and cultural legacy. Indo-Canadians constitute a large and very important Diaspora in Canada. However, they do not have the influence of their American East Indian counterparts. Because of their extraordinary profile, Indo-Americans are called a model minority. They have acquired the confidence to interact with the mainstream community on equal terms. They have organized themselves comprehensively through various associations such as the *American Association of Physicians from India* (AAPI,) the *American Association of Hotel Owners from Asia* (AAHOA,) the *Telegu Association of North America* (TANA,) and the *Federation of Gujarati Associations of North America* (FOGANA.) The Indo-American community has also formed lobbying groups such as Indo-Americans for Political Action. These organizations are far more active than organizations such as the *National Association of Canadians of India* (NACOI) in Canada. The *Confederation of Indian Industry* (CII,) the premiere industry body of India has established the *Indian American Council* (IAC) to connect Indian Americans to opportunities in India and enhance their engagement with India. The Council provides a formal mechanism through which Indian Americans can identify avenues for participation in India's developmental process.

Indo-Americans are not yet well represented in the legislatures, but the younger generation is taking a keen interest in politics; many are seeking nominations for political offices in both parties. Congressmen of both the parties actively solicit political contributions from Indo-Americans. Recently Bobby Jindal was elected as governor of Louisiana.

Indo-Canadians, by contrast, are much better represented in the legislature at both national and provincial levels, although they do not have the financial muscle of Indo-Americans.

Differences in post 1960s migration policies between Canada and the US account, in large part, for differences in each nation's respective Diasporic profile. Jat Sikhs, the dominant group among Indo-Canadians, have a history of agricultural endeavor, where the landowning Gujaratis communities are known for entrepreneurialism.[24] Sikhs now constitute the majority of Canada's East Indian population, while in the US, Hindus are the most numerous.[25]

The Indian Diaspora as a Phenomenon of Globalization

The development of rapid communications, ease of international travel, liberal host country policies, and changes in the structure of international finance and politics have helped Indian Diasporas to simultaneously integrate into their respective host countries and to maintain their socio-economic and political links with India and members of same-group ethnicities dispersed around the world. Such networks offer participation in the production and reproduction of a kind of transnational culture. One such very active network is the *Group of Peoples of Indian Origin* (GOPIO).

Challenges & Possibilities

According to Statistics Canada's *Ethnic Diversity* Survey in 2002, 82% of people of East Indian origin indicated a strong sense of belonging to Canada. At the same time, 71% indicated a strong sense of belonging to their own ethnic or cultural group.[26] However, a study conducted by the Montreal based *Institute for Research on Public Policy,* released a year ago, notes that visible minorities and newcomers identify themselves less as Canadians, trust their fellow citizens less and are less likely to vote than are white immigrants from

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[24] This has been very well brought out in a study "Entrepreneurship among Diaspora Communities: A Comparative Examination of Patidars of Gujrat and Jats of Punjab" by Gurpreet Bal. It is hardly surprising that very few Jat Sikhs in Canada have been entrepreneurs whereas Patels have a dominant position in the motel business.

[25] American Religious Identification Survey, 2001.

[26] Retrieved on 08/26/08 from http://www.statcan.ca/bsolc/english/bsolc?catno=89-593-X.

Europe. The study found that visible minority immigrants integrate less quickly than those of European origin.[27] Full Indo-Canadian integration into the mainstream may require several generations. In the meantime, it is possible that Indo-Canadian community members may actually establish and/or re-establish stronger links to India than may have existed originally because of India's emergence as an economic powerhouse.

Overall, the Diaspora's record in strengthening Canada-India relations has been poor, caused to some extent by various Diaspora organizations' tendency to function in an insular manner. There is no consolidated picture of the priority concerns of the Indian Diaspora, nor is there a clear understanding of the broader perspectives of civil societies and governments of the two countries on the matter of Canada's Indian Diaspora. Information to guide public policy across relevant governments and civil societies is needed, if we are to see mutual advantage for all. Indo-Canadians need to have a sustained introspection and dialogue among themselves and other stakeholders to deal with, among many questions, the following:

- Which civil, economic, and/or political matters do the Diaspora consider priorities for collaboration?
- How can Indo-Canadians foster people-to-people linkages between Canada and India, and how is the value of such fostering made apparent to Canadians and Indo-Canadians?
- How do we identify and develop the institutional and coordinating mechanisms necessary to supplement the work of existing Indo-Canadian organizations in order to optimize their outputs?
- What kind of epistemic communities and partnerships among and between members of the Indian Diaspora and the broader Canadian community would be most instrumental in facilitating the Diaspora's potential bridge building?

In order to meet the challenge of organizing collective activities, the Indian Diaspora in Canada needs, further, to learn from and work with other Diasporas and non-Diaspora communities in Canada, while maintaining a Canada-India focus. One of the most serious

[27] Tapping Immigrants' Skills: New Directions for Canadian Immigration Policy in the Knowledge Economy retrieved on 06/13/08 from http://www.policylibrary.com/Canada/Employment/Tapping_Immigrants%27_Skills%3A_New_Directions_for_Canadian_Immigration_Policy_in_the_Knowledge_Economy/.

issues facing all Diasporas in Canada is the failure by Canadian bodies to recognize the professional and academic qualifications of new immigrants.

A Diaspora's capability to build bridges successfully between home and host country is directly proportional to the successes and broadly perceived merits of its members' contributions to the polity, economy and society of the host country. Specifically, the combination of higher income and social remittances from the Indian Diaspora in Canada to India would enhance the context for trade relations. It has to be borne in mind though, that any Diasporic bilateral impact on Canada depends on the extent of investment by Canada's government, private sector and civil society, and its adoption of appropriate institutional frameworks.

Although the Diaspora has so far played a limited role in strengthening Indo-Canadian economic and commercial ties, the next generation of Indo-Canadians will have a very different profile than their parents, most notably in the likelihood of their large representation in the service sector and hi-tech industries. The India Diaspora is an attractive market segment for Indian exports, and is likely to become more so. The Indian corporate sector has been able to set up world-class benchmarks of productivity and quality, attracting billions in foreign funds, though the share of Canadian investment in India is at present quite low. Indo-Canadians can significantly augment Canadian investment in India both by investing their own funds and by teaming up with interested members of the non-Diaspora community and making use of the recently established *Overseas Indian Facilitation Centre* (OIFC), a public-private partnership body of the *Ministry for Overseas Indian Affairs* and the *Confederation of Indian Industries*.[28] Indo-Canadians are in a good position to profit from the OIFC and like bodies, since they have the advantage of a solid cultural understanding of the business environment in India.

Indian Diaspora networks can expedite and help control the vast amount of knowledge and information with which Canada is flooded in connection with trade and investment deals vis-à-vis India. Members of Indian Diaspora in Canada serve as "reputational intermediaries" to

[28] Retrieved on 08/26/08 from http://www.oifc.in/organization.asp.

facilitate bilateral exchanges by: search and matching, contract fulfillment, and altered profiles of Indian business partners.[29] There is also a whole new opportunity at the Tier 2 business levels among small and medium-sized enterprises as well, which act as incubators of entrepreneurship and are responsible for generating production and employment.

The twin fields of health care for the general populace in India and the expansion of medical tourism facilities that can be availed of by Canadians, as well as by the large number of returning Indo-Canadians to the State of Punjab, present valuable opportunities and challenges in light of policies of the Government of India to attract Indian Diaspora resources in this sector.

Exchanges in the field of education, and joint research on social science issues involving academics from Canada and India are taking place under the aegis of SICI. SICI was not a direct brainchild of the Indian Diaspora, but to the extent that the desire to learn about India was aroused partly by the presence of the Indian Diaspora, the institute is indirectly attributable to the Diaspora. There has been a progressive growth of Canadians of Indian origin becoming more involved in the SICI;[30] in 36 years, out of the 26 incumbents who have residentially occupied the post of Resident Director to head the Indian office of the SICI, 14 have been members of the Indian Diaspora. In fact, a notable Canadian institutional member of SICI for the past few years has been the University College of Fraser Valley in British Columbia, where the involvement of the Indian Diaspora is strong.

There is, however, a feeling that the full potential of the SICI has yet to be realized; greater involvement and support of and by the Indian Diaspora in Canada, individually and collectively, is called for.[31]

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[29] From (2005) "The Role of the Diaspora" in *Give Us Your Best and Brightest: The Global Hunt for Talent and its Impact on the Developing World* by Devesh Kapur and John McHale, Centre for Global Development, available at http://www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/4415. p 116.

[30] Stephen Inglis, Director, Museum of Civilization, Ottawa, in Lefsrud and Lynette, 2004, "The SICI celebrates its 35 year history" published by the Indian High Commission, Ottawa; special edition for Republic Day.)

[31] Flora McDonald, former Foreign Minister and Former Chairperson of Shastri Indo Canadian Institute, in Lefsrud, Lynette, 2004, "The SICI celebrates its 35 year history" published by the Indian High Commission, Ottawa; special edition for Republic Day.)

So far, there has been largely only one-way traffic of interns from Canada to India. SICI, both in Canada and India, could provide support for Indian interns coming to Canada to work with Indo- Canadians and their firms. The blank that exists on information in India about Francophone Canada (and the reverse) might be reduced by SICI were it to arrange visits to India of Indo-Canadians active in Quebec, and of visits from India of scholars specializing in the language, culture, and economy of Quebec. SICI might also take steps to increase its membership from Francophone Canada by following up on the visit of the Premier of Quebec to India in 2005. In short, the dearth of knowledge between these cultures needs to be remedied.

The Government of India has talked publicly about a university in Canada for Indian Diaspora members. This proposition has its own challenges, but Indo-Canadians might explore other initiatives; private or otherwise. The creation of a bilateral university would unquestionably be the most meaningful and effective means by which Canada could realise the potential of the Diaspora in a bridge-building role. Meanwhile, collaborative studies would enhance connectivity between Indian and Canadian universities and institutions dealing with higher education, using the resources of Indo-Canadian academics.

Indo-Canadian engineers, doctors and business management specialists who have come to Canada over last four decades are typically from top class institutes like the *Indian Institutes of Technology* (IIT,) the *All India Institute for Medical Sciences* (AIIMS,) and *Indian Institutes of Management* (IIM). A key attraction to Canada is the offer of permanent residency immediately upon arrival and the easy option to obtain full citizenship in less than four years' time.[32]

Unlike the US Indian Diaspora, Indo-Canadians have not played any significant role in influencing Canadian policy towards India. There has been no organized lobbying effort to promote India's interests or vice-versa. There was hardly any effort on the part of Indo-Canadian to justify India's nuclear tests in 1998, nor any vigorous lobbying for diluting sanctions in the wake of tests. Neither has the Indian Diaspora in Canada made efforts to

[32] Retrieved on 08/26/08 from http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/immigrate/index.asp.

explain, in India, Canada's stance on issues of human security, human rights, or climate change.

The communication revolution, with its sharply reduced costs of communication, has helped considerably in the two-way transmission of ideas both between the elites and non-elites in the two societies. In many cases, the children of policymakers,[33] who have decided to settle down in Canada, convey their experiences in Canada and their policy ideas to *Those Remaining Behind* (TRB) in India. This has relevance for issues such as gender equality, governance, human rights, democracy, and the role of the state. In some cases the reverse is also true, with visiting parents and relatives of Indo-Canadians transmitting their useful ideas and practices that have benefited Canada. Another result of communication transformation is the rise of networks of companies bound together through IT and logistics. Depending on the areas in which bridge-building tasks are to be performed, Indo-Canadians need to catalyze networks among concerned companies and organizations in Canada and India.

British Columbia has a very large Indo-Canadian community from Punjab, which is actively involved in agriculture and related service sectors. The Punjabi Diaspora can facilitate, from Canada, the transformation of Punjab into a knowledge state through the expansion of research and development in agriculture, agro-processing, food processing, and dairy science. The January 2007 report of the *India Market Advisory Group* of the *Asia Pacific Council* in respect of BC-India Trade stated that the Indo-Canadian Diaspora:

> " ...will provide a solid foundation for business activities in India. This Diaspora community, if leveraged, is the real reason why BC-India trade, investment, and cultural linkages can grow and mature in the coming years. From education services to entertainment to tourism to information technology to biotechnology, Indian immigrants to British Columbia, most of who are from the State of Punjab, are a vital resource that should be utilized in order to make BC India's gateway to North America."[34]

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[33] This section is based on perceptions of Devesh Kapur and John McHale in their book "Give Us Your Best and Brightest" – The Global Hunt for Talent and its Impact on the Developing World. Centre for Global Kapur, Devesh, and John McHale. (2005). *Give Us Your Best and Brightest: The Global Hunt for Talent and its Impact on the Developing World.* Washington: Centre for Global Development p 124 and www.cgdev.org.

[34] Report on the Indian Market Advisory Group to the Asia Pacific Trade Council, January 2007, p 27.

A large number of Canadian senior citizens winter in Punjab, which offers the possibility to Indo-Canadians to develop a healthcare hub in that region.

Policies of Federal & Provincial Governments

In view of projected skill shortages, Canada needs to compete more effectively with other countries by making its immigration policy more skill-focused. Status change now permits workers a temporary work visa pending the processing of their permanent residency application; thus foreign workers can choose two years' rather than one-year stays. The federal government has launched a pilot scheme, basing guidance experts in Calgary, Vancouver and Montreal, specifically to bring in low-skilled workers from abroad.[35] This is an important step—our survey[36] finds that almost half of Indo-Canadians responding knew of someone who had had inordinate difficulty immigrating to Canada because of Canada's labyrinthine visa procedures.

In India, nine new visa application centres have opened. India is the second largest source of immigrants to Canada, with over 30,000 becoming permanent residents annually.[37] India is poised to overtake China in 2009 as the largest source of immigrants to Canada.[38]

Critics have, in the past, noted the negative consequences of Canada's crisis-oriented and short-range policies on visible minorities.[39] Some have opined that multiculturalism was been ill defined and misunderstood, politicized to the point of fostering ethnic ghettos and at times, glorifying terror.[40] Of late, Canadian leadership is indeed stressing Canada's pluralism rather than its multiculturalism.

Views of the Private Sector

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[35] The demand for such workers has increased both for work in agricultural firms as well as for the development of oil sands in the province of Alberta.
[36] See Appendix V.
[37] Retrieved on 08/26/08 from http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/statistics/facts2006/permanent/12.asp.
[38] Retrieved on 08/26/08 from http://www.nationalpost.com/news/story.html?id=eb4dd97f-aa30-4b0b-b12a-933fb6442ab8&k=9155.
[39] Politics of Exclusion: Multiculturalism or Ghettism (1992) by Bhausaheb, Ubale. Toronto: Ampri Enterprises.
[40] Former Minister Dosanjh has criticized refusal of politicians to condemn parade float honoring Sikh Militant.

The September 2008 report from the Canadian Council of Chief Executives and the Confederation of Indian Industries on India-Canada notes, in the CEO Roundtable under the sub-heading *India and Canada as Strategic Partner*s, that 'the strong linkages offered by a vibrant Indo-Canadian community represent further untapped potential in the relationship'.

The *Canadian Chamber of Commerce* urges linkages between Canada and India, and specifically, meaningful improvement in the recognition and acceptance of the foreign credentials. It urges Canada to to a better job of harnessing Indo Canadian connections and the Diaspora to boost bilateral trade relationships. Other recommendations of its report include government action in linking educational institutions, development of Canadian Studies programs at Indian universities, (possibly with satellite campuses), and excellence-based scholarship programs which allow for exchanges.[41]

Investment in India & the Diaspora

Indo-Canadians are concentrated in mega-regions such as Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver; such regions have now replaced the nation state as the economic drivers of the global economy.

Before Independence, the primary objective of the Diaspora policy of the Colonial Government was to protect the interests of Great Britain, and to manage public opinion in India and the United Kingdom. The Colonial Government in India took no notable action against discriminatory policies in Canada. After independence, Nehru and Canada's Prime Minister established the Indian vote in Canada. Nehru accorded full primacy to objectives of India's foreign policies of anti-colonialism. Indira Gandhi broadly followed the same policy, but until the 1990s, little attention was paid in India to international trade and FDI, so India underplayed the advantageous overseas trade networks established by the Indian Diaspora.[42]

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[41] April 2007 Report of Canadian Chamber of Commerce CCC on "Canada and India: Boosting Economic Ties and Cutting Barriers: Strategies for Closer Economic Relations."

[42] Ibid, 8. See "The Role of the Diaspora" (2005) in *Give Us Your Best and Brightest* by Devesh Kapur and John McHale, Centre for Global Development, p 122 or at http://www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/4415.

Because of acute shortages of foreign exchange and the growing number of workers in the Gulf, India's policies toward overseas Indians became remittance–centric, although some effort was made to attract investment. The Office of the Chief Commissioner of non-resident Indians (NRIs) was created in India, as was the Investment Centre and an advisory committee of NRIs, both under the Ministry of Finance. The Indian government had heretofore pursued its strategy for investment, trade and technology transfer through the Indian Diaspora in somewhat sporadic manner. The huge sale of Resurgent India Bonds, guaranteed by the State Bank of India and available only to Indians living abroad, is one example of such occasional courting of Diaspora investment. The experience was repeated in 2000 with the India Millennium Deposits.[43]

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the foreign exchange crisis of 1991 led to a major reorientation of India's foreign and economic policies. Recognizing the importance of overseas Indians in the wake of liberalization and globalization, the Indian government took new initiatives to engage the Diaspora. The *Persons of Indian Origin* (PIO) Cards Scheme, covering all segments of the Diaspora, was launched in 1999. An NRI/PIO division headed by an additional Secretary was created in the Ministry of External Affairs in 2002. Meanwhile, a High Level Committee was appointed by the Government of India in August 2000. This committee's report is the first exhaustive study of the Indian Diaspora and its relationship with India. The report provided a blueprint for leveraging the strengths of India and her Diaspora to their mutual advantage. It was released in 2001, with recommendation for new policy to create a more conducive environment and structural facilitation to develop human resources and Diaspora investment in India.[44]

Consequently, there have been far-reaching changes in India's approach towards its Diaspora, reflected both in government policies and a radically changed attitude in the private sector, seen especially in the *Confederation of Indian Industries* (CII) and the *Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry* (FICCI).

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[43] Retrieved on 08/26/08 from http://www.indianembassy.org/newsite/News/US%20Media/2006/1.asp.
[44] Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, December 2001. "Report of the High Level Committee on Indian Diaspora. Retrieved on 08/26/08 from http://www.indianDiaspora.nic.in/

In 2003, the Indian government created a separate Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA,) which, in 2006, launched the Overseas Indian Certificate (OCI) that granted overseas Indians several citizenship rights. Much of the Indo-Canadian Diaspora avails itself of this option, and there may be benefits to Canada in granting dual nationality to Indo-Canadians, if we wish to see our Diaspora mobilize and lobby in Canada upon issues of mutual concern. Canada does not historically fear that such measures will undermine national sovereignty or loyalty. In May 2007, India established an Overseas Indian Facilitation Centre (OIFC,)[45] an investment advisory service for overseas Indians across the world. The Centre's focus is to provide information and handholding services in wealth management, real estate, taxation, etc. It will bolster Diaspora knowledge networks through a database of overseas Indians whose knowledge resources can be tapped through ICT platforms.

Current Priorities & Policies of the Government of India & Its States

Our research concludes that the priorities of the government of India vis-a-vis its Diaspora are to:

1. Develop India as a knowledge power through
   - Transfer of Technology
   - Cooperation in R&D
   - Support for futuristic technologies such as nanotechnology and biotechnology
2. Promote investment in infrastructure and hi-tech areas
3. Increase international trade in both imports and exports
4. Revamp and expand higher education, and promote India as higher education destination.
5. Offer health care and medical tourism.
6. Build social development through education, the empowerment of women, micro-financing, and related initiatives

Bridging programs need to be attentive to:

- Important trends in the knowledge economy and knowledge-based culture, as well as scientific and technological changes based on skills and talents

[45] Retrieved on 08/26/08 from www.oifc.in.

- Rapidly evolving globalization resulting from free trade, free capital flows and the increase in labor flows
- The state and characteristics of the Indian Diaspora, described above
- Indo-Canadians constituting 3 % of Canada's total population of Canada, this 3% having increasing political representation and influence in Canada.

State Governments in India are keen to leverage the interests of the overseas Indians in their home states by organizing their own conclaves and by setting up their own exhibitions in the annual *Pravasi Bharatiya Divas* (PBDs.)[46] PBD 2007 had participation from 8 Indian states, and PBD 2008 examined in detail what the States can do to promote Diaspora engagement in areas where they need Diaspora cooperation. For instance, Delhi State has interest in housing, modern transport systems, power and water supply, education, health, and the Commonwealth Games 2010, while Gujarat gave priorities to port–related activities, the education sector and the establishment of venture capital funds. Haryana is interested in collaboration social infrastructure projects in education and health, while Kerala is keen on quality infrastructure. Jharkhand's interests are in exploitation of its mineral deposits and forestry, while Bihar is keen to engage the Diaspora in areas of energy, food, health and education.

India's efforts to engage its Diaspora, in Canada and elsewhere, have proved effective in the promotion of two-way trade and investment, even though not explicitly designed for bridging the political, social and cultural fields between India and Diasporas abroad. Although Canada's policy environment is quite supportive, it could be more so.

Current Engagement & Potential Opportunities

The Indian Diaspora is fractured along provincial and linguistic lines, and there is not much connectivity between Indo-Canadian organizations across provinces in Canada,[47] but the

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[46] Pravasi – Non-resident or Diaspora, Bharatiya – Indian and Divas – day is an Indian government sponsored celebration including programs to recognize the contributions of NRI/PIO individuals of exceptional merit, felicitate NRI/PIO individuals who have made exceptional contribution in their chosen field/profession

[47] Bhargava, Kant, and Ravi Seethapathy, 2005 "Indo-Canadians & Canada-India Relationships: Towards A Win-Win Scenario." In Asian Regionalism: Canada and Indian Perspectives Edited by Charan D. Wadhva and Yuen

Indian Diaspora overall is known to be keen for two-way trade and investment. The Indian Diaspora in Canada has limited influence in India, unlike the US Diaspora. However, a notable example of Indian Diaspora bridge building is the mapping study on institutional linkages undertaken by Ravi Seethapathy, Chair Canadian Advisory Council for Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute together with Prof. D. Johnston of the Waterloo University,[48] which eventually led to an agreement between Canada and India on science and technology. As well, The Indus Entrepreneurs (TiE) and the Consulate General of India, Toronto, have partnered to organize monthly sessions on "Doing business in India," where CEOs of Canadian businesses will be invited to information exchange sessions.

Among elite Indo-Canadians are many who have one or more friends who have returned to India to start new companies, and consequently there is considerable travel to and from India for commercial purposes. Accordingly, while devising trade strategies, both Indian and Canadian authorities can usefully leverage the Indian Diaspora by tapping its innate potential to increase two-way trade and trade-related investment. Visiting Indian Ministers consult a variety of Indian Diaspora Organizations on matters economic between Canada and India. Prominent and knowledgeable Indo-Canadians are invited to share their views and experiences at the annual Pravasi Bharatiya Divas (PBD.)

In 2007, India received $27 billion in remittances, the largest received by any country in the world.[49] Currently, 50% of NRI investments are made in fixed deposits, but that trend is expected to dissipate. With Indian companies aggressively targeting this segment, more investment in equity is anticipated. The surge in outward FDI is powerful, with India investing over $17 billion in 2006, up from over $6 billion in 2005.[50] This places India as a

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Pau Woo, 181-214 New Delhi: Centre for Policy Research New Delhi, India and Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, Vancouver, Canada

[48] See Report on Institutional Linkages: Academic/Government/Private Partnerships in the Canadian and Indian Science and Technology Sector (Canada-India S & T Mapping Study). R. Seethapathy, D. Johnston. Submitted to Foreign Affairs, Canada and released by the then Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, November 2004).

[49] India Top Receiver Of Migrant Remittances In 2007, Followed By China And Mexico Press Release No:2008/243/DEC Retrieved on 08/26/08 from http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/NEWS/0,,contentMDK:21692926~pagePK:34370~piPK:34424~theSitePK:4607,00.html.

[50] Retrieved on 08/26/08 from http://ddp-

source as well as a destination for investment. Canada has received a good share of this investment from India and this is due, to some extent, to the facilitation work done by the Diaspora; Canada and India have finalized the agreement on Foreign Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement (FIPPA,)[51] which is awaiting formal signatures.

An intangible contribution of the Indian Diaspora is in the form of social remittances, or the flow of ideas that have a significant impact in the two areas of education and health, where it is a powerful force in norm diffusion. There are particular efforts in Punjab from those of Punjabi origin now in BC; greater institutional organization among this group would see greater success. Indo-Canadians need either to form a body in Canada similar to the Indian American Council (IAC) or to partner with it.

The dynamics of the Indian Diaspora in Canada should be viewed as a process, especially in the field of development cooperation via links with NGOs and civil society organizations. Just as the Diaspora played an important role in bringing about economic reforms, it has the potential to contribute to deeper partnership in other areas. Canada's policy choices in the realm of international relations must reflect both the influence of the global environment and the potential international impact of Canadian action. In this context, the Indian Diaspora needs to intensify its effort to engage contacts in India and with Indian leadership.

What has not been sufficiently addressed is the significance of Canada's evolving 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 both its national definition and on its conduct of international relations. Think tanks in Canada and India may undertake some collaborative work in order to bridge the existing gap in this regard, with the involvement of knowledgeable Indo-Canadians.

Public policy and advocacy need to undertake reciprocal "branding" of Canada in India and of India in Canada. Canada-India relations are increasingly being shaped by private sector

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ext.worldbank.org/ext/ddpreports/ViewSharedReport?&CF=&REPORT_ID=9147&REQUEST_TYPE=VIEWADVANCED&HF=N/CPProfile.asp&WSP=N.

[51] Canada's Foreign Investment Promotion and Protection Agreements (FIPAs): Background on the Canada-India Foreign Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement (FIPA) Retrieved on 08/26/08 from http://www.international.gc.ca/trade-agreements-accords-commerciaux/agr-acc/fipa-apie/india.aspx.

initiatives, universities, NGOs and Indo-Canadians who maintain links with India. Their willingness to transact/interact with TRBs facilitates branding of Canada in India. TRBs communicate useful market and technological information about Canada to their contacts in India. However, the impact of multiple linkages through human connectivity has so far made little difference in projecting, in India, today's Canada with its values, achievements and potential. Federal and provincial governments in Canada may consider having yearly promotional events to encouraging business organizations to send delegations to India, with a view to developing relationships in Delhi and beyond. Such events could easily be coordinated with annual PBDs, when Indo-Canadians are either participating in PBDs or are visiting India. These efforts need to be supplemented by leveraging action in public policy in areas of tourism, business and immigration flow from India, and the simplification of visa programs for visiting Indians.

Ensuring Sustained & Tangible Progress

With the introduction of the Indian Government's Overseas Indian Certificates comes the need to understand the consequent implications for Canada, India and Canada-India relations. This decision creates propitious conditions for the Indian Diaspora in Canada to play an increasingly important role in expanding two-way investments and brain circulation, but research is needed on emerging forms of transnational citizenship.

The Canadian Diaspora globally is large, but what do we know of this Diaspora in India? What is their number, their age range? Are they mainly retirees? How many of them are or were professionals? Are they an interactive community with various organizations associated with Canada? Does the fact that they are living in India make the Canadian Diaspora in India less "Canadian"? It may be a heterogeneous group. Do the members of a Canadian Diaspora in India keep close ties with the home country by working for Canadian enterprises, by returning often to visiting family, friends, clients or partners? A SWOT analysis not unlike

the one commissioned by APFC[52] for returning Canadians of Chinese origin, which examined strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats, would present a more nuanced picture of the Canadian Diaspora in India compared to conventional cost-benefit calculations. It may be that the time has come for Canada to start thinking about developing its own Diaspora strategies in order to make the best use of its citizens in India to supplement the efforts of the Indian Diaspora in Canada. Research is needed to address these questions before any assessment of the collaborative potential in returning Indo-Canadians can be made.

