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## **Mapping Canadian Diasporic Media: The Existence and Significance of Communicative Spaces for Overseas Canadians**

Sherry S. Yu

School of Communication, Simon Fraser University

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### **Executive Summary**

To understand how Canadian diasporas are established as communities, this study mapped the “communication infrastructure” of the Canadian diaspora -- that is, media and organizations established within diasporic communities. As part of the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada (APF)’s Canadians Abroad Project, this study continues the APF’s efforts to profile the Canadian diaspora.

This study identified 60 Canadian diasporic media, 53 organizations and 110 alumni networks in 12 selected destinations in Asia, Europe, North America and the Middle East, which represent nearly 60% of overseas Canadians. This study finds that the largest communications infrastructure has been established in the US (58), followed by the UK (37), China (24), Hong Kong (23), and France (22).

Canadian diasporic media (defined in this study as Canadian-owned and operated media that are printed, broadcast or published online or offline in English, French or in any other third language, and directed at overseas Canadians) are most numerous in France (14), followed by the UK (10), the US (9), Taiwan (7) and China (6). Canadian diasporic media are mainly provided by volunteer-run, not-for-profit, overseas Canadian organizations (social networks or business organizations) in the form of online, micro media (e.g., newsletters, blogs, forums, social networking groups) to share Canadian understanding of the new locale and to facilitate interaction among Canadians. Overall:

- Over 70% of Canadian diasporic media are provided by overseas Canadian organizations;
- Over 60% of Canadian diasporic media are available online only;
- Over 40% of Canadian diasporic media are available in online interactive form (e.g., blogs, forums, social networking groups), followed by online or offline newsletters (24%) and conventional media (e.g., newspapers, magazines, television, radio) (24%);
- Nearly 50% of Canadian diasporic media content deals with “social and civil activities” – specifically, getting Canadians connected locally through Canadian events (e.g., Canada Day celebration).

The findings of this research may be useful for members of Canada's universities, corporations and government bureaus interested in accessing overseas Canadians. As attachment to Canada is expressed through different institutional forms depending on the destination, stakeholders may consider using destination-specific routes to establish broader links with overseas Canadians.

Future research may be conducted to assess the vitality of the communications infrastructure across various foreign outposts, with the goal of understanding the relative strength of communication ties not only in number but also in quality. The form and nature of the relative contribution of each institution (media, organization and alumni network) to the fostering of sustained attachment to Canada may also be assessed. In particular, the significance of alumni networks in the lives of dual citizens may be of further interest.

### **Introduction**

Canada is one of the top three most favored destinations for global migrants, along with the United States and Australia (International Organization on Migration, 2008), as well as the source of 2.7 million overseas Canadians (APF Canada, 2007). Immigrants comprise 20% of the total Canadian population and well over 40% of the population in Canada's three major metropolitan centres – Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal (Statistics Canada, Census 2006). While these incoming foreign populations are well documented - not only in numbers, but also in community profiles (see "Profiles of ethnic communities in Canada") - there is a surprising scarcity of information about the out-flow of Canadian citizens (Canadian-born and foreign-born). Other than the estimated figures provided by the APF (APF, 2007), there seems to be no hard data available about global Canadians. Thus, in hindsight, the startling evacuation of 15,000 Canadian citizens from Lebanon in 2006 (Brender, 2009) is not so inexplicable; we simply did not know they existed. This event clearly suggests that Canada needs a new "diaspora strategy" (APF, 2006). Such a strategy would entail first an assessment of the Canadian population abroad (both in number and locale), and second, the development of community profiles (demographic profiles of overseas Canadians and the community infrastructures established by and for them).

In response, the APF has carefully followed, through its ongoing Canadians Abroad project, the footprints of overseas Canadians. Its earlier studies found that overseas Canadians were important assets for global Canada, specifically in their contribution to Canada's foreign relations with their country of residence. Overseas Canadians tend to be young, educated professionals; over 50% work for international organizations, multinational businesses, local businesses or NGOs (APF, 2007). In terms of their participation in Canadian economic, political, social and civil activities, they are not significantly different from Canadians at home (Zhang, 2009). Furthermore, the previous studies also identified Canadian presence in terms of Canadian personalities and overseas Canadian networks in selected destinations (APF, 2009). All of these studies

help profile overseas Canadians as individuals; however, these studies are limited when it comes to understanding Canadian diasporas as structured communities.

Acknowledging such a blind spot, this study continues the Canadians Abroad project, with a special focus on the “communication infrastructure” of the Canadian diaspora; that is, media and organizations established within diasporic communities (Ball-Rokeach, Kim, & Matei, 2001). More specifically, to understand the existence and significance of communicative spaces available for overseas Canadians, close attention will be paid to Canadian diasporic media; that is, Canadian owned and operated media - printed, broadcast, or published, online or offline, in English, French, or any other languages - directed to overseas Canadians.<sup>1</sup> The guiding questions are: (1) How well-established are Canadian diasporic media in each destination? (2) What roles do Canadian diasporic media play in promoting Canada and connecting overseas Canadians to Canada? and (3) How can Canada utilize these diasporic media to enhance attachment to Canada? Gateways to overseas Canadians (and insights into their attitudes toward Canadians, Canadian diasporas and Canada) may be identified by the degree to which these media have been developed, the roles these media play out for overseas Canadians, and the ways in which overseas Canadians use them.

### **Theoretical Considerations**

#### *Changing Nature of Global Migration and Diaspora*

Overseas communication infrastructure is established by and for global migrants in their respective destinations. Thus, it is reflective of the changing nature of global migration and of new socio-economic dynamics created within the diaspora. Considerations of communication infrastructure should therefore be preceded by an understanding of the changing nature of global migration. In the post-war period, migration, market, security, and their governance have become globally interconnected beyond national boundaries. Many global events<sup>2</sup> have had significant global spill-over that dramatically changed nation-states in various ways, from demographic composition to national policy agendas. Particularly, the American neo-liberalism that emerged in the 1980s has become a global phenomenon and has strengthened the global economic power structure.

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<sup>1</sup> Overseas Canadians have diverse media options, ranging from Canadian media in Canada to international media to local English media, to name a few. The APF’s earlier study (2007) also found that among the routes overseas Canadians use to obtain information about Canada, media (particularly Canadian media in Canada) ranked high. Among these diverse media options, this study focuses specifically on media that are *directed* at overseas Canadians to understand the communication infrastructure developed within Canadian diaspora.

<sup>2</sup> These include the post-war nation-building projects and the migration of labour; the decolonization and the racial conflicts in South Africa in the 1950s and the 1960s; the oil shocks in the 1970s; the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the massive refugee migration in the 1980s (Hammar, 1990; Castles, 2000; Guiraudon & Joppke, 2001).

Through international agreements, such as the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) in 1996, and through neo-liberal multiculturalism policies, which adopted business immigration programs in the wake of the retreat of social assistance (e.g., Business Immigration Program 1986 of Canada) (Brodie, 2002; Ong, 2003; Joppke, 2004), the free movement of economic migrants has shifted the demographic profile of global migrants from unskilled workers to economically self-sufficient or economically contributing “hypercapital” managers (Ong, 2003, p. 269).

Unlike historically underprivileged migrants, this new cohort of migrants is made up of educated professionals and entrepreneurs whose socio-economic capital allow relative freedom in choice of new locale. Ong (1999, p. 97) describes this cohort as “well-educated professionals who live in upscale neighbourhoods, attend American universities, work in high-tech companies, buy up expensive real estate, and eat in sophisticated Chinese restaurants” and take an interest in maximizing the benefits of “flexible citizenship” -- that is, “the strategies and effects of mobile managers, technocrats, and professionals seeking to both circumvent and benefit from different nation-state regimes by selecting different sites for investment, work and family relocation” (p. 112). Canada is, in fact, a strategic location in this sense as it allows dual citizenship, which comes with quality social programs such as education and language training (DeVoretz & Battisti, 2009). Similar to these incoming migrants to favoured destinations such as the US and Canada, the outbound migrants from these countries also tend to be “hypercapital” individuals. Canada’s “brain drain” of highly skilled workers to the US (Feenie, 2006, p. 15) and of naturalized Canadians to their country of origin also confirms this new trend of global migration. About 150,000 Canadians of Hong Kong descent are known to reside in Hong Kong (DeVoretz & Battisti, 2009) in the hope of better economic prospects.

The diaspora is changing accordingly. Polarization of class, not only within the immigrant community but also within the community as a whole, is unavoidable. The diaspora has become fragmented along socio-economic lines, as confirmed in Modood’s study (2007, p. 118) on intra-group difference, which shows that “different minorities may seek to reach out to and connect with different aspects or parts of mainstream society.” Intergroup tension between Anglo residents and hypercapital citizens is also seen at a local level, because the latter has risen above, for example, the “stereotypical Chinese-ness which (has) settled comfortably in the mind of the West” (Ong, 1999, p. 98) and has surpassed the living standard of white counterparts. Examples of such intergroup tension include: NIMBY (Not In My BackYard), the English-only and anti-development campaigns and movements in Monterey Park, and the “monster house” controversy in Vancouver, which occurred as a result of new urban gentrification in the surge of entrepreneur immigrants (Ong, 1999, 2003; Mitchell, 2001). The immigrant-sending countries are no exceptions. A so-called “reverse diaspora” (Raymer, 2009) for and by Western-trained professionals returning to their country of origin is in the making, posing a similar potential for tension. India is a good example. Approximately 50,000 to 60,000 returnees (information-technology professionals alone) since 2003 have replicated their

Bay-area lifestyle in the city of Bangalore, where polarization of class is prominent to a higher degree than in any other global city (ibid). Likewise, considering that 60% of Canadians in Hong Kong and a similarly vast majority of 40,000 Canadians in China<sup>3</sup> belong to this diaspora (APF, 2009), fragmentation of the diaspora may also be a new trend of global migration.

### *Communication Infrastructure of Diasporic Communities*

This new cohort of global migrants thus brings a new dynamic to communication infrastructure, multiplying both communication platforms and the kinds of roles played out by the community's institutions. Sandra Ball-Rokeach (2001, p. 398) of the Annenberg School of Communication at the University of Southern California, theorizes a so-called "Communication Infrastructure," wherein ethnic media and organizations that develop within immigrant communities function as "connective tissues" that facilitate "meso" storytelling (e.g., locally based organizations) between micro storytelling (e.g., interpersonal network) and macro storytelling (e.g., national media, political institutions). Such diasporic institutions help multiple narratives to be "constructed, engaged and negotiated" within the overall storytelling system (ibid.). While the history of settlement and the demographic composition of the community may influence the level of development, diasporic media have been found to serve various needs of diasporic communities. Sun's study (2006) on Chinese media in Australia finds such a mediatory, civil society role played out by Chinese media, which negotiate tension among divergent interests within the Chinese community. Not only do these media represent the community to, and communicate with, the government and broader society, but they also report back to their Chinese community the views of broader society.

Yet, not all diasporic media play such a bridging role. Some diasporic media are communicative spaces of their own – not necessarily engaged with mainstream media -- striving to empower their community; specifically, working-class migrants excluded from socio-political rights by Eurocentric and corporate cultures (Georgiou, 2007). The UK's London Greek Radio, for example, is mandated to empower their community by delivering "mainstream information" (e.g., social benefits, training, job opportunities) to those whose low language skills prohibit them from economic, cultural and political participation in European societies (Georgiou, 2005, p. 494). The US's Latino media in the 1980s played a similar role by offering a "basis for autonomous political communication and organization," especially in the growing recognition of Latinos as consumers and voters (Downing, 1992, p. 258). Still others serve as vehicles for national identity and consciousness. Studies of transnational media<sup>4</sup> viewed in immigrant

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<sup>3</sup> The Western Returned Scholars Association of China (<http://www.wrsacc.com>) in Beijing alone represents over 10,000 returnees.

