Canadians Abroad: Policy Challenges for Canada¹

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I. Introduction

The 2006 Canadian census data reinforces Canada's image as a nation of immigrants.³ Little is known, however, about the phenomenon of the outmigration of Canadians or about Canadian citizens living abroad. The Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada (APF Canada) has recently started to analyze the emergence of Canada's new diaspora (Zhang 2006, 2007a, 2007b). Some preliminary data indicate that 2.7 million individuals, or between 7% and 9% of Canada's population, live abroad. Proportionately, the number of Canadians living overseas is larger than that of some well-known diaspora countries such as the United States, Australia, China, and India.

The phenomenon of Canadians living abroad really came into the spotlight in the aftermath of the evacuation of Canadian citizens from Lebanon in 2006. While the costs versus benefits, liabilities vs. assets, and negative vs. positive aspects of Canadians living overseas are among the hot topics of political debate, a more fundamental question is whether these citizens living abroad should be considered real Canadians or foreigners.

¹ This paper is derived from research conducted under the auspices of the APF Canada's three-year project on Canadians Abroad (www.canadiansabroad.ca). However, the views reflected in the paper are those of the author who is indebted to Victor Chen for analyzing the survey data. The author also appreciates the valuable comments made by Dr. Paul Evans, Dr. Don DeVoretz, Ajay Parasram, and Hanna Cho. An earlier version of this paper was presented on November 24, 2008 at the International Conference of the Korean Association for Canadians Studies entitled *Managing Multicultural Society in Canada and Korea: Canadian Experiences and Policy Implications for Korea* in Seoul, Korea. Finally, comments from Dr. Eugene Lee, Dr. Jinseog Yu and Dr. Hyun-Mi Kim and other conference participants and copyedits by Trish Saywell are gratefully acknowledged.

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³ The 2006 Census enumerated 6,186,950 foreign-born in Canada, representing virtually one fifth (19.8%) of the population. This is the highest proportion in 75 years (Statistics Canada 2007).

The purpose of this paper is to identify some policy challenges for Canada on this subject. The next section reviews some of the existing rules and regulations that treat Canadians abroad as "foreigners with Canadian passports" rather than as Canadian citizens living abroad. The third section based on an APF Canada survey conducted in 2007, reveals that most Canadians abroad feel strongly "Canadian" and strongly desire to remain connected to Canada. The paper also discusses why an outward-looking Canada needs outward-thinking Canadians – findings that are highlighted by *The Canada's World Poll*. Finally, policy challenges are summarized with a view to heighten the notion of citizenship within a multicultural nation rather than maintaining policies that may stifle citizenship.

II. Canadians Abroad as Lesser Canadians

It is hard to believe that a democratic and multicultural Canada has rules and institutional arrangements that essentially treat Canadians differently based on whether they reside in Canada or abroad. These differences have created two groups of Canadians: "full-fledged" Canadians residing in Canada and "lesser" Canadians, or foreigners with Canadian passports, living abroad.

Consider the following scenario: A group of Canadian citizens – *The Group* – decides to live outside Canada for at least one year. *The Group* would soon be undermined since certain rules and regulations in Canada reduce their Canadian rights as their sojourn abroad lengthens.

In a census year, *The Group* would not be counted as part of the Canadian population (Woo & Zhang 2007; Michalowski & Tran 2008). Canada conducts a census every five years. In other words, with less than five years of residency abroad, *The Group* becomes statistically excluded from the national population and would be re-captured in the Canadian census only upon returning to live in Canada.

When the time comes to file a yearly tax return, *The Group* would have to determine its resident status from the following options provided by the Canada Revenue Agency (CRA, 2008 Revision):

- Factual resident someone who left Canada but is considered to be a resident of Canada for income tax purposes;
- ➤ Deemed resident someone who lives outside Canada and who severs his/her residential ties with Canada for income tax purposes;
- Non-resident —someone who is considered to be an emigrant for income tax purposes, and for all following years. If this situation does not change, she/he will be considered a non-resident;
- ➤ Deemed non-resident effective after February 24, 1998, if a person is a factual resident of Canada and a resident of another country, according to a tax treaty Canada has signed with another country, she/he may be considered a deemed non-resident of Canada.