The current economic situation in India and in Canada calls for the concerned authorities in both countries to focus on managed temporary movement programs, as well as on the engagement of the settled Indian Diaspora to promote knowledge and two-way investment. While India woos its Diaspora, Canadian and otherwise, Canada must respond with a more proactive immigration policy to attract talent and skill from abroad in the future. Because of increasing economic activity in India, industrialists are exhorting the students from institutions of repute not to leave India as "this is where the action is."

India has remained a fundamentally secular, peace-loving, academically oriented, industry-driven nation with a youthful economic engine. Proactive steps by the government and private sector in Canada, such as an expansion of internship programs for Canadian youth to work with Indian companies and vice versa, will have significant impacts on India-Canada relations, as will more innovative thinking about Indo-Canadian students. There are more than 10,000 students of Indian origin at Canadian universities, but this figure could be much higher with more accessible cross-cultural education programmes. Generally speaking, members of the Indian Diaspora in Canada are equally at home in their own societies, in other societies, or in what some have called the 'global society' or a 'world polity'. They have closer relationships with those remaining behind in India (TRBs) compared to other Diasporas. They have a ready willingness to transact/interact with TRBs in India in trade, and investment, and have extensive communications with friends and family in India aided by the

[52] See study by Kenny Zhang, Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada titled "'Mission Invisible' -Rethinking the Canadian Diaspora" September, 2007. Paper commissioned by Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada: Vancouver.

fact that communication now is becoming ever easier to conduct with low costs and improving quality of related technologies. Obviously, the essentials of a politic by which Canada imagines itself, the multicultural politic, is much in accordance with the emerging conception of Diaspora as a "global society." Such a conception helps Canada, an immigrant-based country, to expand its international relationships.

Indo-Canadians need to set up institutional linkages and human connectivity under the aegis of Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute, as well as to support policy measures and some needed mechanisms. Indo-Canadians need to consider:

- Pushing for greater bilateral relationships at federal level,
- Facilitating institutionalisation of relationships at the level of parliamentarians,
- Instituting concrete links between the State of Punjab and the Province of British Columbia,
- Twinning Canadian and Indian cities,
- Strengthening of links between the Indo-Canadian chamber with CII, which has been designated as an important nodal point pertaining to Pravasi Bhartiya Divas,
- Establishing greater connectivity with NGOs to partner in common socio-economic interest,
- Establishing a Centre for Indian Diaspora Studies in Canada
- Promoting media exchange personnel between the two countries
- Establishing, in India, a friendship Association of Indian and Indo-Canadian scholars who have studied in Canada.

Canada-India relations in education are the bedrock of wider bilateral relationship. Growing internationalization of educational institutions and courses, globalization of education, and the anticipated importance of the knowledge economy has increased the salience of human connectivity. Many Indo-Canadian members of faculties in Canadian universities have promoted cooperation and networking between educational institutions in Canada and India. Their resources may be profitably utilized to address the question of linkages between Canadian and Indian Educational and Research Institutions that would go beyond those that have heretofore been considered solely within the purview of SICI or IITAC. There is need to move beyond the present practice of networking among individual professors for

traditional areas of research toward equally important areas of policy research in both the social and natural sciences.[53]

Indo-Canadians may consider using the provisions of the agreement signed between the Canadian Association of Manufacturers and Exporters and the Confederation of Indian Industries to foster cooperation in small & medium enterprises.

Punjabi is soon going to be the fourth most commonly spoken language in Canada. It is very important that the Punjabi language should be sustained in Canada. This would require action by concerned provincial governments.

A joint federal and provincial panel for the Indian Diaspora in Ontario and British Columbia may usefully review the current measures aimed at identifying further action that is needed to optimise their potential in this regard.

Simultaneously, the following action is called for:

- Changes in visa, immigration and citizenship policies in Canada
- Conclusion of agreements on trade in services and early signing of FIPPA, with provision for enhanced access outside of regular visa programs particularly to Canadians of Indian origin,

Governments and official machinery in Ottawa and New Delhi need to do better to keep pace with developments, especially the latter, since economic relationships between Canada and India have too few political champions in India. Interaction between Canada and India, both at governmental and civil society level, has not been on an organized or sustained basis in regard to the political, cultural and social issues. For this, the establishment of an institutional framework such as a Diaspora Council is necessary to facilitate sustained and tangible progress in Canada-India relationships.

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[53] See recommendations of National Knowledge Commission of India, Science and Technology NKC proposal on National Science and Social Science Foundation. Retrieved on 08/21/08 from http://www.knowledgecommission.gov.in/recommendations/science.asp

Policy Recommendations

The three Roundtable discussions hosted by the CSD reveal that the Indian Diaspora in Canada is making a visible difference in Canada in promoting Canada-India relations, and greater collaboration is possible over the next few decades with India becoming Canada's largest source of immigrants. There is, therefore, a critical need for both Canadian and Indian leaderships to bring about necessary changes in their policies on Diaspora issues, preferably in a concerted manner.

The recommendations that follow call upon Canadian and Indian governments, private sectors in both countries, and the Indian Diaspora in Canada to follow ameliorative strategies to facilitate and optimize the Diaspora's potential to build bridges:

1. Visa and Immigration Policies

The Canadian government should develop more expeditious visa and immigration policies. More than technology and capital, people transform organizations and contribute to the economy; Canada now competes in a global marketplace for skilled immigrants, and will need to attract knowledge workers.[54] But there are problems associated with immigration in Canada. Some countries have introduced visa categorization, i.e. a 'science' visa as distinct from a 'business' visa. Canada and India need to visit the benefits of expediting of what is too often a bureaucratic disincentive for immigration, not least to materially improve the prospects for transforming brain drain to brain circulation. Visa and permit procedures have been accelerated for some categories of skilled persons but India itself has called for further relaxation the relatively tight Canadian immigration policy, which needs move from the "no, unless" position toward a "yes, provided that" position. The Canadian government needs to explore the possibility of introducing helpful changes in those policies regarding current entry criteria, credential recognition and measures for integrating prospective immigrants/potential bridge builders into Canadian society. It should also formulate appropriate schemes for granting business and science visas.

2. Recognition of Credentials

Federal and provincial certification bodies need to recognize Indian credentials. Full recognition of foreign credentials and work experience would benefit the Canadian economy as well as Indo-Canadians. This first step should be supplemented by additional measures aimed at removing existing discrimination. An encouraging development is that the Indian Engineering degree is now better recognized in Canada now through the Washington Accord, an agreement with India's National Board of

[54] Retrieved on 08/26/08 from http://www.cic.gc.ca/English/resources/publications/anrep01.asp.

Accreditation.[55] Concomitant measures need to be taken for the relaxation of restrictions by local certification bodies for professionals. Some returning Indo-Canadians are now facing problem of recognition in India of their Canadian credentials and degrees. Indian authorities need to examine this phenomenon.

3. Increase Diasporic Civic Engagement

Indo-Canadians and their organizations need to work toward an increase of Diasporic civic engagement. Indo Canadians and their organizations should consolidate and expand their current engagement by building on successes already achieved, by profiting from lessons learned, and by following some of the successful strategies and practices of their counterparts in the US. Many Indo-Canadians are not deeply enough engaged as stakeholders in civic activities; a good number of the Diaspora remains confined to a linguistic and/or faith community. Encouragement and incentives for participation in civic Canadian life, consistent with the policy of multiculturalism in a globalized knowledge economy, should be a high priority for Indo-Canadian organizations. Opportunities for engagement can be increased through partnership with other Diaspora communities, and greater Indo-Canadian representation in governing bodies, government-funded think tanks, universities and corporations. As a matter of high priority, Indo-Canadian organizations should:

(a) Encourage greater participation of their members in Canadian civic life, consistent with the policy of multiculturalism,

(b) Provide opportunities for networking and partnership with other Diaspora communities,

(c) Advocate greater Indo-Canadian representation in governing bodies of government-funded think tanks, universities and corporations, and

(d) Develop links with established Canadian institutions, research institutes and think tanks.

4. Relationship-Building with Media

Leaders of Indo-Canadian institutions and organizations need to develop better relations with Canadian media. Canadian media have improved the quality of their coverage of the Indo-Canadian Diaspora, but Indo-Canadian institutions can participate in more improvement by sponsoring discussions and seminars with media figures and bodies, as well as by training themselves to communicate more effectively with the media. Organizations such as the Canada-India Foundation, with its resources, may consider sponsoring exchange visits of media personnel from Canada to India to facilitate greater mutual understanding.

5. Invest in Youth Leadership

[55] Retrieved on 08/26/08 from http://www.washingtonaccord.org/.

The Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute should invest in the development of youth leadership**.** Politically engaged young Canadians are this country's greatest asset because of their intellectual capital, enthusiasm, dedication and energy. Young Indo-Canadians have, on the whole, done well in professional areas. It makes eminent sense to focus on development of their leadership qualities; exchange of visits to India of young Indo-Canadians and of visits to Canada of youth leaders from India should be a priority program of both governments. Internship and fellowship programs should be developed on a large scale under the aegis of the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute so that young Indo-Canadians, accompanied by non-Diaspora youth, can profit from such programs in India. Such programs will prepare Indian Diaspora youth in Canada to engage with India in an effective manner on their return from India to Canada. In turn, Indo-Canadians, their organizations and companies can play host to interns from India and this will help in better understanding in India of contemporary Canada.

6. Support the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute for Diaspora Studies and Work.

Indian and Canadian Governments, and private sectors in both countries should revitalize support for the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute. Both governments have agreed to build a Canada-India partnership in the 21st century and to attend to its architecture. Doing so requires multidisciplinary professional and academic study, and Diaspora presence in such study. As the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute is a bilateral organization, both governments need to encourage its member bodies to more fruitfully undertake tasks as per supplement addenda eight to MOU signed between the Shastri Institute and the Government of India, which envisages investigating Indo-Canadian relations, and the role of Indo-Canadians in Canada's society, economy and politics. Sufficient funds must be made available for this purpose by both governments and by private sectors from both countries.

7. Collaborative Establishment of Diaspora Studies in India and Canada

Key Indo-Canada institutions should establish a public/private bilateral initiative to create collaborative centres for Diaspora studies in India and Canada. In so far as Diaspora issues are concerned, the two most important private sector organizations in India are the Confederation of Indian Industries and the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. Key Indo-Canadian institutions should be invited to establish formal links with these two organizations. ICCC already has MOU with these two organizations, and IITAC may usefully establish links with CII. Once a Centre for Diaspora Studies is developed in Canada, the possibility of its links with the Centre for Diaspora Studies in Hyderabad may be explored.

8. Establish a Trilateral (Indian, Canadian and Indo-Candian) Representatives.

The Indian and Canadian Governments should collectively establish a trilateral group of Canadian, Indo-Canadian and Indian representatives. In order to maximize the influence, visibility, and effectiveness of Indo-Canadians, a new instrument mandated to define collaborative potential between Canada and India is needed.

Preliminary steps toward this may best fall under the aegis of SICI. Such a group will need to evaluate work in India, in Canada, and among the Diaspora, for each area's optimization of opportunity. Beyond reviewing existing programs, this task force should be charged with finding complementarities between what exists and government priorities in India and Canada. The task force may assign subcommittees to examine academic expertise, policy analysis, and these would prepare policy papers to guide the task force. In the light of such evaluation, the trilateral group would formulate suggestions as to how the potential of cooperation in each of these fields can be optimized. The work of the trilateral group should be informed by priorities set by the two governments and by what the existing Diaspora bodies are currently engaged in. *Specifically, the Trilateral Group would look for areas of complementarities between two countries and opportunities for cooperation, especially in regard to issues on the horizon.*

9. Promote Collaboration in Innovation and Venture Capital

The Government of Ontario should pursue innovation and venture capital. Canada is good at innovation. Ontario recently unveiled a venture capital fund that will inject $270 million into entrepreneurial companies to offset its shrinking manufacturing sector.[56] India is equally interested in innovation, and the organization of The Indus Entrepreneurs (TiE) is active in this area. Ontario should enlist the Toronto chapter of TiE to develop bilateral innovation.

10. Promote Engagement in Political and Social Matters

Indo-Canadians need to increase their political engagement in Canada, and to support such engagement among their peers. Indo-Canadians are well placed to contribute on subjects of global importance such as identity, global citizenship, federalism, multiculturalism, the challenges of pluralistic societies, the internationalization of education, and emerging forms of transnational citizenship. The Indian Diaspora in Canada should be led to view the growing importance of India not only as an emerging market but also in terms of its fast-developing relations with its periphery. Above all, it should be conscious of ongoing efforts in India for its social and economic transformation in the framework of an open society and open economy committed to rule of law and to respect for all fundamental freedoms. Indo-Canadian leaders should take on, themselves, greater responsibility for the formulation and implementation of programs and activities with respect to:

1. Promotion and study of democracy,
2. Provision of inputs for Canadian and Indian foreign policy development on global issues,
3. Studies of human security, development and rights, and
4. Facilitation and generation of two-way flow of ideas about the social and political impact of the pervasive process of globalization on both countries.

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[56] Retrieved on 08/26/08 from http://www.globeadvisor.com/servlet/ArticleNews/story/gam/20071115/RVENTURE15.

11. Greater Interaction between CIPA and MPPs of Indian Origin

CIPA (The Canada-India Parliamentary Association) should facilitate broader communications from Indian-origin MPs in Canada with the Diaspora and their Indian counterparts. A Canada-India Parliamentary Association has been established, many of whose members are MPs of Indian origin, which focuses on building relations with India. This body needs to grow, and to broadly communicate its vision of collaborative goals, and to pool its knowledge with various Indo-Canadian institutions (or their national federation) and to network with parliamentarians in India interested in India-Canada relations.

12. Establish a National Federation of Indo-Canadian institutions.

Leaders of Indo-Canadian organizations need to establish a national federation of Indo-Canadian institutions. Despite ICCC, IITAC, CIF, Panorama India, and TiE, Indo-Canadian institutions have limited opportunities to participate in foreign policy regarding India. Indo-Canadian organizations must avail themselves of the potential of a *Canadian National Federation of Indo-Canadian Institutions.* Leaders of key Indo-Canadian organizations need to engage their members, in turn, in debate on the merits and modalities of inclusive approaches. A single federating body can legitimately liaise with the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs and CII to, for instance, organizing *Pravasi Bharatya Divas Canada* (a gathering of Indian Diaspora) where foci may include bridge building, domestic and foreign policy matters pertinent to the Diaspora, trade and innovation. A federation may also hold annual national conventions to review progress, debate roles, support initiatives, and refine programs. The links between the Diaspora-based organizations and non-Diaspora ones in Canada is not sufficiently strong. Such links are important; coordinated and joint efforts of relatively young Indo-Canadian institutions with long-established Canadian institutions will enrich both. The establishment of a national federation will provide a means for facilitating this kind of collaboration and networking. Most significantly, such a body could function as a conduit to the Federal and Provincial governments in ways beneficial to the Diaspora and the government.

13. Monitoring of the Implementation of Recommendations

The proposed National Federation of Diaspora-based organizations should monitor the implementation of recommendations. The proposed National Federation of Indo-Canadian Institutions should undertake the task of coordination, overseeing and monitoring of the implementation of above-mentioned recommendations on a national level. Consultations and policy dialogue on Diaspora issues is highly desirable at the governmental level. The Federal Government should periodically arrange meetings between its concerned departments and the National Federation on Diaspora related issues. Consultation and policy dialogue on Diaspora issues is desirable at the governmental level, and an appropriate consultative mechanism, i.e. a national federation or Council will be invaluable in such endeavours, as well as for

the purposes of giving ongoing national attention to coordination, overseeing and monitoring of the implementation of above-mentioned recommendations.

Conclusion

The role of the Indian Diaspora in Canada can be optimized through a combination of synergistic efforts by Indian Diaspora organizations, through the creation of propitious conditions in both countries, which will only be effective if facilitated by federal, provincial and state governments in Canada and India. India will be a significant actor in many of the global policy areas which will affect Canada in decades to come, i.e. global warming; the stabilization and reconstruction of Afghanistan; counter-terrorism; UN reforms; trade and investment in the context of globalization and the knowledge economy; cross-cultural interaction, as well as renewal of religions and inter-religious understanding in the post 9/11 era. To date, the strengthening of Canada-India relations has been limited by lack of a comprehensive policy environment. Yet the intrinsic values of Canada and India make these nations well suited as partners, both being democratic and open societies that prize individual freedom and entrepreneurialism. Canada, its Indian Diaspora and India need to position themselves to work together in a sustained manner in order to build a strong partnership of mutuality in the 21st century. In this context, wagering on the engagement of the vibrant Indian Diaspora for tasks relating to bridge building between Canada and India remains a very good bet. What is required is an action plan for engaging the Indian Diaspora in light of above perspectives and recommendations.

Appendix I: The Role of the Indian Diaspora in Canada: A Literature Review

By Dr. Soodabeh Salehi, Queen's University and the University of Tehran

Introduction

In Toronto, 2006, Sheikha Haya Rashed Al Khalifa, the President of the United Nations General Assembly, indicated in *Expert Forum on Capacity Building for Peace and Development: Roles of Diaspora* the significant role of Diaspora communities in the intellectual, scientific, political, economic and cultural richness of the countries in which they settle:

> [W]orld leaders gathered at the 2005 World Summit at the United Nations reaffirmed the three interlinked pillars of the United Nations – peace and security, development and human rights. They adopted an ambitious reform agenda to strengthen the United Nations in implementing its goals. World leaders also accepted the principle of the Responsibility to Protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. By upholding our commitment to this principle we can address some of the key drivers that force communities to emigrate. Furthermore, in September, at the beginning of its 61st Session, the General Assembly held the first High-level Dialogue on International Migration and Development. The High-level Dialogue noted that Diaspora have a positive impact on economic development in both their country of origin and in their new homes. This sentiment was shared by governments, the private sector and civil society. [57]

Even earlier, in March 2001, in a consideration of the diasporic impact, Canadian Immigration Minister, Elinor Caplan, when announcing her trip to India, asserted, "This visit will reinforce the importance that Canada places on its people-to-people links with India."[58] Along with China, India, as one of the world's fastest expanding economies with annual growth rates ranging from seven-to-nine percent, has great potential to participate in the expansion of economic relationships worldwide, including Canada. The Canadian Chamber of Commerce (CCC) in a March 2007 report, criticized Canada's unfocused efforts to

[57] p 5.
[58] CIC, 2001.

develop economic relationships with India, and made recommendations for expansion. That such development has not yet met its potential is curious, given that, according to Walton-Roberts:

> The rising global influence of various Asian economies since the 1960s has resulted in immigration patterns that have profoundly influenced Canada's largest urban centres and reoriented aspects of the nation's political, economic and cultural focus towards Asia (Hiebert 1994, 1999).[59]

Nancy Hughes Anthony, the then-president of the CCC, has said, "We have a lot of catching up to do just to get on India's radar screen. It's never too late, but obviously the longer you stay on the outside, the steeper the climb." Certainly, Indo-Canadians can play a significant role in forging economic links as well as fostering public diplomacy between Canada and India. The advocates of internationalism in Diaspora studies argue that Diaspora communities allow for a rise in prosperity, business skills and networks and a willingness to collaborate with the home country. Thus Indo-Canadian communities should play a vital role in Canada- India economic relationships. The final report in 2006 of the *National Diaspora Strategies: India, China and Canada* workshop addresses the roles of Indian Diaspora:

> [T]here are over 20 million Indian people in the Diaspora across 110 countries, and they play five significant roles as investor, customer, supplier, ambassador, and philanthropist. The Indian Diaspora has experienced a considerable growth of capital formation, and major investment in the future can be in social infrastructure, business expansion, new venture funds, and diversify portfolio investment. The India Diaspora could be an attractive market segment for Indian exports.[60]

The notion of Diaspora members as consumers may be somewhat cynical, but there is much more to be considered of value in the diasporic communities. Consumption aside, the socio/intellectual and more globally political members of diasporic communities collectively forming networks can enrich the lives of non-diasporic communities:

> …interspersed among those most committed nationals, in patterns not always equally transparent, are a growing number of people of more varying experiences and connections. Some of them may wish to redefine the nation …. Others again are in the nation but not of it. They may be the real cosmopolitans, or they are people whose nations are actually elsewhere…. Or they may indeed owe a stronger allegiance to

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[59] Walton-Roberts 2003 p 236.
[60] p 4.

> some other kind of imagined international community … There may be divided commitments, ambiguities, and conflicting resonances as well.[61]

This means the immigration process does not terminate in permanent settlement, integration, and citizenship in the host country any more. The "development of communications, facilitated international travel, liberal host country policies, and changes in the structure of international finance and politics"[62] have helped Diasporas to be able to simultaneously integrate into the host country and to maintain their links with their country of origin as well as with the members of the same ethnic groups dispersed around the world. In this sense, Diasporas can be an influential force within Canada and in various parts of the world and can act as "cultural brokers," "communication highways," "politicians," and "transnational citizens" besides being "economic investors."[63] Diasporas as "cultural brokers" with the knowledge of their home country can help Canada to improve its internal and international affairs, as "former Prime Minister, Jean Chretien, wisely took a number of Sikh cabinet members with him on his visit to India."[64] By the use of Internet and communication technology, members of Diaspora communicate within and across groups behind national borders and transcend those governmental states that restrict freedom of speech, expression, and communication. They participate in international protests, human rights movements, and carve more democratic spaces. Diasporas in Canada "exert tremendous effort to raise awareness about issues and injustices in their source countries"[65] as well as lobbying Canadian government.

As Hannerz suggests, Diasporas are becoming a kind of social development and "a group of people who are equally at home in their own societies, in other societies, or in what some have called 'global society' or a 'world polity.'"[66] Obviously, the essentials of a politic by which Canada imagines itself, the multicultural politic, is much in accordance with this new

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[61] Hannerz, 1996 p 90.
[62] Abd-El-Aziz et al 2005 p 2.
[63] Abd-El-Aziz, et al 2005.
[64] Abd-El-Aziz et al 2005 p 7.
[65] p 11.
[66] Tarrow, 2000 p 2.

conception of Diaspora as a "global society" or a "world polity." Such a conception helps Canada as an immigrant-base country to expand its international relationships:

> 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 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."[67]

Diaspora: Definitions & Approaches

The term *Diaspora* literally means "scattering" or "dispersion." Derived from Greek word *dia.* Meaning "over" or "through," and *speiro,* meaning "to sow" or "to scatter."[68] "Diaspora" originally referred to the dispersion of the Jews to the lands outside Palestine after the Babylonian captivity. Since the late 20th century, the notion of Diaspora has described any ethnic population residing in countries other than their own historical homelands. In reference to the experiences of Jews, Armenians or Africans, Diaspora conveys a negative connotation due to its association with "forced displacement, victimisation, alienation, loss." In this sense, it is accompanied with a "dream of return."[69] In broader usage, it describes displaced people who maintain or revive their connection with their country of origin and includes a range of groups "such as political refugees, alien residents, guest workers, immigrants, expellees, ethnic and racial minorities, and overseas communications"[70]

The term Diaspora has been approached in various ways. Cohen[71] proposes a typology in which he classifies Diasporas as: victim Diasporas, labor and imperial Diasporas, trade Diasporas, cultural Diasporas, and global-deterritorialized Diasporas. Not suggesting a perfect match between a particular ethnic group and a specific type of Diaspora, Cohen identifies the Jewish, Palestinian, Irish, African and Armenian Diasporas as victim Diasporas. He represents the British as an imperial Diaspora and Indian as a labor Diaspora. Chinese and Lebanese are classified as trade Diasporas. Caribbeans in his typology are characterized as a

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[67] Abd-El-Aziz et al 2005, p 12.
[68] Cohen, 1997; Bhat and Sahoo, 2003.
[69] Vertovec, 1997, p 228.
[70] Shuval, 2000, p 41.
[71] 1997.

cultural Diaspora. Cohen suggests the following features for Diasporas and explores how each type of Diaspora demonstrates some of these aspects:

1) Dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically;
2) Alternatively, the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions;
3) A collective memory and myth about homeland;
4) An idealization of the supposed ancestral home;
5) A return movement;
6) A strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time;
7) A troubled relationship with host societies;
8) A sense of solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries; and
9) The possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in tolerant host countries.[72]

On current usages of the term, Vertovec notes in *Three Meanings of "Diaspora* that:

> Within a variety of academic disciplines, recent writing on the subject conveys at least three discernible meanings of the concept "Diaspora." These meanings refer to what we might call "Diaspora" *as social form*, "Diaspora" *as type of consciousness*, and "Diaspora" *as mode of cultural production*.[73]

Vertovec believes that the first meaning (Diaspora as a social construction) is the most common in the literature. According to several, if not most theorists, there is a dense web of affiliation between Diaspora and their country of origin. Diaspora communities in the host country usually reconstruct the class, ethnicity, religion, political affiliation, and language that they belonged to in their homeland. Hence, Diaspora as *a social form* is based on continued ties, imaginary or actual,[74] with a homeland despite separation from that homeland. Vertovec contends that Diaspora as *social form* is characterised by a relationship "between (a) globally dispersed yet collectively self-identified ethnic groups, (b) the territorial states

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[72] p 180.
[73] 1997, p 228.
[74] Sometimes a fear of the present leads Diasporas to mystify the past Berger, 1972, p11 in a way that produces a construction of "imaginary homelands." Currently, the development of rapid/electronic communications serves to reify such connections with the homeland; hence such constructions become more accurate than imaginary.

and contexts where such groups reside, and (c) the homeland states and contexts whence they or their forebears came."[75] Diaspora as *a type of consciousness* focuses on:

> … describing a variety of experience, a state of mind and a sense of identity. … It is constituted negatively by experiences of discrimination and exclusion, and positively by identification with an historical heritage (such as "Indian civilization") or contemporary world cultural or political forces (such as "Islam.")[76]

Diaspora as *mode of cultural production* contextualizes Diasporic communities in globalism and transnationalism. There are other models for conceptualizing Diaspora, but most attend to the social nature of Diaspora.

Some Diaspora definitions put an emphasis more on the traumatic exile from historical dispersal throughout the other lands. In this manner, Chaliand and Rageau[77] consider four characteristic for Diaspora: forced dispersion, retention of a collective historical and cultural memory of dispersion, the will to transmit a heritage, and the ability of the group to survive over time.[78]

Some scholars conceive of Diaspora as an identified group characterized by specific social relationships despite their dispersal. Sheffer[79] for instance, defines modern Diasporas as "ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin—their homelands"[80] Similarly, Skeldon[81] holds that dispersed people are those who preserve their distinct identities from those of the countries of settlement:

> Implicit in the concept of communities-in-exile is the assumption that peoples are not assimilated into the societies of destination: they retain their distinct identities ready for the day when they can return home.[82]

Safran[83] refers Diaspora to the

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[75] p 235.
[76] Ibid.
[77] 1991.
[78] Cited in Shuval, 2000.
[79] 1986.
[80] p 3.
[81] 2003.
[82] p 52.

> …expatriate minority communities, dispersed from an original "centre" to at least two "peripheral" places. They maintain a memory or myth about their original homeland; they believe they are not, and perhaps cannot, be fully accepted by their host country; and they see the ancestral home as a place of eventual return and a place to maintain or restore.[84]

Diasporas' collective identities are defined by this continuing relationship with the homeland.

Studies with such approaches explore issues of emigration, processes of settlement, persistence of culture, the extent of assimilation or adaptation, socio-economic and political participation in the country of residence, etc. They often focus on the social/cultural interactions of a Diasporic community with theirs hosts and other communities in host country. Diasporas' cultural practices and productions from this point of view are acts of nostalgia and are attempts to "maintain an imaginary connection to a lost homeland."[85] Diasporas preserve these connections by creating associations and organizations such as ethnic affinity groups, alumni associations, religious organizations, professional associations, charitable organizations, development NGOs, investment groups, affiliates of political parties, humanitarian relief organizations, schools and clubs for the preservation of culture, virtual networks, and federations of associations, etc.