<sup>4</sup> These studies include Sinclair, Yue, Hawkins, Pookong, and Fox's study (2001) on Chinese households in Australia; De Leeuw and Rydin's study (2007) on immigrant children in six European countries; and Bailey's study (2007) on Latin American households in Liverpool.

households confirm how transnational media function as family entertainment, yet reinforce cultural identities and shared consciousness. Sreberny's study (2000) on Iranian media in London also finds the making of a shared consciousness among the increasingly fragmented Iranian diaspora.

The most prominent changes in recent years have been the diasporic media's growing market orientation and the move toward online media, which has consequently multiplied their role as media. Zhou, Chen and Cai's study (2006, p. 51) on Chinese media in North America finds that diasporic media have become a "new type of ethnic business," creating a multi-million-dollar advertising market. This is consistent with Murray, Yu and Ahadi's study (2007, p. 26) on diasporic media in British Columbia ([www.bcethnicmedia.ca](http://www.bcethnicmedia.ca)), which identifies 144 vibrant media in 22 languages. The substantial growth of immigrant numbers, particularly entrepreneurial immigrants (or "hypercapital citizens") as a result of neoliberal immigration policies, may have contributed to this growth, through expansion and diversification of the consumer market. In fact, the study further finds that over 60% of the print media of the top three home-spoken languages (Chinese, Korean and Punjabi) dedicate 20% to 50% of their front pages to advertising, when an equally large number of their English counterparts dedicate less than 5% (Murray et al., 2007, p. 92). The allophone population in Metro Vancouver has reached over 40% of the total population (Statistics Canada, Census 2006), and their perception of the new locale is likely to be influenced by translated version of news provided by diasporic media. How their growing market interest may affect the local production of these media warrants further exploration.

A move toward an increasing online presence has been another noticeable change. The advancement of media technologies diversifies and multiplies the communication platforms by which diasporic communities may function as vibrant "media publics" (Herbert 2005), linking not only diasporic communities to their country of settlement and country of origin, but also the online and offline lives of diasporic communities. A good example of the former is Italy's "virtual electoral districts," which enable Italian citizens living abroad to be part of home politics (Hayward, 2008). Another similar example is "e-Mexico," launched by the Mexican government, which attempts to cultivate a relationship with its migrants by providing online access to education, economy, health and government (Navarrete & Huerta, 2006, p.18). Hiller and Franz's study (2004, pp. 743-744) of the online community of Newfoundland migrants within Canada further confirms the benefit of Computer Mediated Communication (CMC) for diasporic communities; not only for gaining social capital and discovering new ties in a place of settlement, but also for maintaining or restoring old or lost ties back home.

Furthermore, the online-offline connection is also worthy of observation. Yu and Murray's study (2007) on Korean media in British Columbia reveals that online publications (print media) not only replicate news content, but also create spaces for community discussion and promote community events to be undertaken offline. Bakardjieva (2003) argues that the internet "does not solely create a kind of virtual togetherness, but actions and

interactions going on there are also closely intertwined with participant's projects and pursuits in their offline lives" (cited in De Leeuw & Rydin, 2007). In the multiplication of virtual communities -- such as the blogs, forums and social networking sites that can be created and organized with ease by individuals and institutions -- online-offline connection is becoming an important part of migrant lives.

### **Research Focus and Questions**

In today's ever diversifying yet interconnected communication environment, it is important to ask how well the Canadian diaspora's communication environment is constructed, particularly in regard to the role it plays for overseas Canadians. APF Canada's earlier study (2007, p. 25) has identified a number of routes through which overseas Canadians obtain information about Canada: "friends and family" (64%), "Canadian media" (57%), "international media" (28%), "overseas Canadian networks" (27%), "Canadian diplomatic posts" (13%) and "local media" (12%). Among these information routes, however, local diasporic media has not been mentioned. This may mean either that Canadian diasporic media are not present in those respective destinations or that they are present but utilized for different purposes. Therefore, this study focuses on Canadian diasporic media, examining the existence and significance of these spaces in the everyday lives of overseas Canadians. The overarching questions are: (1) How well-developed are Canadian diasporic media in each destination; (2) What roles do Canadian diasporic media play in promoting Canada and connecting overseas Canadians to Canada; and (3) How can Canada utilize these diasporic media to enhance attachment to Canada?

This research involves (1) mapping Canadian diasporic media into 12 select destinations in Asia, Europe, North America and the Middle East; and (2) interviewing Canadian diasporic media professionals and audiences. In-depth case studies on exemplary Canadian diasporic media in select destinations are developed to gauge how existing Canadian diasporic media attempt to serve overseas Canadian audiences. Specifically, attention is paid to their editorial mission and sense of social responsibility to the overseas Canadian community. Awareness and use of Canadian diasporic media is confirmed through interviews with former overseas Canadians who currently reside in Canada.

This study departs with the following three hypotheses to identify destination-specific factors that influence the development of Canadian diasporic media;

- H1: Canadian diasporic media of established Canadian diasporic communities would offer full-fledged conventional media services.
- H2: Canadian diasporic media of Canadian diasporic communities, which have more dual citizens, would offer multiple language services.



- H3: The number or diversity of Canadian diasporic media would be relatively small if the host country's English media were well developed.

### **Definitions and Research Design**

#### Definitions

##### *Canadian diasporic media*

The Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) defines diasporic media (or, to use the CRTC's term, "ethnic media") as media "directed to any culturally or racially distinct group other than one that is Aboriginal Canadian, or from France or the British Isles" (CRTC, 1999). The definition of ethnic diasporic media in Canada can be demarcated simply along cultural-racial lines; however, Canadian diasporic media for overseas Canadians cannot. Reflecting Canadian society in general, the overseas Canadian diaspora is comprised of Canadians of diverse ethno-cultural backgrounds. Nearly 40% of overseas Canadians are, in fact, dual citizens (APF, 2007, p. 16). Furthermore, when defining Canadian diasporic media, and all diasporic media, the changing media environment should also be considered. Transnational forms of media -- through which "dispersed audience and nomadic subject(s)" make sense of cultural meaning (Radway cited in Schrøder, Drotner, Kline, & Murray, 2003, p. 78) -- have emerged as a global trend, allowing flexibility in location and means of production. Therefore, Canadian diasporic media are not necessarily those owned and operated by Canadians physically present in the location that the outlet is directed to serve; rather they can be located anywhere convenient as long as their service is directed to overseas Canadians.

Media can also take different forms, exceeding conventional media (e.g., newspapers, magazines, television, radio) and venturing into new interactive communicative spaces (e.g., as blogs, forums, social networking groups). Media production can also be extended to individuals and organizations interested in creating these spaces to serve their own ends, rather than being limited to media outlets. After all, media audiences are no longer just audiences, but also media users and producers (Schrøder et al., 2003). Therefore, Canadian diasporic media include (1) media provided by conventional media outlets; (2) media provided by overseas Canadian associations, groups, and networks (e.g., newsletters); and (3) media that are interactive communicative spaces operated by overseas Canadian organizations and individuals (e.g., blogs, forums).

**Canadian diasporic media thus can be defined as follows: Canadian-owned and operated media -- printed, broadcast, or published online or offline in English, French or in any third language -- that is directed at overseas Canadians.**

##### *Local English media*

In the discussion of Canadian diasporic media, local English media or local media that offer multilingual services cannot be excluded. Unlike linguistic communities in Canada

that rely heavily on their native languages and, subsequently, native language media, overseas Canadians are open not only to Canadian diasporic media, but to local media offered in English, created by the host country to cater to English-speaking foreign residents. Therefore, to make better sense of the pattern of development of Canadian diasporic media, it is important to situate it within the broader media landscape of each destination. This study maps local English media in all selected destinations except destinations where English is either the sole official language or one of a few official languages: the US, the UK and Hong Kong.

#### *Overseas Canadians*

Overseas Canadians are Canadian citizens, both Canadian-born and foreign-born (including dual citizens), who live outside Canada.

#### *Media professionals*

Media professionals are those who work for Canadian-owned and operated media (printed, broadcast or published online or offline in English, French or in any other third language) that is directed at overseas Canadians. They may be owners, editors, reporters, creators, or operators, etc.

#### *Former overseas Canadians*

Former overseas Canadians are those who had been abroad to work or study for more than one year and currently reside in Canada

### **Research Design**

Research period: May - October 2009.

#### *Selected destinations*

For media mapping, the following 12 destinations are selected: China, France, Hong Kong, India, Japan, Lebanon, the Philippines, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, the UK and the US. These destinations cover four continents and represent nearly 60% of overseas Canadians (excluding France in which the Canadian population is not known).

The selection of destinations for in-depth interviews with Canadian diasporic media professionals depended on their responses to an invitation to this study. The research team contacted all 60 Canadian diasporic media outlets mapped in this study and interviewed the four media professionals (in the US, UK, Singapore and Hong Kong) who responded to the invitation. Initially, Hong Kong and South Korea had been selected for case studies, for the following reasons. First, Hong Kong is not only the largest Canadian diaspora of the 250,000 Canadians in Asia (DeVoretz & Battisti, 2009), but it also represents the largest “reverse diaspora” (Raymer, 2009) of Chinese Canadians. Over 60% of Canadians in Hong Kong are known to be Canadians of Hong Kong descent (DeVoretz & Battisti, 2009). Second, South Korea is of particular interest for

diasporic media study. Korean media are growing quickly, especially in Vancouver, with the highest per capita ratio of media outlets to population size (Murray et al., 2007). The dependency on homebound news is, however, more pronounced than of any other language group studied in North America (Lin & Song, 2006; Murray et al., 2007). An analysis of Canadian media in South Korea (particularly of how geo-ethnicity plays out in the development of diasporic media) may suggest an interesting point of comparison. However, the findings of media mapping indicate that an established Canadian diaspora like Hong Kong does not necessarily have a higher number of established diasporic media. Also, the growth of Korean diasporic media in Canada was not necessarily replicated by the Canadian diasporic community in Korea. Only three Canadian diasporic media in each destination fit the definition of this study. Therefore, the target was expanded to all 12 destinations.

### *Methodology*

A multi-method approach has been employed to increase reliability: (1) media mapping; (2) in-depth interviews with media professionals; and (3) in-depth interviews with audiences (former overseas Canadians). While media mapping is of primary interest to this study, interviews with a small sample of Canadian media professionals and audiences is added to pilot and identify focal areas for future research. Thus, the findings from these interviews are only suggestive.

### *Media mapping*

The purpose of media mapping is to identify Canadian diasporic media directed to overseas Canadians in 12 select destinations. To cover the geographically dispersed research areas off-site, this research has taken two approaches: (1) preliminary mapping based on online sources, and (2) validation of the preliminary list by local experts. For preliminary mapping, the research team first located overseas Canadian networks (e.g. Canadian Chamber of Commerce, Canadians in China), using a list developed by the earlier study (see APF, 2007, pp. 36-38), to identify potential links to Canadian diasporic media or the media provided by the networks themselves. Second, to find a list of Canadian diasporic media operated within the destination, the research team searched for Canadian business and/or community directories that might list individuals and/or businesses operated within the overseas Canadian communities. Such directories often exist to meet the needs of ethnic communities in Canada (e.g., Telephone Directory of Korean Canadians in British Columbia 2007-2008, Chinese Business Telephone Directory 2006). Third, considering the so-called “brain drain” phenomenon and considerable “returnee” population (the naturalized Canadian citizens who move back to their country of origin) especially in the Asian countries, the research team attempted to locate overseas alumni networks (and their communicative means) through the Canadian university’s alumni networks (for all Canadians) and ethnic students’ associations (for dual or hyphenated citizens working abroad in their country of origin).