According to the Canada Revenue Agency (2008), taxes are levied on factual residents – as if they never left Canada. The individuals will continue to:

- ➤ Report all income an individual receives from sources inside and outside Canada for the year, and claim all deductions that apply;
- ➤ Claim all federal and provincial or territorial non-refundable tax credits that apply to the individual;
- ➤ Pay federal tax and provincial or territorial tax where the individual keeps residential ties in Canada;
- Claim any federal, provincial, or territorial refundable tax credits that applies to;
 and
- ➤ Be eligible to apply for the goods and services tax/harmonized sales tax (GST/HST) credit.

As a deemed resident, the individual is subject to federal tax just like other residents of Canada. Instead of paying provincial or territorial tax, the individual has to pay a surtax for non-residents and deemed residents of Canada. He or she cannot claim provincial or territorial tax credits, but will continue to:

- ➤ Report all income received from sources both inside and outside Canada for the year;
- Claim all deductions, federal non-refundable tax credits, and federal refundable tax credits that apply as if the individual resided in Canada for the year; and
- ➤ Be eligible to apply for the goods and services tax/harmonized sales tax (GST/HST) credit.

As a non-resident, an individual has to report certain types of income sourced from Canada. The most common types include:

- ➤ Income from employment in Canada;
- ➤ Income from a business carried on in Canada;
- Taxable Canadian scholarships, fellowships, bursaries, and research grants; and
- > Taxable capital gains resulting from dispositions of taxable Canadian property.

As a deemed non-resident, the same rules apply to the individual as a non-resident of Canada.

Once *The Group* has determined its status, it is required to report all, or certain types of, income.⁴ In other words, contrary to popular belief that Canadians abroad do not pay Canadian tax, they are liable for possible tax payments to the Canadian treasury by filing income tax returns depending on their resident status and sources and types of income. According to the Office of the Auditor General of Canada and Revenue Canada, there were 422,000 non-resident tax returns filed in 2006, representing 1.8% of total income tax returns filed in Canada in the year. Total taxes on income paid by non-residents in

⁴ For details, please refer to Canada Revenue Agency, "Canadian Residents Abroad," 2008 Revision.

2007 reached C\$6.9 billion or 3.6% of total personal income taxes paid to the government of Canada. In general, the contribution of personal income tax by non-residents in government income varied from 2~5% during the period from 1961-2007 (Zhang, 2009).

Assume that someone within *The Group* is 18 years or older – the legal voting age in Canada. When the person leaves Canada, he or she is eligible to vote in neither municipal⁵ nor provincial⁶ elections. He or she ultimately loses the right to vote in a federal election after five years or more of residency abroad unless the individual is employed by the federal or a provincial government, or an international organization of which Canada is a member with a few other exceptions.⁷ Besides the five-year rule, many Canadians abroad eligible to vote find that the bureaucratic and administrative burden placed on them ultimately discourages them from exerting their voting rights. In fact, this *de facto* loss of voting rights often prevails until Canadians return to Canada.

Assume now that someone within *The Group* is foreign-born, like some other 20% of foreign-born Canadians, and that he or she gets married and has children and grandchildren during their tenure abroad. Under the current law, that individual's children and grandchildren risk losing their Canadian citizenship. Indeed, they are at risk of becoming completely stateless unless the country in which they were born grants them its citizenship (*jus soli*).

Citizenship and Immigration Canada's (CIC) website introduces the new citizenship rules that,

A new law amending the *Citizenship Act* came into effect on April 17, 2009. The new law gives Canadian citizenship to certain people who lost it and to others

⁵ For details, see Vancouver Votes - Municipal Election 2008:

http://vancouver.ca/ctyclerk/election2008/info-voters.htm (accessed September 7, 2009).

⁶ For details, see Elections BC: < http://www.elections.bc.ca/index.php/voting/voter-registration> (accessed September 7, 2009).