As noted above, some researchers define Diaspora as a mode of cultural construction and cultural awareness. Wald and Williams define "Diaspora consciousness" as a term "signifying the cognitive investment of members of a Diaspora community in promoting homeland interests in their host nation."[86] Scholars such as Clifford,[87] Cohen,[88] Gilroy[89] and Hall[90] focus on the Diasporic individuals' awareness of being simultaneously "home away from home" or "here and there." They argue that such an awareness of connection and attachment simultaneously to host country and homeland enables Diasporas to identify

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[83] 1991.
[84] p 83.
[85] Alessandrini, 2001, p 16.
[86] p 2.
[87] 1994.
[88] 1996.
[89] 1987.
[90] 1990.

themselves with both. Clifford[91] argues that the connections of Diasporas with their homeland and the other members of Diaspora in various geographies help Diasporas to create a home away from the homeland and to break the hegemony of the majority society. Diaspora consciousness involves the idea of dwelling *here* in the country of residence and a connection *there* in the homeland. Hence, Diasporas construct their cultural identities in a dialogue between "there" and "here," past and future, between heritage and politics.

Because of radical developments in technology and communications over the last decade, new approaches have emerged in the study of Diasporic communities. Diaspora from this point of view is defined as a phenomenon of globalization. It is used to refer to socio-economic and political networks of ethnic groups of people, which internationally connect Diasporas to their homeland as well as to other members of the same ethnic groups living elsewhere. These networks also provide the possibility of participation in production and reproduction of a kind of transnational culture[92] "The impulse that informs this participation is not one of deferral to a distant homeland, or a mediation among multiple localities, circumstances or conditions, but rather is syncretic in its synthesis of the cultures in circulation."[93]

Tololian has described this holistic sense of Diaspora[94] as "the exemplary communities of the transnational moment." Transnationalism defines Diasporas "through their daily life activities and social, economic and political relations create social fields that cross national boundaries."[95] Transnationalism allows researchers to not only focus on the statistical existence of immigration flows, but to study them as social networks and as functions of process. Researchers with a transnational approach place Diaspora in its broad geographical and historical context. They do not see immigration flow as a linear movement but a fragmentary process of connection. Following such interpretations of Diaspora, and situating

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[91] 1994.
[92] Appadurai, 1990, 1996.
[93] Koppedrayer, 2005, p 100.
[94] 1991, p 5.
[95] Basch, et al., 1994, p 27.

it in a global context, anthropologist Arjun Appadurai[96] highlights the relation between nation-states. He studies Diasporas as circulating populations who struggle to re-territorialize their identities in the context of global modernity.

The transnational nature of Diaspora has attracted much attention. Newland and Patrick write that:

> For many countries, the Diasporas are a major source of foreign direct investment (FDI), market development (including outsourcing of production), technology transfer, philanthropy, tourism, political contributions, and more intangible flows of knowledge, new attitudes, and cultural influence.[97]

These countries attempt to construct a climate that encourages emigrants to continue to contribute socially and economically to their home countries, or to politically and economically bridge their country of settlement with their homelands. For this reason, Diaspora is now a new policy interest. However, as Newland and Patrick[98] point out, the lack of adequate information and hard data about transnational influences of this conception of Diaspora is a serious challenge to policy development.

Among researchers looking at Diaspora from the transnational perspective, some examine Diaspora influences on peace, democracy and development at a global level[99] while others explore the impact of transnational linkages on the Diasporas' everyday relations and interactions.[100]

The High Level Committee on Indian Diaspora[101] under the Chairmanship of Dr. L. M. Singhvi, M.P. defines Diaspora as "communities of migrants living or settled permanently in

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[96] 1990, 1996.
[97] 2004, p 2.
[98] 2004.
[99] e.g. Wapner,1995; Smith, Chatfield & Pagnucco, 1997; Alger, 1997.
[100] e.g. Mountz & Wright, 1996; Mitchell, 1997; Wong, 2000; Nolin Hanlon, 2001; Owusu, 1998.
[101] The "High Level Committee on Indian Diaspora" is a committee established by the Government of India to facilitate the links of NRIs and PIOs with India. Considering the significant role of Indian Diaspora in strengthening ties between India and those countries where they reside as well as their contribution to India's development, the committee works to facilitate the interaction of PIOs and NRIs with India and their participation in India's economic development. The "High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora" was established in 2000. It completed its work in 2001, based on Terms of Reference that included the following:

a) Review the status of persons of Indian origin (PIOs) and Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) in the context of constitutional provisions, Laws and rules applicable to them both in India and the countries of their

other countries, aware of its origins and identity and maintaining varying degrees of linkages with mother country."[102] In the report of this committee, Indian Diaspora refers to "the people who migrated from territories that are currently within the borders of the Republic of India. It also refers to their descendants". The committee estimated the number of Indian Diaspora at 20 million people dispersed in more than 110 countries[103] all over the world:

> The Diaspora is currently estimated to number over twenty million composed of "NRIs" (Indian citizens not residing in India) and "PIOs" (Persons of Indian Origin who have acquired the citizenship of some other country). The Diaspora covers practically every part of the world. It numbers more than a million each in eleven countries, while as many as twenty-two countries have concentrations of at least a hundred thousand ethnic Indians.

The origins of the Indian Diaspora stem from the suppression of India by the British Empire in the nineteenth century. Indians were taken away as indentured labor to the British colonies such as British Guiana, Fiji, Trinidad and Jamaica, to the French colonies of Guadeloupe and Martinique, and the Dutch colony of Surinam.[104] After World War II, like other modern dispersal communities, Indians provided both labor and professional help with the reconstruction of war-torn Europe. The first waves of Indian emigration to developed countries were mostly labour flow from rural regions in India to these European countries. However, during the middle of the 20th century, Indian emigrants began residing in the UK, USA, Australia and Canada as these sites turned to immigration for supplies of well educated and professionally trained Indians from urban middle class families; these were early instances of "migration of talent" or "brain drain." In more recent years, as Bhat, Narayan

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residence;

b) Study the characteristics, aspirations, attitudes, requirements, strengths and weaknesses of Indian Diaspora and their expectations from India;
c) Study the role that the PIOs and NRIs may play in the economic and social and technological development of India;
d) Examine the current regime that governs the travel and stay of PIOs in India and investments by PIOs in India and recommend measures to resolve the problems faced by NRIs in these areas;
e) Recommend a broad but flexible policy framework and country specific plans for a mutually beneficial relationship with the region or PIOs and NRIs, and for facilitating their interaction with India and their participation in India's economic development.

[102] 2001.
[103] The report of the Singhvi Committee indicates that Canada is one of those twenty-three countries.
[104] Tinker, 1993.

and Sahoo in *Indian Diaspora: A Brief Overview* indicate, the new wave of Indian emigration is the migration of software engineers to western countries, the US in particular. Bhat, Narayan and Sahoo call this group of Indians the "cream of India," people who "trained in her premiere educational institutions such as IITs, IIMs and Universities [and] are highly mobile and keep very close contact with India in terms of socio-economic interests."

India's Policies & Practices Toward its Diaspora

Diaspora for many countries, including India, is seen as a source of economic development. Hence, it is reasonable for a Diaspora's country of origin to attempt to court its nationals and their descendants who live abroad. Examining the role of Diaspora in the reduction of poverty in their home countries, Newland and Patrick[105] study how China, India, the Philippines, Mexico, Eritrea and Taiwan court their Diaspora. They illustrate 6 contrasting patterns. In the case of China, India and Taiwan, Newland and Patrick note that the interest in Diaspora is more business oriented, and that these countries seek Diaspora contributions to national development more than their assistance in poverty reduction. They state that:

> Taiwan has pursued a "brain trust" model, focused on attracting human capital from the Diaspora. China has long worked to attract direct investment and open trade opportunities through overseas Chinese communities. India's recently launched Diaspora policy is multi-pronged, pursuing direct investment, portfolio investment, technology transfer, market opening and out-sourcing opportunities.

Over the last decade, the Indian government has set strategies to pursue investment, trade and technology transfer through the Indian Diaspora. The huge sale of bonds guaranteed by the State Bank of India and available only for Indians living abroad is one of the examples of courting Diasporic investment, or in this case, compensation funds. In fact, the "Resurgent India Bonds" was an action to finance compensation for the economic impact of nuclear tests in 1998. Sengupta[106] in his article in New York Times, titled *India Taps into Its Diaspora* writes:

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[105] 2004 pp iv-v.
[106] 1998.

> The Indian Government has been trying for several years to raise foreign investment from its expatriates -- Non-Resident Indians, they are called, or less flatteringly in India, Never-Returning Indians. The latest effort, however, is its most ambitious. As Western aid begins to shrink in the aftermath of New Delhi's recent nuclear escapades, the Resurgent India Bonds, as they have been dubbed, represent an effort by India's Hindu nationalist Government to compensate by turning to the expatriates among whom it has long enjoyed considerable support.

The Indian government bombarded immigrants with advertisements (such as "You don't need to be a financial wizard, you need to be an Indian") in their local media, and launched a marketing campaign in US and Europe, which attempted to encourage nonresident Indians to purchase bonds. They sold £2.3 billion just over two weeks; a great success. "The experience was repeated in 2000 with another bond issue, the India Millennium Deposits, which raised over £3 billion."[107] Moreover, the Indian government established a High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora in 2000 to analyze the status of Indian Diaspora in the world and their potential for India's development. This committee's report was released in 2001, with recommendation for new policy to create "a more conducive environment in India to leverage these invaluable human resources" (Singhvi, et al. 2001). Singhvi's report recommends the Indian government create an environment and specific systems to attract Diaspora investment:

> [The Diaspora's] receptiveness to Indian concerns will depend greatly on the quality of their interaction with the country of their origin and the sensitivity to their concerns displayed in India. It is essential for India to create the necessary structures to facilitate this interaction.[108]

Dual citizenship for persons of Indian origin, simplification of investment in India from abroad, formation of a government body to liaison between India and its Diaspora are some of the reforms made by the Indian government in response to the Singhvi report. Regarding the efforts made by the Indian government to attract the Indian Diaspora, Newland and Patrick writes:

> India's Ministry of External Affairs now has a "Non-Resident Indian and Persons of Indian Origin" Division. The Investment Information Centre (IIC) is a free "single-window" agency for advice on nearly all issues associated with investing in India. It

[107] Newland and Patrick, 2004, p 5.
[108] Singhvi, et al, Executive Summary, p xxi.

> works with Indians, foreign investors and NRIs and is considered the "nodal agency" for promoting investment in India by NRIs. It provides "all necessary services" for NRIs in setting up their investments, including explaining government policies and procedures, available incentives, necessary data for project selection, and assists in obtaining government approval. It also provides an information service available to all potential investors on the state of various industries in India and profile of industrial projects soliciting investment.[109]

The Indian Diaspora in Canada

The early Indo-Canadian community was mostly composed of young Sikh[110] men from Punjab, who came to British Columbia with the hope of finding the better economic opportunities.[111] East Indians first came to know Canada in 1897. Stopping in Canada en route in their journey home from Britain to India, a Sikh regiment of the British Indian Army participated in a parade to celebrate Queen Victoria's Goldon Jubilee in London. This regiment visited British Columbia[112] and subsequently recommended North America to the other Sikhs who were seeking employment opportunities abroad.

The number of East Indians in Canada by 1903 was only three hundred.[113] However, between 1904 and 1908, this number increased to 5185 (5158 men and 15 women and 12 children)[114] according to Chadney[115] and Johnston.[116] The arrival of East Indian immigrants in 1904 coincided with Canada's need for manual labour due to an intermission in Chinese immigration. The Canadian government had raised the head-tax on Chinese immigrants to

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[109] 2004, p 6.
[110] Most of these Sikhs belonged to the farming *Jat* caste. "The *Jats* are a landowning caste or tribe whose origins probably go back to a pastoral group that first appeared in Punjab between the seventh and ninth centuries. Within Punjab, they are distinct, not only from trading, artisan, and menial castes, but from other landowning castes. In 1911 they made up about one-fifth of the Punjab population and were divided by religion. In eastern Punjab *Jats* were Hindus, in the west or what is now Pakistan they were Muslims, and in the central districts they were Sikh" Johnston, 1984, p 4.
[111] Johnston, 1984; Sampat-Mehta, 1984; Walton-Roberts, 2003; Bhat & Sahoo, 2003.
[112] Tatla, 1999; Kurian, 1993.
[113] Tatla, 1999.
[114] The Indian immigrants to Canada in the first place were composed of single male Sikhs. Even the establishment of a point system of immigration favoured male immigrants. In this regard, D'Costa 1993 writes: "there are more males than females in the South Asian population while the reverse is the case for the total population of Canada. The sex ratios are 102.8 and 97.4 respectively" p 189.
[115] 1984.
[116] 1988.

$500.00 and needed Indian immigrants to take their place.[117] Jobs in big Canadian companies such as Canadian Pacific Railway and the Hudson Bay Company as well as in the resource industries were guaranteed for East Indians. They were able to find jobs in lumber camps, in sawmills, on cattle farms, and in fruit orchards.[118]

Although the first immigrants had been assured they would not confront discrimination (since they were British subjects, and Canada was a part of the British Empire)[119], Sikhs faced widespread racism by local white Canadians who attacked them as threats to their jobs. Chandrasekhar[120] notes that Sikhs were easy targets of the anti-oriental feeling and anti-color prejudice:

> Being highly visible—beards, brown complexion, colorful turbans and all—and unable to communicate in English, they were easy victims of economic exploitation by their fellow white workers. At that time white labor was not organized into unions able to demand that the Asians not be hired, particularly at below white wage levels, and so the white laborers rioted and demanded that these "Hindus" be deported.[121]

At the beginning, India, like Canada, was a British colony; Indians did not need visa to travel to Canada. With increasing the number of immigrants, white Canadians felt that "the growing number of Indians would take over their jobs in factories, mills and lumberyards. Hence, anti-Asian riots started against the Chinese and Japanese, and soon included Indians in the unwanted Asian ethnic groups. Fear of labor competition was followed by racial antagonism and demand for exclusionary laws. In British Columbia, attempts were made to pass stringent laws discouraging the immigration of Indians to Canada.[122] However, "British Columbia could not regulate immigration through legislation; the British North American Act had placed that responsibility on Ottawa."[123] Ottawa preferred to act vigilantly because Indians were British subjects and "keeping them out would be to deny a fundamental right within the

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[117] Johnston, 1984.
[118] Nayar, 2004.
[119] In 1858, Queen Victoria proclaimed that the people of India could enjoy "equal privileges with white people without discrimination of color, creed or race." throughout the British Empire.
[120] 1986.
[121] Nayar, 2004.
[122] Sibia, 2007.
[123] Mangalam, 1986, p 48.

imperial realm, namely freedom of movement within the British Empire."[124] On the other hand, the news of more discrimination in the British realm had unpleasant political consequences for the British government when nationalistic protest movements were in operation in India.

In response to the 1907 anti-Asian sentiments in Vancouver, the Canadian government began to establish barriers against Asian immigration. In 1907, Indians were disenfranchised despite of being British subjects. A bill was passed by the Canadian government to deprive Indians who were not born of Anglo-Saxon parents from their right to vote in future general elections. In 1908, the Canadian government established more new rules to restrict Indian immigration. The new rules were:

> 1) prospective immigrants must have traveled on a through ticket purchased before leaving the country of their birth or citizenship and journeying continuously; 2) they must have in their possession $200 each; 3) they were subject to medical and sanitary examination upon arrival; and 4) their landing in Canada was subject to favourable labour conditions prevailing at the time in Canada.[125]

All these restrictive measures, as well as denial of voting rights for all Indians, restrictions against running for public office, exclusion from service on jury duty, accounting, pharmaceutical, or legal work, and the other discriminatory conditions indicate the exclusionary position of Canada at that time. Due to such socio/economic pressures and the restrictive immigration policies, most of the Sikh immigrants decided to return to India. The few who stayed in Canada were not allowed to have their families in Canada until 1919. Quotas established by the Canadian government limited the number of East Indian immigrants. Between 1909 and 1913, nearly a million and half immigrants entered Canada, among whom only 101 were from East India: 93 men, 6 women and 12 children.[126] In fact, the Canadian immigration implementation of a "continuous journey" rule made immigration to Canada by East Indians almost impossible. The "continuous journey" required every ship to arrive in Canada directly from its home port, but a ship from India, due to distance, was compelled to stop at a foreign port to refuel. In 1913, 39 Indians traveling with S.S. Panama

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[124] Ibid.
[125] Mangalam, 1986, p 49.
[126] Chadney, 1984.

Maru were not allowed to land in Vancouver. Indian immigrants appealed their case and Gordon Hunter, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of British Columbia ruled in their favour and let them enter Canada.[127] In 1914, the Japanese ship, Komagata Maru with 376 Punjabies under the leardership of Gurdit Singh was chartered from Hong Kong in an attempt to get around the "continuous journey" restriction. After a non-stop voyage the Komagata Maru arrived in May to "the Burrard Inlet—a narrow arm of the sea between the mountains and the city of Vancouver."[128] Only 22 of these passengers were permitted to land and the rest of the 376 passengers, from Punjab but all British subjects, were repelled from settling in Vancouver and after five months living on the ship were returned to India.[129] During the immigration officers' examinations, food "ran short on the ship, but the immigration officers were not prepared to suply provisions, saying that it was the responsibility of Gurdit Singh, who had chartered the ship and sold ticket."[130] It was this incident that made prominent the exclusion laws in Canada, which were designed to keep out immigrants of Asian origin.[131] Chandrasekhar writes about this incident:

> The Sikh passengers appealed to the Canadian people and the government for justice and sent cables to the King, the Viceroy and Indian political leaders in India and England. Only Annie Besant, the British feminist leader of many causes, who was later to become the President of the Theosophical Society in India and sometime later President of the Indian National Congress and to settle in Madras, took up the cause in the British press, but to no avail.[132]

The response of Sir Richard McBride, the head of the provincial administration of British Columbia, was very hostile. In his statement, he aggressively asserted that: "To admit Orientals in large numbers would mean, in the end, of extinction of the white people and we have always in mind the necessity of keeping this a white man's country."[133] Sikhs permanently residing in Vancouver took the case to court. But the court ruled that the new

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[127] Mangalam, 1986.
[128] Chandrasekhar, 1986, p 20.
[129] Johnson, 1979.
[130] Mangalam, 1986, p 52.
[131] Sibia, 2001.
[132] 1986, p 20.
[133] The Times London, May 23, 1914, cited in Chandrasekhar, 1986, p 20.

Orders-in-Council barred law courts from passing judgments on decisions of the Immigration Department. In September, the ship returned to Calcutta.

As a consequence of the restrictive immigration policies for Asians, between 1914 and 1918, only one East Indian man entered Canada.[134] These restrictive policies deterred women more than men from entering the country.[135] Between 1921 and 1923 only 11 women and nine children came to Canada from India.[136] After 1918, a few East Indians were allowed to come to Canada and the number remained quite low from 1919 to 1945 (only 675 Indians.)[137] From 1947 to 1957, fewer than 100 people a year from India were allowed to immigrant to Canada. After 1950, with changes in Canada's immigration law, East Indian immigration to Canada increased. In 1957, the number of immigrants from India increased to 300 people a year. During this period, immigration to Canada was easier for those Indians who had a sponsor in Canada. Since the earlier East Indian immigrants were Sikh, the sponsorship system "worked in favour of Sikh immigrants."[138] The sponsorship system resulted in an increase in the population of a community of immigrants who came from a region in Punjab known as Doaba.[139] The effect of this tight regional migration can be viewed even in the composition of the population of East Indo-Canadian today.

In 1947, Indians were allowed to vote "after an intense struggle for elementary political and property rights."[140] Singhvi[141] in his report writes:

> Nothing demonstrated how the destinies of the Diaspora and India were bound together, as the fact that Indo-Canadians won the right to vote soon after the same time India won its Independence from colonial rule. Thus Indian Independence awakened the pride of the Indo-Canadian community, which gave an unprecedented welcome to the first Indian High Commissioner Shri H.S. Malik. Nehru strongly advocated its cause during his visit to Canada.

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[134] Chadney, 1984.
[135] Doman, 1984.
[136] Sheel, 2005.
[137] Singh, 2002.
[138] Nayar, 2004, p 17.
[139] Johnston, 1988a.
[140] Johnston, 1988a.
[141] 2001.

Although the Canadian immigration policy became more liberal at this time allowing Indian citizens to vote and to study in the universities and collages,[142] the most major changes in immigration policy occurred in 1962. The Canadian government was in need of educated professionals[143] for economic development and began to initiate more changes in immigration policy. Indicating the racialized nature of Canadian immigration policy, some scholars[144] argue that in the early twentieth century, Canadian immigration policy favored white people immigrating from Northern and Western Europe. Hence, the policy was racially biased[145] and operated as a policy of exclusion of non-European migrants. With the reformulation of immigration policy and the removal of discriminatory laws based on race and nationality in 1967, Indian immigrants "were assessed on a point system relating to education and training, occupational skill, and employment opportunities or arrangements. The new point system was closely related to the needs of the Canadian economy and placed a premium upon professional and technical skills."[146] As a result, a new group of East Indians came to Canada who was more educated. In contrast with the pioneers who were "dominantly of the skilled or unskilled labour class"[147] and mostly "illiterate, and few spoke English,"[148] the group who entered Canada based on its "point system" were well versed in English and were educated professionals.

With the liberalization of Canadian immigration regulations between 1962 and 1967, the population ratios and patterns in terms of sex and ethnicity became more balanced. The new reclassification of the categories for entry included the skilled class and the family class, which allowed more women and children as well as more ethnically diverse groups, enter Canada:

> Prior to 1962, most of the immigrants from India were men mainly from the Punjab region, but thereafter the influx was more balanced between men and women. Besides

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[142] Jayaram, 2003.
[143] Wood, 1978.
[144] i.e. Bannerji, 1996; Bolaria and Li, 1985; Das Gupta, 1995; Thobani, 2000.
[145] Helweg, 1986.
[146] Tinker, 1977, p 192.
[147] Jayaram, 2003, p 31.
[148] Johnston, 1984, p 6.

> the Sikhs from Punjab, Hindus from Gujarat, Bombay and Delhi, Christians from Kerala and Parsis from Bombay too immigrated to Canada.[149]

Bhargava and Seethapathy[150] note that despite the elimination of explicit bias on racial origin in immigration policy in 1960, Indo-Canadian "challenges of racial tension, language and cultural issues, incidents of unemployment, lack of preparedness of the host society in Canada, and inability of the then small Indian immigrant community to their needs." continued during the 60s and 70s. With the ascension of racial attacks, in the late 1970s, the Indo-Canadian community pressed, through political/human rights activities, for the development of public policy. Submission of a report entitled *Equal Opportunity and Public Policy: the Role of the South Asian Community in the Canadian Mosaic* was one of these efforts, presenting "a road map for all sectors of Canadian society for giving better protection of Human Rights and creating harmonious race relations."[151] Such efforts alongside the official announcement of the policy of Multiculturalism in 1971 resulted in bringing public attention to issues of racial discrimination, access and equity and opening up more room for respecting cultural/racial diversity.

Though the number of immigrants entering Canada has had ups and downs, "there has been a continuous, if not also steady, flow of Indian emigrants into Canada."[152] By 1991, the East Indo-Canadian community became one of the most significant proportions of the total immigrant populations in Canada.

In 1967, with the replacement of a point system for immigration quotas based on ethnicity, Indian immigrant population began to increase. According to Statistics Canada, since the late 1990's, approximately 25,000-30,000 Indians arrive each year, making East-Indians the second highest group immigrating to Canada after Chinese immigrants.

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[149] Bhat & Sahoo, 2003.
[150] Bhargava and Seethapathy 2004, p 2.
[151] Ibid, p 2.
[152] Jayaram, 2003, p 26.

The 2001 Census of Statistics Canada[153] estimates the number of people who identified themselves as being of East-Indian origin[154] at 713,330. The majority of the Indo-Canadian population is comprised of new immigrants from India, or second and third generation East-Indian Canadians. However, there are groups of Indians who have moved from other countries such as Uganda[155] African nations (Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia and South Africa), and the Caribbean (Guyana, Trinidad, Tobago, Suriname).

Half of the East Indian population in Canada is Punjabi. The other Indian ethnic communities are Gujaratis, Tamils (Indian as opposed to Sri Lankans), Keralites, Bengalis, Sindhis and others. Due to such cultural and ethnic diversity, East Indo-Canadians speak various languages. The most widely spoken language is Punjabi. The second broadly spoken language is Tamil. Urdu is mostly the language of Muslims who come from North India. Hindi is mainly spoken by Indo-Canadians from North India. Bengali is the language of people from the state of West Bengal.

East Indo-Canadians are very diverse in terms of religious backgrounds. Sikhs, at 33.5% are the largest group among Indo-Canadians, while this group comprises only 2% of the population in India. In India, Hindus, at 80%, are the greater population. However, they comprise only 27% of the Indo-Canadian population. Muslims and Christians respectively are 17.5% and 16.5% of East-Indian population in Canada.

Indo-Canadians represent diversity in culture, as well as diversity in religion and language. Groups with differing ethnic and religious backgrounds have divergent cultural practices. For Indo-Canadians, marriage is an important cultural element. Maintenance of traditional Indian values prevents the practice of dating, as is common among the other Canadians. As in India, arranged marriages are more prevalent among Indo-Canadians. Parents arrange marriages

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[153] See the table of Population by selected ethnic origins, by province and territory 2001 Census Retrieved on 08/26/08 from http://www40.statcan.ca/l01/cst01/demo26a.htm

[154] The term "Indian" is used by Statistic Canada to refer to the Aboriginal Canadians, while the term "East Indian" is used to describe people of Indian origin. Statistics Canada defines "Place of Origin" as the country in which a person, born outside Canada, last resided before immigrating to Canada. Continuing to apply "Indian" to the Aboriginal Canadians cause much confusion.

[155] In the 1970s, Idi Amin forced 50,000 Indian-Ugandans out of the Uganda. The Indian government did not permit these people to return to India, so, they immigrated to the UK and Canada.

with their specific caste/ethnic community. Interracial marriage is not very common among East Indo-Canadian communities compared to the other immigrant groups.

Most East-Indians prefer to reside in larger urban centers like Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal. Indians in Toronto are from Punjab, Gujarat, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala. In terms of settling in Canada, the majority of immigrants of South Asian–origin (over 80%) are concentrated in Ontario or British Colombia.

The ethnic and religious population patterns of Indo-Canadians indicate how immigration policies impact the formation of Diasporic communities. A brief review of the history of Indian migration to Canada illustrates how Canadian immigration policies over the time have designed the pattern of Indian communities in Canada. Until 1961, Canadian immigration policy was radically in favor of white European origins: 95.9% of Canada's annual acceptance at that time was of people from the UK, Europe and the US. By developing a points system in 1967, the source of Canada's immigrants dramatically changed and the flow of immigration turned to Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Caribbean. Due to the restrictive immigration policies and anti-Asian sentiment in the early twentieth century, the population of Indians in Canada was limited. When immigration rules softened, limited family immigration through the sponsorship program was allowed, and the population slowly developed its composition as it is today. The sponsorship system produced a dominantly Punjab class in East Indo-Canadian communities, who have since taken leading roles in politics and professions. Johnston[156] explains that this ascendancy is derived from a specific region within Punjab, known as Doaba. Thousands of Doaba's young men emigrated due to the transformation of Doaba's agricultural economy under colonialism.[157] In the 1970's, approximately 70 percent of Indian immigrants in Canada were from Punjab.[158] In the early 1990's, the same figure has been reported.[159] The majority of this population is Sikh. But this dominance occurs alongside a wide variety of East Indo-Canadians' regional, ethnic, caste, religious, linguistic, economic and educational backgrounds, and ultimately constitutes a

[156] 1988a.
[157] Kessinger, 1974.
[158] Wood, 1978.
[159] Paynter, 1995.