Finally, key-word searches (e.g., overseas Canadians, overseas Canadian organizations in [destination], Canadian alumni in [destination], Canadian media in [destination]) through Internet search engines such as Google, and major social networking sites such as Facebook, were also performed to further locate communicative spaces developed in relation to, or independently of, Canadian networks. Among all the entries that satisfy the definition of Canadian diasporic media, only those that were apparently active (for example, updated within the past six months) were selected. Additionally, the research team mapped local English media available for English-speaking foreign residents (e.g. *China Daily*, *Korea Herald*) to understand the Canadian diasporic media in a broader local media context and to explore the influence of local English media on the development of Canadian diasporic media (Hypothesis 3).

Diverse approaches have been attempted to best locate Canadian diasporic media; however, web searches may have overlooked offline-only media known and available only to individuals in those particular destinations. Murray et al.'s study (2007) suggests that, although there is definitely a growing need for and supply of online media by BC's ethnic media market, there is still high dependency on offline media, especially print media. In order to compensate for this shortcoming, the research team attempted to consult local experts involved in the Canadians Abroad project, as well as desk officers of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade responsible for respective destinations. This validation has been done for Hong Kong, South Korea, India and Singapore.

The final list has been developed into an Excel database and organized into the following four areas: (1) company information (name of media, owner/licensee, year of foundation); (2) contact information (address, telephone, fax, URL, email); (3) service information (media type, media provider (media outlet or organization), format (online or offline), language, access (all or member only), origin of creator (Canadian or local), origin of content (Canadian or local); (4) distribution information (geographic coverage, frequency of distribution, circulation, subscription fee, advertising); and (5) attachment focus.<sup>5</sup>

#### *In-depth interviews with media professionals*

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<sup>5</sup> This study followed the categories compiled in Zhang's recent study (2009, p. 23) on measuring the attachment of overseas Canadians to understand how many of these categories are covered to what extent in Canadian diasporic media. The categories include "economic activities (e.g., schooling, income tax reporting); political activities (e.g., voting, searching for political information); and social and civil activities (e.g., registering at the Canadian High Commission/Consulate, sense of belonging to Canada, becoming a member of organizations). New categories were also added to further specify the focus: "news," "sports," and "culture/arts." It is important to note that the focus is identified based on a brief review of home page content (e.g., headlines, discussion topics). Therefore, a more thorough content analysis is recommended.

Four interviews were conducted with Canadian diasporic media professionals in Hong Kong, Singapore, the US and the UK. Each interview was conducted over the phone for approximately one hour, in the following areas: (1) company history and editorial mandate; (2) community and audience; (3) content; (4) institutional collaboration; (5) business orientation; and (6) outlook.

#### *In-depth interviews with “former overseas Canadians”*

Additionally, five interviews were conducted with “former overseas Canadians” who had been abroad to work or study for more than a year and who currently reside in Canada. The participants represent some demographic categories identified in the earlier study on global Canadians in terms of age, occupation and years abroad (APF, 2007). They are former NGO workers, English instructors, and students, aged between 23 and 36, who lived in Japan, China, South Korea and the UK for an average of two-and-a-half years. The participants were recruited based on snowball sampling through alumni networks and study abroad programs of local universities as well as personal networks. Snowball sampling is effective for this study since there are no existing institutions that might offer a solid list of former overseas Canadians in Canada (Deacon, Pickering, Golding, & Murdock, 2007). Each interview was conducted face-to-face for approximately one hour in the following area: (1) attachment to Canada; (2) media use in general; (3) route of information about Canada; (4) use of Canadian diasporic media; (5) involvement in Canadian networks; and (6) outlook. In accordance with the ethical guidelines approved for this study by the Simon Fraser University’s Research Ethics Board, participants were given a study information document and a consent form to sign prior to the interview, signifying their informed and voluntary participation.

### **Main Findings**

#### *Understanding Canadian Diaspora*

Except for the estimated figure of 2.7 million provided by the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, there are only sporadic statistics about overseas Canadians. By comparison, relatively solid data, provided by the local census or other government bureaus, are available for the US, the UK and Hong Kong, but for the rest of the destinations only figures for seasonal visitors or landed immigrants are available (see Table 1). The largest Canadian diaspora is in the US, with approximately 1 million Canadians, followed by Hong Kong (approx. 250,000) and the UK (approx. 72,000). One of the factors that might obscure documentation of Canadian migrants may be dual citizenship status. Most countries have begun to recognize dual citizenship, a movement headed by Latin American countries such as Columbia (1991), the Dominican Republic (1994), Brazil (1996) and Mexico (1998), and followed by Asian countries such as the Philippines (2003), India (2005) and Vietnam (2009) (Kamiya, 2009). Still, some immigrant-sending countries like Japan and Taiwan do not permit dual citizenship and force dual citizens to choose one nationality. This leads dual citizens to unofficially maintain citizenships in the shadows, making official counts difficult. In Japan, there are 700,000 dual citizens, who

are, according to the Japanese Constitution's Article 14, subject to renouncement of other nationalities if they wish to hold Japanese citizenship (Matsutani, 2009). There is also a sizable number of dual citizens in Taiwan, invisible in both the Taiwanese National Statistics and international statistics, such as UN and OECD Statistics. Some of these dual citizens may hold Canadian citizenship. The earlier study finds that nearly 40% of overseas Canadians are in fact dual citizens who have migrated back to their country of origin (APF, 2007, p. 16). As such, the overseas Canadian diaspora reflects the ethno-culturally diverse Canadian society in general. And, this creates an interesting pattern of community development that differs from the ethnically homogeneous diaspora established in Canada.

Table 1: Overseas Canadians by destination

<b>Destination</b>	<b>Canadian population</b>	<b>Status of dual citizenship</b>
China <sup>1</sup>	~40,000	No
France	NA	1997 European Convention on Nationality allows children of international marriages and immigrants to hold dual nationality <sup>5</sup>
Hong Kong <sup>3</sup>	~250,000	No
India <sup>1</sup>	1,530	"Overseas citizenship of Canada" since 2006 <sup>5</sup>
Japan <sup>2</sup>	7,067	No
Lebanon <sup>4</sup>	40,000-50,000	NA
Philippines <sup>2</sup>	7,500	Yes
Singapore <sup>1</sup>	5,140	No
South Korea <sup>1</sup>	14,879	A review of conditional dual citizenship began in 2008 <sup>5</sup>
Taiwan <sup>1</sup>	~52,500	No
UK <sup>1</sup>	72,518	Yes
US <sup>2</sup>	1,062,640	Yes

Sources:

1. Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada. (Forthcoming 2009). *Canadians in Selected Destinations*.

2. Organization for Economic Co-operation (OECD), *Counting immigrants and expatriates in OECD countries: A new perspective*, Trend in International Migration: Sopemi 2004 Edition – ISBN 92-64-00792-X. OECD 2005.
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<http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/middleeast-crisis/canada-lebanon.html> .
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The Canadian diaspora is not only ethno-culturally diverse, but also young and educated. Over 50% are in their 20s and 30s with post-secondary education (APF, 2007, pp. 7-9). They leave Canada mostly for career opportunities (65%) (p. 13). The recent economic downturn might further push the younger cohort to more economically vibrant Asian countries. Some may end up with quick cash jobs, such as teaching English. It is found that the number of applications to teach English in Asia has risen by 400% since 2008, according to a Toronto-based recruiting agency (Lex, 2009). Perhaps as a result, a sense of resentment and rejection of Canada has been observed among some former overseas Canadians who “had to” leave home and earn a living because there were no jobs. Naturalized citizens are no exception; they head back to their country of origin due to limited language skills, lack of recognition of foreign credentials, limited networks, etc. (Guo, 2009).

#### *Overview of Canadian Diasporic Communication Infrastructure*

According to Ball-Rokeach et al. (2001), communication infrastructure consists of media and community organizations. This study further added alumni networks as an important part of communication infrastructure. As evidence, Yu and Murray’s study on Korean media (2007) identified well over 40 alumni networks in Vancouver that represent almost 50% of the total community organizations established within the Korean community. The overseas Canadian diaspora also confirms the significance of overseas alumni networks. In fact, in destinations such as the UK, China and Hong Kong, alumni networks outnumber organizations. Table 2<sup>6</sup> illustrates the overview of Canadian communication

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<sup>6</sup> In all references, it is important to note that the figures provided in this report are derived from a preliminary working list of overseas Canadian media and organizations identified during the six months of this study. Thus, the chances of potential changes to the list through future mapping and validation do exist. It is, therefore, suggested that these figures be used to understand the overall pattern of Canadian communication infrastructure rather than as absolute values.

infrastructure in 12 destinations: 60 media outlets, 53 organizations and 110 alumni networks<sup>7</sup>. It is important to note that Canadian diasporic media in this study include not only media provided by independent media outlets, but also media provided by organizations, along with interactive online communicative spaces. Thus, organizations and alumni networks that provide media are separated from those that do not and are counted as media in order to avoid overlap. For example, nine media available in the US include four media produced by media outlets, three by organizations and two by alumni networks (see Table 2).

**Table 2: Overview of Canadian diasporic communication infrastructure**

	Media				Organization + Alumni networks					Total
	Media by media outlets	Media by organizations/ alumni networks	Media by Individuals	Total	Organizations w/o media	Organizations w/ media*	Alumni Networks w/o media	Alumni Networks w/ media*	Total (w/o media only)	
<b>North America</b>										
US	4	5		9	24	3	25	2	49	58
-Sub total	4	5		9	24	3	25	2	49	58
<b>Europe</b>										
UK	2	8		10	3	6	24		27	37
France		11	3	14	6	11	2		8	22
-Sub total	2	19	3	24	9	17	26		35	59
<b>Asia</b>										
China		4	2	6		3	18		18	24
Hong Kong		3		3	3	2	17		20	23
Taiwan		3	4	7		1	7	1	7	14
Japan		1		1	5	1	4		9	10
Singapore		2	1	3	2	2	4		6	9
India		1		1	2	1	5		7	8
South Korea		3		3	2	1	2	2	4	7
Philippines		1		1	3	1	2		5	6
-Sub total		18	7	25	17	12	59	3	76	101
<b>Middle East</b>										
Lebanon		2		2	3	2			3	5
- Sub total		2		2	3	2			3	5
<b>Total</b>	6	44	10	60	53	34	110	5	163	223

\*Listed under media

Fairly proportional to the number of Canadians in the community, the largest communication infrastructure is that established in the United States (9 media and 49 organizations/alumni networks), demonstrating a large organizational base for that single community, followed by the UK (10 media and 27 organizations/alumni networks), China (6 media and 18 organizations/alumni networks), Hong Kong (3 media and 20 organizations/alumni networks) and France (14 media and 8 organizations/alumni networks).

The organizations are mostly social networks (e.g., Network Canada [UK], Canadian Association of Singapore [Singapore]) and some business organizations (e.g., Canadian Chamber of Commerce, Canada China Business Council [China]). Alumni networks are

<sup>7</sup> The members of overseas Canadian alumni networks may or may not be Canadian citizens. Some are non-Canadian citizens who obtained post-secondary education in Canada and wished to maintain Canadian ties. Therefore, media produced by overseas Canadian alumni networks may also be directed to non-Canadian citizens.



overseas networks of Canadian universities<sup>8</sup> and some local universities that Canadians attend, including both those that are school-specific, such as the University of Toronto Alumni Association of Hong Kong, and those that are non-school specific, such as the Canadian Alumni Singapore and Canadian Alumni Network of China. These alumni networks provide services ranging from simply making contact information available through school websites to operating independent websites and/or micro groups on social networking sites (to facilitate social networking among overseas alumni through Canadian events -- e.g., Canada Day -- and to share job opportunities, etc).