⁷ For details, see Elections Canada:

http://www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=loi&document=part01&dir=leg/fel/cea&lang=e&anchor=sec3&textonly=false#sec3> (accessed September 7, 2009).

who are recognized as citizens for the first time. It also protects the value of citizenship by limiting citizenship by descent to one generation outside Canada.⁸

According to this new law, some people did not become Canadian citizens if they were born outside Canada to a Canadian parent, who are not already citizens or who lost their citizenship in the past, and who were born in the second or next generation abroad (this includes people who failed to retain citizenship). The rules may also affect children adopted by Canadian parents outside Canada, depending on the way in which the child obtained, or will obtain, its Canadian citizenship.

Unfortunately, the new law will have a profound impact on some Canadians living abroad. ⁹ New regulations seek to prevent children born to or adopted by Canadians outside the country from passing citizenship to their children if they are also born abroad. In other words, children born abroad to parents who are naturalized Canadian citizens would not automatically gain Canadian citizenship (see figure 1).

(Insert Figure 1 here)

The new regulations raise the possibility that children born abroad to some Canadians could become effectively "stateless," depending on where they are born. Not all countries grant citizenship to a child born locally to foreigners and, in some situations, this could make it difficult for parents to bring their children back to Canada. The new rules -- intended to protect the value of Canadian citizenship -- will in fact create a two-tiered system with children born or adopted overseas relegated to an "inferior" class of citizenship.

When *The Group* decides to move out of Canada, people may not be aware that their provincial health care coverage will be of little or no use to them. The rules differ from

⁸ For details, see CIC: < http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/citizenship/rules-citizenship.asp (accessed September 7, 2009).

⁹ Glen McGregor, "Citizenship changes could create 'inferior' citizens," Vancouver Sun, January 19, 2009, http://www.vancouversun.com/Life/Citizenship+changes+could+create+inferior+citizens/1193437/story.html (accessed January 19, 2009).

province to province. Typically, however, if *The Group* resides out of a province for six months or more, it loses its health coverage and may not be able to get it back immediately upon returning from abroad. For example, Alberta allows coverage to resume on the day of arrival in Alberta, while B.C. and Ontario have a three month and a 153-day waiting period, respectively.¹⁰

Consider if someone within *The Group* has a professional career. While he or she is absent from Canada, their professional practicing license may be suspended depending on the rules applicable in the last province of residence in Canada and to the sector in which they practised. For example, Section 52 of the 1996 *Medical Practitioners Act* of B.C. clearly states that:

- (1) If a member of the college leaves British Columbia and practices medicine or surgery during the member's absence, the member must not resume the practice of medicine or surgery in British Columbia until the member provides the registrar with a certificate of good standing satisfactory to the registrar, from every place the member has practiced medicine or surgery during the absence.
- (2) The executive committee may waive the requirements of this section. ¹¹

Furthermore, when abroad, members of *The Group* either have to surrender their Canadian driver's licence in order to get a local driving permit, or are not able to renew their Canadian license if they do not have an address in Canada. Ultimately, they may be unable to drive in Canada again without having to reapply for a driver's license – a very difficult and time-consuming task.

In this section, we illustrated some aspects of the current rules and regulations penalizing Canadians abroad. The different kinds of treatment are largely based on residency status,

¹⁰ Alberta Health Care Insurance Plan: http://www.health.alberta.ca/AHCIP/Q-moving.html (accessed September 7, 2009); BC Medical Service Plan:

< http://www.health.gov.bc.ca/msp/infoben/leavingbc.html#move> (accessed September 7, 2009); Ontario Health Insurance Plan: < http://www.health.gov.on.ca/english/public/pub/ohip/eligibility.html> (accessed September 7, 2009).

¹¹ College of Physicians and Surgeons of British Columbia, *Medical Practitioners Act*: https://www.cpsbc.ca/files/u6/Legislation-MPA.pdf> (accessed September 7, 2009).

and the consequences may not be intentional. Nevertheless, they are profound. Canadians who decide to reside outside Canada jeopardise their rights as citizens. In short, Canadians abroad are treated as "foreigners with Canadian passports," rather than as Canadian citizens living abroad.