Diaspora of considerable heterogeneity.[160] Nonetheless, the attitude of considering non-Sikh or non-Punjabi-origin Indian immigrants as "not apna," (not "our own") has led "to an insular vision of the Indian immigrant community on the parts of both Canadian Sikhs and the 'mainstream.'"[161] Punjabis, the first Indians to immigrate to Canada, retained their dress style and hence, they are easily distinguishable from the other East Indians. According to Judge[162] there are two levels of ethnic consciousness among Punjabis: the sharing of a common status of an immigrant community with other South Asians, and the exhibition of distinct behaviour patterns from others.

East Indian Diasporas in Canada have persisted in the maintenance of their cultural identity. Bhat & Sahoo assert that:

> Despite the distance, the age-old traditions such as rituals, customs, festivals, religion, cultural expressions and performing arts have remained central to the life and identity of Indian immigrants in Canada. They also exhibit a strong desire to pass on these values and culture to the next generation to make them appreciate their own cultural roots.[163]

Among East Indian immigrants, family interests take priority over personal interests. Filial relationships and family harmony are the most important component of their culture.[164] There is also a gender division of labour and gender roles among Indo-Canadian[165] with the supremacy of males and female subordination.[166]

The Indian Diaspora in Canada & the US: Differences & Challenges

Indo-Canadians are among the largest and most important Diaspora in Canada. However, they do not have the influence of their American East Indian counterparts. "Many have

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[160] Jayaram, 2003; Lele, 2003; Pandit, 2003.
[161] Kurl, 2000 cited in Walton-Roberts, 2003, p 238.
[162] 1994.
[163] 2003.
[164] Dhruvarajan, 1993; Gibson, 1988; Kurian, 1986; Stopes- Roe & Cochrane, 1989; Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil, 1981.
[165] Dhruvarajan, 1993.
[166] Kwak and Berry, 2001.

observed the lack of mainstream participation by Indo-Canadians"[167] as well as generational conflicts due to a strict devotion to the preservation of their culture and traditions:

> Parents have great expectations for their children to be economically successful. This requires them to embrace the mainstream Canadian culture. However, at home children are often expected to embrace Indian cultural values. Basically, there is a conflict between the mainstream western Canadian culture of the school or workplace and the Indian culture of the home.[168]

Maharaj concludes that Indians are economically successful in Canada. However, they experience "serious psycho-social problems, which are in part related to cultural conflicts."[169]

As noted above, the majority of Indian immigrants in Canada are Sikhs. Although early Indian immigrants to North America were largely all Sikh peasants from Punjab, there is a distinct difference of position between Canada and the United States. The Sikh population profiles in the US diverged rapidly because Sikhs in the US frequently married local Mexican American women,[170] unlike those in Canada who neither married women of European descent nor could bring wives with them from India. Yet Sikhs now constitute the majority of the East Indian population in Canada, while in the US, Hindus are now the most numerous. Leonard[171] argues that the East-Indian Muslim communities in both Canada and the US are becoming increasingly important. Considering that Sikhs in India are a minority population, these Indo-Canadians' lack of a strong link with their ancestral homeland is justifiable. Unlike Indo-Canadians, Indians in the US are dominantly Hindus and have "a highly variant relationship with India. One link is the remittances that they sometimes send home."[172]

According to the US 1990 Census, Indians had the highest median household income, family income, and per capita income of any immigrant community. The major populations of Indian in the US are professionals. Hence, such privileged socioeconomic status gives them "the power of Diaspora."[173] Comparing the first seven countries in terms of the number of

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[167] Ray, 1994, p x.
[168] Maharaj, 2003, p 59.
[169] p 62.
[170] Leonard, 1993.
[171] 2002.
[172] Maharaj, p 60.
[173] Leonard, 2000, p 23.

Indian Diaspora, Nair[174] argues that United States, with the lowest population of Indian Diaspora in its total population in 2001 (i.e. 0.59%,) has the highest share of India's total trade in 2000-2001 (i.e. 12.96%). Canada, with a share of 2.74% of the Indian Diaspora population has only 1.11% share of India's total trade. He writes:

> The two highest values in terms of the relative importance of total trade go to USA and the UK, which also have the first and third positions in the table in terms of per capita income. This only goes on to lend further credence to the usually accepted view in international trade theory of the higher degree of complementarity between the more developed than between the less developed countries. Canada provides an interesting case in the table. It has the second highest value in terms of per capita income among the countries considered in the table, the value in this regard being higher than that of the U.K. But it occupies the second position from below in regard to the relative importance in terms of the share in India's total trade with the world. This is actually so despite the fact that Canada is better off than the other two countries of the western and developed world - U.S.A and U.K. in terms of the relative importance of the Indian Diaspora in their respective populations. It is true that facts of history and geography have stood in the way of stronger economic ties between India and Canada. But to the extent that the relative importance of the Indian Diaspora can overcome these obstacles, the evidence appears to be that there is considerable potential to improve matters.

What are the historical and geographical elements acting on Canada/India relations? After presenting a history of Canadian-Indian relations, beginning with a shared British Commonwealth experience in 1950s and then declining because of the Indo-China Control Commission and Suze, and finally reaching its nadir due to India's explosion of a nuclear device "believed to have been conducted with Canadian materials,[175] Rubinoff,[176] in *Canada's Re-Engagement with India,* notes that Canada/India relationship has never recovered. However, he argues, this relationship came to a new low phase:

> … relations reached a new low after the 1998 nuclear tests because of the human-security agenda of then-Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy, which promoted global nonproliferation rather than Canada's bilateral interests with India. His policies had adverse consequences for political, economic, and cultural linkages, as the Canadian government's retrenchment of diplomatic contacts resulted in diminished trade and an

[174] 2004, p 4.
[175] p 838.
[176] 2002, p 838.

> attack on the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute by Indian diplomats who were insensitive to Canada's tradition of academic freedom.

Unlike Rubinoff, Tremblay[177] does not merely focus on the Canada/India relationship in her analysis; instead she considers India's international position as well. She writes:

> It is generally assumed within Canadian (and some Indian) circles that Canada and India should have a potentially promising relationship, given the commonalities of the two countries: a colonial history, a strong commitment to fundamental democratic values, federalism and multiculturalism, parliamentary institutions and broader international agenda of international peace and security.

She believes that it could be sufficient base for two countries relationship in the 1950s and 1960s, not in the 21st century. Canada still seeks its relations with India in the common values framework, while India, not defining itself as an aid-seeking country, demands an equal relationship. This demand can be seen clearly in the case of the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute. Shastri, founded in 1968, has, over the past 30 years, been responsible for cultural and academic ties between India and Canada. Although the institute "was originally funded from Canadian foreign assistance grants"[178] in collaboration with the Indian government, the Indian government has refused to sign a memorandum of understanding with the Institute until it recognizes and equal partnership between India and Canada in all its governing structures."[179]

Nair argues that there are historical and geographical elements preventing the strengthening of trade relations between India and Canada. Despite the prominent East Indian Diasporas' presence in Canada, economic relations have not formed between India and Canada in comparison with India's relations with countries like the UK and the US, particularly after economical liberalization in India. He states that:

> It is thus clear that the present state of India-Canada economic relations is a shining example of unrealised potential particularly in view of the relative importance of the Indian Diaspora in Canada's population. As pointed out by many including Sahni (2003), the Indian Diaspora has indeed a big role to play to see that this unrealised potential is realised to the full.[180]

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[177] 2003, p 2.
[178] Rubinoff, 2002, p 852.
[179] Tremblay, 2003, p 3.
[180] 2004, pp 10-11.

Nair believes that the obstacles for the stronger trade relations between India and Canada are:

1) "India was almost a closed economy and whatever trade and investment were allowed into India were highly selective and mostly channelised through the mechanism of centralised planning"
2) "in view of this and of the fact that Canada has the US–a big and very developed economy- next door, the question of India and Canada developing strong economic ties simply did not arise."[181]

However, he notes that changes in India's economic policy which have replaced previous economic centralized policy with economic liberalization, have opened ways for governmental and nongovernmental attempts in Canada to promote economic relations between Canada and India through Indo-Canadians. However, some argue that Indo Canadians cannot be as successful compared to their counterparts in the US and the UK in establishing these ties. They refer to the maintenance of cultural diversity among Indo Canadians due to Canada's commitment to multiculturalism as the obstacle and as opposed to the policy of assimilation practiced by the United States and the United Kingdom.

Although Canada and the United States are both nations of immigrants, they have not had the same policy toward them. The United States emphasis on the building of a nation of individual rights practices is a policy favoring the unity of the nation, while Canada's legitimatization of a mosaic based on ethnicity, especially with the perseverance of French culture and language, pursues multiculturalism. The policy of multiculturalism advocates the preservation of diversity among the members of a society. Conversely, American assimilation, known as the policy of the "melting pot," holds that all nations and races with different backgrounds and religions should abandon their identities in order to adopt the American way. Canada's relatively recent policies, designed to serve a more global, or at least multicultural ethos, foster a more significant adherence by Diasporas to the various cultural, religious, and linguistic traditions of their native regions than does the American model, which fosters (and requires) a greater degree of assimilation. But such adherence to the mother culture often makes the Indian community's connection to other Canadian

[181] Ibid, p 4.

communities problematic. Maharaj asserts, "There are concerns about the ways in which Indians relate to other Canadian communities as well with India."[182]

Canadian multiculturalism has generally been viewed as a positive, but recently, controversies have arisen. In this regard, Gregg writes:

> Canada has long considered itself immune to violence rooted in ethnic divisions. By enshrining multiculturalism in our Charter of Rights and Freedoms and by promoting policies of inclusion, the argument goes, our country has created a peaceable kingdom and a model for how to manage diversity. Will Kymlicka, a Queen's University professor of philosophy and one of Canada's foremost authorities on multiculturalism, states that while the "actual practices of accommodation in Canada are not unique, Canada is unusual in the extent to which it has built these practices into its symbols and narratives of nationhood."[183]

But, Gregg does not believe that the celebration of diversity is a reality in Canadian society. He refers to the study conducted in his polling and market-research firm in 2005 and states:

> … the Strategic Counsel, suggests that Canadians are far from sanguine about the country's increasing diversity. Fewer than half of those surveyed believe that Canada is currently accepting "the right amount" of immigrants, and among the remainder the overwhelming view is that we are accepting "too many" rather than "too few." Forty percent also express the view that immigrants from some countries "make a bigger and better contribution to Canada than others." The breakdown is disturbing: almost 80 percent claim that European immigrants make a positive contribution, the number falling to 59 percent for Asians, 45 percent for East Indians, and plummeting to 33 percent for those from the Caribbean.

Such a pro-white tendency has a history in Canada. The extent to which this is so has brought some researchers to attack multiculturalism:

> Within Indian communities and in the larger society, "Multiculturalism" is attacked as ghettoizing and applauded as a guarantee of opportunity and a level playing field. The term "ethnic" is both rejected as demeaning and embraced as a reflection of Canadian society's easy awareness and acceptance of its multi-ethnicity and pluralism. Whatever the result of that debate, there is reason to be optimistic about the future."[184]

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[182] p 62.
[183] 2006.
[184] Israel, 1994, p 154.

Ubale[185] on the other hand, is not very optimistic. In *Politics of Exclusion,* he criticizes race relations and multiculturalism and their negative impacts on visible minorities, and believes that Canada needs "workable policy alternatives:"

> Canadian policies are crisis-oriented and short-range. Instead of developing our multicultural and multilingual strength to penetrate the international market, Canada is embroiled in inter-communal and intra-communal tensions as a result of two factors: multiculturalism has been ill defined and misunderstood, and it has been politicized to the point of fostering ethnic ghettos.[186]

Abd-El-Aziz, et al, like Ubale, believe that understanding of multiculturalism is a key point, but suggest that multiculturalism still has many advantages to explore:

> … what has not 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.[187]

Abd-El-Aziz, et al contend that Canada is well aware of the advantage of a diverse society. National policies of Canada "designed to respect multiple identities have preserved Diaspora groups, who maintain significant knowledge about the culture, language, and traditions of their source countries; knowledge that is invaluable in today's globalized world."[188] According to them, substituting the transnational theory of Diaspora for the dominant traditional settler theory assists to adequately access and apply multicultural policy and to influence international politics:

> 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 sizable 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.[189]

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[185] 1992.
[186] p 336.
[187] 2005, p 3.
[188] p 2.
[189] p 5.

For Israel,[190] in the case of Indo-Canadians, the story is a little different than that posed by Abd-El-Aziz, et al. Israel notes that Canadian society has a desire to reorder and simplify the complexity and diversity of Indo-Canadian communities. This desire is "reflected in the term 'South Asian' or in aging stereotypes handed down in the Eurocentric traditions of our education system."[191] According to Israel, the Indo-Canadian community is complex and diverse due to India's legacy of migration. Indian historical identity has been informed by this legacy. He writes:

> India was a "host" society long before her people began to migrate in large numbers to other lands. Waves of peoples came to settle, conquer or seek refuge in India, bringing their cultures and their memories. India received and absorbed them into an increasingly pluralistic society, which appears to have an endless capacity for multicultural adaptation.[192]

Such a variety of ethnics, religions, languages, etc. has made the culture of this country an extraordinarily synthetic culture. Indians have "learned to live with difference, developing strategies, norms and institutions which allowed them to live together with a range of groups while retaining their own ethnocultural identity."[193] Indian Diasporas have inherited this very complex legacy and culture and taken it with them to the host countries. Israel continues:

> The shift from Europe to Asia as the largest single source of immigrants to fill Canada's demographic targets has introduced a new and difficult challenge. Race difference has proved to be a significant constraint on easy acceptance and integration. Canadian pride in the liberality of this society has been tested, and although the test has not been failed, in many areas it has barely been passed. But rejection or unease with the outsider is not a one-way street. This external barrier has been strengthened by one generated from within the Indian community, defensive not only in response to perceived bias and racist threat, but also support of traditions and values and the comfort of familiar space and company.[194]

Generally, as Soroka, Johnston, and Banting[195] suggest, two policy agendas in Western democracies can be identified. The first agenda focuses on diversity, that is, the cultural differences are respected, and minorities are encouraged to express their own cultures and to

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[190] 1994.
[191] Israel, 1994, p xxvi.
[192] p xxv.
[193] Israel,1994, p xxvi.
[194] p xxvi.
[195] 2007.

"construct new and more inclusive forms of citizenship."[196] Conversely, the emphasis of the second agenda is on social integration and cohesion. It attempts to integrate immigrants "into the economic and social mainstream to sustain a sense of mutual commitment or solidarity in times of need and to build a common national identity."[197]

In the US and Europe, there are serious concerns about the threat of multiculturalism and diversity to national unity. Soroka, Johnston, and Banting[198] argue that the "worry is that an emphasis on multiculturalism and respect for diversity has unintentionally created space for radical religious and political movements intent on attacking the liberal-democratic order."[199] Critics of multiculturalism present it as "an exercise in post-modern identity politics that fragments the nation-building project."[200] In Canada, the story is different. There is a considerable political consensus on multiculturalism. However, "Canada faces its own crises of integration."[201] Despite the view that the integration of newcomers to Canada is a success, and the corollary belief that we need to continue focusing on the celebration of difference and minority rights, scholars such as Gregg[202] and Bennett-Jones[203] argue that Canadian national unity is increasingly threatened by the policy of multiculturalism. Gregg notes that "As is the case in England, France, and other advanced liberal democracies, national unity in Canada is threatened by the growing atomization of our society along ethnic lines."[204]

There is obviously a great deal to learn at this point about the potential for increased Diasporic presence in the Canadian economy, foreign policy and democratic practices, its blocks, its under-explored avenues, the reasons for US Diasporic success in relation to Canada, and how such activity will foster a more global Canada. It may be that the current view of "success" is, itself, something to explore. The idea of "success" within the question of Indian Diaspora in North America rests on fairly immediate economic values.

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[196] 2007.
[197] p 561.
[198] 2007.
[199] p 563.
[200] Ley, 2007, p 7.
[201] p 563.
[202] 2006.
[203] 2005.
[204] p 4.

Economically, it seems that US assimilationist policies produce greater financial opportunities, but which come at the cost of identity and cultural legacy. The mosaic approach may not, at this point, appear to result in immediate economic gains, but our increasingly global culture may effect greater opportunities precisely *because* of Canada's willingness to facilitate and maintain cultural, as well as economic links. If networking and making links between countries of origin and their members in Canada who have been encouraged to maintain, develop, and celebrate those aspects of their lives in the Diaspora continues, we may discover that the benefit lies in realization a slower but ultimately enhanced long term return on the investment in social capital.

Studies on the Indian Diaspora

The East Indian Diaspora in Canada has been studied in various ways. A review of the literature reveals that there are diverse ways of thinking about this population. Some studies work on historical approaches to the Indian Diaspora, while others focus on the structures of Diasporic communities, and yet others emphasize the agency of immigrants. Some studies focus on the social adjustment of immigrants in Canada. They explore cultural persistence as well as the dynamics of family change, religion, language, ethnicity and culture. The studies approaching East Indian Diaspora as social form investigate immigrants' ethnic identity, generational difference, the level of prosperity and education in their communities, their background and relations with the authorities in their countries of origin, the level of their integration or adherence to the home culture in Canada.[205] For instance, Spink[206] explores the question of ethnic identity in second-generation Indo-Canadian students, and its relationships to matters of religion, gender, marriage, multiculturalism and educational experience. Examining participants' perceptions to Canadian culture, she argues that the level of the integration of students' parents into Canadian culture plays a significant role in the students' integration. Her study indicates that female students have higher levels of integration than male students.

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[205] see Dhruvarajan, 1995; Kurian, 1987; Ramcharan, 1983; Srivastava, 1983.
[206] 1999.

Vertovec argues that

> Practically all of the general works concerning South Asian communities (including specifically religious groups) outside of South Asia concentrate, in one way or another, on "Diaspora" as social form, particularly by way of the kinds of *social relationships* noted above. Therefore it is neither possible nor necessary to recapitulate this large body of information… .[207]

The more recent studies also tend to examine the role of East Indian Diasporic communities in the contemporary context of globalization. These trace the conceptions of such theorists as Rudolph and Piscatori[208] who argue that the global system has been facing a period of "transnational religion and fading states." Along with globalization and the surge in power of multinational corporations, nations are losing their sovereignty; instead, ethno-religious groups and related movements take on a more significant role in the new "transnational civil society" of world politics.[209] Research with a focus on transnationalism argues that technological development has resulted in an exponential increase in social networks among members of East Indian communities dispersed around the world, and within their motherland. Walton-Roberts[210] describes this phenomenon:

> India-Canada immigration patterns are overwhelmingly shaped by social linkages that are transnational in nature, since communities, families and individuals maintain and reinforce connectivity between sending and receiving regions through a variety of processes.[211]

She asserts that a transnationalist approach develops our understanding of diverse flows of immigration to Canada. It helps us to contextualizes the phenomenon and examine multiple aspects of Diaspora.

Highlighting the transnational nature of Diaspora makes East Indian immigrants the center of attention for scholars interested in multidisciplinary research with a policy orientation. One of the significant components of these studies is the impact of East Indian Diaspora on the economic ties between Canada and India. These studies approach Diaspora as a matter of

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[207] p 232.
[208] p 236.
[209] p 255.
[210] 2003.
[211] p 236.

"human capital" and focus on individual bearers of economic capital. They hold that networks of Indo-Canadian communities mutually benefit both communities in India as well as Canada. Indeed, Indian Diaspora's social, political and cultural impact has not received the scholarly and political attention in the degree to which economic capital has.[212] Bhat and Sahoo[213] address Diasporic mutual benefit in their essay, *Diaspora to Transnational Networks: The Case of Indians in Canada.* In this paper, they examine the emergence of transnational networks between the two most important East Indian Diasporic communities, i.e. Punjabis and Gujaratis. They argue that:

> 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 ideological base for their identities and bondage for fusion at the global level. The networks formed by the dispersed members of Punjabis and Gujaratis transcend the boundaries of the national states wherein they are currently situated but fall within the legislated norms of international relations.[214]

Patel and Rutten[215] study family networks of Gujaratis dispersed among several countries. In this regard, Helweg writes: "Family business, founded on the absolute confidence that unifies members of the same family, particularly among the Sikhs, sometimes assumes global dimensions."

In sum, Jayaram's[216] identification of themes and issues in the study of the Indian Diaspora in Canada can guide our approach these studies:

1) Demography of Indian emigration to Canada
2) Cause of and conditions for migration to Canada
3) The background of Indian immigrants
4) The process of emigration
5) Changing composition of Canadian population
6) Dynamics of the Canadian society
7) Social organization of the Diasporic community
8) Cultural dynamics of Indians in Canada
9) The question of identity

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[212] Abd-El-Aziz, et al, 2005.
[213] 2003.
[214] p 162.
[215] 2000.
[216] 2003.

10) The struggle for power
11) Orientation of the Indians in Canada to the ancestral land
12) Orientation of the ancestral land to the Diasporic Indians

Jayaram believes that raising these issues will result in an understanding of "the multicultural experience—both from the points of view of Canada and that of the Diasporic Indians there."[217]

Conclusion

The history of Indian immigration to Canada begins with an active exclusion of Indian migrants. This exclusion becomes more obvious in the 1908 continuous passage Order-in-Council.[218] Restrictive immigration laws against non-white Asians were in place until the middle of the twentieth century. The immigration Act of 1953 reinforced the constraints for migration of Asians. In May 1914, the Komagata Maru incident drew attention to this discriminatory law, and attempts to challenge this law began to occur. In 1967, with the elimination of discrimination based on race, religion or national origin, a point system based on various qualifications began to work. From then on, as Bagley holds, immigrants to Canada have been selected based on of their professions and the needs of economy:

> Canadian ethnic policies work because the population has been highly selected in terms of commitment to the social relation required by capitalism … immigrants (including ethnic minorities) have been specially selected for their combination of professional experience, education, youth, linguistic ability, and their willingness to fit in with a social structure based on individuality and individual enterprise.[219]

The Indians' immigration to Canada has always been a *continuous* phenomenon. In this regard, Jayaram[220] writes:

> Unlike the migration of Indian workers to West Asia in the wake of the "oil boom," with little or no possibility of permanent settlement in many countries there, immigrants in Canada have by and large settled down there though with varying immigrant status.[221]

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[217] p 29.
[218] Dutton, 1989; Walton Roberts, 1998.
[219] 1984, pp 2-3.
[220] 2003.
[221] p 27.

Indo-Canadian community is fairly diverse in terms of their ethnic, linguistic, religious, and socioeconomic backgrounds. However, despite this heterogeneity, the Indian Diaspora in Canada has many commonalities across its sub-ethnic groups.[222] For instance, they all indicate the value of family, the preservation of sharply defined family roles, and a priority of family interests.[223] They also share common traditions of decoration, cooking, clothing, etc.

Indo-Canadians provide an important node in a global network of Indian Diasporas. They have social and economic links with their home country as well as Canada. This attribute demonstrates the significant role that Indio-Canadians can play at political, social, cultural and economic level nationally and internationally.

[222] Maharaj, 2003.
[223] Jain, 1993.

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Appendix II: The Diasporic Dimension of India's Bilateral Economic Relations

By K.R.G.Nayar

Introduction

There exists a view that even in this age of electronic convergence, people-to-people contacts can strengthen economic ties between countries.[224] The fact that 60% of Foreign Direct Investment in China between 1978 and 1999 came from three ethnically Chinese economies (Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan) having 95% or more people of Chinese origin in their respective populations, is often quoted as empirical evidence to prove the point. Additional analytical arguments are emerging in support of such a view with a stress on the importance of network and reputational capital in international economic relations.[225] India has significantly opened up her economy since the late 19th century. There are 48 non-SAARC countries in the world in which 10,000 or more persons are present or former Indian citizens or their descendents.[226]

It would be interesting to enquire into the extent to which this Indian presence in select countries has an impact on the concerned country's bilateral economic relations with India, particularly since overt measures are being increasingly taken to tap this source for the promotion to India's benefit of bilateral economic relations. I discuss two aspects of international economic relations -- trade, and foreign direct investment (FDI) – among Canada, the US, and the UK. Of interest here is the quality of change in India's bilateral trade relations with these three countries since the 1990s, especially with respect to FDI inflows and outflows between India, these countries and their respective Indian Diaspora populations. The conclusion unites main findings and draws some policy inferences.

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[224] As pointed out by Field in 2003 such a view that relationships matter underlies the growing literature on Social Capital. See among others also Nair, 2005

[225] Kapur, 2007, Nayyar, 2007.

[226] Singhvi Committee Report, 2001.

The Indian Diaspora includes non-resident Indians (NRIs) who are Indian citizens holding Indian passports, but are abroad for an indefinite period, whether for employment or otherwise. It also includes persons of Indian origin (PIOs) whose spouse, parents, grandparents, or great grandparents were once citizens of India. In the year 2001, the Indian Diaspora thus defined numbered around 20 million, and were scattered in more than 110 countries all over the world.

Between Canada, the UK, and the US, the latter ranks first in terms of the number of Indian Diaspora but last in terms of percentage of total population; inversely, Canada's Indian Diaspora population is among the highest in terms of percentage of overall population. In fact, Canada occupies an even higher rank in this regard than South Africa, to which Indians began emigrating much earlier.[227]

A 2000-2001 study focused primarily on Canada did not indicate a clear relationship between the population percentage of Indian Diaspora and its relative importance in foreign direct investment in India or in India's foreign trade.[228] The study worked out the total trade of India with seven countries as the percent of India's total trade with the world as a whole. The value was highest at 12.96 for the US, which has the lowest percentage of Indian Diaspora in its total population among a number of developed/developing countries. The second lowest value in this regard was 1.11 for Canada, which has a very high percentage of Indian Diaspora in its total population.[229] The study concluded that the relative importance of Canada in India's foreign trade and foreign direct investment approvals very low, and thus inferred that there is unrealized potential for trade and business relations between India and Canada.

The analysis here goes somewhat further; rather than compiling total trade, exports and imports, these are studied separately. Further, since there is often a big slip between the cup and the lip, instead of approvals, actual accruals of foreign direct investment into India are examined.

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[227] Bhana and Vahed, 2007, Naidoo and Leslie, 2007.
[228] Nair, 2005.
[229] The corresponding value for UK was 5.75.

Bilateral Trade Relations

Bilateral economic relations in trade and foreign direct investment between countries generally undergo change only gradually over time. The fact that India was under British rule for over a century and a half till the middle of the last century and that the US has been the most dominant economic power of the world for the past few decades meant that India's economic ties with both Great Britain and the US were very strong in striking contrast with that of Canada with whom India's economic ties for obvious historic and geographic reasons were nothing to write home about. To expect an overnight sea change in this as a result of India liberalizing its economy in the 90's and Canada making greater efforts to improve its economic ties with India since then is to hope for the impossible. What is generally more likely is that gradual changes take place over time in the direction of trade and investment flows between countries leading to changes in the relative importance of the country concerned in the total trade and investment flows of the other country analysed.

In order to capture these changes in the inter-country flows of trade and foreign direct investment, economic ties of India in this regard with Canada, UK and USA are analysed by trying to decipher the trends in this regard by fitting linear and quadratic trend equations to trade data between 1991 and 2006 and FDI data between 1998 and 2006. The more relevant results of this exercise are given in the tables below and substantiate such a view. If the coefficient of the time variable is significant and the value of R square is high, the equation is said to give a good fit to the data, with the sign of the coefficient giving the direction of the trend over time. The following are clearly brought out from the tables:

1. The relative importance of India in Canada's imports is showing a clear and increasing trend over time, with something similar happening also in the case of USA, though the same does not hold true in the case of UK.
2. There does not seem to be any decipherable trend in the case of the relative importance of India in Canada's exports with the same holding true also in the cases of UK and the USA
3. As regards the relative importance in India's imports, both USA and UK seem to experience definite declines over time with something similar happening also to Canada at least in the short period.

4. If we consider the relative importance in India's exports, both USA and UK seem to be experiencing declining trends over time, while the same does not seem to be true of Canada
5. If we examine FDI flows to India, while there seems to be no decipherable trend in the relative importance of USA, there are signs of increasing trend in this regard of both Canada and UK.