Overall, the organizations and alumni networks do not seem to be internationally linked among diasporic communities. Instead, they are oriented to serve Canadians in their respective destinations. For organization/alumni networks alone, the US (49) again has the highest number, with a large organizational base outnumbering that of all European communities combined (35) and approaching that of all Asian communities combined (76). The UK is a close second (27) with a strong alumni base (24), followed by Hong Kong (20), which also boasts a strong alumni base (17). Common to all destinations is the presence of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, though sometimes operating under different names. These are oriented to serve the business community between Canada and their respective destinations, including the production of at least one type of Canadian diasporic media for members. For media alone, France has the highest number (14) among the 12 destinations, followed by the UK (10), the US (9) and Taiwan (7). The high number in France is attributed to the strong French-Canadian media base: 7 out of 14 media are offered in French. In Asia, Taiwan offers the greatest number of Canadian diasporic media, mostly interactive online (e.g., blogs, forums) initiated by individuals (e.g., Straight Talk: It's Taiwan, Not China). By type of media producer, Canadian diasporic media and organizations are often a single entity; over 70% of Canadian diasporic media are produced by overseas Canadian organizations and alumni networks and only 10% by media outlets.

The general pattern of development is interesting. Communities with relatively small communication infrastructures tend to form organizations targeted for all Canadians, whereas those with larger infrastructures, such as the US, have more specialized organizations, such as the Canadian Business Network (separate from the Chamber of Commerce) and the Canadian Women's Club. Organizations are also expanding into online spaces, not only creating websites, but also adding interactive elements to their websites, such as blogs or forums -- e.g., Network Canada blog (UK), Club Canada Bulletin Board (China) -- or operating independent micro groups on social networking sites. Some groups, particularly in France, are formed solely via social networking sites such as Facebook, (e.g., Association Nationale France Canada, Canadians living in France [but missing home]).

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<sup>8</sup> These also include regional branches of the same universities. For example, the 18 alumni networks in China include two regional branches (Beijing and Shanghai) of the seven Canadian universities.

The pattern of development among regional leaders is also interesting. Canadian communities in the US, the UK, Hong Kong and China have more organizations or alumni networks than media, whereas France has more media than organizations. The strong organization base in the US has to do with the establishment of similar organizations or branch offices of the same organizations throughout the states (e.g., Canadian Women's Club in NY, Boston, Chicago and Atlanta). The UK, Hong Kong and China, on the other hand, boast a strong alumni base. According to the list compiled by this study, the alumni networks in the UK, Hong Kong and China represent 22, 15 and 11 Canadian universities respectively. Further ethnographic work on dual citizens may be required to confirm this supposition, yet the strong alumni base in Hong Kong may have to do with the strong presence of Chinese Canadians of Hong Kong descent in the Canadian community (60% of Canadians in Hong Kong), whose aspiration for Canadian ties is reflected by their alumni networks instead of the replication of a full-fledged media of their own.

Although this study focuses on media, organizations and alumni networks, Canadian government offices and Canadian international schools also seem to be an important part of the Canadian communication infrastructure. In all 12 destinations, there are Canadian government offices in the form of High Commissions, embassies, and consulate general offices; and there are Canadian international schools in destinations such as Hong Kong, Singapore, China, Japan and India. In fact, collaboration among organizations and government offices and/or international schools is prominent in destinations such as Hong Kong and Singapore. Particularly in Singapore, the community has what they call "five pillars," which include: the High Commission of Canada, Canadian Chamber of Commerce in Singapore, Canadian Alumni Singapore, Canadian International School, and Canadian Association of Singapore (Media professional, Singapore). A small community, with a little over 5,000 Canadians, demonstrates an institutionally supported, exemplary communication infrastructure.

While all of these figures suggest varying degrees of Canadian presence and community formation, how actively these spaces function and are utilized is another question. A higher number may not necessarily indicate greater vitality. Some former overseas Canadians remember the Canadian community as "very loose," with a couple of Canadian bars to watch hockey (UK), or as "passive" in terms of organizing solidarity among Canadians (China). The vitality of some Canadian organizations was also questioned during media mapping; some organizations' websites were long outdated, last updated many years ago, and had to be removed from the list. Although the list compiled by this study contains seemingly vibrant websites (based on the date of last update), careful examination is needed to assess the relative strength of communication infrastructure throughout destinations. Membership base and frequency of update can be good indicators of measurement.

#### *Overview of Canadian Diasporic Media*

Among the 12 destinations mapped in this study, the Canadian community in France provides the highest number of Canadian media directed to Canadians abroad (14), followed by the UK (10), the US (9), Taiwan (7), China (6), Hong Kong, Singapore, and South Korea (3 each), Lebanon (2), and the Philippines, Japan and India (1 each). The overall trend suggests that these Canadian diasporic media are provided predominantly by overseas Canadian organizations: over 70% by organizations versus 10% by media outlets (see Figure 1). They are also available mostly online (65% online only, 23% both online and offline, and 12% offline -- see Figure 2) in the form of micro media, such as newsletters (e.g., Canada-UK eNewsletter, [UK]), interactive social networking groups (e.g., Association Nationale France Canada, Canadians living in France [but missing home]), and blogs (e.g., Cambridge Canadian Club [UK]) that mostly cater to all Canadians in those respective locations (e.g., Network Canada [UK], Canadians Abroad [US]). Some are specifically directed to particular groups, such as business organizations (e.g., Canadian Chamber of Commerce in Hong Kong, Canada China Business Council and alumni networks (e.g., Canadian Alumni Network [China]).

Figure 1: Media provider

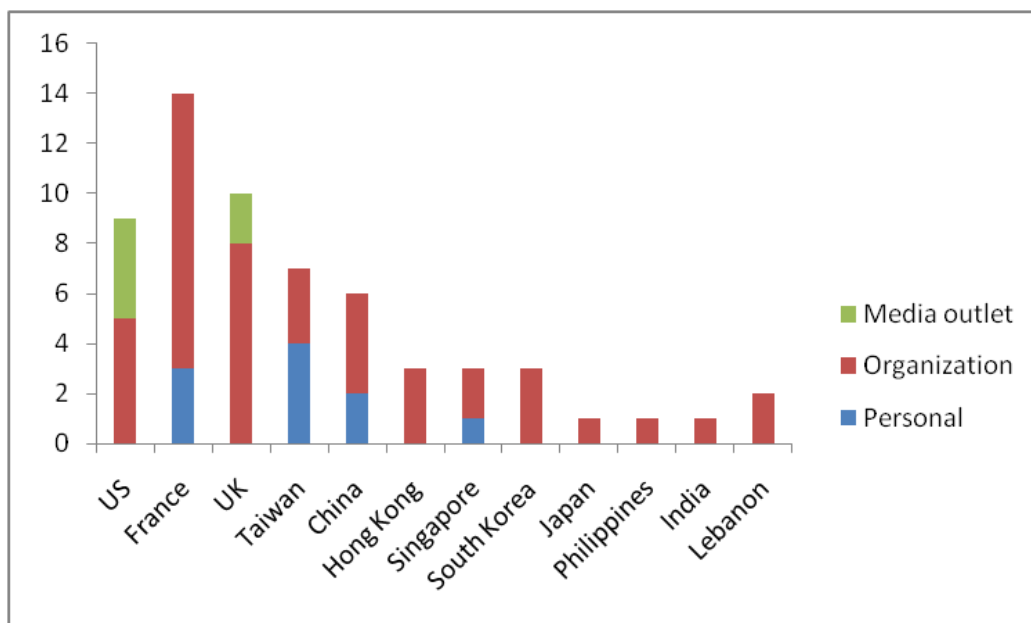
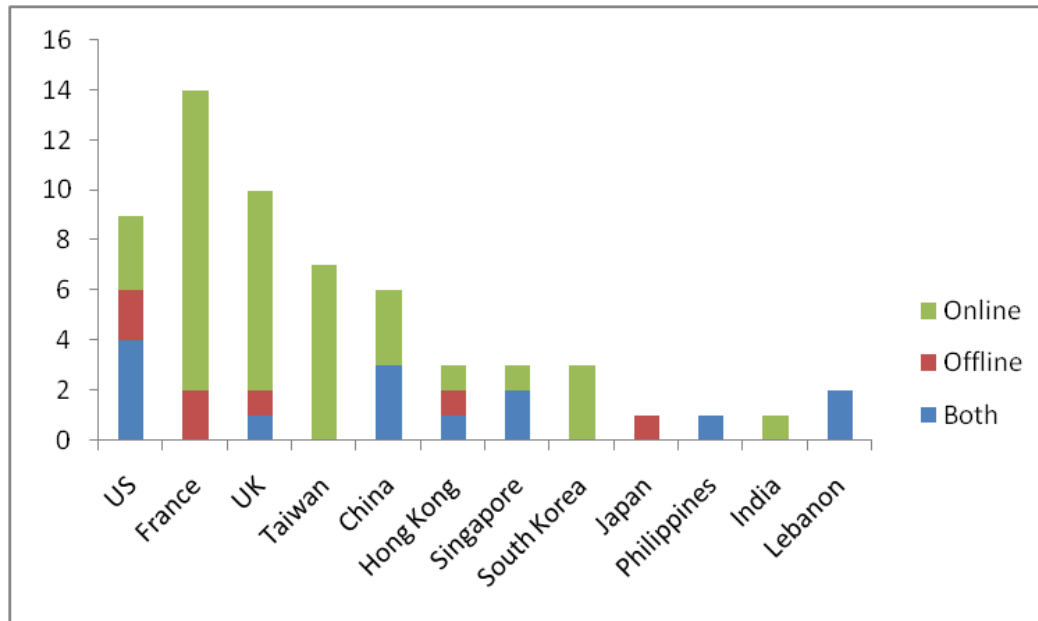


Figure 2: Media format



One of the initial hypotheses was that established Canadian diasporic communities would be served by a higher number of full-fledged Canadian diasporic media in the form of conventional media. This is true for the US and the UK, but not for Hong Kong (see Figure 3). Among the 60 Canadian diasporic media outlets in the 12 destinations, only six are provided by media outlets, and all of these are present in both these destinations, four from the US (e.g., Canada Calling [radio]) and two from the UK (e.g., Canada Post [newspaper]). Historically, the US had a strong Canadian diasporic media base in the 1980s and 1990s, including Canada Calling (radio, est. 1952), Canada News (print, est. 1982), This Week in Canada (television, est. 1985), The Sun Times of Canada (print, est. 1990), Canada This Week (print, est. 1992), Canada Pulse News by CFCF-TV (television, est. 1993), and Canadian News (print, est. 1994) ([www.everyculture.com](http://www.everyculture.com)). Most of these have disappeared over the years, and the only surviving media are Canada Calling (radio, est. 1952) and This Week in Canada (television, est. 1985), broadcast through Public Broadcast System (PBS). Interestingly, by location of production, these two are, along with the CSA News of the Canadian Snowbirds Association, among the eight Canadian media operated from Canada yet directed to Canadians abroad (Straight Talk [Taiwan], Canada China Business Forum and Quarterly Review [China], CLCC Bulletin [Lebanon], and Indo-Canada Chamber of Commerce blog [India]). On the other hand, the Canadian community in Hong Kong, the second-largest Canadian diaspora, offers only three Canadian diasporic media, two from the Canadian Chamber of Commerce (Exchange Express, China & Canada Exchange), and one from the Canadian Chinese Association (CCA Newsletter). Again, this may be attributed to the predominance of Canadians of Hong Kong descent whose aspiration for

Canadian ties is expressed more through alumni networks than through Canadian diasporic media. Future studies may explore the significance of alumni networks in the lives of dual citizens. By year of foundation, the US is the only destination where Canadian diasporic media date back to the 1950s and survive well into the 1980s and 1990s, while the remaining destinations have relatively young outlets launched in the 2000s (see Figure 4).

The second hypothesis was that media of Canadian diasporic communities, which have more dual citizens, would offer multiple language services. Future mapping may identify more examples; but thus far, the newsletter published in English by the Chinese Canadian Association was the only media initiative known to have been undertaken by Chinese Canadians in Hong Kong during this study period. According to a Canadian diasporic media professional in Hong Kong, the absence of third language services may have to do with the language of education of Chinese Canadians. Those who received post-secondary education in Canada are likely to produce Canadian diasporic media in English, should they decide to do so. Again, as attachment to Canada may be expressed through different institutional and communicative forms, it will be interesting to observe what factors may produce such a difference.