III. Canada as Home

In his recent newspaper article, "Canada is much more than a hotel," Mr. Tom Kent (2008) argued that immigrants should contribute to the "development of Canadianism" by "not leaving their hearts elsewhere." Kent also suggested that a Canadian passport might be "little more than a flag of convenience" when referring to the Lebanon evacuation of 2006, and he strongly recommended a policy of "tax us wherever we go" in return for retaining Canadian citizenship."

If Canada is indeed a nation of immigrants and a multicultural society in which all Canadians are invited to participate fully and equally, then Kent's article raises some serious questions. Why do we only question foreign-born Canadians as to their commitment and attachment to Canada after obtaining Canadian citizenship? What is the rationale behind judging citizens' commitment and attachment to Canada solely on the basis of their place of residence? Moreover, should taxation be considered the only possible contribution Canadian citizens can make?

The results of a recent survey on Canadians abroad point to an overseas community that feels "Canadian" and wants to be connected to Canada. In 2007 APF Canada conducted a survey entitled, *Global Canadians: A Survey on the Views of Canadians Abroad*. A total of 549 respondents aged 20 and above and residing in either Asian countries or the United States completed online questionnaires between April 9 and June 14, 2007 (Zhang 2007b). Nearly 65% of respondents were born in Canada and 35% elsewhere. Sixty percent were solely Canadian, 36% held dual citizenship, and 4% were landed immigrants. An overwhelming 64% of respondents indicated that they considered Canada

their home, while 19% were unsure as to which country to consider their home, and 17% definitively did not perceive Canada as their home.

Nearly two thirds of respondents were born in Canada and their emotional attachment to their motherland seems natural. Overall, the overseas community maintains close physical ties to Canada by visiting regularly and intending to return in the future. Over 94% of respondents had visited Canada since establishing their main residence abroad, while nearly 54% of them made at least one trip per year to Canada and 9% made three or more yearly trips. In addition, 40% made at least one trip to Canada every two years or more. Only 6% of respondents had never been to Canada. In total, as many as 69% of respondents indicated that they had plans to return to Canada in the future: 11% reported that they would return within one year, over 40% of respondents planned to return to Canada within 10 years, and 17% suggested that their return would take place within 10 years or more. Finally, 31% had no plans to return.

Using a Poisson regression,¹² we developed three models to further test factors that may affect the connections to Canada of Canadians living overseas. We defined Model 1 to test the extent to which Canadians abroad consider Canada their home, Model 2 to test the frequency of their visits to Canada, and Model 3 to test the extent to which they plan to return to Canada. The results of the Poisson regression are reported in Table 1.

(Insert Table 1 here)

The results of Model 1 suggest that most Canadians abroad, but with the exception of Indians and Quebeckers, consider Canada home, regardless of their gender, age, country of current residence, last province of residence in Canada, citizenship status or place of birth, employment situation, or level of education. The only factor to significantly alter

¹² Poisson regression is usually selected for analysis of count data or rates. The response variable in this situation is a quantitative variable, but has the property that it is discrete, taking on only integer values. The basic idea for this model is that the predictor information is related to the rate or susceptibility of the response to increase or decrease in counts.

this feeling of attachment to Canada is the number of years of residency outside Canada, with Canadians who recently moved abroad being the most attached to their motherland.

The results of Model 2 confirm that the frequency of overseas Canadians visiting Canada varies significantly by age group, countries of current residence, and employment. For example, senior citizens abroad visit Canada more frequently than their younger counterparts. Moreover, Canadians residing in the U.S. travel to Canada significantly more often than those living in other countries, undoubtedly because of the geographical proximity of the two countries. In addition, those Canadians working for the federal government obviously fly back to Canada more frequently than others.

