

# Domestic Demographics and Canadian Foreign Policy

by Elizabeth Riddell-Dixon

## INTRODUCTION

Recently released data from the 2001 Census shows that Canada is increasingly multi-ethnic and multicultural. In 2001, over 18% of Canada's population was foreign born - the highest percentage in 70 years.<sup>1</sup> On a per capita basis, Canada accepts more immigrants than any other country on earth, except Australia.<sup>2</sup> Today most immigrants are from Asia, whereas Europe was the main source 50 years ago. The trends are clear: Canada's ethnic composition is increasingly diverse, much of our foreign born population comprises very recent arrivals, and our newcomers of the past decade have been drawn from areas of the globe very different from the major sources of half a century ago. This paper addresses the question: what are the implications of our increasingly diverse ethnicity for the makers of Canadian foreign policy?

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<sup>1</sup> Canada, Statistics Canada, "Canada's Ethnocultural Portrait: The Changing Mosaic", p. 2.  
<<http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Analytic/companion/etoimm/canada.cfm>>  
(April 4, 2003).

<sup>2</sup> In 2001, 22% of Australia's population was foreign-born, while the figure for the United States in 2000 was 11%. Canada, Statistics Canada, "Canada's Ethnocultural Portrait", p. 2.

Little has been written on the topic and, in many cases, it is difficult to establish clear cause and effect. The paper nonetheless offers some observations about the

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impact of Canada's changing ethnic profile on Ottawa's foreign policy agenda - an influence which is likely to increase if current demographic trends continue. The paper begins by looking at Canada's changing ethnic composition over the past decade. It then identifies several areas of foreign policy that are likely to be of particular concern to newcomers and discusses their potential for exerting influence on Canadian foreign policy.

## **DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS**

The past 40 years have seen significant increases in the numbers of newcomers admitted to Canada and dramatic changes in the primary sources of immigrants. In 2001, 5.4 million people, or 18.4% of the Canadian population, were foreign born.<sup>3</sup> Between 1991 and 2001, 1.8 million people, or 6.2% of the total population, immigrated

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<sup>3</sup> The percentage in 1996 was 17.4. Canada, Statistics Canada, "Canada's Ethnocultural Portrait", p. 2.

to Canada.<sup>4</sup> This number represented a significant increase over the 1.2 million who had been admitted during the 1980s and who, by 1991, comprised only 4.3% of the total population.<sup>5</sup> Prior to 1960, 90% of all immigrants to Canada came from Europe and only 3% were born in Asia.<sup>6</sup> Today 58% of our immigrants come from Asia and the Middle East, with the People's Republic of China being the leading country of birth.<sup>7</sup> More than 40% of our newcomers emanated from one of seven Asian countries: the People's Republic of China, India, the Philippines, Hong Kong, Sri Lanka, Pakistan and Taiwan.<sup>8</sup> In contrast, only 20% came from Europe and the percentages from other geographic regions were relatively small: the Caribbean and Central and South America accounted for 11%; Africa was the birthplace of 8%; and 3% were born in the US.<sup>9</sup>

There are three main categories of migrants to Canada: the business class, which comprises 69% of immigrants (up from 63% in 1996); the family class, which comprises 30% of immigrants (down from 34% in 1996); and refugees, who comprise

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<sup>4</sup> Canada, Statistics Canada, "Canada's Ethnocultural Portrait," p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Canada, Statistics Canada, "Canada's Ethnocultural Portrait", p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Canada, Statistics Canada, "Canada's Ethnocultural Portrait", p. 4 and 5.

<sup>7</sup> Canada, Statistics Canada, "Canada's Ethnocultural Portrait", p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Canada, Statistics Canada, "Canada's Ethnocultural Portrait", p. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Canada, Statistics Canada, "Canada's Ethnocultural Portrait", p. 4.

only 11% of all migrants (down from 13% in 1996).<sup>10</sup> Not only are business immigrants most numerous but the proportion of business class immigrants has been increasing over the past decade, while the numbers of family class immigrants and refugees have declined. The business class aims at attracting people who will contribute to making the Canadian economy strong and prosperous by bringing in large scale investments and/or starting businesses here. Although similar numbers of men and women were admitted to Canada, the former are overrepresented in the business class, while women are more likely to enter under the family class.