Figure 3: Media type

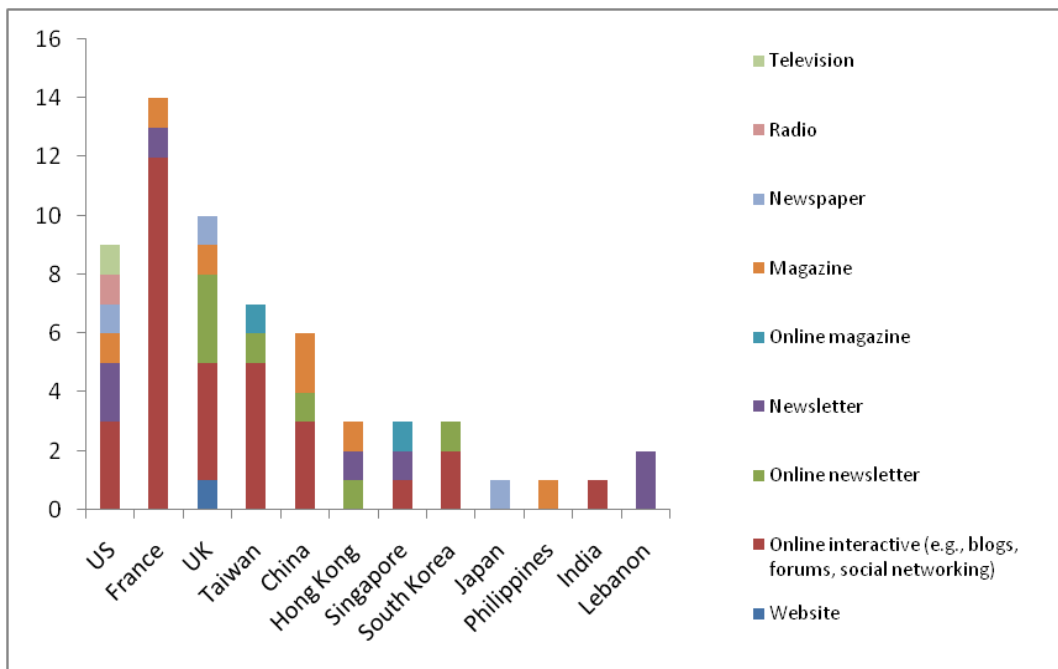
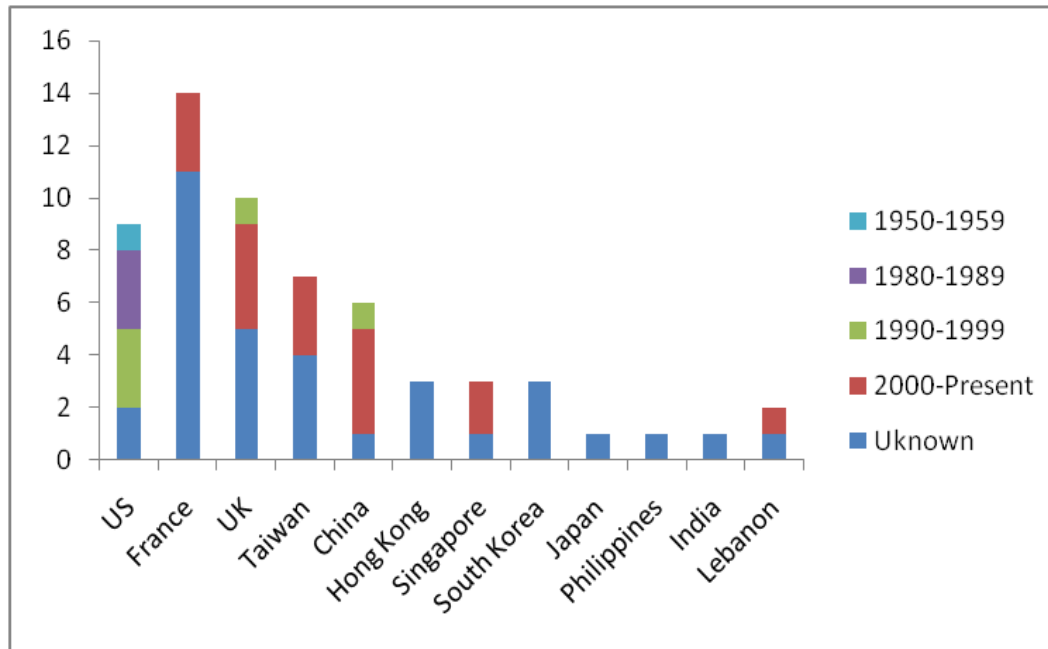


Figure 4: Year of establishment



Last, the third hypothesis was that the number or diversity of Canadian-owned media would be relatively small if the host country's English media were well-developed. The overall trend confirms that it is the size of the Canadian population in respective destinations, rather than the presence of local English media, that influences the development of Canadian diasporic media. As seen in the US and the UK, regardless of the flourishing local English media, Canadian communities in the US (9) and the UK (10) have developed well-grounded Canadian diasporic media. Such a trend is also observed in some non-English speaking countries, such as China and Taiwan, where an ample amount of Canadian diasporic media are developed, despite a healthy presence of local English media (see Table 3).<sup>9</sup> In some English-speaking destinations (Singapore, Philippines and India), it may be seen that Canadian diasporic media are influenced by the abundance of local English media. However, the size of the Canadian population, with the three destinations combined, amounts to less than 15,000 Canadians. On the other hand, with the four non-English speaking destinations combined, there are well over 100,000 Canadians, and over 90% of Canadians in those destinations are concentrated in Taiwan and China. Hong Kong is the only destination where this relative population rule cannot be applied; there are only three Canadian diasporic media for 250,000 Canadians. The presence of dual citizens may be a factor.

<sup>9</sup> It should be noted that some local English media in China (4), Taiwan (3) and South Korea (1) are provided by the respective governments.

**Table 3: Comparison of Canadian diasporic media and local English media in Asia**

	English-Speaking Destinations			Non-English Speaking Destinations			
	Singapore	Philippines	India	Taiwan	China	South Korea	Japan
Canadian diasporic media	3	1	1	7	6	3	1
Local English media	16	22	58	11	18	16	14

Briefly looking at the type of local English media, the newspaper is the dominant media type regardless of destination, with the exception of Singapore (see Table 4). Singapore offers, instead, the highest number of magazines (9), some of which are highly specialized, in a variety of areas (e.g., PC, audio, wedding, garden, travel) often found in English-speaking countries. Online news is also emerging, particularly in China and Japan, where there is no or little difference in number between online and offline media.

**Table 4: Media type of local English media in Asia**

	English-Speaking Destinations			Non-English Speaking Destinations			
	Singapore	Philippines	India	Taiwan	China	South Korea	Japan
<b>Total</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>14</b>
Newspaper	2	17	37	3	5	9	6
Online news	1	-	12	1	5	3	4
Television	3	2	3	-	1	1	1
Radio	1	2	-	2	1	-	-
Magazine	8	-	2	2	4	1	2
Online magazine	1	-	1	1	1	-	-
Online newsletter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Online interactive	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
Multi-media	-	1	2	1	-	1	-
Other (e.g., news service, RSS)	-	-	-	1	-	1	1

Regardless of destination, Canadian diasporic media are oriented to serve the social needs of the community. A brief review of headlines, discussion topics on discussion boards, and bulletins reveals that the content of the vast majority of Canadian diasporic media deals with “social and civil activities” (nearly 50%), specifically getting Canadians connected locally through Canadian events (e.g., Canadian Day), followed by “economic activities” (17%) and “general news” (12%) (see Figure 5). Canadian diasporic media are offered predominantly in English (82%, equivalent to 49 outlets), with some French-Canadian media developed mostly in France (7) and one each in the US, the UK, and Lebanon (see Figure 6). Among the seven French-Canadian media in France, the majority are online-only media (3 social networking groups, 1 blog, and 1 forum on website) offered by organizations (e.g., Association Nationale France Canada, le Portail des Quebecois en France); there are two offline media (*Informations Canadiennes*, a newsletter by the Chamber of Commerce France-Canada, and *France-Québec Magazine*, a magazine by Éditions France-Québec). The French-Canadian media available in other destinations are in various media types: the US (*Le Soleil de la Floride*,

newspaper), the UK (Survivre Londres, forum on website), and Lebanon (*CLCCI Bulletin*, newsletter).

Figure 5: Dominant topics

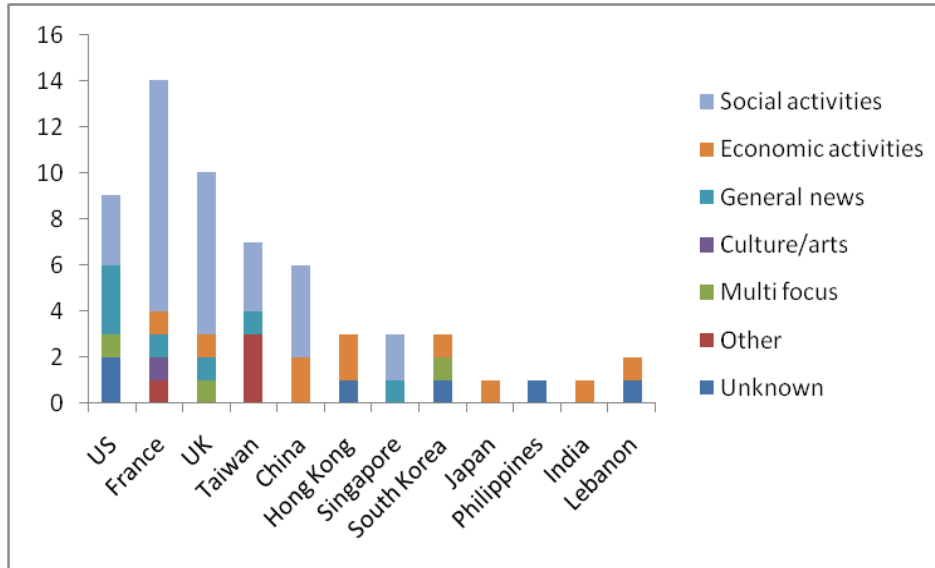
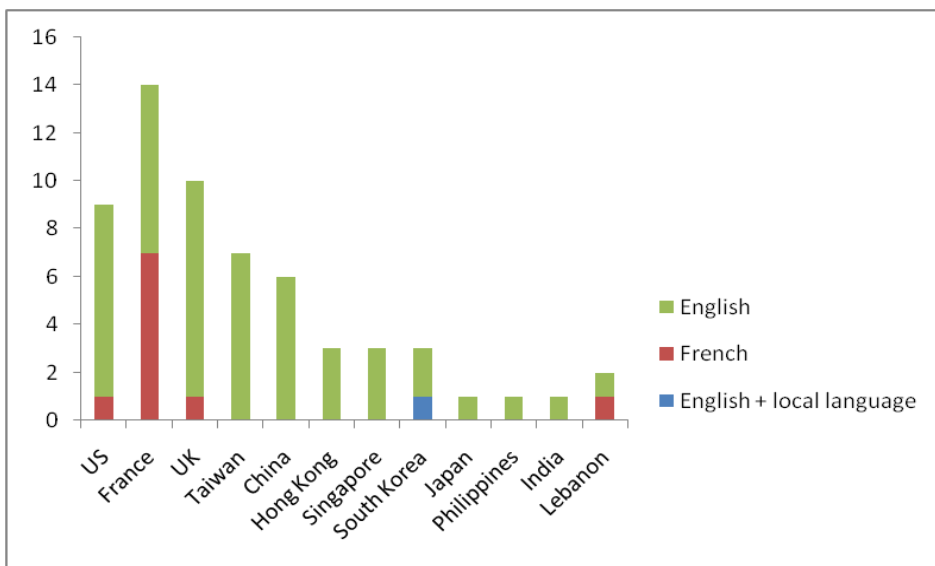