The results of Model 3 suggest that the return of Canadians to Canada varies according to gender, country of current residence, years spent abroad, employment, and level of education. For instance, males are less likely than females to plan to return to Canada. In addition, Canadians in Hong Kong SAR, Indonesia, Japan, the Philippines, Singapore, and South Korea are more likely to return to Canada than their counterparts in the U.S. Moreover, the longer Canadians live abroad, the less likely they are to return to Canada, and Canadian government employees are the most likely to return to Canada.

IV. Outward-thinking Canadians

The results of *The Canada's World Poll* conducted by Environics Research (2008) point out that Canadians at home feel strongly connected to the world outside their country's borders. This connection comes through both their engagement with international events and their personal connections to people and cultures in other countries. Canadians demonstrate considerable interest in travelling abroad for new experiences, especially to become immersed in another culture, language and people, but also to do volunteer work, seek employment, and study. In addition, most Canadians consider the large community of Canadians currently living abroad as an asset rather than a liability. These expatriate community members are viewed as good ambassadors and their stay is perceived as a

means of enriching both themselves and their country back home. The survey also reveals that the Canadian public is largely supportive of Canadians abroad, regardless of their activities overseas.

Charts 1, 2 and 3 illustrate some of the opinions of outward-thinking Canadians.

(Insert Charts 1, 2 and 3 here)

In today's globalized world, where goods, information and people can move across borders more extensively and freely than ever before to maintain international competitiveness, an outward-looking Canada must ensure that its policies do not hinder outward-thinking Canadians from participating in global business.

As a trading nation, Canada's economy relies heavily on international engagement. On average over the last five years, one fifth of Canada's economic growth has been attributed to export growth. Total international trade in goods and services represented 70% of Canada's GDP in the same period.

As a country of immigrants, Canada's people-to-people links with the rest of world have been boosted to the highest level in several generations. This country welcomed close to 250,000 new permanent residents annually in the past five years, with over 57% of them economic immigrants. The 2006 Census enumerated six million foreign-born people in Canada. They accounted for virtually one in five (19.8%) of the total population, the highest proportion in 75 years.

It seems reasonable and logical to anticipate that Canada will become a more outward-looking nation, and therefore it is crucial for Canada to keep up its international presence rather than closing its doors to the outside world. But there is increasing evidence of a multiple-personality disorder when it comes to Canadians and how they deal with globalization.

On the one hand, Canada has developed a commercial strategy to gain global advantage. The government has even identified 13 priority markets around the world where Canadian opportunities and interests have the greatest potential for growth. Canada's international commercial network is being strengthened and currently encompasses over 900 Canadian Trade Commissioners that are active in more than 150 cities worldwide.

On the immigration front, the door remains wide open even in the most severe global economic slowdown in many decades. Canada will stay the course on immigration in 2009, welcoming between 240,000 and 265,000 new permanent residents, Citizenship and Immigration Minister Jason Kenney announced.¹³

Nevertheless, much evidence points to Canada moving in the opposite direction. Canada's rank dropped from "B" or "C" in the 1970s and 1980s to the bottom group "D" in the 1990s and 2000s on the Outward FDI Performance Index – a measure developed by the Conference Board of Canada to capture a country's relative success in investing globally.

While being a country founded by immigrants, Canada has neglected the fact that human mobility runs in two directions. There is increasing emigration from this country, mainly destined to the U.S. or Asia. It is estimated as many as 2.7 million Canadians -- or 7.5% of the country's total population -- is residing abroad.

Once a Canadian moves abroad, he or she faces mounting penalties for not settling in this country, as discussed in the previous section. Why is this happening in a country that has the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which states clearly that every citizen of Canada has the right to enter, remain in, and leave Canada?

One argument suggests that as a privilege of citizenship, one should live only in Canada. In my view, this argument seems similar to outdated 19th century sovereignty ideology.

 $^{^{13}}$ CIC, Nov, 11, 2008, http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/DEPARTMENT/MEDIA/releases/2008/2008-11-28.asp (accessed Sept 7, 2009).