In light of the changing composition of Canadian society, it is not surprising that Canadians identified over 200 different ethnic origins when asked to give their ancestry in the 2001 Census.<sup>11</sup> The demographic shifts are due in part to changes in Canada's immigration policies but they are also the result of deteriorating social conditions and increased outbreaks of violence and social unrest in many parts of the world.

## **OBSERVATIONS**

In considering the implications of these demographic changes for Canadian

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<sup>10</sup> Canada, Citizenship and Immigration, "Facts and Figures, 2001: Immigration Overview", p. 4; and Canada, Citizenship and Immigration, "Facts and Figures, 1998: Immigration Overview", p. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Canada, Statistics Canada, "Canada's Ethnocultural Portrait", p. 12.

foreign policy, it is important to answer two broad questions. What are the foreign policy priorities for newcomers? What is their potential for exerting influence in the policy-making process? Observations are offered in response to each question.

What are the key foreign policy concerns for immigrants and refugees?

There is no doubt that recent immigrants and refugees, like Canadians in general, are more interested in domestic issues than in matters of foreign policy. The Canadian Ethnocultural Council, a coalition of 32 national ethnocultural umbrella organizations, focuses on political advocacy and educational activities to promote multiculturalism in Canada and to ensure that all can participate fully and equally in Canadian society. Most of its briefs to government focus on domestic issues, such as education, labour, health, and culture.<sup>12</sup> Immigration is the only foreign policy issue that it addresses consistently.

1. As the numbers of newcomers increase, the pressure to liberalize Canada's immigration and refugee laws will intensify.

Immigrants are usually keen to bring relatives and friends to Canada; hence they pressure the Canadian government to amend its immigration and

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<sup>12</sup> Audrey Kobayashi, "Advocacy from the Margins: The Role of Minority Ethnocultural Associations in Affecting Public Policy in Canada" in Keith G. Banting (Ed.), *The Nonprofit Sector in Canada: Roles and Relationships* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's, 2000), Appendix, pp. 262-266.

refugees laws to allow more people into the country, especially from countries that are already the leading sources of newcomers. A variety of concerns are regularly raised before the Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration and the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and its subcommittees. The government's decision to give greater priority to business immigrants than to family class immigrants hinders family reunification and contains a built-in gender bias. The criteria for citizenship are considered unnecessarily stringent. Concerns are raised about the treatment of domestic workers and permanent residents. Complaints are made about the understaffing in visa/immigration offices both within and outside Canada and about the backlog in processing applications. The government is urged to ensure that national standards are maintained when the provinces take over responsibility for matters pertaining to immigration. There are demands for greater protection for the political rights, mobility rights and constitutional rights of immigrants. A further concern is Canada's failure to recognize credentials earned abroad, which often results in immigrants and refugees having to pursue further training in Canada, which can be expensive and time consuming. For many, the need to find employment to support themselves and their families precludes taking the necessary courses to upgrade their qualifications; hence the skills and knowledge that they bring are not fully utilized.

As newcomers become more numerous, the pressure for greater liberalization of immigration and refugee laws is likely to increase. At the same

time, the Canadian government is facing counter-pressure from the US to tighten its immigration and refugee laws. The US considers Canadian immigration and refugee laws too lax and a threat to American security. Neither set of pressures is likely to abate in the near future; hence Ottawa will have to face the tough challenge of finding an appropriate balance between competing domestic and external demands.

2. Business immigrants are likely to increase the pressure for more extensive trade links with their countries of origin.

Within the business class - the largest group of migrants - there are three categories: Investors, who must invest \$400,000 in Canada; Entrepreneurs, who need to have substantial business experience and at least \$300,000 to invest in a Canadian business; and Self-Employed Persons, who must create their own employment. Anyone meeting these criteria, especially the requirements for Investors and Entrepreneurs, brings not only financial resources but also extensive business contacts as well as a knowledge of the language and culture of their countries of origin - all of which facilitate trade relations between that country and Canada.

China is the leading country of origin for business immigrants. Trade and investment between Canada and China have increased dramatically in the past decade. Between 1990 and 2002, exports to China increased by 136%, imports from China rose by 1,046%, Canadian direct investment in China grew by a whopping 11,017% and China's direct investment in Canada increased by

315%.<sup>13</sup> No doubt these increases reflect Canada's longer term efforts, which date back to the early 1970s, to capitalize on China's enormous domestic market. Such trends have no doubt been encouraged by the recent influx of business immigrants from China.