This section attempts to analyse the trends, if any, in the relative importance in bilateral trade between India and each of these countries. Data are based on UNCTAD between 1991 and 2004. First and second-degree trend equations are tried, with RI the relative importance, as the dependent variable and time T as the independent variable. The table presents the results of this exercise in cases where there appears to be a significant trend, with significance being

Trends in Relative Importance in Bilateral Trade Relations[230]

Description	Trend equation	R^2
RI of Canada in		
India's exports	$RI = 0.818 + 0.109T^{**} - 0.006T^2$	0.447
India's imports	$RI = 1.654 – 0.156T^{**} + 0.008T^2$	0.519
RI of India in		
Canada's imports	$RI = 0.159 + 0.018\ T^{**}$	0.946
RI of UK in		
India's exports	$RI = 7.106 – 0.172\ T^{**}$	0.908
India's imports	$RI = 0.668 – 0.015\ T^{**}$	0.525
RI of US in		
India's exports	$RI = 15.769 + 1.271T^{**} \quad -0.076T^{2**}$	0.463
India's imports	$RI = 1.135 – 0.036\ T^{**}$	0.669
RI of India in		
US imports	$RI = 0.678 + 0.026\ T^{**}$	0.873

RI stands for % relative importance in terms of value and T for time. Double asterisk indicates significance as defined in the text. If none of the coefficients of the time variable is significant, the equation is not reported. More detailed results in this regard can be had from the author on request.

tested on the basis of the two-tailed t-statistic at 5% level.[231]

As regards Indo-Canadian bilateral trade relations, trends seem decipherable except in the case of the relative importance of exports to India in Canada's total exports. The relative importance of Canada in exports from India seems to be increasing, though not necessarily sustainably. The relative importance of India in Canadian imports seems, in slight contrast, more definitely set for an increase over time. If we consider the relative importance of Canada in imports to India, a declining trend appears, though there are some indications that this may be reversed over time.

If we consider Indo-British trade relations, there is no trend decipherable in India's relative importance to the UK, irrespective of whether we consider imports in, or exports from, the UK. There are, however, definite declining trends in the relative importance of the UK in imports to or exports from India. It is true that in the case of Indo-US trade relations also, there is no decipherable trend if we consider the relative importance of India in exports from the US. There is similarity between trends in Indo-British and Indo-US trade relations in the sense that the relative importance of the US in Indian imports is undergoing a definite decline over time. Further, there are clear indications that the relative importance of the US in India's exports will ultimately decline over time.[232] Indo-US trade relations appear to take a completely different path over time on one count; in striking contrast with the trend in Indo-British trade relations, if we consider the relative importance of India in US imports, there is a definite increase over time.

The results here cannot however be considered indicative of a clear and positive relationship between the percentage of Indian Diaspora in a country and that country's bilateral trade relations with India. The rising trend in the relative importance of India in Canadian imports perhaps suggests such a relationship; that there is a similar trend in the relative importance of India in US imports, despite the lower percentage of Indian Diaspora in the US population

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[231] Throughout this study, the same simple format to estimate time trend is being followed.
[232] In the case of exports from India, though the sign of the coefficient of T is positive and significant, the coefficient of T^2 is also significant, but it is negative.

and the absence of any such trend in the UK. More detailed study is required before more definite conclusions can be drawn.

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)

The following table gives the total actual inflow into India of FDI from 1991 to 2007 for the three countries considered here:

FDI inflows to India: 1991-2007[233]		
	Total inflow in millions	As % of inflow
Canada	132.6	0.22
UK	4060.1	6.48
US	6352.0	9.79

On the face of it, there appears to be an inverse relationship between the percentage of Indian Diaspora in a population and the respective percentage of FDI in India. But an analysis of the trends in $RI,_{fdi}$ the relative percentage shares of these countries in FDI in India indicates

Trends in RI_{fdi} Relative Importance of Different Countries in FDI inflows into India, 1991-2007[234]		
Country	Trend equation	R^2
Canada	$RI_{fdi} = 0.094 + 0.021\ T^{**}$	0.372
UK	$RI_{fdi} = 17.579 – 3.451\ T^{**} + 0.207\ T^{2**}$	0.511
RI_{fdi} stands for % relative importance in terms of FDI inflows and T, for time. Double asterisk indicates significance as defined in the text. If none of the coefficients of the time variable is significant, the equation is not reported. More detailed results in this regard can be had from the author on request.		

another view:

The US, with the smallest percentage of Indian Diaspora in its population, shows no trend in the relative importance of the country in India's FDI. The UK, with the second largest percentage of Indian Diaspora in its population, is experiencing an initial decline in relative

[233] Secretariat of Industrial Assistance of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry of the Government of India.

importance in FDI, but seems to have a tendency over a longer period of time to have a larger percentage share in India's FDI inflows. There are indications of an increase over time of the relative importance in inflows of FDI to India in the case of Canada, which has the largest percentage share of Indian Diaspora in its population among the three countries.

A similar picture of the possible impact of the Diasporic element emerges if we look at changes over time in Indian FDI in these three countries:

Approvals of Foreign Direct investment from India, 1996-2007[235]

Country	Approvals of FDI from India 1996-2002	(in US$ million) 2002-2007
Canada	5.58	405.12
UK	410.62	1739
USA	1540.83	1227.47

In the first sub-period, the US, with the lowest percentage of Indian Diaspora in its population, ranks number one, but this rank is occupied by the UK in the second sub-period. Actually, while approvals of FDI from India increased in the case of both Canada and UK between the two sub-periods, they underwent a decline in the US. The increase is the maximum, by more than seventy fold, in Canada, while only around four-fold for the UK.

Place of Origin Factors

It must be borne in mind that the impact an Indian Diaspora can have on bilateral economic relations depends on factors beyond the percentage of its population abroad. Historical aspects, the extent of proven urge to maintain relations with India, and institutional supports will all affect economic relations, and on each count, there are significant differences between the three countries.

Indian immigrants arrived in the UK around 1700, but up to two centuries later in the other two countries – beginning in 1898 in the US and in 1903 in Canada. There were, until 1948,

[235] Secretariat for Industrial Assistance, Department of Commerce and Industry, Government of India.

no special restrictions on the entry of Indians to the UK since India was under British rule, and it may be because of this that there was no corollary in the UK to the US Asiatic Exclusion League of 1910, or the 1914 Koma Gata Maru incident in Canada.[236] Before Indian independence, the flow of migrants from India to the UK consisted mostly of either workers looking for better employment, or elites going for higher education. In the main, it was members of the former group who migrated to the US and Canada. After Indian independence, selective migration of more trained persons became the pattern – particularly of doctors to the UK and to some extent, the US, and IT professionals to all the three countries in recent years. Many migrants who had left India earlier for other countries ultimately relocated in the US, the UK, or Canada.[237] Consequently, there are distinct differences in the composition of the Indian Diaspora in these three countries. An example: in the US, the Indian Diaspora has spread to most parts of the country, but this is not the case in either the UK or Canada.[238]

There is a great deal of variation in the extent to which the Indian Diaspora from these countries participates in the Pravasi Bharatiya Divas, which have been organized annually in India since 2003 to maintain links between Diasporas with India. Below we see the number per million of registered delegates from these three countries:

Number of registered delegates from abroad at Pravasi Bharatiya Divas 2003-2008[239]
Registered delegates per million Indian Diaspora

	2003	*2004*	*2005*	*2006*	*2007*	*2008*
Canada	121	46	94	14	41	38
UK	125	76	94	25	28	22
USA	300	247	351	179	105	89

[236] The Asiatic Exclusion league was an organization formed in the US to prevent migration of Indians to the US. Komagata Maru was the ship carrying 376 Indian immigrants non-stop from Hong Kong to Vancouver in British Columbia to satisfy legal stipulations, but was disallowed from offloading its passengers there.
[237] The most noticeable in this regard was the movement particularly to UK of migrant Indians from Uganda in the early 1970s of the last century.
[238] Most Indians are concentrated along highways M1 and M6 in the UK and, in Canada, in Toronto and Vancouver, with very few in the Maritimes or in Quebec.
[239] Singhvi Committee Report, 2001. Calculated as per the number of Indian Diaspora in each country.

Inferences

On the basis of the Singhvi Committee Report (2001), the study here finds that of the US, the UK, and Canada, Canada ranks the highest in terms of the percentage of Indian Diaspora in its population and the US, the lowest. If it appears at first sight that the economic relations in terms of relative importance in trade, as well as flows of FDI between India and these three countries, are not directly related to the relative importance of the Indian Diaspora in these, a closer look, particularly at recent trends, seems to suggest that this is not necessarily so. More study is needed before more definite inferences in this regard can be drawn. In such studies, it has also to be borne in mind that the historical roots of the Indian Diaspora, the composition of the Diaspora and the extent of Diasporic urge as reflected in participation in PBD vary among these three countries. The emergence of SICI has to be considered in such analysis. There are already some indications that Canada's Diasporic advantage is gradually having its impact on economic relations between Canada and India.

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Appendix III: Multiculturalism & the Indian Diaspora in Canada

By Ambassador (Ret'd.) P.S. Sahai, Former High Commissioner of India to Malaysia

Introduction

Multiculturalism is an integral part of daily life all over the world; highly publicized events such as those below corroborate this:

- The British Prime Minister's 2008 visit to India in January 2008, headlined as "The Browns are Coming".
- The Canadian Parliamentarian Ruby Dhalla's reported advising of India's Prime Minister to take up the case of the 'Turban" with French President Sarkozy while in India in 2008.
- India's tribute to legendary Canadian pianist Oscar Peterson on the occasion of his death.
- The Ulema advising a boycott of Indian business magnet Adil Godrej for hosting alunch for Salman Rushdie.
- Controversial Bangladeshi writer Taslima Nasreen's forced move from West Bengal to Delhi under pressure from fundamentalists.
- The cry of racism in the Sydney Cricket Test match between India and Australia, resulting in a deeply toxic atmosphere.
- Indo-UK Members of Parliament taking a stand against the recently announced discriminatory immigration policies in the United Kingdom.
- Concerns that the growth of Hindu Students Council of America is the outcome of the multicultural policies of United States.

Some multicultural developments evoke positive views, others not so. But in short, we still have miles to go toward real global multiculturalism, which is and has always been the product of interplay among various forces. Primarily, the concept is based on the realization of *Identity*, real or imagined, as we seem to place ourselves as "us" *viz a viz* others as "them." This *Identity* is shaped by contact made in migration, and latterly, by globalization, and creates highly dynamic environments, which are constantly changing. A number of nation-

states have largely embraced multicultural policy, or pluralism, with the aim of reconciling diverse cultures to coexist, or better, regardless of ethnicity, language, race, class, caste, culture or religion. In some nation-states, multiculturalism is the result of an imperceptible process; this is the case in India, which is unique in its historical acculturation, where diverse influences in various epochs have created "Indian-ness," which generally denotes acceptance of a composite character. "Indian-ness" is the idea expressed in "Unity in Diversity." This phenomenon gives rise to multiple identities, confronted by individuals in individual ways.

Trends Impacting Multiculturalism

The concept of multiculturalism has thus to contend with following trends, which, at times, may be contradictory:

- Identity remains central, both at the individual and nation-state level, and is largely a mix of various factors such as ethnicity, language, culture, which necessitates the need to understand diversity.[240]
- Globalization has given rise to a Diaspora community of approximately 190 million, which forms about 4% of the world's total population. Nation-states cannot afford to ignore the interests of their Diaspora communities in the formulation of policy.
- The American ethos of a "melting pot" has not stood the reality test; migrants to the US have not acquired a single American identity but often hyphenated identities, (Indian-Americans, Italian-Americans and Chinese-Americans.) Diversity, perforce, has to be recognized and assimilation is giving way to adjustment.
- Globalization has not resulted in the emergence of a single identity, despite the so-called homogenization of culture, whether tagged as MTV culture or *McWorld*.[241] Diversity has become the rule rather than the exception.
- Domestic compulsions dictate immigration policies of receiving countries, with a mix of liberalization and restriction, whether in the form of cap for IT Workers in US or liberalization to attract migrants in the case of Australia or Singapore.[242] Such compulsions can also negatively react against previously committed policies, as in the case of the UK's policy for Highly Skilled Migrants Programme (HSMP.)[243]

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[240] Felicia R. Lee, 'Black Migration, Both Slave and Free', The New York Times, February 2, 2005.
[241] Benjamin Barber, Jihad vs. McWorld, The Atlantic Monthly, March 1992.
[242] Koh Gui Qing, 'Ageing Singapore Woos immigrants', The Times of India, March 27, 2007.
[243] 'India Warns UK over unfair immigration laws', The Tribune, January 31, 2007.

- New concerns emerge, which seem to seek a reversal of globalization, when the British Prime Minister announces that "Britain [is] for British Workers."[244] This comes as a palliative to domestic constituents concerned that the UK demographic character will tilt in favour of Asians.
- Simultaneously, other influences, such as post-911 security concerns, turn the tide against multiculturalism. There is now a growing cry for the inculcation of "British Values," "American Values," or "Canadian Values" even among migrants, with stringent tests being prescribed prior to the acquisition of "citizenship."[245] One manifestation of this quasi-xeonphobia is seen in the British Government's raising of the age for the grant of visas to married women from 18 to 21 years.[246]

Whatever the pressures against it, multiculturism is inevitably dictated by necessity for economic development; this basic reality of the emergence of multi-ethnic societies can be appreciated by looking at the following demographic indices and other trends:

- Immigrants form a large component of total population of the major immigrant countries, which is 22.2% in Australia, 19.8% in Canada and 12.5% in the US.[247]
- In the UK (2000), the component of different regions among the foreign born population was: Asia (53%); Africa and Middle East (18%), Europe (18.9%) and Central Asia (5%).
- Population diversity and predominance of foreign populations is more conspicuous in metropolitan cities, with percentage shares at 45.7 in Toronto, 39.6 in Vancouver, 36.5 in Mexico City, 34.7 in Los Angeles, 31.7 in Sydney, 28.9 in Melbourne, 27.9 in New York, 20.6 in Montreal, and 19.9 in Washington.[248]
- Symbolic gestures strengthen multiculturalism, such as when the Canadian Prime Minister celebrating Diwali or Deepavali (The Festival of Lights), with his message of "interdependence between peace, prosperity and pluralism."[249]

Canada & Multiculturalism

Canada has come a long way from when, in 1914, 300 Indians, mainly from the State of Punjab, failed to enter Canada legally despite having performed "the continuous journey." Canada was the first country to officially adopt multicultural policy in 1971, which

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[244] Statement of British Prime Minister Gordon Brown.
[245] 'UK Cities to have White Minorities in 30 yrs.', The Indian Express, Sept. 15,2007
[246] "UK Raises Visa Age for Some Minor Brides", The Times of India, March 26, 2007; 'English Test before you marry a Britain, The Times of India, Dec.10, 2007.
[247] www.12.stat.cen.ca/englith/census06/analysis
[248] Ibid
[249] Address of Prime Minister of Canada, Ottawa, November 1, 2007.

subsequently resulted in the passage of Multiculturalism Act in 1988. Canada's multicultural policy rests on the edifice of two languages – English and French. The Governor General in October, 2007 reiterated support to "Canada's Linguistic Duality,"[250] and Prime Minister Stephen Harper announced the appointment of a Special Adviser for Consultations on Linguistic Duality and Official Languages. The Government's aim is to conduct public consultation on the future of minority languages as a policy issue, keeping in view the need of "building more and stronger bridges between our minority and majority language communities."[251] Progress in this regard would naturally foster Indian Diaspora investment.

Canada's approach to diversity has three main components – social cohesion, political inclusiveness and sustained livelihood. Multiculturalism is expected to encompass economic, cultural, gender, age, ethnic, ability, and religious orientation.[252] In demographic terms, the 2006 Census more or less confirms trends revealed by the 2001 Census, which indicated that:[253]

- Over 200 languages were reported as mother tongues in Canada;
- One in every five Canadians was foreign born (19.8%) meaning that 6.18 million of Canada's 31.2 million are foreign born;
- 1.11 million immigrants entered Canada between January 2001 and May 2006, forming about 17.9% of the total foreign born population;
- The largest component of immigrants came from Asia (58.3%) with 16.1%, 10.8% and 10.6% coming from Europe, Central / South America & the Caribbean, and African countries, respectively.
- 70.2% reported a mother tongue other than English or French, with Chinese spoken most, at 18.6% of the population. Italian speakers comprised 6.6%, Punjabi speakers 5.9%, Spanish speakers 5.8%, German speakers 5.4%, Tagalog speakers 4.8% and Arabic speakers 4.7%.

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[250] 'A Strong Federation', Strengthening the Federation and our Democratic Traditions' – Special from the Thrive, October 16, 2007.
[251] 'Prime Minister announces Bernard Lord will lead Cross-Canada Official Languages, Consultations - Press Release, Monkton, New Brunswick, December 3, 2007.
[252] Independent Report of the Diversity Task Force, Liberal Renewal Commission, Canada, August 2006.
[253] '2006: Census: Immigration, Citizenship, Language, Mobility and Migration', The Daily, December 4, 2007.

- According to the 2001 Census, 43.6% of Canadians were Catholic, 43.6% were Protestants, 29.2% were Muslims, 2% were Jewish, 1.1% were Budhists, 1% were Hindus, 1% were Sikhs and 16.5 had no religious affiliation.

Canada, like any other country, is not free from incidents of social discrimination or hate crime. The 2002 Statistics Canada Ethnic Diversity Survey revealed that:

- An estimated 1.6 million, or 7% of the population, experienced discrimination or unfair treatment within the past five years;
- In 2001-02, 938 hate crimes were reported by twelve major Canadian police forces. Race and ethnicity were the motivating factor in 57% of the cases, while religion accounted for 43% cases;
- Black and South Asians were the principal targets.

Such perceptions (or misperceptions) are held even today, when at times general conclusions are faultily reached based on individual cases. The deportation order of handicapped illegal immigrant Laibar Singh invited spurious parallels to the Komagato Maru case, bringing the local Punjabi community into conflict with the Canadian government.[254] There was controversy over invitees being restricted to the Sikh Diaspora from Canada at the NRI Punjabi Sammelan, held on January 5-6, 2008 at Chandigarh and Jalandhar respectively, and Canadian Parliamentarian Deepak Obhrai, Parliamentary Secretary for Foreign Affaires, was reported to have felt ignored.[255] There are also complexities associated with the transmission of Indian values into Canada, such as attend the status of women.[256]

The Canadian Government opened a new office, the Canadian Immigration Integration Project, in New Delhi, to further facilitate newcomers, in particular, highly skilled immigrants from the States of Punjab and Gujarat.[257] After the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration announced facilitation measures in September, 2007, controversy over issuance of visas to the Punjabis erupted during the visit of the British Columbian Premier Gordon Campbell to India in December 2007. The Canadian Visa Officer Brian Hudson had reportedly questioned the recruitments of immigrant from Punjab, which had a high "crime,

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[254] K.B. Kapur, 'Laibar row puts ties under strain', The Hindustan Times, January 28, 2008.
[255] 'Obhrai angry at being ignored', The Hindustan Times, Jan. 6, 2008.
[256] Gur Kirpal Singh Ashk, 'NRI Punjabis biased against girls', The Times of India, Dec. 15, 2007.
[257] 'Minister Finely announces overseas expansion of foreign credentials referred service, Press Release, High Commission of Canada, New Delhi, November 6, 2007.

forgery, and human trafficking rates." The Minister of Immigration has promised an enquiry, but this has left a bad taste. Simultaneously, reports appear about the involvement of Punjabi boys in drug warfare in Canada.[258] But these are anomalous points; there is also full recognition of the important role being played by Indians in the development of Canada, as evidenced in the active involvement of the community in the political processes at the State and the Federal levels.[259]

Multiculturism is not a one-off passage of law, but a cultural ethos needing perpetual nurturance and managment. In the case of India, multiculturalism requires management virtually on a daily basis, despite its historical reality. In Canada, theoreticians would like multiculturalism becomes more value based than is the case at present (Canada's Multiculturalism 2.0.[260].) Only time will tell whether Canada grows toward the state where it is not about tolerance but about acceptance of the differences. One commentator has observed that "A President Obama (or any other black president) would bring us face to face with the threatening idea that colour blindness and equality are not the same, and that real progress on racial issues means respect for and not avoidance of difference."[261]

India & Canada: Diverse Roads to Multiculturalism

The root of Indian multiculturism lies in a philosophy in which the whole world is a family: *"Vasudeva Kutumbakam."* In practical terms, this results in a pluralistic society with a composite culture with a catholic approach and capacity to absorb various outside influences, whether Aryan, Islamic or Dravidian, into a composite unit. India is home to all major religions in the world, including Christianity, Islam, Zoroastrianism and Judaism, as well as to over 500 dialects, 22 of which are formally recognized as major languages in the Constitution.

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[258] Varinder Singh, "100 Punjabi boys killed in Canada during warfare'.
[259] Interaction of the Author with Mr. Waly Oppal, Attorney General and Minister for Multiculturalism, Government of British Columbia, September 3, 2007.
[260] Alden E. Habacon, 'Beyond the Mosaic: Canada's Multiculturalism 2.0'. Annual Summer Conference, Cochiching Institute on Public Affairs (CIPA), August 9-12, 2007
[261] Uzodinma Oweala, "America, in black and white.' Los Angels times, The Indian Express, January 25, 2008.

At the indigenous level, it is important to recognize "pantheism" in the Hindu religion. There is no single Hindu deity, even though the word "Hindutava" has gained currency; in India, Hinduism has adopted a corrective course to meet challenges at social levels, giving rise to the birth of new religions, such as Budhism, Jainism and Sikhism, some of which are older than Christianity, Judaism or Islam. There is, therefore, a kind of double diversity in India, not only between different cultural and religious groups, but also within the religious groups of common origin. During their 2008 visits to India, British Prime Minister Gordon Brown and French President Sarkozy praised India as a multicultural, multilingual and multi-religious society. India's pluralism is interpreted in unique ways by Indians and by non-Indians, and it is difficult for anyone to comprehend the totality of the proverbial "Indian elephant." But unlike Canada or Australia, such deep plurality has not been ordained through Legislative Acts. Each country had its own reasons for adopting pluralism. India has provided constitutional props, after having opted for a written Constitution. These are manifested in *Fundamental Rights* and *Directive Principles of State Policy* of the Indian Constitution. The first are embedded as Rights, which are enforceable through the courts, while the latter are in the form of directives to the Government, and are not justiceable.

Multiculturalism: Challenges & Management

India's principal challenges have been to ensure linguistic diversity and communal harmony among a wide variety of religious groups. This has largely been achieved through constitutional amendments such as that of 1955, which was a guarantee of the continuation of English as an associate official language, to deflect strong opposition from then-state Tamil Nadu to make Hindi the only official language. Similarly, through another constitutional amendment in 1976, the word 'secular' was added to the Preamble of the Constitution. In an Indian context, 'secularism,' like 'non-violence,' is a positive concept, which allows freedom to profess and propagate religion. The word 'propagate' gives rise to contention, in the case of perceived forced proselytization. How to maintain communal harmony among diverse religious groups remains the primary concern of the Indian government and civil society.

Globally, we are faced with a complex picture of multiculturalism under pressure at various levels and from diverse sources, particularly after 9/11. At times, policies followed by governments compound difficulties in managing multiculturalism. This can be seen from the coverage of the following developments, in the media:

- The Malaysian Government's objection to the use of the word '*Allah'* in Christian prayers.[262]
- The reappearance of cartoons of the Prophet Mohammad, creating serious tensions in Denmark.[263]
- Racial tensions in Malaysia arising out of protests by the Hindu Group HINDRAF,[264] and by former Deputy Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim's criticism of the government for the its handling of the HINDRAF march, and his presentation of roses to Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi.[265]
- The Prime Minister of Australia tendering an apology to Aborigines, describing their forcible conversion to the Australian way of life as a 'national shame.'[266]
- Indian Tennis Star's Sania Mirza's decision not to participate in tournaments in India as a reaction to pressures from fundamentalists.[267]
- The government's proposal to reserve jobs for Muslim minorities in the private sector as a follow up to the Sachar Committee's Report.[268]
- Multiculturalism in general coming under pressure in the Netherlands from Conservatives.[269]
- Archbishop of Canterbury Rowan Williams' call for inclusion of certain aspects of *Shariat* Law into the British Common Law, which has drawn criticism from both Christians and Muslims.[270]
- An Indian's successful suit against racism in the UK.[271]
- The repeal of the ban on not wearing *hijabs* in Turkey.[272]

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[262] The BBC News coverage in Asia News, February 1, 2008.
[263] 'Danish Papers republish Prophet Toon', The Times of India, February 14, 2008
[264] Thomas Fuller, 'Indian Discontent Fuels Rising Tension in Divided Malaysia,' The Times of India, February 11, 2008.
[265] Anwar criticizes Malaysian Government for crackdown on Indians, The Tribune February 18, 2008.
[266] Australia apologizes to aborigines for past sufferings, The Hindustan Times February 14, 2008.
[267] Cartoon Sania getting her foot enmeshed in the Tennis Racket, The Hindu February, 2008.
[268] Rashmi Roshan Lall, 'Stand by for the British Shah Bano Case', The Times of India, February 11, 2008.
[269] 'UK Indian wins racism case against Honda', The Tribune February 14, 2008.
[270] 'Turkish Law Makers lift head-scarf ban', The Times of India, February 10, 2008.
[271] Jijay Dutt, 'UK's South Asian Women battered for family honours', The Hindustan Times, February 11, 2008.
[272] Shailesh Gaikwad, 'Arrested, bailed, arrived', The Hindustan Times, February 14, 2008.

- Widespread concern over abuse of South Asian women in the UK.[273]
- The call by Raj Thackeray, leader of the *Maharashtra Nav Nirman Sena* (MNS,) declaring Maharashtra for the Maharashtrians;[274] and its condemnation by political leaders L.K. Advani and other intellectuals as against the letter and the spirit of the Constitution.[275]
- Lord Meghnath Desai, a UK intellectual coming down heavily on the Indian Reservation System as a means of fracturing Indian identity – "There are no Indian citizens left, there are only OBCs and *Dalits* and Hindus and Muslims, and you get your agent to get your entitlement."[276]
- Brampton-based Baljinder Badesho fighting against the helmet law as discriminating against Sikh tenets.[277]

Canada has struck a delicate but largely successful balance between the French language/ culture and the English, as well as between Catholicism and Protestantism. But with the opening of Canada to non-whites to serve its economic needs has come 'multiculturalism via biculturalism' which requires some degree of integration into either British or French culture.

India and Canada, as multicultural societies have, therefore, arrived through different routes and by adopting different models to their respective pluralist states; the essence in each case is not in the legislation alone, but its implementation, in law and in spirit, and perhaps most importantly in policy and management. Here, civil society applies strategic rather than tactical pressure, and government must respond by not using the electoral process to turn communal issues into vote banks, whether "Moditva" (the Hindu vote banks of the BJP,) Mayawati Model (the Dalit-Brahmin Partnership,) the Secularism Model (Minority Appeasement of Congress) or the revival of erstwhile slogans in Mumbai for Maharashtrians (cartoon in Hindu-Feb.5, 2008.) Positive discrimination has been accepted as state policy in many parts of the world, but must be temperately and judiciously placed to strengthen the spirit of multiculturalism.

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[273] Cartoon – 'North Indians go'; 'I am the rightful heir to the Shiv Sena Legacy', The Hindu February 5, 2008.
[274] Cartoon – Violentine's Day, (marking the Valentines' Day) The Hindu February 14, 2008.
[275] N.K. Singh, 'We the Migrants', The Sunday Express, February 17, 2008.
[276] 'The Idea Exchange', Lord Meghnath Desai's free willing interaction with journalists, The Sunday Express, February 17, 2008.
[277] Sikhs undertake speed trial to challenge helmet rule, The Tribune February 18, 2008.