Figure 6: Language

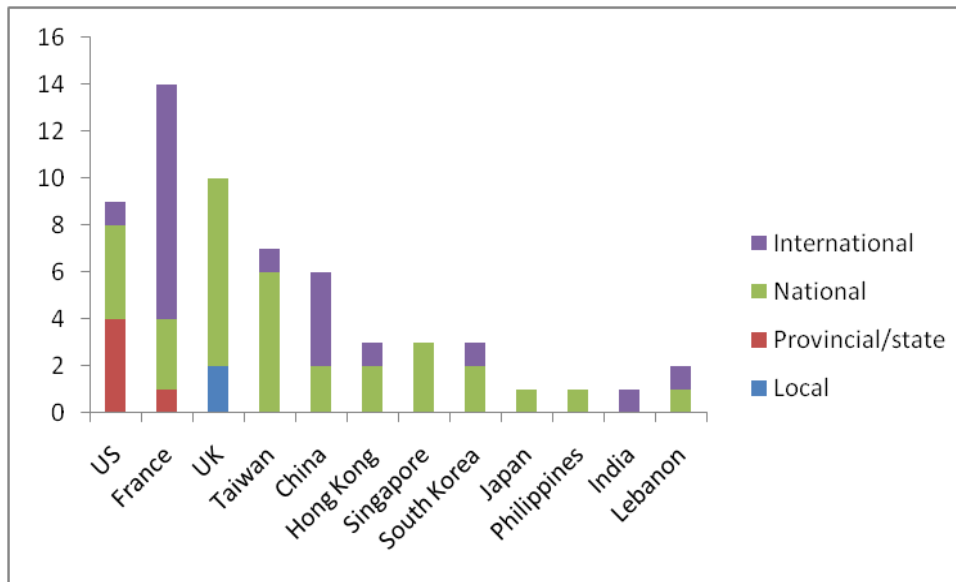


In terms of geographic coverage, most Canadian diasporic media are available nationally and internationally (nearly 90%, equivalent to 53 outlets) (see Figure 7). Online media are technically considered international, as access is open beyond national boundaries. In fact, according to Google analytics of the *Maple Leaf Times*, an

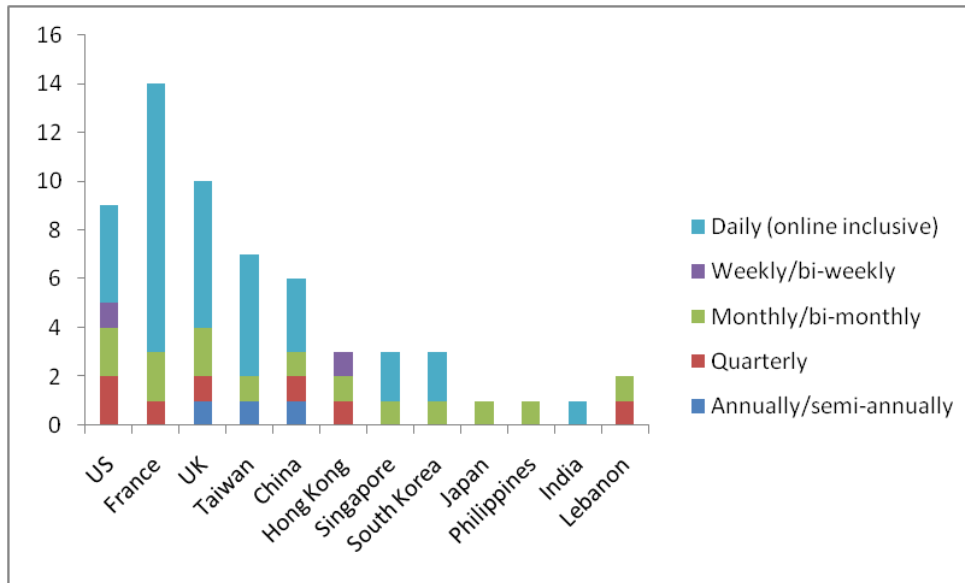


online magazine of the Canadian Association of Singapore, 40% of the hits to the site (<http://www.canadians.org.sg>) and to the magazine (<http://www.canadians.org.sg/mapleleaftimes.htm>) between July and August 2009 occurred in 31 countries other than Singapore (data provided by CAS). However, nearly 50% of Canadian diasporic media available online focus on issues largely bound to their respective geographic locations, and are thus considered national or regional. Narrowing the focus on national issues in this manner, Canadian diasporic media are mostly available daily (nearly 60%) and monthly/bi-monthly (23%). Some online media are available daily, but also less frequently according to publication schedule (see Figure 8).

Figure 7: Geographic coverage



**Figure 8: Frequency of coverage**



In terms of the market orientation of Canadian diasporic media, well over 60% of media (equivalent to 38 outlets) are offered for free, which is attributed to the predominance of online media (see Figure 9). In fact, over 80% of online media (31 out of 39 outlets) are offered for free (see Table 5).

**Figure 9: Subscription fee**

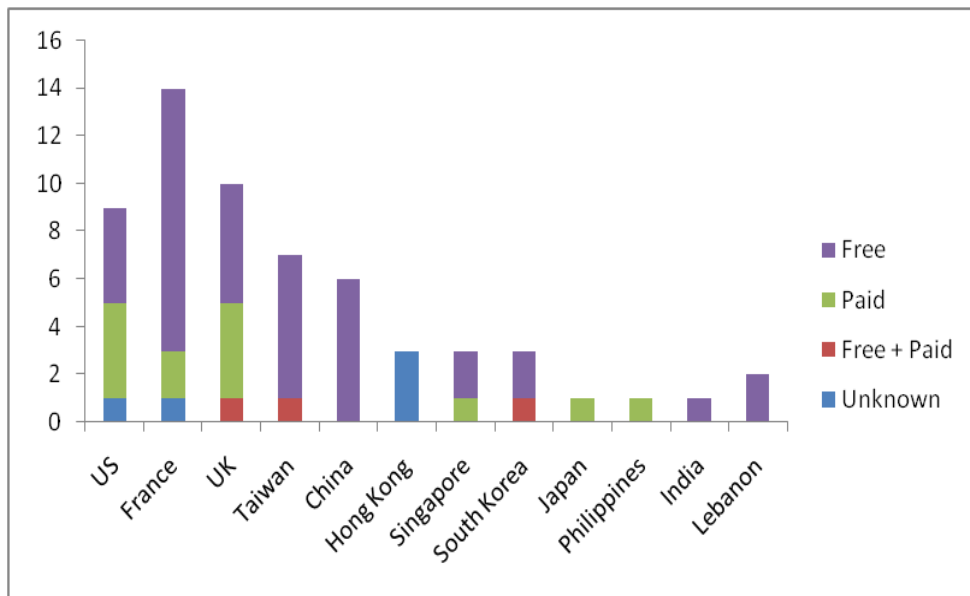
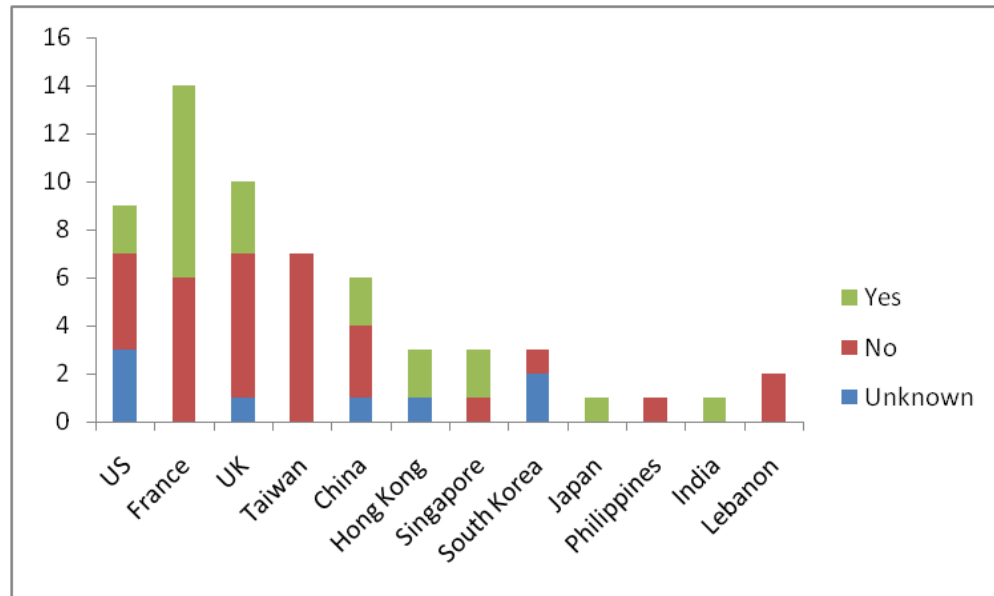


Figure 10: Advertising



The US and the UK have the highest percentage of paid Canadian diasporic media,<sup>10</sup> especially those produced by organizations specifically for their members (e.g., *CSA News* by Canadian Snowbird Associations [US], *China & Canada Exchange* [HK]).

Table 5: Subscription fee by media format

	Offline	Online	Both
<b>Total</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>14</b>
Free	1	31	6
Paid	4	4	6
Free + Paid	-	2	1
Unknown	2	2	1

Approximately 30% of Canadian diasporic media (equivalent to 31 outlets) depend on advertising (see Figure 10). The types of media that advertise vary, ranging from online interactive to online and offline magazines and newsletters (See Table 6). Canadian diasporic media in conventional media forms are more likely to carry advertising; some of these include *Le Soleil de la Floride* (newspaper, US) and *Canada Post* (newspaper, UK). Most of those that depend on advertising are offered for free (12 out of 19 that advertise). This is consistent with the findings of diasporic media studies, such as the study which shows that the BC diasporic newspapers in three major languages (Chinese,

<sup>10</sup> Media that are available to members (who have purchased membership) only are considered paid media.

Punjabi and Korean) available for free devote more than 20% (with some going over 80%) of their space to advertising (Murray et al., 2007).

Table 6: Advertising by media type

	Online interactive	Newsletter	Online newsletter	Magazine	Online magazine	Newspaper	Television	Radio	Website
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Ads	8	3	2	3	1	3	-	1	-
No ads	19	3	3	4	1	-	-	-	1
Unknown	4	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-

In summary, the 60 Canadian diasporic media mapped in this study can be classified by media producer: such as, media by business organizations, media by social and alumni networks, media by individuals, and media by media outlets. These categories can be further classified by services they provide, such as those that function as “niche media” with in-depth cross-over stories, as “community bulletin boards,” and as interactive forums. The following two case studies profile two Canadian diasporic media: one that serves as “niche media” (*China & Canada Exchange* of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce in Hong Kong), the other a “community bulletin board” (*Beaver Trail* of the Network Canada in the UK).

Case Study I: *China & Canada Exchange* (Canadian Chamber of Commerce in Hong Kong)

Founded in 1997, the Canadian Chamber of Commerce in Hong Kong is the largest Canadian Chamber outside of Canada (<http://www.cancham.org>). It serves what is called “the Hong Kong-Canada business community” of more than 1,200 members (ibid). Membership is not limited to Canadians, and in fact 40% are non-Canadians. The *China & Canada Exchange* (*Exchange* hereafter), formerly *Canada Hong Kong Business*, is a quarterly magazine published by the Chamber for its members, along with its weekly newsletter *Exchange Express* and its *Directory of Canadian Business* (corporations and entrepreneurs with more than 15 employees). While the *Exchange* is limited to members only (with some copies available at some Canadian locations such as Air Canada lounges, Canadian banks and consulate general offices), the *Exchange Express* reaches broader audiences, approximately 7,000 individuals who have been affiliated with the Chamber over the years (e.g., attending the Chamber’s events). Each issue covers five to six key stories about events in Canada, research in Hong Kong, business stories, member promotion, etc.