A wide range of ethnically-based business groups already appear regularly before the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and its subcommittees. In many cases, they argue that the Canadian government is not doing enough to support their economic enterprises abroad. For example, in February 2003, the Hong Kong-Canada Business Association - the largest bilateral trade association in Canada - asserted "we don't have enough support from and interaction with Canadian officials. We have excellent support from and communications with the Hong Kong officials".<sup>14</sup> As new Canadians become more numerous and more established, the pressure on the Canadian government to actively promote closer bilateral trade arrangements with

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<sup>13</sup> Statistics compiled from Canada, Industry Canada, "Canadian Imports (Exports) Year Annual Trend 1990-2002" (Ottawa, 2003).

<[http://strategis.gc.ca/sc\\_mrkti/tdst/engdoc/tr\\_prod.html](http://strategis.gc.ca/sc_mrkti/tdst/engdoc/tr_prod.html)>. (April 29, 2003).

<sup>14</sup> Canada, Subcommittee on International Trade, Trade Disputes and Investment, Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 37<sup>th</sup> Parliament, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, Presentation by Mitch Kowalski, Vice-President, Hong Kong-Canada Business Association. (Ottawa, February 26, 2003), p. 2.

countries that are the leading sources of our newcomers will intensify.

Having such ethnic diversity may give Canada a competitive edge over other Northern countries in expanding its trade, especially in the burgeoning Asian markets. The rapidly growing Chinese market, for example, is not easy to penetrate. To do so requires long-term engagement and offers relatively few short-term economic returns, which is tough on Canadian firms, most of which have limited financial resources. Chinese Canadians with intimate knowledge of the Chinese economy and extensive business contacts in China may help Canada to overcome problems of access and provide a kind of “fast track” entry to Chinese markets. There is definitely a complementarity between Canada’s official trade missions, which often involve politicians at the highest level as well as business people, and the pattern of recruiting business class immigrants.

3. The federal government may come under greater political pressure to take sides on highly contentious international political issues.

Immigrants and refugees come with strong emotional ties to their countries of birth. Once here, advances in communications technologies enable them to stay informed about developments in their countries of origin. On some issues, newcomers are likely to add support to current policy directions. For example, one would expect that refugees who have fled abusive regimes, where political leaders committed crimes of genocide and/or crimes against humanity, would encourage the Canadian government to vigorously promote efforts to address international impunity. Addressing international impunity has been a priority for the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade since the late 1990s. Canada played a leading role in the establishment of the International Criminal Court and it continues to work to ensure the Court's efficacy. Likewise, the rise of women's groups, such as the National Organization of Immigrant and Visible Minority Women of Canada, should increase domestic support for CIDA's commitment to Women in Development programs. Terrorism is known to be linked to poverty and intense feelings of marginalization and alienation.<sup>15</sup> Through dialogue with Muslim communities in

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<sup>15</sup> Canada, Prime Minister's Office, "Address by Prime Minister Jean Chrétien on the Occasion of the United Nations General Assembly High-Level Plenary Debate on the New Partnership for Africa's Development". (New York, September 16, 2002), p. 2.

Canada, the government can gain a better understanding of these problems and of the types of solutions that may be acceptable and practical in Islamic countries. On a more controversial note, Canada's intelligence service may benefit from developing closer relations with diverse ethnic communities, which can provide valuable insights into changing conditions in various parts of the globe, and language skills and cultural understanding to aid in the analysis of data from their countries of origin.

There are other areas, however, in which responding to ethnic pressures may have political and economic costs. Racial profiling has assumed greater prominence in the wake of the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks on the US. In October 2002, the Bush Administration announced that those born in Iran, Iraq, Libya, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria or Yemen, who were not immigrants to the US, would be singled out and subjected to extra scrutiny at US borders. The Canadian Ethnocultural Council as well as Arab and Muslim communities in Canada were quick to condemn the US position and to urge the Canadian government to protest the discriminatory policy. The Canadian government did lodge a complaint with its foremost ally - a move that has costs as well as benefits.

In the early 1980s, the Jewish lobby was effective - it was strong and

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<[http://pm.gc.ca/default.asp?Language+E&Page=newsroom&Sub=newyorknepad20020916\\_e](http://pm.gc.ca/default.asp?Language+E&Page=newsroom&Sub=newyorknepad20020916_e).