Appendix IV: The Bridging Indo-Canadian Diaspora

By Ambassador (Retd.) Paramjit S Sahai

Canada perceives a role for the Diaspora that could be leveraged to "promote political dialogue both nationally and internationally, and utilized to promote global political and economic relations."[278] What the Indian Diaspora can actually do depends on its strength in Canada and its connectivity with India. If the Indo-Canadian Diaspora is perceived as having a fractured identity, its potential may be reduced, but, if synonymous with cultural diversity, perhaps this population will have more impact. More ideally, Former Premier of British Columbia Ujjal Dosanjh, who was honoured with Pravasi Award at the first PBD in January 2003, stated that he viewed himself simultaneously "as an Indian and as a Canadian."[279] What means are currently available to facilitate links between Canada's Indian Diaspora and India to the advantage of both?

India's Engagement with Diaspora

At the global level, India has wooed its Diaspora since the 1970s through various policy initiatives to attract remittances, investments and participation in development projects. India succeeded in getting remittances because of attractive interest rates. In India, the bulk of remittances come from the gulf countries, but North American remittances are increasing. In 2006, these reportedly reached 50% of total remittances to India from the US, amounting to $26 billion.

But a Diaspora should play a role beyond remittance. In January 2008, Shinder suggested that Diaspora involvement could be in the form of five T's: transfer of money, tourism, trade, transport and telecommunications.[280] At the same time, it has to be remembered that "any

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[278] 'Canadian Diversity: Policy Imperative' – Report of the Liberal Review Commission, 08/06.
[279] Ujjal Dosanjh, former Premier of British Columbia (Canada) at PBD- 01/09/03, New Delhi.
[280] Professor Shinder Thandi, 'Beyond Remittances: Can the Diaspora be a Strategic Asset in Economic and Social Prosperity: A Case Study of the State of Punjab', Conference on Indian Diaspora, CRRID, Chandigarh, 01/14-15/08.

kind of relationship between India and its Diaspora cannot be based on goodwill, love and patriotism alone."[281] Although the Indian Diaspora connects through remittances and investment guided by commercial considerations, involvement in the development of the home country is dictated by other than pecuniary considerations. Lord Bhikhu Parekh, cynical on investments, felt nonetheless that the Diaspora had "a role to play in the development of the home country."[282]

Structured and formalized interaction between India and its Diaspora began on January 9, 2003, which was declared the Pravasi Bharatiya Diwas (Indian Diaspora Day.) This date marked the return to India of the Father of the Indian Nation – Mahatma Gandhi, from South Africa. Then-Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee described the event as a "celebration of Jugalbandi" (connectivity or harmonious blending) between the 22 million members of the Indian Diaspora and their motherland, between Bharatvasis (Indians) and Bharatvanshis (Indian Diaspora.)[283] This event has become an annual feature since, connecting around 1,500 Diaspora from over 50 countries, who have an opportunity to listen to and interact with Indian dignitaries, including the President and Prime Minister. The value of this event may be debatable, but it does connect India with its Diaspora, and generates awareness of each other's requirements and perceptions. Over time, the PBD forum could usefully facilitate the capacity of Canada's Indian Diaspora to build more meaningful bridges with India.

PBD 2008 – India's Agenda

At the All-India level, the focus at the Pravasi Bharatiya Diwas 2008 was on "Development" as opposed to "Investments," which was the theme of PBD-2007. This emphasis resulted from inadequate response towards investment, as noted by Minister Vayalar Ravi.[284] In his inaugural address, the Indian Prime Minister exhorted the Diaspora to join as "active partners in this exciting journey of India's progress and prosperity," in keeping with the theme "Engaging the Diaspora: The Way Forward." They key to this new partnership between

[281] Lord Bhikhu Parekh, London School of Economics, UK at PBD -01/09/03.
[282] Ibid.
[283] Inaugural Address of Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Prime Minister of India, PBD -01/09/03.
[284] Vayalar Ravi, Minister, MOIA.

India and its Diaspora was education; Prime Minister Manmohan Singh expressed a desire to see India "empowered through education."[285] To focus India's priorities, he defined the 11th Five Year Plan (2007-12) as the *Education Plan of India*. India has sought Diasporas' involvement in three areas: the empowerment of women, the development of India as a knowledge society, and the strengthening of cultural links. Within these areas, sectors most inviting participation are education, health, small-to-medium-scale institutes, rural development and microfinancing. The PBD 2008 also brought announcements of some new initiatives:

- Progress made on the setting up of the PIO University was noted, as bidders' tenders were under examination.
- The Overseas Indian Facilitation Centre (OIFC,) a public/private partnership between the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA) and the Confederation of Indian Industries (CII) was set up in May 2007 to act as a focal point for the Diaspora for investment and development projects. A 'market place' under the OIFC was operational at the PBD 2008 to provide connectivity.
- Plans to set up a Diaspora Centre in New Delhi were unveiled.
- The establishment of the Prime Minister's Global Advisory Council of People of Indian Origin to share knowledge and experience.
- The launch of the India Development Foundation for channeling funds from Diaspora towards human development in India.

Punjab has been holding its own annual *Sammelans* (get-togethers) of overseas Punjabis, and, unlike previous years, chose to hold a two-day event. The first, on January 5, was at Chandigarh, and was for 250 invited guests, and the second was an open house on January 6 for approximately 1000 people at Jalandhar, the migration centre of Punjab. On both occasions Chief Minister Prakash Singh Badal was present with all cabinet ministers, the chief secretary, and other senior officers. The theme was "A New Partnership," and the tone was of serious, sincere commitment to a results-oriented approach. The emphasis was on the state government's role rather than the seeking of NRI investments.

[285] Inaugural Address: Prime Minister Manmohan Singh at PBD 01/08/08, New Delhi.

The leadership projected Punjab as a land of opportunities, with the government aggressively and expeditiously pursuing projects to regain Punjab's status as the number one state in India. Areas ripe for investment were in infrastructure (airports, roads,) social infrastructure (education, health and water development,) rural development and urban housing. The government assured the Diaspora of its willingness to provide security on their investments, a one-window clearance system, and time-bound implementation of projects. It also assured them that it was willing to take care of their concerns on property and personal security by setting up NRI courts, NRI police stations in six districts, and by making extensive use of websites informing viewers of the status of properties and offences. The chief minister also announced a new committee of parliamentarians from Punjab, with Mr. Sukhdev Singh Dhindsa, Member of Indian Parliament, as contact to interact with Indo-Canadian parliamentarians. He also promised to hold the next meeting in Canada, in response to a suggestion by Ruby Dhalla. The Chief Minister also announced the government's decision to enhance its share to 75% from 50% in respect of NRI-supported development projects under a scheme for community development.

Indo-Canadians: Areas of Concern & Connectivity

Impressive Indo-Canadian participation was seen at the PBD-2008 and the Punjabi NRI Sammelan. Minister Harinder Thakar from British Columbia was the Chief Guest at the plenary on business opportunities, while Dr. Ruby Dhalla (MP,) Mr. Sunil Jugasia, (president of the ICCC,) and Mr. Kasi Rao of Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children participated as speakers at the working session on North America. At the NRI Panjabi Sammelans at Chandigarh and Jalandhar, Canadian participants included Ujjal Singh Dosanjh, Ruby Dhalla, Harvinder Thakar, Gurbux Malhi, and Gunwant Grewal.

Indo-Canadian participation in Punjab was concentrated more on seeking commitments from the government to look after matters of concern to the Indo-Canadian Diaspora, which included reassurances regarding land disputes, urban property, personal safety, removal from blacklists, and the publishing of lists of proclaimed offenders. Other discussions dealt with a variety of matters in connection to these events:

- Only 5% of Indo-Canadians could invest or participate in development projects.[286] On another occasion, this number was thought to be 10%.[287]
- SMEs were the appropriate vehicle to promote trade and business links between India and Canada, in particular, in agriculture, agro-processing, and rural development.[288]
- Canada was a land of hope, equality and opportunity. Indo-Canadians felt they had a significant profile and yet wanted to give back to the home country.
- Relationships between Canadian NRIs and Punjab should go beyond investments, by building trust between NRIs and government through knowledge sharing, by looking at the best practices of governance, and by making government more transparent and accountable.[289]
- Concerns were expressed about fraud marriages, which were becoming a conduit for entry into Canada. Gurbax Singh Malhi had moved a motion in the Canadian House of Commons to plug this loophole through more stringent sponsorship rules.[290]
- To thwart illegal immigration, steps were being taken to regulate Gurdwaras as tax havens in the home, and steps were being taken to monitor illegal immigration.[291]
- Indian and Canadian Governments need to deal with extremism with an iron hand; any revival of extremists would disappoint NRIs who wished to invest in India.[292]
- The ICCC will promote projects and raise funds as in the past, and did not view Indo-Canadians as a fractured community.[293]
- NGOs such as Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children were willing to engage with India through exchanges and training programmes but need guidance.[294]
- There is a wish for the Canadian government to express regret for the Kamagata Maru episode of 1914.[295]

The Canadian Government Agenda

There has been an increase in visiting delegations from Canada to India, which is reflective of the desire of the Canadian Government to raise the level of its relationship with India. Then-Prime Minister Paul Martin, during his visit to Delhi in January 2005, expressed the

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[286] Ujjal Dosanh, Punjabi NRI, Sammelan Jalandhar, 01/06/08.
[287] The Punjabi Tribune, 01/05/08.
[288] Harvinder Takhar, PBD-01/09/08, New Delhi.
[289] Ajay Banerjee, "Look Beyond Dollars", Ruby Dhalla, The Tribune, 01/21/08.
[290] Ajay Banerjee, "Punjabi Origin MP takes up case in Canada, The Tribune, 01/14/08.
[291] Canadian Government becoming vigilant to stop 'kabutarbazi' – Malhi, The Ajit, 01/22/08.
[292] Mahesh Sharma, 'Revival of Terrorism to affect NRIs', The Tribune, 01/08/08.
[293] Sunil Jurasia, President, ICCC at Working Session PBD-01/09/08, New Delhi.
[294] Kashi Rao, Hospital for Sick Children, Toronto, at Working Session PBD-01/09/08.
[295] 'Kamagata Maru: Ruby to urge Canadian Government for apology,' The Tribune, 01/20/08.

desire to develop ties from a long-term perspective. Both Prime Ministers focused on the "core elements" of relationship: trade and investment, science and technology; environment and health. Martin wanted to diversify Canada's trade with India and other countries, with a view to lessening dependence on the US; both India and Canada agreed to take the following initiatives:

- To develop a tsunami early warning system as a collaborative venture among likeminded countries. India, however, expressed that it had capabilities to meet the challenges through its own resources.
- To encourage a CEO's Roundtable on trade and investment promotion, with focus on developing partnerships in environmental technologies;
- To develop long-term collaborations in information, bio and nano technologies.[296]

Premier McGuinty undertook his first visit to India in January 2007. The focus of visit was on cooperation in the areas of education, culture, research and innovation, infrastructure, financial services, information and communication technologies. During his visit, he met with the Chief Ministers of Punjab and Haryana, and addressed members of the Confederation of Indian Industry, whom he urged to develop ties with Canada. As a symbolic gesture to Indo-Canadians in Canada, the Premier paid homage at the Golden Temple, Amritsar and entered India from Pakistan through the Wagah-Attari land border. Mr. Harinder Takhar, Ontario's Minister for Small Business and Entrepreneurship, accompanied him on this trip and spoke of the need to establish collaboration among Indian and Canadian universities in order to foster industrial cooperation.

Trade between India and Ontario reached one billion dollars in 2005, which represented an increase of 80% over five years. In his discussions with Premier McGuinty, Mr. Bhupinder Singh Hooda, Chief Minister of Haryana, spoke of the possibility of mutual cooperation in automotive industry, power, agriculture and agri-food, education, infrastructure projects and the environment. Haryana is also likely to explore the possibility of exporting basmati rice to Canada.

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[296] Rajeev Sharma, 'Canada views India as big power", The Tribune, 01/19/05.

A large delegation led by Gordon Campbell, Premier of British Columbia, visited Punjab in December 2007. This visit underscored the value of a special bond with the Punjabis, as stated by Chief Minister Prakash Singh Badal. Badal sought British Columbia's assistance in strengthening the areas of education, healthcare and information technology, and the exchange of scientific technical know-how. Canada gave assurance for cooperation upgrading technical skills and knowledge through experts and teachers' exchange programmes particularly in primary and secondary education, telemedicine, bio, nano and information technologies.[297] Premier Campbell was accompanied by a group of 20 educators, with the aim of signing MoUs with Indian Universities/Institutes. Vice Chancellor Professor R.C. Sobti noted that the Panjab University had MoUs with the University of Manitoba, with Simon Fraser University and the University College of Fraser Valley. Premier Campbell acknowledged that British Columbia needed manpower and hoped India could contribute; targeted were the states of Punjab and Haryana. The Province was facing a shortage of 3,50,000 professionals and immigration process under the Provincial Nominee Programme had resulted in accelerating pace for the clearance of visas. Further steps were being taken to simplify these procedures.[298] Campbell also promised to look into the cases of refused visas, while his Attorney General and Minister of Multiculturalism Waly Oppal touched on the issue of abuse of visas resulting in the desertion of NRI Brides.[299]

Ground Realities: Status on Development Projects in Punjab & Canada's Role

The Punjab government took the initiative in 1998 to involve the Diaspora in development projects, by encouraging them to adopt villages for development under a programme called "*Mera Pind"* (My Village.) Under this scheme, called CD 2.35, the Punjab government contributes, on a fifty-fifty basis with Diaspora, to village development. The plan began in a relatively small way, but Rs.50 crore (Rs.500 million, or US $ 11.4 million) has been earmarked as Punjab's contribution from FY 2005-06 onwards. The scheme operates under

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[297] 'Badal seeks cooperation from the British Premier', The Indian Express, 12/4/07.
[298] 'Canada banking on India for fulfilling its human resource requirements', The Indian Express 12/4/07.
[299] Naveen S. Grewal, 'British Chamber Seeks Manpower,' The Tribune, 12/4/07.

the *Department of Rural Development and Panchayats* but was shifted to the NRI Department in April 2004. From its meager beginnings from 1998 to 2004, the government's share was Rs.1.64 crores (Rs.16.4 million or US $ 0.37 million) for 13 projects in the districts of Patiala, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana and Kapurthala. Within FY 2004-05, the amount was Rs.45 lakhs (Rs.4.5 million or US $ 0.1 million) for 3 projects in Ludhiana and Hoshiarpur, and has increased to Rs.166 lakhs (Rs.16.6 million or US $0.38 million) for 46 projects in Patiala, Nawanshahr and Jalandhar.

The Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development (CRRID) undertook a field survey of these projects in the district of Hoshiarpur between January and May of 2007.[300] Indo-Canadians led the group, although most of the projects had begun to acquire multi-country status, given support from Diaspora of a number of countries. Diaspora preferred to finance projects individually rather than in tandem with government support. Their interests and support were largely in areas of education, health and sanitation, although some villages were adopted for further development. Grassroots support at the district level was available, although concerns were expressed over local party politics and bureaucratic hurdles, which hindered the projects. Contribution of local share and maintenance were the other issues, which still need to be addressed fully. The Indo-Canadian projects reveal five broad patterns of development:

An Integrated Village Development Approach: A Canadian group, the Indo-Canadian Friendship Society of British Columbia, adopted an Integrated Village Development approach, starting with the village Kharaundi, in 2003. Dr. Gurdev Singh Gill and Dr. Raghbir Bass are the principal initiators and motivators for this and other similar projects. This village has become the model for development of other villages, and was visited by the then-President of India in 2007.

A Combined Health and Education Project Approach: The Guru Nanak Mission Medical and Education Trust, Dhahan Kaleran, of the Hoshiarpur district, adopted this approach. The project was initiated in 1994 by Baba Budh Singh Dhahan of Vancouver, BC, and now

[300] The author was present on a number of these district visits.

operates a hospital, a nursing college and a senior secondary college. It has an exchange programme with the University of British Columbia (UBC.)

A Joint Approach: The AAPI Charitable Hospital in Kartarpur, Jalandhar, was initiated in 1991 by Vijay Kalhan of Toronto and was located at their original family home. It is now a joint project; the American Association of Physicians of Indian Origin (AAPI) has joined with the project in order to upgrade the facilities. The hospital iyself has adopted a village as a part of its preventative healthcare facility.

Health Camps: This approach was taken by Canadian Eyesight International, of Vancouver, which has, for some time now, held eye camps in various parts of India. They now plan to institute an eye hospital with a commitment from the Punjab government to support their activities.

Four leading Indo-Canadian philanthropists, all currently involved with development projects, shared their views and perceptions at a CRRID seminar in January, 2008:

- Dr. Gurdev Gill spoke of the need to adopt the Integrated Village Development Approach. He asserted that sanitation was the key, because India has spent over Rs.5 billion every year in treating water-related diseases. As per their estimates, Rs. 25,000 per person was necessary to provide basic amenities. Mr. Vijay Kalhan stressed the need for providing basic health facilities and starting the same at the grassroots level. He was encouraged by the Canadian System, which provided basic health amenities to people. He stressed the need for a local partner.
- Mr. Anup Singh Jubbal stressed the need for timely support from the government. They had so far completed 46,000 eye operations under their programme 'Eye Sight India.' They were looking for support, not only financial, from the government.
- Baba Budh Singh stressed that health and education were the primary targets for development in any country, and that within these aims attention must be paid to the maintainance of identity through language, and that sponsor's committed work ethics and discipline were essential.

At CRRID, two Punjab Centres were set up in 2003, with a view to connecting community between the two at the grassroots level. Initial beginnings have been made through exchanges of delegations of farmers, opinion-makers and media personalities. A workshop on infrastructure linkages between the two Punjabs was held in May 2005. Emerging at present are considerations of investment, with a tripartite approach between an MNC, India and

Pakistan; at this point, it is premature to contemplate connecting these centres with Canada, but it is nonetheless worth mentioning that Ontario Premier Mcguinty crossed the Wagah-Attari land border between India andPakistan during his visit in January 2007. Although symbolic in nature, the event forecasts the likelihood of connectivity in the future.

Conclusion & Policy Recommendations

Indo-Canadians are willing to forge greater links between Canada and India, but it may be that only 5 to10% of Indo-Canadians appear to be in positions enabling this, and these have restricted themselves generally to Punjab, which state's good governance has bearing on matters of Indo-Canadian Diaspora personal safety, safeguarding of land and urban property.

Indo-Canadians' cultural baggage with respect to women and girls, the perception of being a fractured community, and the lingering centrality of Gurdwara remain require deep revisioning.

Both India and Canadian governments clearly wish to strengthen not only bilateral relationships, but to promote cooperation on international issues. Any viable policy or programme should have the support of the trilogy: both governments and Indo-Canadians. A multi-pronged and multi-agency approach will facilitate some if not all of the recommendations below:

- Establish a berth for an Indo-Canadian in the PM's Advisory Council on PIOs;
- Form a group of Indian Members of Parliament specifically for interaction with their Canadian counterparts;
- Hold Pravasi Divas in Canada such as are held in the US, particulary as the 2007 one;
- Reactivate the Indian-Canadian Chamber of Commerce;
- Establish linkages at the university level;
- Establish an Association of Canadian Scholars comprised of Indians who have studied in Canada;
- Canada should consider sponsoring a youth delegation for participation at PBD-2009, with the Punjab State as a partner;
- The Association of Indian Physicians in Canada should develop an MoU with MOIA;

To achieve the above and other objectives, it is equally important to develop an infrastructure, which could meet such challenges and facilitate Indo-Canadian links through a multi-pronged and multi-national approach. We need:

- A greater push toward bilateral relationships at the federal level.
- Institutionalization of a relationship at the level of Parliamentarians, i.e. "Friends of India and Canada." Such a group in Canada already exists informally.
- To establish links at the state/province level; Punjab and British Columbia seem to be natural allies. Chief Minister Prakash Singh Badal has talked publicly of signing an MoU.
- To establish a *Friendly City* relationship through the twinning of such cities as Vancouver or Toronto with Chandigarh.
- To strengthen links between the ICCC and the CII, since the latter is designated the Indian locus for Diaspora-related investments and/or development through OIFC and other similar bodies.
- To promote cross-linkages among NGOs involved in socio-economic issues, and in particular, with gender issues.
- To set up India Centres in Canada and Canada Centres in Universities in India.
- To set up a Centre for Diaspora Studies in Canada to focus on Indo-Canadians. A similar Centre exists in Australia.
- Media, in particular, the Ethnic Media, has to mature and generate awareness in a positive and professional manner, about the two countries and the two peoples.
- A Friendship Association of Canadian Scholars, like the British Association, with headquarters in Delhi and branches in other cities like Chandigarh, could become a useful connection at the Indian end.

All is possible through a free flow of people, as only then do ideas and projects follow, which ultimately enables progressively easier implementation of the recommendations above.

Appendix V: The Indo-Canadian Diaspora: A Preliminary Survey & Analysis

By Jane Dougan

Introduction

In 2007, the Center for the Study of Democracy (CSD) at Queen's University in Canada embarked upon "Building Bridges: A Case Study on the Role of the Indian Diaspora in Canada." The project's purpose was to examine the present and potential role of Indo-Canadian society as a critical component in developing strategic partnerships between India and Canada. The further strengthening of such an international alliance is seen as benefitting both countries in many areas; e.g., trade, public policy, good governance and democracy. India is the world's largest democracy, and is on the threshold of becoming a major economic powerhouse for the 21st century. However, it faces considerable challenges, not the least of which are continued poverty reduction, and increased environmental deterioration brought on in part by growing energy demands.[301] Canada, a democratic federation with an official policy of multiculturalism, has had ongoing involvement in South Asia, and now faces challenges in terms of wise management of energy resources and threats from climate change. By 2009, it is anticipated that the largest group of immigrants to Canada will be from India. There is considerable scope therefore for international collaboration, and much to be gained in this by the citizens of both countries, and, indeed, by the broader global community.

As a component of the project, in early 2008 the CSD co-hosted Roundtables in Toronto and India (in New Delhi and Chandigarh, Punjab) to discuss relevant perspectives. Participants at the Toronto Roundtable (held on January 30, 2008 and co-hosted by the *Indian Institute of Technology Alumni Canada*) were asked to assist in disseminating awareness of a web-based

[301] Dwivedi, O.P. (2007) "India in a globalised world: Transforming bureaucracy for the well-being and prosperity of all." *Indian Journal of Public Administration* Vol. III, No.4, 717-741.

survey amongst their contacts. The survey was designed to provide supplemental data on the Indo-Canadian Diaspora.

Methodology

Survey respondents were approached by snowball sampling, in which previously identified members of the Indo-Canadian Diaspora were asked to contact potential respondents from within Indo-Canadian society. This was initiated through attendees at the Toronto Roundtable meeting on January 30, 2008. The survey was housed on SurveyMonkey.com, an online survey design and questionnaire tool.

Participation was voluntary and the survey was self-administered on-line in real time. The survey was wholly in written English.[302] Only one response was allowed per computer. Respondents could not return to the survey once they had finished it or had left the server, but, while the survey was in progress, they could go back to previous pages and edit or update their responses. On entering the survey, a short introduction thanked respondents in advance for their participation, gave a brief overview of the CSD "Building Bridges" research project, and assured anonymity. Respondents were instructed that they could skip questions if they wished, although they were encouraged to provide as much information as possible. The estimated time for completion was ten minutes. Survey questions were closed (respondents chose from pre-selected alternatives) and open-ended. There were 71 questions in all. Closed questions (#1-64) were grouped according to four categories:

- Family, Community and Social Relationships (#1-18)
- Economic, Political and Cultural Activity in Canada (#19-37)
- Economic, Political and Cultural Activity Abroad (#38-52)
- Identity and Demographics (#53-64)

The final seven questions (#65-71) were classified under the heading *Open Questions*.

[302] The language of the survey (English) was not necessarily a significant filter to respondents. Statistics Canada reports that in 2001, 85% of the Indo-Canadian Diaspora could converse in English. (Statistical figures for written English literacy are not given.)

Respondents needed to be a member of Indo-Canadian society, fluent in written English, with access to the Internet, and able to successfully complete a questionnaire online. Ninety-seven respondents started the online survey, of which 82 (84.5%) completed it. The first response was submitted on February 9th 2008; the last on April 25th 2008.

Analysis/Interpretation

Family, Community & Social Relationships (Questions 1-18)

The first group of questions related to birthplace, ethnicity and assimilation. The response rate to this section was good; on average, only 7 people (7%) skipped a question. The majority of respondents (almost 90%) were first-generation immigrants; just over 10% were second-generation.[303] This is comparative to the Indo-Canadian Diaspora overall, most of which (67%) were born outside of the country.[304] In almost all cases (95%), respondents indicated that both parents were born in India.

Most respondents (71%) had spouses or partners of the same ethnic background. Ten percent had partners of a different ethnicity. Interestingly, all of these were first-generation immigrants; one might have expected second-generation immigrants to be more likely to marry outside their ethnic group.

One question (#5) asked whether and how respondents encouraged their children to maintain their heritage, given four broad choices of related activities. The majority (43%) selected adherence to religious practices, followed by speaking the native language at home (35.5%). An equal number (30%) required their children to attend related cultural events and to wear traditional clothing, when appropriate. Respondents could choose more than one answer; eleven people indicated that they required their children to comply with all of the activities.

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[303] The presumption was that second-generation immigrants were born in Canada, but this was not explicit. One respondent commented later in open question responses that they would have appreciated more clarification of was what meant by "second-generation".

[304] Lindsay, Colin. (2007) "The East Indian Community in Canada". Analytical Paper. Statistics Canada, Social and Aboriginal Statistics Division. Ministry of Industry, Canada.

The final possible selection was "None of the above. I encourage my children to assimilate as much as possible." Of the 27% who selected this, eight (32%) also selected one or more of the activity responses. Perhaps the boundaries of allegiance are not seen as clearly distinguished; e.g., one can support one's children in retaining aspects of their traditional Indian heritage, while at the same time encouraging their assimilation into broader Canadian society. This also supports findings that suggest the majority of the Diaspora feel "a sense of belonging" to both Canada and their country of origin.[305]

English is spoken always or often at home with children (78%) and spouse/partner (59%); sometimes or never with parents (46%). It is again perhaps counter-intuitive that only first-generation immigrants (16 respondents, 18%) indicated that they always spoke English with their spouse and children. Inter-generational conflicts within families based on cultural values were the exception (38%) rather than the norm (62%). Respondents were unlikely to speak their native language at work, almost never with management or administration. Almost one-quarter indicated that they occasionally spoke their native language with workplace peers; 11% with clients or support staff. This supports findings that when a member of the Diaspora speaks a non-official language, this is most likely to be in the home.[306]

Most (91%) did not prefer to work with people of their ethnic background, although almost 20% found it "challenging" to work with white or non-Indian Canadians. Just over half (52%) spend social time with people of other ethnic backgrounds, and a majority (77%) found it easy to become good friends with white or non-Indian Canadians. They are more inclined to have friends from similar ethnic (45.5%) or economic (43%) backgrounds, than to focus on religious (7%) and political (4.5%) similarities.

Respondents indicated wide involvement with charitable organizations and/or volunteer work (97%), followed by religious institutions and community (44%), social clubs (24%) and politics (19%). There was double-digit participation in each of the wide-ranging community activities identified, with the exception of community theatre (9%). Only 15% indicated that

[305] Lindsay, Colin, p 17.
[306] Lindsay, Colin, p 12.

they did not participate in any of the selected activities. In a following question (#15), a majority (54%) indicated their willingness to engage in community activities.[307]

There are similarities here to the broader Diaspora community in Canada, 48% of which indicated in 2001 that they had participated in a sports team or church event.[308]

Family is a critical source of support, being either the first or second place respondents turn to for help with personal, family, social or financial (especially educational) concerns. The other most common source of non-financial support is associates within the ethnic community. This differs most when very specialized knowledge is needed; e.g., for physical or mental health concerns almost all (95.3%) look first to a medical practitioner, just as 72% seek income tax assistance from an independent financial advisor. With family or business financial needs, or unexpected expenses, respondents turn to a Canadian bank first, but family in Canada second.