Take China, which used to tie its citizens to cities or towns with its infamous *Hukou* registration -- prohibiting mobility across borders. Today Beijing has loosened those policies and now allows its citizens to move more freely around the country and even around the world. Should Canada move to the opposite direction?

Another argument suggests that if someone decides not to live in Canada, he or she lacks an attachment to Canada and therefore does not deserve Canadian citizenship. What is attachment? Hopefully, we are not just talking about the outdated measures of settlement in Canada or the payment of Canadian taxes. In my view, the attachment that Canadians living overseas have to Canada is best observed through their participation in various activities that connect to and matter for the nation of Canada, both domestically and internationally.

As the world changes with globalization and revolutionary technology in transportation and communications, Canadians' interactions with the rest of the world have accelerated dramatically. These revolutions now allow overseas Canadian citizens to participate in Canadian economic, political, social and civil activities in ways unimaginable or impossible in past generations.

V. Challenges that Canada Is Facing

So far this paper has focused on the substantial gap between the treatment of Canadians at home and citizens abroad. It has also highlighted the strong feeling of "Canadian" by overseas citizens and their desire to maintain their connections to Canada.

Canadians are more mobile now than ever before and have consistently been seeking opportunities to prosper around the world. Given this state of affairs, very little recognition is granted Canadians abroad, except for celebrities in the U.S. or Canadian citizens who get into trouble overseas. Canadians living abroad, especially those who hold dual citizenship, are often characterized as ingrates for their apparent lack of

patriotism, possible tax avoidance, and tenuous cultural and political ties to Canada (DeVoretz & Woo 2006). All of this represents policy challenges for Canada with respect to Canadian citizens living abroad.

- Canada's balance sheet? Canadian census-taking should count its population abroad. A statistical system should be developed that would include Canadians abroad in official counts of Canada's population. This would also contribute to an inclusive national mindset that respects the reality of pluralism: the mobility of Canadian citizens and their desire to live abroad. Canadians living abroad should be reflected on Canada's balance sheet of human resources, talent pool, national assets, etc.
- ➤ Challenge 2: Should and how can Canada's tax system reflect the reality and needs of internationally mobile Canadians? Canada needs to review its income tax policy which currently discourages the connections of Canadians living abroad with home Canada. Such a review should be in accordance with some key elements including clear purpose, strategic, coherent and efficient, fair and transparent, positive tone and stance ¹⁴.
- ➤ Challenge 3: Should and how can Canada encourage the political and civic participation of her citizens abroad? This would include a requirement that Canada should allow overseas citizens to vote in Canadian elections and Canada should consider creating political mechanisms that would represent overseas citizens at the federal and provincial levels. A public review and debate of the five-year rule that phases out voting rights for Canadians abroad needs to be conducted. In addition, voting from abroad should be redesigned to facilitate the process. This would significantly encourage political and civic participation by all Canadians, including the citizens abroad.

¹⁴ Those are suggested by PricewaterhouseCoopers, < http://www.pwc.com/gx/en/paying-taxes/good-tax-system.jhtml>, accessed on Sept 9, 2009.

- ➤ Challenge 4: Should and how can Canada protect and enhance her value of citizenship? The change of new citizenship law on April 17, 2009 reflects the need for reviewing outdated contents of Canada's citizenship rules that may have contradictories with contemporary reality. Limiting the citizenship by descent to one generation outside Canada is just one of the many options. A better policy change is to enhance the attachment rather than to cut off the links between Canada and its overseas citizens.
- ➤ Challenge 5: How can Canada better communicate with its overseas communities? This requires a development of the consultation and communication processes to keep Canadians abroad involved in any changes brought to citizenship laws and rules regulating their movement across borders, and to listen to their needs including those of consular protection and other services. This would also ensure that any risks associated with Canadians abroad are properly assessed and addressed.
- ➤ Challenge 6: Should and how can Canada provide better health care coverage when Canadians move across borders? This requires a reform of Canadian health care system, which will not only meet the needs of residents at home, but also the needs of some residents who are international mobile. A better coverage is essential for some Canadians in a transition period when they relocate from or to Canada.
- ➤ Challenge 7: Should and how can Canada raise her awareness of overseas citizens in other administrative processes in Canada? This requires a better understanding of overseas communities about their needs with respect to rules and regulations governing professional practice, labour market policies, driver's license and other administrative processes that are drawn up in Canada.