> (January 9, 2003).

relatively well resourced and it spoke with a unified voice in public - while Arab groups were far less well organized and institutionalized and they represented very disparate communities. Today the Arab and Muslim groups have become much more prominent than they were 20 years ago and their strong and articulate voices are being heard in the political process. Was the Canadian government's decision not to join the US-led coalition to overthrow Saddam Hussein, at least in part, a response to the increasing strong and articulate lobbying activities by Canadians of Arab and Muslim descent?

From the extensive fundraising campaigns that are carried out among many ethnic communities in Canada to secure resources for partisan forces overseas, it is clear that political conflicts back home are profoundly important to at least some newcomers.<sup>16</sup> If violence broke out between India and Pakistan, would those born in these two countries not have strong feelings about the desired outcome? Would there not be strong lobbying efforts to persuade the Canadian government to take sides?

Our changing demographics may pressure the Canadian government to become involved with issues, on which it has not traditionally taken a stance and

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<sup>16</sup> Stewart Bell, "Blood Money: International Terrorist Fundraising in Canada" in Norman Hillmer and Maureen Appel Molot (Eds.), *Canada Among Nations 2002: A Fading Power*, pp. 172-190. Bell notes, however, that newcomers are often coerced into contributing fund under threat of violence; hence it is hard to determine how many contributors actually strongly support the cause.

from which it might prefer to remain somewhat distant. The changes may also prompt Canada to take positions that contradict its traditional approaches, which may in some cases cause tensions with our traditional allies. The Middle East provides perhaps the best example of an area fraught with conflict, in which Canada's principal ally perceives itself having vital interests and where strong and articulate groups (both Arab and Jewish) are vehemently lobbying the government to promote their objectives. Weighing all these variables presents an enormous challenge for Canadian policy-makers. Canada is unlikely to have much influence over the situation in the Middle East. Furthermore, the political costs of increased intervention are significant as any involvement may be perceived by at least one of the major factions as siding with the enemy. For these reasons, Middle East politics may be an area where the Canadian government may wish to maintain a low profile; however, competing domestic pressure for action is likely to intensify.

There may be increasing numbers of situations where domestic demands for action may not reflect the best overall interests of the country. The Canadian government faces an arduous challenge: the need to be receptive to the views of its citizens, including its newcomers, while at the same time formulating and implementing policies that are in the best interests of Canadians, as a whole.

What potential do immigrants and refugees have for exerting influence in the policy making process?

Canadian citizens can participate in the political process in several ways. They can vote for members of parliament, run for political office, and join nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) which articulate and lobby on behalf of the shared objectives of their members. The observations below address each of these points of access.

1. Recent immigrants tend to settle in geographically concentrated areas; hence their potential for influencing electoral outcomes is increased.

Immigrants and refugees are more likely to live in large urban centres than are Canadians in general. In 2001, 64% of Canadians were city dwellers, while 94% of those who came to Canada in the 1990s settled in urban centres.<sup>17</sup> In the past decade, most immigrants (73%) settled in one of three cities: Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal - cities that are home to “just over one-third of Canada’s total population”.<sup>18</sup> In short, newcomers are proportionately more geographically concentrated in these three cities than are those born in this country and this trend is increasing.<sup>19</sup>

Of course, newcomers do not instantly become voters, since voting is a

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<sup>17</sup> Canada, Statistics Canada, “Canada’s Ethnocultural Portrait”, p. 5.

<sup>18</sup> Canada, Statistics Canada, “Canada’s Ethnocultural Portrait”, p. 5.

<sup>19</sup> Of all immigrants to Canada in the 1980s and 1970s, 66% and 58%, respectively, chose to settle in Toronto, Vancouver or Montréal.” Canada, Statistics Canada, “Canada’s Ethnocultural Portrait”, p. 5.

privilege reserved for Canadian citizens. The criteria for citizenship include being a permanent resident who has “lived in Canada for at least three of the four years before applying” and who is “able to communicate in either English or French”.<sup>20</sup> Even for those who meet all the criteria, there is a significant time-lag between arrival in Canada and achieving citizenship and hence being able to vote. Over time, however, the members of ethnic minorities (i.e., those who are not of British and/or French descent) have swelled the ranks of the electorate and they will continue to do so. Since ethnic communities tend to be geographically concentrated, one may expect them to exert increasing influence over political choices, most of which are likely to be in the domestic realm but some of which will probably relate to the types of foreign policy objectives discussed earlier (e.g., immigration and refugee policies, trade, and international politics concerning their countries of origin.) With time one would also expect to see greater numbers of former immigrants and refugees running for political office.