The *Exchange* is a good example of a “niche media” that specifically targets the business community and offers content exclusive to Canadian media in Canada and local English media. The primary interest of *Exchange* is providing cross-over stories between Hong Kong and Canada, a “translated version” of business issues that are relevant specifically to the HK-Canada business community. Some of the titles covered

in its recent publication (Issue 4, May 2009) are as follows: “Energy Future: Boom or Bust for Canada’s Oil Sands,” “Waste Management Business,” and “Questionable Citizenship: Who deserves to be Canadian?” In addition, the magazine provides stories on Lifestyle, Education, Sports and New Members. Interestingly, the new members section is well received by the other members, who are always looking for more business connections within the community.

The stories are selected in editorial board meetings through brainstorming sessions, and by contributions of stories from members. The *Exchange* also has a pool of industry-specific experts who offer value-added comments on the issues to be covered. No formal interaction has been established between the magazine and local English media, though the latter occasionally feeds content to be promoted within the community. Instead, the *Exchange* works closely with other Canadian institutions such as the consulate general office, alumni networks and Canadian international schools, to organize or promote Canadian events and provide content. The *Exchange* also works closely with Asiaexpat.com, an expat site of well over 20,000 readers established by two Canadian brothers, to promote events through their website.

#### Case Study II: *Beaver Trails* (Network Canada in the UK)

Founded in 1999, Network Canada is by far the largest Canadian organization in the UK by membership, reaching over 4,000 Canadians primarily in the London area. It is a volunteer-based, not-for-profit organization which caters to Canadian events for Canadians. The *Beaver Trails*, a bi-monthly email newsletter, is one of three Canadian diasporic media produced by the organization for members. The two others include *Guide to living in London* and a blog on the organization’s website (<http://www.networkcanada.org/blog/index.asp>).

The *Beaver Trails* is a primary gateway for accessing Canadians in London. It is sent out to all its members concentrated in London (regardless of membership in the organization), understood to be professionals engaged in various industries such as finance, information technology and law. The audience profile may be changing, as in recent years the community has seen an increasing number of Canadians in their early to mid-career from western Canada and Quebec joining the community, whereas Canadians in London had more frequently been recent graduates originated from Ontario. The *Beaver Trails* serves as a bulletin board for the community, primarily promoting Canadian cultural events (e.g., Canada Day celebration, Thanksgiving Ball), socials (e.g., Maple Leaf Pub Night, mixers, film screenings), information sessions (e.g., Expat Tax Night) or local cultural events (e.g., speakers, book launches, movies) that happen in and out of the London area. Due to its capacity to reach broader audiences (the largest email list of Canadians in London), it often receives requests from other Canadian networks, expat groups, local cultural groups and High Commission to promote/include their own events/messages, including a recent bulletin from the Canadian government regarding H1N1. These bulletins are emailed to the organization’s

general email, then reviewed and selected by the marketing department and the president.

The organization is affiliated with several other Canadian organizations such as London Vandoos and Quebec House, a Québécois community organization in London that serves the French-Canadian diaspora. A recent development among the Canadian organizations includes the creation of a common event calendar, listing all events organized by Canadian organizations in London. The organization sometimes works with local English media to promote their events; in fact, approximately 20% of event attendees are local Londoners.

The organization is operated primarily on the basis of membership, with sponsorship and advertising. The surge of increasingly informal, fragmented media may lead to a decrease in membership. As a response, the organization has been considering developing an iPhone application specifically targeted at Canadians in London, and it also operates a micro group on a social networking site. Established in 2007, with most traffic occurring in 2009, the organization's Facebook group has approximately 200 members and serves as an extension of the organization's website. The links to the organization's website, blog, twitter feed and also Facebook groups of other Canadian networks (such as the London Vandoos, Canadians in London and Six Degrees of Separation) are made available through this group. Likewise, other social networking groups for overseas Canadians, the group's own Wall posts and its Discussion Board function as bulletins to promote upcoming events (social/cultural/sports events and gatherings, information sessions), often containing links to the organization's website.

### **Pattern of Media Use by Overseas Canadians**

Generating a pattern of media use by overseas Canadians on the basis of a limited number of interviews with former overseas Canadians poses obvious limitations. However, since the participants represent some demographic categories of overseas Canadian (APF, 2007), their responses may help generate preliminary insights.

*Predominantly online, conventional and international media use both at home and abroad*

Canadians tend to maintain their media routine wherever they live. For example, if one regularly reads or watches CBC, Globe and Mail and CNN, this routine will likely be repeated abroad. Generally, for news sources, a parallel use of online and offline, conventional (e.g., newspapers, television), emerging (e.g., blogs, Twitter, RSS) and also Canadian and international media is observed; yet this pattern is skewed toward online, conventional and international media. Online media are preferred over offline simply for convenience and cost. A still higher dependency on conventional media rather than emerging ones, such as Twitter or RSS, is also observed, especially among those who left Canada before these emerging media became widely used. Major Canadian news networks (such as CBC and Globe and Mail) and international news networks

(such as CNN and BBC) are important sources of daily news feeds. Nevertheless, the need for international rather than Canadian news increases when living abroad. Particularly, young transient workers are inclined to explore new locales rather than keep up with events in Canada. Although Canadians abroad tend to maintain Canada-related activities, such as economic activities (e.g. online banking/money order/money transfer for student loan, credit card payment, income tax report) and political activities (e.g., following election coverage) (see Zhang, 2009), dealing with culture shock and job survival seem to be more immediate and pressing concerns (Former overseas Canadian, South Korea). International media, to this end, help them locate and understand their new destination in a global context. Yet, among the top Canadian issues that interest Canadians abroad are sports, weather, and, sporadically, politics. Abroad, their use of communicative methods to keep connected to family and friends in Canada is not markedly different from what they used while living in Canada. Again, a parallel use of online and offline, conventional and emerging methods, is variously employed, such as email, MSN, Skype, Facebook, blogs and land line phones.

#### *Exposure to and use of diverse media*

Beyond the repetition of home country media habits, more media options are added when living abroad. First, in addition to Canadian and international news networks, overseas Canadians use local English media in their respective destinations at their convenience, unlike immigrants to Canada whose English is often limited, thus depending on local diasporic media in their native languages. And regardless of the official status of the English language, local English media are generally well-developed in most Asian countries (see Appendix II). Second, overseas Canadians also use expat media directed to all expats in respective destinations. Media along this line tend to be rich in content with a solid membership base. Some of those identified during mapping include “Allo’ Expat” (<http://www.alloexpat.com>) and “AsiaXPAT” (<http://www.asiaexpat.com>). In particular, the AsiaXPAT was mentioned also during an interview with a Canadian diasporic media professional in Hong Kong. Having services available to expats in 15 Asian cities including Hong Kong, the site provides information useful for expats in their pre- and post-migration: classified, career, property (rent or sell), hiring domestic helpers, travel advices, restaurants, etc. Also their Hong Kong A-Z directory lists “where to” for specialized services, such as business and financial services, and education, culture and religious services. Some other expat media mentioned during interviews with former overseas Canadians include *Shin Bun Times*, *Kansai Time Out and Kansai Flee Market*, available in Japan (featuring local events and services, and distributed monthly or bi-monthly), as well as *Xianzai*, a weekly e-newsletter available in China. Some interesting expat sites, also mentioned by local experts on Korea, are “Galbijim” (<http://wiki.galbijim.com>), “Dave’s ESL café” (<http://www.eslcafe.com>) and Canadian-created “Korea for Expats” (<http://www.korea4expats.com/>).

Apart from these expat sites, host countries are also taking initiatives. One recent example is the second annual “Ex-pat Show 2009” hosted by the Beijing government in July 2009 ([http://www.ebeijing.gov.cn/feature\\_2/ExpatShow/](http://www.ebeijing.gov.cn/feature_2/ExpatShow/)). Lastly, overseas Canadians use Canadian diasporic media. Although the use of these media does not seem to be as frequent as other media options, some publications by the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, and publications that seem to be known only to locals (not mapped in this study), were mentioned during interviews.

*Need for Canadian perspectives, Canadian information*

While overseas Canadians are exposed to such diverse media options, each option has its own limitations in servicing overseas Canadians. First of all, Canadian media in Canada do not produce content that is directed to overseas Canadians to help expats in their settlement in respective destinations. Considering the low presence of foreign bureaus, the production of such content is less likely in the immediate future. Local English media also do not produce sufficient content for overseas Canadians. Rather, some tend to have “a strong national slant,” hard for expats to associate with (Former overseas Canadian, Japan). Expat media, among the three non-Canadian targeted media, produce a type of content most relevant to overseas Canadians and, in fact, generally well used and appreciated by former overseas Canadians. Nevertheless, expat media may at the same time be found too broad for Canadians who seek for more specialized Canadian information (e.g., reporting tax abroad). Last, in terms of Canadian diasporic media, only a few were mentioned during interviews to begin with; and some of those mentioned were considered “too business oriented” or “superficial in coverage,” failing to address the interests of general overseas Canadians.

Therefore, all things considered, overseas Canadians would seem to want “niche media” that provide Canadian perspectives and Canadian information; that is, so-called “globalized” Canadian content (local issues in a global context), exclusive to what all other media options can offer. A comparative analysis of Canada and the host country on various issues, such as how the socio-economic and cultural systems work respectively, is at the top of the list. The case of the American embassy in South Korea is a good example. One interviewee commented that the American embassy in South Korea provided on its website “investigative reporting on local events from an American viewpoint” (Former overseas Canadian, South Korea). Furthermore, publications that report on local health, entertainment, leisure and travel inquiries of interest to overseas Canadians are also appreciated. *The Maple Leaf Times* by the Canadian Association of Singapore is a good example of a varied periodical, offering health advice by local Canadian medical practitioners and restaurant reviews in addition to the community events. Localized, value-added advice on the rights and responsibilities of Canadian citizens abroad in a new locale are also desirable. This includes topics such as visa extension and taxation for non-residents.<sup>11</sup> Content recently promoted on CSA’s website

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<sup>11</sup> Such inquiries often appear on blogs and forums, yet the quality of responses is not validated.



(<http://canadians.org.sg>), such as the page links to the Bill C-37 and to the High Commission of Canada in Singapore on H1N1 influenza, may also be considered of this nature.

### **Discussion**

*What roles do Canadian diasporic media play in promoting Canada and connecting overseas Canadians to Canada?*

Diasporic communities have access to more geographically extended media than ever before, ranging from local to national to transnational media. Global narrowcasting, emerging to target this global niche market, indeed confirms growing recognition of their market value (Sinclair et al., 2001). Such extended media options grant enormous flexibility to migrants in their daily media choices. As some former overseas Canadians recall, hybrid use of Canadian and international news networks, such as CBC and CNN online, has been an everyday media routine wherever they have gone. Nevertheless, demand for local news is simultaneously increasing. Especially for those who have limited knowledge of the local language (as is the case for most immigrants to Canada), translation of local news into ethnic languages is essential for settlement and integration. In fact, according to a recent poll conducted by Bendixen, nearly 60 million adult Americans (up 16% since 2005) regularly use diasporic media (Allen, 2009). Overseas Canadians are open to more media options, as local English media may well be part of their media routine. Amid this abundance of media options, however, there is still a need for something Canadian, especially media that may fill the gap between strictly Canada and strictly local or international news.

This study finds that nearly 50% of Canadian diasporic media, to varying degrees, strive to fill this gap. As mentioned earlier, diasporic media in Canada are provided by media outlets in the form of conventional media (e.g., newspapers, television) for the purpose of delivering news to ethnically and linguistically homogeneous groups of immigrants (Lin & Song, 2006; Murray et al., 2007; Yu & Murray, 2007). By contrast, Canadian diasporic media are mostly produced and operated by volunteer-run, not-for-profit organizations in the forms of online, micro media (e.g., newsletters, blogs, forums, social networking groups) for the purpose of sharing Canadian understanding of the locale and to facilitate interaction among ethno-culturally diverse Canadians through social activities. This unique integration of media and organization is unlike diasporic media in North America, which operate in isolation from community organizations; the disconnection between these diasporic media and organizations has become a concern (Ball-Rokeach et al., 2007; Yu, 2008). Canadian diasporic media demonstrate an institutionally integrated and democratically engaged media form. Through their own media, the organizations facilitate and extend communication with and among members online and offline, and reach out to potential members.