Visa issues may prevent Indians from emigrating, working or studying in Canada. One-quarter of respondents knew of examples in each instance. Almost half (47%) knew of cases where Indians had encountered problems in emigrating, and over one-third (35%) where there had been problems working. Just less than one-third, however, knew of no such experiences. The survey question did not include mention of visas to allow family visits to Canada from India, but this emerged later in open questions (#71) as additional area of concern.

Economic, Political & Cultural Activity in Canada (Questions 19-37)

On average, 14 respondents (14%) skipped a question in this section. Only two people were unemployed; most (33%) were in business or self-employed entrepreneurs (28%). When asked whether they would either like to own, or already owned, their own business in Canada, it is perhaps surprising that the percentage answering in the affirmative (55%)

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[307] While questions 16 and 17 distinguished between "community" within and outside the Diaspora, this was not explicit in the preceding questions, (e.g., "community theatre", "community activities"), and so responses may relate to either or both. The possible responses to Question 15 suggest that it refers to activities outside the Diaspora community.

[308] Lindsay, Colin, p 17.

wasn't higher, given that the question made no distinction between those for whom business ownership was a reality or an aspiration. In business/career networking, generational similarities were most important, whether or not there was a shared ethnicity. About two-thirds (66%) reported considerable or some success regularly in financial or business enterprises with colleagues outside of their ethnic group in Canada, although an equal or higher number (21-39%) felt this was not applicable to their situation. Most were unaware of federal or provincial resources towards strengthening the Indo-Canadian community or individual entrepreneurship, and almost 70% would like to see more related initiatives at the federal level.

One of the underlying questions posed by the Research Proposal for the "Building Bridges" project is gaining a clearer understanding of the complexities of identity within the Indian Diaspora. How is it defined? When asked to choose, just over half felt that social institutions of the Indian Diaspora were based on language, then religion (26%.) A tantalizing 20% indicated that the Diaspora was based on an unidentified "other." One respondent to an open question (#71) emphasized that the Diaspora was not based on language, caste or religion, but essentially "on being Indian."

While just over 10% felt that multiculturalism in Canada was "a myth", the majority (64%) recognized that it was a point of pride for most Canadians. An equal number (64%) participated enthusiastically in Canadian cultural events, although 20% report "mixed feelings". Interestingly, of those who did not participate in Canadian cultural events (13 answers, 15.5%), none indicated in Question 15 that they were reluctant to engage in community activities because they had experienced racism. In correlating Questions 15 and 28, it would appear that some do not participate because of little time (4 answers) or preferring to spend time with their own family or ethnic group (3 answers.)

Questions 15 and 27 both dealt with issues of discrimination. A slightly higher percentage (56%) felt that they had faced some degree of discrimination in seeking work in Canada. In

this, they echoed Statistics Canada findings relating to the broader Indian community, where 49% reported experiencing discrimination.[309]

Reflecting back to the earlier question on visa problems (#18), it is encouraging that almost half of respondents felt that current Canadian immigration policies were much better than "in the past", although one-third didn't know.[310] Almost all had personal or familial experience of having to retrain or recertify in order to work in their field in Canada.

A significant percentage of respondents voted provincially (74%), federally (71%, compared to 61% for Canadians overall, according to the 2004 census), and municipally (60%). In this, they are similar to the broader Indo-Canadian Diaspora, of which 66% of those who were eligible voted in the last federal election[311]. For the most part, however, they did not regularly participate in political activities at any level. Any such involvement was occasional, and most likely to be provincial in scope. A high percentage (84%) would like to see more lobbying on behalf of Indo-Canadian interests. A little over one-third (38%) had experience of political lobbying in Canada; of these, 26% had been considerably or somewhat successful. This supports the suggestion of the "Building Bridges" Case Study Report that there has been no organized lobbying effort amongst Indo-Canadians to promote Indian interests, or vice-versa.

There appears to be considerable room for improvement in terms of the perceived success of the Canadian government and the private sector in engaging Indo-Canadians in trade, investment, education, science and technology, and social philanthropy/development cooperation. Only a small percentage (4-14%) rated efforts to have been "very effective." This was seen as "somewhat effective" in education (44%) as well as science and technology (37%). With investment and social philanthropy/development cooperation, 36% saw effectiveness "in certain ways," but any such attempts were seen as "not very effective" in

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[309] Lindsay, Colin, p 17.
[310] The question did not clarify as to whether reference to "the past" related to personal or family experience, or the historical record, or set any boundaries around the time period. This is not of great importance; the important finding is that there is a perception that immigration policies are improving, but it might be interesting in future questions to allow respondents to specify the comparative time period.
[311] Lindsay, Colin, p 17.

trade; (a key focus of the "Building Bridges" project.) Similarly, the highest percentage of respondents (40.5%) felt that Canadian laws, policies and economic conditions did not enhance their association with colleagues in India, although one-third indicated benefit "to some degree."

Economic, Political & Cultural Activity Abroad (Questions 38-52)

On average, 16 respondents (16.5%) skipped a question in this section. Those surveyed were most likely to visit India every 2-3 years (49%), and 30% returned annually or bi-annually. It was assumed that all returned to visit at some point ("never" was not a possible choice). Only one respondent did not have family members in India, and one-fifth (17-18%) had investments or was involved in Indian-based business or non-governmental organizations. Just fewer than 40% have financial interests in Indian enterprises. Respondents were most likely to have weekly contact with family members in India (52%), and occasional contact with non-family members of their ethnic group (45%). In an increasingly globalised world, it is worth noting that the geo-political links of the Diaspora extend beyond Canada and India; respondents were equally likely to have occasional contact with family and members of their ethnic group living in other countries (35%). In comparison to Question 20, in which 55% indicated that they either already had ownership of a Canadian-based business or would like to do so, a slightly higher percentage (60.5%) already actively participate in an Indian-based venture while resident in Canada, or would like to do so. However, most (58-68%) indicated no experience of financial or business enterprises with colleagues in India, suggesting that the answer to the previous question may have reflected aspirations more than present realities. Over one-third (32%) had experienced some or considerable regular success in such international enterprises.

The highest percentage (59%) indicate that Canadian policy makers and politicians don't understand present-day India very well, although one-third suggest there may be a moderate understanding. Half of respondents are only somewhat inclined to agree that Canada has failed to develop cornerstones and initiatives for two-way trade with India, although 49% agree absolutely. Earlier, respondents had been asked to what extent Canadian policies

enhanced their association with colleagues India; not at all, to some degree or a great deal. Most (40.5%) had responded not at all, while 30% had, to some degree. A similar pattern held when asked whether Indian policies and trade affected them in Canada; 38% said no, while one-third (30.5%) felt that there was an effect.

Over half (53%) do not object to certain Western corporate/business/financial practices becoming prominent in India. One-fifth of respondents object, and almost one-third are undecided. Perhaps relatedly, 42% felt that their ongoing relationship with members of their home country had not resulted in cultural changes in either country, nor had these had political value (66%). However, 43% felt there had been economic benefit to some in India.

A majority (69%) agreed that there were good reasons why Indians wishing to immigrate to North America should choose Canada rather than the USA, even if research indicates that economic prospects for them are better south of the border. It should be noted, however, that respondents are already in Canada; it would be interesting to ask a similar question of Indians applying to immigrate to North America. In later open questions (#69, #70), several respondents indicated that they had found greater economic success in the USA, but this had not necessarily altered their wish to live in Canada. For example, "I would like to come back to Canada, but I can't because I can't have proper work in Canada … Canada is nowhere in my radar, though it is the best place to live, if profession was not the issue". Another wrote "… to succeed, I had to go to the USA, get some North American experience, and then come back to Canada. Now, I can honestly say that Canada has given me much more than USA or India ever could."

Turning to consideration of higher education, most (69%) did not know of anyone who had wanted to come to Canada to study but gone elsewhere because of visa problems. Nevertheless, there was strong agreement (90%) that Canadian universities were failing by not recruiting in India as heavily as their counterparts in the USA. Over-half (57%) did not know of India/Canada student-exchange programs and fellowships.

Identity & Demographics (Questions 53-64)

For the most part, respondents were middle-aged male professionals, with above-average education and incomes. By far the greatest number of respondents was male (86%), 35-64 years of age (78%). The most sizeable demographic were 45-54 years old (33%). There were no respondents under 16; youths (16-24) and young adults (25-34) were marginally represented at 6%. At the other end of the age demographic, some 10% were 65 and older. A high percentage (88%) was in their first marriage; one-tenth was single. This supports Statistics Canada findings that Canadians of East Indian origin are more likely to be married, and less likely to live in common-law relationships[312]. None were widowed; one was separated, and one divorced.

Almost all had post-secondary education; most had graduate, professional or doctoral degrees. Sixty-four percent had obtained a graduate degree in India. Almost 30% achieved a professional or doctoral degree since coming to Canada. This is a more-educated group than the Indian Diaspora in general (26% of which have graduate degrees, according to Statistics Canada figures for 2001)[313]. More than half (almost 60%) reported annual family incomes of over $100,000, and of this group, 35% earned over $140,000. Over 90% were born in India, and the majority identified themselves as Indo-Canadian (39.5%) or Canadian (36%). (The subtle nuances of such identification may be related in part to whether individuals had Canadian citizenship or landed-immigrant status, a distinction that was not specified.) Of the eighty percent who had children, an equal number (36%) were born in Canada and India. (Respondents were limited to one answer; some pointed out that they had children born in more than one country).

Two-thirds of respondents were Hindu, and 16% Sikh. This was a higher representation of Hindus than for the South Asian Diaspora in Canada in general, of which Hindus comprise 28% and Sikhs 30%.[314] Muslims and Christians were equally represented in the survey at 6%. This was a lower percentage of Muslims than in the broader Canadian Diaspora (where

[312] Lindsay, Colin p 12.
[313] Lindsay, Colin, p 13.
[314] Lindsay, Colin, p 11.

they number some 23%) but perhaps similar for Christians (8%, at least for Catholics). (Respondents could nominate only one choice of religion; the comment was made in open questioning that one might claim allegiance to more than one religious tradition.) Over one-third (43%) had observed their religion within the past week, and another 21% within the past month.

The linguistic and cultural diversity of the Diaspora was evident when respondents identified their first language. Hindi was in the majority (21%), followed by an equal number who were native Panjabi (14%) or English (14%) speaking. In decreasing order, Gujarati (10%), Tamil (9%), Bengali (7.5%), Marathi (5%), Malayalam (5%), Telugu (4%) and Oriya (2.5%) were also represented. The percentage of native Panjabi speakers is somewhat less than the representative number of Indo-Canadians; approximately half of the Indian Diaspora in Canada comes from the state of Punjab.

The Women's Voice

Recognizing that the sample size is small (11), it may be of interest to isolate the responses from women and see where they speak with a unified voice, and identify dissimilarities from the overall response pattern. A higher percentage (50% of women, compared to 36% of men) reported that they had experienced inter-generational conflicts based on cultural values. Women were less likely to speak their native language at work; this might occur occasionally with peers, clients or support staff, but never with management or administration. None of the female respondents preferred to work with people of their ethnic background and, unlike one-quarter of male respondents, all found it easy to be come good friends with white or non-Indian Canadians. The women who responded tended to be involved in a narrower range of community events, primarily volunteer work (60%) and charitable organizations (50%) but none with local political activities, music, community theatre or local sports. Perhaps not surprisingly, while the largest group of men (37%) was employed in the business sector, a similar percentage of women (36%) worked in education/child care/social services. Women were somewhat (55%) more aware of federal provincial resources to strengthen the Indo-Canadian community. All knew of someone who had to be re-trained or re-certified to work

in their field in Canada. They were more likely than men to agree that the Canadian government and private sector had been somewhat effective in their efforts to engage the Indo-Canadian community. Women were less likely than men to have financial interests in Indian enterprises, and (unlike men) most indicated that they either were not or did not wish to be active entrepreneurial partners in an Indian-based venture. All agreed that Canadian universities were failing in terms of recruitment in India. Like their male counterparts, they were well educated; just under half (45.5%) had obtained a graduate degree in India, while 36% had earned professional or doctoral degrees in Canada.

Open Questions (#65-71)

The final section of the survey included 7 open-ended questions. The average response rate for these was significantly lower than for the earlier closed questions, with over one-third (43%) declining to respond.

Respondents were asked their opinion on whether there was a unified Diasporic voice, or if Indo-Canadians are too diverse to speak as a group. For the most part (56%) the Diaspora is seen as too diverse to speak with one voice. Simple "yes" (4/63 or 6%) or "no" (10/63 or 16%) answers were challenging to interpret without modifiers to signal whether they were in reference to the first or second part of the question; (e.g., "yes, there is a unified Diasporic voice" or "yes, Indo-Canadians are too diverse to speak as a group", and vice-versa). However, 8 respondents (13%) suggested that there was movement within the Diaspora towards such unification, or that this was necessary and might be possible under some sort of national or umbrella organization. (None was nominated). One respondent saw low morale within the Diaspora as a hurdle.

Three questions (#66, 67 and 68) dealt with questions of communication and outreach, about the project, and with regard to media representation of Indo-Canadians. Respondents felt that the best way to reach potential contributors to this project in India would be through the Internet or websites (21%), print media such as newspapers (6%), and targeted professional organizations (32%), particularly universities (16%). Specific suggestions were the *Canadian*

High Commission, the *Indo-Canada Chamber of Commerce* (ICCC), and the *Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute*. Several suggested that the best way to reach people in India was indirectly, through Indians living in Canada. This leads directly to question (#67), which asked how to reach members of the Indo-Canadian Diaspora to further project-related research. Contact with community organizations was seen as the most effective way, including religious organizations. Several suggested that this should take the form of personal visits and presentations. Again, the Internet was seen as a key tool (including websites such as *SikhNet*, www.sikhnet.com, and *Sikhchic,* www.sikhchic.com) along with advertisements and articles in print media. Specific suggestions included alumni associations such as IITAC (http://www.iitalumnicanada.org), the *India-Canada Association* (http://www.indiacanada.org/), and the *Marathi Bhashik Mandal* (MBM) in Toronto (http://www.mbmtoronto.com). One respondent observed that "reaching" members of the Indo-Canadian community was not so much a physical activity as an intellectual activity; e.g., dependent upon "context and grasping the issues". For this, one needed greater understanding of the broader mass of Indo-Canadians, which could be achieved through targeted discussion with a selected representative panel.

Turning the lens in the other direction, respondents were asked how they felt about the media's representation of India and Indo-Canadians. Building a better relationship between Canadian media and the Diaspora is one of the policy recommendations resulting from the Roundtable Discussions of the "Building Bridges" project. More than one respondent (6%) saw the role of media as inconsequential, rather than significant. A majority (53%) felt that media representation was negative, for the most part; specific comments included "non-existent", "not enough", "unfair" and "stereotypical", "mostly focused on problems". More encouragingly, about one-quarter felt that media representation was adequate or improving. Two respondents suggested that the Canadian media should focus stories related to India's advances in business and technology.

Four-fifths of respondents (80%) could identify an instance where immigration to Canada had resulted in tremendous success; for one out of every four, this was an explicitly personal account. Nine respondents (17%) could not think of a single success story. Perhaps

underscoring the sense of belonging to a community, several of those who related success stories tempered this with recognition that there were others who had not prospered, perhaps because their skills were not recognized in Canada or because of systemic racism. Others emphasized that success had come only after struggle, (a reminder of the "tenacity and ingenuity" of the Indian Diaspora referred to in the case study for the "Building Bridges" project report.) Four respondents compared Canadian economic opportunities unfavorably with those of the USA. Success was almost always seen in economic terms, although one respondent included "political and social leaders" and another highlighted contributing "socially and professionally". Only one respondent explicitly challenged the prevailing definition of success, by responding that he knew "a refugee who lives on social assistance and he is happy". Several successful individuals and companies were identified by name.

Question 70 was complex.[315] Essentially, it was concerned with exploring the potential of the Diaspora in facilitating two-way exchanges between Canada and India, in the context of globalization. The responses were as varied as the question. Only three respondents were explicitly negative, feeling that these were "meaningless issues" and the proposal was no more than a "make-work project." Over 40% were supportive of the Diaspora playing an integral role; some went further and commented that such exchanges would not be possible without the Diaspora's cooperation. Several stressed the need for greater respect; e.g., for India as an emerging and equal power, "a dialogue between two equals", and for the better self-esteem of those within the Diaspora, "what we are and what we can bring to the table". Only on such a secure foundation could true dialogue emerge, and would the recognition of shared priorities be possible.

The final question gave respondents the chance to contribute any additional observations, experiences or examples related to Indo-Canadian life that would help to strengthen the relationship between India and Canada. If a general theme can be recognized from the diversity of answers, one that emerges is the critical need for greater recognition by Canadian institutions and people of the skills and contributions of the Diaspora. This is foundational to

[315] Six respondents suggested by words or symbols (e.g., ??) that the question was too complicated for them to respond.

any continued efforts to "build bridges" between either country. Several respondents stressed the need for Canada to recognize Indian educational qualifications and work experience.[316] The need for greater integration was also mentioned, (economically, academically and socially), but again this must be built on mutual understanding and respect. A number of respondents wanted to emphasize their allegiance to Canada, which does not preclude that for their country of origin (e.g., "I love India, I love Canada, I think I stand to gain from my association with both countries".) There is a running thread of concern that issues of importance to Canadians outside the Diaspora (e.g., human rights, multiculturalism) are not yet the key issues for Indo-Canadians (who for the short-term are more focused on professional success and financial security) or, indeed, for an emerging India. Others challenged the concept of the Diaspora itself; "I have become a Canadian and therefore, other than speaking to my relations in India, why do I have to identify myself as Indo-Canadian?"

One new aspect that emerged from two respondents was the importance of spirituality ("the real value of India") and the need for better education of other Canadians around the Indo-Canadian spiritual heritage, as a point of unity rather than division.

With regard to the survey design and questions, several participants felt that the "framing" of some questions was not grounded in a firm knowledge of India or the Diaspora, and that this could be improved in future surveys.

Survey Discussion in relation to Building Bridges Project

The Indo-Canadian Diaspora may be Canada's largest by 2017. The essential purpose of the survey was for "the voices of this citizenry to be heard", especially against the backdrop of the need to strengthen collaboration between Canada and India. There are predictions that India will become the world's fastest-growing major economy.[317] The Center for the Study of Democracy (CSD) at Queen's University has identified the need to strengthen Canadian-

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[316] One respondent directed readers to a website that addresses and documents concerns related to the immigrant experience, http://www.notcanada.com.

[317] Flavin, C. and Gardner, G. (2006) "China, India and the New World Order." In *State of the World 2006*, edited by Linda Starke, 3-23. Washington, D.C.: The Worldwatch Institute.

Indian partnership, not only in terms of economics, but also towards social, political and cultural aspirations, such as good governance and democratization. Many of the key issues raised in the survey paralleled those identified in the recommendations of the "Building Bridges Case Study"; particularly the need for improvements in visa policies for visitors and potential immigrants, better recognition of credentials and skills obtained overseas, and improved media coverage and understanding throughout Canada of the contributions and strengths of India and its Canadian Diaspora.

An essential question is to what extent the voices in this particular survey are representative of the broader Indo-Canadian Diaspora. As with the East Indian Diaspora overall (2001 figures), most respondents were first-generation immigrants. However, they were significantly better-educated and higher income earners. In 2000, the average per capita income for the Indian Diaspora was just over $27,000[318]. Almost 60% of respondents to this survey reported annual family incomes of over $100,000. Even though this includes family income as compared to individual, it likely reflects a significantly higher-than-average income group.

Survey respondents were also a significantly older demographic. Almost 60% were in the 45-64 year age bracket, as compared to 21% of the Indian community in Canada overall. The youth voice is largely missing from this survey. Some 40% of the Indian Diaspora is 24 years of age or under, but this age group was represented by only 6% of respondents. The "Building Bridges Case Study" report recognizes that the "coming generation of Indo-Canadians will have a very different profile than their parents" and explicitly recommends more of a focus on the development of youth leadership from within the Diaspora. Perhaps a future survey might be targeted to Indo-Canadian youth, especially because some of the responses to the survey from second-generation Canadians seemed counter-intuitive. The emerging youth of the Diaspora would seem to be a fascinating, complex group who resist easy classification. Much can be gained from a better understanding of their aspirations and perspectives in terms of the future role of the Diaspora in international linkages.

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[318] Lindsay, Colin, p 15.

Similarly, women make up almost 50% of the East Indian community in Canada, but only 14% of survey respondents.

The respondents to the "Building Bridges" survey show similarities to the overall Indian Diaspora community, as evidenced by Statistics Canada 2001 figures, in their sense of connection to the Canadian community; e.g., an overall willingness to participate enthusiastically in Canadian cultural events. In terms of religion, representation was appropriately broad in terms of range, if not in percentages. Like their counterparts in the Indo-Canadian Diaspora overall, the respondents were a well-educated, English-speaking, cosmopolitan group, active with their communities, and allied to both Canada and India.

One slight caveat might be broached in terms of environmental concerns and opportunities. The Case Study recognizes the need for partnerships in environmentally related areas such as concerns for alleviating climate change and ensuring sustainable energy alternatives. For the most part, however, such considerations are largely absent from the project report and all but wholly absent from the survey questions and responses. The Case Study is correct in recognizing that the quest for environmentally sustainable solutions opens up exciting and creative opportunities for both countries, certainly in terms of a two-way trade in ideas, and far beyond the potential "richness" of Canada's "raw materials". The crux of the matter is perhaps put succinctly in a recent report, in reference to the emerging economies of China and India:

> Global ecosystems and resources are simply not sufficient to sustain the current economies of the industrial West and at the same time bring more than 2 billion people into the global middle class through the same resource-intensive development model pioneered by North America and Europe. [319]

New models and approaches are needed, for both India and Canada, and as examples for the broader global community. What better conduit than the Indo-Canadian Diaspora, especially its emerging and enthusiastic youth, supported by the type of international academic initiatives and exchanges already identified in the report, and strongly supported by survey participants?

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[319] Flavin and Gardner 2006 p 4

In conclusion, the research proposal asks the essential question, with regard to the Indian Diaspora in Canada, "*If community can be a bridge, how sturdy is that bridge*?" The foundational support for the bridge represented by these respondents is, for the most part, sturdy indeed. They are comfortable conversing in at least one of Canada's official languages (English), and both working and interacting socially with Canadian society outside of and within the Diaspora. They are well educated, financially successful, with solid family ties, and active within their communities, mostly in terms of volunteering and charitable engagements. They travel regularly between Canada and India, so are current in terms of awareness of the evolving realities in both countries. A majority of respondents can build on a history of financial success with colleagues outside of their ethnic group, and many would like to see more federal or provincial resources to strengthen such entrepreneurship. While they had experienced issues with visas and recognition of work experience, for the most part they felt Canadian immigration policies were improving. Perhaps most importantly, in terms of the objectives of the project, a sizeable number (40%) were supportive of the Diaspora playing an integral role in exchanges between Canada and India. There was concern that the Diaspora was too diverse to speak with one voice (56%), and the recognition that groundwork needed to be done in terms of ensuring mutual respect and heightened self-esteem, based on recognition of their skills and contributions, before true dialogue could emerge. Some issues seen as integral to the project (e.g., human rights, multiculturalism) were not yet seen to be shared to the same extent as concerns within the Diaspora or indeed India, but again, a greater foundation of respect and security was seen to be the underpinning for this as well. It may be that there is a need for further surveys within the Diaspora to gain a clearer picture of the range of perspectives, but the indications are that, provided the groundwork is in place, the bridge foundation will be deep and strong.

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Appendix VI: Roundtables

The Toronto Roundtable & Concluding Recommendations

The Toronto Roundtable, organized by the CSD, Queen's University, and the Indian Institute of Technology Alumni Canada, was held on January 30, 2008. The objective of the Toronto Roundtable was to elicit views of Canadian and Indo-Canadian academics and experts on the potential for a stronger relationship between Canada and India to be forged by the present Indian Diaspora. The participants were asked to suggest policy recommendations for realizing this potential. Dr. Soodahbeh Salehi's paper was circulated to attendees in advance. A complete transcript of proceedings as also discussion points for the Roundtable formulated by CSD can be made available on request. Participants included:

- Prof. Thomas Axworthy, Chair, Centre for the Study of Democracy, Queens University.
- Ravi Seethapathy, Chair, Canadian Advisory Council, Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute.
- Ajit Jain, Editor, India Abroad
- Ananya Mukherji Reed, Dr., Professor, Dept. of Political Science, York University
- Anouck Carsignol, Researcher, University of Geneva
- Balbir S. Sahni, Dr., Prof. Emeritus, Concordia University
- Bzeiler Kligman, International Division, Canadian Chamber of Commerce
- Chander Dhavan, Consultant, Mobileinfo and member IITAC
- Hari Pandey, President, ICICI Bank Canada
- Hari Venkatacharya, President, Toronto Chapter, The Indus Entrepreneurs (TiE)
- Jim Peterson, Former Minister of International Trade
- Julie Burch, Coordinator, Centre for the Study of Democracy
- Kant Bhargava, Fellow, Centre for the Study of Democracy (Project Lead)
- Kasi V. P. Rao, Consultant and Senior Fellow, Munk Centre for International Studies, University of Toronto
- Kam V Rathee, President, Canada-India Business Council
- Natasha Sawh, Prog. Manager, Walter & Duncan Gordon Foundation
- Neil Desai, Sr. Policy Advisor, Secretary of State, Multiculturalism and Canadian Identity
- Pradeep Sood, Ontario India Business Forum
- Pradeep Srivastava, President, Indian Institute of Technology Alumni Canada, (IITAC)
- Rabiz Foda, Former President, IITAC
- Raghu Naik, Co-Chair, Panorama India

- Rakesh Srivastava, Director, Business Development, Bizquad Technologies
- Ravi Seethapathy, Chair, Canadian Advisory Council, SICI (Co-Chair)
- Sandeep Kumar Agarawal, Dr., Associate Professor, Ryerson University
- Satish Mehta, Consul General of India
- Sheila Embleton, Dr., V.P. Academic, York University
- Dr. Soodabeh Salehi, Researcher, Centre for the Study of Democracy, Queen's University
- Valerie Ashford, Research Co-ordinator, Centre for the Study of Democracy, Queen's University

- The participants supported the view of the Chair, Centre for Democracy, Queen's University that within a decade the Indo-Canadian relationship will be one of the top two or three relationships that Canada will have. Of late, several Federal Ministers and Premiers of provinces have visited India and are taking an active interest in Canada-India relations, although it was noted that so far the focus of the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, the premier think tank on Canada's relations with Asia, lies on China and East Asian countries, not on India.
- There is need to identify ten or fifteen strategic policy makers in India whose involvement is critical for Canada-India relations.
- In matters related to education and business, visa problems are pretty serious.
- The sense of identity of Indo-Canadians is mutating and mutable. One participant remarked that he could be described as a Sikh, a Punjabi, a Canadian academic and an economist. Many Indo-Canadians regard themselves as Canadians of Indian origin, while others like to retain their identity as Indo-Canadians. In the 1970-80s, serious *inter se* problems plagued the Indian Diaspora. At that time, the average Canadian associated India with corruption, bribery, and lack of participatory democracy.
- According to a research being led by Sandeep Kumar Agarawal (Ryerson University) on "The Economic Value of Indo-Canadians", the majority of Indian households are not as prosperous as it is commonly believed. Over 60% of Indians earn less than $30,000 whereas only 2% earn more than $100,000 (this last data correlates with Canadian born). One third of Indo-Canadians are employed in the manufacturing sector, and 7% are in the

technical-science sector. The immigrant population is very young (75% of Indo-Canadians are between 20-29 years), and generally more educated than the average population (25% of Indo-Canadians and 12% of Canadians have a Bachelor's Degree). This data indicates that Indo-Canadians have the potential to become a very prosperous group.