2. In light of the demographic trends, one would expect to see more ethnic diversity among Canada’s members of parliament

Over the past three decades, ethnic minorities have modestly increased their presence in parliament, although the growth has not been steady. There was an unprecedented increase in the 1993 election when the representation of ethnic minorities came close to reflecting their proportion of the Canadian

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<sup>20</sup> Canada, Citizenship and Immigration, “Becoming a Canadian Citizen” (Ottawa, 2003), p. 1. <<http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/citizen/becoming-howto.html>> (April 25, 2003).

population.<sup>21</sup> In the 1997 election, their representation rose by almost 1% but it dropped by 1.3% in the 2000 election.<sup>22</sup> In all cases, visible minorities remain significantly underrepresented and the proportion of seats held by visible minorities actually decreased from 6.4% in 1997 to 5.6% in 2000.<sup>23</sup> Although women, in general, and women from minority communities, in particular, remain grossly underrepresented in parliament, their share of seats has increased.<sup>24</sup> It is still not an equal playing field in any sense and women who do manage to get elected tend to have stronger than average credentials.<sup>25</sup>

In short, the election to the House of Commons of visible minorities and especially women of colour has not kept pace with demographic trends. Nonetheless, their numbers are rising as ethnic communities become sufficiently integrated to be able to mobilize politically and to field candidates effectively. Yet

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<sup>21</sup> Jerome H. Black, "Ethnoracial Minorities in the Canadian House of Commons: The Case of the 36<sup>th</sup> Parliament" *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 32(2)(2000): 106.

<sup>22</sup> Jerome H. Black, "Ethnoracial Minorities in the House of Commons: An Update on the 37<sup>th</sup> Parliament" *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 25(1)(2002): 2-3.

<sup>23</sup> Jerome H. Black, "Ethnoracial Minorities in the House of Commons", p. 2-3.

<sup>24</sup> Jerome H. Black, "Ethnoracial Minorities in the House of Commons", p. 4.

<sup>25</sup> Jerome H. Black, "Ethnoracial Minorities in the Canadian House of Commons", p.

increasing numbers is only part of the story. One must also consider whether such members of parliament are able to champion the foreign policy objectives of their ethnic communities.

3. As their numbers increase and the size of their constituencies increase, members of parliament from ethnic minorities will be better able to make their voices heard.

The Canadian political system militates against members of parliament successfully championing the priorities of their ethnic communities. The influence of individual members is severely limited by institutional constraints, such as party discipline.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, for at least the past decade, the government has been preoccupied with issues of the debt, budgetary constraints and national unity, which eclipsed other issues, including those of particular concern to immigrants and refugees. As Jerome Black points out, it is ironic that multiculturalism - a program highly valued by immigrant and refugee communities - actually became less important for the government at the very same time that members with minority backgrounds were entering parliament in record numbers.<sup>27</sup> Yet, members cannot completely ignore the pressing demands of

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<sup>26</sup> John English, "The Member of Parliament and Foreign Policy" in Fen Osler Hampson and Maureen Appel Molot (Eds.), *Canada Among Nations 1998: Leadership and Dialogue* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998): 69 -80.

<sup>27</sup> Jerome H. Black and Aleem S. Lakhani, "Ethnoracial Diversity in the House of

their constituents if they hope for re-election. As their numbers increase, one would expect that the members of parliament from ethnic minority communities will be better able to promote the priorities of their constituents.

4. In response to increasing ethnic diversity, one would expect a proliferation in the number of ethnic groups and, more importantly, greater efforts on the part of ethnic groups to affect public policies.

Twenty years ago relatively few ethnic groups had an active involvement with foreign policy issues.<sup>28</sup> Now not only do most ethnic communities have their own lobby groups but there are national umbrella groups, which in turn participate in the work of the macro-level umbrella organization: the Canadian Ethnocultural Council.

NGO efficacy is influenced by both internal and external factors. For a group to be effective, it needs to have a critical mass of support, sufficient homogeneity to have unity of purpose, and leaders who understand how to seek access into the policy-making process. With their rising numbers and growing sophistication, ethnic groups are increasingly able to meet these internal

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Commons: An Analysis of Numerical Representation in the 35<sup>th</sup> Parliament” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 29(1)(1997): 12.