"Canada is where Canadians are." (Loat, 2004) It is obvious that some of Canada's policies need to change to encourage all Canadians to participate fully and equally in Canadian society, and to enhance the notion of citizenship within a multicultural nation.

VI. Summary and Conclusions

Nearly 2.7 million Canadians live abroad, a fact still unknown to most Canadians. Members of this Canadian diaspora deserve to be treated not as foreigners, but as true Canadians. Canada ought not to have two or more classes of citizens.

Today, Canadians are challenged by an additional reality of pluralism: the mobility of Canadian citizens and their desire to live abroad. An even bigger challenge is for Canada to encourage all Canadians to participate fully in Canadian society, making the notion of citizenship an asset rather than a liability. Various ways of fostering closer economic and cultural links to Canada's diaspora include: enumerating Canadians abroad in national head counts, encouraging and facilitating their political and civic participation, balancing the representation and taxation of citizens at home and abroad, and keeping Canadians abroad informed and consulted on regulatory changes affecting them.

As we have come to accept that overseas affiliates of Canadian corporations are net overseas assets that can generate long-term benefits for the country, we now need to consider the Canadian diaspora as a long-term asset to be cultivated, not spurned.

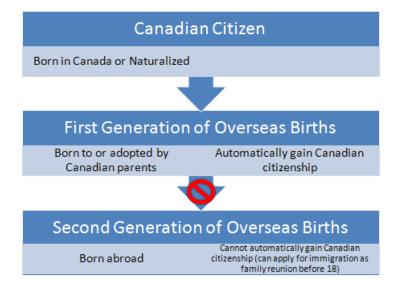
Table 1: Connections to Canada: Poisson Regression Results

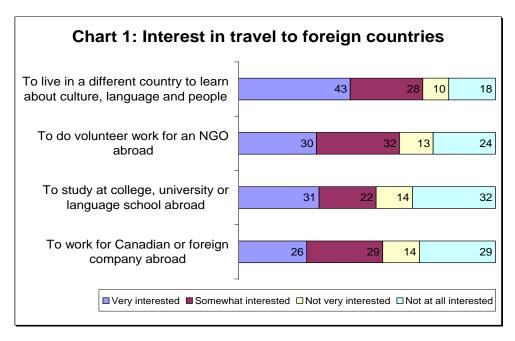
	Model 1:	Model 2:	Model 3:	
	Canada as Home	Frequency of visits to	Plan to return to	
Variables	(0=no, 1=not sure, 2=yes)	Canada (0=never, 1=less than 1 a year,	Canada (0=no, 1=yes in 5 year or less,	
variables	2-yes)	2=1-2 times a year,	2=yes in more than 5	
		3=more than 3 times a	years)	
Gender (reference=Female):		year)		
Male	-0.0720	-0.0238	O 1500**	
Age (reference= less than 30 ye		-0.0238	-0.1588**	
•	-0.0714	0.0042	-0.0767	
30 to 39 40 to 49		0.0042		
	-0.0682	0.0735	-0.1302	
50 to 59	0.0285	0.1818**	0.1112	
60 or older	-0.1659	0.2033*	0.1710	
Country of resident (reference=U.S.):				
Australia	-0.1811	-0.5220***	-0.1094	
China (PRC)	-0.1483	-0.5348***	0.1102	
Hong Kong SAR	-0.0960	-0.3203***	0.2626**	
India	-2.0011**	-1.6229***	-0.7513	
Indonesia	-0.1348	-0.1039	0.6935***	
Japan	-0.0528	-0.2525***	0.4095***	
Malaysia	-0.0737	-0.3195	0.3779	
New Zealand	-0.0211	-0.6690***	0.0254	
Philippines	0.0819	-0.3681***	0.4829**	
Singapore	0.0992	-0.2340	0.6149***	
South Korea	0.0215	-0.0746	0.6981***	
Taiwan	0.0466	-0.4772***	0.5516***	
Thailand	-0.0636	-0.3477***	0.2497	
Vietnam	0.0202	-0.3515***	0.2544	
Other	-0.3167	-0.4668***	-0.1561	
Last province of residency in Ca	anada (reference=Ontar	rio):		
Alberta	-0.0027	-0.0258	-0.0970	
British Columbia	-0.0494	0.0637	-0.0080	
Manitoba	0.0058	-0.0445	-0.3981	
New Brunswick	-0.5389	0.0951	-0.2319	
Newfoundland and Labrador	0.0642	-0.1648	-0.7702*	
Nova Scotia	-0.2472	-0.0191	0.0477	
Quebec	-0.2169**	-0.0807	-0.0444	
Saskatchewan	-0.0286	0.0606	0.0453	
Never lived in Canada	-0.8813	-0.3437	-0.5597	