Projecting onto Canadian diasporic media the aforementioned roles generally played out by existing diasporic media, Canadian diasporic media serve to enhance “national

identity and shared consciousness.” Canadian diasporic media provide a communicative space in various forms, such as “niche media” offering cross-over stories, discussion forums dealing with issues in and out of the community and community bulletin boards listing ongoing community events (through articles, short write-ups, comments to threads, etc., rather than straight news from media sources). Some lean more toward socio-cultural reading of the locale, targeting general Canadians (e.g., *Straight Talk*, *Maple Leaf Times*) and others lean more toward economic analyses, targeting the business community (e.g., *China & Canada Exchange*). Common to all Canadian diasporic media are promotions of local Canadian events. One such initiative observed during the period of this study was this year’s Canada Day celebration (e.g., Canada Day Potluck BBQ by Canadian Association of Singapore, Canada D’eh 2009 VIP Dinner by Canadian Chamber of Commerce in Hong Kong) that appear to be routines established over the years rather than offered on an ad-hoc basis.

As per emerging roles of diasporic media, the market orientation of Canadian diasporic media does not seem to be as significant as that observed in diasporic media in North America. Only about 30% of Canadian diasporic media depend on advertising and another 30% are paid media. The move toward online media, on the other hand, is significant; nearly 70% are available online in the forms of online interactive such as blogs, forums and social networking groups, created solely or as an extension of the organization’s website. In particular, the latter can be considered as part of the organization’s expansion initiative; an effort to provide more interactive media platforms to existing members and broaden exposure to potential members. Also, Canadian diasporic media confirm Bakardjeva’s thesis of online-offline linkage, in that the Canadian activities mentioned above tend to be promoted online and undertaken offline.

In the broader context of communication infrastructure as a whole, some of these roles of Canadian diasporic media seem to be played out by other overseas Canadian institutions. Alumni networks in Hong Kong are a case in point, outnumbering media and organizations. Such a unique development pattern, potentially attributed to the presence of large Chinese-Canadian population, refutes all three initial hypotheses of this study: first, that Canadian diasporic media of established Canadian diasporic communities do not necessarily offer full-fledged conventional media services (when it is the case for the US and the UK); second, that Canadian diasporic media of Canadian diasporic communities, which have more dual citizens, would not necessarily offer media in multiple languages; and finally, that the number or diversity of Canadian diasporic media is not necessarily influenced by the presence of well-developed local English media. It is, therefore, important to understand that Canadian attachment is expressed through diverse institutional and communicative forms, and should be understood in the broader context of the communication infrastructure as a whole, rather than limited to one institutional form. Future research may assess the relative contribution of each institution in terms of promoting and cultivating Canadian attachment among overseas Canadians.

*What is the SWOT for Canadian diasporic media?*

In summary, what then are the strengths and weaknesses of Canadian diasporic media, and what opportunities and threats exist for them? Canadian diasporic media are mostly free online services available to generally all Canadians in need of Canadian attachment. Easy accessibility and socially up-to-date media platforms may adequately serve the interest of some overseas Canadians, particularly young, transient Canadian migrants, in their need for adjustment and settlement in foreign countries. However, as most Canadian diasporic media are produced by overseas Canadian networks, membership within an organization appears to be an implied prerequisite. Furthermore, the increasingly informal and fragmented nature of emerging communicative spaces may also limit wider use of Canadian diasporic media. Some are directed to Canadians residing in a specific region or engaged in certain occupations (e.g., *Digital Moose Lounge* for Canadians in Silicon Valley and the San Francisco Bay area, *Canadian Language Assistance in France*) or belonging to a specialized community (*China & Canada Exchange* for Hong Kong-Canada business community).

Table 7: SWOT analysis for Canadian diasporic media

Strength	Weakness
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strong presence and influence of Canadian organizations and alumni networks</li> <li>• Easy access: mostly online and free</li> <li>• Available in socially up-to-date media platforms (e.g., blogs, forums, social networking groups)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Limited exposure to overseas Canadians without organizational affiliation</li> <li>• Increasingly informal, fragmented, specialized pattern of development</li> </ul>
Opportunities	Threat
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provide niche content exclusive to other media: e.g. cross-over stories</li> <li>• Potential to reach out to non-members through:</li> <li>• Application of up-to-date technology (e.g., iPhone application) or strategic operation and management of micro groups on social networking sites</li> <li>• Collaboration with local Canadian government offices and networks (e.g., events, contents)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Easy access to high-quality content provided by existing Canadian media outlets in Canada and local English media outlets</li> <li>• Expat media that target all expats</li> <li>• Lack of advertising and sponsorship</li> </ul>

Furthermore, abundant media choices may limit wider use of Canadian diasporic media. As mentioned earlier, overseas Canadians are exposed to a range of media from Canadian media to international media to local English media, to name a few. A whole range of interactive news feeds are also used, produced, or reproduced, such as Twitter and RSS. Locally or internationally developed quality expat media are also available for all expats, including overseas Canadians in their respective destinations, with rich content that may or may not be provided by Canadian diasporic media.

Despite these potential threats, there is a window of opportunity for growth, which Canadian diasporic media professionals may want to consider. First, with such an abundance of media choices, those Canadian diasporic media may have a better future if they orient themselves more toward “niche media” that fill the information gap. As discussed, quality cross-over perspectives are highly appreciated. Organizing a group of

experts who can provide quality responses may help, considering the prevalence of invalidated, experience-based responses among members, especially within independent social networking groups. Second, to reach out to potential members (overseas Canadians without organizational affiliation), operating micro groups on social networking sites (as do organizations such as Network Canada in the UK and Digital Moose Lounge in the US) may help direct traffic to one's private website. Use of up-to-date technology may also be considered, such as the iPhone application specifically targeted at Canadians, discussed in the case study on Network Canada. Still another avenue is collaboration with other Canadian networks, as seen in the case of the Canadian communities in Hong Kong, Singapore and the UK.

To reach a broader range of overseas Canadians, stakeholders may consider destination-specific institutions. As this study reveals, communication infrastructure is developed in different patterns, depending on the demographic profile of Canadians within respective destinations. Some destinations have more Canadian diasporic media, while others have more alumni networks. Furthermore, stakeholders may also consider supporting overseas Canadian organizations by providing quality content, sponsorship and advertising. It has been confirmed in this study that overseas Canadian organizations are active media producers; some leading organizations in Hong Kong (The Canadian Chamber of Commerce), Taiwan (Canadian Society in Taiwan), the UK (Network Canada) and China (Canada China Business Council) in fact produce two or more Canadian diasporic media (e.g., newsletters, magazines and blogs). They are also good collaborators with other Canadian bodies in the community, including the High Commission. Nevertheless, the sustainability of volunteer-run, not-for-profit organizations depends on financial support and human resources provided by the community.

### **Suggestions for Future Research**

This unprecedented research on Canadian diasporic media identifies interesting answers to the original research questions, yet simultaneously suggests new areas for further research. First, on-site mapping and local validation are recommended to compensate for the limitations of online mapping. Although diverse approaches to best locate Canadian diasporic media have been attempted online, offline-only media known and available only to locals may have been overlooked. Validation by local experts (e.g., DFAIT desk officers, academics and organization leaders affiliated to the APF) needs to continue, because it was performed in only a few designations: Hong Kong, South Korea, India and Singapore.

Second, a more careful mapping of Canadian diasporic media in third languages is recommended. The findings of this study suggest that Canadian diasporic media are predominantly offered in English with some French-Canadian media in France, the US, the UK and Lebanon. Nevertheless, the possibility of a third language media presence is difficult to disregard, especially in destinations like Hong Kong. The returnees, emerging

as third identities or in-between identities born through exposure to diverse cultures, may have created their own spheres in which to negotiate, utilize, or optimize their hybridity, as is already the case among “new Asian Americans” (Ong, 1999). It is advisable, therefore, to form a multilingual project team to continue the mapping into third language media developed by dual or naturalized citizens who have returned to their country of origin.

Third, a content analysis of select Canadian diasporic media is recommended. The content of media has been briefly reviewed using Zhang’s (2009) categories for attachment measurement. While the findings provide some information about the overall direction of Canadian diasporic media, a full-fledged content analysis is desirable to identify the kind of information, if any, that needs to be supported.

Lastly, audience research with more demographically diverse Canadians is recommended. Although the former overseas Canadians who participated in this study represent some demographic categories of overseas Canadians identified in the earlier study (APF, 2007), the findings generated from a small sample can be only suggestive. Thus, more interviews with demographically diverse Canadians (by citizenship type, years of living abroad, family composition, etc.) may generate more concrete insight. For example, parents who are raising children overseas may need a different set of information, thereby different media habits. Additionally, interviews with members of the listed organizations and/or media are also desirable, particularly to identify the route of first contact with their organizations and the level of satisfaction with the service. This information may help in the development of strategies for approaching potential members.

### **Conclusion**

This preliminary work on the communication infrastructure of Canadian diaspora compiles over 200 previously scattered communication routes (media, organizations and alumni networks) to and for overseas Canadians in 12 select destinations in Asia, Europe, North America and the Middle East. Although the degree of development varies by destination (depending on various destination-specific factors, such as size of Canadian population and demographic profile of Canadians), Canadian communication infrastructure is present in all 12 destinations, with the largest establishment found in the US, followed by the UK, China, Hong Kong and France. Particularly, Canadian diasporic media are most common in France, attributed to the extent of French-Canadian media, followed by the UK and the US. Hong Kong, the second-largest Canadian diaspora, on the other hand, boasts only three publications, mostly from business organizations. Aspiration for Canadian ties seems to be expressed through alumni networks instead. Hong Kong, along with China, boasts the largest alumni network base in Asia. Such a strong Canadian alumni base established in Asian countries calls for their acknowledgement by Canadian universities, corporations and government bureaus as an important gateway by which to link with global Canadian professionals.

Overall, Canadian diasporic media tend to be online, micro media produced or operated by overseas Canadian organizations or networks, unlike those found in Canada in full-fledged conventional media forms. As media and organization are often one entity, the role of Canadian diasporic media, therefore, varies depending on the objective of the organization; yet the majority of media strive to foster Canadian identity and a sense of belonging to Canada through locally organized social activities. Particularly, those leading organizations seem to actively organize Canadian events (cultural, social, sports, etc.), in isolation or in collaboration with other overseas Canadian organizations, to get Canadians together; and to organize information sessions to promote awareness of citizenship rights and responsibilities while living abroad. In promoting such activities, these organizations use their own media. Considering that most of these organizations are volunteer-run, not-for-profit organizations, aspiration for attachment to Canada expressed through these activities is something to acknowledge. This supports the findings of Zhang's recent study (2009) on measuring the attachment of overseas Canadians; there is no significant difference between Canadians at home and abroad in terms of participating in Canada-related activities.

This study provides general "how to" information for stakeholders who might be interested in accessing overseas Canadians. As some communication infrastructure has already been established, quality Canadian information directed specifically to overseas Canadians may be channeled through these organizations to help overseas Canadians extend citizenship activities abroad. Financial support through sponsorship and advertising may also help sustain this important infrastructure. This study also provides general "how to" information for Canadian diasporic media professionals to enrich content and enlarge membership base. In a rapidly changing media environment with an abundance of media choices, Canadian diasporic media have found their places over the years and provided overseas Canadians with a means to maintain a sense of attachment to Canada. How these important communicative spaces will further their existence as "niche media" and function as critical gateways for accessing overseas Canadians is worthy of attention amid increasing global migration.

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