- Media needs to help educate mainstream Canadians about the new India and the socio-economic profile of Indo-Canadians.
- There are growing linkages between IIT's and Canadian Universities; the former are currently engaged in some projects involving Canada and India. Several participants were closely connected to the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute (SICI). SICI is a unique bi-national organization that promotes mutual awareness and understanding between India and Canada mainly through facilitating academic activities.
- Civil society (encompassing the larger and growing communities from the private sector, the NGOs and academia) appears to be actively engaged in the development of partnerships between Canada and India. The range of activities carried out by these institutions and individuals has potential to contribute in trade, investment, education, S&T and social philanthropy as well as in development cooperation. The Indian Diaspora is well represented in many institutions, but at present, is not engaged in any big way in doing business with India, although of late, Indo-Canadians have been active in the Ontario Chamber of Commerce and the Toronto Board of Trade.
- Education is the linchpin connecting technology and trade. Both Canadian & Indian universities and other educational establishments consult Indo-Canadian academics. One Indo-Canadian is the Co-Chair of Focus India Group of DFAIT. Another Indo-Canadian is Chair of the Education Committee of the Canada India Business Council. They both work in cooperation with SICI.
- Indo-Canadians have taken some health care initiatives, the latest being the training of some eminent pediatricians from India in the Toronto Sick Children Hospital who will return to India to practice.

- The Diaspora also plays an important role in knowledge transfer matters and tie-up between Indian Institutes of Technology and Canadian Universities. IITAC has brokered some valuable exchanges. IIT alumni members worked hard for the Washington Accord of June 2007 (of which Canada is also a member) on recognition of Indian engineering degrees. IITAC members are aware of the need for Canada to be part of the fifth generation technology that is going to be created by India in collaboration with the US.
- It was important to figure out how Indo-Canadians can facilitate deeper Canada-India partnerships on pluralism, federalism and democratic practices. It was noted that the India Diaspora, of late, is becoming interested in such matters, but these issues do not yet appear to be a high priority. Given the importance of the matter, sustained efforts are required to involve the Diaspora in discussion in these areas.
- Given the size of the Indian Diaspora, there was general agreement about the scope of the untapped potential of the Indian Diaspora to boost a bilateral relationship. Civil society and governments in Canada do not seem to be using the Indo-Canadian connection as effectively as they could or should. The Canadian Chamber of Commerce has referred to this in its 2007 Report, "Boosting Ties and Cutting Barriers: Strategies for Closer Economic Relations" in its chapter *Indo-Canadian Connections and Capabilities* which makes some pertinent recommendations**.** There is need for discussion as to how best Indo-Canadians can organize collective activities in Canada in trade and economic matters, in conjunction with bodies such as the Chambers of Commerce, the Canadian Council of Chief Executives, and the Canada-India Business Council.
- There is little doubt about the collective competence, connectivity and contribution of the Indian Diaspora towards further enhancement of Canada-India relations. A myriad of institutions exists, attracting Indian Diaspora's active participation, and yet, it is a case where the impact appears to be less than the sum of its parts. This calls for concerted efforts to explore potential options for future actions. The multiple identities constituting the Indian Diaspora in Canada are actually assets with respect to deepening bilateral relationships, despite the present lack of institutional frameworks that might facilitate

this. A single platform composed of a consortium of Indo-Canadian organizations would be helpful.

Recently, the Government of India has adopted following measures to engage its Diaspora abroad:

- *Pravasi Bharatiya Divas*, a conference hosting the Indian Diaspora with Indian political and corporate leaders has been held annually since 2003.
- The Ministry of Overseas Indians Affairs (MOIA,) established in 2004, has developed public-private partnerships with the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) on Diaspora issues.
- The *Overseas Indian Facilitation* Centre, established in 2007, focuses on business, taxation, wealth management, real estate, and more.
- The *Samman Awards* are given annually to prominent overseas Indians to honour significant contributions towards promoting India and Indian values abroad.
- The *Know India Program* (KIP) is a forum for students and young professionals. 40 participants between 20-28 years are sent to India every year for 3 weeks.
- The *India Development Foundation* (2008) is an institution aimed at assisting overseas Indians to contribute to social sectors in India, such as education, health, and rural development.

How well the strength of Diaspora can be used depends to a large extent on what governments --Central and State in India, Federal and Provincial in Canada -- want to do. With guidance from governments and proper funding, the Diaspora can foster closer links in business and culture.

Recommendations

1. Policy makers in Canada and India will benefit from interacting with recognized experts in various fields who can be located within the Indian Diaspora in Canada. It would be helpful to have the Indo Canadian Community assume advisory and advocacy roles on issues of major concern to Canada and India.
2. Immigration policy needs to foster inflows of qualified immigrants from India to Canada. Visa permits should be facilitated, and information on immigration procedures should be made clearer and more transparent.
3. All aspects of the problem of *credential recognition* require serious attention from both federal and provincial governments. Both governments must act to rectify this significant disincentive.

4. In work and education, policies facilitating exchanges between Indo-Canadian women, as well as second generation Indo Canadians and youth with counterparts abroad need to be developed.
5. *Canada House* in India should be structured such that an average Indian can get all information pertaining to Canada at one place, and so that visiting Indo-Canadians can access networking facilities between segments of civil society in the two countries.

The New Delhi Roundtable & Concluding Recommendations

The New Delhi Roundtable, organized by the CSD, Queen's University, and the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute (SICI) Office in New Delhi, was held on February 21, 2008. The objective of the New Delhi Roundtable was to elicit Indian perspectives in regard to the role of the India Diaspora for building bridges between two countries particularly in the context of the outcome of the Toronto Roundtable that was held on January 30, 2008. Papers made available to particpants included Dr. Soodahbeh Salehi's review, Sahai's *Indo Canadian Diaspora as Bridge Builder, Multiculturalism and Indian Diaspora in Canada*, and *Indo-Canadians as Bridge Builders: Approach and Recommendations,* Sharma's *Building Bridges: The Role of Indian Diaspora in Canada*, and Nair's *The Diasporic Dimensions of India's Bilateral Economic Relations.* A complete transcript of proceedings and discussion points is available by request. Participants included:

- A.S.Narang Ph.D. (Dr.), Professor of Political Sciences, Coordinator Human Rights Education, School of Social Sciences, Indira Gandhi National Open University, and Vice President of Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute
- Aziz Quraishi, Commissioner for Non-Resident Indians, Punjab Bhavan, New Delhi
- Kunte, Anuradha, Dr. Former Addl. Secretary, Cabinet Secretariat, SICI Advisory member
- Bernard Francais, Canadian High Commission
- C.P. Thakur (Dr.), Member of Parliament & Former Faculty Member in Canada
- Chandrashekar S. Bhat (Dr.), Centre for the Study of Indian Diaspora, University of Hyderabad
- Charan Wadhva (Dr.), Former President, Centre for Policy Research
- David Malone (Dr.) (Speaker, Inaugural Session), High Commissioner of Canada to India
- Ghislain Chaput, Head Public Affairs, Canadian High Commission
- Heather Michaud, Canadian High Commission
- Himachal Som, Former Deputy High Commissioner to Canada
- Sharma, Former Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs

- J.C.Srinivastava, Regional Advisor (Delhi), Indian Merchants' Chamber
- Jayant Lele (Dr.), Prof. Emeritus, Queen's University, Kingston, Former President, Shastri Indo Canadian Institute
- K.P. Fabian, Former Deputy High Commissioner to Canada
- K.R.G. Nair (Dr.), Honorary Research Professor, Centre for Policy Research
- Kant Bhargava (Project Lead), Ambassador (Retd.), and Fellow, Centre for the Study of Democracy
- Kavita Sharma (Dr.), Principal, Hindu College
- Kennet Macartney, Deputy High Commissioner., Canadian High Commission
- Kristal Trembath, Canadian High Commission
- M.G.K.Menon, Prof. (Chair, Inaugural Session), President, India International Centre
- Man Mohan Bhagat, Chairman. Bhagat Group Earth Foundation
- Maria Mathai, Representative, Canadian Education Network, New Delhi
- Mukund B.Kunte, Commodore, and Former Additional Secretary, Cabinet Secretariat
- N. Jayaram (Dr.), Institute for Social and Economic Change, Banagalore
- Nitin Desai (Dr.) (Keynote Speaker, Inaugural Session), Former Under Secretary General of the UN, Prof. Indian Council for Research in International Economic Relations
- Nitin Kumar, Under Secretary, Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs
- Paramjit S. Sahai, Ambassador (Retd.)
- Prem. K. Budhwar, Former High Commissioner of India to Canada
- Raj Kumar Hans, Prof. of History, MOS University, Baroda
- Rajanikanta Verma, Former High Commissioner of India and Canada
- S.J.S. Chhatwal (Session Chair), Ambassador (Retd.), Chairman Focus Canada Group, New Delhi, Former High Commissioner to Canada, Member, Governing Body of the Indian Council for World Affairs
- S.K. Pachauri (Dr.), Former Secretary, Government of India, and Chairman, Non Resident Institute, New Delhi
- Samat Kaul, Aviation Foundation, Former Representative of India to ICAO, Montreal
- Sarmistha Roy, Executive Director, New Delhi Office, Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute
- Shashi Tripathi (Chair, Concluding Session) Member, Union Public Service Commission and Former High Commissioner to Canada
- Subha Rajan, CEO, Overseas Facility Centre, Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs and
- Confederation of Indian Industries,
- Subhash Agarwal, Editor, India Focus, Strategic Analysis & Forecasts
- Vanaja K. Thekhat, Under Secretary, Ministry of Indian Overseas Affairs
- Vijay G. Pande, Former Director, India Office, International Development & Research Centre, New Delhi
- Viraj Singh, Deputy Secretary, Public Diplomacy Division, Ministry of External Affairs

- In order to understand and appreciate the process of building bridges, the cultural history of the Indian Diaspora describing the cultural and intellectual life of the Diaspora needs to be written.
- It was noted that in 2003, an understanding was reached between the two governments to build a partnership for the 21st century. Both economic and political conditions seem to be conducive now for the Indian Diaspora to create better bilateral relationships; the time is opportune now to develop good mechanisms that would facilitate such a process.
- The situation now is quite different from the days of the Khalistan movement. Once the irksome nuclear question is out of the way, the possibilities for cooperation will be immense. In this context, it is important that thorough discussions should take place on some specific questions such as: how does the Diaspora build bridges; what guidelines could be created; what concrete suggestions can government and civil society give to support Diaspora-based linkages?
- The *Focus India Group* in Canada established by DFAIT discusses matters pertaining to Canada-India relations. This group involves the Indo-Canada Chamber of Commerce (ICCC) and the Shastri Indo Canadian Institute (SICI) among other stakeholders. A *Focus Canada Group* was set up in Delhi two years ago and is anchored in SICI, which also organizes seminars and conferences on India-Canada relations. Unlike Israel and other countries, India is so vast a country that it can absorb as well as ignore the advice of any number of its Diaspora members abroad. While it is difficult for Diaspora to influence policy on core issues, there are a number of possibilities in other areas.
- The Diaspora relationship is somewhat triangular; it plays itself out through all sorts of networks of influence in the business community and in politics.
- The Canadian community and political leadership have readily accepted the Indian presence and the Indian Diaspora in Canada. The Indian Diaspora is very much involved in the political activities and social life. This gives an opportunity to the

Indian leadership and the Diaspora leadership to use their influence to have the Canadian community and the government move closer to the Indian people and Indian Government. Some of the areas where Diaspora can act as bridge builders are energy, agriculture, health care and skill development.

- Due to the trans-national nature of the Indian Diaspora in Canada, the Canadian Government can leverage their contacts all over the globe with their vast network in areas of trade, finance, health care, technology, education and its presence in every continent in the world. With its fertile lands, Canada might welcome the Punjabi farmers as immigrants to work for agricultural development in Canada and thus contribute to resolution of food security problem.
- Not many students from Canada go to India to study. SICI can facilitate semester-long programs for Canadian students to study in India. It is important to involve young Indo-Canadians of second, third and fourth generation who otherwise may feel disconnected. They can be hosted in India by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR), the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA) or SICI. MOIA has already initiated a program for Indian Youth known as the *"Know India Program,"* in which 50 overseas Indian youth, specifically second or third generation youth, are invited to come to India. It has also instituted a program for giving 100 scholarships per year for the youth to study in India.
- Needed is sufficient political, entrepreneurial, and institutional will to devise self-sustaining mechanisms that would facilitate Indian Diaspora activity, which should have a rolling annual and five-year plan, including performance measures, for optimization of the role of the Diaspora.
- Participants agreed with Toronto Roundtable conclusion that the sense of identity of Indian Diaspora in Canada is to some extent mutating. But multiple identities create multiple challenges. In some ways North America is particularly hospitable and it accepts the notion of a hyphenated identity very readily. The idea of India in the minds of Indo Canadians is essentially that of an identity marker. In certain contexts,

the identity marker of India becomes more important than the identity marker of one's caste, religion or linguistic origin. Sometimes this operates in concentric circles. But this fractured nature of identity is not necessarily negative. Given the statistics and the demographic situation, a majority of the Indian immigrants in Canada still have their moorings in India. As the Indian Prime Minister has remarked, the 21st century will be a century of global citizens. This concept of global citizenship needs to be promoted and developed.

- The new immigrants into Canada from India, particularly professionals, may not have as much interest in staying in Canada as was the case with immigrants earlier because India is also now an emerging economic giant.
- The Indian Diaspora is consistent with immigrants in Canada belonging to different educational, socio economic, regional, linguistic, religious and even caste backgrounds. There is also the phenomenon of what is called second Diaspora and in some cases even third Diaspora. The Indian Diaspora is not immune to varying external influences. Fourth generation Indo-Canadians are more influenced by Canadian society than first generations, although those who consider returning are less likely to adapt.
- The Indian Diaspora in Canada from the State of Punjab has focused its work on its home State in India. Canadian participation in development in Punjab includes an integrated village model, combined health and education projects, and attention to connectivity between universities in advocacy areas including programs with the Punjab University.
- The Diaspora has the potential to be a source of political problems and conflicts in the country of origin. LTTE and Khalistan movement are two examples of this.
- Both the *Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute* (SICI) and the *Centre for the Research in Rural and Industrial Development*, Chandigarh (CRRID) readily expressed their willingness to be partner organizations for the CSD Project. The latter agreed to host

the Roundtable in Chandigarh with a focus on the role of Diaspora from the State of Punjab.

- Former President of the India International Centre (IIC) Centre Dr. L.M. Singhvi chaired the High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora set up by the Government of India. IIC was willing to continue its support.
- Initiative by academics and officials in Canada to connect with India is less forthcoming than in the US, So the Indian Diaspora needs to engage them more.
- Economic growth in North America is co-related to the flow of immigrants. Some segments in the Indian Diaspora in Canada constitute a high-savings community and put a great deal of emphasis on education, although weaknesses include division on the basis of caste, religion, and region. Regardless, InfoTech, financial services, and health care include a number of Indian Diaspora.
- The Government of India's priorities currently include enlistment of the Diaspora to help India become a knowledge power through the transfer of technology and bilateral cooperation in R&D. It also seeks to promote investment, increase international trade, revamp and expand higher education, health care, medical tourism, the empowerment of women, and micro financing. It also wishes to have support from its Diaspora to establish, in India, an Institute for Skill Development
- The Ministry of Indian Overseas Affairs (MOIA) has set up an Overseas Indian Facilitation Centre (OIFC), which is a public private partnership between CII and MOIA. The OIFC is a single window where the Indian Diaspora can get information and answers to its queries on various points. At present its focus is on issues relating to wealth management, capital management, real estate, taxation, and legal affairs.
- The Indian Diaspora in Canada need not invest millions, small amounts can be channeled for philanthropic work through the India Development Fund, which will have a chapter in every state and will collaborate with credible NGOs, the Government, and State stakeholders.

- MOIA is now intending to enter into a Social Security Agreement with Canada so that Indian people going to Canada on short terms assignments and Indian companies would not be subject to dual taxation. MOIA also wants to create a legal network for placement of Indian workers in Canada.
- The Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) is prepared, in conjunction with CII, FICCI and other agencies, to fund programs for visits of parliamentarians of Indian origin to India, so that they get a feel for India.
- The Indian government and civil society organizations in India need to start enabling links to Canada themselves. SICI is willing to support academic Diaspora projects in India provided the researchers have a partner in Canada.

Recommendations

1. Canada needs to create a Diaspora Council, as well as an exchange body, such as that established by the American universities, which have the Council for International Educational Exchange (CIEE.)
2. Institutionalized relationships between parliamentarians and state members, particularly between Punjab and British Columbia, will do much to facilitate bridges between Canada and India.
3. The possibility of setting up a friendship association of scholars who had studied in Canada should be considered so that it can play a meaningful role for branding Canada in India.
4. The Shastri Indo Canadian Institute (SICI,) with greater support from the Diaspora, should organize events bringing universities from Canada and India face to face, and offer an India Study program for Canadian students, just as the American Institute of Indian Studies does. As well, this institute should fund Indian interns going to Canada, enlisting the Diaspora to providing support and facilities. Such interns should be attached not only to business organizations, but also to NGOs. SICI should also sponsor studies and two-way exchanges between Canada and India on their respective experiences in federalism, democracy, human rights, and multiculturalism.
5. OIFC should offer a knowledge network to Canada's Indian Diaspora to facilitate opportunity.
6. Punjab, Bengali, Kannada, Tamil, Goanese and Orissa Diaspora groups have their own conferences; OIFC and similar bodies should send representatives to such conferences as well.

7. Canadian schools with any concentration of India Diaspora children should offer courses in Indian history, culture, and geography.
8. Project findings should be communicated to the Ministry of Indian Overseas Affairs.

The Chandigarh Roundtable & Concluding Recommendations

The Chandigarh Roundtable, organized by The Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development, Chandigarh, The Centre for the Study of Democracy, and Queen's University, was held on March 10, 2008. The objective of the Chandigarh Roundtable was to elicit views of eminent policy analysts in Punjab in regard to Indo-Canadian Diaspora bridging. Participants included:

- Ambassador (Retd.) P.S. Sahai, Centre for Integrated Rural and Industrial Development (Host)
- Kant K. Bhargava, Fellow Centre for the Study of Democracy, Queen's University. Project Lead.
- S. Chhatwal, Commissioner, NRIs, Government of Punjab
- B.S. Ghuman, Prof., Department of Public Administration, Punjab University
- D. S. Saroya, Additional Secretary, NRIs, Government of Punjab
- D. V. Bhatia, Indian Administrative Service (Retd.)
- Darshan S. Tatla, (Dr.), Punjab Centre for Migration Studies, Lyalpur Khalsa College, Jalandhar
- Gurudev Gill, (Dr.), President, Indo-Canadian Friendship Society of British Columbia
- Helen Economo Amundsen, Consul General of Canada
- K. P. Tiwari, Protector of Emigrants
- M. M. Sharma, Regional Director, Indian Council of Cultural Affairs (ICCR)
- Paramjit Singh Judge, Prof. (Dr.), Professor and Head, Department of Sociology, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar
- Paramjit Singh Sahai, Ambassador (Retd.), The Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development (Chair)
- Raghbir Bassi, (Dr.), Medical Doctor
- Ram Kumar, (Dr.), Consultant on Health Care
- S.K. Shukla, Dr. (Mrs.), Reader, Political Science, Punjab University
- Sucha Singh Gill, Prof., Dean (Academics), Head, Department of Economics, Punjabi University, Patiala
- Vitul Kumar, Regional Passport Officer

- Most participants in the Punjabi non-resident India (NRI) Sammelans held at Chandigarh and Jalandhar on Jan 5-6, 2008 were from Canada, which demonstrates the interest of the

Indo-Canadians in the State of Punjab. This group has begun aiding the development of villages in Punjab. Fifty percent of Canada's Indian Diaspora are from Punjab, so opportunity for ventures between Canada and Punjab are many, especially if strong links were to be established between research institutes in India and Canada. The number of visa applications from Punjab increased to 27,000 by 2007. Punjabi is expected to become the 4th largest spoken language in Canada.

- The Government of Punjab is focused on promotion of two-way linkages between Canada and itself. Diaspora issues are a priority, and the Punjabi Diaspora appears keen to promote development in its native state. Pressure on the Diaspora to invest has declined, and the government now is keen to encourage their participative investment in the form of ideas, technology transfer and experiences, to enhance the skills of those back home.
- The Government of Punjab is establishing proper mechanisms through special courts and committees to address Diaspora-related cases involving divorce, property issues and criminal matters. The government intends to provide better facilities to the Diaspora, in the form of NRI police stations, and expedient settlement of revenue cases etc. An NRI Facilitation Centre near Amritsar airport is expected to open soon, and NRI Advisory Board is in the process of composition, and the Government plans to open trade offices in countries with sizable NRI populations, including Canada. Local government is also trying to streamline the immigration process, with the help of the central government.
- Government appreciated work done by Village Life Improvement Foundation, although expressed interest in seeing more involvement by villagers themselves. The Village Life Improvement Foundation is a concrete example of Canada's Indian Diaspora developing villages in Punjab. The Canadian International Development Agency supported these projects; Village Kharoudi became the model village, as noted by former President Abdul Kalam. This was the first step of this kind in India, and proved especially helpful given a focus on sanitation, resulting in a decline in water related diseases. The second CIDA-supported project, in the village Ibrahimpur, recieved Canadian $60,000. CIDA funded

these projects on a 25:75 basis, which conforms to the norm adopted by the Government of Punjab under its scheme of financing such projects.

- The Punjab University has funding for need-based scholarships and hopes to establish a World Punjabi Centre, which would facilitate networking with Punjabi Diaspora abroad. It was noted that links between educational institutions in Punjab with those from the Province of British Columbia were growing.

Recommednations

1. Needed is a study of the India Diaspora in Canada from the State of Punjab.
2. The success story of the Punjab University developing links with educational institutions in British Columbia invites further cooperation. Networking with foreign universities to globalize the Indian education system would be mutually beneficial. In turn, universities in Punjab needed to connect with the Indo-Canadian Diaspora, through programs such as the Cultural Immersion Program, the online Punjabi Learning Program, and through scholarships for rural students.
3. Only one percent NRIs from the State of Punjab, were interested in commercial investment. NRI participation in conducting a study on remittances may be useful.
4. Twining Punjab and British Columbia could facilitate bridge building.

Appendix VII: Indo-Canadian Institutions

The *Indo-Canada Chamber of Commerce* (ICCC)[320]

The ICCC, founded in 1977, is the oldest, largest and best-organized Indo-Canadian body, with a permanent office and a governing Board of Directors. Members of the ICCC contribute to Canadian society, economy, and polity, as well as to two-way trade and economic cooperation between Canada and India. Of late it has augmented its activities considerably bridging in Canadian and Indian trade and investment. The ICCC has also concluded Memoranda of Understanding (MOUs) with the *Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry* (FICCI) and the Confederation of Indian Industries (CII) in India. It has also entered into MOUs with their counterpart organizations in other countries where there is a sizeable Indian Diaspora. The ICCC interacts with such stake-holders as the *Canada-India Business Council* (C-I BC,) the *Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute* (SICI,) and the *Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada* (APFC.) Several Canadian organizations are among its sponsors. The economic bridge-building progress made thus far by the ICCC has, however, been rather modest and is likely well below its potential.

The *Indian Institute of Technology Alumni Canada* (IITAC)[321]

The IITAC is a Toronto-based organization whose members are former students of any of the IITs (Indian Institutes of Technology) and belong to the PAN-IIT worldwide family. They help to brand IITs, to assist in employment searches, and to arrange common programs to help them in their integration into Canadian culture. The IITAC has also created groups for entrepreneurs and a mentoring group called *IITians for IITians*, which facilitates Continuing Professional Development in concentrated modules. Such innovative and entrepreneurial activities have transcended academic institutions, in part by formalizing partnerships between universities, industries and the government. The IITAC's approximately 500 members already undertake significant roles in Canada's economy, as well as in India's, through a cross-exchange of ideas, and have been instrumental in facilitating contacts between IITs and some universities in Canada. Many IIM graduates and post-graduates are faculty members in various schools of business in Canada. In the field of management, Indo-Canadian faculty members of the *Rothman School of Management* and of *Schulich School of Business* are active in exchange programs; these programs could be expanded to the mutual benefit of Canada and India.

The *Canada-India Foundation* (CIF)[322]

Membership in the *Canada-India Foundation* (CIF,) unlike that of other Diaspora organizations, is by invitation only. The *Canada India Foundation* was established in

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[320] http://www.iccc.org
[321] http://www.iitalumnicanada.org/
[322] http://www.canadaindiafoundation.com/ -

2007. Its founding members include industrialists, senior Canadian business executives and top tier professionals. In pursuit of its objective of deepening relations between India and Canada, the CIF has identified a number of issues to be addressed; the CIF believes that a Strategic Partnership Agreement between Canada and India, similar to one concluded between the US and India, is a priority goal, as is a Free Trade Agreement between the two countries, the latter of which the CIF intends to lobby with governments in Ottawa and New Delhi. In order to facilitate better consular access to people traveling between India and Canada, the CIF will work toward the opening of additional visa processing offices in India.

The *Indus Entrepreneurs* (TIE)[323] Toronto Chapter

The Indus Entrepreneurs (TIE) is the world's largest not-for-profit organization, and networks entrepreneurs and professionals promoting entrepreneurship. TIE was founded in 1992 in Silicon Valley and today has over 15,000 members across 47 chapters in 11 countries. TIE has 11 chapters in major Indian cities, and an active one in Toronto, where its membership has tremendous experience in collaboration with overseas companies.

The *Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute* (SICI)[324]

Canada has bypassed the US and the UK in having evolved a unique institution – the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute (SICI) -which is of immense help in building bridges between India and Canada. Professor Michael Brecher of McGill University conceived of the SICI in the early 1960s to overcome the near-total information gap and lack of economic and cultural contact between India and Canada.[325] The Governments of India and Canada signed a Memorandum of Understanding on November 28, 1968, and the SICI was established as a registered non-profit charitable organization with the basic aim originally of promoting Indian studies in the fields of Humanities and Social Sciences in Canada.

In forty years, the SICI has come a long way from these modest beginnings. Since the late 1980s, SICI has promoted Canadian Studies in India.[326] From the late 1990s, SICI began encouraging collaborative development studies under the Shastri Applied Policy Research Project (SHARP.)[327] All this meant that while the SICI was

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[323] http://www.tiemumbai.org/

[324] http://www.sici.org/

[325] Lynette Lefsrud "The SICI celebrates its 35 year history." Indian High Commission Special Edition for Republic Day, 2004.

[326] According to a recent SICI report, over 800 fellowships have been awarded to Canadian faculty and students to further study of India and Indian languages. 94 distinguished Indians have lectured in Canada and there are 47 international internships for young Canadians to work with Indian research institutions, businesses and NGOs. To promote Canadian studies in India, the SICI has awarded 89 scholarships to support Indian researchers in Canada, and has funded lecture tours of 19 Canadian academics to India.

[327] Under SHARP, which works to reduce poverty and to establish sustainable development in India through support for bi-national collaborative policy research projects, 40 projects have been sponsored so far, with 19 projects in economic reform, the impact of globalization, liberalization and private sector development on poverty, environmental management balancing growth and environmental sustainability, social development health sector reforms and capacity building at the local level.

originally set up to promote studies in art, literature, culture and social sciences, its mandate now incorporates a rich diversity of topical disciplines like law, information management, and science and technology. There was also considerable expansion in its membership, which rose from 4 Canadian institutions in 1968 to 23 in 2004. Addendum IX of the MOU signed on the 3rd of August 2006 brought another major qualitative change by enabling Indian institutions to become members of SICI. As a result by 2007, while SICI had 32 Canadian institutions, including 4 from Francophone Canada, as members, there were 42 Indian institutions. The SICI has emerged as a truly bilateral organization, tailor-made to build bridges between India and Canada. There is increasing involvement by Canadians of Indian origin in the SICI,[328] but greater involvement and support of the Indian Diaspora in Canada both individually and collectively are called for.[329]

[328] Stephen Inglis has made a statement to this effect in Lefsrud, 2004.
[329] See in this regard the views of Flora McDonald as expressed in Lefsrud 2004