Citizenship status (reference=Ca	nadian citizen by birth):	
Citizen by neutralization	0.0680	-0.0687	0.0606
Citizen by parent	-0.0228	-0.3247	0.0037
Permanent resident	0.1481	0.1064	0.2848
Years outside Canada (reference	=more than 10 years)		
Less than 1 year	0.2347***	-0.0176	0.4866***
1-3 years	0.1790**	0.0837	0.3759***
4-5 years	0.1769**	0.0871	0.2917**
6-9 years	0.0548	0.0818	0.2073*
Employment (reference=working	g for Canadian governi	ment):	
Int'l organization, corporation	-0.0804	-0.1262**	-0.1728*
Local business	-0.1095	-0.1639***	-0.2127**
Retired	-0.1193	-0.0885	-0.3970
Self-employed	-0.1351	-0.1041	-0.3868***
Student	-0.0372	-0.1613	0.0619
Unemployed	-0.1368	-0.2828***	-0.7327***
Education (reference=secondary	school or less):		
Undergraduate	0.0809	0.1360	0.2790
Postgraduate	0.2156	0.2423**	0.3944*
Constant	0.4115**	0.6899***	-0.3676
N	482	482	481
Pseudo-R-squared	0.0282	0.0391	0.0611

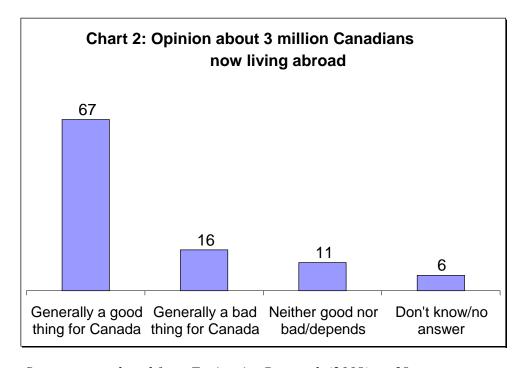
Note: *** = p<0.01; ** = p<0.05; and * = p<0.1.

Figure 1: Diminishing Canadian Citizenship

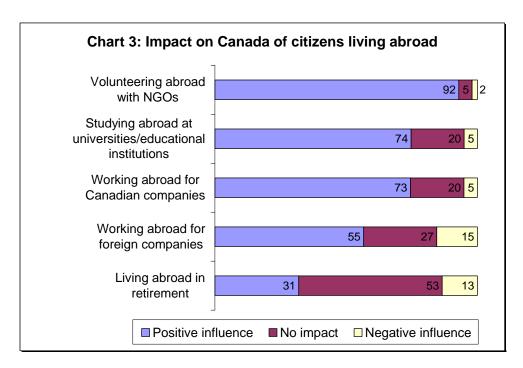




Source: reproduced from Environics Research (2008), p. 25.



Source: reproduced from Environics Research (2008), p. 38.



Source: reproduced from Environics Research (2008), p. 39.

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