<sup>28</sup> Elizabeth Riddell-Dixon, *The Domestic Mosaic: Interest Groups and Canadian Foreign Policy*. (Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1985).

requirements, although not all are equally well positioned to do so. The Jewish community has been very effective in speaking with a united voice. Arab Canadians are much more disparate; hence it can be difficult for them to agree on policy objectives, especially those towards the Middle East. Would Lebanese Canadians and Syrian Canadians be able to agree on a desired outcome to the longstanding animosity between their respective countries? There are, however, issues, such as racial profiling in the wake of the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks, on which it is much easier for them to reach consensus.

An NGO's potential for success is profoundly affected by the external environment - something over which NGOs generally have little control. Canada's policies to nurture and promote multiculturalism are seen as critical bulwarks for ethnic groups, yet such policies have actually received diminished government support in the past decade.<sup>29</sup> The federal multicultural program is no longer providing ethnic groups with core funding, which has significantly undermined their financial bases. Increased immigration has been accompanied by a backlash from those who see immigrants taking jobs from Canadians and being a drain on the public purse. The Reform/Alliance Party's rise to prominence in the House of Commons has presented a tough challenge to government policies in this area.

In the 1993 election, the Reform Party called not only for abandoning the policy of multiculturalism (along with any form of official recognition of ethnic collectivities including bilingualism and Aboriginal self government),

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<sup>29</sup> Audrey Kobayashi, "Advocacy from the Margins", p. 243-245.

but also, singularly among the four other parties (the Liberals, Progressive Conservatives, New Democrats and Bloc Québécois), called for a reduction in the annual immigration level by at least 50 percent.<sup>30</sup>

The political climate of the past decade has not been entirely welcoming of newcomers and their demands.

On the other hand, ethnic groups often find allies among other Canadian NGOs. Although people born in Africa comprise a small percentage of our population, their concerns about African development are being championed by the Africa Canada Forum - an umbrella group for some 40 organizations in Canada - as well as by Canadian development assistance groups working in Africa. There is, however, the broader question: how much influence do NGOs, in general, exercise in the Canadian foreign policy-making process? Most recent studies of NGO involvement conclude that the NGOs exert relatively little influence.<sup>31</sup> Yet ethnic groups have one important advantage over most NGOs

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<sup>30</sup> Yasmeen Abu-Laban, "welcome/STAY OUT: The Contradiction of Canadian Integration and Immigration Policies at the Millennium" *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 3(3)(1998): 195.

<sup>31</sup> See, Mark Neufeld, "Democratization in/of Canadian Foreign Policy: Critical Reflections" *Studies in Political Economy* 58(Spring 1999): 97-119; Kim Richard Nossal, "The Democratization of Canadian Foreign Policy: The Elusive Ideal" in Maxwell A. Cameron and Maureen Appel Molot (Eds.), *Canada Among Nations 1995: Democracy and Foreign Policy* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1995): 29-43;

and that is the backing of strong electorally-concentrated constituencies of support.

## CONCLUSIONS

The factors prompting people to leave their countries of origin and seek a new life in Canada will only increase. At the same time, Canada's declining birth rate makes it dependant on migrants to maintain its labour force and ensure its prosperity. For these reasons, there will be larger numbers of newcomers entering our country and they will comprise ever greater proportions of our population. Their arrival does not create a

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Cranford Pratt, "Competing perspectives on Canadian development assistance policies," *International Journal* 51(2)(1996): 235-258; Elizabeth Riddell-Dixon, *Canada and the Beijing Conference on Women: Governmental Politics and NGO Participation* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2001), especially pp. 182-189; and Sandra Whitworth, "Women, and Gender, in the Foreign Policy Review Process", in Maxwell A. Cameron and Maureen Appel Molot (Eds.), *Canada Among Nations 1995: Democracy and Foreign Policy*, pp. 83-98. A major exception was the landmines case, which was clearly a unique coming together of factors propitious to NGO efficacy. See Maxwell A. Cameron, Robert.J. Lawson and Brian.W. Tomlin (Eds.), *To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998); and Veronica Kitchen, "From rhetoric to reality: Canada, the United States, and the Ottawa Process to ban landmines" *International Journal* 57(1)(2001-2002): 37-55.

major change overnight but it is likely to result in an incremental reorientation that will have profound effects in the long run.